Master Thesis

Exploring the potential of the 15-Minute City for Sustainable Urban Development

The case of Porte de Montmartre, in Paris

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Abstract

This research revolves around the investigation of the claim that the 15-Minute City facilitates urban development towards a more sustainable development, providing more accessible services, fostering an ecological use of facilities, and creating occasions for people's interactions. It does so by investigating the case study of the neighbourhood of Porte de Montmartre, in the 18th arrondissement of Paris. It qualifies as a single case study and a research of qualitative nature, for it pursues an investigation of officially released material, supported by semi-structured interview conducted with particularly engaged citizens i.e. those representing cultural and social association in the neighbourhood. Central to this study is the 'use' of the territory, for time and space in the urban dynamics are understood as socially constructed, and therefore continuously shaped by relations immersed in a geography of power. After having contextualised the neighbourhood of Porte de Montmartre, the findings are organised combining information emerging from the desk research and the interviews in categories relevant for identifying and presenting relevant themes. These categories revolves around different sphere of life e.g. commercial, related to health care and safety, and two main tools central to the 15-Minute City i.e. the use of school yards and the Kiosque Citoyen. Finally, it is revealed how the 15-Minute City does not present a revolutionary character, nor is to be considered inclusive or democratic as a policy. In fact, as a policy the 15-Minute City has to be understood as an orientation, while the real change is expected to come from the local actors. The local reality of Porte de Montmartre appears to functioning in meeting its residents' needs and desire, especially though collaboration - although improvements can be made to encourage different social groups to mingle. Interestingly, the cultural and social associations seems to be the strength of the territory, instrumental in maintaining and stimulating social life.

Résumé

L'objectif de cette enquête est de questionner et de contextualiser les dynamiques spatiales et temporelles de la ville, en explorant les manières d'habiter et de comprendre le territoire. Cette recherche doit être contextualisée dans un cadre d'intérêt pour la promotion d'une approche critique des alternatives durables de développement territorial. Cette étude se concentre sur la proposition de la *ville du quart d'heure*, théorisée par le professeur Carlos Moreno et adoptée par la maire de Paris Anne Hidalgo. Selon la ville du quart d'heure, toutes les nécessités quotidiennes doivent se trouver à moins de 15 minutes du domicile d'un résident, promouvant l'importance de la proximité dans la qualité de vie des citoyens. L'objectif de cette étude est d'examiner l'affirmation selon laquelle la ville à 15 minutes facilite le développement urbain vers un développement plus durable, en fournissant des services plus accessibles, en encourageant une utilisation écologique des installations et en créant des occasions d'interaction entre les personnes.

Pour comprendre le sujet, ce rapport a d'abord mené une enquête critique sur les questions de temps et d'espace, en les comprenant comme socialement construites au fil du temps et continuellement façonnées par les relations, pour présenter la question centrale du 'territoire en usage'. En posant les bases pour aborder la ville du quart d'heure, le rapport décrit les principaux nœuds de l'évolution du concept et de la pratique de la ville, en se concentrant sur les défis que la compréhension du développement enraciné dans un processus industriel de modernisation a lancé à la composition bâtie et sociale de la ville. Pour repenser la ville, la nécessité de faire des villes 'pour les gens' est abordée ici. Il s'ensuit une présentation de la ville du quart d'heure dans sa conceptualisation et son modèle de développement urbain, illustrant comment elle se déploie dans les dimensions de la densité, de la proximité, de la diversité et de la numérisation, et les questions qu'elle soulève en termes de viabilité de sa remise. Cette première partie du rapport se conclut par un regard critique sur la ville du quart d'heure, en s'interrogeant sur la manière dont elle se positionne dans la tradition de la planification urbaine et en élaborant sur la valeur sociale du modèle.

La partie méthodologique ancre l'étude dans la sphère de la géographie humaine, en appelant à la nécessité de promouvoir une réelle inclusion, l'accès aux droits et la participation dans l'environnement urbain. Elle continue en abordant la nature qualitative de la recherche en question, qui se qualifie comme une étude de cas unique suivant une approche inductive. Le matériel empirique est une combinaison de recherches documentaires, tournant autour de matériel officiellement et publiquement publié par les autorités parisiennes, et d'entretiens semi-structurés menés avec des citoyens engagés dans le quartier, i.e. dans des associations sociales et culturelles. Il s'ensuit un aperçu du raisonnement qui sous-tend le processus de recherche et la conception de la méthode de l'étude en question. Pour contextualiser l'enquête en cours, les délimitations, les limites

et les hypothèses de la recherche sont présentées, en s'appuyant sur la position du chercheur à l'origine de l'étude et sur la portée de l'enquête en cours.

Ainsi, l'étude de cas de la Porte de Montmartre est introduite, en commençant par une contextualisation du quartier à partir de sa configuration territoriale et historique, avec une attention particulière au fait que la Porte de Montmartre est déjà au centre des stratégies de développement concernant la géographie prioritaire de Paris. Sur la base de cette contextualisation, l'analyse est réalisée en combinant les informations issues de la recherche documentaire et des entretiens dans des catégories pertinentes pour identifier et présenter les résultats. Ces catégories tournent autour de différents domaines de la vie, par exemple le commerce, les soins de santé et la sécurité, ainsi que deux outils centraux de la ville du quart d'heure i.e. l'utilisation des cours d'école et le Kiosque Citoyen.

Afin d'organiser efficacement les résultats pour répondre aux questions qui sous-tendent cette recherche, les résultats sont mis en dialogue avec le cadre théorique présenté au début du rapport, pour donner un sens aux significations qui ont émergé de l'enquête empirique. Dans la discussion, il est révélé que la ville du quart d'heure ne présente pas un caractère révolutionnaire, et ne peux pas être considérée comme une politique inclusive ou démocratique. Cependant, la réalité de la Porte de Montmartre semble se débattre, mais fonctionne en répondant aux besoins et aux désirs de ses résidents. Il est intéressant de noter que les associations culturelles et sociales paraissent être la force du territoire, contribuant à maintenir et à stimuler la vie sociale.

La conclusion examine et développe les principaux points de la recherche. Le concept et le modèle de la ville du quart d'heure se traduisent dans la politique de la ville d'une manière qui tend à être plus une orientation qu'une réglementation. On peut dire que la ville du quart d'heure encourage une approche participative de la manière dont elle a été envisagée, mais en réalité, elle laisse les acteurs locaux se charger du changement réel. En effet, la ville du quart d'heure a le potentiel d'inciter la réflexion et de stimuler le débat public sur les questions de durabilité urbaine et sociale. Le fait même qu'elle existe illustre que la ville moderne et industrielle ne reflète plus l'idéal de développement souhaitable. Mais de là à dire qu'elle change la situation, il y a un pas trop grand. En effet, la ville du quart d'heure confirme les dynamiques de pouvoir qui existent déjà au niveau local et mondial. En promouvant la réutilisation et l'interchangeabilité de l'espace, l'entrelacement des horaires et l'hybridation des lieux et des activités, la ville du quart d'heure a le potentiel, sur le papier, d'affecter la configuration temporelle et spatiale de l'environnement urbain - surtout si l'on considère qu'au vu des événements récents, il existe une forte intention d'améliorer la qualité de vie dans l'espace urbain. Que cette intention, cependant, soit de nature révolutionnaire, ou qu'elle aboutisse à un processus inclusif et démocratique, ne semble pas encore être le cas à Porte de Montmartre.

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Preface

To introduce the study at hand, I have to recognise that it stems from a personal interest. Allow me to digress briefly into my life story: I am originally from Ortona, a small town in central southern Italy, where the pace of life is slow, the problems of the world appear 'distant' and life takes place amidst extremely ordinary matters. Tired of this way of living my life and curious about the world out there, I have taken every personal and professional opportunity to satisfy my eagerness to investigate the human experience of the world, in different social and cultural contexts. The crowning of this quest is certainly to be found in this international master's degree, which has allowed me to study in a multicultural and dynamic contexts, addressing the issue of sustainable territorial development from different points of view and educational systems.

I often found myself wondering if there was one of the places I lived in that I preferred, and why, and whether I wanted to live there 'when I grew up'. After six years being away from home, I am preparing to return, temporarily, to Abruzzo to continue my research in regional science and sustainable development. In my life so far, I have lived in a small and not very urbanised city like Ortona, in small to medium-sized cities with an extremely student-oriented character like Padua in Italy, and Leuven in Belgium, and in European metropolises like Copenhagen in Denmark, and Paris in France. These experiences allowed me to explore different dynamics of living together, consolidated by cultural and political systems that reflect and guide these lifestyles. Among the many positive and enriching experiences, I must admit that I felt without enough stimuli in living in a city that was too small, in a 'bubble' in living in a context that was too specific to university students, and stressed living in the 'jungle' of the big city. So I now wonder if, with due maturity, there is something I can do to find a balance in all these levels, and contribute with my research, to enrich them, and make them more 'fluid' and diversified.

Therefore this study sees a personal interest translate into a professional interest, to explore different scales of territorial intervention - ambitiously, to rethink the scale of intervention itself. As a student of sustainable territorial development, I found myself dealing with both local and global dynamics of development, and the difficulty that bringing these two levels of intervention together requires. This study therefore stems from a desire to seek a different key to understanding territorial development, one that is able to address the issue in a cross-cutting manner. The potential of the 15-Minute City is seen precisely in questioning the concept of territory, its demarcations and development. This study wants to place at the centre of planning and policies a territory that is 'in use', and suitable and convenient to use - one that is inclusive for all needs and desires.

The potential of the 15-Minute City is seen precisely in the possibility to question the development models embodied in modernisation and centre-periphery dynamics, with the aimed result to decentralise a geography of power. The 15-Minute City could do so by creating a number of 15 minutes radii which are autonomous and independent, but at the same time deeply interconnected - considering that they must meet the needs of their residents, and be accessible by anyone. Therefore, these 15 minutes radii have the potential to focus action on an extremely local scale, but so interconnected as to eventually have a global impact. Indeed, this study takes into account the difficulty of this shift of systems, on both an ideological and material level: it is not meant to be a 'naive' study that does not take into account the complex power dynamics the world is subjected to, both in planning and in everyday life. However, with a positive attitude, this study aims to explore the potential of giving a chance to a new way of looking at urban and community life, based on a sense of self-sufficiency that is not aimed at capitalistic competitiveness, but at living in simplicity and with satisfaction, while maintaining curiosity and desire to explore. If this dense network of 15 minutes radii were to become a reality, a new sense of territoriality and globalisation might appear. It might mean to reward a sense of belonging to a group, without closing it in on itself, but rather connecting it in a network that potentially never ends. However utopian this scenario may be at the moment, given the profound moment of crisis the world is facing, it is the belief behind this study that research must restart and enlighten society with values, which must be 'immersed' in lived life to make sense of the realities and aspiration of living together on this planet.

Introduction

Today, more than half of the world's population inhabit cities - precisely 56%, accounting to 4.4 billion people. This trend is expected to increase: by 2050, nearly 7 out of 10 people are expected to live in cities around the world (World Bank, n.d.).

The speed and scale of the urbanisation process brings challenges concerning affordable housing, efficient infrastructures and transport systems, basic and public services, job availability and social equality. Cities are made of their built environment, but also of their social characterisation: urban development must take both into consideration to ensure that cities can free themselves from the constraints that previous generations have bequeathed, and 'take forms' suitable to face current challenges. In fact, cities play an increasingly important role in tackling environmental concerns, because issues of energy, waste and biodiversity are amplified in and from dynamics of urban areas. And cities are also at the frontline in fighting epidemics, with challenges concerning not only the healthcare systems but also the economic and social fabric. There are many attributes that cities strive to excel at, including liveability, competitiveness and sustainability, but there is one that emerges considering the events that the world has faced over the past years, and the newfound awareness of the importance of a life of quality: a city must function for its inhabitants. Different conceptualisations of sustainable urban development have intertwined on the themes of digitalisation, renewable energy, governance, mobility, and public and green spaces. Adjectives like 'inclusive', 'circular', 'resilient' have been used to describe the city of tomorrow. To ensure that they do not remain empty words, there is the need to build a city that works through a functional and coherent policy, reflected in social dynamics. National and local forms of government must take their role to shape the future of cities and create opportunities for all. Considering the large number of people living in cities and thus the fundamental role cities play in sustainable development, there is an urgent need to address issues of urbanisation and quality of urban life to meet what has been defined as SDG11 in the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development Goals: make cities and communities inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable.

Among the various proposals, the 15-Minute City has been meet with great success. Bridging together old inconveniences of the industrial city, which have not disappeared, and the needs revealed by the pandemic, the 15-Minute City is developed to bring resilience to and improve the quality of life of the urban environment. Theorised by the academic Carlos Moreno and adopted by the current Mayor of Paris Anne Hildago for municipal elections, it is gaining significant traction politically and in planning circles. But as straightforward and brilliant as it is, what does it imply

that all daily necessities must be met within a 15-minute radius from residents' home? This research investigates the specific case study of Porte de Montmartre, in the 18th arrondissement of Paris.
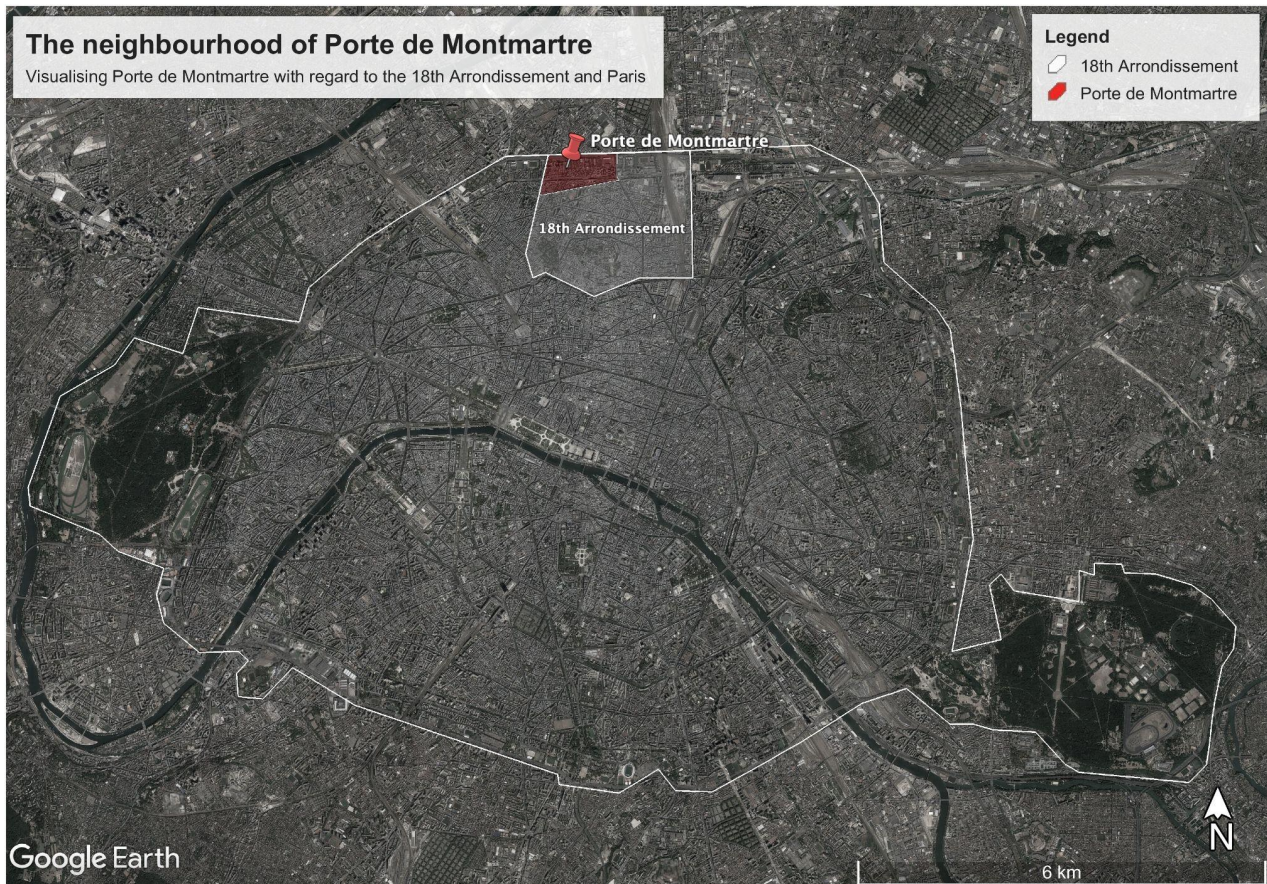

Figure 1: locating the neighbourhood of Porte de Montmartre using Google Earth.

Porte de Montmartre has been chosen as one of the pilot neighbourhoods to make the 15-Minute City a reality in Paris. More generally, it revolves around the spatial and temporal configuration of the urban environment, to address matters of quality of life, accessibility and participation with the aim to question what makes a city more suitable to live in for its inhabitants - in a constant interplay between bottom-up and top-down forces.

After having presented the research objectives more in details, this report continues with drawing the theoretical framework and literature review of the study at hand. To present the central question of *territory in use,* an understanding of time and space as socially constructed is made explicit. Putting the basis to address the 15-Minute City, the report outlines the main nodes of the evolution of the concept and practice of the city, focusing on the challenges that the understanding of development rooted into an industrial process of modernisation has cast on the built and social composition of the city. To rethink the city, the need to make cities 'for people' is here addressed.

It follows a presentation of the 15-Minute City in its conceptualisation and model of urban development, illustrating how it unfolds within the dimensions of density, proximity, diversity and

digitalisation, and the issues it raises in terms of the viability of its shed. This first part of the report concludes with a critical look at the 15-Minute City, questioning how it positions itself in the tradition of urban planning and elaborating on the social value of the model.

The methodology section roots the study in the sphere of human geography, calling for the need to promote real inclusivity, access to rights and participation in the urban environment. It continues addressing the qualitative nature of the research at hand, which qualifies as a single case study following an inductive approach. The empirical material is a combination of desk research, revolving around material officially and publicly issued by Parisian authorities, and semi-structured interviews carried on with engaged citizens of the neighbourhood i.e. those involved in social and cultural associations. It follows an outline of the reasoning behind the research process and method design of the study at hand. To contextualise the investigation at hand, delimitations, limitations and assumptions of the research have been presented.

Hence, the case study is introduced, starting from a contextualisation of the neighbourhood drawing on its territorial and historical configuration, with particular regard to the fact that Porte de Montmartre is already at the centre of development strategies concerning the priority geography of Paris. Building on this contextualisation, the analysis is carried out combining information emerging from the desk research and the interviews in categories relevant for identifying and presenting the findings.

To efficiently organise the results to answer the questions underlying this research, findings are put into dialogue with the theoretical framework presented at the beginning of the report, in order to make sense of the meanings that emerged from the empirical investigation. In the light of the above, the conclusion reviews and elaborates on the main points of the research: it finally addresses how the 15-Minute City concept and model translated into city policy, how it encourages a participatory approach and how it promotes a pattern of sustainable urban development, to explore its potential to affect the temporal and spatial configuration of the urban environment - in the specific case of Porte de Montmartre and beyond.

This study relies on the realisation that urban studies have long overlooked the importance of the real use of the territory by people, when thinking about the functioning, planning and development of cities. In this scenario, the design aspect has been prioritised to its social value. But cities are not fixed structures, for they evolve according to their use. Changes continuously modify the urban materiality (e.g. construction, destruction), and affect the economic and social space (e.g. rise of new activities, groups, practices), the legal space (e.g. prohibitions, privatisation of spaces) and the political-administrative space (e.g. modifications of districts). Social life 'takes place' in a

multiplicity of times, spaces and uses, which can be divergent and contradictory; their relative unification is linked to an often precarious hierarchy, which can be problematic not only in terms of organisation, but also of social inequalities and accessibility. These considerations call for renegotiating individual and collective spaces and times in a transition from a logic of space-saving or time-saving, to a logic of quality of life.

A final clarification concerns the fact that the language of this study is English. However, the reader will find that many articles used for the literature review and the desk research are in French, as well as all the data gathered in the interviews. The researcher behind this study has translated at the best of her ability all the foreign material to assure fluidity of reading; however, when deemed relevant, French terminology is still indicated in square brackets [*example*], to allow the French-speaking reader to easy find political and cultural references - in particular for laws or regulations, or in the analysis for the sake of directness.

Research questions and objectives

The *city*, as it is known nowadays, is the result of various combinations, changes and impositions that have taken place over time, spontaneously or enforced. These transformations can be contextualised and traced back to different forces, which are worth investigating in order to better understand the *why* and *how* of the dynamics of the city. Over time, cities have been the place where progress is concentrated, where life is full of stimuli, and where, however, various problems arise, ranging from daily stress to segregation - due precisely to unsustainable rhythms, reflected in unliveable spaces. If it is true that the city is the place where numerous problems originate, it is also true that it is exactly the place where a solution should be looked for.

The purpose of this study is to investigate the claim that the 15-Minute City facilitates urban development towards a more sustainable development, providing more accessible services, fostering an ecological use of facilities, and creating occasions for people's interactions (Moreno, 2020). To do so, this study considers the 15-Minute City as a concept, a model and a policy. The theoretical concept defined by Carlos Moreno, translates into a flexible urban model which is often subject to interpretation by different actors. Adopted by the program *En Commun* by Paris' mayor Anne Hidalgo, the 15-Minute City is to be included in the new city's local development plan. Questions about the practical application process appear legitimate to arise. Given the little information disclosed on the matter, this study investigates the 15-Minute City considering both its discursive and material aspects, drawing from the political adoption of the concept to its implementation. Therefore, this study is also expected to reveal information on the regulative framework and the structure of coordination among different stakeholders.

To explore this matter, this investigation relies on a case study research on one of the four pilot neighbourhoods: Porte de Montmartre, in the 18th arrondissement of Paris. Exploring this case study creates the opportunity to shed empirical light on the 15-Minute City, going beyond the specific case itself - and more in general, encouraging critical reflection on the temporal and spatial configuration of cities.

This study revolves around the main research question: ***To what extent the 15-Minute City has the potential to affect the temporal and spatial configuration of the urban environment, as exemplified by the case study of Porte de Montmartre?***

It unfolds along the lines of the following sub-questions:

➢ How are the 15-Minute City concept and model translated into city policy?

➢ To what extent does the 15-Minute City encourage a participatory approach?

➢ How does the 15-Minute City promote a pattern of sustainable urban development?

Theoretical Frame & Literature Review

This chapter aims at investigating and reviewing matters of social life in the urban environment. To do so, it explores and connects dynamics related to time and space, on a historical and ideological level. Defining **time** is complicated: everyone seems to have an understanding of what time is, until they are asked to explain it. The Italian sociologist Simonetta Tabboni (1937-2012) defines time as the "meaning that human communities have given to change" (2006), framing it as a key-factor to understanding and organising the fundamental dimension of social life, with particular regard to people and territories. Urban society, like any society, produces a temporal system which results from the combination of the social activities which take place in that environment. According to the French geographer Luc Gwiazdzinski (1966-), time, as the abstract measure of concrete things, is the product of the social activities which it enables to happen, measures and coordinates (2014). This study draws on the work of the British social scientist and geographer Doreen Massey (1944-2016) to understand **space** as *relational* - for it is collectively produced through interrelations, allows the existence of coeval multiplicities, and it is always under construction (2005). Exploring the challenges of space means dealing with "a simultaneity of stories-so-far" (ibid., p.9). Massey recognises this conceptualisation as deeply connected to the imagination of the political. This means that understanding space as a product of interrelations moves away from a politics of essentialism; secondly, imagining space as the sphere where multiplicity exists, in the sense of contemporaneous plurality, resonates with a politics which respects and nurtures heterogeneity; lastly, conceiving space as always under construction envisions a politics genuinely open to the future, "escaping the inexorability which so frequently characterises the grand narratives related to modernity" (ibid., p.11). Massey asserts that modernity established "a particular power-knowledge relation which was mirrored in a geography of power" (ibid., p.64): spatialising the history of modernity, Massey exposes the geography based on modernisation and core-periphery models, calling for the need to envision a new understanding of development. Defining space as relational also means recognising it as just as dynamic and challenging as time, for it is inevitably interwoven with time. According to Massey, space is therefore the dimension of multiple trajectories, interactions and durations (ibid.).

Understanding time and space as socially constructed enables us to approach a particularly enlightening notion of **territory**. The Brazilian geographer Milton Santos (1926-2001) proposes the provocative concept of *território usado* i.e. 'used territory' or 'territory in use', to be understood as both the result of historical processes and the material and social basis of human actions (Melgaço

et al., 2017). Santos argues that the common notion of territory is inherited from an *incomplete modernity* i.e. an unequal and selective process of modernisation, resulting from the juxtaposition of traces of 'modernity' and 'backwardness', bequeathed from social and political structures. He opposes the legacy of 'pure concepts' i.e. concepts which travelled the centuries untouched, by placing the *use* of territory, and not the territory itself, as the object of social analysis. He sees the territory as a hybrid which requires constant historical revision: what is permanent about the territory is that it is the *constant living environment of people*. It follows that it is crucial to understand the territory to avoid alienation, losing the sense of individual and collective existence and, he adds, 'renouncing' the future itself. Historically, the notion of *nation-state* has consecrated a legal-political notion of territory, where at the same time, the state defines places and the territory is the basis of the nation-state. Overtime, this concept has evolved from the notion of territorial state, to the postmodern one of the *transnationalisation* of the territory - which refers to the extension of social, political and economic processes in between and beyond jurisdictional boundaries of nation-states. "However, just as before not everything was, shall we say, 'statized' territory, today not everything is strictly 'transnationalized'. Even in places where the vectors of globalization are more coherent and effective, the inhabited territory creates new synergies and ends up challenging the world to a rematch. The *active role of the territory* makes us think about the beginning of history, although nothing is as it was before; hence, the metaphor of the rematch, the return" (Melgaço et al., 2017, p. 26). In doing so, the relevance of the roles of science, technology and information must be addressed. It is fundamental to recognise that the territory is made of forms, objects and actions and is a synonym for a human, inhabited space. In Santos' words, considering the idea of territory in use leads to the idea of *banal space* i.e. the space of all humanity, the whole space where all individuals and institutions can find place, regardless of their differences and power. This understanding allows for the identification of new divisions and scales of the territory, which go beyond the old category of the region. This calls for a new construction of space and new functioning of the territory: in doing so, Santos delineates *horizontalities* i.e. the domain of contiguity, the neighbouring places which meet through territorial continuity, and *verticalities* i.e. the network of points physically distant from each other, which are connected by social forms and processes. Today territories are formed by both contiguous and networked spaces, for "they are the same places, the same points, but which simultaneously contain different functionalities" (Melgaço et al., 2017, p. 27). This *simultaneous happening* i.e. the global meaning of how actions, things, people and places interact, can present itself in three forms. The first one is the *homologous happening*, which relates to areas of agricultural or urban production which are modernised through specialised information; the second one, the *complementary happening*, consists of the relationship

between city and countryside, and among cities; the third one is the *hierarchical happening*, which happens under a command, and therefore leads us to consider its production and direction, is the result of the tendency towards the rationalisation of activities. This command contributes to the production of a *sense* imprinted in people's lives and in the life of the space. Information today holds the meaning that belonged to energy i.e. bringing together the different part of a territory. In the homologous and complementary happening, the territory is marked by an everyday life lived by rules which are formulated and reformulated locally; while the hierarchical happening refers to an everyday life which is imposed from outside and led by privileged information and therefore, power. These dynamics leave the territory in a dialectic which affirms itself by a local control of the technical aspects of production, and a remote control of the political (which extends to include the technical) aspects of production. It follows that there is an escalating conflict between the local space, lived by neighbours, and a global space, which inscribes the ideological content. Hence, the importance to reclaim the notion of banal space, the territory of everyone, which goes beyond the networks of a few. In this way, the territory can be the *locus of resistance* of civil society, opposing the rationalising process of the market, which today "permeates everything, including people's consciousness: we speak of the market of things, including nature; the market of ideas, including science and information; the political market" represented by neoliberalism. In today's society, the current trend for territories is to unite vertically, but what happens if one shifts the focus for them to unite horizontally?

The evolution of the *city*

The history of Western urban society is profoundly marked by an economic approach to space and time, infused with a logic of growth and accumulation not only with regard to production modes, but also to everyday life. The social groups and the activities which were previously excluded from the modes of production gradually became part of these dynamics of development, modifying daily attitudes to time and space and therefore future tendencies. In *L'invention du quotidien* (1984)*,* the French cultural theorist Michel de Certeau (1925-1986), in a deliberately poetic style, studies the productive and consumptive activities of everyday life. He recognises that everyday practices are about space e.g. inhabiting, interpreting and shaping space. In considering individuals, he recognises social relations as always involved, to the point to define an individual as a 'plurality' of these relations. In this scenario, social life is understood as a system of organizational combination. In doing so, de Certeau recognises two different actions: *strategies*, which are linked with the institutions and structures of power, which are the 'producers', while the 'consumers', are

individuals who comply with or oppose the environments defined by strategies, by using *tactics*. Therefore, he delineates an opposition between top-down forces (related to the conceptualisation of *strategies* and *voyeurs*) and bottom-up forces (related to *tactics* and *marcheurs*) - terms which will become clearer as the literature review unfolds.

Coming back to a more historical contextualisation, over time economic actors and individuals alike have been developing mobility, accelerating the pace of activities, rationalising their schedules and, for those who could, 'buying' the time of others - to increase the useful space and the available time. Spatially, this unrestricted idea of growth translated into *urban sprawl*, to accommodate the rising urban population - resulting in a rapid geographic expansion of cities, characterised by residential housing, single-use zoning, and increased reliance on the automobiles (Dieleman & Wegener, 2004). Temporally, according to the French urbanist and sociologist François Ascher (1946-2009), this has led to the emergence of a *city open twenty-four hours a day*, in which dwellers are faced with diverse systems of possibilities and constraints (1997).

The *temporal configuration* of society

The time and space of the industrial city were profoundly determined by the separation of work and non-work, and therefore the separation of *working-place* and *sleeping-place*, and *work-time* and *free-time* - with the rhythm of urban life mainly modelled on the one of production. Over time, these practices have been regulated by what Ascher (1997) calls **temporal orders** i.e. the organising forces which logic has influenced the temporalities of various social activities, the four major ones being: the economic temporal order; the institutional temporal order; the family temporal order; and the religious temporal order. In the classical industrial city, they inscribed a **segmented temporal configuration**, meaning that times and activities were organised in distinct segments, with the main segment occupied by work (Ascher, 1997). Over time, the former regularities of work have transformed into diversified and changing rhythms, durations and schedules. With the emergence of remote work and the development of salaried women's work, the temporal, spatial and sexual boundaries between work and domestic activities have gradually blurred - and the institutional order has been increasingly influenced by the organisational constraints of families. Moreover, in this scenario appeared the leisure temporal order, which has imposed new logics at local and international scope. Therefore, a new **interwoven temporal configuration** has emerged, because the various times of urban life are no longer separated as before, but have various orders operating simultaneously and on several activities. It appears clear that this overlapping configuration is more complex than the previous one and can no longer be regulated simply and globally (Ascher, 1997).

Changes in the *rhythm* of life

In the last century, globally life expectancy and free time have increased, and working hours and sleeping time have decreased; the 24/7 city is no longer a figure of speech, for society is rethinking the use of its night-time, and the city is transforming. These changes have radically transformed people's relationships with space and time, altered the rhythms of lives and cities, broken down the traditional spatio-temporal frameworks of everyday life and the limits of territories and calendars. The spread of activities, the fragmentation of spaces and times and the urgency of the situation combine to create new practices, constraints and opportunities for cities and individuals (Gwiazdzinski, 2014). Firstly, the **complexity and instability of systems**, for the generalised flexibility of social time, combined with the diversification of practices within each social time, has created new temporal regimes which are highly differentiated according to social situations, gender, generation and territory. Secondly, the appearance of **desynchronisation and tensions**. Social life flows through multiple and divergent times, whose relative unification is precarious. Although unified by information, people have never experienced such dislocated temporalities. Information and communication technologies donate people the illusions of ubiquity, but the reality shows increasing responsibility and difficulty of arbitration in which people's timetables are cracking among professional, family and social events, in addition to work and other daily obligations. Finally, **conflicts and inequalities** are multiplying between individuals, groups, neighbourhoods and territories of the city which no longer live at the same pace. More precisely, there are individuals, communities and organisations which appear to be unequally equipped to deal with the acceleration and increasing complexity of social life.

The importance of choosing

Being able to choose at any time and in any place in daily life is becoming both a necessity, to allow individual adaptations to the new urban temporal configuration, and a requirement, to meet the growing demand for autonomy among city dwellers. This structural change is obviously an increasingly radical threat to technocratic approaches which tend to provide one-size-fits-all solutions to urban problems, for example in the field of transport or housing. City dwellers need and demand choice. And the possibility of choosing their activities, their tools, their places and their times is also the basis for new individual and collective differentiations. All activities are becoming potentially feasible in increasingly diverse ways. Choosing often involves a combination of space and time: obtaining selected goods or information may involve mobility of people, of goods or information, or combinations of the three. Faced with these changes and their consequences,

individuals and groups are reorganising themselves. For example, the emerging desire to take control of one's own time, and 'take it slow' through activities like walking, yoga, gardening. On a bigger scale, the appearance of networks such as Slow Food and Cittaslow. Another example could be how tools like the freezer, the microwave and the mobile phone, and practices like home delivery and remote work have allowed people to organise their life 'à la carte'. This tendency could be connected to the conceptualisation of **bricolage** in de Certeau's terms (1980). He was inspired by the French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss, who defined the term as a cultural concept consisting of selecting already existing elements of cultural construction, and reorganising them to compose a new discourse e.g. youth cultures. De Certeau adopts the concept of bricolage to refer to the ways in which users make infinite and continuous transformations of and within the dominant cultural economy, to adapt it to their own interests and rules. Bricolage is *a tactic to 'make do'*: in order to understand it, it could be relevant to expand on de Certeau's conceptualisation of *strategies* and *tactics*. Strategies are the means for institutions and structures of power i.e. producers, to circumscribe a place as 'proper' and generate relations among targeted individuals i.e. consumers. Strategies lie beneath political and economic rationality. On the other hand, tactics have no 'proper' localisation and take place in the environment, to unsettle and diverge from the prescriptions of such environment. Therefore, a tactic is connected to bricolage for elements are gathered from the available resources and recombined according to needs to create new value. It follows that individuals are not only 'consumers', because through tactics they are able to 'produce'. Globally, it has to be said that in the last twenty years many have moved towards a more sustainable world, and many strategies have deviated from absolute industrialisation, to make room for more socially conscious practices. A sustainable back-and-forth process has thus been activated among citizens, experts and institutions - and it is not as immediate as it used to be to distinguish elements of strategies and tactics, and the bodies which implement them. This line of reasoning will be further elaborated when talking about 'walking'.

Hybridisation of space and time

Indeed, there is an increasing tendency towards the *hybridisation* of practices, times and spaces, and new assemblies, alliances and collaborations e.g. co-construction, co-housing, carpooling. In this scenario, also the boundaries between work and leisure time and spaces are disappearing, with the emergence of *tiers-lieux* e.g. cafés-libraries, laudromats-cafés, and entrepreneur-artist incubators. *Tiers-lieu* is translated to English as **third place**, which recalls the work of the American urban sociologist Ray Oldenburg (1932-). In *The Great Good Place* (1989), Oldenburg sees citizens having a healthy existence when they balance three realms: home life, with those one lives with i.e.

the 'first' place; the workplace, where one spends the most time i.e. the 'second' place; and social places, which he calls 'third' place. "The third place offers stress relief from the everyday demands of both home and work. It provides the feeling of inclusiveness and belonging associated with participating in a group's social activities, without the rigidity of policy or exclusiveness of club or organization membership" (Jeffres et al., 2009, p. 336). Oldenburg outlines how third places are *neutral grounds*, where everybody is welcome and nobody is a host; they are *leveller*, for people of different socio-economic status can attend; *conversation* is the main activity, often linked to leisure or functional activities; they are *accessible*, away from home, *playful* and often accommodate *regulars* (1989). Oldenburg describes third places as the anchors of community life, for they facilitate and foster social interactions, strengthening community ties. They often also encourage citizens engagement, via informed public discourse. Moreover, they provide a feeling of security and safety, by promoting open and visible interaction. Finally, the presence of third places have a positive impact on the perceptions of the quality of life of a community (Jeffres et al., 2009, p. 336).

Individualised solutions

While it is true that encounters, opportunities and reachability have increased, also considering the digital-meeting mobilisation during COVID-19, it is also true that the overlapping temporal configuration makes collective organisation increasingly difficult and contributes to the current dynamic that favours individualised solutions. The individualisation of the times of everyday urban life is both an *agent* and a *product* of changes in the urban temporal configuration. The interwoven urban temporal configuration is deeply marked by the demands of an individualisation of the temporalities and spaces of life i.e. by the possibility that city dwellers have of appropriating individually their daily time and space, of being autonomous in the construction of their schedule on the daily scale as well as that of the various stages of their life. The individuality and autonomy of city dwellers is made possible and facilitated by the mobilisation of new technology and other forms of social adaptation. New technologies and practices translate new demands into objects and activities. The industrial society takes hold of these demands and helps them to emerge, but also hypertrophies them in the search for profit and competition. City dwellers mobilise all possibilities to increase their individual control over their space-time, to respond to the diversification of practices, to cope with the multiplication of objects and relationships, and to manage the interweaving of times and activities (Kaufmann, 2003). They assemble 'sets of objects and practices' into new everyday technical systems: on one hand, this makes it possible to individualise solutions; on the other hand, it makes individuals more dependent on an increasingly complex

technical-economical system. These techniques serve individualisation as well as socialisation, and desynchronisation as well as synchronisation.

Focus on: the automobile

The automobile links the discourses around urban planning, technology, autonomy and mobility. If it is true that the advent of automobiles brought in numerous possibilities in terms of mobility, trade and emancipation, it is also true that it has deeply impacted the social and economic urban fabric (Moreno et al., 2021). While the suburbanisation process began before the emergence of automobiles, automobiles altered the dynamics of urban planning by enabling the development of linear and perpendicular city grids - which ultimately contributed to urban sprawl. The great number of automobiles flooding streets not only had negative impacts on biodiversity, but also on quality of life, for it has led to increased traffic congestion which, besides social and psychological repercussions, translated to time and economic loss. This urban approach could be traced back to the celebrated and at the same time controversial Swiss-French architect Le Corbusier (1887-1965), who recognised the city as being not efficiently planned to become sustainable, and saw in demolishing and rebuilding the only long-term solution - while his temporary solution promoted urban sprawl. According to the American-Canadian activist Jane Jacobs (1916-2006), this line of thinking encouraged reliance on automobiles and created vehicular-dependent urban environments, which aligned with the global agenda of industrialisation and oil dependency (1961). Nowadays, the legacy of the automobiles-dependent urban planning reveals and maintains deep-rooted socioeconomic inequalities, in terms of zoning, access and ultimately quality of life itself. Reducing automobiles dependence appears as a key factor to address sustainability and liveability. To do so, the physical and ideological constraints of distance and time, which maintain automobile use as the norm, and the link between density and accessibility must be addressed.

Rethinking the city

Nowadays, the very idea of the city seems to be disorienting and undergoing a crisis: from mobility to social conflicts, from individual to collective needs and interests, from ecological alarms to domestic spaces which proved to be inadequate during the pandemic (Bozzato & Signorelli, 2022). According to the Chilean architect Rodrigo Pérez de Arce interviewed by Bozzato and Signorelli, the city as an entity alternates phases of nourishment and crisis, for it is a political construction: the *polis*. Crises often have a common denominator: the inaccessibility of cities. This is why de Arce recommends to **look at the city from the city**, to grasp delicate dynamics and to see the daily life of people. Retracing his professional and personal path, he emphasises the importance of exploring

the city by walking, for every place asks questions and forces to look for solutions. He encourages having a contemplative, participating and anthropological attitude to dealing with cities, which goes beyond learning from books, and comes back to learning by observing the everyday and ordinary world. De Arce emphasises the powerful tools of **designing projects**, to create awareness, visualise solutions and encourage debate. In this way, urban planning can interpret the democratic need to reconstruct the polis, which he recognises as the task of the 21st century.

This line of thinking recalls de Certeau's work (1980): in chapter VII *Marches dans la ville*, de Certeau describes the division of perspective and power which define the subject's experience of the city. He sees the city as an entity created by strategies of governments, corporations and other institutional bodies, illustrated by the discursive character of the *voyeurs*. They hold a 'godlike', panoptic position which makes the world into a 'text' that lies before one's eyes (de Certeau, 1980). The voyeurs' view encompass a cartographic impulse that both visualise and inscribes the boundaries of the city, inscribing urban subjects within a particular space.

On the other hand, there are the *marcheurs*, defined as the ordinary practitioners of 'down below' (de Certeau, 1980). They move at the street level in tactical ways, which are never fully compliant to the ones prescribed by the organising bodies e.g. taking shortcuts instead of the strategic grid of the streets. According to de Certeau, *marcheurs* bring the city to life, because they 'write' the urban text, by crossing and reinscribing boundaries, but without being able to read it. More precisely, it is the mass movement of people who write the text. Individuals navigate the city, writing their own story and giving their own interpretation to the products provided by the city: while it is the city which provides the stimulus, it is a mass of people, unaware of their role in the creation of the city, who provide the meaning. This binary opposition of forces illustrates the argument that everyday life works by a process of *poaching* on the territory of others: individuals use the already existing rules and products in a way that is influenced, however never fully determined, by those rules and products.

Historically, the urban built environment has been marked by rich and powerful families which commissioned buildings, public works and residences. Their aim was to affirm their influence and please a political or religious figure of power; ultimately, the entire city ended up benefiting from this architecture. Nowadays, it seems like the debate around urban development revolves around the *public space*, even if public institutions and political authorities do not always recognise that working on the public space means working on the dignity of social space (Bozzato & Signorelli, 2022). In *Life between buildings* (1987), the Danish architect Jan Gehl recognises the importance of shaping space in a way that enables people to not only meet, but further engage socially. In doing

so, Gehl reclaims the centrality of the social sphere in urban planning, for what exists between buildings are public spaces, social spaces. Gehl devotes his career to question and transform the urban environment, to discover the ways in which people *use* or *can use* the spaces where they live, work, 'pass by'. He argues that '**cities are for people**', but the modern city has relegated city residents and the urban pedestrian to a subordinate status (2010). The advent of the automobile, and cities made to accommodate high-traffic, instituted the *paradox* of an urban environment which tends to alienate exactly the community it is supposed to serve. Focusing on these issues, Gehl encourages to think of all cities, even the largest, on a *small scale* - frequently neglected in urban projects. The urban environment should be considered through the human senses and experienced at slow speed. Gehl argues that facilitating walkability and cycling would also induce the creation of parks, squares and public spaces within neighbourhoods, and, consequently, help bridge the social inequalities in accessing such facilities, which are otherwise maintained in an automobile-dependent city. Another open debate revolves around the urban green spaces, dramatically important with climate change: a green city is not only more pleasant, but also healthier and safer (Bozzato & Signorelli, 2022). On a more meta-level, de Arce encourages reflecting on the very conception of a *tree*, for it brings to the attention questions about the seasons, the space and the work of *care*. Planting a tree is a projection into the future, for it emphasises the relationship between culture and cultivation: a building is able to resist over time, but a tree needs continuous care - serving as an inspiration to develop a practical and cultural relationship with a *living* world.

De Arce recognises that the biggest challenge to a more sustainable urban development is a cultural one (Bozzato & Signorelli, 2022). Authorities are used to industrial and capitalistic urban dynamics, which favour economic interests and competitiveness, over use and reuse of local resources. Deconstructing the modern and industrial city equals to breaking social segregation, according to de Arce: the strong divide between the *working-place* and *sleeping-place* has created on one side, a very structured city of services, and on the other side, a huge suburb where workers leave and return, at the service of the former. De Arce asserts that the sleeping place should be considered the city, which means giving it the opportunity to create its own places of employment and other daily needs' facilities (Bozzato & Signorelli, 2022). According to de Arce, the challenge of the 21st century requires a paradigm shift: until a few decades ago, chimneys were a symbol of the future; today they constitute enormous problems, bequeathed to the younger generations (Bozzato & Signorelli, 2022).

The 15-Minute City

The concept

The 15-Minute City builds on the concept of *chrono-urbanism*, according to which the urban territory should be considered with regard to its temporal qualification. It asserts that the quality of urban life is inversely proportional to the amount of time spent in transportation (Moreno et al., 2021). The 15-Minute City concept was introduced in 2016 by the social scientist Carlos Moreno, who advocates for an urban organisation of life where residents are able to access all their essential daily activities within 15 minutes by foot or bicycle. Several cities around the world e.g. Ottawa, Copenhagen and Melbourne have been working on similar forms of urban development, among which emerges the 20-minute neighbourhoods initiated in Portland in the beginning of the at the 2000s, which has inspired French cities like Rennes and Bordeaux (Moreno, 2020). This concept of proximity pursues the potential of a *living* city, outlining the need to repair the urban and social fragments induced by modernist approaches. The aim is to make residents strengthen their social bonds and participate more in urban life, which ultimately leads to build healthier urban landscapes. According to Moreno, this urban model allows residents to enjoy a higher quality of life, by effectively fulfilling the six essential urban social functions to sustain a decent urban life: *living, working, commerce, healthcare, education and entertainment* (Moreno et al., 2021). An illustrative example of this model can be found in Paris, where the mayor Anne Hidalgo with the program *Paris en Commun* has embraced the 15-Minute City concept i.e. *la ville du ¼ d'heure*, as a cornerstone to win her second mandate in June 2020.

Moreno sees the 15-Minute City concept being *timely* in the current era, given that the world is experiencing the fourth industrial revolution, with the ubiquitous deployment of ICT i.e. Information Communication Technology. The ICT, through the *Smart City* concept, is able to provide solutions to current urban challenges, improving service deliveries and promoting sustainable practices. Saving time from mobility, through delivery and/or proximity, is one of the core values of the 15-Minute City concept, for urban dwellers not only waste time on the roads, but are also faced with the high cost of commuting and the degradation of their life, e.g. delays, boredom and/or hyper productivity, reduction of free time. And indeed, saving on transportation also implies reduced emissions. In this framework, and having observed the challenges that cities around the world endured during COVID-19 widespread, with subsequent health measures and protocols to mitigate it, Moreno highlighted that the urban built landscape must be restructured to comply with the following dimensions:

➢ *Density*: measured in terms of people per kilometre square, aims at the *optimal* number that an area can comfortably sustain with respect to urban service delivery and resource consumption. Considering optimal density means to plan the available space to make all essential goods accessible to residents without them engaging in time- and energy-consuming transportation. This means promoting public infrastructure like bicycle lanes and walkable pathways, to minimise the need for automobiles. Optimal density promotes locally based solutions, in terms of energy generation, food supply and multiple use of available spaces. By not overcharging land use and services, optimal density has the potential to promote a more equitable distribution of civic and commercial services, in addressing specific needs of different areas and communities of varying economic status.

➢ *Proximity*: understood as both temporal and spatial. This dimension aims not only at limiting commuting time, but also at reducing environmental and economic impacts of transportation. Moreover, it allows for determining the social indicators impacting urban residents, with the aim to promote social interactions. This dimension is critical in the transition of residents among their everyday spaces and activities. The closeness of essential services allows for a better service provision in both public and commercial institutions, as the model promotes multimodal use of basic infrastructures.

➢ *Diversity*: understood as both the need for mixed use neighbourhoods including residential, commercial and entertainment components, and variety in culture and people. In fact, the adoption of mixed used neighbourhoods ensure optimal density and proximity to essential amenities, decent housing for all residents, the promotion of inclusivity, and a sustainable and vibrant urban fabric. Embracing this form of diversity has a special focus on improving service delivery to residents and promoting the liveability by maintaining property value and enhancing community participation and interaction. This is particularly important in a metropolis accommodating different cultures and people, for it promotes social cohesion and creates more social, and consequently economic, capital.

➢ *Digitalisation*: closely aligned with the Smart City concept. In fact, factors like inclusivity, resident participation and real-time delivery are highly encouraged though digital platforms. Digitalisation has enhanced proximity in terms of space, but also of time e.g. reducing the need for commuting to work, to access bank services, to shop. It has also eased security concerns, especially with regard to virtual payments. This dimension of proximity-based planning has emerged from the pandemic and is expected to stay. Additionally, the deployment of digital solutions are crucial in facilitating optimal consumption of resources,

reducing automobile use by indicating best routes, promoting automobiles or bike sharing, and enhancing job creation through innovation and tourism promotion.

The model

The 15-Minute City has been defined above as an ideal urban plan in which human essential needs and desires are met within a travel distance of 15 minutes. Indeed, this is a concept *simple* enough to resonate with a wide range of people. It was not only used by Paris' Mayor Hidalgo, but also by former HUD i.e. Housing and Urban Development's department secretary Shaun Donovan as a key to his New York City mayoral candidacy. Before it becomes a mere political slogan, this concept must be defined and clearly structured to serve sustainable planning and urban design. This concept holds the potential to enrich the practice of urbanism by: opening up a scale of planning *in-between*: bigger than the neighbourhood and smaller than the metropolitan region; focusing on the temporal dimension instead than established physical confines; complying with people's pace and means of transportation e.g. walking, running, biking or using electrical bikes or scooters; locating facilities to serve multiple neighbourhoods. Moreover, the 15-Minute City shifts the focus from an automobile-based city to a *pedestrian city*, where automobiles can be surely accommodated but do not determine the city's scale and urban form (Duany & Steuteville, 2021). Interestingly, most urban areas which built environment dates back to prior to the overwhelming proliferation of automobiles can be said to have the structure of a 15-Minute City. However, the feasibility of restoring this framework depends on dynamics of urban renewal, in-city highways, disinvestment and changes of population. For more recent urban areas, where the urban fabric is inscribed in automobile-dependent dynamics, it would be more difficult, as automobiles are not subject to spatial discipline. The 15-Minute City holds the potential to: firstly, make city socio-economically equitable, for those who do not own an automobile could easily access all their needs - on top of the current building accessibility requirements; secondly, the given area will be concentrate enough that measuring diversity produces a useful indicator; thirdly, the need for transportation is minimised, together with emissions, and the human-powered transportation is encouraged, promoting health and well-being. Finally, the favourable location of services makes them accessible by multiple modes, saves time and improves the quality of life (Duany & Steuteville, 2021).

The 15-Minute City model must be planned and evaluated according to: the list of essential services to be provided within the shed e.g. in the educational field, ranging from elementary schools to universities; the means of transport, which determine the size of the shed; and finally, the average housing density, to determine what are the possibilities and needs of the population.

The 15-Minute City implies three levels of sheds (Duany & Steuteville, 2021):

➢ The **5-minute walk shed**, which should include ordinary daily needs, preferably small businesses, a range of housing types, and a centre e.g. a public square or main street, with minimal mixed use.

➢ The **15-minute walk shed**, understood as the maximum distance most people are willing to walk to reach daily services. Therefore, within the shed a full mix of uses should be located, including a grocery store, pharmacy, general merchandise, public spaces and public schools. It should also touch on a larger park, which can serve multiple neighbourhoods, and provide access to regional transit, at least one station. This shed can also be considered a **5-minute bicycle shed**, and provides for weekly and daily needs.

➢ The **15-minute bicycle shed** should give access to major cultural, medical and higher education facilities. Regional parks and major job facilities can be found in this shed. Also, access to intercity transit should be provided, together with special needs facilities.

In addition, a walkable urban fabric is necessary for the 15-Minute City: a connected network of thoroughfares e.g. streets, passages, paths, and small blocks, is able to knit together the neighbourhood. It is not only a matter of walkability, but also of *walk appeal*, for safe, useful and attractive walking paths result in people being likely to walk longer distances (Duany & Steuteville, 2021). In particular, the urban theorist Jan Gehl has long established pedestrian sheds as a principle of a compact and sustainable city. In the 15-Minute City radius, there could be *places of discontinuity* in the street network, which cause lower walkability (Duany & Steuteville, 2021). These interruptions might be created by facilities such as large school yards, industrial sites or inactive buildings, or a major one could be constituted by arterial roads. These barriers often produce what Jacobs calls *border vacuums* i.e. confined and stunted urban life. It follows that these places of discontinuity can reduce the effective radius of the shed, impact accessibility and reduce the availability of services available in the 15-Minute City. Urban planners and local authorities can act on those problems by changing zoning, redesigning areas and providing access to vital services on the other side of the given barrier. However, it has to be said that 'imperfections' can serve purposes, the first one being lower rents.

Another matter at the core of the debate around the 15-Minute City is the role of *transit*, and in particular, public transportation (Duany & Steuteville, 2021). In fact, there have been interpretations of the 15-Minute City model in which transit was identified as an option to walking and biking to reach essential needs. Indeed, transit represents one of the human needs to provide access to in the 15 minutes radius; however, including it in the definition of the concept is controversial. This is easily explained considering that a resident riding transit needs to reach the given station, wait for

the bus or train, ride it, and walk to the final destination. The trip will be different for every starting location and destination, and will depend on a level of unpredictability, resulting in the fact that how far an individual can get in 15 minutes using transit depends on too many variables to insert in the already complicated system of a shed. Walking and biking do not depend on these variables and are essentially a door-to-door activity. Another argument revolves around the use of electric bikes and other vehicles to define the geographic area of the 15-Minute City. If it is true that small electric vehicles are inexpensive and practical means of transportation, it is also true that these vehicles have an average of 20- or 30-kilometre per hour, providing access to an 8-kilometre radius. It would result in an area too big, where planning for diversity would lose the aforementioned strengths. Therefore, transit and electric vehicles should not determine the scale of the 15-Minuty City, but should be encouraged as a way to get around, regardless of the radius.

Concrete actions taken towards the realisation of this model in Paris revolve around the: opening of school yards i.e. playgrounds converted into parks free to access for the public after school hours; the creation of citizen kiosks, called to function as local meeting spaces; and the opening of social sports clubs, combining childcare and sports practice for parents. They made it possible to translate the concept of the quarter-hour city into concrete form (Moreno, 2020). It appears essential to maximise local public spaces, green spaces and public infrastructures, to create a neighbourhood more tailored to the human scale and adaptable to the use of dwellers. The idea behind the 15-Minute City is convincing, and it seems to be materialising into action, but there is a veil of fuzziness covering it. Indeed, the 15-Minute City is an influential idea, for it fosters the vision of a walkable city, relating it with the temporal and spatial configuration of everyday life. It is immediate to imagine the benefits of meeting essential needs by means of human locomotion. Interestingly, the 15-Minute City model takes urban planning and transportation down to the personal, and surely the political level. To address its full potential to do so, the 15-Minute City must overcome clichés and slogans and, while retaining its inherent flexibility, acquire a more clearly defined structure.

A critical look at the 15-Minute City

The following aims at critically reviewing the 15-Minute City by exploring questions and confines emerged in the unfolding of the literature review. In fact, although the model has been met with general enthusiasm, it is certainly the subject of many doubts relating to its regulation, its implementation and its social value. A preliminary elaboration of these points, which can then be elaborated further, is as follows.

➢ Does the 15-Minute City imply *coming back* to a pre-modern/industrial urban model?

Although criticisms questioned this model resulting in cities being a 'patchwork' of villages, based on what presented in this literature review one could present different points of argument. Firstly, ICT has deeply penetrated the urban fabric to a point in which the vast majority of city dwellers uses it daily to navigate the city - physically thanks to GPS i.e. Global Positioning System, and digitally looking for opportunities, events and deliveries. It seems therefore unlikely that the 15-Minute City model will establish physical and digital barriers within a 15 minutes radius. It is more reasonable and advantageous that this model will strengthen the availability of services within the 15 minutes radius benefiting those who cannot do otherwise (e.g. due to age, economic situation, family or even just to personal choice), but without placing limits on those who wish to go beyond it. Secondly, when talking about a metropolis like Paris, one has to consider its long history of urban development. Starting from a small settlement on *Île de la Cité*, the city has expanded over the years up to including the whole area inside the *Boulevard périphérique*, annexing previously country areas such as *Montmartre*. Moreover, Paris went through a deep urban restructuring during the *Haussmann's renovation*, and still today maintains clear distinctions not only between the areas of *Rive Gauche* and *Rive Droite* i.e. left and right banks of the Seine, but also within those, with the north-east and south-east being the poorest areas - home to troubled and difficult neighbourhoods with a working-class history and numerous immigrant groups. Finally, from 2016 Paris is part of the *Métropole du Grand Paris*, the only *intercommunalité* of *Île-de-France*, which brings together 131 municipalities. This is to say that when talking about a city like Paris, one cannot fail to recognise its complex urban fabric, imbued with matters of history and cultural identity. The 15-Minute City should not result in an ideal model to be dropped on top of the physical and social space, aimed at disrupting dynamics constructed over time and space. Instead, it has the potential to serve as an inspiration to make better use of the already existing built and social environment, by improving and diversifying historically delineated areas, strengthening their human and cultural capital, and encouraging the creation of new connections.

➢ Is the 15-Minute City *revolutionary*?

Since the SRU i.e. *Solidarité et Renouvellement Urbain* law in 2000, terms like *density* and *functional diversity* appear to be keywords in France's land use planning, to the point that it is unlikely to find an urban planning document which does not make reference to them. With the 15-Minute City concept, Carlos Moreno joins the tradition of urban planners and experts who oppose the tendency of cities to become increasingly segregated and fragmented, promoting instead greater functional diversity through the regulations of PLUs i.e. *Plan Local d'Urbanisme*, and

innovative urban projects. A great contribution of the 15-Minute City concept can be found in the notion of *ubiquity*, which promotes a more functional management of space, in terms of adaptability of schedules and reuses of space, through the adoption of new digital tools and renewed governance models (Pontecaille, 2021). Space-optimisation approaches have historically focused on automobiles-centred planning e.g. pooling parking to minimise the space occupied by parking slots. Moreno proposes a more human-centred approach, which does not revolve around automobiles, with e.g. the opening of school yards outside school hours. The aim is to reinforce the *topophilia* i.e. an affective bond with one's environment, and the general quality of life, through a greater wealth of uses. In the light of the above, it can be said that the 15-Minute City, although not revolutionary, brings functional insights. And perhaps for this very reason, it has the potential to work. Promoting the 15-Minute City in Paris means to continue developing the contemporary city model that has prevailed for more than twenty years, by tending towards an 'intensification' of uses within existing spaces. However, it has to be said that the 15-Minute City concept is most often applied to the centre of European cities that are already built on the model of proximity, where a lot of things can already be done in 15 minutes, or even less. The real challenge, which would assume a revolutionary character, is to re-think the peri-urban where new forms of proximity have yet to be invented, and reflection remains poor (Arensonas, 2021).

➢ To what extent the 15-Minute City promotes a *social* city?

When thinking about the rich Parisian offer of shops and public facilities, the 15-Minute City might appear redundant. Is the 15-Minute City destined to remain just a new concept in the service of predatory gentrification? It does not come as a surprise that the Parisian neighbourhoods where the 15-Minute City is not a reality are the working-class ones, for they suffer from social and economic difficulties, lack of shops and are listed in the *géographie prioritaire* i.e. the identification and delimitation of the most fragile areas under city policy (Pontecaille, 2021). Therefore, to have a lasting impact on the lives of the city dwellers, the 15-Minute City model must become an integral part of the city policy. Moreover, to offer a concrete implementation of the policy in working-class neighbourhoods, the opening of public facilities is not enough. This commitment should be followed by a global consideration on the use of the ground floor, the redevelopment of degraded housing and establishment of commercial diversity (Pontecaille, 2021). Pontecaille reports that Nathalie Maquoi, the councillor for Paris within the Générations group, sees in the 15-Minute City model a way of giving meaning to the notion of the *right to the city* in the 21st century (2021). But to what extent is it possible to affirm that the 15-Minute City answers the Lefebvrian call?

➢ To what extent the 15-Minute City promotes a *democratic* city?

Citizen involvement in the social life is often considered a direct consequence of proximity, and therefore overlooked by planning stakeholders. It is at the local level that the neighbourhood councils [*conseils de quartier*] were designed in 2002, and the local projects are the ones who register more participation within the framework of the participatory budget of the City of Paris (Pontecaille, 2021). The 15-Minute City has the potential to be a ferment for local participatory democracy, but what are the tools put in place to achieve the goal? Will there be needed new representative bodies, new reception facilities, and new procedures for consulting residents? In theory, the 15-Minute City calls for an improved citizen dialogue, one which works around the question of proximity, to understand from residents themselves what they expect from proximity. In practice, the democratic value of the 15-Minute City should be closely evaluated in the planning and implementation of this model, for one might argue that the 15-Minute City is a top-down approach. Moreover, one could argue that the 15-Minute City is made for the ones who have enough means to put their blinders on less sustainable but cheaper ways of life, blaming those who cannot afford certain standards of sustainability e.g. organic food, sustainable interests, 'slow living'. By removing the car and replacing it with the bicycle, it continues to avoid the undesirables. In doing so, it can be perceived as a city closed in itself, which creates new walls. When dealing with feelings of belonging and exclusion, it is really a matter to relearn how to truly live together (Delaleu, 2022).

➢ To what extent the 15-Minute City promotes an *inclusive* city?

How to develop inclusive cities is at the centre of the current urban development debate, and has been defined in various ways, all of which include a combination of physical accessibility, development of public spaces and functional planning, to deliver a model of city accessible to everyone. Jean-Marc Offner, Director of the Bordeaux Urban Planning Agency, argues that the 15-Minute City, being built around residents, does not take in consideration other groups like tourists, students, workers, people who just come to entertain themselves. Exacerbating the local is to deny the main contribution of the big city: diversity (Arensonas, 2021). On this line, Jean Naem, social housing specialist, argues that what for someone is the 15-Minute City, results in being the city of threehours daily transport for others e.g. commuters, provincials, students in residences, day labourers, platform delivery people, cleaning ladies, because not everyone can work from home (Arensonas, 2021). Considering also the ban to access city centres with a diesel vehicle or one that is more than ten years old, the risk to exclude some social groups from the city life is elevated. Judge Jean Coldefy, former mobility manager for the metropolis of Lyon, follows up by stating that the 15-Minute City misses the essential subject: metropolises and mobility, because it makes no

sense for the 1.3 million Île-de-France residents going to Paris every day to work (Arensonas, 2021).

Conclusively, one could argue that the 15-Minute City is liable to fall into the trap of vague and fashionable semantics and regulations. Indeed, the advantage of the 15-Minute City is that the model can be applied in a way that is tailored to the given area (Pontecaille, 2021). However, this flexibility could also lead to a lack of applicability, because it has to take into account the configuration of each neighbourhood, and the intersections, overlaps and confluences of adjacent neighbourhoods. To do so, the revision of the PLU i.e. *Plan Local d'Urbanisme* appears instrumental in understanding the real implementation of this model, which heretofore seems to have remained in the political and theoretical sphere.

Methodology

Discussion of standpoints

This research seeks to understand questions of *human geography*, for it studies interrelations between people and territories, and how they vary temporally and spatially (Kitchin & Thrift, 2009). More precisely, it focuses on the processes which shape the lives and activities of people, and pursues an understanding of the world in which social relations do not operate independently of the surroundings, but are deeply rooted in and through them. The focus is on the *urban* environment, and therefore this study explores urban social dynamics and built environment, for how they are constructed and experienced.

This investigation aims to be a contemporary answer to the call of the French philosopher and sociologist Henri Lefebvre (1901-1991), in his critique of everyday life, his claim of a right to the city and his study on the production of space (1968; 1974). In doing so, Lefebvre has established a complex and holistic framework to understand urban life, questions of centrality, places of encounter and exchange, rhythms and modes of everyday life, and how to enable full and complete usage of these moments and places - revealing Lefebvre's focus on the multiple dimensions of human experience. According to Lefebvre, the *lived space* should be understood at a level in which its *use* value is more important than its exchange value, promoting a more holistic understanding of social life; accordingly, the city should be understood as an *oeuvre* i.e. a dynamic space which reflects movements, complexities and conflicts (1968; 1974). The right to the city is a collective right to change the city and shape the process of urbanisation: "the right to the city is, therefore, far more than a right of individual access to the resources that the city embodies: it is a right to change ourselves by changing the city more after our heart's desire. It is, moreover, a collective rather than an individual right since changing the city inevitably depends upon the exercise of a collective power over the processes of urbanization (Harvey, 2008, p. 23)". According to Lefebvre, the right to the city is the right to freedom, to individualisation in socialisation, to habitat and to inhabit (1968). Therefore, one can argue that the Lefebvrian call complies with the framework of contemporary urban conflicts related to the matters of participation in urban planning processes and reclaiming of ownership of the urban. However, it has to be noted that many contemporary initiatives which claim to be inspired by it, lack its radical conception. In fact, promoting a more efficient urban management, while maintaining the status quo, is just a pretence of participatory processes - which eventually increases the dominance of already powerful actors; in the same way, envisioning creative cities rooted in entrepreneurial discourses of neoliberal urbanism does not reflect a desire

for emancipation, and ends up reconfirming new, but equally unjust, power dynamics; and neither the solution could be found in planning eco-cities, if they are conceived to be technological fixes to sustainability concerns, destined to reproduce socioeconomic inequalities (Castro Seixas, 2021).

Drawing on Lefebvre's work, this study sees the urban reality as a complex social construction, where the social production of meaning affects practices and environments. Explored in its material and discursive terms, the city is understood as *participative*, *value-mediated* and *co-created* i.e. continuously shaped by social, political and cultural dynamics. Conclusively, this study engages in qualitative research using a belief system which seeks to comprehend the underlying orders of social life, in the specific context of the urban environment.

Research strategy

The research at hand is of **qualitative** nature and qualifies as a **single case study** research, for it seeks to understand the given contemporary circumstance and requires an extensive exploration and interpretation of the given social phenomena, studied in their natural setting (Yin, 2018). It has an *exploratory* objective, for this study revolves around a relatively new and not clearly defined or regulated phenomenon, with additional explicative traits. This study aims at understanding more about the topic and considering its implications; it is based on direct experiences of social actors as meaning-makers in social life. "The particular value of qualitative research lies in its ability to explore issues in depth (…) with concepts, meanings and explanations developed inductively from the data" (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003, p.267).

This research follows an **inductive approach**, for it has begun with specific observations of the world and has moved towards an abstract generalisation to reach conclusions. In other words, a picture of the given phenomenon is drawn as the research unfolds, by developing empirical generalisation and identifying relationships and patterns. It aims at making sense of the data set collected, investigating new data to codify and making sense of, by connecting it to the theory. In doing so, the case study is explored in its specific contextualisation, and the given results are discussed and further generalised.

After having familiarised with the topic and the neighbourhood, the empirical research has operated in two ways to collect new data. The collection of data is to be considered as credible and reliable as it consists of articles officially and publicly issued by Parisian authorities, and interviews[1] with individuals at the head of organisations, immersed in the public debate and who therefore holds

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[1] Interviews' recordings and transcriptions are not included in this version, but they might be requested by contacting the researcher behind this study, if deemed appropriate.

informed position on the topic at hand. Firstly, the **desk research** has included materials officially issued by Parisian authorities, which are reviewed and organised to be studied. They consist of five key-articles published on the official website of the city *Paris.fr*, which revolve around the citizen kiosk (2019, April 10), an interview to Carlos Moreno (2020, December 09), an introduction to the 15-Minute City in Porte de Montmartre (2022, May 16), a general presentation of the 15-Minute City in Paris (2022, May 23), and the opening of school yards outside school hours (2022, June 17); one key-article published on the official website of the 18ᵗʰ arrondissement *Maire18.paris.fr* focusing on its Kiosque Citoyen (2022, June 07); and final observations derived from the *Dans Ma Rue* Database (Paris DATA, n.d.). The other part of the empirical research relied on **semi-structured interviews** (see Annex 1 for the questions' template) conducted in Porte de Montmartre. Semi-structured interviews have allowed for gathering data on the topic with the certainty that relevant issues were identified, but still opening the discussion for interviewees to raise new issues which they considered relevant. This also allows for spontaneous follow-ups, and encourages a two-way, more comfortable, communication. These interviews aimed at exploring the perspective of and giving voice to particularly engaged citizens, namely those involved in associations and institutions with a social or cultural purpose. They were asked to talk about their association, the neighbourhood and finally the 15-Minute City. An additional interview which has not followed the template has been conducted with the aim to clarify unclear aspects of the PLU revision (for the list of all interviews conducted see Annex 2).

The interviews have been conducted between July and August, 2022. This is because, even if the theoretical and literature review exploration of the study at hand had started in February of the same year, material about the implementation of the 15-Minute City in Paris has only been released in the second half of May - for example the identification of four pilot neighbourhoods. On this regard, a combination of luck and personal interest for the social configuration of the area, has brought the researcher behind this study to have followed and volunteered for the organisation of the *Festival Fabrique*, at the cultural association and music venue *Hasard Ludique* - in the neighbourhood of Porte de Montmartre. Indeed, thanks to this festival, a greater awareness of the neighbourhood life was achieved, and local contacts were established. It was therefore logical to choose to work on the Porte de Montmartre neighbourhood when it was identified as one of the four pilot districts. In addition to this personal reason, and considering what described in the literature review in terms of evolution of the city, the space occupied by Porte the Montmartre results particularly interesting because located in a liminal area, which was once not part of the city of Paris. Annexed at a later stage, it nowadays stands at the edge of the city, between the urban and the peri-urban, and

constantly mediates between these two realities - still withholding the legacy of its past in its social and economic, and more generally territorial, configuration. In addition, during the visits of the neighbourhood, it was inevitable for the researcher behind this study to notice patterns and details, which will be reported in the form of **observation**.

The process of **analysis** of data has started with an investigation of the case study of Porte de Montmartre, which has unfolded by reviewing desk research material, allowing for the emergence of different analytical points of interest. By building one on the basis of the other, they create an increasingly detailed image to understand the territorial dynamics of the 15-Minute City - with references to the Paris level, to then contextualise more precisely the specific case of Porte de Montmartre. The thematic points that emerged from the desk research were then confirmed by the thematic analysis of the interviews, for they have revolved around the same nodes of interest. Therefore, it seemed appropriate to implement the new information emerging from the interviews directly in the thematic points already identified in the analysis of the desk research. When deemed relevant, observations are also inserted to provide additional insights on the perception of everyday life in Porte de Montmartre. The analysis and findings are then presented following this arrangement of data.

Reasoning and method design

The method design that has guided this research draws from Jacobs' work in exploring how cities actually function, instead than how they should work accordingly to urban authorities and planners. Going into details about *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* is beyond the scope of this study, which simply aims at recognising and taking inspiration from how Jacobs describes the real factors affecting the urban environment, and is able to evaluate and recommend strategies to improve life in the city.

This study focuses on the urban environment, and has evolved around three interests: quality of life, accessibility and participation. The process of research started with the exploration of the spatial and temporal configuration of the urban environment, connected to major problems like urban sprawl, inaccessibility and social inequalities. Considering the matter at hand has led to the formulation of a question central to this research: *is the common spatial and temporal configuration of cities convenient for their inhabitants?* Hence, the assumption that urban actors are embedded in complex power dynamics, which affect the discursive and material configuration of the urban environment. Considering that undeniable and urgent major events like the health and climate crises have exacerbated the already unfavourable and unbalanced urban dynamics, it appears more urgent

than ever to focus on these issues, not only to keep producing ideal models, but to understand the reality of urban everyday dynamics. Among the most famous proposals, the 15-Minute City appears to be a feasible, affordable and green alternative, applauded for its simple conceptualisation, and questioned for its flexible interpretation might result in just vagueness.

Therefore, the empirical exploration started with trying to understand and outline territorial dynamics with regard to key-actors and actions, to study the translation of the concept and model of 15-Minute City in the reality of Porte de Montmartre. This has been done by a first visit of the neighbourhood to contextualise it, and familiarising with information available online i.e. academic papers, journal articles and articles officially issued by Parisian authorities, to draft a preliminary process and stakeholders framework. This schema has been drafted, and continuously reassessed, to try to grasp and to make explicit the structure and actors involved in making Porte de Montmartre an example of the 15-Minute City. It appears as follows, and it will be commented in details in the next paragraph:
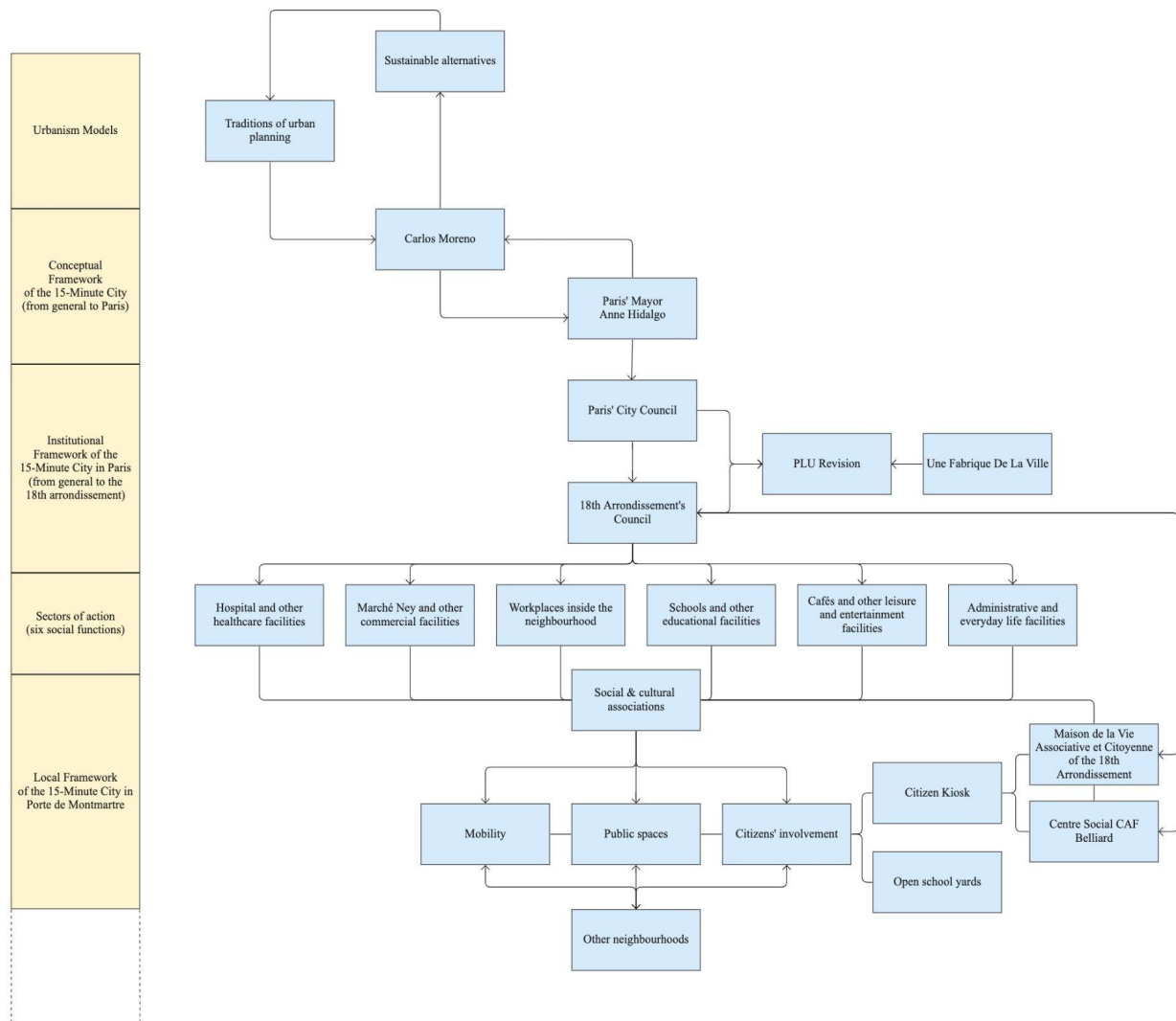

Figure 2: reasoning map to illustrate the process of method design. Made in Miro.

As already delineated in the literature review, the 15-Minute City theory arises as one of the sustainable alternatives that seeks to solve the problematic dynamics created by the tradition of planning that has long favoured a modern-industrial development of the urban environment. The social scientist Carlos Moreno is behind its theorisation and he, together with the Paris' Mayor Anne Hidalgo, has worked to make this concept specific to the urban context of Paris. The concept has been very successful, and widely appreciated in the public and political arena. However, in order not to remain confined in the political discourse, it has to find concrete application. The 15-Minute City has been criticised and questioned in its practical implications for it is not clear what tools, actors and forces should converge to make it a reality. Indeed, what appears to be complicated to understand is the institutional framework of the 15-Minute City in Paris, from the city-level to the neighbourhood-level. In fact, little information has been so far disclosed on the application of the 15-Minute City and its concretisation as a policy in Paris. One of the questions this study seeks information about is the regulatory structure of the 15-Minute City - for it claims to be a participatory model, but also requires administrative actions. Therefore, one could question if the 15-Minute City follows a bottom-up or a top-down approach, or possibly a combination of both. To investigate this sphere, the environments of Paris' City Council and 18th Arrondissement's Council have been explored, with particular regard to how the 15-Minute City is included in the revision of the PLU. To do so, the urbanism consultancy firm *Une Fabrique De La Ville*, member of the project management assistance team appointed by the City of Paris to assist in the preparation of its PLU, has been contacted.

As previously mentioned, the 15-Minute City is hereby explored in both its discursive and material aspects. Therefore, material officially issued by Parisian authorities has been collected, investigated and sorted out to create entry points in the vision the City of Paris has to take Porte the Montmartre to the rhythm of the 15-Minute City. This material has been organised in different categories for the sake of analytical clarity, but it has to be understood in its interwoven and multifaceted configuration.

At this point of the investigation, in which some key-actors and actions were already delineated, it has been fundamental to come back to the exploration of the neighbourhood of Porte de Montmartre to identify how to access the sphere of local territorial dynamics. In doing so, the neighbourhood has been looked at from a 'walking' position, to grasp its real-life dynamics and to see the rhythms and modes of the daily life of people. Following Moreno's six urban social functions, the different sectors of action have been investigated. In doing so, a particular group of actors has stood out: social and cultural associations, for they form an interconnected but varied group of local actors, which touches different facets of everyday life. In doing so, they have the potential to be extremely

aware of the needs and desires that form the real dynamics of the urban fabric. At the same time, they are composed of people who both live life as citizens, and are a conduit between citizens and institutions. For example, in proposing programs they both have to deal with a regional level of organisation, and have to reflect local needs. At this point of the exploration, whether the 15-Minute City was to be implemented with a bottom-up or top-down approach has arisen as a point of discussion, in trying to understand what was the role of social and cultural associations. In fact, the released material seemed to imply that associations were involved in the 15-Minute City, but it was not clear how. Interviewing people from different types of associations seemed fundamental to gain historical and social perspectives to explore whether urban areas can and/or should achieve the 15-Minute City goal by *organic evolution* or *legal inducement*. Themes of public spaces, mobility and citizens' involvement arose during these interviews, connected to specific actions or facilities, which will be explored further below.

Delimitations, Limitations & Assumptions

This research aims at stimulating reflection on the importance of creating urban spaces that put human capital back at the centre of the life of the city. In doing so, however, it must be recognised that there are delimitations, limitations and assumptions at the base of this study.

An important delimitation of this study relate to the fact that it focuses on a single neighbourhood. As already mentioned, focusing on such a standard geographical delimitation in a study that aims to go beyond established boundaries may seem paradoxical. The researcher behind this study is aware of the fact that the territory of the neighbourhood under consideration cannot come to encompass all the 15 minutes radii emanating from its territory. The decision to study one neighbourhood is due both to the scope and time available for the study at hand, and to a question of consistency with the development of this policy, following updates and decisions unfolding in the Paris context. To bypass this delimitation, the neighbourhood is constantly placed in dialogue with other territorial demarcations, for example the Secteur Portes, the 18th arrondissement and Paris itself - generally questioning 'limits' themselves. Moreover, another delimitation concerns the fact that both the concept of the 15-Minute City and its implementation in Paris are relatively new. This research therefore had to deal with information gaps, or rather the impossibility of drawing definitive conclusions, due to the fact that many dynamics are still evolving. Moreover, another factor of delimitation concerns the empirical choice to interview a specific section of society - in addition to the impossibility to get in touch with some stakeholders, especially those involved in the institutional sphere, who were not willing to give interviews. For these reasons, it was important to study both the vision behind and the implementation of the 15-Minute City, to try to explore all currently available sources of information.

The greatest limitation of this study probably lies in accessing information in a language and territory that are not those of origin of the researcher behind this study. To get around these limitations, effort was directed towards studying the context and 'settling' into the dynamics of the area. Indeed, it was not only a factor of language to be translated, but precisely a factor of foreignness to the French territory - which in line with the values of this research must be considered in its history and uses. It must be said, however, that interviewing members of social and cultural associations facilitated the work of integration, creating personal relationships in addition to purely professional ones. In fact, despite these limitations, this research was born out of a desire to get more in touch with the lived reality of such a rich territory as Paris. In addressing these limitations, the researcher behind this study also wants to make sense of the framework in which the

master's program, for which this study constitutes the final assessment, has unfolded: addressing sustainability and territorial development not only from sociocultural, environmental and economical points of view, but also with regard to different social contexts and reference systems. Aware of the difficulties of such a process, this study also aims to foster a renewed sense of curiosity in discovering the development initiatives of a different country, encouraging a new sense of globalisation and exchange of ideas, based on respect and collaboration - those found in the master's program.

It has to be said that this study originated out of a pervasive enthusiasm for the 15-Minute City, given its simplicity and straightforwardness. Over time, this enthusiasm faded into the need to assume a critical gaze, to distinguish the different territorial dynamics of development. Indeed, although the 15-Minute City is still considered a potentially functional strategy, especially for the clear needs that its emergence makes explicit, its implementation as a policy appears under development. In particular, this study was undertaken with the assumption that the administrative sphere could have been explored in details because it was expected to be the main carrier of change - and therefore a great opportunity to explore the dynamics of the policy of the 15-Minute City. However, the lived reality proved to be more elaborated than expected, and it is precisely the social and cultural asset of this territory that made this case study rich and illustrative. Finally, this research position itself in a qualitative-based, social-oriented research, that roots its standpoints into the framework outlined in the methodology. Had the methodological framework been different, and thus the theoretical base and the lenses through which reality is viewed, this research would have given different results - with the potential to develop towards a more sociological-philosophical and/or technical-statistical framework.

Case study

The main choices made in the scope of this research are outlined and motivated in the methodology section. Building on it, the following aims at introducing and exploring the case study. The research at hand finds its empirical inquiry in the neighbourhood of Porte de Montmartre. Identified as one of the four pilot districts in Paris for the 15-Minute City, together with *Olympiades*, *Vaugirard*, and *Place des Fêtes*, it is particularly interesting for its liminal character, as mentioned in the methodology. In addition, it is its historical and social characterisation that makes it a particularly dense, mixed and dynamic place. To summarise, the neighbourhood, originally a territory outside the city, has historically accommodated the lowest social classes; however, one has to consider that it is located within walking distance from one of Paris' most famous monuments, the Sacré-Coeur, with the tourism that this entails; moreover, its urban fabric is extremely residential and a large number of residents are applicants for some kind of financial support; interestingly, it underwent major renovation projects during the 2000s, improving the urban asset, especially mobility (Lagarde and Fierro, 1999). Despite this, it remains a land of difficulties and contradictions - but also of solidarity and hope.

Contextualisation

As previously explored, Porte de Montmartre is a land of complex social and economic dynamics. It has been included in the priority geography of the city of Paris since 1995. It therefore seems convenient for the study at hand to engage further with this intervention plan, to better understand the territory and its dynamics, and provide a characterisation of the territory.

The *Contrat de Ville* signed in May 2015 has constituted the new framework for city policy in Paris in the period 2015-2020 - subsequently extended to 2022 (Apur, 2022). It is the governance tool for coordinating the orientations and commitments among institutional, economic and associative partners at the level of each territory. In Paris, it revolves around the three main themes of *grandir, travailler, habiter* i.e. growing, working, living, and incorporates cross-cutting themes such as social ties, access to rights, gender equality, health, and the fight against discrimination. The interventions are of a very diverse nature, including reducing the gaps in academic achievement, promoting access to employment, fostering social professional integration of young people, acting on local economic development, preventing situations of precariousness, developing mobility, supporting diversity, planning urban transformations and better integrating neighbourhoods into the city (Apur, 2022). The priority geography includes two levels of intervention: the priority

neighbourhoods i.e. QPV [*Quartiers de la Politique de la Ville*], and the neighbourhoods of the previous urban contract which remain under observation i.e. QVA [*Quartiers de Veille Active*]. Under the current contract, in Paris there are 20 QPVs and 21 QVAs which are as follows:
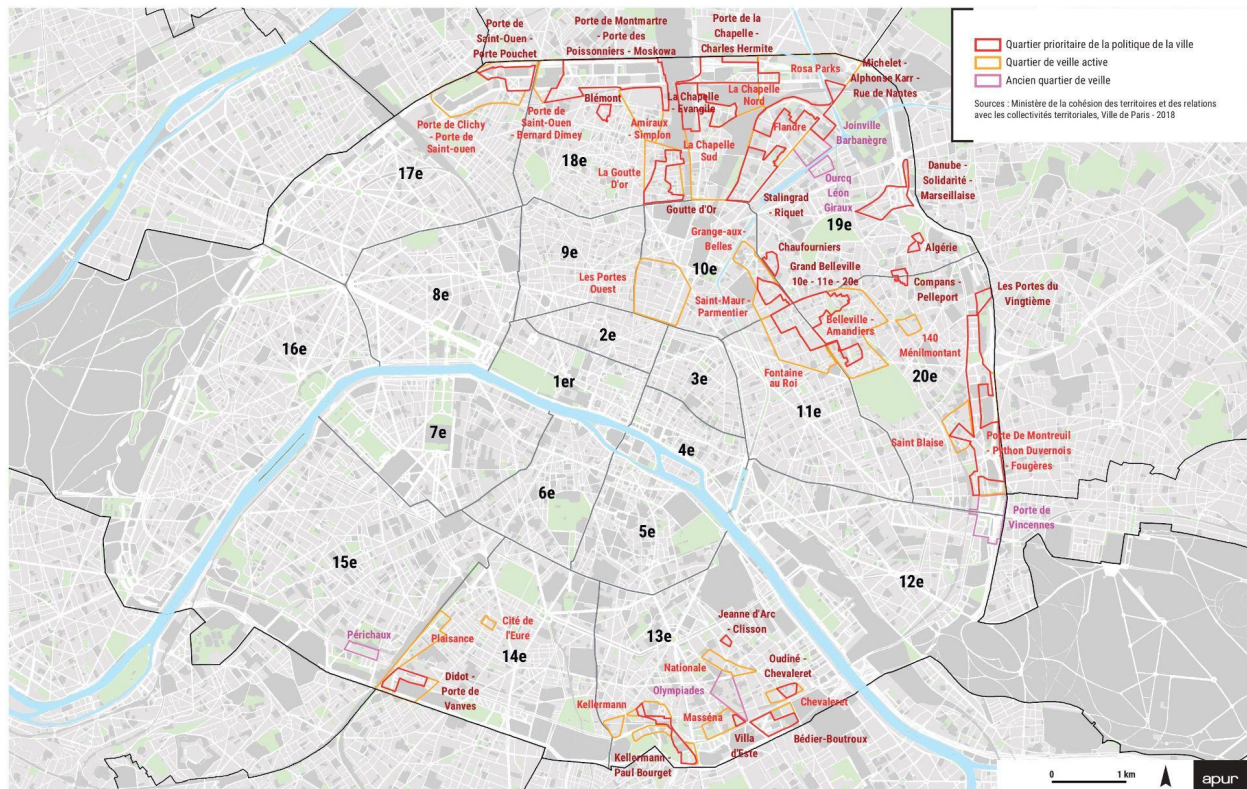

Figure 3: the Parisian neighbourhoods of the *géographie prioritaire* under city policy (Apur, 2022).

As mentioned previously, the QVAs are neighbourhoods under observation in the current contract, which means that during the duration of the previous contract they have reported improvements such as to leave the state of emergency. Their cases are differentiated, but they have in common that they do not fall any more within the characteristics of the QPV, explained further as follows.

The twenty QPVs are spread over eight districts, and they total 165 900 inhabitants on a territory of 705 hectares (Apur, 2022). Compared to the entire Parisian territory, the QPVs concentrate a higher proportion of inhabitants and vulnerable households e.g. young people, single-parent families, low-income households, inhabitants without diplomas. Recently, between the QPVs population and the general Parisian population certain social gaps have narrowed i.e. social indicators, academic success, economic dynamism, living environment. On the other side, indicators of precariousness remain high, and gaps in terms of employment and professional integration are maintained (Apur, 2022). The districts under city policy benefit from interventions aimed at improving the quality of life of the inhabitants and reducing socio-economic inequalities. With 367 000 inhabitants, the priority geography of the city of Paris represent 17% of the Parisian population, accommodated on 1 276 hectares, which is over 12% of the territory.

The territory investigated in this study is located in the outermost part of Paris, among what were once considered the access points of the city. It seems appropriate to proceed with its territorial description to better contextualize the case at hand. Although the information below are not specific in reference to Porte de Montmartre, considering how the neighbourhood is inserted into the territorial categorisations of the 18ᵗʰ arrondissement and then of the *Secteur Portes* seems appropriate in a study that discusses matters of space, borders and of land use - especially considering the 'elusive' character of a 15-minute reach, which is extremely dependent on what one considers the radius' starting point. Therefore, the following does not require an in-depth consideration, but should be used as a contextualisation to better approach the case study: for this reason a summary of the main points of this section is provided just prior to proceed with analysis and findings. Moreover, the maps (Figure 5 & 6) are instrumental to start visualising the spaces, with particular attention to the Porte de Montmartre neighbourhood.

Focus level: 18ᵗʰ arrondissement

The priority geography of the 18ᵗʰ arrondissement brings together 91 100 inhabitants, or 46% of the population of the arrondissement, over an area of 364 hectares, or 61% of the area of the arrondissement. In addition, 18% of the population of the arrondissements have a precarious job, while the Parisian average under priority geography is 14%; 12% of the flats are in poor condition, while the Parisian average under priority geography is 9%; and 14% of households have been resident for less than 2 years, almost matching the Parisian average under priority geography which is 15% (Apur, 2022). As can be seen for the data, the 18ᵗʰ arrondissement results being in a particularly precarious situation according to all indicators, with a population under priority geography that reaches the 25% of the entire Parisian population under priority geography, accommodated in a territory that is 29% of the Parisian territory under priority geography.
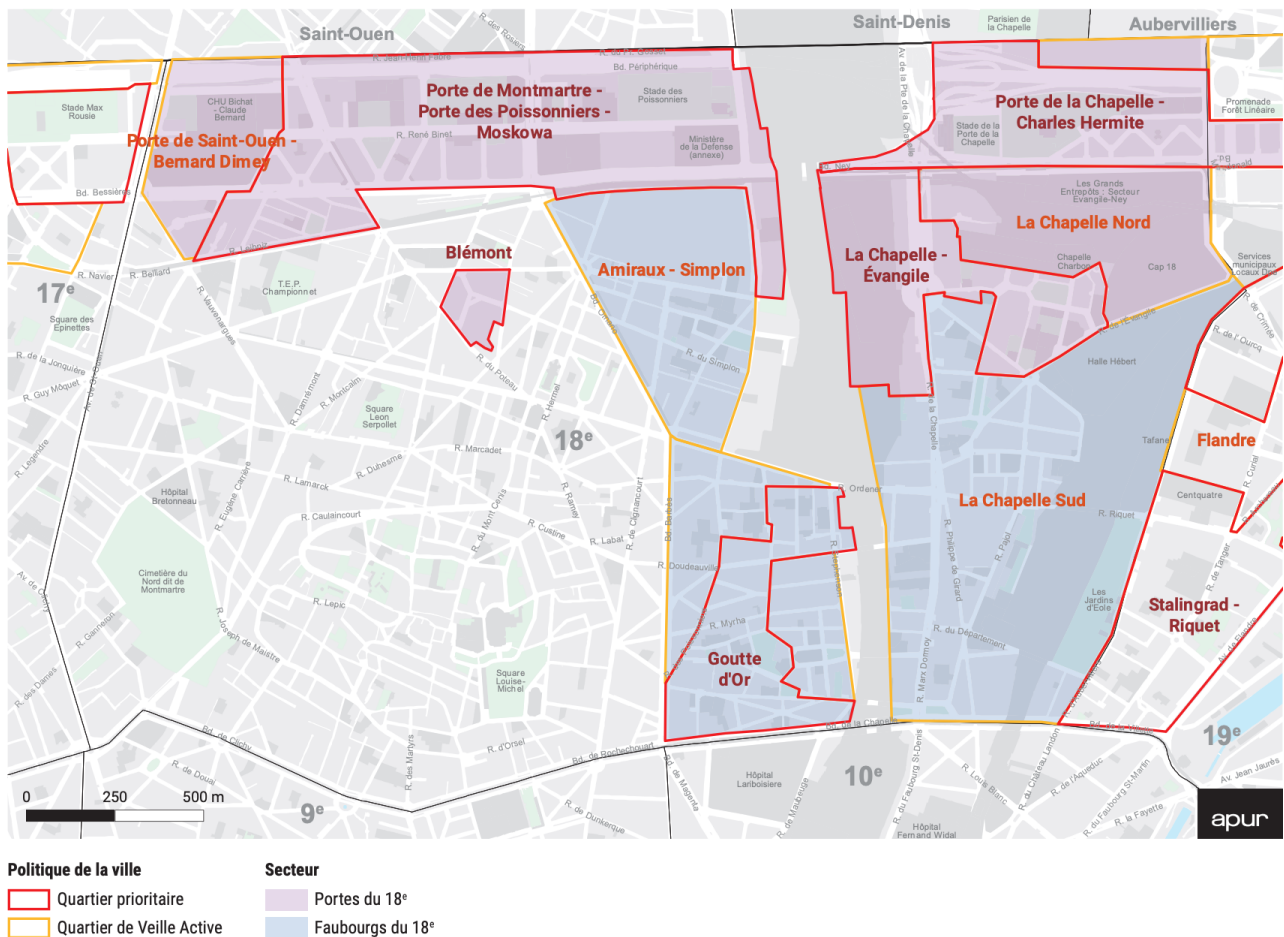
Figure 4: *géographie prioritaire* in the 18th arrondissement of Paris (Apur, 2019).

As can be seen above (Figure 4), the priority geography of the 18th arrondissement is divided into two zones: the *Secteur Faubourgs*, consisting of QPV *Goutte d'Or*, QVA *Goutte d'Or*, QVA *Amiraux - Simplon*, QVA *La Chapelle Sud*; and the *Secteur Portes*, which includes QPV *Porte de Montmartre - Porte de Poissoniers - Moskowa* together with QPV *Blémont*, QPV *Porte de la Chapelle - Charles Hermite,* QPV *La Chapelle - Évangile*, QVA *Porte de Saint-Ouen - Bernard Dimey*, and QVA *La Chapelle Nord*.

Focus level: *Portes* of the 18th arrondissement

The sector counts 35 000 inhabitants in an area of 210 hectares. Its population appears to be slightly ageing: inhabitants aged 65 or over represent 14% of the inhabitants - 13% in the arrondissement's average. One in five inhabitants is of foreign nationality, a proportion higher than the average for the arrondissement which accounts to 18%. The sector has a higher proportion of low-income households, 28% of all households, than the average of the arrondissement, which accounts to 26%. This is particularly the case in the QPV Porte Montmartre - Porte des Poissonniers - Moskowa with 36% of households on low incomes, the QPV Porte de la Chapelle - Charles Hermite with 28% of

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households on low incomes, and the QVA La Chapelle Nord with 28% of households on low incomes (Apur, 2019).

In the sector, workers and employees make up the majority of the working population, which accounts to 52% compared to 30% in the arrondissement while there are fewer manager positions which account to 21%, compared to the 41% in the arrondissement. In contrast to the trends observed throughout Paris and all the priority neighbourhoods, the proportion of managers and higher intellectual professions is falling in the QPV Porte Montmartre - Porte des Poissonniers - Moskowa, in the QPV Blémont and in the QPV Porte de la Chapelle - Charles Hermite (Apur, 2019).

This sector counts a total 1 566 secondary school students and 1 400 high school students, the majority of whom attend public schools, 81% of secondary school students and 85% of high school students. Five public secondary schools are located in the sector, characterised by a decline in enrolment, and a large number of scholarship students (Apur, 2019).

In the part of the sector situated on the west of *Gare du Nord*'s railway tracks, there is a strong network of associations and numerous facilities, particularly for health, and youth and elderly support (Apur, 2019).
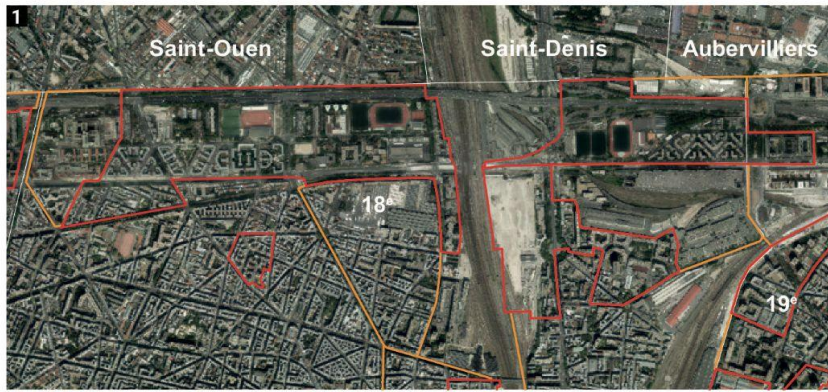
The commercial fabric is poorly developed in the area: except for the QPV Blémont with 31 shops per 1 000 inhabitants, the other areas count an average of 10 shops per 1 000 inhabitants, compared with an average of 28 per 1 000 inhabitants in Paris - the QPV Porte de Montmartre - Porte des Poissonniers - Moskowa counts precisely 11 shops. Commercial and service facilities of less than 50 square metres are the majority, however there are several facilities between 300 and 1 000 square metres, including several mini-markets e.g. Franprix, LDL, G20, Carrefour City, and non-food shops e.g. gym, Decathlon, Point P, and several shops of more than 1 000 square metres e.g. Carrefour, Chronopost, Darty, Métro, DIY stores, and car dealers. Wholesale activities are over-represented, as are food shops. Commercial vacancy is higher than the Paris average and has increased over the last period, particularly in the QPV Porte de Montmartre - Porte des Poissonniers - Moskowa, with 16% of premises, the QPV La Chapelle - Évangile with 15%, and the QVA La Chapelle Nord with 17% - compared to 9% in Paris (Apur, 2019). Between 2014 and 2017, there were more changes in retail activities in the sector than in Paris, particularly in the QVP Porte de la Chapelle - Charles Hermite where 45% of premises changed activities, particularly hotel and restaurant activities - compared to 21% in Paris (Apur, 2019).

The area enclosed by the *Boulevards des Maréchaux*, the *Boulevard périphériqu*e and the rail network of the *Gare du Nord* has less available public transport services than the rest, with three metro stations i.e. lines 4, 12, 13. While the tramway T3b in the eastern part of the sector allows all inhabitants to be less than 7 minutes' walk from a heavy public transport station, the western part of the sector is less covered, particularly around the Marcel Sembat square or the Poissonniers sports centre (Apur, 2019).

The east of the sector is concerned by the development projects GPRU [*Grand Projet de Renouvellement Urbain*] which began in 2002, Chapelle International which concerns housing, shops, equipment and offices, the Chapelle Charbon which concerns a park, the Chapelle Condorcet which concerns university facilities, the Gare des Mines Fillettes which concerns a sports hall, and the Hébert which concerns offices and housing projects. These large-scale projects are envisioned to rethink the supply of facilities and diversify the sector's housing stock (Apur, 2019).

There are relatively few green spaces open to the public i.e. the René Binet garden to the west, and the Charles Hermite square and the Rachmaninov garden to the east, but large areas are dedicated to sports facilities. The public space is confronted with negative and passive occupation, such as the prolonged presence of young people in the public space, episodes of prostitution, overcrowding and drug abuse. The west of the sector is particularly marked by street vending, and other difficulties like dirtiness, fights between young people from the 18th and 19th arrondissements and a concentration of drug sales and consumption around the Porte de la Chapelle. In addition, there are many people living on the streets (Apur, 2019).

This area has also been involved in thirty-five projects of participatory budget, which has focused on sport, commercial facilities and public spaces. To the west of the Gare du Nord rail network, fifteen projects are being implemented, half of which concern sport i.e. the renovation of the Poissonniers sports centre and the Bertrand Dauvin centre, and installation of fitness equipment in the Poissonniers sports park. Other projects concern urban agriculture and public space i.e. installation of children's playgrounds on rue Auguet, and development of the square on rue André Messager and a green corridor between rue Binet and rue Francis de Croisset. On the other side, the east of the railway lines, twenty projects correspond to the renovation of commercial facilities and improvements to the living environment i.e. the development of the Rachmaninov and Charles Hermite squares, the creation of a public garden in the impasse de la Chapelle, and the renovation of the bandstand in Paul Robin Square. Others include the refurbishment of the Glisse Paris 18 area and the creation of a studio at the Espace Jeunes La Villa (Apur, 2019).
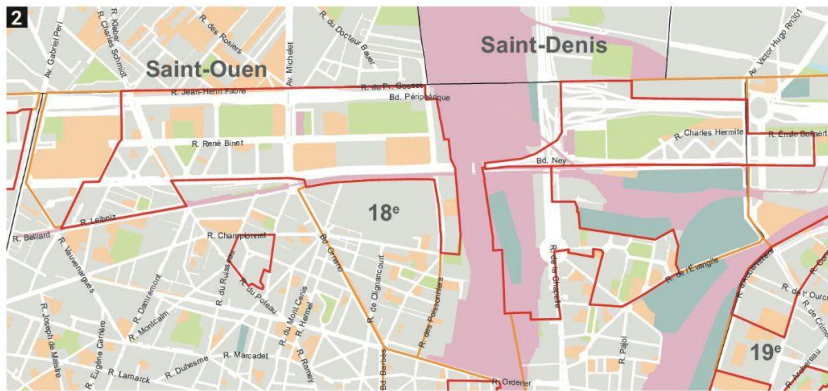
Figure 5: illustration of various aspects of the Secteur Portes (Apur, 2019).
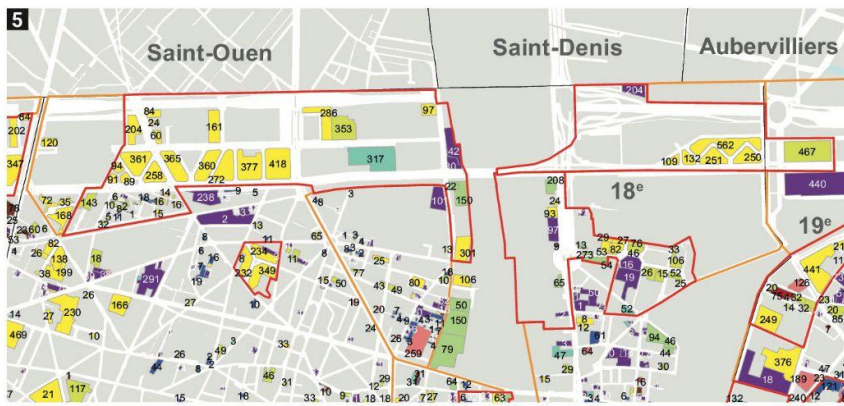
5 LOGEMENTS SOCIAUX PAR CATÉGORIE DE PROPRIÉTAIRE

- Adoma
- Batigère
- Habitat Social Français
- Immobilière 3F
- Logement Francilien
- Paris Habitat
- Rivp
- Sablière
- Sageco, Efidis
- Sgim, Semidep, Elogie
- Siemp
- Autres bailleurs

Source : RPLS Version Loi 01/01/2017

6 ACCESSIBILITÉ DES GARES ET STATIONS DU RÉSEAU TC LOURD

- gare RER et Transilien
- station de métro
- station de tramway
- bus mobilien et noctilien
- autre bus
- accessibilité réelle à 500 m (soit 7 mn à pied)
- accessibilité réelle à 1 km (soit 15 mn à pied)

Source : STIF - 2017, BDTopo IGN - 2016
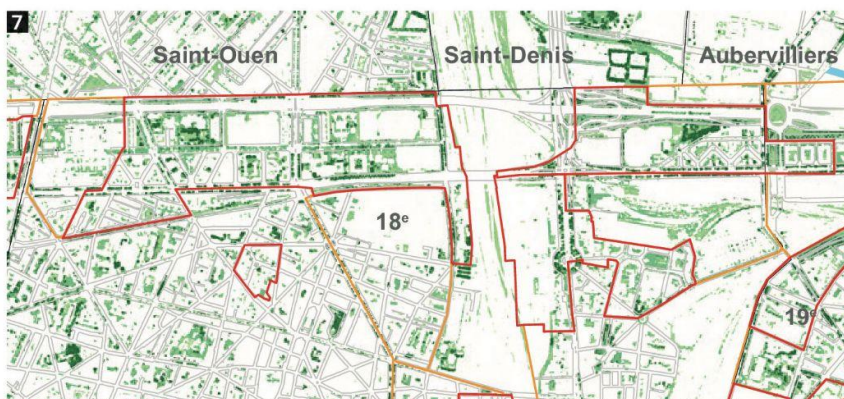
7 RÉPARTITION DE LA VÉGÉTATION

Hauteur de la végétation
- plus de 10 m
- de 1 à 10 m
- moins de 1 m

Source : Apur photo proche infrarouge - MNE - MNT 2015 - © Aérodata
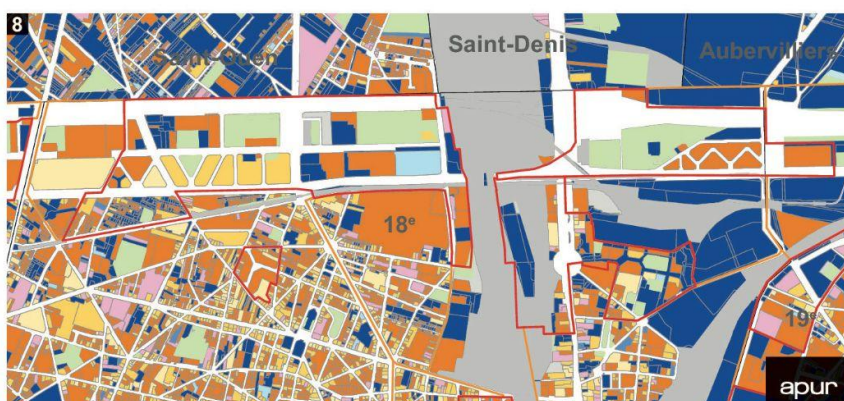
8 MIXITÉ ACTIVITÉ / LOGEMENT

Dominante activité
- 90 à 100 %
- 80 à 90 %
- 70 à 80 %

Dominante logement
- 90 à 100 %
- 80 à 90 %
- 70 à 80 %
- pas de dominante
- espace vert, cimetière
- aire de stockage, voie ferrée…

Sources : MAGIC DGFIP 2013-2016, DRIEA 2013

Figure 6: illustration of various aspects of the Secteur Portes (Apur, 2019).

Focus level: Porte de Montmartre

In the light of the gradual contextualisation provided above, the following will now approach to introduce the territory of the case study per se. The neighbourhood Porte de Montmartre is located between *Porte de Saint-Ouen* to the west and *Porte de Clignancourt* to the east, and from *rue Belliard* to the south and the town of *Saint-Ouen* to the north (Figure 1).

Originally a *non aedificandi military zone* i.e. an unbuildable-military land, after the siege of Paris in 1870, this area was abandoned by the army and occupied by an extremely poor population, creating the largest *bidonville* in France. The area was characterised by the activity of rag picking, with its many *biffins*. In 1930, it was annexed to the city of Paris, and the wasteland were used to build the HBM i.e. *Habitations à Bon Marché* - the distinctive red brick buildings which, still today, characterise the area (Gourio and Durand, 2014). The area investigated in this study encompasses two areas of priority geography: the QPV Porte de Montmartre - Porte de Poissoniers - Moskowa, and the QVA Porte de Saint-Ouen - Bernard Dimey, introduced as follows.

The QPV Porte de Montmartre - Porte de Poissoniers - Moskowa covers an area of 56 hectares and accommodates to 12,100 residents (Apur, 2019). It is particularly dense, and it is characterised by the presence of large public facilities e.g. daycare nursery, schools, sports, leisure and health facilities, but it suffers from deep urban divisions, which are sources of nuisance and noise (Apur, 2016). The area has been part of the GPRU i.e. *Grand Projet de Renouvellement Urbain* undertaken by the city in 2002, an agreement between several partners including the city, the state and the region (Apur, 2016). The district has 5 300 main residences, 78% of which are occupied by tenants of the social housing stock, mainly managed by the city's public housing office *Paris Habitat*. There is a significant proportion of applicants for social housing among all households, reaching 27% of applicants. A total of 1 200 social housing units were financed in the neighbourhood between 2001 and 2017 when the neighbourhood has benefited from transformations such as the creation of new facilities and housing on *rue Binet*, the residentialisation work along *Boulevard Ney*, and the rehabilitation-extension of the tower block located on *Avenue de la Porte de Saint-Ouen*.

The residential character of the area explains the low presence of jobs and shops. It is also important to note that in 2009, the *Carré des biffins* was officially recognised, legalising around 200 spots for selling on the pavement salvage and second-hand goods. To conclude, the buildings are of good quality and fit into the Parisian urban landscape. However, large urban barriers e.g. the *périphérique* i.e. Paris' ring road, and *Boulevard des Maréchaux - Ney*, unsettle the flow of local life.

The population is almost equally divided between males and females, the former 49% and the latter 51%. Among these, 20% is over 60 years of age and 34% is under 25 years of age - while in Paris 22% is over 60 years of age and 27% is under 25 years of age. The demographic dynamism of the district is also linked to a high birth rate: almost 19 births per 1 000 inhabitants, compared to 13 per 1 000 on average in Paris (Apur, 2016). The area is also characterised by a high proportion of foreign nationals, reaching 24% of the inhabitants, which has increased over the period, in connection with the establishment of emergency or accommodation structures (Apur, 2019).

The QPV shows signs of precariousness of population: it accommodates households with one of the lowest income levels among the priority neighbourhoods: 36% of households are low-income households, a proportion that has remained stable over the recent period; and single-parent families, with a parent who is employed, a worker or not working accounts for the 29% of families. The district also has a high proportion of RSA recipients counting 20% of households - RSA i.e. *Revenu de Solidarité Active* is a benefit aimed at reducing the barrier to return to work. The activity rate is 67%, which is lower than the average in the priority neighbourhoods, which is 72%. Two-thirds of the active population are employees and manual workers, and this trend is increasing. Conversely, executives and higher intellectual professions represent 12% of the working population. The proportion of young people experiencing difficulties in finding employment has fallen recently, but remains high, considering that 16% of the young population are neither in employment nor in study (Apur, 2019).

The QVA Porte de Saint-Ouen - Bernard Dimey accommodates 3 700 inhabitants in an area of 21 hectares. The district is made up of 1 900 primary residences, mainly occupied by tenants in the private sector, around 43%, and owners, around 28%. A quarter of the main residences are occupied by tenants from the social housing stock managed by Paris Habitat. Built mainly between 1990 and 2000, the social housing stock includes a significant number of large dwellings, with 4 rooms or more (Apur, 2019).

There has been a decrease in population of 7% between 2009 and 2014. The population of the area has changed in recent years: there are more inhabitants aged 65 and over, which account to 18%, compared to 13% on average in all QPVs, and fewer inhabitants of foreign nationality which account to 15%, compared to 21% on average in all QPVs; the inhabitants are increasingly active, reaching 77% compared to 72% on average in the QPVs; there are more working executives, reaching 33% compared to 23% on average in all QPVs, and fewer workers and employees, reaching 35% compared to 49% on average in all QPVs; low-income households represent 20% of households, compared to 26% on average in all QPVs (Apur, 2019).

A quarter of the working population is unemployed, reaching 24% compared to 25% on average in all QPVs, with the number of jobseekers rising slightly faster than in the Paris region. Among the jobseekers, the number of people over 50 years old is increasing, reaching 29%. There are fewer young people experiencing difficulties in finding employment: 11% of young people were neither in employment nor studying in 2014 (Apur, 2019).

To recapitulate and conclude, the neighbourhood explored in this case study appears marked by different territorial dynamics. Before continuing with the analysis and findings it seems convenient to recall the main points of this contextualisation. Firstly, the priority geography is an important objective of sustainable development in Paris, for almost a quarter of its inhabitants are under it. Secondly, entering the context of the 18th arrondissement, almost half of this arrondissement is under priority geography. Furthermore, the number of people in priority geography in the 18th arrondissement constitutes a quarter of the priority geography of the whole of Paris. Therefore, it appears clear that this district should be at the centre of research and development. The population here appears deeply mixed and in a difficult situation from different points of view e.g. educational, social and economic. Particularly in Porte de Montmartre, intellectual jobs are in decline, a third of households are low income, and there is a low number of economic activities i.e. almost a third of the Parisian average - but still within the average of the surrounding area. On the other hand, transport has been well structured and there are many projects developed thanks to the participatory budget.

Moreover, it is interesting to notice that in such a territorially characterised space, clear differences in social, economic and structural terms can be identified. In particular, the Porte de Montmartre neighbourhood unites two areas of the priority geography of Paris: one still in a state of emergency, and the other in a state of observation. In summary, in the QPV the reports have described a reinforcement of the socio-economic gaps between the neighbourhood and the rest of Paris: an ageing population, a drop in the activity rate of the inhabitants, an increase in the proportion of employees and workers among the active population, an increase in the number of jobseekers, and a rising proportion of foreigners. These changes can be explained in part by the composition of the housing stock exclusively social-oriented, part of which corresponds to very low-rent housing, which accommodates households with a combination of economic and social difficulties. On the other hand, in the QVA, the indicators show a decrease in the socio-economic gaps between the QVA and the rest of Paris: an increase in the share of managers among the working population, a decrease in the share of young people neither employed nor in study, a decrease in the share of foreign nationals, and an increase in the activity rate (Apur, 2019). These two situations make it

possible to see the territory in its evolution and to observe the development of territorial strategies implemented in the area. Nevertheless, making this difference with a strict territorial division within the neighbourhood does not fall within the scope of this analysis, but knowing that there is a territorial strategy that has created movement within the neighbourhood towards sustainable development is relevant to considering the case at hand.

Analysis and findings

In the light of the methodology and the presentation of the case study provided in the previous sections, this chapter approach the analysis and presents the findings of the empirical research. By providing description and data emerged from the desk research and interviews, the following will unfold initially making needed references to the general context of the Paris case, to go further into details in the case study of Porte de Montmartre. At the end of this section, a map with the main services and facilities of Porte de Montmartre mentioned in this study is provided to visualise issues on the territory (Figure 10).

The 15-Minute City was conceptualised around three challenges: the ecological one to achieve carbon neutrality by 2050, the economic one to reduce poverty, and the social one to fight against exclusion - with solutions to be adapted to the local conditions of each territory (Paris.fr., 2020, December 09). For Paris to become the city of proximity it requires rethinking the use of existing facilities e.g. school yards, imagining new ones e.g. citizen kiosks [*kiosques citoyens*] and social sport clubs, and adapting the local management of certain public services (Paris.fr, 2022, May 23). The 15-Minute City is presented as a 'bet' and a new urban form (Paris.fr, 2022, May 23). The implementation of the concept of the 15-Minute city will require, in the long term, an intervention on the whole of the Parisian territory so that all the inhabitants have access to a common base of services and facilities. The following image is inserted as an ideal model of a Paris neighbourhood.
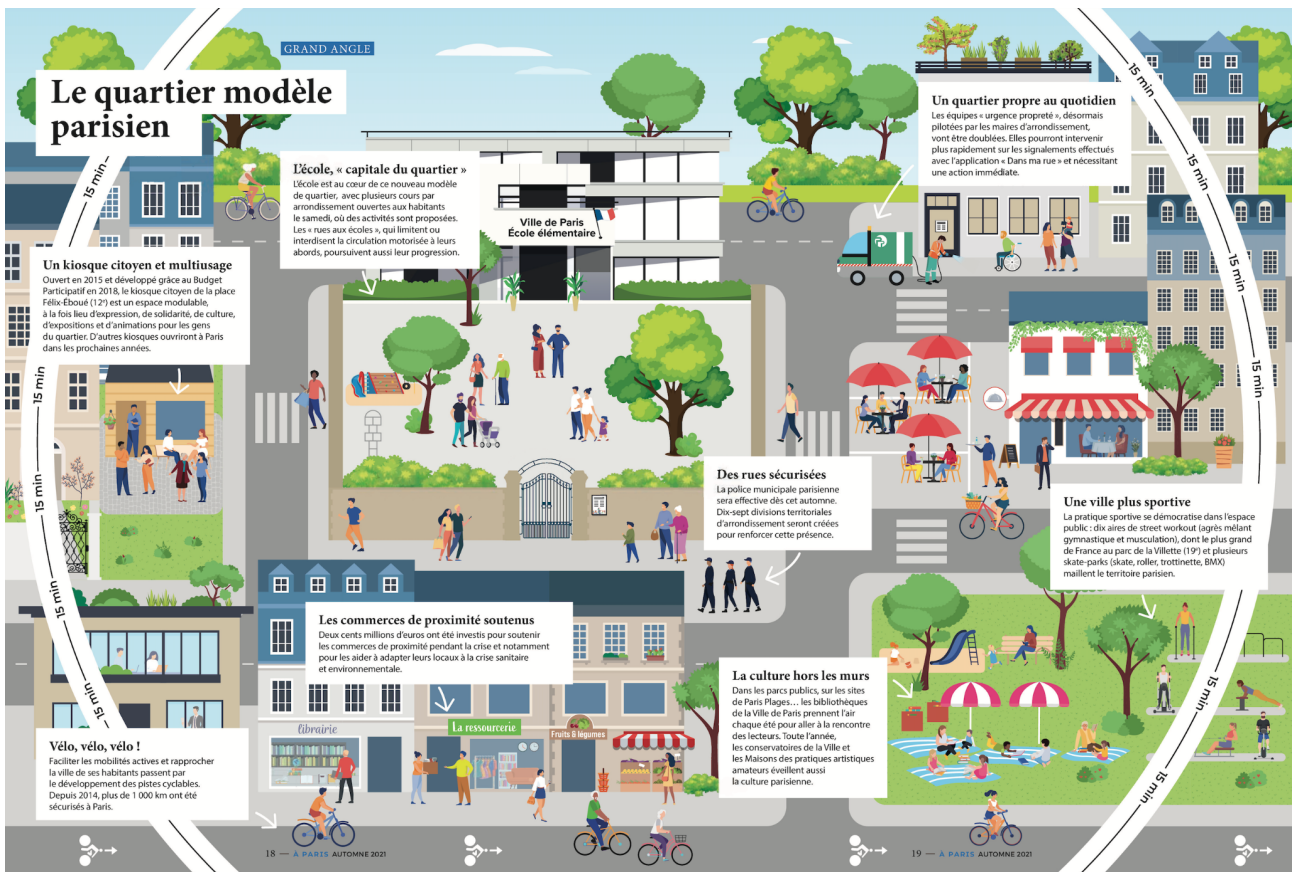
Figure 7: the model district of the 15-Minute City (Paris.fr, 2022, May 23).

The article makes reference to the idea that, in the 1990s, technique was expected to solve the problems related to urban spatial fragmentation e.g. developing metro, to go further and faster. Given that this perspective has led to harmful consequences on the life of the inhabitants, and environmental and climate impact, Carlos Moreno enhances the need for de-mobility (Paris.fr, 2022, May 23). When talking about Paris, he recognises that Paris is both a global city [*ville monde*] and a city unbalanced between east and west, between north and south; he calls for a re-balancing to operate, in particular at the economic, housing and job level (Paris.fr., 2020, December 09). On this regard, Sébastien Harlaux, Associate Project Director from *Une Fabrique de la Ville*, emphasised how although in the political discourse the definition of Paris as an attractive and global city remains important, the effects of mass tourism, COVID-19 and climate change have made this dimension less important than before. And it is exactly in these dynamics, that a concept like the 15-Minute City appears to be so popular in a city like Paris (Annex 2, J).

In order to implement the 15-Minute City in Paris, Moreno identified three steps: first, the political will to move towards this direction; second, the production of administrative and financial tools to encourage the policy, by creating a delegate of the 15-Minute City in each arrondissement; and eventually, the stimulation of all the actors concerned, by encouraging functional diversity (Paris.fr,

2020, December 09). In this way, the 15-Minute City aims at questioning the way current society experience commuting, challenge the under-utilisation of the built environment, and counter the tendency of anonymity of life widespread in the modern city - encouraging a more peaceful and convivial city (Paris.fr, 2020, December 09).

On the use of the school yards

Moreno identifies the school as both a place of social intermingling and diversity, and a common reference point for everyone. For this reason, the school is defined as the 'capital' of the neighbourhood, a place able to create social links between the inhabitants (Paris.fr, 2020, December 09).

The city of Paris has opened a continuous call for applications to identify which scholastic institutions should be opened on Saturdays (Paris.fr., 2022, June 17). Schools will no longer be only for students: the project envisions renovated and vegetated school yards, to welcome dwellers and provide recreational, sport and cultural activities. These meeting places give associations, mainly local ones, the opportunity to make themselves known by the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, by offering activities or using part of the courtyard for rehearsals or training. The city of Paris provides the use of the yards free of charge to the associations, and is responsible for the guarding and cleaning of the yards (Paris.fr, 2022, May 23). Activity projects target local residents of all ages: children, young people, adults, families, and the elderly, and are selected by the mayor of the given arrondissement.

Paris has a very dense territorial network, and counts 759 schools [*écoles* and *collegès*] therefore primary and secondary school, and 430 nurseries in total (Paris.fr, 2022, June 17). From January 2021, the public opening of school yards has been tested, achieving great success from the attendants of activities and meetings (Paris.fr, 2022, May 23). The most recent update is from May 14th, 2022, when 42 school yards and 28 nurseries have been opened to the public each Saturday, except for the summer break (Paris.fr, 2022, June 17). Nurseries provide premises suitable for the youngest, and are open on Saturday morning; while school yards are open from 10am to 7pm (5pm during winter). Admission is free, but children under 12 years old must be accompanied by an adult even if a professional caretaker is present at each site. To extend the concept even further, school streets are also envisioned to be pedestrianised and animated (Paris.fr, 2022, May 23).

As it can be seen in Figure 5 & 6, Porte de Montmartre, and more in general the Secteur Portes, presents an adequate number of school buildings. Among these facilities, the following partake in the open school yards initiatives and falls within the neighbourhood of Porte de Montmartre: the school Jardin d'Enfant Polyvalent and the Crèche Bernard Dimey (Paris.fr, 2022, June 17).

However, the interviews conducted reported that none of the associations interviewed had already taken part in initiatives held in school yards (Annex 2). In addition, Christine Le Gall, Director of the *Centre Paris Anim' Binet*, stated that she would have liked to use the school buildings on Saturdays, but found the space inaccessible. Indeed, without access to the toilets, she found it impossible to ask the participants to stay for a two-hour activity, and without permission to use the indoor premises during the colder months - her project takes place between September and December - she could not guarantee the smooth running of the activities (Annex 2, F). On the other hand, Myrina Durand, Coordinator of the *Petit Ney*, stated that for her, it would be impossible to hold activities in the school yards on Saturdays, because that is the day in which they have the biggest number of activities already planned inside the café (Annex 2, L).

On sport

As already mentioned, the opening of school yards offer physical activity for children; however, the 15-Minute City also covers activities for adults with the creation of *Sport social clubs*, which would allow parents and children to enjoy sport related activities close to home and for free - and also parents to benefit from childcare or help with homework if this need arises (Paris.fr, 2022, May 23). Around this initiative, sport activities in the streets and gardens will be developed and secured, by creating new sports routes and free outdoor areas (Paris.fr, 2022, May 23). From the conducted interviews, it was reported that sports social clubs are not yet a reality in Porte de Montmartre (Annex 2). Concerning sport activities to be held outside, the neighbourhood has welcomed the *Aire Sportive Dans la Rue*, a free-access, open-air fitness trail (Paris.fr, 2022, May 16). Interestingly, this already multifunctional space appeared to be utilised in even more ways than expected: in fact, the visits to the neighbourhood revealed that the fitness trail was also used as a simple seating spot where the elders found shelter from the heat, and kids entertained themselves by playing and hiding. As it can be seen from Figure 5 & 6, the *Centre Sportif Bertrand Dauvin* falls within the neighbourhood. The latter has been improved thanks to the participatory budget [*budget participatif*] in 2018. The renovation works increased the capacity for football, converted the handball fields into an 8-a-side football field, with the option of two 5-a-side football fields, and renewed the athletic fields and basketball courts - all inaugurated in 2020. The renovation of the tennis courts is currently undergoing (Paris.fr, 2022, May 16). From the interview with José Gil, an employee of the sport centre, it emerged that the centre is very popular among the local population, and that the renovation works were appreciated by the community - which reacted with great participation. The centre is open to and frequented by all kind of inhabitants, and also serves an

extra role: its changing rooms allow those who cannot do otherwise to use the showers, which remain open and free for all (Annex 2, B).

On promoting culture

Regarding the promotion of **culture**, the idea is to develop local artistic platforms to bring culture closer to the inhabitants (Paris.fr, 2022, May 23). These places are meant to host activities outside the walls of major Parisian cultural institutions, for cultural professionals and residents are encouraged to co-use the place (Paris.fr, 2022, May 23). The article on Paris.fr (2022, May 16) creates a map of the neighbourhood facilities, where it mentions some of the socio-cultural associations in the neighbourhood, which are as follows.

The *Bibliothéque Jacqualine de Romilly*, which has been entirely rebuilt in December 2013, plays a central role in the neighbourhood. Part of Paris' network of libraries, this facility does not only allow the residents to consult and borrow books, magazines, and DVDs, but a large room of animation allows them to meet around exhibitions, projections, conferences and debates; interestingly, during summer, the library settles its stands out of its walls, in the René Binet gardens (Paris.fr, 2022, May 16). Interviews revealed that there is difficulty in involving the local population, who would not independently go to the library. Organising events, especially in cooperation with other associations, is a way to make the library known and frequented and, eventually, to get those 'distant' [*éloignés*] inhabitants to read (Annex 2, D1 & D2).

The *Centre Social et Culturel la Maison Bleue* has as its objective to improve the quality of the daily life of dwellers, to make their voice heard, to support and promote their taking of responsibility in social life (Paris.fr, 2022, May 16). It organises territorial project elaborated by the inhabitants, the volunteers, the local actors and the institutional partners, to meet everyone's needs in the access to rights, language, and education, providing family workshops, adult and youth workshops, children's activities, as well as senior activities. The centre operates by trying to create opportunities to bring out the best in people, for the real wealth of the neighbourhood is in its inhabitants (Annex 2, I).

The tier-lieu *Le Hasard Ludique*, is located in a former station of the *Petite Ceinture*, and has been open since April 2017. The place is described as a hybrid cultural third place, which 'puts the station back at the heart of the life' of the neighbourhood (Paris.fr, 2022, May 16). The programming is mainly musical, but workshops are also proposed. Each year, the Hasard Ludique opens its doors to the *Festival Fabrique*, co-created with local residents, where the concert hall, the workshop rooms, the rails, and even the entire neighbourhood, become its playground. The participation of local population in the organisation and the festival itself was high, engaging in

themes that could invite and bring people together. From the observations, it was possible to see that the inhabitants themselves were confused about territorial borders, for the Hasard Ludique is a place located on the border of the 17th and 18th arrondissement - with this 'division' not strictly perceived by the population.

The theatre *Étoile du Nord*, was created in 1979. It is a space dedicated to young creation and emerging artists, which places experimentation at the heart of its programs. It is described as a bridge between the creators and the public, for it, in parallel to its inside activities, creates cultural and artistic occasions outside its walls (Paris.fr, 2022, May 16). The interview revealed that the theatre had difficulty involving the local population: in fact, performances are normally attended by the 'blond, cultured theatre-goers', who do not reflect the inhabitants of the neighbourhood (Annex 2, C). By diversifying their program, establishing partnerships with other associations, and especially by doing family activities, they noticed that local participation increases. This approach has solved several problems. First, parents would not have to leave their children behind to go to the theatre. Second, the fact that 'French comedy' is felt to be distant from the life of the local population. And finally, the economic factor, so they instituted a reduced membership called *Voisin Voisine*, for residents of 17th, 18th, 19th and Saint Ouen - the last season, 8% of spectators of all shows had this card (Annex 2, C). On accessibility, they challenge the question of the legitimacy of the theatre - whereas other theatres, for example in the city centre, do not pose the problem of attracting a diverse audience. This is also influenced by the fact that groups tend to stay 'among themselves' and not mingle. The Étoile du Nord do not demand that everyone come to the theatre, but they want everyone to know that there is a theatre they can go to (Annex 2, C).

The *Centre Social CAF Belliard* is a social centre managed by the *Caisse d'Allocations Familiales* of Paris. It is open to all the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, offering educational and cultural activities and services, in a family-oriented and intergenerational spirit, aimed at strengthening social cohesion (Paris.fr, 2022, May 16). From the interview, it appeared that the centre is a window [*fenêtre*] on the neighbourhood. There are two universes in this neighbourhood: a very low-class [*populaire*] and precarious one, and a fashionable [*bobo*] and gentrified one - with tensions between the two groups on the utilisation of space, for every social group wants to create its own equipment. Here, we have very local, popular associations, and some which, following gentrification, respond to the new population (Annex 2, K). Certain associations, like the Hasard Ludique and the REcyclerie, are perceived as *bobos*, because they promote topics like healthy food, urban agriculture, and all 'nice things' [*choses sympa*], but far from the population that historically inhabits the neighbourhood. Tensions are created precisely because these two groups have to do co-habit the same public space, with different uses and actors (Annex 2, K). This raises questions

such as which place is left for 'poverty' in the 18th arrondissement of Paris, matters of visibility, and of the legitimacy of living and representing culture (Annex 2, K). These two groups are living side by side, but the aim is to create a world where they can live together; moreover, in between these two groups, there is the middle class, which is becoming more and more precarious. This is particularly a problem because the middle class has the potential of being a mediator, because it has the codes of both groups (Annex 2, K).

La REcyclerie is also located in a former station of the *Petite Ceinture*. It reunites three stakeholders: first, *sinny&ooko*, a company which creates and manages 'tiers-lieu' in Paris i.e. Le Pavillon de Canaux, La Cité Fertile and le Bar à Bulles, and which owns the restaurant; second, the association *Les Amis Recycleurs*, in charge of ateliers, planning and animation; and third, the company *Veolia*, which contributes with funding (Annex 2, H1). Its ambition is to make the neighbourhood aware of eco-responsible values, in a playful and positive way, around the 3 Rs of reduce, reuse, recycle. Here, collaborative and 'do it yourself' initiatives are what guides the place in its conception, programming and catering offer (Paris.fr, 2022, May 16). From the interview, it has emersed that at La REcyclerie they know they are 'accused' of being *bobo*, and that some locals do not feel comfortable visiting the place or join its activities. For eight years, they have been working to create an inclusive space, with many activities, in which there is also the possibility to enter without ordering, and use Wi-Fi for free. However, the gap continues to be there: they want to spread the message that everyone is welcome, but it would not pass (Annex 2, H2). From the interviews it results that La REcyclerie attracts three types of visitors: the bobos, which mainly go to the restaurants, and who do not engage particularly with the social mission of the place; the middle-class, who participate in activities, especially in the urban garden, but do not feel comfortable visiting the restaurant; and tourists, enthusiastic about the innovative character of the place, but who, due to the temporary nature of their stay, do not interact with place or people on a deeper level (Annex 2, H1 & H2).

The *Petit Ney*, created as a local newspaper in 1994, today is an associative literary café [*café littéraire associatif*], managed by residents: it is open to all and offers activities for children and adults. In addition, it is a place where people can go with a dish to warm up, as a microwave oven is always available. During events, a healthy dish is offered (Paris.fr, 2022, May 16). Precisely because of its composition, this association strongly believes in the potential of the associative fabric to really get in touch with the inhabitants. The neighbourhood, at times extremely precarious, has a great sense of solidarity: and this is precisely the situation in which associations can intervene at their best (Annex 2, L).

The *Maison de la Conversation* is a new place of social innovation which aims to rehabilitate daily life conversation to stimulate collaboration and emancipation (Paris.fr, 2022, May 16). The programming is based on the values of equality, inclusion, usefulness, serendipity and conviviality, and is dedicated to the art of inclusive conversation between people who would not otherwise meet (Paris.fr, 2022, May 16).

The *Centre Paris Anim' Binet* is one of the three Centres Paris Anim' of the 18th arrondissement and falls within the area of the neighbourhood. It is a local facility that offers cultural and leisure activities for all ages. The director Christine Le Gall is described as in love with her neighbourhood, for she has seen all the transformations, destruction, reconstruction and is today delighted to really bring life to it. She runs the place with dynamism, focusing on promoting the value of 'doing things together' [*faire des choses ensemble*] (Paris.fr, 2022, May 16). Here there is space for sport, dance, bodily expression, plastic arts, performing arts or music, at prices adapted according to their situation: young people under 26 years old benefit from reduced rates, families can obtain CAF tickets, and group activities are very advantageous. In addition, professional orientation is offered by PLIE i.e. *Plans locaux Pluriannuels pour l'Insertion et l'Emploi professionals*, who advise young people on their career (Paris.fr, 2022, May 16). The interview revealed that the centre wants to respond to the needs of the inhabitants, trying to diversify activities as much as possible and achieving maximum participation in those moments before or after school and work (Annex 2, F). The aim is precisely to create a familiar environment, where people can get together outside their busy schedules; in doing so, they try to create links among different activities, so that the visitors of a specific activity have the chance to stay and fit in further (Annex 2, F). The centre also hosts the *Micro Folie*, a digital museum device, supported by the State and supervised by the Ministry of Culture. Established to bring culture as close as possible to the inhabitants, this local platform is a tool at the service of arts and education. It allows residents to discover famous masterpieces brought together by partner establishments within thematic collections digitized in very high definition (Paris.fr, 2022, May 16). However, the ultimate goal is to go to the real museum. The point is to be able to use it as a preparation e.g. for people who do not speak the language and want to practice vocabulary or people who are 'scared' of going out and approach culture, but not to dissociate the two experiences (Annex 2, F). Le Gall expresses the desire to create as many links as possible with the other structures in the neighbourhood, to offer the maximum by combining their offers (Paris.fr, 2022, May 16). The aim is to bring culture to the doorstep of Porte de Montmartre, in a fun way and without any barriers, for all audiences to meet and feel at home (Paris.fr, 2022, May 16).

Finally, the article mentions the 'street of associations' i.e. *rue Camille Flammarion*. Among these, the *Résonances* company, a team of actors, dances, musicians and storytellers which presents its

shows on different stages, including collaborations with schools (Paris.fr, 2022, May 16). The association *La Sierra Prod*, which uses cinematographic, musical and photographic language to fight against social, cultural and educational isolation (Paris.fr, 2022, May 16). It focuses on meeting the inhabitants to produce documentaries, portraits and songs on their history, which are later exhibited in their projects. And the association *Oasis 18*, which carries out cultural and leisure activities, and provides school support, promoting solidarity and exchange (Paris.fr, 2022, May 16). The centre is run by Hichem Mekideche, who himself attended it as a boy. The main purpose is to accompany children in their process of growth: projects are proposed and voted on by young people themselves - and then reviewed and matched appropriately with funding by tutors. For example, there is a boy who proposed creating an amateur football team, and today this proposal provides jobs in the neighbourhood (Annex 2, G). The interviews revealed that Oasis 18 recognises itself as an authentic representative of the historical and social characterisation of the neighbourhood. Whereas, other associations are seen as 'stranger' and distant, because they cannot get in touch with the population. A simple and immediate exemplification lies in the comment that 'La REcyclerie does not even have Coca-Cola' (Annex 2, G).

Interestingly, the interviews reported that all associations are invited and engaged in organising and participating in major events that affect the whole territory (Annex 2). There are main annual appointments, which take place at different times of the year and with different themes, but which are able to animate all associations and social groups in the neighbourhood: the *Salon du livre Jeunesse Solidaire du 18e*, the *Fête du quartier*, the *Fête du Jeu Clignancourt* and the *Village du Noel* (Annex 2). Christine Le Gall, Director of the *Centre Paris Anim' Binet*, states that for this kind of events, they are directly contacted by the Council of the 18th arrondissement, which asks them to organise activities in collaboration with other associations, to find competent and relevant local actors, to give them visibility, and to allow the inhabitants to get to know each other and to move from one facility to another (Annex 2, F). Nicolas Almimoff, Director of the *Bibliothèque Jacqueline De Romilly* reported that all these events effectively put together local actors: taking place outside they are very participated by residents (Annex 2, D1). The interviews reported that each association spontaneously mentioned at least 3 other local associations with which it has collaborated, with an average of 4 mentioned association - demonstrating a strong associative life in the neighbourhood.

On the *Kiosque Citoyen*

As a tool of participative democracy, Paris has introduced the citizen kiosk, a meeting place dedicated to multi-faceted citizenship (Paris.fr., 2019, April 10). It is a new local space which

functions as an information stand, an exhibition space, a place for entertainment and meetings, and hosts local events for associations, neighbourhood councils, and all those events which bring democracy to life. The kiosk aims to support local citizen action (Paris.fr., 2019, April 10). The vocation of the citizen kiosk is to welcome people in the public space, in the open air while being protected from bad weather, for many activities which cannot find their place in closed structures. This kiosk is composed of a modular structure, and has light furniture which allows the space to be arranged according to its different use. Two citizen kiosks have been so far set up: one in the 12th arrondissement in 2015, and one in the 18th arrondissement in 2021; and thanks to the participatory budget, the establishment of two new citizen kiosks is underway in the 11th and 19th arrondissements (Paris.fr., 2019, April 10).

Inaugurated in November 2021, the citizen kiosk of the 18th arrondissement falls within the Porte de Montmartre neighbourhood. This kiosk aims to be a welcoming place of expression and a privileged reception area for all those who work to strengthen social ties and solidarity in the 18th arrondissement. This 13 square metres container is accessible to people with reduced mobility, and is fully equipped with e.g. tables and sounds system (Maire18.paris.fr, 2022, June 07).

Lundi	Mardi	Mercredi	Jeudi	Vendredi		Samedi	Dimanche
10h-12h **Centre Social Belliard**			**9h30-12h30** **Mairie mobile** *aide aux démarches administratives*				
16h-18h **Service démocratie locale**	**16h-17h30** **Centre Social Belliard**	**16h-18h** **Solidimey** *activités destinées aux jeunes*	**15h-18h** **Conseillers numériques** *aide aux démarches en ligne*	**15h-18h** **Solidimey** *activités destinées aux jeunes*	**15h-18h** **Les amis recycleurs** *ateliers fabrication de*	**14h-18h** **Tsuzuré-Ori** *exposition et atelier tapisserie*	**14h-18h** **Tsuzuré-Ori** *exposition et atelier tapisserie*

Figure 8: example of the weekly programme of the citizen kiosk of the 18th arrondissement (Maire18.paris.fr.,2022, June 07).

The kiosk's programme seems solid and varied, with various local actors alternating activities designed to inform and educate, entertain and bring people closer to art - with activities for all age groups.

The head of the kiosk and director of development of the *Maison de la Vie Associative et Citoyenne* of the 18th arrondissement, M'hamed Binakdane emphasises the fact that the kiosk is a place of citizen participation: brainstorming and voting sessions are held during the participatory budget period, and every other Monday, the local democracy department has a session to provide information on neighbourhood councils (Paris.fr, 2022, May 16). Binakdane reveals that the idea behind the kiosks is to reach out to people and 'do with them', like it was a citizen laboratory (Paris.fr, 2022, May 16). Binakdane states that there are no limits in the proposal of activities for the kiosk, as long as they have a local interest and that they respect the principles of the Republic (Paris.fr, 2022, May 16). Associations can get involved in different ways: for example, the Centre Social CAF Belliard is the co-pilot of the kiosk, and therefore has the maximum level of involvement; other associations can decide to animate the kiosks occasionally or permanently, with the cadence they prefer (Annex 2, E). Johann Pitte, Director of the *Centre Social CAF Belliard* stated that the kiosk would not only function as a tool to ensure access to rights, but that there was also a need to provide animation (Annex 2, K). To do so, it was necessary to mobilise local associations. Moreover, the kiosk cannot work overnight: as a tool it must be tried out, discussed, negotiated and continued to be monitored. Interestingly, the location of the kiosks is also functional. In fact, this place used to do not have a good reputation, where drugs and tensions would appear. It was a big space left without a function: for every space in cities left without a function, there is always someone which will find one (Annex 2, K). The kiosk aimed at clearly stating that it is a public space, where people live by the values of being together. In addition, thanks to its valid location, it has attracted many people who were simply passing by: first there was surprise, then curiosity, and finally the inhabitants made it their own tool, for a resident has proposed and animated an activity (Annex 2, K).

On the commercial sphere

The 15-Minute City also aims at strengthening the network of local shops and services, as well as promoting local production and/or short-circuits with the label Made in Paris [*Fabriquer à Paris*] (Paris.fr, 2022, May 23). This sphere concerns supermarket, shops and food halls, cultural and traditional shops, recycling centres, crafts laboratories, manufacturing and urban logistics spaces. The article states that nothing can be done without the opinion and consent of the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, reinforcing the idea that the 15-Minute City is not a model to be imposed, but instead a model to be cast on the structure and needs of a neighbourhood (Paris.fr, 2022, May 23). According to the article, Paris' authorities will consult with the arrondissements' town halls to identify the neighbourhoods requiring rapid and extensive action. In these neighbourhoods, an

exhaustive analysis of local facilities and services, public, associative or private, existing or to be created, will be carried out. A consultation of the inhabitants and users of the territory on their needs and their ideas will also be undertaken, to further proceed to create the necessary services (Paris.fr, 2022, May 23). Sébastien Harlaux, Associate Project Director from Une Fabrique de la Ville, when explaining the process of revision of the PLU confirmed the launch of the final consultation phase in September 2022. Public meetings, participatory workshops and exploratory walks are organized in each arrondissement in order to better understand the challenges, and the Parisian are encouraged to express their feedback (Annex 2, J). The interviews conducted reported no advancement on the aforementioned project implemented (Annex 2). It appears that these changes are under discussion, and that the revision of the PLU is the framework in which it will be decided how to proceed - more information to follow.

Within the commercial sphere, the *Marché Ney* constitutes an important centre for the lives of the inhabitants, and it is open on Thursdays and Saturdays from 7am to 3pm; associated to the market there is the installation of two food-waste collection points (Paris.fr, 2022, May 16). From the interviews it emerged that this market is the centre of the commercial life of the neighbourhood. Held on Thursdays and Saturdays, it allows workers with various schedules to attend it, and thanks to its extremely affordable prices results well suited to the economic fabric of the area (Annex 2). However, the interviewees appeared to agreed on the fact that there is no commercial diversity in the area (Annex 2). In particular, Christine Le Gall, Director of the *Centre Paris Anim' Binet*, has pointed out how the neighbourhood looks like an elongated area, where people would pass by to go to work, to study or to attend activities, but rarely stop to shop or go to restaurants - because the commercial offer is extremely low and not differentiated. To attend these needs, people usually go to the nearby commercial areas of rue Puteaux and Garibaldi (Annex 2, F). In agreement with her, the Director of the Bibliothèque Jacqueline De Romilly, Nicolas Almimoff, also mentioned a peculiar commercial activity in the area: the *Marché des Biffins*, which represents its social and historical dynamics. It is particularly interesting when associated with the tourist activity: given the recent changes in the neighbourhood, rug pickers and tourists can now be seen on the same pavement, creating a strong visual and social contrast (Annex 2, D1). These changes must be contextualised in the renovation project carried out in the early 2000s, as mentioned in the case study presentation. In particular, Almimoff referred to the fact that hotels have been built in the neighbourhood, but that these accommodate tourists, especially groups, who, however, directly move to the centre thanks to the fast transport, and decide to sleep in the area only because it is cheaper. Certainly already a step forward for the commercial fabric of the district, it could be better exploited were the neighbourhood made more attractive for tourists as well (Annex 2, D1).

However, it has to be said that if not strictly in the neighbourhood, there are possibilities of commerce in the 18th arrondissement. In fact, Lucie Brillanceau, Head of Public Relations and Cultural Action at L'Étoile du Nord, admits that there are whole weeks when she does not feel the need to leave the arrondissement. In fact, thanks to the low rents, many of her friends live there and the bar and entertainment offerings keep them satisfied (Annex 2, C). She compared this experience when she lived in the 15th arrondissement, where she did not meet friends outside because there were not enough bars or entertainment facilities there, and getting out of the arrondissement was complicated because the transport did not connect well the area to the central and more alive parts of the city (Annex 2, C).

On cleanliness and maintenance

To improve the management of public services essential to the quality of life and the functioning of the city, an organizational reform has been initiated to address cleanliness and maintenance [*propreté et entretien*] of public spaces, according to the specificities of the neighbourhoods (Paris.fr, 2022, May 23). Supposedly, a roadmap has been agreed upon between the City and each arrondissement, by the end of 2021 (Paris.fr, 2022, May 23). This plan aims at determining the allocation of resources, the local priorities to address, and the budget that each arrondissement will be able to mobilise in the service of their territory or the financial levers that the town halls will be able to activate on their own in their area. However, no further information on the production or application of this roadmap is available at the time of the study at hand - and the interviews conducted do not mention this information (Annex 2). The article also mentions that supervisors [*responsables de quartier*] will be appointed in each neighbourhood. They will be the cleanliness referents and the daily interlocutors of inhabitants and local actors. Emergency teams [*équipes urgence propreté*] will be instituted to intervene on reports requiring immediate action, in particular thanks to the *Dans Ma Rue* application (Paris.fr, 2022, May 23). What kind of structure these figures are supposed to have is unclear at the current state of research, and the interviews did not provide further information on them. The application *Dans Ma Rue* was launched in 2012 to report anomalies e.g. potholes in the road, trees in poor condition, damaged children's games, bulky objects left abandoned, defective road signs, rubbish in the streets (Paris.fr, 2022, April 20). Interestingly, a new specific tab in the graffiti category allows Parisians to report hateful inscriptions in the streets, to erase them as soon as possible. The application allows in a few clicks to send a picture to inform the managing services. It aims to improve the quality of the Parisian public space, by promoting synergy between the users of the public space and the municipal technical services; moreover, it fosters participation and promotes engagement in the improvement

of the living environment (Paris.fr, 2022, April 20). Interestingly, the 18th arrondissement is the one with the biggest number of reports: 97 451 reports counted from 2012, including 7 730 in Porte de Montmartre; the categories with the most reports are abandoned objects, graffiti and general cleanliness (Paris DATA, n.d.).

On safety

The 15-Minute City should also make its inhabitants feel safe: security, prevention and mediation needs are under the management of the Parisian municipal police of each arrondissement (Paris.fr, 2022, May 23). On this regard, the territorial organization of municipal police services will be reviewed, with the creation and deployment of new territorial divisions. Public tranquillity routes [*parcours de tranquillité*] and priority interventions will be defined by the mayors e.g. around schools, shopping streets and sports facilities. Local patrols will have daily circulation, on foot or by bicycle, and will contribute to securing and calming these spaces through their presence (Paris.fr, 2022, May 23). At the state of the current research, there is no update on the realisation of these intentions in the 18th arrondissement. However, a reference is given by Myrina Durand, Coordinator of *Le Petit Ney*, who describes the area as constantly under surveillance, especially on market days (Annex 2, L). In fact, interviews showed that the area is generally not perceived as safe (Annex 2). Although there are neighbouring areas perceived as worse, such as Barbès, safety remains a real concern, especially for women or families, as many places are predominantly frequented by groups of men [*endroits très masculins*] and do not appear very welcoming (Annex 2, C).

On the other side, stands Hichem Mekideche, Director of *Oasis 18*, recounting when, while attending high school in the 3rd arrondissement, he overheard a conversation between a classmate asking another if she was not afraid to go alone to visit her boyfriend in Porte de Montmartre at night. It was a moment of real shock for him, who always thought of his neighbourhood as safe. Nowadays, he acknowledges that the common image of the neighbourhood is as not being safe, but 'they' (making reference to the residents, as he can be seen as a voice from the lower-classes of the neighbourhood) feel safer in Porte de Montmartre than in the city centre (Annex 2, G).

On healthcare

The 15-Minute City also aims to be a response to the health crisis. In fact, with the COVID-19 epidemic, Parisians have had to extremely limit their movements. Hence, the imperative for people to find literally vital needs close to home and to limit the risks of contamination in transport and public places. In this context, local solidarity network [*réseaux de solidarité de proximité*] were put in place during confinement, further demonstrating the importance of establishing mutual aid links

at the neighbourhood level, particularly for the elderly, disabled or isolated (Paris.fr, 2022, May 23). Making Paris the city of proximity also means strengthening city medicine, to bring health services closer to the patient. In Porte de Montmartre, it is possible to identify the following sanitary facilities (Paris.fr, 2022, May 16): the *Centre Dentaire de la Porte de Montmartre*, accessible for free to all patients with health insurance rights, and full-payment for third parties, subject to agreements; the *Centre Protection Maternelle et Infantile Binet*, which offers preventive medical care for children, health screening and education, as well as awareness-raising and parenting support activities; the *Unité de Formation et de Recherche de Médecine - Site Bichat, Université Paris Cité*, which offers training in general medicine, obstetrics and nursing; finally the *Hôpital Bichat*, considered one of the most important emergency services of the Parisian agglomeration. The health territory of the hospital covers the 17th, 18th and 19th arrondissements and the commune of Saint-Ouen. It also provides specialised and reference care in most medical and surgical disciplines. It is an important presence in the neighbourhood, occupying an area of 6 hectares, made up of a monobloc-building from 1980, and a pavilion complex dating from 1938 to 2003. The interviews reported that generally there is a sense of satisfaction with the medical care in the neighbourhood (Annex 2). The article concludes that in this way the 15-Minute City not only promotes the well-being of the inhabitants by simplifying their life and the life of the city, but also constitutes a possible response to future health and climate challenges (Paris.fr, 2022, May 23). However, Sébastien Harlaux, Associate Project Director of Une Fabrique de la Ville, discussing Parisian territorial dynamics has revealed the decentralising trend of hospitals, which are increasingly moving further away from Paris (Annex 2, J).

On mobility

Cycle paths are developed from *boulevard Berthier* and all along *boulevard Ney*, on *Avenue de la Porte de Saint-Ouen*, and on *boulevard Ornano* (Paris.fr, 2022, May 23). There are four buses 21, 341, 60, 95, and two metro stations, *Porte de Saint Ouen* on line 13, and *Porte de Clignancourt* on line 4, which allow to access the neighbourhood. There is also the tram T3B *Porte d'Asnières-Porte de Vincennes* which crosses the neighbourhood with three stops: *Porte de Saint Ouen*, *Angélique Compoint*, and *Porte de Clignancourt*. Generally, the interviews have revealed a sense of satisfaction towards mobility, especially public transportation - both internally to the neighbourhood and in connection with the rest of Paris and the periphery (Annex 2). For example, the bus 21 departs from the neighbourhood and crosses all of Paris, with stops at the *Opéra National de Paris* and the *Louvre Museum*, reaching the 13th arrondissement as final destination; and there is also the tram that provides easy access to *La Villette*, a park and cultural centre located in the immediately

north-east of Paris (Annex 2, F). From observation, the neighbourhood appears to be suffering from traffic in big roads e.g. *Boulevard Ornano*, precisely because, as confirmed by the interviews, it is located between the two big ways of communication *périphérique* and the *boulevard Maréchaux* (Annex 2, F). On the other side, there are calm streets like the *rue Binet* and *rue Belliard*, where the neighbourhood appears particularly airy, with wide pavements and green areas - making it possible to move quickly and easily around (Annex 2, F). However, it has to be said that there seem to be an issue with the *Vélib' Métropole* i.e. a large-scale public bicycle sharing system in Paris. Lucie Brillanceau, Head of Public Relations and Cultural Action at *L'Étoile du Nord*, revealed that the Vélib' is her main means of transport, because from Porte de Montmartre one could go anywhere by bike - for example the city centre is only 30 minutes away. However, she reveals that it is the general impression that the Vélib' service is not good in the neighbourhood, because there are not as many bikes available, or at least not as many as in other parts of Paris, and that those that are there are often broken (Annex 2, C). An interesting perspective comes from Hichem Mekideche, Director of *Oasis 18*: he believes that transport is already well developed in the neighbourhood, but still that it needs to remain at the centre of the territorial development strategy. For him, moving around the city to reach daily services does not constitute a problem if the means of transport work well - and are also able to accommodate people with difficulties. On the other hand, he believes that focusing on proximity is a way of taking the focus off mobility, and isolating even more 'unwanted' territories and people (Annex 2, G).

On the 15-Minute City

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, for the 15-Minute City to be implemented in Paris, it has to go through the political sphere, the administrative sphere and the social sphere (Paris.fr, 2020, December 09).

As far as the political sphere is concerned, it is evident that there is a strong political intention to encourage the 15-Minute City, first identifiable in Mayor Anne Hildalgo's election campaign, and then shared by public officials - also considering that a dedicated official has been identified for each arrondissement. The interviews seem to confirm this, also because almost all the interviewees said they heard about 15-Minute City for the first time during the elections (Annex 2). However, although the concept has been well received by all interviewees, there still seems to be much confusion as to what it entails. In fact, the interviewees revealed that they did not know how the situation is practically developing and that they have not received official instructions on how to take part in the project (Annex 2). In particular, Vincent Lacote, Director at the *Centre Social La Maison Bleue* revealed that he has never been contacted about it, but that he can see that

theoretically the 15-Minute City expresses the values behind his association and therefore, if contacted, he would gladly participate (Annex 2, I). Sébastien Harlaux, Associate Project Director at *Une Fabrique de la Ville* who is in charge of the Paris' PLU revision has confirmed the fact that the 15-Minute City is a very important subject for Parisian authorities, and that it is a matter to be treated as a *politics : technique* equation (Annex 2, J).

The PLU revision appears to be a key-element to better understand how the 15-Minute City is positioned in the administrative sphere, and therefore the following will review and organise the clarifications provided by Harlaux. The new PLU will contain a thematic OAP [*Orientation d'Aménagement et Planification*][2] on the 15-Minute City. The OAP is an executive document, i.e. essential for obtaining authorisations. The fact that it is thematic means that it refers to a theme to be applied to the whole territory. OAPs are relatively new documents in the field of urbanism, to contribute to the modernisation of the PLU with more pedagogical and illustrated documents. This OAP has to contain both elements strictly belonging to the field of urbanism e.g. proximity and accessibility of public and commercial facilities, and transversal themes e.g. solidarity economy and sustainable food systems (Annex 2, J). And therein lies the difficulty of regulation, explains Harlaux. In fact, the PLU is a regulator tool, based on the urban development code [*Code de l'Urbanisme*], which exactly defines what a PLU can regulate and impose. He admits to be struggling between the expectations of territorial authorities, and how much can actually be regulated by the PLU with reference to the 15-Minute City. This difficulty can be explained with the example of solidarity economy: if the PLU is able to regulate strictly urbanism matters such as the building permits and the use of the premises, indicating the type of economy to which the activity will belong is not a requirement of the urban development code and is not easy to regulate on a legal level. This leads Harlaux to see the 15-Minute City translating more in a recommendation than an actual imposition: he sees this OAP as an orientation grid to be used in the dialogue between the City Council and project stakeholders to guide sustainable development. As previously mentioned,

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[2] To better understand the matters at hand, the following will introduce the main elements of a PLU.

The new PLU is called *blioclimatique*, because it expresses a willingness to treat environmental aspects being more demanding than current regulations. Nature in the city, energy performance and carbon, are the themes at the centre of this revision; other subjects are implemented in a more important way than in the currently active PLU: social and functional diversity, the protection of housing, and the shift towards territorial balances between home and work.

The PLU contains a number of documents, including:
- a presentation report, which has a diagnostic and choice-justification part. It is mandatory, but not executive, i.e. it does not concern the building permit;
- the PADD, i.e. the sustainable development project;
- the strategic orientation document, which also has a political function;
- and finally the regulation and the OAPs, i.e. the executive documents, needed for authorisations. These documents must be consistent with the PADD and justified by the submission report. OAPs are development and programming orientation documents. They can be sectoral, if they concern a specific sector, and thematic if they apply to the whole territory.

a key-element is that the 15-Minute City must be modelled on the characteristics of the territory: in the light of what has already been said, it is immediate to see the difficulty of regulation. For this reason, Harlaux explained how the OAP rather describes broad intentions than necessarily going down to the scale of a certain neighbourhood - also because it is a thematic and not a sectoral OAP. Another key-point is that this OAP will encourage taking the level of a 5-minute walk, rather than a 15-minute walk, as there is a density in Paris that requires adaptations from the initial concept - also considering that in 15 minutes by bike one could easily exit Paris. Furthermore, if one takes green spaces as an example, it is possible to say that 90% of the inhabitants of Paris are already within a 15-minute walk of a green space. Therefore, to promote functional and sustainable development, there is the need to go further than the previous PLU which already contained elements that contributed to the issue of proximity, the protection of local commerce, the distribution of housing, public spaces and services. In this way, one can put the issue of proximity and the distance-time relationship back at the centre of planning. To do this, however, it is not enough to only consider proximity: accessibility must be included in the discourse. Harlaux explained how creating isochronous maps that put into a relation the distribution of equipment and population is not enough. If, for example, one wants to look at the number of swimming pools in each arrondissement, some areas will appear better equipped than others. But if one investigates the walking distance of five minutes, it is possible to get information on the accessibility of equipment, i.e. whether they are located far from residences or there are obstacles. Doing this analysis makes the concept extremely interesting, because deficient areas are no longer the same. Ideally, an analysis should be done with cross-indicators, which at the same time take into account distance, number of inhabitants and accessibility - but these are complex calculations to make. Harlaux reports as an example that from the isochronous maps it turned out that the arrondissement in the most difficulty is the 16ᵗʰ, because it has a very residential urban fabric with distant services. But in terms of social and economic challenges, this arrondissement is not a priority neighbourhood. This is an example of the limitations of an analysis that only considers distance, and could lead to comparing neighbourhoods that do not have the same territorial characteristics. And this makes it difficult for a concept that has such a specific realisation to be regulated on the scale of a territory as large and diverse as Paris. It appears impossible to apply all the points of the 15-Minute City to one territory. The idea is that in the framework of each project the stakeholders should try to meet the objectives expressed in the 15-Minute City at their best.

This point of discussion allows for exploring the social sphere of the 15-Minute City. Johann Pitte, Director of the *Centre Social CAF Belliard*, sees in the 15-Minute City a strong intention in terms of setting the policy in motion, but effectively a lack of specific content and structure (Annex 2, K). In

the interview, he explains that it seems to him as if the project was initiated, but the citizens were expected to take the initiative. A kind of 'institutionalised encouragement', which translates vaguely into the social sphere, putting everything back in the hands of the citizens (Annex 2, K). And as far as the social sphere is concerned, many interviewees, while recognising it a valid concept, do not see the 15-Minute City as essential, because they already have and do everything they need (Annex 2). In fact, all the interviewees have reported as an element of strength of the neighbourhood its solid and diversified associative life (Annex 2). The following outlines the services and activities offered by the social and cultural associations which have participated in the interviews of this study:

Association	Mission in the neighbourhood	Main activities
Maison de la Conversation	To put back respectful and nuanced conversations (not necessarily found in the public debate) at the core of social relationships, mobilising all kind of people to this subject - with particular attention to young people	- French conversation workshops - Writing workshops - Dance workshops - Political debates - Film club - Podcasts
Centre sportif Bertrand Dauvin	To make the sports offer in the neighbourhood accessible and diversified	- Football - Handball - Basketball - Tennis - Athletic fields
L'Étoile du Nord	To bring talented and emerging artist to the stage, and to bring as many people as possible to the theatre (not only those who already have a cultural capital)	- Theatre spectacles - Dance spectacles - Literature readings - Introducing events with meaningful thematics e.g. *Festival Éco-citoyenneté*: debate on ecology, and two theatre shows (one for kids, one for adults) on eco-citizenship
Bibliothèque Jacqueline De Romilly	To facilitates access to culture, reading, education, self-education and formation. There is the need for a lot of effort of cultural mediation to accomplish this mission	- Readings for children and school classes - Creative workshops - Video game workshop - Writing workshops - Programme for adults with shows, screenings and meetings - Digital assistance - Homework support
Maison de la Vie Associative et Citoyenne du 18e	To reunite and support associations, assisting them in their development and their projects. It provides information on local association life and organises inter-association exchanges, conferences and events	- Inter-associations support and events - Co-piloting the citizen kiosk - Exhibitions - Civic education

Centre Paris'Anim Binet	To animate the neighbourhood and offer leisure and education activities for children of all ages, starting at 2 years old, adults and elderly	- Language courses - Dance courses - Music courses - Theatre courses - Plastic art courses - Podcasts - Job support - Homework support - Support for attending recreational and educational activities - Birthday parties
Oasis 18	To accompany families to high school, creating a link between high school and families - especially in cases in which there is a language gap. Directly target young people 10-25 years old, encouraging and supporting them in proposing activities	- Homework support - Educational and leisure trips - Support in project of European Mobility - Digital assistance, especially for moms - Sport classes for parents
La REcyclerie	By creating a pleasant place in a difficult neighbourhood, the mission is to create vocations, raise awareness and rehabilitate and allow people from 'getting-out' of their everyday life	- La Ferme Urbaine: to protect biodiversity and raise awarness on urban agriculture: honey, plants, vegetable garden, cocks, hydroponics, aquaculture, greenhouse, compost) - L'Atelier de René: to fix utensils and fight consumerism - La programmation éco-culturelle: free and accessible events, to engage a large group into ecological transition - Restaurant
Centre Social La Maison Bleue	To understand the reality of the neighbourhood and overcoming difficulties so that no one is left behind	- Language courses - Educational courses - Digital assistance - Educational activities and assistance for parents - Music ateliers - Elderly support
Centre Social CAF Belliard	To facilitate and create opportunities for different groups of people to meet, discuss, exchange and work with each other	- Animation - General support for residents - Legal support - Digital support - Co-piloting the citizen kiosk
Le Petit Ney	Born as a neighbourhood newspaper, it is now a meeting space with a cultural vocation. The mission has always been to bring together inhabitants and actors of the neighbourhood and to promote it	- Readings for children - Performances - Exhibitions

Figure 9: summary all the activities offered by the interviewee's associations.

Although this table does not provide an all-inclusive analysis of all the activities offered in the neighbourhood, but only of those who responded to the interviews, it confirms the strong associative character of the neighbourhood - able to cover many of the needs and desires of the inhabitants' everyday life. Provocatively, Hichem Mekideche, Director of *Oasis 18* has stated that Porte de Montmartre was chosen as a pilot neighbourhood exactly because everything is already there, also demonstrating a certain distrust in authorities and territorial projects (Annex 2, G). In this regard, Nicolas Almimoff, Director of the *Bibliothèque Jacqueline De Romilly* acknowledged that in the past there were precedents of inadequate territorial projects, which did not address the real needs of all inhabitants (Annex 2, D1). Lucie Brillanceau, Head of Public Relations and Cultural Action at L'Étoile du Nord points out the need to spread awareness about these projects (Annex 2, C): in fact, all interviewees doubt that the citizens of Porte de Montmartre are aware of what the 15-Minute City entails (Annex 2). Finally, the 15-Minute City was deemed useful if it focused on identifying what the neighbourhood lacks, and making sure it is provided for (Annex 2, L & D2).

In the light of the above, the following map aims to recapitulate and immediately visualise the territorial configuration and the actors involved in the neighbourhood.
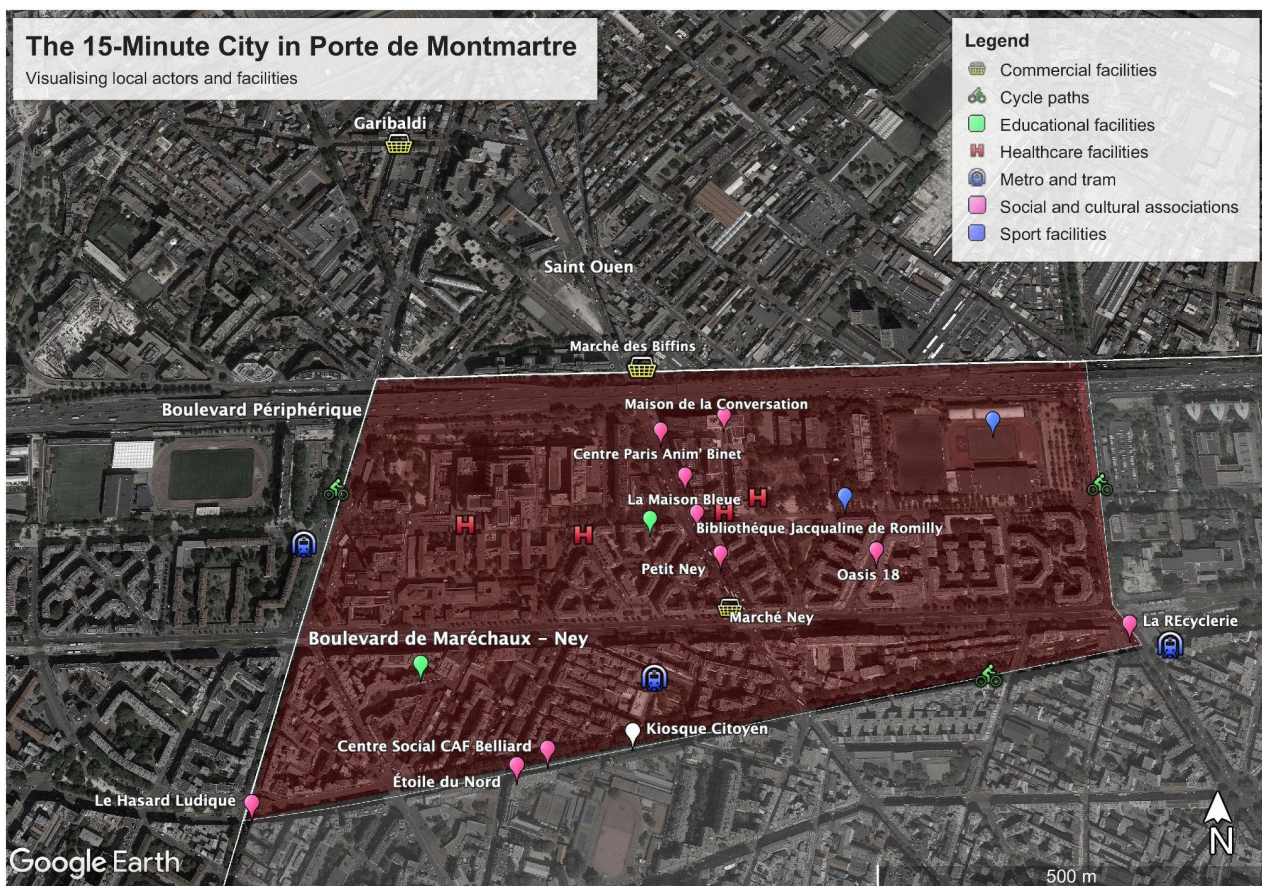

Figure 10: main services and facilities of Porte de Montmartre mentioned in this study. Made in Google Earth.

Discussion

To answer the research question: *"To what extent the 15-Minute City has the potential to affect the temporal and spatial configuration of the urban environment, as exemplified by the case study of Porte de Montmartre?",* the following will critically recount and evaluate the analysis and findings.

The analysis aimed at exploring the real dynamics at play in Porte de Montmartre, with regard to matters of social initiative, projects implementation, sociocultural configuration, collaboration among stakeholders and participation. More precisely, regarding the implementation of the 15-Minute City, the neighbourhood seems marked by several oppositions.

On one side, the binomial *institutional front - informal front*: the former, which encapsulates the level of the city of Paris and the 18th arrondissement, reflecting a planning perspective that is not always in touch with local realities; and the latter, emerged and developed among local issues and thus in touch with the needs of the area, albeit liable to structural reinforcement.

On the other side, the binomial *bobos front - populaire front,* where the former pursues a conception of sustainable development that reflects the conditions of a wealthy class, and the latter revolves around a development model aimed at meeting the basic needs of the population.

Both these levels are touched by the associations' tissue, which is particularly illustrative in representing the actors in the area. Interestingly, social and cultural associations appeared to be creating the third place par excellence, because they intercept the inhabitants between their life at home and their life at work, and can therefore play a great role towards a more balanced urban life, both spatially and temporally, and in terms of quality of life. Associations appear fundamental in their 'use' of the territory because they act as carriers of needs and catalysts of projects: in their hybrid space, which offers different activities and functions, associations make themselves anchors of community life, promoting inclusiveness and belonging. However, with the existence of many and individualised solutions to meet specific needs, the different groups that compose the social fabric of Porte de Montmartre find it difficult to mingle.

The analysis showed that the most influent actors moving on the territory are either particularly wealthy actors, given the gentrification process, or lower class actors, given the neighbourhood's history; in addition to those, there are two smaller groups: a middle-class group, which, is becoming increasingly precarious, and tourists, which due to the current state of affairs results clashing with the territory. It is interesting to note how these groups struggle to mingle and coexist in the same space. In fact, as mentioned above, rather than positioning themselves side by side, as is already the case, a real change would lie in encouraging these groups to occupy the same available public spaces. Although there are already in place activities aimed at gathering them, the tendency to

remain divided into groups is persistent. Perhaps, the potential of a concept like chrono-urbanism in Porte de Montmartre lies precisely in planning different uses at different times, and eventually different uses at the same time.

As things stand, it seems that the 15-Minute City has remained stuck in the political sphere, from which it can hardly get out. In fact, the administrative level appears very vague, perhaps because it is still in a state of evolution. At the moment, the 15-Minute City policy is not translating into and impacting the social sphere. On the other hand, however, it almost seems that a 15-Minute City in Porte de Montmartre already exists: informal and imperfect, the reality of the area is able to provide its inhabitants with a satisfying and stimulating everyday life. Although with different priorities, different groups move through the territory and react by producing new meanings.

To pursue and establish continuity of reasoning, this discussion will retrace the points raised in the section *A critical look at the 15-Minute City*, by exploring these matters in the specific case of Porte de Montmartre, and further expanding to the general case of the 15-Minute City. In doing so, this discussion aims at bridging together the micro-level of one specific urban context and the macro-level of urban social life, exploring real and lived dynamics with regard to quality of life, accessibility and participation. Ambitiously, this discussion aims to go beyond the 15-Minute City itself, to reflect on the configuration of the urban environment and the ways of inhabiting it.

To affirm that the 15-Minute City implies coming back to a pre-modern urban context means to oversimplify the debate, by avoiding to engage critically not only with the proposal of the 15-Minute City, but also with the problematics which made the proposal originate and the real dynamics of negotiation in urban development. In fact, as it can be seen from the analysis and findings, urban dynamics do not have an on/off button, life in the city always goes on, spaces are eventually occupied and planning models are interpreted through the lens of lived reality. Besides its questionable intention, going back to a previous state of things is not possible because territories have been used over time, creating new and complex synergies. The kind of reasoning which admits a turn back is the same which conceives an idea of territory independent of its use, as an empty layer for models to be imposed upon. It was therefore interesting to proceed with a desk research to try to grasp what kind of vision lied behind the 15-Minute City. Despite the fact that the 15-Minute City is based on values of inclusivity and diversity, the enthusiastic character of its political involvement results in a vagueness of structure and content in the administrative framework, which eventually do not seem to change or question the current dynamics of Porte de Montmartre. In fact, the 15-Minute City seems to be an imposition from outside which, however, refrains to the status of ideological imposition, because in practice the situation is left in the hands of the actors who move

and act in the territory every day. The 15-Minute City is presented as an innovative and revolutionary concept, but in reality it leaves it to local actors to make work something that is an encouragement that has failed to be institutionalised - in the current state of affairs. The research has shown that the discourse surrounding the 15-Minute City seemed more tending towards 'appropriating' what is already in place and re-proposing it with a new and appealing name, than actually proposing something new. And if it is true that the role of the 15-Minute City is to identify and tie together different initiatives of proximity, it is also true that this action seems to be fulfilled by local actors, first of all those representing the associations. This opposition can be explained in de Certau's terms: the 15-Minute City seems to be presented as a strategy, which in reality is ineffective, because it is imposed from such a big scale that the local dynamics are hardly visible. What does work, however, is the interpretations that local actors over time have given to territorial strategies, which can be considered tactical. And it is precisely in the tactical interpretations that lie the potential of the multi-use and re-use of space, to re-centre the distance-time debate.

At this point, one might ask: *what is the objective the 15-Minute City can fulfil?* But before answering to this question, it seems convenient to ask: *what does the emergence of the very proposal, and the form it has taken in Paris reveal about societal desires and needs?* Indeed, the very fact that this proposal exists, and aligns itself with other slow-life proposals, is not a symptom of a desire to renounce modernity, but rather a will to question that modernity which, instead of putting itself at the service of societal well-being, has placed itself at the service of a few. In doing so, it has made 'the many' victims of a system that places them, metaphorically and practically, in spaces that are not optimal for a good quality of life, and on a deeper level, for their personal expression of life. This will has been intercepted on the political level by the socialist party [*Parti socialiste*], a centre-left and social-democratic political party in France which, in the person of Anne Hildalgo, made its election campaign out of it. Her victory should be contextualised in a situation in which citizens of a pandemic-affected global city chose a program which highlights resilience and liveability over pure economic growth. However, it must be said that this situation is not mirrored by the rest of France, because when Hidalgo ran for the presidential elections in 2022, she arrived tenth out of twelfth, scoring the lowest result in the history of her party. Although not shared by the rest of the country, it is undeniable that a model like the 15-Minute City holds a particular charm over a city like Paris. But why? The analysis and findings showed that there is a part of the interviewees who think it is precisely because in reality, in Paris, the 15-Minute City already exists, albeit assuming different configurations in different areas of the city. So perhaps this model does not imply a return to the past, but it is a symptom of that feeling that the Italian writer Giuseppe Tomasi di Lampedusa (1896 - 1957) expressed very well in the novel *Il Gattopardo* narrating the

transformations that took place in life and in society in Sicily during Risorgimento: *everything must change so that everything remains as it was before*. Undeniably, industry, technology, and the digitalisation of society have changed how people experience reality, and the city is an excellent example in which to observe these changes. What has not changed are the power relations underlying these dynamics, which despite noble speeches result in a maintenance of the status quo in which at the end of the day the local actors are very distant from those in power, and the representation of desires and of the needs of the territory remains scarce. Therefore, the answer is no: the discourse surrounding the 15-Minute City does not imply coming back to a pre-modern urban context, because it does not practically move away from an entrepreneurial discourse of neoliberal urbanism, but upholds existing power dynamics. In doing so, it illustrates the conflict between a global space which inscribes the ideological content, appearing as an imposing force from outside, and the local space made of the lived experience of inhabitants, in contact with the specific modes of life and the dynamics of the territory. These two levels do not merge, but remain in the hands of different forces, divided between remote power and local action.

Indeed, the 15-Minute City is presented as revolutionary, as a 'bet', as a 'new urban form'. As can be seen from the analysis and findings, it is envisioned as a fast, effortless and straightforward solution, so easy to think about that it hardly seems to have been elaborated by experts and adopted by politicians. And according to Moreno, its revolutionary strength lies precisely in this: being easily understandable and relatable, detaching itself from the complex discourses of modernity and recalling a simpler and more immediate lifestyle. This position is problematic for two reasons: firstly, as explored in the previous section, it does not do this; secondly, the conceptualisation of the 15-Minute City appears to be too vague both for the ones who have to insert it at a regulatory level in the local development plan, and for those who are active on the territory and do not really know how to 'use' it and for which scope. As already supposed and then confirmed by the analysis and findings, the 15-Minute City recalls the urban planning tradition already active in France, at least in the last twenty years, but without really taking a step forward. In fact, at the PLU level it appears as a re-organization of ideas that results in nothing more than an orientation, and at the level of action on the territory it does not give enough tools to ensure that it has a profound and lasting effect. The said long-term scope can only be found in the constant adapting and monitoring of the tool - an epilogue welcomed with mistrust given the tendency of territorial projects in France to become fixated on one-fit-all, forever solutions. In addition, this kind of action would require a real questioning of power dynamics and territorial divisions, which the 15-Minute City policy does not seem to be encouraging or implementing at the present status of things. Therefore, the 15-Minute

City is neither new nor revolutionary, in both in its formulation and in its application in a city like Paris - where the benefits of proximity expressed by the 15-Minute City relatively already exist. One could even argue further by saying that this policy distracts from finding effective solutions, focusing attention on a discourse as an end in itself, and leaving people who need improvement in their condition of life unheard. As mentioned before, Porte de Montmartre was chosen for this study precisely for its liminal character: if it is true that it retains some aspects of Parisian life, it is also true that it has inherited and still opens up to a provincial life. These constant tensions, between gentrification and precariousness, create various situations in this territory which should be paid attention to. And for the current state of things, the 15-Minute City cannot be the saving solution everyone has been waiting for, as it has been presented.

The 15-Minute City is envisioned as promoting a social urban environment, in which everyone is put in the position to interact with everyone else. The citizen kiosk seems to effectively sustain this objective, for it is placed in an optimal position to intercept even those who do not come there on purpose, and with an organisation designed to welcome associations which reflect the needs and interests of different parts of the population. For it to work, it must be constantly monitored in the near and distant future. However, one could argue that this kiosk was not initially thought of as a 15-Minute City tool, but subsequently appropriated and recontextualized in this new discourse - given that the first one was established in 2015 in the 12th arrondissement. The same applies to the tool Dans Ma Rue. This situation is on the line between the reuse and repurpose of space, preached precisely by the 15-Minute City, and the appropriation of means and meanings which characterise the dominant culture, with the aim to collect and standardise. In addition to that, it must be noticed that outside the kiosk, the population does not really mingle, due to the tendency for every group to remain in their own comfort zone and even associations seem to have, if not prejudices, actual difficulties in collaborating with actors far from their projects and possibilities. In fact, the division of *populaires* and *bobos* is not just a factor of aesthetics, or simply of places frequented, but precisely of priorities - which inevitably are reflected in all aspects of everyday life. A perfect example can be found in the charming, hybrid and in some respects paradoxical, place of La REcyclerie, since for the people in the neighbourhood who have trouble surviving, learning to keep an urban garden seems like a futile and distant mirage. One could go as far as to argue that La REcyclerie could be illustrative of the 15-Minute City policy itself: an innovative, inviting concept, which keeps the doors open to all, and which actually recalls ideas and values of sustainability, but misses the goal and actually fails to enter dynamics of local development. And although it is the bearer of attractive hopes and initiatives, it is enough to take off the coloured lenses to see that it

fails to bring about an effective structural change that does not limit itself to making different people coexist in close and somehow unified places, but leads them to share the same space with respect and place for all. It therefore appears exaggerated, halfway between disrespectful and naïve, to affirm that the 15-Minute City responds to the Lefebvrian call of the right to the city, for it fails to listen, make space and let those who need to speak the most be heard. Despite the overwhelming enthusiasm that even the researcher behind this study was initially pervaded with, perhaps a step back is here needed, to reflect on what the Indian literary critic Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (1942-) has elaborated in the form of a simple question: *can the subaltern speak?* This leads to wonder what space is really given in the 15-Minute City to the groups most in difficulty, and really question if anything changes between what was previously there and the situation envisioned and sustained by the 15-Minute City.

At this point, matters of whether the 15-Minute City promotes a democratic city appear fundamental to discuss. As seen above, proximity does not necessarily lead to citizen's involvement. The kiosk, thanks to its location and organisation, has proved to be an effective reception facility, able to inform, assist and catch the attention of passers-by - but this does not make it a tool of democratic engagement. The case of the resident proposing and organising an activity is surely a positive result, showing feelings of involvement and active participation. However, in terms of representative bodies, the analysis and findings have shown that the representation of the entire population is not perceived as effective. As a means of consulting residents, Parisians are invited to express feedback on the OAP - but more than this was not planned. Interestingly, what the analysis and findings have revealed is that what the City council expects the 15-Minute City to be something that can be described as a *set-up of bottom-up goals*, meaning that the city has institutionalised objectives and expectations, but they envision the change to come from a bottom-up approach. But how could institutions react to conflicting responses? Who defines what is acceptable and what is not? Who manages the different movements and groups? And above all, is it acceptable for there to be people who are not interested, or who cannot materially participate? What is the strategy to try to involve them further? To all these questions, the 15-Minute City has yet to answer. However, at the current state of things, the 15-Minute City does not allow the banal space to exist, for it maintains the conflict between the network of a few and the lived space of many.

And it is precisely in this that the conflict between a voyeuristic-institutional gaze and the many trajectories that bring city to life, but are unable to read the text they themselves write, materialises. In the possible unification of this conflict, a new meaning can be given to the territory in use, in

realising that both levels are needed, and that in their constant interrelation it is possible to give life to the shift needed to put human capital back at the centre of the discourse.

On the basis of what has already been discussed, it can be said that the 15-Minute City promotes values of inclusion? On a material level, the 15-Minute City, in addition to the opening of school courtyards, it has not supported any particular changes in the built environment of Porte de Montmartre, neither in terms of discouraging new constructions nor repurposing existing buildings, to reallocate resources towards a more all-embracing policy. On a discursive level, the 15-Minute City does not seem to live up to its said values of diversity and inclusion, because it is perceived in its implementation as appealing only to those who can afford it. And this is not only a trend of the wealthy areas, but it is what is observed in an area that has the territorial configuration of Porte de Montmartre. In addition, results showed that the 'tendency to open' that the 15-Minute City wants to promote is sometimes perceived as a 'tendency to close'. In fact, what for some can look like the development of proximity services, for others look like the removing mobility from the centre of discourse to discourage free circulation. In addition, the paradox between having Paris as the scale of regulation and a neighbourhood as the scale of implementation makes inclusiveness a difficult goal to achieve, both within the neighbourhood and when comparing different neighbourhoods. Therefore, a real and comprehensive inclusivity in the policy of the 15-Minute City seems difficult to achieve at the current state of things.

Conclusion

The aim of this investigation has been to question and to contextualise the spatial and temporal dynamics of the modern city, by exploring ways of inhabiting and understanding the territory. This research has to be contextualised in a framework of interest which promotes a critical approach to sustainable alternatives of territorial development.

This report has firstly conducted a critical inquiry of matters of time and space, understanding them as socially constructed overtime and continuously shaped by relationships. This has allowed an understanding of the territory imbued with historical and social significance, which moves away from the idea of a 'flat' and 'empty' territory of a neo-liberal or pure-planning conception, and embraces the lived reality of a space-time inhabited by events and people.

It has then moved to consider how the concept and reality of the city have evolved overtime. Infused with the urgent logic of production, the city has spatially and temporally developed to serve the great capitalist economic machine, which has turned even everyday life into a commodity. In this scenario, urban planning, which was supposed to benefit the inhabitants of the city, has bowed to the pursue of modernisation, by building highways, producing urban sprawl and causing the clear division between working-place and sleeping-place. These spatial dynamics have to be understood within changing temporal dynamics, given the fact that the very structure of society was undergoing a change, as the cause and/or consequence of economic and political needs e.g. the development of women's salaried work. These dynamics have led the rhythm of life to no longer be marked by the firmness of grand narratives, but by a process of individualisation and hybridisation in which choice has become increasingly meaningful and fundamental to navigating the opportunities and difficulties of urban life. In a 24/7 open city, possibilities have become multiple, but unfortunately this does not mean that individual freedom and emancipation has increased necessarily and for everyone. This context of complexity, on the one hand, pervaded and augmented social inequalities by spreading expectations of fulfilment that did not, however, translate into real and democratic accessibility. On the other, it created entry points for a resistance that could interpret and reshuffle the structure for its own use. For example, the issue of cars: initially a symbol of modernity and prestige, they became accessible and then indispensable to a lower segment of the population that had to travel long distances between sleeping- and working-places, and that did not always have access to shared means of transportation. Nowadays demonised in favour of more sustainable alternatives of locomotion, without taking into account those who are still victims of and unable to escape from unsustainable dynamics, the use or non-use of the car well exemplifies the

distance-time sociological debate. In this continuous process of negotiation between mobility dynamics and social conflicts, individual and collective interests, and considering the two great ecological and health alarms, the need to rethink the city arises clear, to promote an idea of social life which puts interest and human capital at the centre, allows for looking at the situation on appropriate scales, and leads to an approach to life based on care, for current and future generations.

The current debate is contextualised in an intention to promote an idea of sustainable urban development, leading to a healthier expression of life. Among the various movements defined as 'slow', i.e. wanting to move everyday life away from the capitalist gold-rush, there is the 15-Minute City. Stating that for an optimal lifestyle, everything a resident needs should be within a maximum distance of 15 minutes, on foot or by bicycle, this theory has the potential to challenge the geography and power dynamics upon which cities have been built. By bringing matters of density, proximity, diversity and digitalisation to the centre of the discussion, this model expresses a very strong political message, taken up and embraced by the mayor of Paris, Anne Hidalgo - who channelled it for her election program. However, the model leaves room for questions, as the radius that can be covered in 15 minutes on foot and by bike is different. In addition, it must be considered that Paris is a multifunctional city and welcomes very different realities: considering that this model must apply to specific conditions in each area, its implementation appears complex.

To pursue a better understanding of the case at hand, the neighbourhood of Porte de Montmartre has been chosen as the object of empirical research. Located in the far north of Paris, and characterised by a complex historical and social fabric, the neighbourhood was selected as one of the four pilots for the implementation of the 15-Minute City. Included in the priority geography since 1995, the neighbourhood has already been at the centre of strategies for territorial development. It is therefore interesting to explore how the 15-Minute City fits into a territory with intricate political and social dynamics, where spatial development has long been at the centre of debate. To investigate the case study at hand, the institutional framework of the City of Paris and of the 18th arrondissement have been explored, to better contextualise the scope of action. In the process of translating the 15-Minute City into a policy it is interesting to look at the revision of the local development plan PLU, to understand its regulatory framework. It has been deemed appropriate to investigate the case both at a discursive and material level, to both grasp the vision and implementation of the 15-Minute City. Therefore, a desk research concerning official material issues by Parisian authorities and semi-structured interviews have been carried out, drawing from the general context of Paris to the specific context of Porte de Montmartre. To explore the different sectors of action in the neighbourhood it seemed appropriate to interview engaged citizens, head of social and cultural

associations with a local scope and mission. This empirical exploration has shed light on matters of well-being, mobility, public space and citizens' involvement, allowing to consider the 15-Minute city in its political, administrative and social sphere of action.

In the light of the above, the following will now answer the sub-questions and finally the main research question behind this study.

How are the 15-Minute City concept and model translated into city policy?

As already mentioned, the 15-Minute City concept and model is to be applied to the specific needs and conformations of a territory. As revealed in the exploration of the PLU, in the specific case of Paris, the 15-Minute City policy assumes a scale that includes the whole city, because it is the subject of a thematic OAP and therefore aimed at the totality of the territory. This large scale, however, makes its application modelled on specific needs difficult, because Paris is a multifunctional and territorially diverse city. Therefore, the 15-Minute City cannot be translated into a firm regulation, but remains within the framework of orientation, to serve as a framework when discussing projects aimed at territorial development. However, it seems essential to emphasise that in the specific case of Paris, considering its density and rich offer of services, the 15-Minute City should translate into a 5-minute walking radius to serve as a functional indicator. In addition, the urban debate must focus on the combination of proximity and accessibility, to ensure that services are not only close, but also convenient and feasible to reach. In conclusion, the 15-Minute City as a policy takes on a strong political intention, which accounts to a vague administrative framework, which lacks consistency and credibility to have an effect or to be convincing. Indeed, much of the work is expected to 'happen' within the social sphere, which the 15-Minute City struggles to enter as policy.

To what extent does the 15-Minute City encourage a participatory approach?

As mentioned theoretically in the literature review and confirmed by the desk research that shed light on the vision behind the policy, the 15-Minute City encourages a participatory approach through local democracy activities - first and foremost through the citizen kiosk instrument. But the analysis revealed another aspect of the issue: as things stand at present, the 15-Minute City seems to be developed with a top-down approach, which has bottom-up objectives. The fact that it cannot go beyond the orientation-status clarifies that the social objective cannot be within the regulatory framework. This means that there is a part that remains undefined: for example, if at the policy level one can regulate that services are nearby and accessible, it is at the level of participation and involvement in social life that these services may or may not take on a social and solidarity-oriented

purpose. This characterisation remains in the hands of individuals who, encouraged, but not obliged, by such a policy, have the possibility to give real life to the 15-Minute City.

How does the 15-Minute City promote a pattern of sustainable urban development?

It is by being such an orientation that the 15-Minute City can promote a pattern of sustainable urban development, by aiming at raising awareness, educating and supporting. Two interesting findings emerged from the analysis: the first is that the 15-Minute City, as things currently stand, fails to translate the values it claims to be based on into a concretisation that actually challenges the current dynamics of a geography of power. In fact, it is perceived as an 'imposition' from above, an innovative strategy that ultimately recalls an ideology of modernisation, and an appropriation of what actually already exists. This last point leads to the second finding of the research: in people's lived reality, the 15-Minute City in Porte de Montmartre already exists, thanks to the commitment, perseverance and presence of local actors who know the residents and how to respond to their needs. Having said that, there are aspects that could be improved. Firstly, the collaboration between different social and cultural groups: if at the associative level it is stimulated by a will to do and overcome difficulties, at the individual and spontaneous level it is not immediate. In fact, although the neighbourhood is pervaded by a strong sense of solidarity, there are historical divisions and customs that do not allow groups to mingle. Secondly, commercial diversification is felt to be a strong constraint on the expression and development of the neighbourhood towards a better quality of life. Precedents in urban development create a general sense of mistrust that a spatial planning strategy can be effective in meeting the above challenges. But as already mentioned, the inability of the 15-Minute City to become a regulation, and thus its status as an orientation, could perhaps leave enough flexibility and room for interpretation that this policy actually works - to do so, however, it would have to be made better known, which is currently not the case. Or perhaps, it could remain stuck in the political realm, as a very innovative intention.

To what extent the 15-Minute City has the potential to affect the temporal and spatial configuration of the urban environment, as exemplified by the case study of Porte de Montmartre?

Indeed, the 15-Minute City has the potential to encourage reflection and stimulate public debate toward issues of urban and social sustainability. The very fact that it exists illustrates that the modern, industrial city no longer reflects the desirable development ideal. From here to say, however, that it changes the situation is too big of a step. Indeed, with its 'flimsy' character, the 15-Minute City reconfirms power dynamics that already exist on the local and global level. By promoting the reuse and interchangeability of space, the intertwining of schedules and the hybridization of places and activities, the 15-Minute City has the potential, on the paper, to affect

the temporal and spatial configuration of the urban environment - especially considering that given recent events, there is a strong intention to improve the quality of life in the urban space. Whether this intention, however, is of a revolutionary nature, or whether it results in an inclusive and democratic process, does not yet seem to be the case in Porte de Montmartre. In fact, what the strong associative fabric has revealed is a strong sense of belonging and solidarity, which juxtaposed with adequate health and education policies, manage to meet the basic needs of the population in terms of urban development. Although the associative fabric could still benefit from structural and financial improvement, it works in meeting the needs of the groups it represents. In Porte de Montmartre, the various groups still seem to coexist quite peacefully side by side. Certainly, by promoting the use of public space and organising activities outside, these groups are stimulated to meet - affecting the territorial and social configuration of Porte de Montmartre. Moreover, it was noted how the collaboration of different associations in organising events together benefits not only the associations themselves in terms of visibility, but also the whole community because it becomes an opportunity to negotiate proposals and needs. The discourse on the legitimacy of culture and the space left to poverty is interesting: outdoor and collaborative events turn out to be particularly accessible, both in terms of feeling 'appropriate' to occupy a space and in terms of making oneself known to a public that would not usually attend that activity spontaneously.

To conclude, this study started by seeing in the 15-Minute City the real potential to overcome the ideological and physical boundaries that belong to the territorial configuration of modern society. The idea of questioning the spatial and temporal dynamics of urban organisation by proposing an organisation based on the possibilities and interests of the individual recalls what Santos calls banal space, everyone's space. Unfortunately, however, the observed concretisation of the 15-Minute City in Paris does not live up to this potential. But this situation need not be discouraging: if it is true that this study did not find in the 15-Minute City policy the potential it hoped for, it is also true that it found a neighbourhood that continues to fight to function at its best. And it is precisely in this territory of resistance that hopes are focused to create a diverse, inclusive and democratic urban fabric. Recalling what explored in regard to the evolution of the city, this study has to be understood in a dynamic of interwoven temporal configuration, made of a multiplicity of perspectives - which in this case have been represented by the different local actors. If it is true that this multiplicity is always under development, it is also true that in its development over time it has solidified into geographic and hierarchic dynamics, which reflect the conceptualisation of modernity that characterises the industrial city. Porte de Montmartre seems to illustrate these dynamics well: on the edge of the city, in an area that does not possess the characteristics of the centre, but neither those of

the peri-urban area, Porte de Montmartre turns out to be an area where privileged information does not have such a strong hold, because it nonetheless encounters resistance that does not want to surrender passively to the imposition from above. And so, it is that resistance from below, made up of real-life trajectories, which ploughs through the neighbourhood day after day, escaping imposition. And perhaps it is precisely in this hybridisation of space and time, and in the collaboration among different actors, that geographical configurations and power hierarchies solidified in the territory can be questioned.

Recommendations for future research

Based on the conclusions drawn for the completion of this study, the following will provide recommendations to further develop the matters at hand.

Recalling the delimitation of studying only one neighbourhood, it would be relevant to broaden the scope of the research to either all four pilot neighbourhoods, or even better to contiguous neighbourhoods in Paris. Ideally, it would be interesting to enlarge the scale of the study to the entire city of Paris. In fact, comparing different neighbourhoods would make it possible to learn which territorial characteristics precisely influence certain urban factors - and thus how to proceed in research and development. Taking the study to the scale of Paris would make possible a more in-depth study of the OAP instrument of the PLU, which could be better investigated in its thematic nature - and thus in relation to the entire city context.

A comparison of case studies for the 15-Minute City would also be relevant in the case of investigating how Paris differs from or takes on characteristics similar to another city - carrying forward the intention to compare different sociocultural and development systems. This scenario could be taken forward by investigating different cities in France - and thus see how the 15-Minute City translates into cities of different sizes, with different political orientations and different priorities, but still under the same national policy. Here the political sphere would be particularly enlightening, given the strong political intention of the 15-Minute City in Paris. Equally interesting could be to integrate the study with a case less metropolitan than Paris, in order to investigate quality of life indicators in different urban contexts. The comparison of case studies could also be investigated by considering cities far away from each other, in different countries or continents - thus calling for the need to unify distant contexts under the common 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda.

This research focused on particularly engaged citizens, to gain an informed and relevant perspective out of a relatively small-scale investigation, given the scope and possibilities of the study at hand. Interestingly, it has shown the potential representatives from social and cultural association have to shed light on questions of proximity. It could be a possible development to go further in investigating them as creators of meaning in this context. Another possibility for this research to be expanded, regardless of the scale and number of cases, is by targeting different groups of the population. It could be relevant to focus on public authorities, to explore how the policy has been dealt with at the institutional level and included in the territorial strategic development plan. On the other hand, it could also be interesting to investigate the public response, to explore the level of

citizens' awareness, their processes of interpretation, and to what extent this policy meets their needs and desires. This sociological exploration could be integrated with an inquiry of philosophical nature, which would add to the spatial analysis of the inhabited space, the level of abstraction given by the 'mental' space - bridging the fields of objectivity and subjectivity, and opening it up to broadly multidisciplinary research.

As already mentioned, this research took on a qualitative character, aimed at an exploration of themes and modes of the 15-Minute City. Following this exploration, it would be relevant for the research to take on a more quantitative and technical character, coming to include aspects of geographical distribution and economic indicators. This investigation of territorial proximity and accessibility, aimed at shedding light on an economic geography, is precisely the topic of the research project that the researcher behind this study intends to pursue throughout the PhD in Regional Science and Economic Geography at the Department of Social Sciences of the Gran Sasso Science Institute. Therefore, although the study at hand can be said to have reached its conclusion, the research insights that it generated have not been exhausted and have the potential to continue to inspire research in the field.

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[3] *The return of the territor*y is an annotated interpretation and translation of the text *O retorno do território* (1994), by Milton Santos. It is the second chapter of the book *Milton Santos: A pioneer in critical geography from the global south*, meant to traduce Santos' school of thought to make it accessible to the English-speaking community.

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Annex 1

Semi-structured Interviews

Intro: about the organisation

1. Brief introduction of organisation (history, structure, goals, role in Porte de Montmartre)

2. Main projects and achievements

On the spatio-temporal configuration of Porte de Montmartre and proximity

3. What are the main strengths and gaps in the spatial and temporal configuration of Porte de Montmartre?

4. According to your perception, how different groups of people cohabit the space and time in Porte de Montmartre?

The 15-Minute City project in Porte de Montmartre

5. Have you ever heard of the 15-Minute City model? If yes, from whom and in which occasion?

6. To what extent would you say your organisation is involved with this project of territorial development?

7. According to you, to what extent is this project tailored to a neighbourhood like Porte de Montmartre? Is it a good fit for its social, historical, economical, political configuration? Is it needed? Does it answer to everyday life problems? Can you provide one or more examples?

8. What can you tell me about its implementation over time? What are your expectations?

9. How would you describe (based on what you think and noticed) the citizens reactions to this project? Can you provide one or more examples?

10. Do you think this project is accessible to the population? Can you provide one or more examples?

Annex 2

List of all conducted interviews. Interviews are ordered chronologically based on when they have been conducted. The first column provides references for the analysis. The reader is invited to familiarise with people and associations involved in this study.

Reference	Association	Association scope	Interviewee	Interviewee's role
A	Maison de la Conversation	NGO promoting interactions among individuals and associations	Matis Demazeau	Communication Officer
B	Centre sportif Bertrand Dauvin	Sport centre	José Gil	Employee
C	L'Étoile du Nord	Performance art theatre	Lucie Brillanceau	Head of Public Relations and Cultural Action
D1	Bibliothèque Jacqueline De Romilly	Public library part of the library network of the City of Paris	Nicolas Almimoff	Director
D2	Bibliothèque Jacqueline De Romilly	Public library part of the library network of the City of Paris	Aude Gibaud	Responsible for the *Pôle adulte*
E	Maison de la Vie Associative et Citoyenne du 18e	Local municipal structure to promote the associative and civic life of the district	Camille Paturange	Responsible for Associative Projects Valorisation
F	Centre Paris'Anim Binet	Local municipal structure to implement popular education projects, and develop access to leisure, culture, citizenship and community life	Christine Le Gall	Director of the three *Centres Paris Anim'* in the 18th arrondissement
G	Oasis 18	NGO for cultural and leisure activities, and school support	Hichem Mekideche	Director
H1	La REcyclerie	Café and social centre promoting sustainable development and ecology	Julie Servat	Gardener - Animator of the *Ferme Pédagogique*
H2	La REcyclerie	Café and social centre, to promote sustainable development and ecology	Emilie Bourgeois	Coordinator of *l'Atelier de REné*
I	Centre Social La Maison Bleue	Social centre offering activities to encourage encounters, education, integration and social life in the neighbourhood	Vincent Lacote	Director
J	Une Fabrique de la Ville	Urbanism consultancy firm member of the team appointed by the City of Paris to assist in the development of its PLU	Sébastien Harlaux	Associate Project Director
K	Centre Social	Social centre for the *Caisse*	Johann Pitte	Director

	CAF Belliard	*d'Allocations Familiales* of Paris, aimed at strengthening social cohesion		
L	Le Petit Ney	Associative literary café, created and managed by local residents	Myrina Durand	Association's Coordinator