

Workshop on  
The Politics of Diversity  
Governance  
in European and Asian Cities

17-18 November 2022

Université Paris Cité & National University of Singapore



*Hosted by*



*Jointly organized by*



**The workshop is jointly organized by the Université Paris Cité and the National University of Singapore (NUS); and is being hosted at the Maison de la Recherche de l'Inalco (Paris).**

This workshop is part of the UPCité-NUS project 'Governing Diverse Cities in Europe and Asia'. This project explores comparatively the challenges of governing increasingly diverse across Europe and Asia.

Changing migration patterns have led to the rise of an urban migrant population that is transnationally connected and socio-economically differentiated (Vertovec 2015). This context has challenged pre-existing models of management of urban diversity. Recent developments in Europe and Asia have put under test the national models of diversity governance and shown the necessity of a renewed reflection. Asian cities, with their rapid growth, are driven by a need to attract cheap workforce and skilled labor (Yeoh 2004). They have been confronted with rising patterns of urban exclusion and have had to come up with new tools for cultural inclusion. European cities, despite their long tradition of welcoming and integration are confronted with new challenges, as they host populations from an ever-increasing diversity of cultures, and with highly differentiated statuses and needs (Vertovec 2007). European cities, which have traditionally approached urban diversity governance through the lens of the assimilation of foreigners within a uniform national culture, have had to reinvent themselves as spaces intercultural interactions.

This conference follows a first workshop that took place in May 2022 in Singapore, to advance knowledge on urban diversity governance from a cross-disciplinary and cross-regional perspective. It brought scholars in migration studies, urban studies, political science, sociology, geography, anthropology, and other relevant disciplines to discuss convergences and contrasts across Europe and Asia, and identify emerging challenges and patterns of diversity governance. Over the course of the first workshop, we uncovered key actors and power dynamics of urban diversity governance by focusing on three articulated topics: urban settlements and diversity management, the effects of urban policies targeted at migrants and minorities and on urban inclusion/exclusion, and the distinction that can be drawn between 'hostile cities' and 'cities of refuge'.

This first workshop confirmed the premise of the project about the need move beyond thinking diversity governance through traditional nation-centric and top-down framework, and instead approach it as the result of a conjunction of actions of multiple urban actors. This Paris workshop will have two aims: 1) pushing forward comparative thinking across European and Asian cities. 2) Advancing our understanding of the actors of diversity governance.

One line of thinking that we propose to explore is the relation between urban entrepreneurialism and diversity governance. The link between diversity governance and urban entrepreneurialism has been developed in the literature that puts forward the influence of neoliberalism on urban policies and politics. It highlights the influence of urban growth coalitions in the commodification of urban culture (Zukin, 1999), on the diffusion of diversity management models (Raco, 2019), and on social polarization in globalizing cities (Sassen, 2006). But instead of taking urban entrepreneurialism as a homogeneous model of diversity management generating similar patterns across different contexts, our goal is to discuss how different forms of urban diversity entrepreneurs coexist, analyze their frictions and trace their contributions to diversity governance. During the first workshop in Singapore, we encountered a wide variety of figures of the urban diversity entrepreneur: from the urban leaders that instrumentalize diversity to promote their cities to civil society activists that combat urban exclusions; from the private actors that promote diversity management to build an attractive image, to migrants who strive to fulfil their aspirations by navigating complex institutional frameworks, and mobilizing their networks.

This approach allows understanding the governance of diversity as a pragmatic negotiation. The workshop will discuss successively different types of diversity entrepreneurs to discuss their role in shaping diversity governance in their city. In particular, we will discuss their role in processes of categorizations of urban populations, in the management of urban spaces, and in logics of exclusion and inclusion.

## **CONVENORS**

### **Assoc Prof Marie Gibert-Flutre**

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### **Assoc Prof Kong Chong Ho**

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### **Dr Jeremie Molho**

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### **Prof Camille Schmoll**

École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (EHESS), Géographie-cités Paris

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## **THE VENUE IN PARIS**

### **Maison de la Recherche de l'Inalco (*Inalco's House of Research*)**

2 rue de Lille

75007 Paris

### **Rooms**

- Thursday 17<sup>th</sup>: Auditorium Dumézil (ground floor)
- Friday 18<sup>th</sup>: Salle de Sacy (2<sup>nd</sup> floor)

A Zoom link will be sent a few days prior to the workshop to our Singaporean partners who asked for it.

### **Access**

#### **Métro:**

- M1 - station Palais-Royal - Musée du Louvre
- M4 - station Saint-Germain-des-Prés
- M7 - station Palais-Royal - Musée du Louvre
- M12 - station rue du Bac

**Bus :** Lines 27, 39, 68, 69, 87, 95 - arrêt Pont du Carrousel - Quai Voltaire

**R.E.R. :** R.E.R C - station Musée d'Orsay

## PROGRAM AT-A-GLANCE

DATE	TIME (FR)	TIME (SG)	PANEL SESSION
17 Nov. 2022 (Thu)	08:30 – 09:00	15:30 – 16:00	WELCOME COFFEE
	09:00 – 10:45	16:00 – 17:45	WELCOME REMARKS & ROUND TABLE 1
	11:15 – 12:45	18:15 – 19:45	ROUND TABLE 2
	12:45 – 14:30	19:45 – 21:30	LUNCH BREAK
	14:30 – 16:30	21:30 – 23:30	ROUND TABLE 3
	16:30 – 17:30	23:30 – 00:30	WRAP UP / COLLECTIVE DISCUSSION
18 Nov 2022 (Fri)	09:30 – 10:45	16:30 – 17:45	ROUND TABLE 4
	11:15 – 12:30	18:15 – 19:30	WRAP UP / COLLECTIVE DISCUSSION
	12:30 – 17:00	19:30 – 00:00	COLLECTIVE SITE VISIT (PARIS)
19 Nov 2022 (Sat)	09:00 – 12:00	16:00 – 19:00	COLLECTIVE DISCUSSION ON PUBLICATION

## 17 NOVEMBER 2022 • THURSDAY

08:30 – 09:00	<b>WELCOME COFFEE</b>
09:00 – 09:15	<b>WELCOME AND INTRODUCTORY REMARKS</b>
	<p><b>Marie Gibert-Flutre</b>   <i>Universit� Paris Cit�</i></p> <p><b>Kong Chong Ho</b>   <i>National University of Singapore</i></p> <p><b>Jeremie Molho</b>   <i>European University Institute</i></p> <p><b>Camille Schmoll</b>   <i>�cole des Hautes �tudes en Sciences Sociales (EHESS)</i></p>
09:15– 10:45	<b>ROUND TABLE 1 – CULTURAL ENTREPRENEURS AND COMMUNITY BUILDING</b>
<i>Chairperson</i>	<p><b>Kong Chong Ho</b>   <i>National University of Singapore</i></p> <hr/> <p>Cultural Policies in Super-diverse Cities: The Role of Arts and Culture in the Governance of Marginalized Labor Migrants in Doha and Singapore</p> <p><b>Jeremie Molho</b>   <i>Toronto Metropolitan University</i></p> <hr/> <p>Urban Religion, Recognition, and Diversity: Hinduism in Singapore and Paris</p> <p><b>Natalie Lang</b>   <i>University of G�ttingen</i></p> <hr/> <p>Ethnic Exclusion through Inclusive Cultural Policies: Hui Muslims and the Silk Road-based Urban Development in Xi’an, China</p> <p><b>Yang Yang</b>   <i>National University of Singapore</i></p>
10:45 – 11:15	<b>BREAK</b>
11:15 – 12:45	<b>ROUND TABLE 2 – THE MIGRANT AS AN URBAN ENTREPRENEUR NAVIGATING THE CITY</b>
<i>Chairperson</i>	<p><b>Aur�lie Varrel</b>   <i>CNRS</i></p> <hr/> <p>Can International Students be Potential Brokers in their Host Cities?</p> <p><b>Rochelle Yun Ge</b>   <i>University of Saint Joseph</i></p> <p><b>Kong Chong Ho</b>   <i>National University of Singapore</i></p> <hr/> <p>Textile Clusters in Contemporary Global Cities, Paris (France) vs Guangzhou (China)</p> <p><b>Gilles Guiheux</b>   <i>Universit� Paris Cit�</i></p> <hr/> <p>Becoming an Urban Citizen? Social Relationships and the Self-Development of Internal Migrants in Guangzhou, China</p> <p><b>Samantha Lim</b>   <i>National University of Singapore</i></p> <p><b>Elaine Lynn-Ee Ho</b>   <i>National University of Singapore</i></p>
12:45- 14:30	<b>LUNCH BREAK</b>
14:30 – 16:30	<b>ROUND TABLE 3 – URBAN ENTREPRENEURIALISM: THE CITY AND MUNICIPAL ACTORS MOBILIZING RESOURCES</b>
<i>Chairperson</i>	<p><b>Delphine Pag�s-El Karoui</b>   <i>Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales (INALCO)</i></p> <hr/> <p>When Entrepreneurial Urbanism Meets Migrants: Critical Perspectives from Silk Road Paris (Tremblay-en-France)</p> <p><b>Marie Gibert-Flutre</b>   <i>Universit� Paris Cit�</i></p>

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Theories and Practices of Governance of Cultural Diversity in Cities between Europe and East Asia: A Comparative Study on the Implementation of Interculturalism between Barcelona, Hamamatsu, Ansan and Guro-gu

**Beniamino Peruzzi Castellani** | *Scuola Normale Superiore*

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Smart Diversity: Singapore's Punggol from Model New Town to Global Digital District

**Daniel P. S. Goh** | *National University of Singapore*

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Rescaling Diversity Management in Global Paris

**Camille Schmoll** | *Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (EHESS)*

**Catherine Lejeune** | *Universit  Paris Cit *

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16:30 – 17:30

WRAP UP / COLLECTIVE DISCUSSION

## 18 NOVEMBER 2022 • FRIDAY

<b>08:30 – 09:00</b>	<b>WELCOME COFFEE</b>
<b>09:30 – 10:45</b>	<b>ROUND TABLE 4 – (UN)WELCOMING: THE POLITICS OF RECEPTION</b>
<i>Chairperson</i>	<p><b>H�l�ne Thiollet</b>   <i>Sciences Po Urban School, Paris</i></p> <hr/> <p>Producing and Governing Alterity in the Parisian Urban Area: Slums, European Immigrants and Urban Policies</p> <p><b>Lucas Teiller</b>   <i>Universit� Paris Cit�</i></p> <hr/> <p>Social Hierarchies, Privileged Gendered Migrations and Volunteer Work, the Case of International Residents ‘Helping’ Refugees in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia</p> <p><b>Marion Tertre</b>   <i>La Sorbonne University</i></p> <hr/> <p>The Policy of Refugee Reception and the Policing of Public Space in Paris</p> <p><b>Marco Cremaschi</b>   <i>Sciences Po Urban School</i></p> <p><b>Tommaso Vitale</b>   <i>Sciences Po Urban School</i></p> <hr/> <p>Organising the Reception of Exiles in the Centre of Paris: Between Visible Solidarity, Temporary Arrangements, and Discretionary Policies</p> <p><b>L�a R�ville</b>   <i>Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (EHESS)</i></p>
<b>10:45 – 11:15</b>	<b>BREAK</b>
<b>11:15 – 12:30</b>	<b>WRAP UP / COLLECTIVE DISCUSSION</b>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Follow-up of the “Governing diverse Cities in Europe and Asia” MOOC</li> <li>- Collective discussion on our collective publication</li> </ul>
<b>12:30 – 17:00</b>	<b>COLLECTIVE SITE VISIT</b>

## 19 NOVEMBER 2022 • SATURDAY

09:00 – 12:00

### COLLECTIVE DISCUSSION ON PUBLICATION

Internal team meeting

- *Follow-up of the “Governing diverse Cities in Europe and Asia” MOOC*
- *Collective discussion on our collective publication*
- *Towards the finalization of our UPCit -NUS project*



## **Cultural Policies in Super-diverse Cities: The Role of Arts and Culture in the Governance of Marginalized Labor Migrants in Doha and Singapore**

**Jeremie Molho**

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This contribution pursues two inter-related objectives. On the one hand, it aims to analyze the consequences of emerging patterns of urban diversity for cultural policies. On the other hand, it aims to study the rationales and effects of cultural policies deployed towards low-skilled labor migrants in Doha and Singapore.

A long-standing literature explores the role of arts and culture in the integration of migrants. It puts forward the participation of migrants and their descendants in a city's cultural scene as a reflection of their integration, and uncovers processes of hybridization that enrich local culture. This understanding of cultural policy as a tool of nation-building and integration has been challenged by emerging patterns of urban diversity. The increase of worldwide migrations, the diversification of people's statuses and origins, and the rise of transnational identities, have led to what Steven Vertovec has theorized as "superdiversity". While super-diverse cities often celebrate diversity and intercultural mixing, they are also marked by urban fragmentations, which separate people along social, ethnic, and cultural lines.

In the postwar period, cultural democratization appeared as a central motto for cultural policies. This paradigm relied on a universalist understanding of culture, and aimed at the spreading of a common national culture. But at the turn of the new century, this paradigm had given way to a quest for urban creativity. Some see in the decline of universalist cultural democratization policies an opportunity for the recognition of diverse identities and the affirmation of minorities' cultural rights. But critical voices have shown how this apparently inclusive approach conceives cultural policy merely as an economic tool, aimed at enhancing urban development, generating human capital, attractiveness, and urban regeneration.

Instead of analyzing cultural policies in the context of super-diversity as part of a new paradigm, I put forward their compartmentalization, as separate frameworks have incrementally added up and target separate groups, contributing not only to urban and cultural fragmentation, but to the coexistence of distinct diversity discourses. Traditional national cultural democratization policies remain in place. More sophisticated cultural policies, which push the boundaries of the national framework and attempt to make space for minorities have been widely diffused. Creative city policies are actively mobilized to create segmented spaces of elitist culture intended to contribute to the city's attractiveness. Finally, with the increasing numbers of marginalized migrants, that are de facto excluded from the national project, but have come forth as public issues, new forms of cultural policies targeted at these groups have emerged as well.

It is specifically on the cultural policies aimed at these marginalized migrant populations that the empirical part of this study will focus on. In recent years, Doha and Singapore have seen the emergence of a range of cultural initiatives addressed at the low-skill migrant worker populations. The organization of photography festivals, and poetry competitions, the construction of facilities targeting migrants such as movie theatres showing Bollywood movies or cricket stadiums have been put forward as a way to cater to their culturally specific needs. Museum exhibitions have included their story and given them opportunities to express their point of view. Such initiatives appear paradoxical in the light of the well-documented exclusion processes these migrants are subjected to, and the fact that they are often portrayed merely as physical labor, rather than subjective beings. This raises the question of the rationale and effects of such cultural policies. Are they conducive to further exclusion, by contributing to urban segmentation and othering? Or do they constitute "spaces of hope", which can contribute to their empowerment and to challenge dominant frames put upon them?

This analysis is based on a comparative study, which I am conducting in Doha and Singapore. Since 2018 I have done interviews with cultural policy stakeholders in both cities to analyze their role in the governance of diversity. I also conducted observations on cultural initiatives in both cities, including both physical visits and analyses of social media and internet sources, as digital cultural initiatives have become increasingly prevalent since 2020 due to the coronavirus pandemic.

Based on this analysis, I argue that we can distinguish between three types of cultural policies towards marginalized labor migrants in Doha and Singapore: (1) One that participates in exclusion processes, (2) one that attempts to legitimize the existing diversity management regime, (3) and one that aims to shift the frames put upon these migrants and advocate for change.

The first category, of exclusive cultural policies, consist in the creation of cultural services for migrants within segregated urban spaces: the creation of cultural centers, culturally specific shops, culture and sport activities within areas separated from the urban community, planned to house low-skilled migrant workers, such as the Singapore migrant dormitories, or Doha's 'Asian city'. These cultural actions contribute to respond to international critiques against migrants' poor living conditions, by showcasing the government, employers and planners' concern for migrants' well-being. At the same time, they offer a response to the xenophobic sentiment arising from the migrants' frequentation of mainstream urban spaces. This kind of cultural policies contributes to a rising logic of urban segregation. The provision of specifically tailored cultural services to migrant workers have taken part in the wider move towards expelling migrant workers away from central urban areas, preventing them from mingling with the rest of the population.

A second category of cultural policies addressed at labor migrant workers in Doha and Singapore are part of the wider urban and nation branding efforts put forward by key cultural institutions. They include cultural access programs specifically addressed at migrant labor, exhibition sections telling their stories, their role in building the city and the nation. The involvement of these workers in national celebrations are particularly telling instances of this approach. These kinds of cultural policies are part of public diplomacy strategies. Both Singapore and Doha are scrutinized by transnational civil societies regarding their treatment of migrant workers and their concern for international reputation encourages them to come up with positive messages on the symbolic recognition of migrant workers and their life satisfaction. In addition, these policies are also addressed at the national population, in order to foster acceptability and understanding towards migrant workers, amid a rising xenophobic sentiment.

And there is finally a third category of cultural policies towards labor migrants, which aims to create civic spaces to empower them and reframe their place within the city. These consist of bottom-up cultural initiatives driven both by migrant workers themselves and local civil society organizations. They include literary projects enabling migrant workers to publish poems and books in which they can tell their experience. These provide spaces where they can express their subjectivity, where they can appear not just as migrant workers, but as writers, artists and community activists. These spaces allow raising issues pertaining to their conditions, such as physical risks at work, poor housing, exploitative statuses that put them at the mercy of their employers. At the same time, while such initiatives constitute spaces of hope that enable to imagine other possibilities, their material precariousness limits their visibility and potential transformative impact.

In sum, this contribution puts forward two key arguments: the compartmentalization of cultural policies in super-diverse cities, and the ambivalent role of culture in the governance of marginalized labor migrants in Doha and Singapore. On this basis, it aims to lay out research and policy agenda pertaining to cultural policies in super-diverse cities.

**Jeremie Molho** is research fellow at the European University Institute in Florence, Italy. From 2019 to 2021, he was a member of the Asian Urbanism Cluster of the Asia Research Institute. Jeremie received a BA in Middle Eastern studies and a MA in urban studies from Sciences Po Paris and completed his PhD in geography in 2016 at the University of Angers, France. In his doctoral research, Jeremie analysed how cities outside of the West developed strategies to position themselves as global art market centres. He focused mainly on Istanbul, and conducted comparative fieldwork in Singapore and Hong Kong. Since 2017, he has been studying Singapore and Doha's use of cultural policies to govern their diversity.

## Urban Religion, Recognition, and Diversity: Hinduism in Singapore and Paris

**Natalie Lang**

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This paper examines the role that religious practices, festivals, and institutions play in the lives of Hindus in Singapore and Paris, and how their religious aspirations fit, contrast, or work along with urban diversity governance. The paper sheds light on how the Singaporean and French secular states deal with religious diversity, how the parallels and differences between what is often perceived as Singaporean multiculturalist and French laicist approaches play out with regards to Hindus, and what this means in terms of recognition of religious minorities. It is based on anthropological fieldwork conducted in Singapore and Paris, both offline and remotely online, during several months between 2019 and 2022.

The Hindu presence in both cities results from diverse migration experiences. Even a focus on Tamil Hindus, as is taken in this paper, entails many different migration backgrounds, with complex migration histories from South India and Sri Lanka over other places like Malaysia, Mauritius, or elsewhere, and at different times, with more historical migration up to continuously incoming migrants today. This continuously changing social composition of the supposed 'Hindu' community then needs to be considered when talking about the category 'Hindu' and questions of recognition. In addition, it is important to consider that a number of Hindus in Paris and Singapore practice other religions as well or have family members whom they join in different religious practices.

Recognition of religious minorities can be studied, for instance, by looking at places of worship and festivals, how they are allowed to be built and organized, how they are controlled, and how visible they are. The conduct of festivals is highly regulated and reduced in both Singapore and Paris, with limited processions in the streets. The number of visible temples is higher in Singapore than in Paris, and while many temples in Singapore are built in South Indian architecture, most temples in Paris are installed in rooms in existing buildings, for example next to a launderette, or behind a courtyard, not at all visible from the street. In Singapore, Hinduism is a recognized religion with two secular state bodies, the Hindu Endowments Board and the Hindu Advisory Board, impacting how official religion plays out in the city. In France, by contrast, the state officially does not recognize any religion, and the interactions between religious and municipal institutions are less Hinduism-specific. At the same time, in both cities, a lot of religious life happens beyond official festivals and official places of worship, such as in the domestic sphere, including in court yards. An analysis of the visible and countable aspects of religious practices does not fully account for questions about recognition of Hinduism in both cities. In addition to the countable or visible dimensions of recognition, I am thus interested in the social and felt dimensions of recognition. An examination of recognition in the sense of how recognized Hindus feel in Singapore and Paris, and what social status is attributed to Hinduism, demonstrates that these different dimensions of recognition are closely interconnected, and that all of them are important.

The article first traces the history of the diverse migration patterns of Tamils to Singapore and Paris, and what role religion played in their arrival and installation processes. The article then compares the relation between religion and the state in both cities, by focusing on how the labels of multiculturalism and laicism play out and are challenged when examining how places of worship are built, how festivals are organized, and how practitioners develop strategies to deal with state regulations. The paper then analyzes different examples and voices with regards to the social and felt dimensions of recognition of Hinduism in Singapore and Paris. The examples often reveal close relationships between people's religious and urban aspirations. The article concludes by emphasizing the importance of considering religion in diversity governance by looking at how religious festivals, religious institutions, places of worship, and faith-based support systems contribute to the city and to how the city is experienced.

**Natalie Lang** is a Research Fellow at the Centre for Modern Indian Studies (CeMIS), University of G ttingen. She was Associated Junior Fellow at the Max Weber Centre for Advanced Cultural and Social Studies, University of Erfurt, and Postdoctoral Fellow at the Religion and Globalisation Cluster and the Asian Urbanisms Cluster at the Asia Research Institute (ARI), National University of Singapore (NUS). She is also affiliated to the Centre d' tudes et de recherches sur l'Inde, l'Asie du Sud et sa diaspora Universit  du Qu bec   Monr al (CERIAS-UQAM). Her doctoral thesis in anthropology received the Frobenius Research Award. Her book *Religion and Pride: Hindus in Search of Recognition in La R union* appeared with Berghahn Books in 2021. She is co-editor of the research blog *CoronAsur: Religion and Covid-19*, and member of the editorial board at the peer-reviewed journal *Interdisziplin re Zeitschrift f r S dasienforschung* (Interdisciplinary Journal of South Asia Research). Natalie Lang holds a PhD from the University of G ttingen, an MA in Migration and Diaspora Studies from the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London, and a BA in South Asian Studies from the University of Heidelberg.

## **Ethnic Exclusion through Inclusive Cultural Policies: Hui Muslims and the Silk Road-based Urban Development in Xi'an, China**

**Yang Yang**

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This paper investigates the interplay between ethno-religious diversity and urban governance in the context of Muslim communities in northwestern China. Specifically, this paper examines how the state excludes ethno-religious minorities through appropriating them as cultural symbols in culture-led urban development. Urban policies on managing ethno-religious communities are often closely aligned with the state effort in promoting multiculturalism, especially acknowledging ethnic minorities' crucial roles in fostering ethnic integration through cultural heritage. Minority communities in the context of urban cultural heritage are often celebrated as evidence of cultural transmissions and exchanges in the past. These histories and their implications to the current and future ethnic and religious administrative policies are instrumental for the state. More importantly, heritage sites associated with ethnic and religious minorities are often tourist attractions as well. In this light, these sites are valuable to the local government for their contributions to the local tourism economy. Meanwhile, having members of these ethno-religious minority communities engage in heritage and tourism-based activities can also be seen as part of urban policies that aim at improving minority communities' livelihood. Therefore, cultural heritage is central to urban policies that target ethnic and religious minorities, especially the state efforts in featuring the inclusiveness of urban policies on promoting minority cultures in ethnic and religious contexts.

This approach is not uncommon among Asian cities whereby culture-led urban development has been circulated among policymakers as successful models from not only North America and Europe but also cities within Asia that has pioneered on implementing cultural cities locally. Like their Euro-American contexts, cultural cities in Asia are only not providing vehicles for capital accumulation through gentrification but also offering tools of governance. In the Chinese context, culture-led urban development has mushroomed as a successful model of generating new opportunities for real estate-based development. Consequently, marginalized communities such as migrant laborers are become deeply involved in the development of cultural districts through displacement. As for other marginalized communities such as ethnic minorities, cities provide the venue to the Chinese government to realize its vision of rendering ethnic minorities visible and hence governable through spatial practices. Nomadic minorities are arranged to settle in urban housing as a form of poverty alleviation. In other cases, culture is used as urban theming to feature the "uniqueness" of ethnic minorities to reinforce the differences between the Han and non-Han minorities. Visualizing "cultural" differences hence consolidates ethnic hierarchies that center the Han majority as the key reference for other minority groups. Alongside urban theming, public space in these newly developed ethnic cities is the new site whereby the degree of being "civilized" as urban citizens is equated to the degree of non-Han minorities' integration into the Han-dominant society.

In this paper, Hui Muslims in Xi'an, China and their experiences of becoming selectively showcased as part of the Silk Road's east terminus' repertoire address similar issues mentioned above, specifically how the inclusion of ethnic minorities in cultural heritage serves the purpose of reinforcing the ongoing exclusion and marginalization of these communities. Moreover, this case study contextualizes urban policies and their effects on marginalized groups by showing how generic national level discourses are translated into local contexts and morphed into specific policies that address ongoing issues between ethnic majority and minority groups. Specifically, Xi'an is recognized as the east terminus of the territorial route of China's current Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) for its crucial position on the historic Silk Road. Xi'an is significant for the historic Silk Road for its role as the capitol of thirteen dynasties in imperial China. Xi'an's reputation as a Silk Road ancient capitol has also been recognized by UNSECO internationally for its heritage sites that symbolize the localization of Islam and Buddhism in China. Another part of the Silk Road imaginary in Xi'an also entails the image of an open-minded and inclusive cosmopolitan Chinese capital, which echoes China's image as a peaceful rising power in the discourse of the BRI. The translation of this national discourse in the local urban development plan is to feature historic sites through urban renewal. For instance, a themed museum and a shopping mall were commissioned at the original site of the historic West Market. Similar development projects in the new cultural district also follow the same logic that is to use the past to boost the city's competitiveness among other cities on the new Silk Road's routes.

In contrast, despite its popularity among visitors and locals as evidence of cultural exchanges on the Silk Road, the Muslim Quarter is not given much attention by the municipal government due to the Hui community's tension with the local government over urban renewal since the 1990s. The intentional choice of not prioritizing the Muslim Quarter is also partially related to the Chinese government's tightened control over Muslim populations, especially Chinese Muslims' connections with non-Chinese Muslim communities. Connections with non-Chinese Muslim communities are potentially seen as threatening to the secular state's authority. In Xi'an, while the Hui community has been actively contributing to the local tourism economy, their interests in preserving the Muslim Quarter's residential areas have been in conflict with the local government's interests in securing the land for real estate development. With the Silk Road-themed urban development, historic sites such as the Huajue Great Mosque have become crucial to the narratives of the Silk Road in Xi'an. In this light, the municipal government of Xi'an has changed its approach by selectively encouraging grassroots cultural activities to show an inclusive attitude towards the Hui community. By focusing on the Hui Muslims and the Muslim Quarter in Xi'an, this paper suggests understanding diversity in cities through the lens of urban governance. Urban policies, especially cultural-related development policies, seem to celebrate the co-existence of different communities while reinforcing existing inequalities between majority and minority communities.

**Yang Yang** received her PhD in Human Geography from the University of Colorado at Boulder. Her research focuses on transnational religious networks and the politics of ethno-religious identity in northwestern China. Her dissertation thus adopts an ethnographic approach to analysing the impacts of Hui Muslims' grass-roots connections to non-Chinese Muslim communities in Southeast Asia and the Middle East in the Hui's everyday lives in Xi'an, China. Her current research examines how the Hui diaspora in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia contributes to grass-roots connections between China and Malaysia, and how Malaysia becomes Hui's new Muslim role model through serving as their preferred destination for halal tourism and their style references for Muslim fashion. Notably, this project analyses how ethno-religious identities and mobility intersect in the contexts of migration and the recentring of Islamic teachings in both cultural and political contexts on a global scale. Her recent publications include a special Issue in *Political Geography* on 'China's Belt and Road Initiative: Views from the Ground' (2020), co-authored with G. Oliveira, G. Murton, A. Rippa, and T. Harlan ; "Travelling to the Past: Xi'an and Its Revived Tang Imperial City.", co-authored with Zhu, Y. In White, L. (eds.) *Commercial Nationalism*. Bristol, United Kingdom: Channel View Publications in 2017; and *Making cultural cities in Asia: Mobility, assemblage, and the politics of aspirational urbanism*. London & New York: Routledge, co-edited with T. Oakes and J. Wang, in 2016.

## Can International Students be Potential Brokers in their Host Cities?

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International students nowadays constitute an important component of the student body in many countries. Internationally mobile students typically hold a non-resident visa status to pursue a tertiary degree (or higher) in the destination country. The number of this group of educational migrants increased vastly during the past two decades. According to the statistics released by OECD, there were over 5.3 million international students in 2017 up from 2 million in 2000 (UNESCO, 2019). Diversity management is a research area increasing receiving attention alongside the development of internationalization (Morrison, Lumby and Sood, 2006). Research in higher education studies often take an inclusive education perspective in looking at the curricular and pedagogical perspective for multicultural education (Taras & Rowney, 2007). Not enough attention has been paid to the requirements of student population or how to manage diversified student group, when this group is part of a social minority (Gaisch, Preymann & Aichinger, 2020). The influences of culture and relocation affect security—together they present a combination of cultural elements that interact to shape understanding of what constitutes insecurity and who has responsibility for ensuring communities and individuals are secure. International students' adaptation in host society have some similarities with other groups of migrants. They encounter difficulties with housing, finances, cultural difference, social networks, homesickness and integration into a new university and an unfamiliar society (Lee & Rice, 2007; Calder et.al., 2016). Relocation and cultural difference cause insecurity for students. And they need to develop supportive networks in the host society along their academic progress.

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## Textile Clusters in Contemporary Global Cities: Paris (France) vs Guangzhou (China)

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The garment trades constitute some of the last urban industries. Their history has powerfully shaped the metropolitan profile of New York and Paris—though both cities have now been eclipsed as centres of garment production.

The garment industry has been the subject of much research, which has looked at the conditions of production in the creative capitals of Paris, New York, London, etc. The garment industry is characterised by seasonal variations and constant changes in fashion and that entrepreneurs have to combine flexibility and standardisation. These constraints created particular conditions for labour recruitment and working conditions: low qualifications, low wages, subcontracting, seasonality (Green, 1998). Other research has shown how the dynamism of the sector has relied everywhere on the recruitment of a workforce of first-time international migrants or female internal migrants, willing to accept flexible and precarious working conditions (Green, 1998; Chin, 2005). They have also highlighted the extent to which the garment sector is a source of opportunity for less skilled immigrants, with upward career trajectories more likely than in other sectors. Ready-made clothing appears to be a sector where it is easy to acquire professional skills - mastery of a know-how, of a network of suppliers or customers. In the context of constantly changing subcontracting networks and when the capital required to set up a business is minimal, this allows for upward socio-professional careers (Waldinger, 1984 and 1986). Finally, work has been done on the ethnic entrepreneurship dimension of the garment industry, showing how it allowed bosses to integrate their relatives or other migrants of the same origin (Waldinger, 1986; Zhou, 1992).

This paper will look at two global cities, Paris and Guangzhou, and their garment wholesale markets. In the French capital, production has ceased but distribution, in the form of wholesale markets, is still very active in areas such as Aubervilliers, where most businessowners are Chinese immigrants from the Wenzhou region. In Guangzhou, manufacturing coexists with distribution and retailing, in several parts of the city, notably the Zhongda textile cluster in Haizhu District. Many businessowners are internal migrants, notably from Hunan province. The paper will explore the differences while underlining the similarities. Both macro and micro data will be used. Interviews will be carried on both fields.

Two issues will be specially addressed: the spatial dimension of textile clustering and the role of public policies. In both cities, garment markets form clear urban enclaves that have their own dynamic. How these specialized clusters have progressively developed? Which private and public actors were involved? What is the future of the markets in densely-populated neighborhoods? How is the activity regulated and planned?

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## Becoming an Urban Citizen? Social Relationships and the Self-Development of Internal Migrants in Guangzhou, China

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This paper focuses on the intersection between government policies to spatially manage urban diversity—such as through the *hukou* system in China—and the way internal migrants navigate constraints and opportunities in their social worlds. Specifically, the paper draws out the types of social networks that internal migrants in China mobilise and the actions they take in order to achieve their aspirations to be recognised as an urban citizen. China is often perceived as a country where collective action is discouraged and citizens are disempowered (i.e. lack agency) because of the tight control of the Chinese government (e.g. Ren, 2012; Nielsen, 2014). Our study suggests that focusing on the lived experiences of people helps bring to view how individuals empower themselves by forming and maintaining social networks and kinships. They also make changes to their lives so that they are able to seek upward mobility along social hierarchies, in other words, effect their aspirations. The idea of aspirations refers to individual or collective hopes about the future, and these aspirations are formed in relation to the beliefs and values of people’s local cultures. The capacity to aspire refers to one’s ability to navigate opportunities and challenges, it is thus an agency to bring about changes. Hence, a greater capacity to aspire connotes an increasing strength to fight against the constraints experienced by individuals (Appadurai, 2013).

In the case of internal migrants in Guangzhou, it is the *hukou* (household registration) system which affects the types of resources an individual is entitled to access. Historically, different systems of household registration have been implemented for centuries in China, reflecting a long tradition of centralised social control on its diverse population (Skeldon and Hugo, 1999). In particular, the *hukou* system was revived in 1951 to monitor the movement and residence of urban population and was expanded in 1955 to monitor the rural and urban populations (Skeldon and Hugo, 1999; Chan, 1996). Internal migrants without the *hukou* status of their destination cities would have fewer social benefits there (e.g. schooling and medical insurance) (Tao, 2009; Chan, 1996). Despite these limitations, internal migrants enhance their navigational capacity in cities (i.e. overcome barriers and increase their resources) through their social networks and kin relationships. We argue that the internal migrants in our study viewed social networks and kin relations as expedient solutions and springboards, and were less likely to focus on the restrictions arising from the strong control of the state or a lack of collective activity, such as through intermediary associations in the urban village or the city.

Data for this research was generated in Guangzhou through urban ethnography, from January to June 2017, and November 2018. The first author conducted informal interviews with 21 participants and participant observation in an urban village, Shipai, where the internal migrants stayed. The participants either previously lived in or were living in Shipai village at the time of the interviews.

The experiences of the internal migrants in our study revealed that they prefer to focus on empowering themselves to improve their navigational capacity in the city of Guangzhou. Migration provides a means for them to pursue upward social mobility in the city. They seek self-development and personal transformation individually rather than as a part of wider collectives. Nonetheless, kinship played important roles in motivating and enabling them to navigate the constraints and opportunities they encounter in Guangzhou. In doing so, they seek to transform themselves into the “right” type of urban citizens with “*suzhi*” (the “human quality”). *Suzhi* refers to the value of an individual in the market economy, thereby codifying a migrant in terms of what he or she lacks (Yan, 2003). Nonetheless, the ability to develop one’s *suzhi* is limited to migrants with higher educational levels; other migrants

who fail to demonstrate higher levels of self-development are likely to experience exclusion in Guangzhou and remain circular migrants shuttling between the city and countryside.

Our discussion of internal migrant's self-fashioning projects provides a perspective that emphasises migrants' agency, notably how they enhance their ability to navigate disadvantageous conditions in the city by mobilising their hometown relations and social networks in the city, to circumvent the constraints arising from top-down urban governance.

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**Elaine Lynn-Ee Ho** is Associate Professor at the Department of Geography and Senior Research Fellow at the Asia Research Institute (ARI), National University of Singapore. Her research addresses how citizenship is changing as a result of multi-directional migration flows in the Asia-Pacific. She is author of *Citizens in Motion: Emigration, Immigration and Re-migration across China's Borders* (Stanford University Press), which received the American Sociological Association's (ASA) award for "Best Book in Global and Transnational Sociology by an International Scholar" in 2019. Elaine is Editor of the journal, *Social and Cultural Geography*, and serves on the journal editorial boards of *Citizenship Studies*; *Emotions, Society and Space*; and the *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*. Her current research focuses on two domains: first, transnational ageing and care in the Asia-Pacific; and second, im/mobilities and diaspora aid at the China-Myanmar border.

## When Entrepreneurial Urbanism Meets Migrants: Critical Perspectives from Silk Road Paris (Tremblay-En-France)

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This paper brings together literature on the entrepreneurial city and migration studies to investigate the current reinvention of the Chinese commercial neighbourhood in Paris area in its morphological, social and political dimensions (Sanjuan *et al.*, 2017; Du *et al.*, 2021).

The implementation in Paris area of Chinese small entrepreneurs – mostly originating from the city of Wenzhou in the Zhejiang Province – dates from the beginning of the XX<sup>th</sup> century, and first took the form of the multiplication of individual workshops in inner-Paris, such as in Le Sentier popular neighbourhood (Chuang, 2013). At this time, Chinese population in Paris was mostly composed of craftsmen and workers, but it also progressively diversified into international trade, based on family diasporic networks in Wenzhou (Li, 2021). Things shifted with the economic reforms in China (launched from 1979) and the entrance of the country in the WTO which participated directly in liberalizing Chinese transnational trade and facilitating international migrations. Paris inner city soon began to be ill-suited for the business development of this ethnic community. Moreover local residents began to complain of the nuisances associated with this industrious presence (Trémon and Chuang, 2013). Many Chinese traders hence made the move to the northern suburbs, in Aubervilliers, where available wastelands were seen as many opportunities to expand their business. Aubervilliers as a new hotspot of the Chinese professional community in Paris area was initially an incremental process, relying in the first place on the multiplication of individual workshops (Li, 2021). Then, a project-based redevelopment of the city, originated by the Chinese professional associations and the municipality authorities, encouraged a transition towards a more integrated commercial model, such as the emblematic “Fashion Center” where hundreds of small counters were grouped.

Then, in November 2018, a breaking mega-project was inaugurated in Tremblay-en-France (a few kilometres away from the international airport Charles-de-Gaulle and around 20 km northeast of Aubervilliers), under the revealing name of “Silk Road Paris business centre”. With a planned surface area of 200,000 sq.m., Silk Road Paris is set to be – and promoted as – the largest business-to-business commercial centre in Europe. 90% of its current entrepreneurs are Chinese. One of its remarkable specificity is that each trader owns its own counter, without any possibility of leasing. Unlike the former Chinese economic centralities in Paris and Aubervilliers, Silk Road Paris is the result of an *ex-nihilo* project whose production logics are at odds with the previous incremental production by the migrants themselves. The narratives of its official website seek to answer each limit of the previous Chinese commercial neighbourhood models: it insists on its connectivity with Charles de Gaulle Airport, at the heart of Europe, and its “native aptitude” for business, by offering a direct parking lot to each shop landlord. The project insists also very much on security, with a private management of a centralized system of 200 surveillance cameras, answering directly an issue encountered in Aubervilliers where insecurity has become prevalent in the local narratives. The urban morphology is also breaking with the old avatar of the Chinese ethnic neighbourhood and of the later form of Aubervilliers’ Fashion centre. Its pretensions are high-end with open-air galleries in the larger logistics and commercial zone AeroliansParis.

Drawing from this new avatar of the Chinese migrants presence in Paris area, my research underlines recent changes of perception and of narratives towards the Chinese implementations, from the specific perspective of the commercial neighbourhoods. With Silk Road Paris, the long seen as suspicious ethnic commercial space has become a much desirable showroom to promote the globalisation of the metropolis. I hypothesise that, through new “growth coalitions” promoting the Chinese way of doing business, Silk Road Paris participates directly in the commodification of the Chinese commercial neighbourhood as a valuable label. As Nina Glick Schiller puts it: “multiculturalism is (...) endorsed by political and economic city leaders in their initial efforts to reinvent their city within an agenda of neoliberal restructuring” (2011). With Silk Road Paris, the migrants commercial space is now produced and managed in an unprecedented top-down approach, meeting all the core characteristics of the entrepreneurial mode of city production (Harvey, 1988): (1) it corresponds to a project-based urbanism made from

scratch, (2) funded by a public-private partnership, and in which (3) communication and marketing are central, in the intention to promote a smooth image of Chinese business in France.

This new mode of production of the migrants commercial space thus brings the theoretical framework of urban entrepreneurialism – envisioned by Brenner and Theodore (2010) as a perpetual, “variegated” and self-reinventing process –, to new spheres. Peck (2005) points out that the strategies used in entrepreneurial cities to regenerate neighbourhoods always entail a commodification of social artefacts including tolerance itself, be it towards impoverished others (Burnett 2014) or, in our case study, ethnically others. Such encounters are indeed commodified as valuable symbols of cosmopolitanism and global openness. Bringing together migration studies and the literature on the entrepreneurial city, my research questions are: What specific drivers led to the entrepreneurialism of migrant’s commercial spaces and where does the entrepreneurial city drives the old avatar of the ethnic city space? And, in return, what the current socio-spatial transformations of the ethnic commercial neighbourhood say of the city production in a global and competitive context?

I will answer these questions by combining a historical analysis on the implementation of Chinese productive spaces in Paris and an unprecedented grounded study of Silk Road Paris. This will involve a mixed-methods approach with (1) a historical re-reading of the Chinese diaspora in Paris area; (2) a critical analysis of official narratives around the Silk Road Paris project, and (3) repeated visits on the site and its surroundings over several months, in order to understand it as both real and branded spaces. The conduct of in-depth interviews with local Chinese entrepreneurs and with official stakeholders of the project will be at the heart of the study. The primary objective is to examine the driving forces at play in the daily structuring and functioning of these commercial ethnic space in an attempt to uncover the migrants–developer-government relations, as well as the neoliberal and entrepreneurial characteristics within these processes. We will scrutinize the opportunist relationships between the local Chinese community involved, the French local authorities (such as the municipal representatives of Tremblay-en-France, but also the “Grand Paris” stakeholders), private investors involved and of course the Chinese governmental representatives themselves.

**Marie Gibert-Flutre** is Associate Professor of Geography in the Department of East Asia Studies (LCAO) at the Université Paris Cité. Her research deals with the dynamics of public and private spaces in the production and appropriation of urban space in Asia. By critically exploring ‘global Asia’ from ordinary public spaces and neighborhoods, she turns in particular the traditional approach to ‘global cities’ upside down and contributes to a renewed conception of metropolization as a highly situated process, where forces at play locally are both intertwined and labile. As Principal Investigator, she currently manages the Ho Chi Minh City case study of the International SEANNET 2 (Southeast Asia Neighborhoods Network) research program: Communities of Learning, Research and Teaching Collaborative (funded by the Henry Luce Foundation). She has recently published the following books: *Les envers de la métropolisation: Les ruelles de Ho Chi Minh Ville (Vietnam)* (CNRS Edition, 2019) and *Asian Alleyways: An Urban Vernacular in Times of Globalization* (Amsterdam University Press, 2020), co-edited with Heide Imai.

## Theories and Practices of Governance of Cultural Diversity in Cities between Europe and the Far East: A Comparative Study on the Implementation of Interculturalism between Barcelona, Hamamatsu, Ansan and Guro-gu

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At least since the financial crisis of 2007-08 – after the so-called “multiculturalism backlash” characterizing the European context – the European Union embraced interculturalism as the framework of reference for the governance of cultural diversity at the local level, and started to actively promote the implementation of intercultural policies in cities. To this aim, the Council of Europe and the European Commission launched the “Inter-Cultural Cities” (ICC) Programme, a platform aimed at involving and supporting all cities wishing to commit themselves to setting the governance of cultural diversity at the center of their strategic agenda and to promoting social inclusion. However, notwithstanding the great success that interculturalism seems to have both at the theoretical and at the empirical level, this approach has to face two relevant criticisms: on the one side, the implementation of interculturalism mostly results in an empty and *do-gooder* rhetoric rather than in the consolidation of sustainable models of governance of cultural diversity; on the other side, this approach is still *biased* by a strong Western-centrism.

In this paper, we intend to deal with these criticisms by addressing the two following research questions: 1) Is interculturalism, as a theoretical approach, actually able to inform sustainable models of governance of cultural diversity in cities? 2) What is the relation (both in terms of influence and of similarities/differences) between the theoretical and empirical understanding of interculturalism in Europe and its implementation in Eastern cities?

To this end, first of all we will analyze the development and consolidation of the “Barcelona Model” of governance of cultural diversity. In fact, within the European context, Barcelona stands out for its steady and explicit commitment to implement and institutionalize interculturalism on a long-term basis.

Secondly, we will focus on the models of governance of cultural diversity which are being implemented in the only three Eastern cities which entered the ICC Programme: namely, Hamamatsu (Japan), and Ansan and Guro-gu (South Korea). While both Japan and South Korea are familiar with the concept of multiculturalism and with a tradition of generally top-down, state-centered, approach to managing cultural diversity, these three cities explicitly committed to implementing interculturalism and to developing and consolidating an essentially grass-rooted and local model of governance of cultural diversity (where also local NGOs and NPOs have a crucial role to play).

Very interestingly, in developing their models, all these three cities have been in dialogue with the city of Barcelona – which was recognized also by them as one of the major and most interesting examples as concerned the governance of cultural diversity. This makes the study of the policies and initiatives of these three cities and their comparison with the case of Barcelona even more meaningful: in fact, it will allow us to consider the transnational circulation of patterns and *good practices* of governance of cultural diversity, as well as to analyze the challenges and strategies of adaptation characterizing the implementation – in very different socio-cultural contexts – of local models of governance referring to the same theoretical framework.

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## Smart Diversity: Singapore's Punggol from Model New Town to Global Digital District

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This paper investigates the layering of a new cosmopolitan diversity on the old postcolonial multiracialism in Singapore by studying the urban transformation of a suburban public housing town. More than four-fifths of Singapore's over three and a half million citizens and a substantial proportion of permanent residents and middle-class migrant professionals on skilled work-passes live in public housing. Some scholars have pointed to an emerging super-diversity. Instead, I argue and seek to demonstrate in this paper that the administrative technocratic state is seeking to engineer a *smart diversity*, which operates with a spatialized logic of stratified inclusions and exclusions based on the *projected value of labor* for the future economy. I do this by combining two studies—a historical study of urban planning and transformation for Punggol new town from the 1990s to the present and an interview study of migrant professionals settling in Punggol and their everyday experiences with ethnic relations and multiculturalism.

In 1996, just as the Singapore developmental state's embrace of globalization was at the peak of its pace, the urban authorities announced the Punggol 21 initiative to turn the rural northeastern corner of the island into a model new town for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. The compact suburban town was to be served by new Mass Rapid Transit and Light Rail Transit train networks and would house a quarter million residents when completed. Construction began in 1998. The highest quality building materials, innovative construction methods, advanced architectural designs and the latest urban planning methodologies were used to realize a residential utopia of the future. But more than the physical civilization that Punggol 21 offered, it was also to be a place of social belonging and harmony. The government had implemented ethnic quotas for public housing blocks and estates just a decade before, determined to prevent the formation of ethnic ghettos in the city and foster multiracial harmony from the urban grassroots up. Punggol 21 gave the state *carte blanche* to plan, engineer and adapt this residential multiracialism to the new era of globalization.

The Asian Financial Crisis and the tech bubble recession slowed down the development of Punggol 21, as the take-up rate for the suburban town evaporated. Thousands of empty flats stalled construction and kept the town as a rustic peri-urban space; the model new town was a veritable kampung of quiet harmony and neighborliness. In 2007, the government launched Punggol 21-plus to revitalize the development. The two rivers flanking the town was dammed up to form freshwater lakes, while a large canal was dug through the town linking the two rivers. Punggol 21-plus was resold as prestigious waterfront living for public housing, the first of its kind for affordable housing in a global city. Waterfront and waterborne recreational activities offered a unique, resort-like lifestyle for young families. Park and open spaces promised cultural activities for the worlding residents of the global city. More than multiracialism, Punggol 21-plus was to provide for the multiculturalism of the globalizing classes, which included newly arrived migrant professionals from Asian countries seeking to settle into Singapore. Worried about the integration of these migrant families, as the state sought to layer a worlding multiculturalism unto the old multiracialism, the government introduced permanent resident ownership quotas in 2010 and non-citizen subletting quotas in 2014.

In 2020, work began on the Punggol Digital District, sited at the northern part of the town. Developed by Jurong Town Corporation, designed by the world-acclaimed architectural firm WOHA, it was to be a digitally integrated and car-lite smart business park complete with a university, the Singapore Institute of Technology, a market village and a heritage trail. The district is to be the technological showcase for Singapore's ambition to become a smart city. A district-wide sensor network collects anonymized technical and social data for the test-bedding of innovations. Beyond the district, Punggol 21-plus is being transformed into a smart town test-bedding many new urban technologies from waste recycling to smart energy grids. Beyond the town, Punggol 21-plus now lies centrally in the new northeastern post-industrial corridor stretching from Seletar Airport to Changi Airport.

With and beyond the new Punggol Digital District, the state seeks to layer a new cosmopolitan diversity unto the old multiracialism and multiculturalism in Punggol. This cosmopolitan diversity is seen as productive of cross-

cultural innovativeness and creativity and undergirding harmonious relationships between migrant professionals and citizens. For this reason, the Global Indian International School set up a sprawling next-generation smart campus in Punggol to serve the migrant professionals concentrating in the area. However, this layering has been met with the sentiments and prejudices stemming from the older multiracialism and multiculturalism interacting with the competition over projected value of labor. Based on over 30 interviews with migrant professionals who have settled in Punggol with their families, I discuss the everyday experiences of xenophobia and shadow racisms they face, which undermine the state's project of producing smart diversity.

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## Rescaling Diversity Management in Global Paris

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A growing number of European cities can be defined as hyper or superdiverse. With its 2.2 million people with a migration background living in its urban area (making up 38% of the French immigrant population), Paris has unquestionably become a *superdiverse* city. How can we observe and document this diversity in both urban practices and public policies? What do the implemented policies and the daily practices and interactions between individuals tell us about it and how are they conducted? These are the most pressing questions we intend to tackle in our paper. Above all, we would like to investigate diversity governance in France - especially the way it is managed in the Paris urban area - and identify who the actors involved are at the different levels.

This study is based on a review of the literature in the field and on interviews with “privileged witnesses” of diversity in Paris (institutions, organizations and residents). Taking into account the plurality of situations (mobile people, migrants, exiles), our approach aims at questioning the different facets of the diverse city: the city of refuge, widely claimed by the Paris mayor; the cosmopolitan city, reflected in ordinary urban practices - sometimes advocated, sometimes invisible; the privileged city, an illustration of how the presence of secondary residents impacts social difference and creates inequality in different urban experiences (more than nationality does); last, the city of international students, with its population of foreign students whose way of living - we know for a fact - only partially mirrors the daily life of nationals in their country of origin.

At this stage of our research, we can reach the conclusion that the policy of diversity in Paris cannot be attributed only to city hall initiatives but also to various actors who make up the link with the migrant and mobile population (local organisations, residents, shopkeepers etc...). Given that diversity is unevenly managed in the Paris urban area— local policies being more pro-active in some places (mostly suburbs) than in others (inner city), the question of diversity governance cannot be disconnected from a global reflexion on which Paris the city hall is referring to when it advocates diversity: the « greater » Paris with its suburbs and deprived areas or the city center?

**Camille Schmoll** completed a doctoral thesis in social Geography at the University of Paris Nanterre in 2004. Formerly an associate professor in geography at University of Paris Cité (2007-2020), she is now Professor at Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales and a member of the CNRS team “Géographie-cités”. She is also, together with Patrick Simon, the head of the Department of Academic Training at Institut Convergences Migrations, in charge of the Master Programme in International Migration (EHESS/ University Panthéon Sorbonne) and the Doctoral training programme. She is currently a member of the scientific commission in charge of the permanent exhibition on the history of immigration at Cité Nationale de l’Histoire de l’Immigration. Her research topics include international migration; gender and space; urban approaches to migration patterns; cosmopolitanism and borders; gender generation and the family in international migration; qualitative approaches to migration. She recently published *Les damnées de la mer. Femmes et frontières en Méditerranée* (La Découverte, Paris, 2020) and, together with Catherine Lejeune, Delphine Pages El Karoui and Héléne Thiollet (eds), *Migration, Urbanity and Cosmopolitanism in a Globalized World*, Springer, Imiscoe Research Series, 2021.

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(with D. Vidal, project leader) of an interdisciplinary project on international migration bringing together researchers from the Université Paris Cité and the University of Chicago. The collaboration included shared seminars, video conferences, graduate student exchanges and two conferences (*The Legacy of Migration*, Paris 2012, and *Globalisation, Migration and Mobilities*, Chicago 2013). In the multidisciplinary program “Sociétés Plurielles” (*Diverse Societies/USPC*, 2014-2019), she coordinated with Delphine Pagès-El Karoui the research axis “World-cities: a comparative approach to Cosmopolitanism and Migration”. In 2019, she coordinated with Philip Kasinitz (CUNY, NewYork) a one-day conference on “Cosmopolitanism and Urban Diversity: exploring dynamics of co-existence, inclusion & exclusion”. Her recent publications include *Migration, Urbanity and Cosmopolitanism in a Globalised World*, edited with D. Pagès-El karoui, C. Schmoll & H. Thiollet., 2020, Springer, Imiscoe research series; “The Fabric of Irregular Labor Migration in Twentieth-Century Europe and North America: a comparative approach”, *Labour History*, vol. 56, 2015, Issue 5, co-authored with M. Martini; “Immigrants in the United States: ‘Illegal aliens’ on their way to becoming Emergent Possible Subjects”, *European Journal of American Studies*, Special Issue on Immigration, 2009.

## **Producing and Governing Alterity in the Parisian Urban Area: Slums, European Immigrants and Urban Policies**

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This proposition focuses on the regulation of slums and slum dwellers in the Parisian urban area. These dwellers are mostly precarious immigrants from Romania, Bulgaria and the Balkans but they are often simply categorized as “Roma”. In the past decade, scholars and activists have thoroughly analyzed the production of a « Roma issue » in French and Italian cities. This issue is a political and discursive construct that tends to present the immigration and installation of Roma people as a disturbance to urban, moral and legal order. Therefore, Roma people settling in Western European cities are often essentialized through processes of ethnicization and criminalization. Though these processes vary with political and geographical context, proximities have been found in the way they are used, fueled and transformed by urban authorities. Built on a case-study of a slum located in the municipality of Stains, this communication aims to question the links between this essentialization and policies towards illegal settlements. Therefore, it seeks to provide insight on the articulation of slum regulation and diversity governance. The main hypothesis I would like to explore is that public action towards slums and slum dwellers is oriented by essentializing representations and that urban policies thus tend to conform social reality and urban space to these representations. I draw my analysis on a fieldwork conducted in a slum area in Stains in 2020. Interviews with street-level, municipal and regional public actors are completed with a double ethnographic perspective. On the one hand, I had the occasion to observe interactions between local authorities, associations and slum-dwellers within the slum and in municipal and welfare offices. On the other hand, I conducted observations and interviews with Stains’ slum-dwellers, in order to counterbalance public speech on this space and its inhabitants, and to approach the effects of public action on individual trajectories, and on socio-spatial organization of the slum and its social composition.

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## **Social Hierarchies, Privileged Gendered Migrations and Volunteer Work, The Case of International Residents ‘Helping’ Refugees in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia**

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The proposed contribution focuses on privileged migrant women living in Kuala Lumpur and volunteering with asylum seekers and refugees, mainly from Myanmar and living in the Malaysian capital. Our work aims at studying the interactions that take place in the city of Kuala Lumpur between two categories of migrants that are opposite of each other from material, legal, residential and social points of view.

International residents and refugees are located at the two ends of the migratory schemes crossing Kuala Lumpur that concentrates the majority of migration flows in the country (Bouchon, 2012; UNHCR). On the one hand, privileged migrants refer to people living in Malaysia with visas of one to ten years, delivered for so-called skilled jobs and requiring a minimum level of wages. For privileged migrant wives following their husbands to Malaysia, they are caught up in heteronormative migrations. Their experiences of sociabilities, lifestyles, social and residential practices are shaped by Kuala Lumpur’s facilities. The city offers a wide range of gendered experiences to these women with a privileged social and economic status, similar to what Singapore and Dubai do with their own international female accompanying residents (Yeoh, Huang, Willis, 2000; Le Renard, 2019).

On the other hand, Kuala Lumpur’s urban economy is also shaped by asylum seekers and refugees who arrive in Malaysia with the hope of being relocated by the UNHCR to a third country. Several central neighbourhoods in the capital are geared towards the consumption and social practices of refugees (Hoffstaedter, 2014; Muniandy, 2015). Despite their visible presence, refugees face a hostile political order since Malaysia is not a signatory to the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. Access to healthcare and educational services is severely restricted. Therefore, refugees often go through a parallel clinic and schooling system initiated by NGOs and community groups recognised by the UNHCR and in which some privileged migrant women are volunteering.

In this context, where social, economic and legal hierarchies shape contrasting experiences of migrations in Kuala Lumpur, we analyse how the involvement of privileged migrant women with refugees makes them negotiate a place in the Malaysian social order. We consider these migrant women as “stakeholders” in the migration country’s social order in the sense that they participate, through their presence in Malaysia, in the production of social hierarchies (Le Renard, 2019). Our questions and analysis go through gendered and postcolonial sociological lenses. Gender is considered as a social construction that norms dominant models of femininities and masculinities and produces hierarchies. The gendered postcolonial perspective, detailed in Chandra Talpade Mohanty’s work (2009), allows us to think about how the voluntary practices of these immigrant women in Malaysia are historically and socially situated. The way these women socially adjust in the migration country reveals their negotiation with a former British colonial social order that places them, in some ways, as dominant. The postcolonial approach to gender sheds the light on these dynamic constructions and enables us to explore the interactions between social positioning, hierarchies and legacies from the past.

Also, the sociology of privileged migrations in which we are aligned has tended to view privileged migrant wives as mere companions to their spouses (Yeoh, Huang, Willis, 2000). Consequently, little work exists on the practices of these women in privileged migration. Catrin Lundstr m (2010), Am lie Le Renard (2019), and Claire Cosquer (2020a) respectively explore the gendered practices of privileged migrant women in the United States, Dubai, and Abu Dhabi, while Brenda Yeoh and Louisa-May Khoo (1998) analyse the meaning given to community work for expatriate women in Singapore. By studying the volunteering practices of female international residents in Kuala Lumpur, our research aims to enrich, at our level, the research on these wives who cannot do paid work at the host country.

In our case study, the specificity of the volunteer work lies in the not-so-obvious encounters it creates with another group of migrants in Kuala Lumpur. Existing literature on privileged migration has often analysed international residents' relations to "Others", as in the local population (Fechter, 2005; Cosquer, 2020b) or the domestic staff working for them (Le Renard, 2019). The academic works emphasise on how privileged migrants produce hierarchical, culturalised and racialized practices to differentiate themselves from the local population or the domestic workers. Our research instead explores the interactions framed as "helping" a structurally disadvantaged group in Malaysia. Behind these charity-like encounters we want to see how they lead female privileged migrant volunteers to renegotiate their social positioning in migration. In other words, the experiences with refugees have a social significance that goes well beyond the content of the work itself. Here, drawing on the sociology of humanitarian work and the sociology of privileged migration, we explore these volunteering practices in migration, which correspond neither to the work of professional expatriate humanitarians (Dauvin, Sim ant, 2002) nor to that of humanitarian tourism (Simpson, 2004; Chabloz, 2007; Zunigo, 2007; Delpierre, 2017). What is socially at stake in the interactions they have with refugees? To what extent do these encounters lead to renegotiations of social hierarchies in volunteerism and beyond?

We rely on an ethnographic survey conducted at a distance due to the covid-19 pandemic but following several stays in Malaysia. Ethnographic interviews by video call were conducted with fifteen international residents of Kuala Lumpur from various nationalities and races (most of the respondents are North-Americans and Europeans), whose length of stay in Malaysia varied from three to nineteen years. The interviews focused on migration paths, volunteering practices, and social and leisure practices in Malaysia. Two other interviews were conducted with French volunteers who had stayed in Malaysia to volunteer with refugees. An interview was also conducted with a Burmese refugee working in a community group. The interviewees are involved with refugees at different levels, some have created their own organizations, others devote a few hours a week to volunteering.

The collected data reveals the intertwining of social positioning, privileged migrations and hierarchies in the relationship with refugees. The volunteer work would allow the respondents to live an "authentic" experience of migration in Kuala Lumpur in contrast to other international residents who would embody a particular model of femininity and social practices in homogeneous transnational social circles. Hence, interactions with refugees reflect the transgressions of social boundaries between international residents and the "Others" and the respondents value these forms of differentiation. At the same time, the so-called transgressions of "international residents' practices" and "social worlds" are quite relative. Through their volunteer works, the respondents actually materialise the social hierarchies between themselves and the refugees by taking part in a division of associative work where they are only asked to conduct specified tasks. They use their positions in the Malaysian social order and the opportunities they have access to implement their humanitarian actions. Social hierarchies are reinforced and their privileged position in the Malaysian social order is clearly visible.

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## The Policy of Refugee Reception and the Policing of Public Space in Paris

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The immigration of many asylum seekers to Europe since 2015 has led to a renewed debate about the governance of diversity and incorporation of refugees. In France, the government “suspended” the movement of migrant workers in 1974 and tightened the control of migration flows in successive reforms, notwithstanding a major regularisation act in 1997 and the introduction of quotas in 2006 to attract workers in particular job niches.

The state and government are the predominant actors of the reception and integration of foreigners in France, leaving slight room for manoeuvre to local authorities, which depend on prefectural control in security and residence permits. In the last twenty years, the securitisation of migration policy increased as well as the contrast of illegal immigration. However, the notion of a “contract” for integrating foreigners has gained momentum since when first introduced in 2016, as emphasised by the 2018 parliamentary report (Aurélien Taché) that suggests reinforcing a language education and involving local authorities.

This paper analyses the mismatch of regulation and reception in the case of Paris through the lens of public space. The governance of diversity and the visibility of diversity in public space has become one of the lenses to understand how cities approach the reception of refugees, asylum seekers and so called “undocumented” migrants. Moreover, the visibility of refugees in the public space has been a detonator of civil awareness in Paris. In 2015, the refugees’ tent camps around the Chapelle provisional centre reminded of the 2006 homeless camp along the Ourq canal that led to a significant mobilisation of civil society. The policing of space is often brutal, and the increase in police force deployment sometimes surprises the responsible for reception policies (Bénézit, Pascual (2020), *Le Monde*). The management of space can be equally violent. The city often selects repressive models of urban furniture or spatial arrangements, such as benches designed to prevent the homeless from lying. Of late, the police built a wall between two metropolitan neighbourhoods to displace drug dealers.

In section 1, we discuss literature and organise the analytical framework. The control of public space takes place through active interventions, above all the direct control and patrolling by the police. The police in France depends on the government through prefects that command force and regulate the public order. Space is also controlled by temporary urban design, arranging objects and physical barriers: regulation affects space (Cremaschi 2021), but the same holds true the other way around. Space affects regulation too: a spatial disposition has a regulative effect on people behaviour and cognitive reactions.

We then provide some background and descriptive elements in section 2. Though the resettlement programme of refugees is a national policy in France, the city of Paris established provisional reception centres cooperating with NGOs and local organisations to deliver individualised support to resettled refugees. Moreover, the city claims a distinctive commitment to human rights even beyond institutional obligation and national directives. We adopt a dynamic perspective that we have already exposed in previous research: we understand the reception of refugees in the urban region of Paris as the outcome of a process of structuring that mainly occur along the lines of multilevel governance and civil society involvement).

Section 3 analyses the reception policies as an emerging policy field adopting a nonlinear and punctuated framework for policy analysis: while policy narratives emphasise a specific inception moment, policy analysis tends to underline continuities and institutional isomorphism. We tend to acknowledge a complex and interconnected policy community, where decisions are strongly affected by competition and the circulation of policy models. What is particularly relevant is the multilayering of policies gravitating on the issue of reception and how this latter attire resources and attention though not being correctly formulated.

Section 4 focuses on various regulatory and non-regulatory measures on the control and management of public open space. This relationship goes well beyond the old-fashioned command and control mode and fosters delegation, new knowledge and technologies, negotiation and self-regulation. What is at stake is an emerging yet unclear (and partially contradictory) process of contracting out segments of the reception policies without a proper shared administrative model.

In conclusion, we discuss how the governance of local reception policies is increasingly assured through enabling processes that happen in 'the shadow of the state' but with consistent input by non-state actors. We suggest that a sort of regulation in progress process is occurring, where rule-making and decision-making are slowly establishing to allocate resources and adopt operating criteria thanks mainly to the activity of the government department DIHAL.

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## **Organising the Reception of Exiles in the Centre of Paris: Between Visible Solidarity, Temporary Arrangements, and Discretionary Policies**

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Over the past ten years, numerous scientific and activist works have shown an increased interest in the situation of exiled populations relegated to the borders of multinational, national or even urban territories. Whatever their nature, these works underline, analyse, deplore, or contest the forms of institutional violence inflicted on exiled populations, condemned to wander on the fringes of societies and to take refuge in informal spaces such as camps. In order to respond to this social reality of camps, places of extreme precariousness, an architectural and urban thought of reception has emerged since the 2000s from different development scenarios, such as the securing of precarious neighbourhoods, the construction of prefabricated reception areas, the recuperation of abandoned tertiary and private buildings, the investment in evolving and transformable buildings, in the pavilion and in housing that has become unsuitable. However, the ephemeral nature of these facilities, with emergency architectural forms, and their location, still on the fringes of urban centres, contribute to the crystallisation of exiles' socio-spatial segregation at a local level. The game of urgency further conceals the problem that the visibility of asylum seekers and refugees seems to constitute. It contributes to detaching them from any urban anchorage by enclosing them in constant circulation processes between institutions and administrative and associative structures and by attributing them a temporary and fragile place in the city, subject to urban and national political decisions on land use planning.

Nevertheless, beyond the traditional reception or accommodation structures, which are generally located on the outskirts of urban centres, the Halte humanitaire of Paris-Centre allows us to take another look at the situation of exiled populations and their reception methods, at other forms of political pressure and at other limits to hospitality than those imposed by the institutions. The Halte humanitaire is a reception structure for exiled people - asylum seekers and refugees in precarious situations - which opened on 9 November 2020 in the premises of the former town hall of the 1<sup>st</sup> arrondissement. The Salvation Army Foundation (FADS) offers health, medical, social, and administrative assistance and welcomes around one hundred people every week from 9am to 6pm. The Halte humanitaire of Paris-Centre was born of a political will on the part of the Paris City Council and a request from associations. Its political and associative managers conceived it as a place of solidarity in the heart of the city, as part of an approach to territorial rebalancing of social action for exiled people on an urban scale. Moving the Halte humanitaire, initially located at Porte de la Chapelle, to the centre of the capital for a year meets the political objective of reducing the pressure in the north-east of Paris, on the margins of the city, of blending the exiled population into the urban landscape and promoting solidarity and hospitality among city inhabitants. However, the centrality of the place and the symbolism associated with the chosen building (a former town hall, a place of democracy), certainly tend to make the welcomed populations visible, but they have also given rise to certain reticence within the neighbourhood. In reaction to and in opposition to the opening of the Halte, a petition was launched by the former deputy mayor of the 1st arrondissement, stating that the location was not suitable and that it would be wiser to place the Halte in the H tel-Dieu on the Ile de la Cit .

Then, how did the Halte humanitaire fit into this popular neighbourhood, where a sense of belonging to the city of Paris seems to crystallise on the urban heritage? Furthermore, how could these external demands be coordinated with the political orientations of the city of Paris and the commitments of the Salvation Army Foundation in terms of solidarity and hospitality, as well as with the real needs of the exiled populations? Drawing on this study case, this paper will discuss the modes of common organisation implemented to give concrete expression to the reception of exiles in the city. This work not only puts into tension the social representations of solidarity, hospitality, and diversity on an urban scale, but also gives an account of the relational and conflictual spaces built around the figure of the exile, propelled into the heart of the urban space. The Halte and its reception methods oscillate between the visibility and discretion of a public action intended for exiles, between centrality and marginality, between integration and exclusion. Due to the diversity of actors, their practices, and their expectations of the Halte humanitaire, this reception system seems to be caught in divergent logics and subject to

the action of opposing forces between the political managers, the association operator, the local population, and the public. The implementation of solidarity, hospitality and diversity policies depends on the compromises imposed by the elected politicians and the coordinators of the Halte as on the management of space in the building, which varies according to the people who occupy it. Thus, this proposition seeks to provide analysis on the question of spatial governance. It aims to show how diversity can be both promoted and controlled through the organisation of space in exiles' everyday life, on a local scale, and in the heart of the urban space. Indeed, the project of the Halte humanitaire of Paris-Centre has a symbolic character and a territorial dimension that contrasts with the migratory and urban realities of exiled and excluded populations. On the one hand, if this initiative seems to be intended to reinforce the legitimacy of Paris as a "city of refuge" on a national and international scale, on the other hand, it re-launches the idea of an intermediary, collective and urban hospitality that would be embodied in the form of a "third place". Through temporary arrangements, discreet displays, new social representations and reappropriations of the former municipal building and its highly symbolic architecture in terms of patrimony, to what extent do the actors and actresses of the Halte and their socio-spatial practices make it possible to rethink the policies of governance of diversity on an urban scale?

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