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Multiple Belonging in Urban Neighborhoods
How Festive Events Create Commonality

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Introduction

Social and cultural anthropology have examined the question of belonging for a long time. However, the awareness of multiple belonging processes linked to a specific social situation is relatively recent. As Floya Anthias (2006) states,

> *"You may identify but not feel that you 'belong' in the sense of being accepted"*(p. 19)
> *"or your allegiances may be split."*(p. 20)
> *"Belonging is in this sense centrally related to experiences of inclusion and exclusion and old enemies' needs differentiating from the notion of 'identity'. Here, to belong is to be accepted as part of a community, to feel safe within it and to have a stake in the future of such a community of membership. To belong is to share values, networks and practices and it is not just a question of identification. Belonging is about experiences of being part of the social fabric and should not be thought of in exclusively ethnic terms. (…) Belonging is also about rights and obligations related to citizenship, although being more than this. (…) Belonging is about boundaries but it is also about hierarchies which exist both within and across boundaries."* (p. 21sq.)

The situational analysis approach (Rogers and Vertovec 1995) helps us understand that these processes of belonging are highly complex and dynamic. Processes of self-perception and prescription from the outside interact during this process. You can feel that you are belonging to a religious group through the performance of a ritual. The belonging to a political group can be experienced during an election campaign. A social group can define itself and practice its belonging through the access—or not—to certain material goods. And finally, you can create a sense of belonging linked to a territory such as a district in an urban area. This is what we are going to examine closer in this chapter.

The case study that I present here continues my interest in festive

events as platforms for the negotiation of migrants, and inclusion/ exclusion and transformation processes. In the Parisian district of Sainte Marthe, local political struggles are concentrated within festive situations. Through festive events members of a neighborhood are able to resist urban restructuring projects: their collective actions produce a new, geographically defined, "we-group," which includes people from various and diverse economic and cultural backgrounds (Salzbrunn 2007a, 2007b) and expresses their belonging to a specific urban territory. This research is based on ongoing participant observation in the district since 1999: more than 120 observed festive and political events; 23 interviews with the presidents and several members of the different associations; and on interviews with the local politicians, shop and restaurant owners, and other inhabitants of the district. I demonstrate how the participation in political and cultural events in a city sees that migrants become actors in both the restructuring and rescaling of the place that they have appropriated themselves symbolically.

It is by taking into account the larger project of restructuring Paris within a globally competitive tourist market that we can understand the different pathways of migrant urban incorporation in a specific gentrifying Parisian neighborhood. This case demonstrates that ethnic origin, which was used as an initial resource within festive events of the district, led to the emergence of a place-based belonging facilitated not by cultural difference but by the efforts to restructure and market urban space.

Focusing on a global city like Paris allows me to address the following questions: How are multiple belonging processes being expressed within the public space? How does an inclusive we-group emerge from festive events? In what way do festive events manage to create commonality?[1] Under what conditions does the we-group separate again after the celebration of unity? How are these processes linked to the rescaling of cities and districts within the city? What are the differences in the rescaling processes experienced by both cities and neighborhoods? What are the different impacts of these processes on the paths and trajectories of migrant transnationalism in global cities? How do global cities relate to the migrants in different ways? How do the migrants themselves recognize their place in the city vis-à-vis their fellow city dwellers? How do they work out their ties to the city with the other neighborhood dwellers? How do rescaling processes affect the representation of locality and identity in

each city? How does the historicity of the neighborhood (the places) shape the ways the migrants are being incorporated into the diverse neighborhoods of the urban locale? Through these research questions I move the study of migrants, global cities and transnationalism beyond the current discussions, which are often cast in terms of cultural diversity, cosmopolitanism, migrants' role in unskilled labor or as ethnic entrepreneurs in the labor economy [for other critical approaches, see Jouve and Gagnon 2006; Kofman 2005b; Lacroix, Sall, and Salzbrunn 2008]. In contrast, I offer a comparative perspective on migrants as active agents in the restructuring of locality through their sense of belonging to the place.

Fig. 3-1 Sainte Marthe, Paris/France: Most of the ancient craftsmen's workshops are transformed into restaurants, art ateliers or art galleries[2].

" Localizing" Transnational Networks

The field of migration studies has extensively dealt with networks,

transnational spaces and migration fields over the last 15 years. Recently, researchers concerned with transnational migration have once again expressed a concern with "the local" (Berking 2006; Berking and Löw 2008). However, contained within a shared interest in transnational process and apparently a similar perspective focus on place and space are different perspectives that are worth distinguishing. In addition, by positing a transnational space bounded by a shared national origin or ethnicity, many of the studies have actually reinforced the notion of the naturalness of nation-based identities, reinvigorating methodological nationalism but in a new form (for a critique see Anghel, Gerharz, Rescher and Salzbrunn 2008; Glick Schiller, Çağlar, and Guldbrandsen 2006). Even when mobility across borders is the central interest of the researchers, it is possible to bound research within national identities in ways that impede an assessment of the relationship between migrants and localities, as Yasumasa Sekine suggests.[3]

Alain Tarrius's work provides a useful example of the problem. He stresses the primary role of the migration process itself and discusses the emergence of a "capacity to circulate" (Tarrius 2002:18). By this he means a new capacity of being here and there at the same time, and not simply being here or there. While Tarrius' approach allows him to posit that the experience of circulation creates new cosmopolitanisms and the consciousness of a new identity, it leads him to ignore evidence that migrants may remain transnationally connected but simultaneously settle and shape localities of settlement (Dahinden 2010). Tarrius' (op. cit.) focus on circulation leads to a problematic understanding of the migrant experience of localities of settlement. He speaks of a nomadic identity, assuming that these new nomads remain economically dependent exclusively on their place of origin. This assumption is shaped by French migration literature and its engagement with French public policy debates, rather than reflecting empirical evidence. Several representatives of French social sciences have been concerned with independent migrant self-organization, facilely assuming that this organization produces a form of empowerment and a political consciousness that are independent of the French nation-state and/or are solely engaged in home country events and identities. They have not focused on migrants' multiple ties to and participation in local institutions and social, economic, political, and cultural processes.

Ludger Pries (1996, 2009) and Thomas Faist (2000) also identify an emergence of social experiences and identities that goes beyond the sum of the two parts and creates new identities or practices. However, they concentrate not on the process of circulation, but on what they posit as transnational space. The term is used to impose a geographic metaphor on the connections, processes, and identities created by people who live across borders. While geography is signaled, the particularity, institutional structures, and history of specific localities are not a subject of theory or description. Instead, these scholars describe the ways in which cross border locations are connected through the social networks of migrants. Even though Pries included the importance of elements of the new environment within the transnational social space, the home country seems to be the most important part in the reference system. Nina Glick Schiller and Ayse Çağlar (2010) also speak of the local — not to indicate a general sense of multiple rootedness, but to call for a specific investigation of the forces that shape specific places (cf. Glick Schiller, Çağlar and Guldbrandsen 2006). They are concerned with the localities from which migrants and their descendants leave, in which they settle, and to which they are connected by social fields, which often extend across the borders of nation-states. Gildas Simon's concept of poly-centered and multi-sited migration spaces that emerge from world-wide networks (1996: 223), although not referring to the same literature, is close to Glick Schiller's concept of transnational social fields (2005a) but without the stress on the significance of unequal relations of power. Glick Schiller defines such a transnational social field as a specific set of networks of ego-centered social relations that are linked to institutions situated within specific places. These fields contain social relations of unequal power constituted by differential access to forms of capital, military force, and means of discursive representation. This approach focuses on social relations and institutions — workplaces, schools, religious, social, financial and political organizations that differ in their functioning according to their location and that can be empirically studied. Building on this approach, Çağlar and Glick Schiller offer a theorization of locality that brings together a transnational perspective on social relations and the scholarship on the neoliberal rescaling of local urban space.

Translocal Social Spaces: The Importance of the Local Living Conditions in the Process of Place-Making

Following Pries' (1996, 2009) concept of transnational social spaces that takes into consideration the spatialization of the social, and Glick Schiller and Çağlar's work on transnational social fields and localities emphasizing urban rescaling processes and power relations, I suggest highlighting the importance of the specific local living conditions and process of place-making by adopting the notion of translocal social spaces. This approach allows us to better understand the uneven power within which networks that share a common feeling of belonging are constituted. Understanding the local context of migration and the way that migrants organize themselves within the new translocal spaces is as important as researching migrants' home knowledge and customs.

Consequently, I explore the ways migrants adapt their strategies of settlement and transnational connection to changing opportunity structures that are available in the specific place of settlement and are a product of the insertion of neighborhoods and cities within larger restructuring processes (Furlong, Biggart and Cartmel 1996). Understanding the local power relations, the processes and discourses of political lobbying and the concrete conditions of access to land, property, business, residential permits, et cetera, is crucial in the implanting of the network within different localities, reaching far beyond a dyadic relation between "home" and "host" countries. The references and contacts of the networks I have traced go far beyond their ethnic or national peer group.

If we put aside the use of national states as the "natural" unit of analysis in global contexts and turn from space as a metaphor to an examination of migrants in relation to specific localities, then we need a new methodological approach. I propose a methodology of actor networks within festive events that facilitates the study of new, inclusive groups within an urban environment. Such new groupings may contribute to and be facilitated by transnational social fields. To contribute to developing such a new methodology, I bring together elements of network analysis and event analysis, while paying attention to the positioning and restructuring of locality. Once we trace migrants beyond

their ethnic connections to other existing networks in the locality, we are able to see how networks enable migrants to become rooted in an urban context. Social sciences have produced a huge amount of studies focusing on festive events like carnivals (Bakhtin 1986; Bausinger 1959; Cohen 1991; Davis 1965; Ozouf 1976) and on rituals of transgression (Turner 1982; van Gennep 1909) (Gluckman and the Manchester school). The specific locality and its political, social, economic context determine the evolution of the networks linked to this locality. It is particularly useful to trace members of these networks as they negotiate their participation in festive events. The notion of belonging in a specific social situation allows us here to go beyond a fixed, ideal-type of groups as a unit of analysis, because belonging is subject to dynamic "regimes," as Joanna Pfaff-Czarnecka (2009)[4] points out.

Action theorists have noted that festive events are arenas for local negotiations through which migrants are either included or excluded by institutions and local actors who create, reinforce, change, or block the production of communal feelings; the study of such events makes transformation processes visible. This methodological choice avoids taking an a priori-defined ethnic, religious or socio-cultural category as an entry point for the study of processes of communitarization. By communitarization, I mean the Weberian approach to group-building processes, *Vergemeinschaftungsprozesse* (Weber [2006]1921:29). I emphasize here the dynamic character of a group and the emergence of alliances that do not follow ethnic- or religious-based logics. However, I go beyond Weber's concept by emphasizing the feeling of commonality which focuses on emotional and situated aspects of belonging (Yuval-Davis 2006).

Inspired by Richard Grathoff's phenomenological perspective on neighborhoods and the interactive creation of space (Grathoff 1994:52) and Alois Hahn's approach of the construction of the stranger (Hahn 1994: 140), I focus on the production of the imagined other on the stage that urban festive events provide and concentrate on group building processes within the social and geographic space of a neighborhood and the new groupings that emerge within reinvented local rituals (Brubaker 2004; Glick Schiller et al 2006). Special events like the Murid Parade in Harlem, New York City every July and localized Parisian festivals provide rich empirical data for the analysis of the embedding of migrants in local

situations in ways both structured by broader neoliberal political and economic processes and agendas and simultaneously reconfigured by migrants' actions and insertions.

Hence I suggest a definition of translocal social spaces as the result of new forms of delimitation that are partly consisting in, but also reaching beyond geographic or national boundaries. These translocal spaces become the new sources of identification and action within specific local and global reference systems. However, this does not mean a local determinist position that denies agency to the migrants. It is the migrants who also shape the conditions of the local. As Nina Glick Schiller and Ayse Çağlar (2010) point out, "rescaling has led to the reorganization of the relationship between localities, regions, nation-states, and global institutions. Rescaling is the outcome of neoliberal restructuring practices, especially rearrangements of governance, which position cities directly as global competitors."

Glick Schiller and Çağlar (op. cit.) provide a concrete operational definition of scale that summarizes the transformation in the objective conditions encapsulated in the literature on scale and rescaling processes: "The term scale can be defined as the summary assessment of the differential positioning of cities determined by the flow and control of capital and structures of power as they are constituted within regions, states and the globe." However, according to Saskia Sassen (2007:16): "Existing theory is not enough to map today's multiplication of practices and actors contributing to these rescalings. Included are a variety of nonstate actors and forms of cross-border cooperation and conflict, such as global business networks, the new cosmopolitanism, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), diasporic networks, and such spaces as global cities and transboundary public spheres." By focusing on festive events in global cities, I demonstrate that various actors who have differential access to power undertake rescaling processes.

New York, Tokyo and Paris are all global cities in the sense of Saskia Sassen's (1991, 2007) definition. They emerge as one territorial or scalar moment in a transurban dynamic and each is a complex structure that can articulate a variety of cross-boundary processes and reconstitute them as a part of their version of urbanity. Tokyo is a global city with a particularly high concentration of mobility flows due to commuters. However, the historical center and capital of Japan was Kyoto. Paris, while marketed as

quintessentially French, is not representative of France. Similarly, while New York serves as a cultural reference for the United States, it is an exception in comparison to other big American cities in multiple ways, including the tremendous diversity of its migrant population and its long history of encouraging the identity politics of its newcomers. Both contain not only diverse migrant populations, but also significant concentrations of North and West African migrants. I have written several comparative articles on New York and Paris (Salzbrunn 2010), but because of questions of time, here, I will mainly focus on multiple belonging processes in Paris.

As groups can construct their belonging through a process of othering and excluding non-members, belonging is linked to the construction of boundaries. Janine Dahinden (2010) distinguishes three forms of boundaries: symbolic boundaries, social boundaries and network boundaries.5 We will now see how these boundaries are created in a northwestern district of Paris.

Case Study: Urban Belonging in Paris

In this empirical example, I move further from examining migration through an ethnic or religious lens and concentrate on the insertion of migrants from multiple backgrounds within a particular neighborhood in the throes of gentrification processes intensified by efforts of the city leadership to increase its competitiveness within the global tourist market. I examine an event as entry point into the local dynamics of the Parisian district of Sainte Marthe in order to understand how groups emerge or evolve in a migratory context.

In 2001, the global competition between cities contributed to the electoral victory of Socialist Mayor Bertrand Delanoë and his allies from the Green party in Paris. This victory was a culmination of pressures to recognize, celebrate, and market the diversity of the city. Efforts to highlight Parisian diversity began in 1995, with leftist parties' victory in municipal elections in the multiethnic neighborhoods. In addition, a global marketing trend that highlighted cultural and geographical diversity, as seen in several carnivals that were initiated in European cities such as Berlin and London (Knecht and Soysal 2005), stimulated efforts to market

Paris as a capital of international recreation. The invention of arts and crafts villages (such as a street of fashion in Barbès) and several festive events, supported by the City of Paris, such as the Chinese New Year in 2007 were all products of this commitment to highlight diverse cultures (Raulin 2004) in order to reposition the city within the global tourist industry. Top-down organized events by the City of Paris like the "Nuit Blanche" contributed to marketing Paris as a contemporary cultural capital, and to brush up a quite old-fashioned image of traditional French culture. The national event "Fête de la Musique" finds a high variety of local expressions in cities, villages and districts of Paris, like Sainte Marthe.

Sainte Marthe is the name of one of the two parallel streets in the district; but it also provided the name for the whole district. Many of the current buildings in the area known as Sainte Marthe, were built in the 1860s in a former Parisian suburb (Faubourg) by the Comte de Madre, an entrepreneur whose utopian ideas lead to the invention of a new architecture for workers' homes, known today as *le style Madre*. These tiny two- or four-floor houses were constructed with cheap material and no foundation. A workshop or a boutique was installed on the ground floor, while on the upper floors the worker's living quarters consisted of one or two room apartments without sanitation. The ensemble still has the form of an H on the map: two parallel streets, joined in the middle by a small perpendicular street, that were closed by gates because in the end of the 19th century, the whole district was part of a private property. By the 1980s the buildings were in danger of collapsing because of their poor quality, and at the beginning of 1991, the Mayor Jacques Chirac (who became President in 1995) wanted to destroy the whole quarter in order to construct huge buildings, such as the ones north and east of Sainte Marthe. The inhabitants were afraid of being expelled and developed different resistance strategies. The association "Village Saint Louis Sainte Marthe" organized banquets and festivals with important public relations and press work, in order to win public and political support. The village reference in the association's name alluded to a territorial identity within a big city. In the festivals and activities organized by the association, the architectural and aesthetic value of the houses and the cultural richness of the inhabitants were emphasized.

Fig. 3-2 Sainte Marthe, Paris/France: Announcement of the national "Fête de la Musique," where local, national and international groups perform at Sainte Marthe thanks to the association, "The Four Horizons." The program of the local "Fête de la Musique" includes a great variety of music styles.

Fig. 3-3 Sainte Marthe, Paris/France: Protest movement against the threat of demolition and call for participation in the next session of the "Conseil de quartier"(decentralized district council).

   The history of the place and the common enemy of right-wing and the real-estate speculators strengthened the inhabitants' sense of belonging to this particular neighborhood. In 1994, the notion of rehabilitation figured for the first time in the new urban projects in Paris. During the municipal election campaign in 1995, opposition to real estate speculation and the restoration of this quarter were at the center of the political campaign of the left-wing parties. Thanks to this platform, the left won district elections in 1995, and the whole city of Paris was conquered for the first time by the left in 2001. However, it was not until 2003 that the restoration project of the quarter was approved and the home owners were offered financial support.

   A central point of interest in Sainte Marthe is the celebration of cultural diversity, which features its inhabitants from various backgrounds and origins. Today, the population includes working migrants from North Africa and former Yugoslavia who arrived in the 1960s, artists and

Fig. 3-4 Sainte Marthe, Paris/France: Protest movement against the threat of demolition during "La Fête du Printemps" (Spring Festival) 2005.

Fig. 3-5 Sainte Marthe, Paris/France: Protest against the threat of demolition during "La Fête du Printemps" (Spring Festival) 2005. The banner says "Pay attention to our neighborhood and join the associations."

Fig. 3-6 Every year, flowers are sold during the Spring Festival in order to embellish the houses.

musicians who have occupied the deserted ateliers of the artisans, and a middle class population attracted by the diversity and the village-like atmosphere of the place. During the festive events organized on Sainte Marthe square since the 1990s, participants are called on to disguise themselves and paint their faces in order to change identity, but are also asked to display their cultural background through staged performances.

The events are organized by an association created in 1997, "The Four Horizons," and which came partly out of the former association "Village Saint Louis Sainte Marthe." Their founder and president, Kheira, is a French woman of Algerian origin, who has sought to provide activities to the inhabitants (especially to the youth) of the quarter, create links between different people, and establish a meeting venue for the Algerian women who suffer from isolation. She works as a housekeeper in the district and serves as a mediator between people searching for housing and for sites for shops, and is known as an informal real estate agent. Because of her involvement in real estate transactions in the district, she has been criticized by several inhabitants, even though she is engaged in

Fig. 3-7 Houses and workshops built in Madre style and recently renovated.

saving the neighborhood from destruction. "The Four Horizons" organizes cultural events like outdoor balls, as well as public couscous banquets and carnivals, which have made Sainte Marthe more and more popular in the eyes of tourists, potential investors in real estate, local political representatives, and as a part of the inhabitants of the district. The organization of festive events like the carnival has played a central role in shaping the inhabitants' identification with the quarter.

The association receives public funding from the State Secretary of Urban Affairs for its social work, and from the district Mayor for participating in the organization of the annual multi-sited nationwide Fête de la Musique on the square Sainte Marthe. Furthermore, the association gets money from their members' fees (30-40 members) and from the banquets and food sold to several hundred visitors during the festivals. In the course of building and conducting these events, the association interacts with various key persons in the district: the mayor and the elected deputies, the presidents of other associations (especially the association for local history). Others, such as local artists and craftswomen, participate

Fig. 3-8 Kristina, a famous local belly dancer who performs during festive events at Sainte Marthe.

in and benefit from these festive events.

In 2001, the small picturesque central square at the upper end of the Sainte Marthe street, which had been abandoned by the inhabitants because of the petty crime that occurred there, was symbolically inaugurated as one of the representative streets of Paris and was officially named "Place Sainte Marthe." The act of putting plates with the name "Place Sainte Marthe" on different house facades of the square was a kind of political victory for the mobilized residents of the neighborhood. It materialized their belonging to this geographical area. During the "Fête de la rentrée" 2005 (celebrating the end of school holidays), the organizers interviewed the local inhabitants in order to collect their impressions. All those interviewed seemed to be appreciative of the solidarity between the neighbors and of the beautiful and rare architecture of the district. The collected interviews bore witness to the strong sense of belonging experienced by the inhabitants of the neighborhood. However, the presentation of this audio auto-portrait during a festive event in this

Fig. 3-9 Kheira, the president of the association, "The Four Horizons" selling French Crêpes during the flea market at Sainte Marthe.

district was itself instrumental in shaping a place-based identification and belonging among the residents of Sainte Marthe.

In this quarter, feasts called "carnival" have been celebrated in three different forms: first, as a summer carnival organized by a theater company and supported by the city: local artists from the rue Sainte Marthe and the president of The Four Horizons enlivened this event by helping the children to create masks and costumes. Second, for the first time in 2003 several inhabitants of the quarter participated in a new type of summer carnival inspired by the London Notting Hill carnival. They named it "Barbès Tour" in allusion to a popular quarter in the Northern Paris (Barbès) where migrants from Sub-Saharan Africa and North Africa have settled. The year 2003 was declared the official year of Algeria in France; the president of The Four Horizons and its other members acknowledged this in the festival by wearing Berber costumes in front of a banner with "Algeria my love," written in Arabic. In 2004, the "Barbès Tour" took place in Barbès and Sainte Marthe, where a concert with

Fig. 3-10 Sainte Marthe, Paris/France: Music and street theater performances during the outdoor couscous banquet organized by the association, "The Four Horizons."

different musical styles was given. Here, the inhabitants of Sainte Marthe of North African origin performed their multiple belonging through the expression of different cultural and geographical references.

   The third explicit reference to carnival is the Catholic calendar. The Four Horizons offers crêpes to the children of Sainte Marthe and prepares a Moroccan dish (Tajine), in a local restaurant run by an association on Mardi Gras, one day before Ash Wednesday. There is also reference to a Catholic feast day ("la Chandeleur"), which has become only a pretext for consuming crêpes together. Similarly, Four Horizons celebrated Halloween and the beginning of Ramadan in 2004 together at a restaurant. All these references and activities exemplify the cultural bricolage that marks the neighborhood. The conscious cultural creolization carried out by The Four Horizons and the inhabitants of the neighborhood draw attention to the emergent place-based belongingness of the district inhabitants. Despite the power asymmetries within this

Fig. 3-11 Sainte Marthe, Paris/France: The Bistro "Le Panier" refers to a multicultural neighborhood in Marseille/France. Above, the new name of the place, "Place Sainte Marthe." Today, "La Sardine" has replaced "Le Panier."

common place-based field of identification, the local political identity construed through festive events has led to the emergence of a we-group. It is a belonging that extends beyond ethnic and/or religious origin and identity. Furthermore, it not only leads to hyphenated or co-existing identities, but also to innovative expressions of multiple belonging that are more than the sum of the different elements matched together.

One important consequence of these activities was that the new left-wing mayor has realized the cultural and economic potential of the quarter. He launched a district-wide festival called "Ensemble, nous sommes le Xe (Together, we are the 10th district of Paris), "during which the local associations presented their activities and their particular cultural identities (through food, music, clothes, et cetera, which led in some cases to an essentialization or reinvention of these identities). The local governance structures thus contributed to the development of place-based identities. The district mayor organized a collective exhibition by

Fig. 3-12 Sainte Marthe, Paris/France: During the artists' workshops' open doors, the local association "The Four Horizons" offers a couscous to "its neighbors, members and those who are in love with the district" in the community restaurant "La Rotisserie."

and for the population in 2006, underlining their different origins, "Together in the 10th district: inhabitants from here and elsewhere." By doing so, the district mayor follows the program of the Mayor Bertrand Delanoë, who has based his activities on four principles: "Solidarity; Quality of Life; Openness to the World; Citizenship."6 Although different neighborhood groups presented and sold their so-called traditional craft objects and/or food, the display of cultural heritage was only one aspect of the residents' activities.

These gatherings and festive events also provide local entertainment and opportunities for the negotiation of local power relations and for influencing the ongoing urban restructuring processes by repositioning the neighborhood anew within the global tourist industry. They provided venues for publicly pressuring the politicians taking part in these events to revisit their image of the neighborhood and the urban redevelopment plans they advocate. The festive events are also a mirror of national

politics. In April 2010, during the "Fête du Printemps" or "Spring Festival," children, as is often the case in Sainte Marthe, were invited by a local artist to create paintings. A little girl painted a beautiful silhouette of a woman wearing a Niqab (a female dress worn by certain, more orthodox Muslims). She was raising her hand to greet the spectator, together with a young blond girl standing next to her.

Another painting shows roots, and the young artist has written "Nous sommes tous issus de la même racine (We all came out of the same root)" below the roots. Both paintings can be interpreted as reactions to current political debates that tend to exclude people from the public space because of their supposed or constructed difference. Conservative politicians want to prohibit face-veiling, which is a hidden attempt to stigmatize Muslim women, because those wearing Niqabs or Burqas7 are particularly targeted. As Paris is governed by the Socialist and the Green parties since 2001, and as the Parisian district of Sainte Marthe is governed by the same parties since 1995, both representatives and voters try to counterbalance these messages of exclusion expressed by the conservative national government by valorizing difference. It is particularly striking to see that even the children who have painted these images express their concern about ongoing inclusion and exclusion processes in the street.

During national or religious events, the left-wing mayor emphasizes the "expression of Parisians of foreign origin" who are regularly invited to the Town hall during Ramadan, the Chinese New Year celebrations, et cetera. In addition to these festive events that tend to essentialize the immigrants, every year, another country is celebrated in the city: China, Brazil, Algeria, and Poland have already been honored. According to the mayor, these activities are the occasion to "show to which extent culture can be the vector of international splendor."[8] As Annemarie Bodaar and Jan Rath (2005: 4) point out, city "boosters increasingly acknowledge that urban diversity is a vital resource for the prosperity of cities and a potential catalyst for socio-economic development, particularly since business investors consider this diversity as one of the factors determining the location of businesses. The commodification and marketing of diversity, through the commercial use of the presence of the ethnic 'others' or their symbols, fits in well with this process, and this helps explain the growing enthusiasm for 'interesting' landscapes that have the

Fig. 3-13 Official announcement of the multicultural weeks organized by "Ensemble nous sommes le Xe" and the District Mayor of the 10th District in Paris. In 2009, the official theme was "La fête."

Fig. 3-14 A child's painting from the "Fête du Printemps" 2010.

potential to draw tourists…."[9] These Parisian initiatives in turn respond to and reshape flows of tourists: changing urban configurations under the influence of a wide diversity of inhabitants and are marketed to tourists in
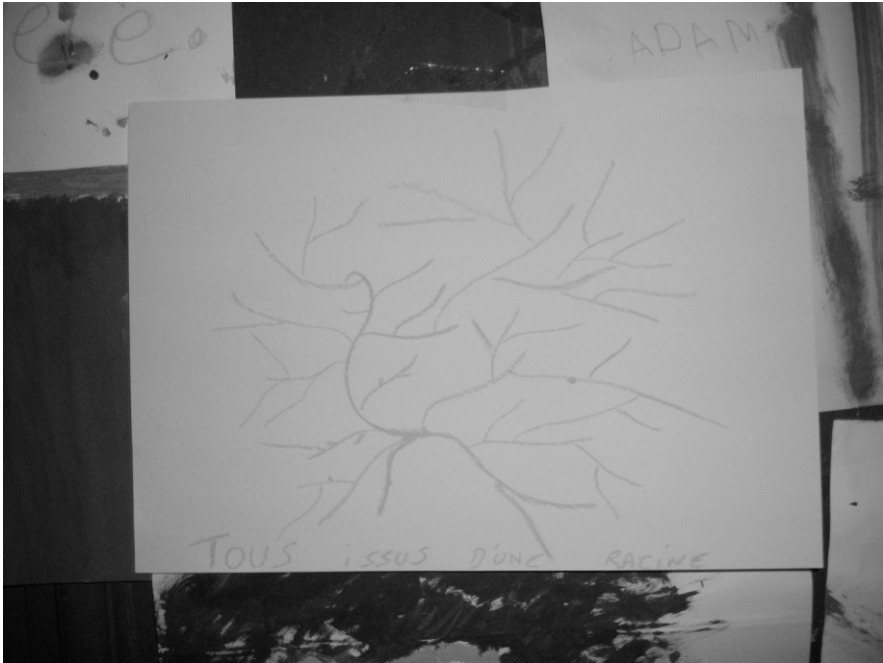
Fig. 3-15 Another children's painting from the "Fête du Printemps" 2010.
The caption says "Tous issus d'une racine (All out of one root)."

search of exotic cultures and people. In addition, the Orchestra of Paris
serves as an "ambassador" who travels to the honored country: during the
year of China, the musicians went to China in order to attract Chinese
tourists to Paris. Here, consumption plays a key role in the rescaling
process (Marston and Smith, 2001:615).[10] In a context of worldwide
competition amongst investors and tourists for whom diversity is a
criterion, Paris and New York need to respond to this demand.

   It is important to note that if I had focused on the members of the
district who were of Algerian descent, I could have told a story of an
ethnic or transnational network: there are indeed connections between the
president of The Four Horizons, her nephew in Great Britain and her
uncles in Algeria. The fact that there are cross-border neighborhood ties
and a growing self-perception of being part of a local community does
not deny the fact that this "communitas" is influenced by the political
context faced by North Africans. Living within transnational social fields,
North Africans in Paris are very sensitive to France's position on colonial

Fig. 3-16 The official Chinese New Year celebration at the town hall from the 10th district of Paris 2009.

history. They also face increasing daily restriction of access to public space, especially around Belleville and Sainte Marthe, because of growing identity controls, which are justified by concerns about illegal migration. However, in Sainte Marthe the response to the surveillance of migrants has been local rather than solely ethnic or religious. Surveillance has led to the development of solidarity networks for the protection of political and economic refugees. Several individuals were supported by a network that extends beyond people of Algerian descent. Inhabitants of Sainte Marthe include these forms of solidarity among the reasons to be proud of their neighborhood. Consequently, I argue that cultural practices and alliances can best be analyzed in the context of specific local political, social and economic living conditions and understood as produced within space and time (Barth 1969; Cohen 1993). Actors' identities are "partial, multiple and fractured by cross-cutting alliances" (Werbner 1997: 265). The local dynamics of Sainte Marthe were shaped by the struggle to restructure the neighborhood as part of broader globe, spanning forces that are repositioning cities. The residents resisting the gentrification of the

Fig. 3-17 Sainte Marthe, Paris/France: The announcement of "Mixtissage," a fashion show presented by Senegalese artist Sadio Bee. The show's name is an invented term and means "mixed tissues" –human and textile hybridizations.

neighborhood were able to find support for their cause from the district authorities thanks to the increasing value of cultural diversity (displayed within the neighborhood) in the marketing of cities within the global tourist industry. The appropriation of the urban space by the migrants in this case, and its repositioning locally and globally, were partly the outcomes of the subjective rescaling of the place from the local inhabitants' perspective (both migrant and native), as well as of local politicians' realization of this neighborhood's marketable value for the repositioning of Paris, as its neighborhoods are restructured within global flows of capital and the marketing of cultural difference. Furthermore, the inhabitants of the city are aware of the fact that their ethnic diversity has become a growing marketing strategy. They appropriate this logic and are able to take advantage of this evolution. In the case of Saint Marthe, their empowerment and sense of belonging has successfully enabled them to save the architecture and inhabitants. However, after this initial victory,

Fig. 3-18 Sainte Marthe, Paris/France: One of the mixed couples participating in "Mixtissage," a fashion show presented by Senegalese artist Sadio Bee.

a new gap emerges between those who can still afford to reside in this newly gentrified area and those who have become economically excluded.

Conclusion: Different Ways of Boundary-Making that Create a Sense of Belonging

From the beginning, we have been discussing how festive events create commonality. One key aspect of this dynamic process is the "boundary making"[11] performed during different social situations. Festive events in an urban neighborhood take place within a particular social situation and help us understand regimes of multiple belonging. After September 11, identity controls have expanded from national borders to public space in Europe and these borders have increasingly become appearance-based. This new form of surveillance produces new feelings of exclusion and

denies practices of belonging, particularly to those members of society of North or Sub-Saharan origin, despite their European citizenship. However, the boundaries created and materialized by agents of surveillance and control within the public space have reinforced the notion of belonging to a common political group among those who are excluded from residence rights and who express their opposition to those political practices. The high degree of solidarity experienced in this specific Parisian district contributes to increase the value of neighborhood among those inhabitants who are in search of a sense of belonging to an urban territory (and who are in search of personal rather than anonymous relationships within a global city). Conflicts do not appear for ethnic or religious reasons, but often because of social differences—which does not exclude the use of ethnic or religious belongings as an argument during the conflict. Inclusion and exclusion processes are far more linked to questions of belonging to a territory or a social group, than to a specific ethnic or religious group. Therefore, districts like Sainte Marthe benefit from subjective rescaling processes amongst the inhabitants (even though the new attractiveness also causes negative effects in terms of economic exclusion, as I have shown before). A new type of city tourist who is in search of "authenticity" also values these kinds of districts because they match expectations. Consequently, districts that had been considered undesirable or too dangerous, or suffered from different kinds of negative prejudices, now benefit from positive stereotypes like "authentic" or "multicultural." Therefore, several processes of structural and migrant subjective rescaling can be observed within and between Paris and other cities. It is also possible to observe the processes through which the subjective scaling has a direct impact on the institutional structures of urban life in ways that reposition the entire city in relation to flows of people and capital, and relations of power. In the eyes of many North and West African migrants, for example, New York becomes a desired location in comparison to Paris because of their growing awareness of discrimination and exclusion from the Parisian job market.

I have illustrated the different positioning of migrants in the global city of Paris, which is subject to particular dynamics, by using a festive event, a neighborhood festival in Paris, as entry point for my analysis. In Paris, the mayor transgresses national discourses that portray immigrants as a threat to the coherence of the national cultural and social fabric. It is noteworthy

that while the mayor of Paris chose to send a positive message of belonging to the African residents of Paris by sponsoring a concert with the best known African musicians on Bastille Day (a French national holiday held on July 14th), the president of the country chose a French singer of popular but old-fashioned chansons for the same occasion. This choice, as well as the choice of the quite old-fashioned star, Mireille Mathieu, to sing the National anthem on the evening of Election Day in 2007, was interpreted by several journalists as an illustration of his political program on chosen migration and expulsion, and his political wish for migrants to identify with "French national identity." As local leaders, who must constantly assure the regional and global connectedness of their cities, mayors of global cities supported and celebrated the diversity of their urban spaces. They strive to facilitate continued global flows of capital, investments and high-skilled (migrant) laborers, as well as tourists. Placing our analysis on the local rather than the national level allows us to note the situations in which urban discourses and policies may differ from those formulated by national leaders. It is noteworthy that the perspectives of the mayor of Paris, as well as some of the city's local leaders, were closer to the sociological reality of immigrants and migrant incorporation than those espoused by the leader of France who acted within national frameworks. The mayors in the north-eastern quarters of Paris generated responses to migration that reflected an awareness of the competitive marketing of particular cities and the contributions of migrants to both the restructuring and the marketing.

However, the short-term success of the rescaling process in Paris can lead to midterm social problems and increased inequalities in the city. The gentrification process as mediated through neighborhood interventions and struggles reinforced the notion of belonging. The Parisian and district mayors did not suffer electoral defeat in its wake, at least as long as they maintained a certain balance between different interest groups in the voters' eyes.

Finally, in the analysis of the interplay between urban and migrants settlement dynamics in Paris, it is important not to follow a common trajectory of migration scholarship in which social scientists build their nationwide models on specific urban examples. Paris's late recognition of urban diversity was a product of the local context of Paris, including its specific electoral politics, and was shaped in interface with the global and

regional pressures exerted on the city, and the way its leaders sought to reposition the city and themselves in urban politics and governance structures. Paris can fruitfully be compared to other cities like London as a capital and global city with specific local policies under former Mayor Livingstone, although Great Britain is organized differently in national political terms. The question of belonging to urban territories, and the possibility of the inhabitants to participate in urban restructuring processes, could also be compared to the situation in Tokyo, which experiences a growing civic participation in urban planning through "participatory urban planning."

Fig. 3-19 A last dance on the streets of Sainte Marthe.

Notes

1. Commonality here means the state of sharing features or attributes: a commonality of interest.This refers to and widens the concept of strategic groups (Evers and Schiel 1988) and political arenas (Jean-Pierre Sardan and Bierschenk 1995), which has already placed the emergence of we-groups (Georg Elwert) in a dynamic political context. I prefer the term commonality here, because it refers to a wider and more recent academic discourse than the term "communality," which covers the belonging to a "community," but which might lead to the misunderstanding of a more static community. The latter ideal-type of "community" has often falsely been opposed to "society," especially in the very recent political debate in France. For an extended reflection on these terms see Ivan Sainsaulieu, Monika Salzbrunn, Laurent Amiotte-Suchet (eds.). 2010. Faire communauté en société. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes.

2. All the photos in this chapter were taken by Monika Salzbrunn.

3. See the research project "Anthropology Research on Transnationalism and Street Phenomena" directed by Yasumasa Sekine, http://www.transnationalstreet.jp/en/outline/assignment/ (26.2.2010).

4. Pfaff-Czarnecka, Joanna, 2009: Multiple Zugehörigkeiten als Herausforderung biographischer Navigation. Conference given at Neuchatel, Switzerland, available at http://www.uni-bielefeld.de/%28de%29/tdrc/ag_sozanth/downloads/MultipleZugehorigkeiten_Neuchatel_defVersion14112009.pdf (26.2.2010).

5. Janine Dahinden (2010:3) defines these boundaries as follows: "Symbolic boundaries are conceptual distinctions made by social actors to categorize objects, people and practices. Tools by which people are separated into groups (generate) feelings of membership" or belonging. Following Lamont and Molnar (2002: 168-169), she defines social boundaries as "objectified forms of social differences manifested in unequal access to and unequal distribution of resources and social opportunities." Finally, in her own works, Dahinden researches network boundaries, which she considers as "structures of membership (and therefore exclusion and inclusion) emerging out of the personal social networks."

6. The original titles are "Une ville plus solidaire; Des actes pour une meilleure 'qualité de vie' ; Paris en mouvement, une ville ouverte sur le monde ; Le Paris des citoyens." Cf. Compte rendu public de mandat 2005 par Bertrand Delanoë Maire de Paris et l'équipe municipale.

7. In fact, the absolute number of women concerned is extremely low (about 2000 women, out of approx. 2 million female Muslims), but the stigmatization targets the much larger group of French Muslims and foreign Muslims residing in France.

8. Citations are from Compte rendu public de mandat 2005 par Bertrand Delanoë Maire de Paris et l'équipe municipale, translated by the author of this article.

9. For further reading on the tourist industry and city marketing cf. Jan Rath (ed.), 2006: *Tourism, Ethnic Diversity and the City. Contemporary Geographies of Leisure, Tourism and Mobility Series.* Oxford: Routledge.

10. I am referring here to a response of A. Sallie A. Marston and Neil Smith to Neil Brenner, in: *Progress in Human Geography,* 2001, 25.

11. According to Andreas Wimmer (2008), a « boundary displays both a categorical and a social or behavioral dimension. The former refers to acts of social classification and collective representation; the latter to everyday networks of relationships that result from individual acts of connecting and distancing. On the individual level, the categorical and the behavioral aspects appear as two cognitive schemes. One divides the social world into social groups—into "us" and "them"—and the other offers scripts of action—how to relate to individuals classified as "us" and "them" under given circumstances. Only when the two schemes coincide, when ways of seeing the world correspond to ways of acting in the world, shall I speak of a social boundary. »

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