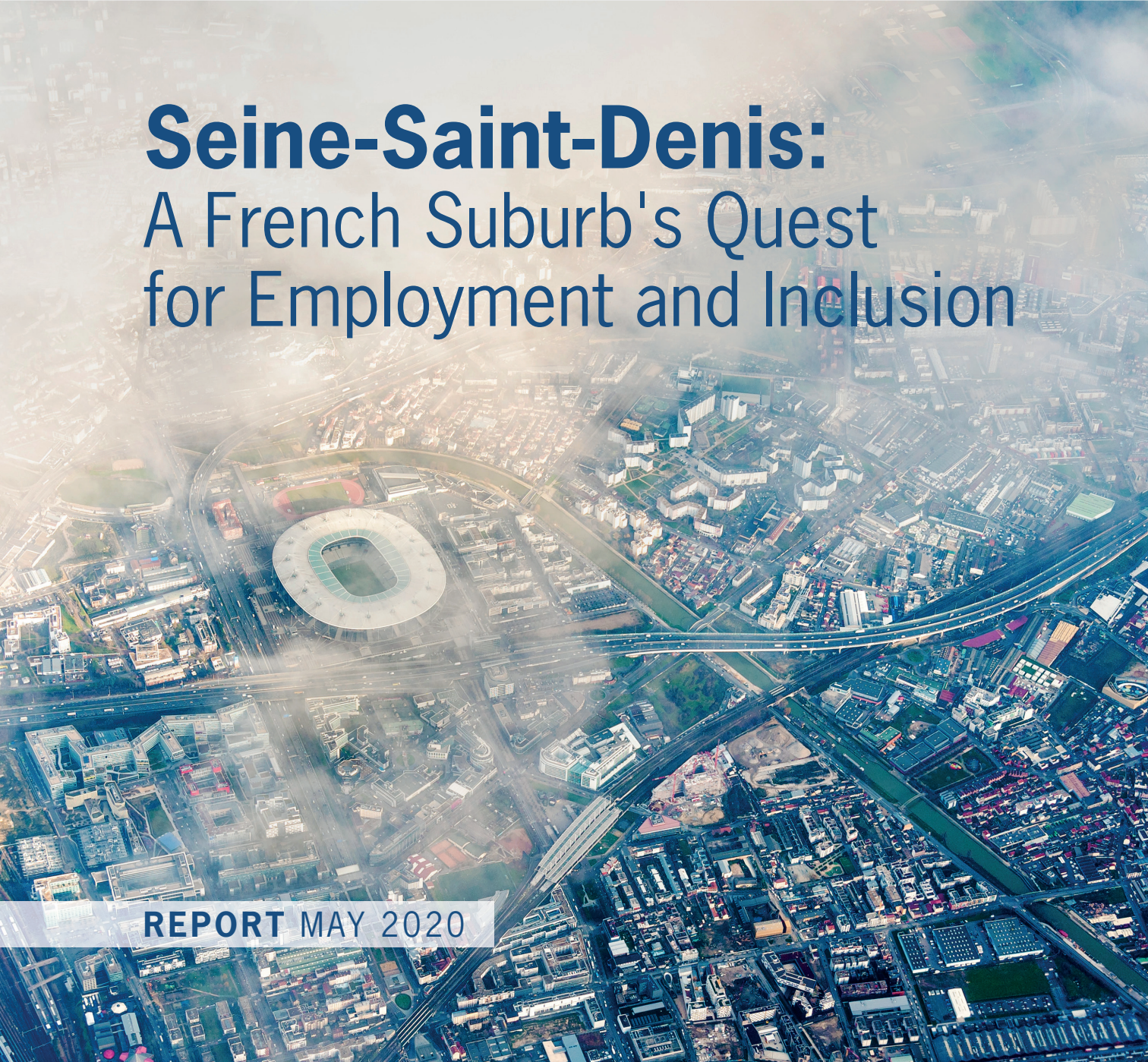


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An aerial photograph of a dense urban area, likely Paris, featuring a large stadium with a green field and a white roof, surrounded by a river and a complex network of roads and buildings. The image is slightly hazy, giving it a historical or artistic feel.

Seine-Saint-Denis: A French Suburb's Quest for Employment and Inclusion

REPORT MAY 2020

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*There is no desire more natural
than the desire for knowledge*

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This work was supported
by J.P. Morgan

ABOUT THE RAPPORTEUR-GENERAL

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She is now a board member of large listed companies, and an expert in digital and social issues. She is Senior Advisor at the Boston Consulting Group, where she previously spent more than 10 years as Associate Director. She has particularly extensive experience in the fields of health and mobility (including infrastructure).

Agnès has an in-depth knowledge of major companies: she was part of the management teams of Vivendi Universal (formerly Générale des Eaux), where she was first Director of Group Strategy and Development, then Managing Director of the Internet and Technology Division (VUNet). She was also a member of the Executive Committee and Chief Performance Officer of Havas media group.

Her experience in the public sector includes two years as a Poverty and Urban Policy Advisor to the cabinet of Simone Veil, then Minister of State and Minister of Social Affairs, Health and Urban Affairs (1993-1995). She also held the position of Chief of Staff to Jean-Pierre Raffarin, then Minister of Small and Medium Enterprises, Trade and Crafts (1995-1997). She began her career at the Prefecture of Île-de-France, in charge of development, planning and infrastructure.

As a strategy consultant, she has advised large private and public organizations on complex projects, through her expertise in social and digital transformation.

Agnès has been active in the non-profit sector for 30 years and is an activist of innovation in the social sector, with particular focus on the fight against exclusion, elderly people, microfinance, Tech4Good, etc.

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INTRODUCTION

In January 2019, Institut Montaigne with support from J. P. Morgan launched a joint project on the issues related to employment and integration in Seine-Saint-Denis (SSD), a complex area with a number of to help inform the decision-making process of actors in the public and private sector.

A prime location for CAC 40 company head offices, focal point of huge investments, a showcase presented by France to the rest of world during global sporting events at Stade de France and the upcoming 2024 Olympic Games, Seine-Saint-Denis is also a place of significant levels of poverty, concentrating endemic social and economic difficulties, where school dropout rates are high, and violence and trafficking are rife. Another paradox is that, in spite of being the subject of multiple studies, analyses and statistics, Seine-Saint-Denis remains largely misunderstood: for example, there is no reliable information on the extent of the black market economy and no accurate figures for the number of inhabitants or the actual education attainment of its school children. Furthermore, the area is one of the departments that have received significant attention from the State, being the test ground for all high-priority public policies. The French Prime Minister recently made a speech there, announcing a specific plan¹ comprising derogatory measures, an approach that France’s administrative and political traditions typically reserve for the overseas territories and Corsica. In Seine-Saint-Denis, issues such as safety, immigration, housing, employment and education are intimately related, to an even greater extent than anywhere else. At the same time, everyday life, fortunately, is more ordinary than the images conjured up by news reports and films.

This report aims to explain the reasons why employment, integration, and education public policies have been less effective in sustaining economic opportunity in Seine-Saint-Denis, and to propose actionable solutions to unlock access to employment and activity for all inhabitants through enhanced collaboration.

Our suggestions and recommendations include calling for a new model of cooperation between the stakeholders, helping to redesign family pathways, policy, and service gaps between the different institutions (such as funding for the RSA minimum allowance, or French language. We must also seize the exceptional opportunities of the near future: the Grand Paris transport project, ANRU’s new urban renovation programme, the APHP hospital project, the Roissy Charles-de-Gaulle extension, the arrival of new CAC 40 and SBF 120 company head offices, the digital transformation of the economy and even the ecological transformation of society as a whole.

February 2020, this finalised work was to be presented after the local elections.

In March 2020, the Covid-19 pandemic struck the world, affecting the Île-de-France region of France in particular. The Covid-19 mortality figures published on 3 April for each department showed tha: the mortality rate in Seine-Saint-Denis was higher than that of the rest of the region. Insee completed its analyses, indicating that Hauts-de-Seine was just as affected as Seine-Saint-Denis by 20 April².

1 Seine-Saint-Denis: an action plan comprising 23 specific measures, speech by Edouard Philippe, Prime Minister, 31 October 2019.
2 Three departments registered at least twice as many deaths between 1 March and 13 April 2020 compared with the same period in 2019: Haut-Rhin (+ 144%), Seine-Saint-Denis and Hauts-de-Seine (+128%).

It is much too soon to be able to perform propose detailed analysis of the reasons behind the disproportionate impact of the Covid-19 crisis on lower-income neighbourhoods but, echoing our investigations over the past fifteen months, three elements appear likely to figure among the epidemiological analyses that will be performed:

- Poverty and poor housing conditions: Seine-Saint-Denis suffers from one of the highest rates of poor housing in mainland France. Many people's homes are simply a place to sleep, not a place to live. This makes life very complicated under lockdown conditions. Furthermore, because the virus is very highly contagious, lockdown in a space shared by 6 or 8 people mathematically results in more deaths than lockdown in spaces shared by just 2 or 3. In other words, overcrowding is very dangerous in a Covid-19 situation.
- Poverty and its related co-morbidities (diabetes, obesity and high blood pressure) are more common among the poorer populations and these are known to be aggravating risk factors for Covid-19, favouring the development of severe, potentially fatal forms of the disease. Seine-Saint-Denis is the poorest area of mainland France.
- Over-representation of the professions mobilised during lockdown: logistics agents, supermarket employees, utilities company employees, carers working either in hospitals or in the medical-social sector, are among the 300,000 or so inhabitants working outside Seine-Saint-Denis, who have continued to work throughout the lockdown. Conversely, the vast majority of the management positions of companies located in Seine-Saint-Denis are held by people living in Paris, who commute to Seine-Saint-Denis daily, and were largely able to work remotely during lockdown. Statistically speaking, the department's inhabitants might be less confined and therefore more exposed.

The next few months will provide more insight to define and explain the disproportionate health and economic impacts of the crisis. Furthermore, regardless of the future evolution of the epidemic, which no-one can predict with any degree of certainty, it is clear that the health crisis will be followed by an economic and social crisis. Strong tensions are already appearing related to falling income and increasing charges: fewer fixed term contracts, fewer jobs for freelance workers, less "trafficking" but also fewer subsidised canteen meals to fill the stomachs of tens of thousands of children and teenagers in France's youngest department. The topics of employment and integration - including their financial aspects, such as the funding of the RSA allowance - are therefore more important than ever at the moment in Seine-Saint-Denis. It thus seems logical to share our conclusions, now even if they were written before the Covid-19 crisis.

It is worth raising the question of specific actions concerning the easing of lockdown measures and a potential recovery plan for Seine-Saint-Denis, whether these actions are major projects, plans to invest in skills, public buildings refurbishment or, of course, for projects that are more widely disseminated throughout the economic fabric.

As an area that has welcomed numerous successive waves of immigration, after having been one of the main casualties of the country's de-industrialisation, Seine-Saint-Denis represents a key area of focus for the French Republic during the current health and economic crisis.

AN AREA THAT BENDS BUT DOES NOT BREAK

Examination of the social and economic indicators provides a worrying picture of Seine-Saint-Denis. However, this observation must be qualified for a number of reasons. Firstly, the social and economic situation is not the same throughout the department. Secondly, one of the particularities of Seine-Saint-Denis is that it is a place of transition for many families, mostly immigrants, who come to the outskirts of Paris seeking employment opportunities and actually achieve individual social promotion. Finally, Seine-Saint-Denis has a dynamic local economy.

A. A worrying state of affairs

1. A low-income population, for whom access to employment is particularly difficult

a) The highest poverty rate in mainland France and a growing divide between SSD and the other departments of Île-de-France

The inhabitants of Seine-Saint-Denis have the lowest average standard of living in mainland France. This standard, which corresponds to disposable income per unit of consumption, was €16,996³ in 2016, compared with €22,906 in Île-de-France and €20,809 in mainland France. However, there are major differences between the municipalities in the department: The median income in Gournay-sur-Marne, Le Raincy and Coubron is twice as high as in Clichy-sous-Bois, La Courneuve and Aubervilliers.

Seine-Saint-Denis is the poorest department in mainland France, with an individual poverty rate of 28.6%⁴ in 2016. This rate is twice that of the poverty rate of Île-de-France (15.7%) and the divide compared with the other departments of Île-de-France actually grew between 2008-2014: the poverty rate increased by more than 7 points⁵, while the highest rate of growth in the other Île-de-France departments for the same period was 4.5 points (Val-d'Oise).

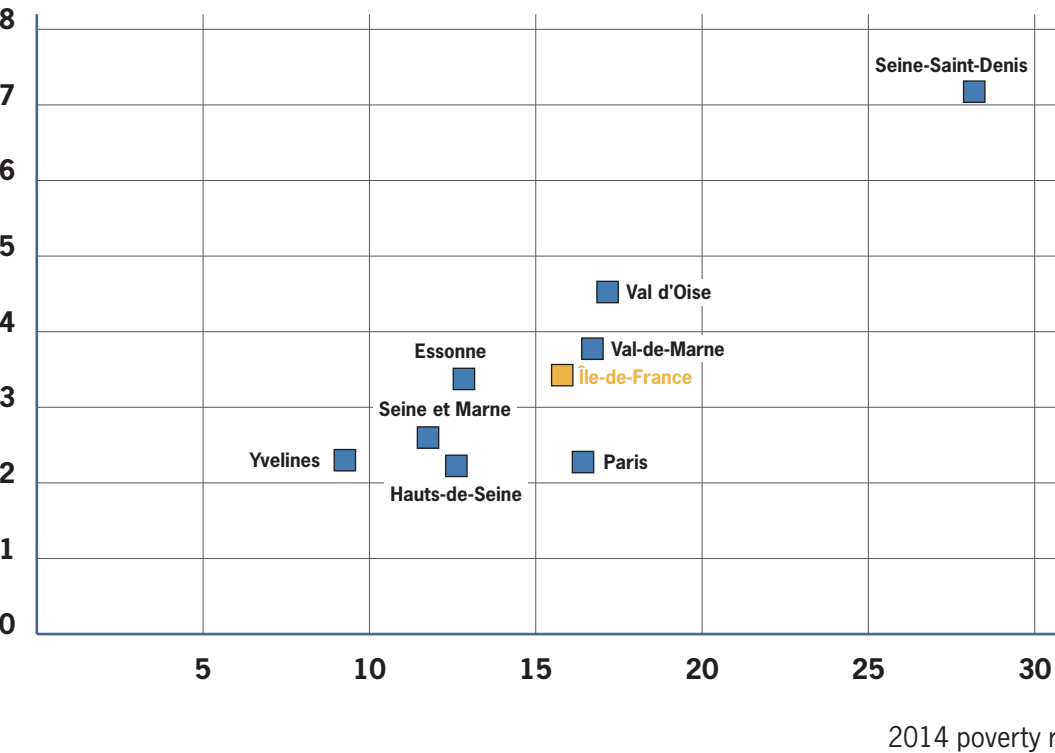
Measurement of the poverty rate reveals major differences within the boundaries of the department. The south-eastern part of the department, a residential area, has a poverty rate of less than 20%. However,

3 Insee, "Les niveaux de vie en 2016" (Standards of living in 2016).
4 Insee-DGFIP (Public Finances Director General), 2016.
5 Insee Analyses, "La Seine-Saint-Denis: entre dynamisme économique et difficultés sociales persistantes" (Seine-Saint-Denis: economic dynamism and persistent social difficulties), February 2020. The poverty rate corresponds to the proportion of individuals (or households) whose standard of living is lower than the so-called poverty threshold, expressed in euro, for a given year. This threshold is determined in relation to the distribution of the standards of living of the population as a whole. The preferred threshold in France (and used in this study) is 60% of the median standard of living (the household's disposable income divided by the number of units of consumption). In mainland France, in 2016, this median standard of living was €1,710 per month and the poverty line was €1,026 per month in 2016. The poverty rate was therefore 14% in mainland France, 15.7% in Île-de-France and 28.6% in Seine-Saint-Denis.

the northern and central areas of the department, characterised by serious economic difficulties, have a poverty rate of more than 30% (33.7%). The economic dynamism of the cities of Saint-Denis and Saint-Ouen contrast with the social and economic situation of the local residential population, whose poverty rate was 34.6% in 2016.

Poverty rate 2014 by department (%) and evolution since 2008 (in points).

Evolution of the rate from 2008 to 2014 (points)



Source : Insee - localised disposable income (RDL) 2008 and FiloSoFi 2014.

According to the July 2018⁶ population census, 1,960 people were living in slums. Seine-Saint-Denis is the French department with the largest number of people living in such conditions (12% of the national population). The main cities concerned are Montreuil (520 people), Stains (380 people) and Bondy (350 people).

6 Dihal, Etat des lieux des bidonvilles en France métropolitaine au 1^{er} juillet 2018 (Report on the slums of mainland France on 1 July 2018), October 2018. This report lists the public or privately owned locations - plots of land, wasteland or constructions - occupied illegally and permanently as housing for several families in mainland France.

b) A particularly negative employment situation, in contrast with the other departments of Île-de-France

For the past twenty years, the department's unemployment rate has been above 10% (11% during the third quarter of 2019). Seine-Saint-Denis is one of the ten departments with the highest unemployment rates in mainland France (ranking 9th in 2019)⁷. Among the forty municipalities in Seine-Saint-Denis, eleven have an unemployment rate of more than 20%. With a rate of 27%, La Courneuve is the most seriously affected town.

Unemployment concerns the younger members of the department's population in particular, with 28% of those aged 18 to 24 being without employment or qualifications, which is 13 points higher than in Hauts-de-Seine.

At the same time, in terms of activity rate, Seine-Saint-Denis ranked 55th among French departments in 2015. With 73.1% of the active population⁸, it is clearly behind the other departments of Île-de-France, the next lowest ranking being Val-d'Oise, with an activity rate of 74.8% (27th).

c) A rate of RSA allowance beneficiaries twice as high as the average rate in Île-de-France

Seine-Saint-Denis has one of the highest rates of RSA allowance beneficiaries in France⁹, with 10.7% of the beneficiary population in 2018, compared with 5.1% in mainland France overall and 5.2% in Île-de-France¹⁰. One quarter of Île-de-France's RSA beneficiaries live in Seine-Saint-Denis. Again, certain municipalities have a particularly large number of RSA beneficiaries. In 2015, more than 15% of beneficiaries lived in Aubervilliers (16%) and Clichy-sous-Bois (17.6%)¹¹. Without this social allowance, Insee estimates that the poverty rate could be as high as 39.4% of the department's population¹².

2. The link between the employment situation and the Education gap

Here, we are talking about the education attainment of school children, but obviously the recruitment and stability of teaching staff is a major issue that cannot be dissociated from that of the pupils' performance.

a) A social and cultural environment detrimental to success at school

The results of the PISA programme (Programme for International Student Assessment) reveal that France is the OECD country where social origin has the greatest impact on a student's results: although the French school system is well-suited to the most proficient, it fails to educate the least advantaged students. In this respect, due to the national education system's difficulties to ensure success for all, the main indicators available all point to the inevitable trajectory of Seine-Saint-Denis' schoolchildren¹³.

7 Insee Analyses, "La Seine-Saint-Denis: entre dynamisme économique et difficultés sociales persistantes" (Seine-Saint-Denis: economic dynamism and persistent social difficulties), February 2020.

8 Insee, "Portrait social de la Seine-Saint-Denis" (Social portrait of Seine-Saint-Denis), departmental section, 2016.

9 Seine-Saint-Denis had 85,200 RSA beneficiaries in 2018.

10 Insee, "Portrait social de la Seine-Saint-Denis" (Social portrait of Seine-Saint-Denis), departmental section, 2018.

11 Ctradr 2019. "Le revenu de solidarité active en Seine-Saint-Denis : évolutions depuis la mise en place du plan pluriannuel de lutte contre la pauvreté et pour l'inclusion sociale 2013-2018" (The RSA allowance in Seine-Saint-Denis: evolutions since the implementation of the five-year plan to fight poverty and to promote social inclusion 2013-2018.)

12 Insee analyses, Île-de-France, "La Seine-Saint-Denis : entre dynamisme économique et difficultés sociales persistantes" (Seine-Saint-Denis: economic dynamism and persistent social difficulties), February 2020.

13 Data taken from the French Education Ministry's Géographie de l'école 2017 publication.

The department combines social, economic and family difficulties.

- ▶ The proportion of children aged 0-17 whose primary caregiver is “without qualifications” was 39.9% in Seine-Saint-Denis in 2013, i.e. the highest level in mainland France (21.9%)¹⁴;
- ▶ The proportion of children whose primary caregiver is unemployed was 14.8% in 2013, i.e. the highest level in mainland France;
- ▶ With the exception of French Guiana (63%), Seine-Saint-Denis has the highest proportion of children living in overcrowded housing (41%);
- ▶ The proportion of single-parent families in Seine-Saint-Denis is 28%, compared with the average figure of 22.7% for mainland France¹⁵;
- ▶ In 2013, Seine-Saint-Denis had the highest rate of poverty among couples with children in mainland France (27.7%);
- ▶ Almost 44% of children aged 0-17 have immigrant parents.

b) Lagging behind in national examinations

By way of introduction, apart from the results of the Diplôme National du Brevet (DNB) and Baccalauréat, it appears that the French Education system has only recently acquired the tools to measure the actual education attainment of the pupils in Seine-Saint-Denis via evaluations in the classes of CP, CE1 (primary school) and 6^{ème} (first year of secondary school). However, since these results have not been published, we were not able to use them. In primary and secondary schools, they are intended to objectivise the pupils’ successes and difficulties to help them through the rest of their schooling.

The published analyses show that the department is characterised by the under-performance of its pupils in the national examinations:

- ▶ In 2017, the pass rate of the DNB examination at the end of secondary school for the pupils of Seine-Saint-Denis was 85.1%, with a 63.6% rate of commendation, which is below the average for the Créteil education academy (87% pass rate and 66.5% commendation rate) and the national average (89.9% and 71.7%)¹⁶.
- ▶ With regard to the Baccalauréat, in 2015, the department’s pass rate was 85.8% with a commendation rate of 39.6%, rates that are below the average for the academy (89.2% pass rate and 66.5% commendation rate) and the national average (92.4% and 54.4%), ranking Seine-Saint-Denis 99th among French departments (out of a total 101) in terms of Baccalauréat pass rate¹⁷.

These results are also inferior to those of the other academies and departments. However, it is difficult to make an accurate assessment of the situation. Thus, while our correspondents remind us that the most common grade for the mathematics part of the DNB exam is zero in priority education areas, the indicators often show real added value in the public senior high schools of Seine-Saint-Denis in terms of pupils’ success: thus, in 2018, while the “expected” pass rate for the Baccalauréat was 70%, the Nobel school in Clichy-Sous-Bois achieved a pass rate of 88%¹⁸. It is essential that the situation in terms of school level is clarified, not to stigmatise or judge, but to enable us to make progress together.

14 International scientific literature has established a solid correlation between a pupil’s success and his/her mother’s level of qualifications.
15 Insee, “Familles monoparentales franciliennes : les femmes toujours en première ligne face aux difficultés” (Single-parent families in Île-de-France: women always on the front line when it comes to facing difficulties), 2016.
16 France Examen, DNB pass rate 2017 in Seine-Saint-Denis.
17 France Examen, Baccalauréat pass rate 2015 in Seine-Saint-Denis.
18 <https://www.Éducation.gouv.fr/cid3014/les-indicateurs-de-resultats-des-lycees.html>

c) Low school attendance rates and a high dropout rate

Educational difficulties are also reflected in the school attendance rate, which is slightly below the national and regional averages for the 15-17 age range, and more obviously among 18-24 year olds. With 53% of its 18-24 year olds in school, Seine-Saint-Denis is certainly above the national average, for which the dropout rate is notably boosted by the rural departments, but clearly below the regional average (60.7%)¹⁹.

The number of students leaving school with only a low level of qualification is therefore particularly high. The proportion of Seine-Saint-Denis’ students aged 15 or above leaving school with no qualifications is much higher than elsewhere. In 2015, Seine-Saint-Denis had a dropout rate of 39%²⁰, compared with just 19% in Paris, 26% in Ile-de France and 30% in mainland France²¹.

Incidentally, only 25% of the department’s inhabitants have a higher education diploma, compared with 29% for mainland France and 40% for Île-de-France.

3. A demographic dynamism that does not live up to its potential

a) Demographic growth slightly above the national average, supported by France’s highest rate of natural increase

According to Insee, on 1 January 2017, Seine-Saint-Denis had a population of 1,623,111 inhabitants living in 40 municipalities²². It is therefore the most populated department in Île-de-France, after Paris (2,190,327 inhabitants) and the sixth most populated department in France.

The department has strong demographic growth (approximately +15,000 inhabitants per year), above the national average. Insee statistics show that this growth rate is accelerating: between 2006 and 2011, the annual average population growth rate in Seine-Saint-Denis was 0.5%; this doubled between 2011-2016, reaching 1%²³. Furthermore, the proportion of large families continues to rise at a constant rate. In 2015, with 18% large families, Seine-Saint-Denis ranked number 1 among the departments of mainland France.

This demographic dynamic is mainly due to the rate of natural increase, the highest in France in 2016, with 20,400 additional inhabitants, and whose annual rate of change averaged at 1.3% between 2010 and 2015.

19 Insee, “Portrait social de la Seine-Saint-Denis” (Social portrait of Seine-Saint-Denis), departmental section, 2016.
20 There are a number of indicators for school dropout. Herein, the definition proposed by DEPP-INSEE is used. A school dropout is a young person who leaves the school education system early, without obtaining any qualifications except the DNB, and who is no longer enrolled on any training courses.
21 Insee, Population census 2015.
22 Insee analyses, Ile de France, “La Seine-Saint-Denis : entre dynamisme économique et difficultés sociales persistantes”. (Seine-Saint-Denis: economic dynamism and persistent social difficulties), no.114, February 2020.
23 Insee, Legal population of Île-de-France: 12,117,132 inhabitants on 1 January 2016.

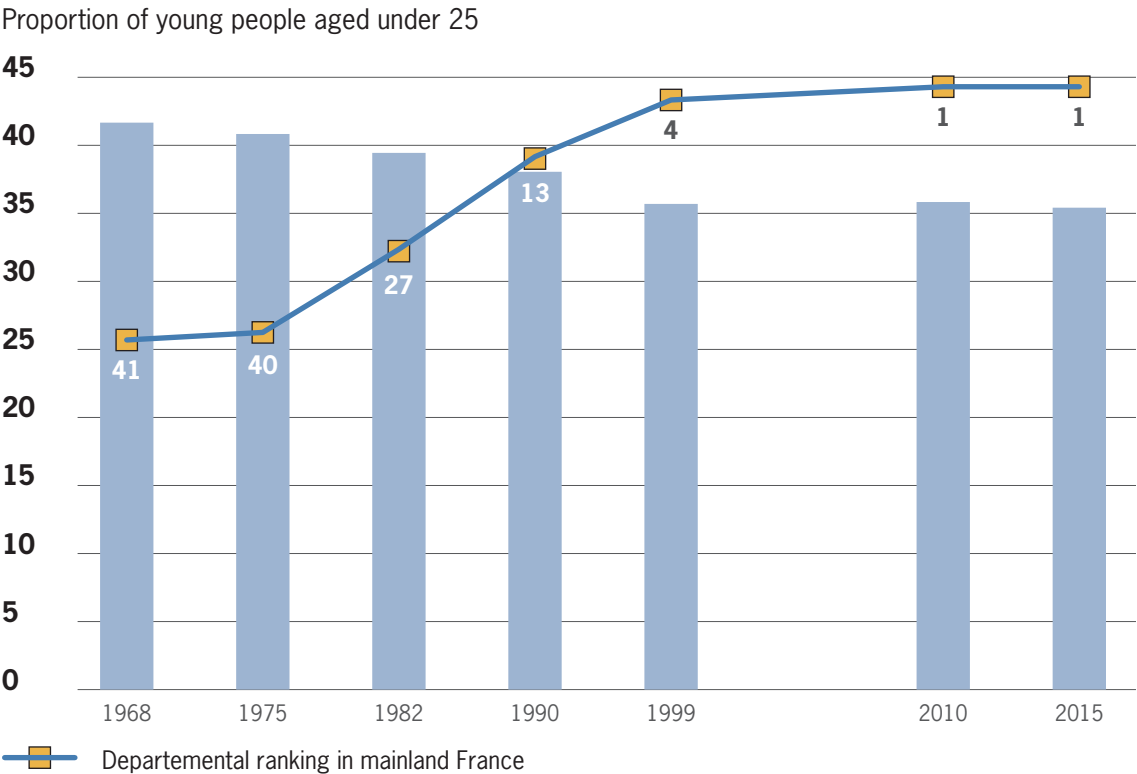
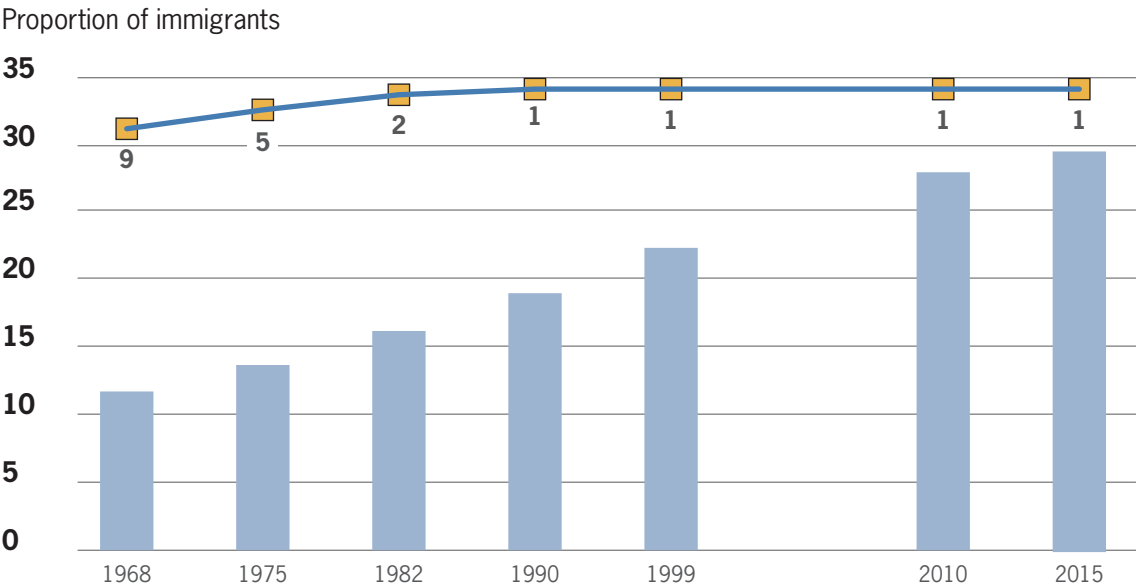
b) A young population characterised by a large proportion of foreign nationals

Seine-Saint-Denis is the youngest department in Île-de-France. With 565,532 inhabitants aged under 25 years, it was the mainland department with the largest population of this category in 2015 (35.7% of the population, compared with a national average of 30.3%)²⁴. Reflecting this situation, the department's ageing index²⁵ was the lowest in mainland France in 2015 (39.2%, compared with the national average 76.4%)²⁶.

However, although the proportion of people aged 65 or more in the department is only 11% compared with 19% nationally, ageing remains a concern for Seine-Saint-Denis. The increase in dependency in the next few years will be a particular challenge within the department, because 22.4% of 60-74 year olds live below the poverty threshold.

Another demographic particularity of Seine-Saint-Denis is the high proportion of foreign nationals in its population. The proportion of immigrants was almost 30% in 2015 in the department, and 23.2% of its population were foreign nationals according to Insee, compared with 6.5% for mainland France²⁷. In 2016, immigrants, almost half of whom come from just seven countries (Algeria, Morocco, Portugal, Tunisia, Turkey, Italy and Spain), represented 57% of the department's manual labourers and 39% of its low-level employees.

Evolution of the proportion of immigrants and the proportion of young people in the population (%) since 1968 and departmental ranking (position)



Interpretation : almost 36% of the population of Seine-Saint-Denis was aged under 25 in 2015. This is the highest proportion in mainland France (1st).

Source : Insee - population census from 1968 to 2015

24 Regional directorate of youth, sport and social cohesion for Île-de-France (DRJSCS), key figures 2015 Île-de-France.
25 Report on the population aged 65 and above and under 20.
26 Regional directorate of youth, sport and social cohesion for Île-de-France (DRJSCS), key figures 2015 Île-de-France.
27 Insee, "Portrait social de la Seine-Saint-Denis" (Social portrait of Seine-Saint-Denis), departmental section, 2015.

4. Irregular foreign nationals and the underground economy: can we continue to look the other way?

A milestone parliamentary report²⁸ claimed in May 2018 that “there were 150,000 or 250,000 or perhaps even 400,000 people in irregular situations”, i.e. between 9 and 25% of the legal population. The report went on to indicate that “the only certainty was the State’s uncertainty with regard to the actual number of irregular foreign nationals in Seine-Saint-Denis”²⁹. The magnitude of this situation complicates the analysis of social and economic indicators, notably concerning the activity rate, which Insee estimates at 73.2% for the department. This rate could actually be quite different, if all irregulars were included in the figure³⁰.

The underground economy is the second blind spot, also having a massive effect on any interpretation of the employment market indicators for Seine-Saint-Denis. As revealed by the aforementioned report, “activities related to the trafficking of drugs, counterfeit goods and even humans are hugely present in the department’s real economy”.

For example, experts claim that the cannabis trade generates almost half (48%) of the turnover of the drug industry in France. It is important to bear in mind that, according to experts, drug trafficking in 2010 was the main activity for almost 240,000 people nation-wide³¹ and that approximately 100,000 people were estimated to have benefited from the revenue generated by this traffic in Seine-Saint-Denis, with annual turnover evaluated at one billion euro³².

Several of the people consulted point out that consideration of this revenue could ultimately affect indicators such as standard of living and rate of unemployment. However, aside from such implications, these illicit activities are obviously also associated with extremely negative external factors. The opportunity cost of enrolling in a training course or accepting a job whose income is taxable dissuades many young - and not so young - people from entering the legal employment market.

Although such subjects are complex, and progress is likely to demand ambitious, but discreet, actions, the current situation is not satisfactory for anyone: having a more realistic picture of the actual situation has become essential. This knowledge will probably lead to a number of emergency measures.

28 Information report by François Cornut-Gentile and Rodrigue Kokouendo on the evaluation of the State’s action in the exercise of its national role in Seine Saint-Denis, National Assembly, May 2018.
29 Ibid.
30 This “corrected” rate is particularly difficult to establish being highly dependent on both the rate of activity of irregular migrants and the number of irregular migrants. Rapid calculations suggest a difference of between 58 and 75% depending on the hypotheses used.
31 Christian Ben Lakhdar, Nacer Lalam, David Weinberger, “L’Argent de la drogue en France” (Drug money in France), INHESJ, 2016.
32 Raphaël Tresanini, “93: l’indispensable industrie du shit” (Department 93: the essential hash industry” (2017, 52 min).

B. Three particular characteristics of this department mitigate the first conclusions

1. The extent of the differences between the situations of each municipality

The difficulties observed at the scale of the department must not mask the hugely contrasting realities of the different municipalities. To identify these differences more clearly, we drew up a municipal analysis based on eight social and economic criteria³³.

The analysis highlights the criticality of the situation in certain municipalities. For all the indicators used, these municipalities appear to suffer the most severe difficulties in the department, not surprisingly indicating a strong correlation between some of the variables, reflecting a form of accumulation of problems:

- Clichy-sous-Bois ranks last (40th) for 5 of the 8 criteria, ranking 38th once and 37th twice;
- La Courneuve is among the three lowest ranking municipalities for all criteria except for the rate of single-parent families with young children (31th);
- Aubervilliers is among the five lowest ranking municipalities for all criteria except for the rate of single-parent families with young children (21st);
- Bobigny is among the bottom six municipalities for all criteria.

This municipality-based study confirms the extent of the difficulties observed at the scale of the department: 38 of the 40 municipalities had a rate of unemployment above the national average (8.5%) and 35 of the 40 had a poverty rate above the national average (14.2%) in 2015³⁴. However, the situation in two municipalities was similar or superior to the national average for most indicators: Coubron (8.9%) and Gournay-sur-Marne (8.1%)³⁵ where the rates of unemployment were similar, and poverty rates were well below the national average.

33 Municipal analysis, see appendix. This analysis concerns the forty municipalities in the Seine-Saint-Denis department. The criteria used are as follows: rate of unemployment, rate of people aged 15 or more with no qualifications, rate of families with children under 25 with no employed parent, rate of single-parent families with children under 25, poverty rate, proportion of the population covered by the RSA allowance, proportion of the population living in a low-income allowance-receiving household, median monthly disposable income (per consumption unit). All indicators are given for 2015.
34 Ibid.
35 Ibid.

The municipality-based analysis reveals the huge differences that exist within the department. For example, we compared certain indicators for Gournay-sur-Marne and Clichy-sous-Bois:

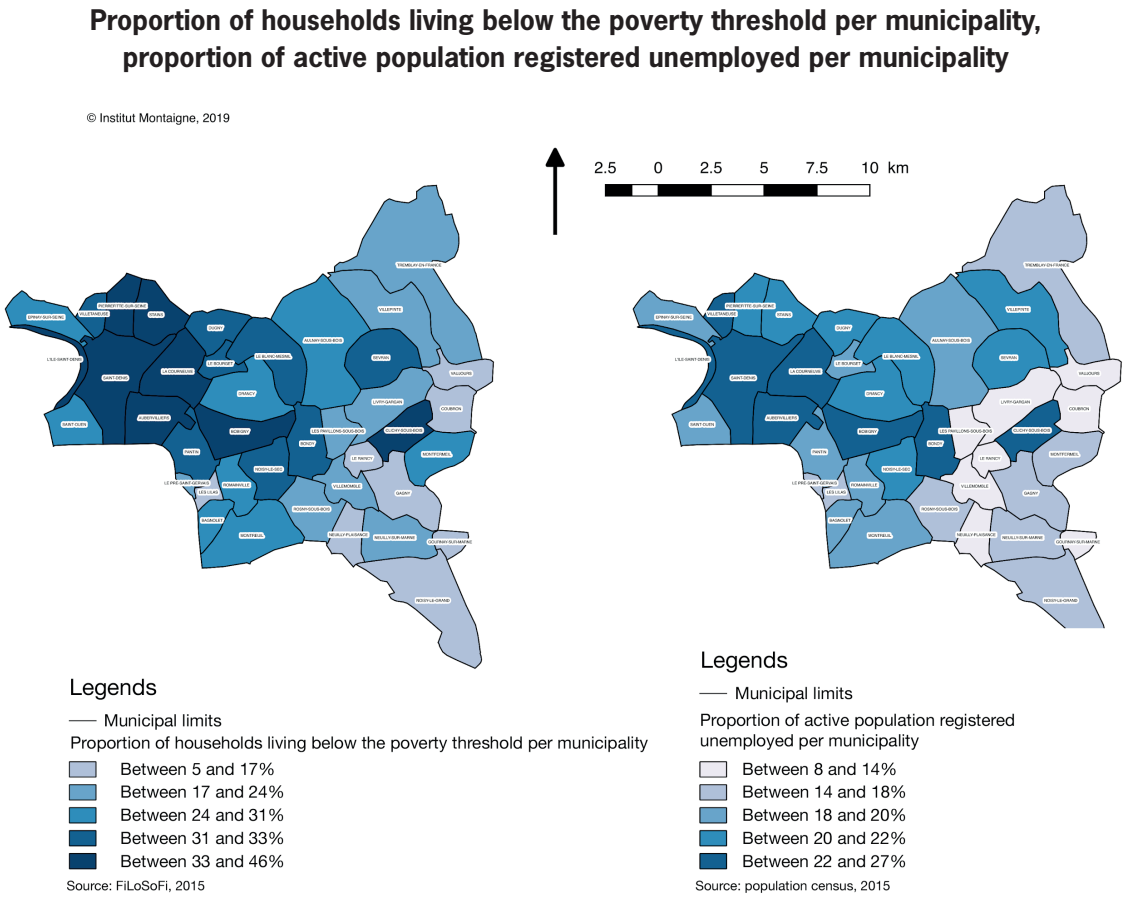
	Clichy-sous-Bois	Gournay-sur-Marne	Ratio between the two municipalities (rounded to the highest integer)
Rate of unemployment ³⁶	23,8%	8,1%	2,9
Poverty rate ³⁷	45,3%	6,1%	7,5
Rate of individuals aged 15 or above not in education and with no qualifications ³⁸	53,8%	22,9%	2,4
Proportion of the population covered by the RSA allowance ³⁹	18,1%	2,5%	7,2
Median disposable income ⁴⁰	€1,076	€2,280	2,7

Analysis of the municipal indicators enables identification of a geographic dissociation of the difficulties experienced within the department. The municipalities suffering the greatest difficulty are those in the western part of the department and within Paris’ inner ring, where collective housing is predominant (La Courneuve, Aubervilliers, Saint-Denis). These municipalities do not benefit from the effects of gentrification observed in Montreuil or Pantin, for example, in spite of being close to Paris. They accumulate serious social and economic difficulties and do not enjoy enough of the benefits of the economic dynamism due to installation of businesses in the department.

The indicators for the municipalities in the eastern part of the department, characterised by a lower density of population and large areas of individual housing, lying close or immediately adjacent to the neighbouring departments of Val-de-Marne (Noisy-le-Grand, Neuilly-Plaisance) and Seine-et-Marne (Gagny, Coubron, Vaujours), are similar to the national averages. The rate of social housing is very high in some municipalities of the first group (more than 65% in Stains and Dugny) but below the provisions of the SRU law in some of the municipalities of the second group (approximately 5% in Vaujours, Gournay-sur-Marne and Raincy).

Two municipalities stand out as exceptions: Clichy-sous-Bois and Montfermeil. Lying in the eastern part of the department, they were the sites of choice for the construction of huge social housing projects in

the 1970s, at a time when Île-de-France urban planning projects included a major new road, the A87, between today's A86 and Francilienne motorways. When the A87 project was abandoned, the ensuing economic and industrial crisis had a particularly severe impact on the two municipalities.



The effects of urban segregation are also present within the municipalities. Two historical distinctions exist, as in Aulnay-sous-Bois or Bondy, a town in which communal housing is mainly located in the northern suburbs while the southern area is mostly individual houses.

Today, as a result of the gentrification phenomenon on the outskirts of Paris and around the new Grand Paris stations, highly contrasting territories are coming into being. Two municipalities illustrate this situation: Montreuil, with “Haut” and “Bas” Montreuil, and Pantin, with the Hoche Eglise district becoming gentrified, and the Quatre Chemins and Courtilières areas remaining more popular.

2. The “airlock” phenomenon: a key to understanding the situation

City policies (education, economic development, safety, etc.) are often criticised as having no positive impact on the social and economic indicators used in the poorest areas. However, examination of

36 Insee 2015.
37 Insee-DGFIP 2015.
38 Insee 2015.
39 Caf/Insee 2015.
40 Insee-DGFIP 2015.

residential mobility mechanisms puts such criticism into perspective, going some way towards explaining the persisting difficulties due to the “airlock” phenomenon.

The French national observatory of city policy⁴¹ observes that, on the national scale, in most of the priority districts (known as QPVs), newcomers have lower levels of income than those already living there, who, in turn, have lower levels of income than those who move away from these districts. The QPVs thus act as an “airlock” for vulnerable populations and helps to create a middle class⁴² that will move out of the department. The stagnation of these indicators can thus be explained, at least partially, not by the absence of impact of public policy - which would enable individual promotion - but by the constant renewal of the populations of these districts.

A number of elements support the theory of Seine-Saint-Denis being a place of transition:⁴³

- Seine-Saint-Denis appears to be a popular choice for the residential paths of Île-de-France inhabitants, with 75% of newcomers arriving from another Île-de-France department and 65% leaving for another part of Île-de-France.
- Compared with the other departments of Île-de-France, Seine-Saint-Denis is the department with the largest proportion of incomers aged 25-39 (51%) and the highest proportion of departures in the 40-64 age range (35%).
- The net migration rate of managers and entrepreneurs (-5.17 ‰), one of the highest in Île-de-France, shows that the department finds it hard to retain its managers.
- With 38% social housing, i.e. 13% more than the regional average, the department is particularly attractive to labourers and low-level employees, which account for 30% of newcomers.
- Finally, the department serves as a reception point for foreign nationals coming to France, as indicated by the high percentage of foreign nationals (23.2 % of inhabitants in 2015)⁴⁴.

The “airlock” phenomenon also applies to civil servants in the department, notably teachers, policemen and legal personnel: many arrive to take up their first positions, develop their careers over several years in the department, before leaving, being replaced by other newly qualified personnel.

3. An area that creates employment

a) Number of job creations above the national average for more than two decades

De-industrialisation played a major role in the destruction of net jobs in Seine-Saint-Denis for a long time. Growth of the number of jobs in the department (see graph) remained negative until the end of the 1990s, with a net loss of 26,875 jobs recorded by Insee between 1989 and 1996.

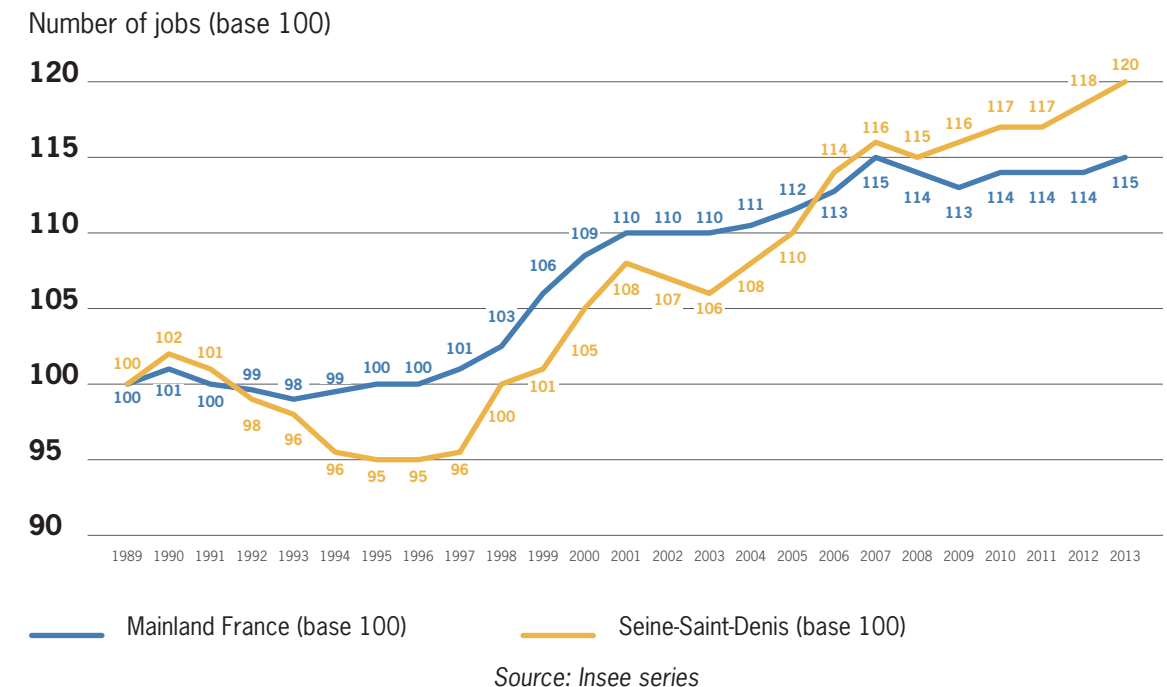
⁴¹ French national observatory of city policy, “*Mobilité résidentielle des habitants des quartiers prioritaires*” (Residential mobility of the inhabitants of priority districts), 2017 report.

⁴² Christophe Guilluy, “*La France périphérique*” (Peripheral France), Champs Actuel, 2015.

⁴³ “*La Seine-Saint-Denis : une fonction résidentielle spécifique pour la métropole parisienne*” (Seine-Saint-Denis: a specific residential function for the Paris metropolis), April 2019.

⁴⁴ Insee 2015.

Evolution of the number of jobs in Seine Saint-Denis and in mainland France for the period 1989-2013 (base 100).



However, the trend first changed in 1997, resulting in the 1989 number of jobs being exceeded in 1999. In spite of stagnating in the early 2000s and a drop in 2008-2009 due to the economic crisis, 117,754 jobs were created in Seine-Saint-Denis between 1997 and 2013. The lines for the number of jobs in mainland France and in Seine-Saint-Denis crossed in 2006, indicating that local job creation has been more dynamic than the national average since the early 2000s.

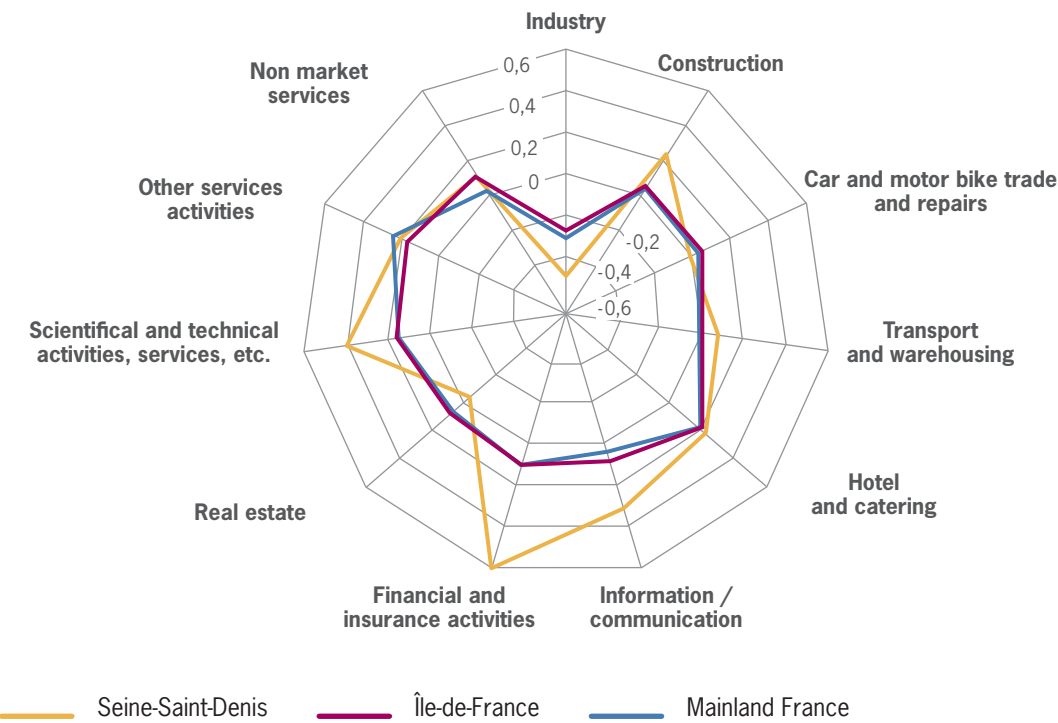
b) From de-industrialisation to the service economy

Although the department was once marked by the presence of industrial firms, its economic fabric has altered massively over the last 20 years, turning towards the service sector. The graph below shows that, for the period 2000-2014, the number of jobs in the industrial sector fell more sharply in Seine-Saint-Denis (-31.6%) than in the region (-25.1%) or nationally (-22.0%). At the same time, the number of jobs in the market services sector rose by 33.9% (compared with +9.2% in Île-de-France and +11.2% nationally)⁴⁵. This tertiarisation is associated with a specialisation in certain sub-sectors, such as:

- Transport and warehousing (+39.3% of jobs in the department compared with -1.3% in Île-de-France and +0.6% nationally);
- Information and communication (+49.1% of jobs compared with +3.2% in the region and +8.5% nationally);
- Financial and insurance activities, whose massive increase (+147.3%) in terms of number of jobs suggests that this is a new activity within the department, which is still clearly behind Paris and Hauts-de-Seine (home to La Défense business district) in the region in terms of number of jobs.

⁴⁵ Insee, Employment estimates, 2015.

Evolution of the number of jobs per sector (%) between 2000 and 2014



Symbols of these changes, the department's main employers are now BNP Paribas, with more than 7,000 jobs in Seine-Saint-Denis⁴⁶, Generali insurance firm (approximately 3,000 jobs), and the telecommunications companies, SFR (approximately 8,000 employees) and Orange (more than 1,500 jobs). This re-orientation can be explained by an attractive property market, proximity to Paris and transport services for the municipalities closest to the capital city. It is also likely that the various tax incentive policies implemented since 1996 have also contributed to the appeal of the area for these companies.

C. An economic dynamism only benefiting a limited number of inhabitants

1. Unsuitable qualifications: a major obstacle to finding employment

In 2018, the observatory for social data for Seine-Saint-Denis announced that the number of jobs was increasing much more quickly (+8.5%) in the department than the number of people employed (+0.9%)⁴⁷.

46 Seine Saint-Denis equality charter, 16 April 2019.

47 Seine-Saint-Denis observatory of social data.

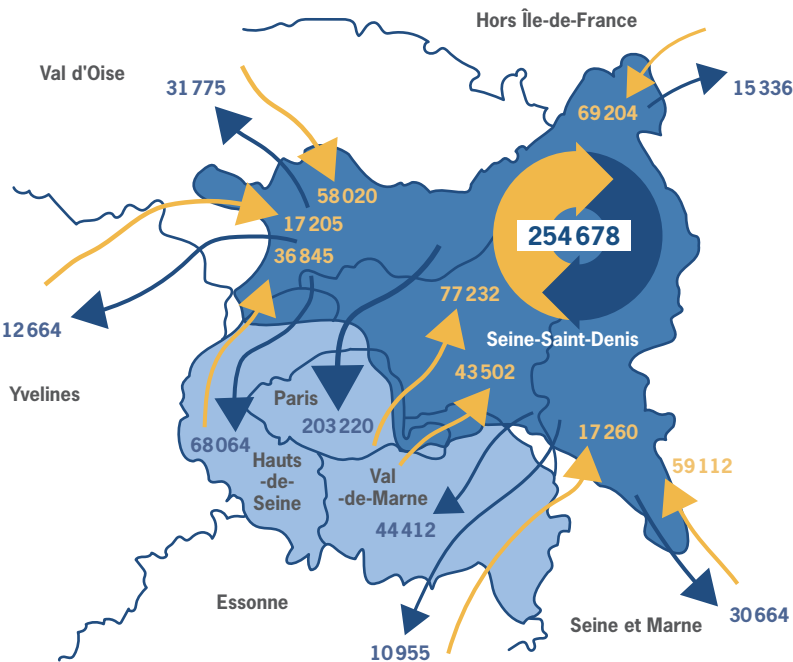
The offer for management and high level intellectual professions is much higher than the demand for local labour (1.3 jobs for 1 employed person), while the offer of employment for manual workers and low level employees is actually below the profile of the local population (6 jobs for 10 employed persons). The department's employers must therefore resort to external workers to obtain the level of qualifications required, while local residents have to find employment outside the department.

2. A commuter department⁴⁸

The department's geographic location, in the Parisian suburbs and serviced by public transport, makes it easy for the residents of neighbouring departments to come and work in Seine-Saint-Denis.

Analysis of home-work trips in the department in 2015 shows that ~275,000 people working in Seine-Saint-Denis were living in another department (i.e. almost half of the department's jobs). At the same time, ~340,000 Seine-Saint-Denis residents were working in another department⁴⁹.

Home-work travel in Seine-Saint-Denis in 2015



— Répartition des salariés résidant en Seine-Saint-Denis par département du lieu de travail
— Répartition des salariés travaillant en Seine-Saint-Denis par département du lieu de résidence

Source : IGN 2013 - Insee, RP2014 exploitation complémentaire

48 Commuters are people who work and live in different municipalities.

49 Insee, Population census, 2015.

This general trend is also true for the Plaine Commune administrative area⁵⁰. In this area, the number of jobs increased by 6.6% between 2007 and 2012. At the same time, the number of newcomers to Plaine Commune increased more quickly (+8.8%), reaching 131,000 new commuters⁵¹. These commuters thus hold 7 out of 10 jobs in Plaine Commune, and only 17% of them come from the rest of the department, compared with 21% from Paris and 20% from Val-d'Oise.

3. Soft skills, discrimination, childcare: a large number of causes that should not be forgotten

Published literature and our discussions with experts (Direccte, job center, regional council, etc.) agree that qualifications - including those concerning French language proficiency - are the main obstacles to employment in the department. However, according to our interviews, there are also other difficulties, which vary considerably from one district and one local population to another. For some, the main problems include:

- Lack of knowledge of the norms and values of the world of work, generally described as “soft skills”;
- Lack of public transport for those living in districts with few services (Montfermeil, Clichy-sous-Bois);
- Lack of childcare;
- Self-censorship, due to a lack of confidence and ambition among certain inhabitants and young people, who no longer dare to try, to act, to apply after years of professional difficulties and instability;
- Ethnic, racial, religious or territorial discrimination.

On this last point, many studies, such as that conducted by France Stratégie in 2016, have pointed out the inequalities of the French employment market⁵². For the same level of qualifications, coloured people or of foreign origin suffer a higher rate of unemployment, which particularly affects people of African descent and those from the overseas departments.

Belonging to a minority religion, frequently linked to origin in social representations, can also be a factor of discrimination. The 2015 Institut Montaigne report “*Discriminations religieuses à l'embauche : une réalité*” (Religious discrimination in access to employment: a reality) revealed different probability rates of being called back by a recruiter depending on the person’s presumed religion⁵³. “Presumed Catholics” thus obtained a callback rate of 20.8%, twice that obtained by “presumed Muslims”, for whom the callback rate was 10.4%. More detailed analysis revealed that Muslim men were those who encountered the most discrimination.

⁵⁰ Plaine Commune comprises the municipalities of Aubervilliers, Saint-Ouen, Saint-Denis, La Courneuve, Stains, Pierrefitte-Sur-Seine, Villetaneuse and Epinay-sur-Seine. It has 429,000 inhabitants.
⁵¹ “*Plaine Commune, un territoire qui conforme sa place de pôle d'emploi dans la métropole du Grand Paris*” (Plaine Commune, an area that fulfils its role as employment provider for the Grand Paris area), Insee Analyses, November 2016.
⁵² France Stratégie, “*Marché du travail : un long chemin vers l'égalité*” (Employment market: a long road to equality), 2016.
⁵³ The experimental protocol compared the rates at which applicants of Lebanese origin, whose applications were identical in every respect except their religion, were called back for interview. Their religion was indicated by three items of information: first name, confessional identity of their high school or native language, and outside interests.

Aside from origin and presumed religion, the inhabitants of Seine-Saint-Denis may also suffer discrimination due to their place of residence. This form of discrimination is less well-known than that related to origin. Unlike the two aforementioned types of discrimination, discrimination according to place of residence, being simpler to objectivise, can more easily be targeted by public policies to fight recruitment prejudice. As shown by a test survey conducted by ONZUS (the French observatory for sensitive urban areas)⁵⁴, employers have a clear preference for a person living in Paris rather than a person living in Seine-Saint-Denis with equivalent skills. In this survey, the effect of the department considerably exceeded the effect of the district, i.e. living in a sensitive urban area (ZUS) or otherwise in the same department. This proves the existence of the stigmatising effect of a Seine-Saint-Denis address on a CV sent to a potential employer.

⁵⁴ ONZUS (French observatory for sensitive urban areas) 2016, “*Effets de quartier, discrimination territoriale et accès à l'emploi*” (Effects of district, territorial discrimination and access to employment).

THE LACK OF COOPERATION BETWEEN THE PARTIES INVOLVED, IN SPITE OF THEIR DYNAMISM, IS A ROOT CAUSE OF THE LACK OF IMPACT OF THE ACTIONS IMPLEMENTED

Despite the significant levels of poverty and homelessness, there has been a whole series of priority schemes focused on the department over the last few decades. Such schemes demonstrate the political determination, which has gradually spread to include a number of areas of public policy. However, the lack of collaboration among the various actors on the ground has resulted in a limited direct impact and challenges in addressing the key issues related to access to employment and integration.

A. Exceptional mobilisation

1. Efforts mostly proposed by the public authorities

a) A series of proactive policies in favour of urban cohesion

Seine-Saint-Denis has always been among the areas targeted by city policies, using an inter-ministerial and partnership-based approach to reduce the developmental differences between different districts and to improve living conditions.

A number of different schemes have been implemented over the years. From 1977, with the launch of “habitat and life” operations, to 1995, the policies implemented mostly concerned building renovation and urban planning projects, notably as part of the DSQ (social development of districts) programme. The scope of these actions gradually extended from the renovation of two blocks of social housing (“4,000” in La Courneuve and “Clos-Saint-Lazare” in Stains), to nine districts during the period 1988-1993, then to 19 municipalities in 1994 under the “city contracts” that replaced the DSQ programme.

After 1995, the urban renovation pact revealed the need to encourage economic development in the most disadvantaged territories. A new map of priority zones was drawn up. Laws were adopted, creating the ZUS⁵⁵, which included the ZRU⁵⁶ and the ZFU⁵⁷. In 2011, 36 of France’s 717 ZUS were in Seine-Saint-Denis, and 20.5% of the department’s population lived in a ZUS⁵⁸.

55 ZUS : sensitive urban zone.

56 ZRU : urban revitalisation zone.

57 ZFU : duty-free urban zone.

58 Yoann Musiedlak, “Les ZUS franciliennes : un paysage contrasté” (The contrasting landscape of the ZUS districts in Île-de-France), Île-de-France à la page, no.356, Insee, May 2011.

The tax and social exemptions for each of these development zones proved costly for public finances. For example, in 2007, the cost of the ZFU reached an estimated peak of €1,800 per employee per year and €360 per resident per year⁵⁹, a figure that is difficult to interpret without analysing the effects of the incentives.

Following the law of 1 August 2003 on orientation and programming for the municipalities and urban renovation, the state once again turned its attention to transformation operations and initiatives to improve access to the districts classed as ZUS, with the PNRU national urban renovation programme, involving both public- and private-sector players. Under the PNRU, Seine-Saint-Denis obtained €4.9 billion, i.e. 10.4% of total investments⁶⁰. The joint authority of Clichy-sous-Bois and Montfermeil thus obtained the nation’s largest urban renovation plan, with an investment of almost €600 million⁶¹ for an agglomeration of approximately 60,000 inhabitants.

The creation of QPV priority districts, which replaced the ZUS⁶², resulted in the recognition of 63 QPVs in the department (of a total 1,296 throughout mainland France). These QPVs were home to 39%⁶³ of the department’s population, whereas only 21% were living in a ZUS in 2011.

Today, the implementation of “learning communities”, resembling what was achieved in Grigny in the Essonne department, is another new milestone towards this ambition to develop urban cooperation for the benefit of under 25 year olds. Will these communities – of which the department counts five – be a true laboratory, or even an example of cooperation between the parties involved or, on the contrary, yet another sorry example of the parties’ difficulty (notably that of the local authorities and the State) to dialogue and cooperate?

b) Efforts to attempt to restore social equity

The ZEP priority education zones were created in 1981 with the goal of “helping to correct (social) inequalities through selective reinforcement of the educational action in the zones and social environments with the highest dropout rates”⁶⁴. Initially intended to be a temporary action, based on the underlying idea that a given zone would be brought back to the national average within 3 to 4 years, they were characterised by a stepping up of the educational action and additional resources.

While 8 high schools (i.e. 7.5% of the department’s high schools) and 53 primary schools (i.e. 6.8% of the department’s primary schools) were initially classed in a ZEP, by September 1999, this classification concerned 338 primary schools (i.e. 42.5% of the department’s primary schools) and 61 secondary

59 Miren Lafourcade and Florian Mayneris, “Retour sur l’expérience des zones franches urbaines” (Review of the duty-free urban zone experiment), annual report by the national observatory of city policy, 2018.

60 “PNRU, les chiffres 2014” (PNRU, figures for 2014), national agency for urban renovation.

61 Clichy-sous-Bois/Montfermeil urban renovation project, Amendment no. 3 to the Convention of 17 December 2004 concerning the project for Haut Clichy/ZAC de la Dhuis in Clichy-sous-Bois, PRU Clichy-sous-Bois/Montfermeil, 11 July 2007.

62 Within an urban unit of 10,000 or more inhabitants, a QPV must have at least 1,000 inhabitants and a median fiscal income well below that of the urban unit to which it belongs.

63 Insee, population censuses 2006 and 2013.

64 Circular no. 81-238 of 1 July 1981.

schools (i.e. 53.5% of the department's secondary schools)⁶⁵. 2014 brought a new zoning reform, based on the establishments' total rate of social and schooling difficulties⁶⁶. Today, in the department, 52 secondary schools and 293 primary schools are part of the REP priority education network and 27 secondary schools are in the REP+ high priority education network. Almost all of these establishments are located in the central and western parts of the department.

In 2017, more than one out of two secondary school pupils in the department was attending an establishment in a priority education network and Seine-Saint-Denis accounted for 7.2% of secondary schools and 8.6% of secondary school pupils in priority education nationally.

The creation of the REP and REP+ system was accompanied by the allocation of relatively substantial extra resources compared with other territories, which were also suffering major difficulties according to our research. These resources were used to finance a smaller number of pupils per class, specific indemnities for personnel, more supervision to encourage more personal attention for each pupil, more time spent on teamwork, teacher training and relations with parents. The French Court of Auditors estimated the average extra cost of pupils in priority education at €1,412 for a secondary school pupil⁶⁷ and €592 for a primary school pupil, which enables the total additional budget devoted to these schemes by the national education system to be estimated at €135 million per year. Since September 2018, particular efforts have been made to double the number of the first two primary school classes (CP and CE1) in priority education networks. The proclaimed objective is to enable better learning of the fundamental skills early on. Locally, the scheme has encountered problems such as the lack of available premises in certain municipalities; this has been compensated by the national education system by allocating extra teachers to the classes concerned.

The broader “*Devoirs faits*” (Homework done) scheme, launched in 2018, potentially concerns all secondary school pupils. It aims to restore equity between the children of families who can help their children and those who require support from the school.

c) Targeted policies in the field of safety and security

Since 2012, a specific public order and safety scheme has been in place in Seine-Saint-Denis. The department has 4 of the current 81 priority safety zones (ZSP), covering six municipalities (Saint-Denis, Saint-Ouen, Aubervilliers/Pantin and Aulnay-sous-Bois/Sevran). Created by a circular dated 30 July 2012, the ZSP aims to facilitate coordination between State services and local stakeholders both to fight phenomena such as delinquency, disorder and incivility and to rebuild a trusting relationship with local populations. Measures include more police on the streets and police actions targeting the particularities of each zone (drug trafficking, clashes between rival gangs, violent theft crime, etc.).

65 Lydie Heurdiere-Deschamps, “*L’histoire des ZEP de 1981 à 2000*” (The history of ZEP priority education zones from 1981 to 2000), in *L’Ecole et la ville*, December 2009.

66 This index is calculated from the rate of underprivileged pupils, the rate of grant holders, the rate of late entry to secondary school and the rate of pupils living in or within 300m of a QPV priority district.

67 Thematic report by the French Court of Auditors on priority education, October 2018.

The implementation in 2018 of the PSQ “everyday security police”, resulting in the identification of QRR (republican reconquest) districts, will provide the department with additional resources, mainly in terms of policemen and women, by 2020. The first wave in autumn 2018 brought an additional 20 police officers to the Sevran/Aulnay-sous-Bois QRR (Gros Saule and Les Beaudottes districts). New QRRs are being deployed in Aubervilliers (Villette – Quatre Chemins) and Saint-Denis (northern districts)⁶⁸.

On 31 October 2019, as part of the plan to assist and reconquer Seine-Saint-Denis, the Prime Minister announced another 100 judicial police officers over the next two years and the creation of two new QRRs in Saint-Ouen and La Courneuve, which would also create a further 50 police jobs.

d) Public players are generally enthusiastic but relationships are unusually tense

The urgency of the situation in the field - not only regarding economic and social aspects - means that local authorities may not simply “plod on” as before. We have tried to understand how, as a group, they tackled the issues of integration and employment, and therefore schooling and higher education too, while the relevant institutional powers remain closely inter-tangled, thus implying working together. It should be recalled that, even in so-called decentralised areas, the State and Parliament still retain legislative and regulatory authority.

A few striking examples:

- The lack of synchronized action between the municipalities and the State. Most public decision-makers described meetings with systematic vocal attacks that can prevent resolution of key issues such as resource allocation.
- Relatively discreet presence of the regional council, which, in spite of being located in the middle of the department, does not appear able to find solutions to drive a new impetus using levers such as senior high schools, professional training or economic development.
- The extreme discretion of organisations like the consular chambers.
- The existence of schemes that are in almost direct competition with one another, whose overall efficacy is highly dependent on the vision of the stakeholders: schemes to encourage collaboration among stakeholders for the social clauses of public contracts (see part III), provision of mediators in districts with no systematic links to the schools and education establishments, recent development of initiatives using the social networks to target the young people excluded from the job market and national institutions (part of the school dropout population), etc.

68 Press release by the Prefect of Seine Saint-Denis, 8 February 2019.

2. The growing mobilisation of large corporations

The installation of large corporations in Seine-Saint-Denis since the end of the 90s⁶⁹ has been combined with efforts in favour of local economic development, as part of their CSR (corporate social responsibility) programmes, as well as recruitment policies: many sectors find it hard to recruit and Seine-Saint-Denis offers a sizable pool of potential candidates. Their actions have mostly been focussed on the department's young people. The following initiatives deserve a mention:

- ▶ The “*Odyssée jeunes*” programme launched in 2009 by Fondation BNP Paribas in collaboration with the departmental council to enable secondary school pupils to participate in educational trips. In 10 years, almost 50,000 pupils have benefited from this scheme.
- ▶ Launched in 2015 by Fondation SFR, “*Numérique au service de l’emploi dans le 93*” programme (digital technology to boost employment in department 93) supports associations working to develop digital skills.
- ▶ Sponsorship of the Cultures et Création fashion show for the past nine years (in partnership with Clichy-sous-Bois and Montfermeil) by the LVMH group, which recently opened the LIVE vocational training institute and whose first adult training center opened in Clichy-sous-Bois in September 2019.
- ▶ The “Give me 5” programme, launched in 2019 by Vinci, which proposes 5,000 immersion internships for the mandatory work experience week for secondary school pupils in priority education networks. Créteil, which includes Seine-Saint-Denis, is one of the 10 education academies selected.
- ▶ The financial support announced in 2018 by the Total Foundation for “production schools”, as well as the creation of a “school for the industry of the future” in Stains, scheduled to open in September 2020.
- ▶ The “Advancing Cities” project by J.P. Morgan in support of deprived towns and regions. Seine-Saint-Denis will receive €25 million in investments to support local associations, particularly those working in the areas of employment and training. *NB: this work was conducted with the support of J.P. Morgan.*

The public players are gradually becoming more conscious of the importance of good coordination for all these initiatives. For example:

- ▶ The departmental council has initiated a contractualisation project with a number of large corporations to ensure the long life and coordination of their actions, based on a Seine-Saint-Denis equality charter⁷⁰.
- ▶ The Plaine Commune joint authority also proposes a company-territory charter, first introduced in 2005, aimed at forging long-term partnerships between companies and local stakeholders⁷¹.
- ▶ Some companies have also structured their actions based on the FACE foundation (action against exclusion)⁷² approach, notably by mobilising employees to help non-profit organisations or people excluded from the employment market.

3. A particularly dense fabric of players from the social and solidarity economy

The social and solidarity economic sector (SSE) is particularly dynamic in Seine-Saint-Denis, partly due to the very large number of calls for projects issued by different stakeholders, but also because the department has a very long-standing tradition of solidarity. It is particularly active in non-profit, political and union activities.

The financial perspectives of the PIC skills investment plan⁷³ and the poverty plan⁷⁴ have raised local interest in the social and solidarity economy, which already employed 33,200 people in 2018 in 3,000 organisations⁷⁵, located in or near QPVs, in particular⁷⁶. Two sectors of activity are especially present among the structures supported in Seine-Saint-Denis: citizen initiatives and local development (26% of structures) and social action (22%)⁷⁷.

For example, here are some of the actions implemented by the department's SSE organisations which attracted our attention:

- ▶ The Est joint authority, in support of the SSE, obtained the government's “French impact” label in 2019 to help promote and strengthen synergies in the field of social innovation.
- ▶ Two examples of initiatives aimed at the cultural segment of the digital sector (see part III): *Médialab93* is an incubator for start-ups in the field of information and media, while the *Commune Image* film factory federates a community of around forty creators: directors, entrepreneurs, technicians, distributors, broadcasters, etc.
- ▶ The NQT association (formerly *Nos Quartiers ont du Talent*), created in 2006 in Saint-Denis, strives to connect young graduates with the employment market through sponsorship actions and networking events with companies. A relatively inexpensive solution for the problems of integration and career guidance for young graduates.
- ▶ The mobile crèche, *Soli'mômes*, aims to facilitate the economic integration of single mothers by providing a nearby childcare solution. However, it is too infrequent to resolve the problem of employment of low-income, job-seeking mothers.
- ▶ The ADIE association for the right to economic initiative, located in Montreuil, Saint-Denis, Aubervilliers and Clichy, helps 600-700 people each year to start or consolidate their business. These are mainly structures that enable people to create their own jobs.
- ▶ We believe that this area of business creation has great potential and could be much more widely developed.

⁷³ The PIC skills investment plan is one of the areas of the 2018-2022 investment plan presented by the Prime Minister at the end of 2017. The PIC aims to build skills and improve qualification levels by training young people and job seekers to facilitate their return to employment. At its launch in early 2018, the PIC had a national budget of €14.6 billion, including €6.7 billion for school dropouts and €7.1 billion for job seekers. 90% of PIC funds are used for training actions and 10% for system transformation, including the testing of new tools.

⁷⁴ The poverty plan was presented by the French President on 13 September 2018. It is focussed on prevention approaches. By 2022, more than €8 billion are to be mobilised.

⁷⁵ The SSE in 2018, Île-de-France regional SSE chamber.

⁷⁶ 26.9% of the department's SSE organisations are based in QPVs and 57.9% are within 300m of a QPV; SSE regional observatory - CRESS IDF, November 2018.

⁷⁷ The social and solidarity economy in figures, 2016.

⁶⁹ The turnover declared by the department's companies ranks Seine-Saint-Denis as the third national contributor of VAT.

⁷⁰ Around twenty companies (including BNP Paribas and SFR) signed this charter in 2019.

⁷¹ This “company-territory” charter has been signed by 125 organisations, including local employers, non-profit associations as well as public and para-public economic development organisations.

⁷² <http://clubfaceineinesaintdenis.fr/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/Charte-Seine-Saint-Denis-egalite-web.pdf>

Founded in Seine-Saint-Denis, *Simplon* inaugurated in 2019 its 8th center in the department and has trained more than 1,500 of the department's inhabitants since 2013, in collaboration with the local ecosystem.

More generally speaking, most of the SSE players present nationally are also very active in Seine-Saint-Denis⁷⁸.

B. From “Yalta contracts” to “exclusive tenders”

Our interviews found the issue of cooperation between stakeholders to be particularly important, although it is rarely discussed in the literature. Many reports have, of course, been published on the complex issue of sharing out responsibilities in the social sector⁷⁹. However, although cooperation and new organisations are widely discussed in “business” literature, no-one appears to tackle questions such as “how to improve our organisation to sell more, innovate more, reduce costs and basically improve our competitive advantage”. This question, inspired by sociological research in public and private sector organisations⁸⁰, enabled us to review many of the practical issues related to employment and integration from a new angle.

1. The “Yalta contract” syndrome

Since 1994, the implementation of city policy has been based on contracts⁸¹. The drafting of new city contracts for 2014-2020⁸², based on the law of 21 February 2014, is guided by a number of new principles:

- They are signed at the inter-municipal level and involve a large number of players (public prosecutors, rectors of the education academies, social landlords, local non-profit organisations, job centers, local missions, etc.).
- They set out the commitments of local authorities, within the limits of their responsibilities, spanning several years.
- They target the priority districts.
- They comprise social, urban and economic actions.
- The inhabitants of city policy priority districts participate in the preparation of these contracts.

78 For example, Emmaüs (poverty, integration), Groupe SOS (integration, health/drug addiction, abused children, access to mobility, etc.), Aurore (integration), Mozaik RH.
79 For example, a report published a few years ago but that is still relevant today: “Les politiques sociales décentralisées” (Decentralised social policies), IGAS annual report 2007-2008.
80 For example: “Using Smart Simplicity to tackle complex global challenges: Chronic child hunger in Tanzania” - Morieux, Yves; Caines, Charmian; Meerkatt, Heino; Assery, Obey N.; Dunford, Michael – December 2019 or “Smart simplicity” – Morieux, Yves and Tollman, Peter - « Les belles lettres » - 2014.
81 Since 1994, there have been four generations of city contracts: 1994-1999, 2000-2006, 2007-2014 and 2014-2020.
82 In 2014, new contracts replaced the social cohesion urban contracts (CUCS) which had been strongly criticised by the French Court of Auditors. The court criticised the following in particular: they were drafted without prior diagnosis, no connection was made between urban and social problems, they were mainly coordinated at municipal level and ultimately, there was no coherency between the various actions to be implemented.

Although it is still too soon to be able to propose a detailed analysis of the impact of these new city contracts, our interviews identified a number of weaknesses inherent to this method for Seine-Saint-Denis:

- The first is due to the fact that the city contracts are, above all, a round table mechanism to fund schemes with a “lever effect”. This results in objectives closely related to the nature of the institutions instead of any real joint objective, against a background of political competition. The Court of Auditors made a new recommendation to “identify the priorities of the city contracts and identify the credit that could be mobilised to fund them”⁸³.
- A second pitfall is the instability of the stakeholders signing these city contracts. Since 2014, legislation indicates that city contracts are to be associated with the term of the municipal council, firstly to emphasise the highly political aspect of these contracts and, secondly, to ensure the coherency of their implementation. However, all of the public players concerned as stakeholders in these contracts suffer from permanent instability, thus rendering the ambitions and actions indicated in the contracts relatively ineffective. For example, Seine-Saint-Denis has had four different Prefects over the past ten years and a total of 10 Prefects since 2000. Similarly, 4 different people have held the position of Rector of the educational academy over the past ten years, and 8 since 2000.
- The third pitfall is the very subject of the contracts. The contracts include nothing like a “pathway” approach to the populations concerned. They should identify the priority populations rather than being concerned purely with territorial or domain-related approaches, “stuck” to institutional prerogatives.

Incidentally, as mentioned previously, many discussions and even signatures occur in a climate of very strong tension.

2. The “exclusive tender” syndrome

Calls for projects should enable identification of the best operators by comparing them with one another. Having gained importance for thirty years, this project selection method has developed a number of adverse effects. It encourages not only non-cooperation between the social players (who, in their efforts to win at any cost, claim to be able to manage any situation) but also the absence of joint discussions on the objectives to be attained and the resources required to succeed (since the responder is “only” responding to a specification). Instead of sharing their capacities and knowledge of the target populations, social organisations are primarily concerned with operating individually as competitors. We thus observed that the key players in Seine-Saint-Denis rarely find themselves in cooperative situations, even though their respective expertise is more complementary than identical.

83 French Court of Auditors, annual public report, 2016.

Our interviews identified a number of domains in which calls for projects would be more effective if they required consortium presentations:

- Large-scale recruitment programmes, combined with training courses to obtain professional qualifications, are proposed in Seine-Saint-Denis by companies such as SNCF, RATP and ADP. Incidentally, all these companies host secondary school pupils for their work experience weeks or via apprenticeship programmes. However, these programmes remain relatively little known and the organisations of the social and solidarity economy are not sufficiently coordinated to assist pupils, target recruiters, prepare them for interviews and, more generally, liaise between the target populations and job opportunities to encourage employability. Furthermore, relations with the national education system could be made smoother and better shared.
- Sector-based approaches, such as those that are finally being developed, notably for Olympic Games projects: attract and train people to work in construction, hotel/restaurant and even medical-social sectors. Job-seekers come up against a multitude of difficulties, and it is essential that organisations with highly diversified skills (healthcare, housing, nationality issues, language, lack of self-esteem, etc.) work together.

3. The sociological approach, or how to explain the lack of cooperation

The sociological approach aims primarily to identify the goals pursued by each player, the resources they have and the constraints weighing upon them. We have summarised these characteristics in the table below for all stakeholders (State and its operators, local authorities, social and solidarity economy organisations and private companies) of the economic and social sphere in Seine-Saint-Denis. Secondly, it attempts to determine the consequences in terms of coordinating their specific characteristics. The consequences are also presented in summary form in the table below.

All players have a general advantage in participating in schemes comprising all of the following:

- promotion of their action, which presupposes readability of their intervention;
- non-delegation of individual decisions;
- no interference with their capacity to achieve objectives corresponding to their management indicators.

These multiple constraints mean that the players must collaborate, which can be described as “Yalta cooperation”: the players relinquish very little decision power in the various contracts signed or projects undertaken and are seeking to satisfy an individual interest that is not necessarily compatible with collective interest. In Seine-Saint-Denis, conversely, an approach based on a “citizen-centered” pathway requires collaboration, based on joint objectives shared by players who cooperate with one another.

The more structured the players are with established objectives, measurement instruments, external communication of their achievements and objective-based remuneration, the more complicated “real cooperation” becomes. For example, if a major public operator has an objective based on the average time taken to process dossiers (time published on a website and compared with the same indicator in other departments), it will be less inclined to allocate agents to examine long and highly complex dossiers that might prevent it from improving the objective on which it is assessed itself.

This phenomenon means that it is not so much a question of doubting the management of major public operators as:

- Questioning the limits of the contractual tool as it tends to be used in all circumstances, while hoping for a “lever effect” from the State (with a limited investment, the State attracts the other operators), and probably a communication opportunity (on the number of contracts signed rather than on the impact actually achieved in the field);
- Working on systems that are distinct from national objectives for certain territories with group objectives in the State/operator sphere;
- Inviting local authorities to do the same.

On these last two points, the “Zero unemployment territory” experiments certainly offer some enlightenment. These experiments are based on job creation by “employment-creation enterprises” (EBE), which hire long-term job-seekers on permanent contracts to perform jobs that are useful locally but not done because they are considered too unprofitable for the traditional market.

Private players could be better associated with projects (and their deployment) that are compatible with their impact and visibility goals, which would also drive public and non-profit dynamics. This probably implies correct project management to reduce the time involved.

Stakeholder category	Challenge	Resources	Constraints	Consequences
State and its operators	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Guarantee social peace, public order and access to quality education for all• Control budgets with, if possible, a leverage effect on the expenditure• Guarantee good management of operators through indicator monitoring in cascade throughout the network organisations• Certain challenges concerning target figures following announcements	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Funding for non-decentralised segments (mainly limited to urban policy and employment)• Action by major operators (job center, CNAF/ CAF, CNAM/ CPAM, etc.)• A certain communication capacity	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Little interventions based on social and education policies, little funding except in the past 18 months via the PIC• Management of major operators based on nationally negotiated indicators, formalised in the objectives and management convention (COG), defined for all levels	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Different positioning depending on subject• Lever effect ambition• Difficulty of leading decentralised policies• Need for measures that can be integrated by the large structured networks under financial pressure
Local authorities and structures under their control	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Implement the actions promised during election campaigns• Control budgets• Prevent unnecessary de-stabilisation of partners working in the field• Share out public funding via the public tender system by avoiding too fragile actors	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Pay the people who assist the vulnerable within their field of expertise• Distribute individual grants• Select projects via a tender system• Organise operations to promote their actions and the operators of their ecosystem	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Regular elections• Benchmarks to highlight differences between the authorities• Latent political debate on favouritism, which demands precise legal formalism	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Want to have the final say in all expenditure from their budget• Do not want any automatic collaboration rules or examination of dossiers by a single stakeholder

Stakeholder category	Challenge	Resources	Constraints	Consequences
Associations, actors of the social economy	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Search for funding, as well as visibility and recognition• A new generation of directors, generally more committed to competitive growth approaches	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Answer all calls for tender enthusiastically• Promote their know-how via modern communication methods	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Very strong financial dependency, mainly with respect to the public authorities but also a handful of private financial backers	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Highly competitive relations between non-profit associations, sometimes more than what can be considered healthy and beneficial• Stakeholders who sometimes promise more than they can accomplish in order to win competitions• Need for references to win new projects
Private companies committed to the local territories	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Manage the challenges of recruitment• Show that they can have a real impact on the ground and make a difference• Boost their image and their CSR policy	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Available positions to be proposed to inhabitants• Project funding• Highly motivated, dynamic teams in the field, with good understanding of the professional world but sometimes less knowledge of the social sector	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Due to a real need for legibility and traceability of their actions, they prefer to fund well-known, dynamic private players who know how to promote their financial backers• Cannot risk funding actions that might get suspended or that no-one knows how to promote	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Promotion of the most dynamic, most mediated charity associations• Desire to simplify the situation by finding projects involving few parties and, for some, as few public players as possible

C. Non-cooperation: negative effects on topics that are important to citizens but on the fringes of the stakeholders' main concerns

The lack of collaboration and effective coordination of the actions undertaken by the different players results in key challenges not being sufficiently considered or receiving insufficient funding. We identified nine schemes that represent “holes” in the overall system and whose resolution could significantly improve the impact of the efforts made over recent years. These subjects have two points in common: they are not directly related to the core responsibilities of any stakeholders and/or they do not involve the discussion of financial or HR topics that are relatively taboo and that no-one has anything to gain by tackling directly.

1. Human resources management of civil servants

State personnel would benefit from access to a human resources strategy to attract qualified and experienced staff. The most obvious example of the current challenges in this area is in the national education system.

In the primary education sector, the academies of Créteil and Versailles propose the largest number of teaching positions for the recruitment examination (1,540 and 1,650 for the 2019 session⁸⁴, compared with 722 in Lille or 423 in Lyon, for example). The department's rate of recruitment via the selection process compared with the number of people present for the examinations is the highest in France (67.84%) although still not all of the available positions are filled (1,114 people selected). With the exception of Versailles, all the other academies manage to fill all their available positions (sometimes recruiting more personnel than necessary). This means that the academy has to organise an additional external examination, which led to the recruitment of another 420 primary school teachers in 2019 for 500 available positions. This situation illustrates the low level of appeal of the teaching profession in the academy, notably related to the cost of living in the Paris area and the fact that these future teachers will find it very hard to transfer to another department during their careers. The inability to fill all of the available positions, the high rate of success and the need for a second examination (which can be attempted by candidates who failed in other academies according to our interviews) raise the question of the academic level of the teachers actually recruited.

Thus, the teachers (on average) with the lowest academic level work in the academy with the greatest educational needs. The State, using a recruitment method that enhances territorial inequalities⁸⁵, thus deprives itself of the main means of restoring balance to a highly unequal system.

In the secondary education sector, the situation is different because the recruitment process is national and the teacher transfer system is more fluid. However, Seine-Saint-Denis has a large proportion of newly qualified⁸⁶ teachers and teachers on temporary contracts due to the low appeal of the area. The department had 26.1% teachers under the age of 30 in 2016-2017, compared with the national average of 9.5%.

The imperfect system that assigns and transfers teachers between schools does not allow the situation to improve.

The absence of an efficient human resources management strategy thus results in:

- ▶ Huge instability of the education teams, which is detrimental to effective education for pupils. 35.7% and 50% of primary and secondary school teachers respectively stay for less than two years in the same school in Seine-Saint-Denis.
- ▶ Massive employment of teachers under contract with little training (in 2017-2018: 655 for 11,822 permanent civil servants in secondary schools compared with 50 for 8,552 permanent civil servants in Seine-et-Marne and 102 for 7,837 civil servants in Val-de-Marne, the other two departments in the academy)⁸⁷.
- ▶ Finally, a rate of replacement efficiency⁸⁸ of 51.26% in the department in 2015-2016, i.e. almost 25 points less than the replacement rate for France as a whole (78.41%)⁸⁹. This situation results in a loss of schooling, which can be estimated at one year for the entire educational careers of Seine-Saint-Denis' children⁹⁰.

In the field of education, it is quite clear that the problem is not one of means (some say “not only”), but rather one more related to the efficient management of human resources, which has limited the positive impact of the educational policies implemented in the department over the past thirty years. We will therefore be monitoring the efficiency of the measure announced by the Prime Minister on 31 October concerning loyalty bonuses for civil servants.

The other professions are not exempt from this situation. The high turnover rate also affects policemen and personnel in the judiciary system. The low appeal of the department means that highly criminogenic areas have fewer policemen and women than other areas where the crime rate is lower. This observation led the aforementioned members of the National Assembly, François Cornut-Gentile and Rodrigue Kokouendo, to claim that “Seine-Saint-Denis was a kind of second training school for civil servants”. Thus, this widespread under-staffing and the fact that positions are mainly held by inexperienced personnel weigh heavily upon the effectiveness of the State's action in the department.

84 Source: <https://www.devenirenseignant.gouv.fr>

85 Educational research work shows that the teacher effect accounts for 10-20% of the performance variation of pupils at the end of the year.

86 Here, newly qualified refers to teachers in their first permanent positions as civil servants.

87 Social report by Créteil education academy, 2018: http://cache.media.education.gouv.fr/file/Bilan_social/40/9/BS19_2018_1157409.pdf

88 This refers to the fulfilment of replacement requirements to replace teachers who are not active throughout the school year due to sick leave or maternity leave, for example.

89 Aforementioned parliamentary report.

90 https://www.lemonde.fr/education/article/2013/02/28/un-eleve-de-seine-saint-denis-perd-l-equivalent-d-un-an-de-scolarite-faute-de-remplacement-des-instituteurs-absents_5995018_1473685.html

2. Funding for the RSA allowance in the department

According to the institutional distribution of roles, the department is responsible for the RSA allowance and some social actions. This responsibility encompasses both funding of the RSA allowance (i.e. the money received by the families) and actions in favour of integration and employment. However, the budget available is much too small to enable integration operations on the scale of the difficulties present, and it is essential to understand why.

The department's legal responsibility for social action results from the decentralisation law of 22 July 1983 and responsibility for RSA results from the law dated 1 December 2008. The decentralisation of RSA expenditure was one of the requests of the bodies representing the regional councils (now the departmental councils). The transfer of responsibilities from the State to the territorial authorities follows a principle of budgetary neutrality and the compensation for the costs transferred is based on the calculation at the time of the transfer. Thus, in the specific case of the RSA allowance, the increase in social expenditure, which includes the largest increase in RSA expenditure⁹¹ in several years - has resulted in no additional budget to compensate for the subsequent increase in the cost of the responsibilities transferred by the State. The departments simply have to cope, and this "surcharge"⁹² is particularly heterogeneous among the departments.

In 2018, the amount dedicated to the RSA allowance by Seine-Saint-Denis was €505 million for income of just €317 million (State contributions, equalisation payments, new income, etc.). The additional amount to be funded (a kind of "surcharge") by the department was therefore €188 million, i.e. 37% of expenditure was not compensated by the State⁹³.

In 2020, the forecast amount for the RSA allowance is M€ 532. The remaining amount to be paid for the RSA alone would be €215.2 million, i.e. the compensation would be reduced to 59.6% of the allowance paid⁹⁴.

Not surprisingly, the RSA allowance was funded by reducing the amount of funding spent on integration policies. Thus, in the preliminary budget for 2019, the department council allocated €505 million to payment of the RSA allowance and only another €22 million, i.e. 4%, for employment and integration policies.

Situations similar to that of Seine-Saint-Denis are observed nationally, although the details vary from one department to another. However, the surcharge related to the RSA allowance weighing upon the departments results in a reduction of the amounts spent on integration actions for people excluded from the employment market. By 2016, these amounts represented just 8.8% of their RSA expenditure, compared with 14% in 2011, far below the "standard" 20% when the RMI allowance was created in 1988 by Michel Rocard.

91 +44% between 2010 and 2016, due firstly to a larger number of beneficiaries and, secondly, to the revision of the RSA "base rate" adopted on 21 January 2013 as part of the pluriannual plan to fight poverty and promote social inclusion.
92 In 2016, the additional weight of the RSA allowance represented €4.3 billion for the departments. RSA expenditure represented €10.7 billion with only €6.4 billion being compensated by the State.
93 If we include the PCH handicap allowance and the personalised APA allocation, the department paid out €298 million for these three personal solidarity allowances, which are not compensated by the State.
94 Report to the Departmental Council, meeting of December 12, 2019, preliminary budget for fiscal year 2020.

We therefore believe that it is essential to devote much more to integration actions (20% of the allowance would represent approximately €100 million, instead of today's €22 million), associated with a process to select actions and monitor RSA beneficiaries based on best practices.

3. Solutions to improve French language proficiency and fight illiteracy

In its global monitoring report on education for all, Unesco revealed that the problem of low literacy among adults in developed countries is much larger than we might imagine. In 2011⁹⁵, 13% of Île-de-France inhabitants aged 18-65 had major difficulties in the three fundamental areas of written language: reading, writing words and understanding a simple text in French. Thus, more than a million people in Île-de-France have problems with the written language. These include 287,000 adults who attended school in France and are therefore considered illiterate⁹⁶. Concerning Seine-Saint-Denis, according to the evaluations performed during the JDC defence and citizenship day in 2013, 12.7% of the department's young people aged 17 and above had reading problems, compared with the national figure of 9.6%.

Three quarters of Île-de-France's working population claim to use a computer and two thirds report that they read regularly for their jobs⁹⁷, which means that those who lack these basic skills are condemned to inactivity or restricted to a limited number of professions. Thus, in the region, more than one third of adults receiving the RSA allowance have major difficulties with the written language and the illiterate population is over-represented in the temporary employment sector. In all, almost a quarter of temporary employees⁹⁸ nationally and more than a third in the construction sector alone are considered illiterate.

The lack of proficiency in French also has a unique impact on the people living in QPVs, where the rate of illiteracy is double the national average (18% compared with 9%), and immigrant populations. In France, Unesco revealed that fewer than 60% of immigrants achieve the reading level reached by more than 80% of French 15 year olds⁹⁹ and that pupils from immigrant families are at least twice as likely to suffer difficulties.

In a department where language proficiency is a particularly acute issue (22.8% of the population being non-French and where the proportion of immigrants is more than five times that of mainland France as a whole), the policies implemented appear to particularly insufficient, be they in the field of prevention among children or intended to fight illiteracy among young people and adults.

95 The Information and Daily Life survey conducted by Insee in collaboration with ANLCI (France's national agency to fight illiteracy) enables calculation of the illiteracy rate of adults aged 18-65. It was conducted for the first time in 2004/2005 and repeated in 2011/2012.
96 ANLCI defines illiteracy thus: "Illiteracy is the term used for people who, having been schooled in France, have failed to acquire sufficient proficiency in reading, writing, arithmetic, basic skills, to be autonomous in the simple situations of everyday life".
97 Information and Daily Life survey conducted by Insee, 2011/2012.
98 13% illiterate, 10% French as a Foreign Language (FFL). FAF TT, in collaboration with the ANLCI, synthesis of the IVQ survey in the temporary employment sector, 2012.
99 UNESCO *Global monitoring report on education for all*, 2013.

- French as a Foreign Language (FFL), mostly managed by the Home Ministry at present, are generally reserved for new arrivals, although the need is huge among the rest of the population. Efforts to professionalise the teaching of French as a Foreign Language (FFL) unfortunately appear to have resulted in the disappearance of many local volunteer initiatives that also encouraged social links and emancipation, notably for women. On-line schemes, like that proposed by the regional council, are probably part of the solution to today's difficulties, but certainly cannot replace more traditional assistance actions.
- The social and cultural diversity goal is overlooked. A memorandum from France Stratégie indicates that 70% of pupils from immigrant families attend schools where 40% of all pupils are from immigrant families. However, concentrating pupils from immigrant families in the same schools has a negative impact on their performance.
- One particular challenge faced by schools should be highlighted: the need for specific schemes for young people over the age of 16 who are not proficient in French and have very poor school results: there are several hundred such cases in the department. At present, not enough is being done for these teenagers by the public authorities, whether nationally (Ministry of Employment or Ministry of National Education) or regionally.
- The development of schooling for children under the age of three¹⁰⁰, considered essential to enable the acquisition of pre-reading skills, has remained theoretical. In September 2017, the scheme only concerned 11.60% of pupils at schools in REP+ areas and 4.95% of children throughout the department.
- The measures to double the number of CP classes (first year of primary school) in REP+ areas, considered essential to offer more teaching time to the children with the biggest difficulties on starting primary school, was only partially implemented. In Seine-Saint-Denis, less than half of the CP classes reached the objective of 12 pupils per class, compared with 63.3% for mainland France.

4. Solutions for the disabled

Health and medico-social issues are complex in a department with singular traditions, and notably the strong presence of municipal structures (such as health centers). The financial and institutional challenges are huge, and follow highly specific principles. However, the urgent nature of the situation and the overall level of poverty in the department, mean that this domain also commands a lot of attention and resources. Aside from humanitarian aspects, the vulnerability of the medico-social sector also affects employment.

The department is characterised by a lack of medico-social facilities for disabled children (IME¹⁰¹, ITEP), and, to a lesser extent, for adults. This results in a deficiency of care provided by state services, notably in the national education system, with responsibilities falling onto the families. This makes it difficult for the mothers, in particular, to work, and ultimately results in a low level of inclusion for the disabled people themselves.

5. Childcare options for unemployed women

One barrier to employment well known to economists is the offer of childcare solutions for young children, which affects the integration of women into the employment market, all the more so for single mothers. Single-parent families are over-represented in the department: 11.9% of the population, compared with 9.0% for Île-de-France. Furthermore, almost all single-parent families concern women (96%)¹⁰².

The question of childcare is particularly significant in Seine-Saint-Denis, where the offer is structurally limited. In 2016, the department had an estimated 30,751 places for under threes, for a total of 85,000 children, i.e. a cover rate of 36%, compared with the national average of 58% and 74% in Paris. This is just one of the factors that explain the activity rate among women in the department (69.0%), which was well below the regional average in 2016 (73.6%), and results in a median standard of living below the average standard for single-parent families elsewhere in France, i.e. €14,400 per year compared with €15,100 for mainland France. This is the lowest median income in Île-de-France.

Department efforts have created 54 crèches in 26 of the 40 municipalities and 3,000 childcare places are directly managed by the departmental council, which is a significant and original choice: crèches in France are generally created by the municipalities and most are managed by public service delegations. However, this initiative is hampered by the difficulty of recruiting qualified personnel in the department to run these childcare centers. Furthermore, the number of childminders in the department has been in constant decline for the past ten years because it is so hard to obtain certification for working at home.

Other initiatives that deserve a mention include the creation of 23 EAJE childcare facilities for the young children of families engaged in the integration process and the testing of the "*Fais-moi une place*"¹⁰³ scheme in Plaine Commune, in collaboration with CAF93; both help to provide solutions for these populations.

These actions indicate that although the problem has been identified, it is far from being resolved.

100 Law of 8 July 2013 on orientation and programming for restructuring schools.

101 IME is a medical-educational institute, and ITEP is a therapeutic, educational and pedagogical institute.

102 "*L'aide et l'action sociales en France, panoramas de la DREES*" (Social aid and action in France, ministerial overview), 2018.

103 The "*Fais moi une place*" scheme is a platform to identify available childcare opportunities and to direct the families concerned by social and professional integration processes to these places.

6. Career guidance for young people, from secondary school to university

In *Banlieue de la République* (2012), Gilles Kepel recalls that “the person most hated by many young people, much more than the police, is the career guidance officer at the end secondary school”¹⁰⁴. In addition to the issues related to the academic performance of children in Seine-Saint-Denis’ schools, the failings of the career guidance policy were cited by a number of people interviewed during our research. Here, we report only the main incoherencies observed concerning access to employment:

- ▶ A first deficiency is that pupils are massively oriented towards the “general” Baccalauréat at the end of secondary school. At the end of their last year of secondary school, the rate recommendation to take the “general” option is above the national average (67.7% compared with 67.4% in 2018), in spite of the DNB pass rate being 4.8 points lower.
- ▶ A second failing comes at senior high, where the vocational Baccalauréat is less frequently recommended than the national average (4.9% compared with 5.0% in 2018).
- ▶ Another particularity results from the fact that few of Seine-Saint-Denis’ young people opt for apprenticeship, which is generally recognised as being an effective way of accessing employment. With 3.5% of 16-25 year olds under apprenticeship in 2017, Seine-Saint-Denis had the lowest rate in the Île-de-France region, ahead of Val-de-Marne (3.4%), the regional average being 5.0%. In September 2018, several CFA apprenticeship training centers had fill rates of less than 50%¹⁰⁵.

It would be useful to investigate (or to publish the results if such an investigation has been conducted) the match between the training courses available at all levels and the future requirements of the employment market. SSE structures specialised in training or access to employment pointed out:

- ▶ The absence of mechanisms to slow down the rate of young people being oriented towards professions with few opportunities, notably due to the digital transformation of society: secretarial/management, general legal, communication, language courses. Professions for which we already know that non-university qualifications will disappear over the next few years;
- ▶ Although many courses corresponding to such choices are maintained, only a small number of training courses are proposed for the professions of the future: digital, construction, logistics, hotel and catering, even medical/medico-social.

7. Business creation by job-seekers

In Seine-Saint-Denis, like elsewhere, this topic lies at the crossroads between employment and economic development policies. In spite of highly satisfactory national results in terms of leaving unemployment and the presence of solid, national, financial schemes, the stakeholders, including the State, find it hard to fund social assistance, because the world of one-man businesses is not a priority for any of them. Experienced and well-reputed associations, such as ADIE, are funded through multiple, extremely localised contracts, which results in under-optimisation and high management costs.

104 “*Banlieue de la République*” (Suburbs of the Republic), Gilles Kepel, Institut Montaigne, 2011.
105 Trade and business CFA (Bobigny), construction CFA (Noisy-le-Grand), hotel and tourism CFA (Villepinte), construction CFA (Saint-Denis) and communication and digital creation CFA (Bagnolet).

8. Assistance for companies hiring people excluded from the employment market

Encouraged by labour requirements and increasingly conscious of their social responsibility, many companies are prepared to hire young people from deprived suburbs or older people engaged in the integration process. However, they must still manage the potential difficulties related to the individual situations of such employees: no idea of the code of conduct to be adopted within the company, fatigue, the return of problems such as addiction or consultation of social networks, even radicalisation.

Many of the companies consulted identified the need for a post-integration monitoring scheme, although some integration processes do include minimal monitoring on the job. In view of the difficult social context of Seine-Saint-Denis, characterised by vulnerable situations that certain companies have had to face, the availability of mediators to help find solutions if difficulties arise might help to reduce some barriers. Such a scheme would be easy to test; ideally, it would include direct access to administrative services to ensure assistance with complex situations.

9. The issue of safety for the head offices of large corporations and administrations

The companies and administrations located in Seine-Saint-Denis face specific difficulties related to the safety of their employees. In the Plaine business district, the destination of thousands of commuters arriving from neighbouring departments each day, the feeling of insecurity is stronger than elsewhere. Its companies have made adjustments to improve the conditions of safety for their employees, notably for the short journey between public transport stops and their offices.

For example, some companies provide a shuttle service between the public transport stop (RER or underground station) and their offices; some years ago, the town hall, in partnership with the Préfecture, hired mediators to ensure safe journeys for employees.

The subject of safety and security came up several times during our interviews. It appears that the authorities do little in this area, even though it deserves more attention if plans to transfer offices from Paris to Seine-Saint-Denis are to continue – rather than witnessing the opposite movement if head offices are deserted, partly due to these feelings of insecurity.

D. Cooperation and major works: an underestimated challenge?

1. An exceptional series of major works to redesign the department over the next 20 years

The department will be seeing an exceptional series of public investments, amplified by a phase of private projects, as is the case with all planning operations. However, there have been few joint discussions on the impact on employment and sociological issues in the department.

This operation is not the result of the market's invisible hand, but the fruit of a proactive policy elaborated in the 1990s and 2000s, notably involving the SDAURIF¹⁰⁶. At the time, the State not only defined the department as the development zone for housing and economic activity to take up the growth of central Paris, but also set the example and picked Saint-Denis as the site of the future Stade de France and a number of health agencies¹⁰⁷.

The table below shows a consolidated version of the information available, representing €20 billion in public investment over the next 15 years.

Our investigation was not focussed on the investments in Seine-Saint-Denis, but it appears that the topic of cooperation between stakeholders and projects will deserve a lot of attention in the near future, notably due to the highly complex nature of the institutional distribution of responsibilities in the areas of urban planning and transport (just as complex as in the fields of employment and social action).

It is interesting to review the major future work projects, with particular attention to what they represent in terms of employment and planning.

106 Île-de-France urban planning master plan - 1993.
107 ANSM (national agency for medicines and health product safety), HAS (national authority for health), EFS (national blood services) and ABM (national biomedicine agency) are all in Saint-Denis.

Major projects in Seine-Saint-Denis and costs of the construction works

Project	Key dates	Total amount (in billions of euros)	Involvement in SSD*	Amount SSD (in billions of euros)**
Phase 1 Grand Paris: Line 14 North & a portion of lines 16 & 17 South	2024	5,6	30%	1,7
Phase 2 Grand Paris: Line 17	2027	2,4	100%	2,4
Phase 3 Grand Paris : Line 15 East & end of lines 16 & 17	2030	4,8	55%	2,6
CDG express	From 2020 to 2025	2	100%	2
ANRU	TBD	TBD	TBD	TBD
Olympic Games	From 2021 to 2024	2	100%	2
Terminal 4 (Airport CDG)	2037	8	100%	8
APHP	From 2022 to 2028	1	100%	1
Projet		26	n/a	20

* source: Société du Grand Paris (SGP)
** amount SSD (in billions of euros) = Total amount (in billions of euros) × Involvement in SSD

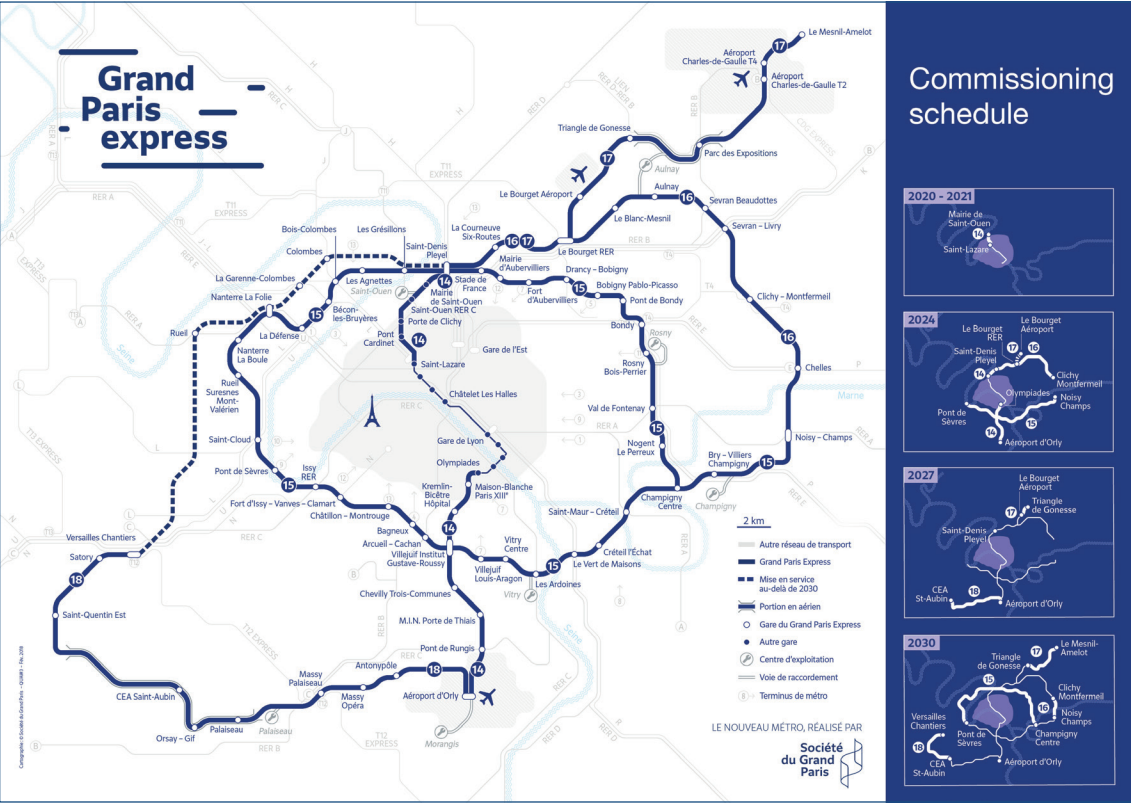
a) Grand Paris express, the most structural project

Grand Paris express, the “transport infrastructure” element of the Grand Paris project, will provide an automatic underground railway, comprising four lines operating around the capital. The project will ultimately comprise 200km of new railway lines and 68 new inter-connected stations, which will make travel a lot easier for the inhabitants of Île-de-France. Grand Paris express will pass through the center of Seine-Saint-Denis, notably reconnecting towns such as Montfermeil and Clichy-sous-Bois. In the long-term, it is expected to create 115,000 jobs, thanks to the growth generated by the new underground service¹⁰⁸. On 31 March 2019, more than 5,400 direct jobs had been created and 2,800 companies were mobilised to begin work on two of the project's four lines.

108 “Grand Paris express, Un atout pour nos territoires” (Grand Paris express, an asset for our territories), Société du Grand Paris.

THE LACK OF COOPERATION BETWEEN THE PARTIES INVOLVED, IN SPITE OF THEIR DYNAMISM, IS A ROOT CAUSE OF THE LACK OF IMPACT OF THE ACTIONS IMPLEMENTED

Grand Paris express project plan



Terminal 4 and development of Paris-Charles-De-Gaulle airport: this project, which was scheduled for operation in 2037, aims to meet the needs of increasing global air traffic. According to ADP group estimates, the first phase of the project - between 2022 and 2027 - represents up to 4,000 to 5,000 direct jobs per year and the operational phase represents up to 50,000 direct jobs. ADP is responsible for the project, which is evaluated at €8 billion.

Grand Paris Nord hospital and university campus: this project¹⁰⁹ aims to group various activities into a single structure in Saint-Ouen: AP-HP hospital activities in Bichat (Paris 18) and Beaujon (Clichy, Hauts-de-Seine), and the university facilities of Paris Diderot faculty of medicine and all Île-de-France odontology faculties. It corresponds to the ambition of AP-HP and the regional health agency to improve services in Seine-Saint-Denis. This 220,000m² campus should be operational in 2028. The two hospitals and university comprise 5,700 jobs, not counting those generated by subcontracted operations¹¹⁰. The development of an ecosystem of businesses, research laboratories and start-ups of all sizes in the domain of health innovation is currently being examined. The project is managed by AP-HP and Paris Diderot university. The total cost of the project is over one billion euro.

2. The realisation of social clauses, a challenge for all employment and social players

Experts are familiar with the scheme to convert investment into integration: social clauses obliging the companies that win public contracts to reserve hours for people excluded from the employment market. In Seine-Saint-Denis, all the major work projects planned should include this measure, which is considered a “good practice” in terms of employment policy.

b) Five other projects of exceptional scope under discussion for years

Charles de Gaulle express: this project aims to improve connections between Paris-Charles-De-Gaulle airport and the center of Paris. Initially scheduled for the end of 2023, to be operational in time for the Paris Olympic and Paralympic Games in 2024, final commissioning has been postponed to the end of 2025. This project is managed by the State, with an estimated cost of work of around €1.8 billion.

NPNRU (new national urban renewal programme): otherwise known as ANRU 2. This new programme, which covers the period from 2014 to 2024, concerns 24 districts of national interest in Seine-Saint-Denis, out of a total 200 such districts throughout France. The programme targets districts in which urban renovation has become essential and concerns the demolition and reconstruction of housing. This project is managed by the State, and no figures for the department have yet been published. Reminder: the previous programme notably enabled complete transformation of a district between Clichy and Montfermeil via an investment of almost €600 million, for example.

Work for the Olympic and Paralympic Games: Seine-Saint-Denis will be hosting the Games in 2024. A number of sports facilities will be built in Seine-Saint-Denis: a swimming pool near Stade de France, an athletes’ village in Île-Saint-Denis island and La Plaine Saint-Denis, and a temporary site in Le Bourget. The State is responsible for this project, with a provisional Olympic Games budget of around €6.8 billion, which includes €2 billion for the works.

Thus, the Paris 2024 social charter, written by the Paris 2024 application committee¹¹¹ and applicable to all stakeholders proposing projects and all public and private project owners signing contracts with the company responsible for the Olympic infrastructures (SOLIDEO), defines a certain number of undertakings¹¹². Two specific objectives were defined for the public contracts concerning the creation of facilities for the Olympic Games: reserve 10% of the working hours of Olympic contracts for people in the integration process or excluded from the employment market (including apprenticeship contracts) and allocate 25% of the Olympic contract budget to contracts with very small, small and medium sized businesses and organisations in the social and solidarity economy.

109 <http://campus-hopital-grandparis-nord.fr/>
110 Saint-Ouen-sur-Seine Paris Diderot university and AP-HP hospital campus, CNDP session on 5 December.
111 And approved by the social partners, the State, the region and the city of Paris.
112 Several commitments concern employment issues specifically:
- point 4 sets the objective for Solideo to “guarantee access to information on public and private calls for tender related to the Olympic and Paralympic Games of 2024 to small and medium sized French companies working to develop local employment and the local economy”;
- point 6 notably stipulates that Solideo must “anticipate the skill requirements of companies to ensure smooth organisation of the Olympic and Paralympic Games; encourage access to employment by excluded populations including young people from priority zones, disabled workers, long-term unemployed persons, seniors, etc. through the mobilisation of all stakeholders (State, local authorities, companies)”;
- point 11 indicates that Solideo must “assist the development of skills in professional branches and integration in emerging professions by way of intensive training programmes, throughout the organisation period of the 2024 Olympic and Paralympic Games (before and after the Games)”;
- point 13 states that Solideo must “encourage the professional reclassification of employees involved in the organisation of the 2024 Olympic and Paralympic Games”.

Similar objectives have also been defined by the Aéroports de Paris group for the construction of the new Terminal 4 at Charles-de-Gaulle airport, with a 5% integration clause for construction and operation contracts. In its civil engineering contracts, Société du Grand Paris also included a clause obliging contractors to ensure 5% of the total volume of working hours for people engaged in the integration process.

In 2016, the French Court of Auditors¹¹³ revealed that, to date, the objectives concerning the inclusion of social clauses in contracts that should include them had not been attained. There is no guarantee that the social clauses will benefit the inhabitants of Seine-Saint-Denis for a number of reasons:

- ▶ One pitfall is territorial targeting: the social clauses can be activated on a regional scale and not necessarily for Seine-Saint-Denis. However, the volume of hours concerned should enable jobs to be reserved for both the inhabitants of Seine-Saint-Denis and those of neighbouring departments.
- ▶ The second, more important pitfall, is the capacity to propose suitable candidates to contractors. The volumes indicated are large, which means that the profiles, professions and training capacities concerned must be anticipated in order to be able to fulfil the requirements. However, the efforts in place, however sizable, do not appear to be enough to meet the contract's ambitions.

3. No departmental strategic workforce planning (SWP) in relation to these major projects

To date, no overall study analysing job requirements and their distribution among all the projects to be implemented in Seine-Saint-Denis has been reported. The fundamental reason for this is probably that each stakeholder believes it is the only one to use the exceptional lever that these major works (and huge events) represent to reach its targets.

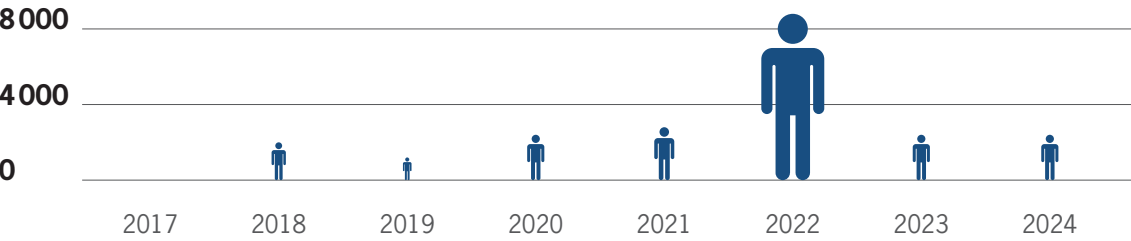
The decision to open a virtual job center devoted to the Olympic Games and the announcement of State funding for training of one billion euro between now and 2022 as part of the PIC, highlights the underlying integration challenges of the major projects/events planned in the department, and the willingness to take action.

The most detailed study we found concerns the Olympic Games. It was conducted by Amnyos¹¹⁴ and the CDES center for the law and economics of sport. The study had three ambitions:

- ▶ To evaluate the number of jobs involved in the preparation of the Olympic Games and identify the time scale of these needs between 2018 and 2024.
- ▶ To define the distribution of these jobs into three main sectors (construction, organisation, tourism) and the professions concerned.
- ▶ To establish the conditions that will ensure the best response to labour requirements and the integration commitments undertaken.

113 French Court of Auditors, annual public report, 2016.
114 Map of jobs directly created by the organisation of the Paris 2024 Olympic and Paralympic Games, CDES and Amnyos, March 2019.

This study, published in March 2019, estimates that 150,000 direct jobs will be created during the period 2019-2024 in the three sectors directly concerned by the Olympic Games: 11,700 in construction, 60,000 in tourism and 78,300 in events. The study also proposes a time scale for these requirements, revealing a high level of activity in construction with two peaks (2021 and 2023), then very substantial requirements in the organisation and tourism sectors for the year of 2024 alone, which raises the issue of long-term management of the employees concerned.



Interpretation: of the 11,700 jobs concerned in the construction sector, 8,600 will be in 2022

The aforementioned job mapping approach could be extended to all the major projects planned in the department, to enable definition of a global and long-term plan. Such an approach should be cross-referenced with similar works in each branch and an analysis of training possibilities. Other major events, such as the rugby world cup hosted by France in 2023, could also be included in this analysis.

At the initiative of the Seine-Saint-Denis department council, a “public service for integration in the construction industry” is to be tested in collaboration with the job center, professional organisations, consular chambers and regional authorities. Faced with structural recruitment difficulties and already under strain, the construction sector must diversify its candidate pools and populations. This industry-specific public integration service aims to improve the efficiency of training and recruitment for people in the integration process, by diversifying the recruitment pool. It might be an effective way of reducing the number of seconded workers. Ultimately, and after evaluation, this scheme could be an opportunity to consider the definition of best practices for other developing sectors (personal services, logistics, transport, hotels and catering, security).

4. Getting the local populations involved in the Olympic Games and other major projects

Seine-Saint-Denis' inhabitants have developed high expectations, having understood the stakes at hand. In a survey conducted in October 2018 by IFOP¹¹⁵, 77% of the department's inhabitants report that they consider deployment of the Grand Paris project to be "quite positive" for themselves, which is the highest level of all Île-de-France departments, behind Val-de-Marne and on equal footing with Hauts-de-Seine.

In view of the media interest in these projects and the problems that will be caused by the works and the flow of tourists, it will be essential to make sure that the department's inhabitants benefit from the social and economic advantages and not just the disadvantages.

Indeed, aside from the economic and employment aspects, project coordination is of great importance to limit the negative external effects related to the accumulation of several large-scale worksites in one area. The logistics challenges are fundamental to prevent congestion problems in a department that is already highly urbanised. There is a particularly high risk of the department's inhabitants becoming even more excluded due to paralysis of local transport routes caused by these projects. The decision to postpone the launch of the CDG express to limit the impacts initially envisaged on the RER B line illustrates the kinds of choices that public decision-makers will be facing in the years to come.

Finally, the challenges of changing the social balance in the districts are also compelling issues for decision-makers, as well as for the population, against a background of political balance topics.

Generally speaking, seeing positive change in the area without enabling its inhabitants to benefit from such improvements would be viewed as a broken promise.

¹¹⁵ "Les Franciliens et le Grand Paris" (The inhabitants of Île-de-France and the Grand Paris project), IFOP survey for the Paris chamber of notaries, October 2018.

COULD THE DIGITAL TRANSFORMATION BE AN OPPORTUNITY TO REINVENT COOPERATION?

A. Making Seine-Saint-Denis a place of digital experimentation

No-one has yet come up with the idea of making Seine-Saint-Denis a priority department in the field of digital transformation. However, we would like to point out this department's genuine assets for the experimentation of territorial digital transformation:

- ▶ Seine-Saint-Denis concentrates so many difficulties, notably in terms of public services, that it is an ideal place to invent new solutions based on a "pain point" approach. These sometimes extreme situations make it an excellent laboratory for testing breakthroughs and "leapfrogging".
- ▶ Seine-Saint-Denis has a number of the assets that are essential to the digital transformation, i.e. a young population, proximity to Paris and therefore access to France's most dynamic employment market in the digital sector.
- ▶ The major investments planned in the department are a development opportunity that must not be missed.

In light of the lessons learned from the Covid-19 crisis, developing digital technologies in the department seems more important than ever. The lockdown measures brought to light new forms of collaboration for people, administrations, and businesses through the use of digital tools. Generally, the health and economic crises will most likely accelerate the digital transformation, of which Seine-Saint-Denis should be a priority target.

Compared with the digital transformation approaches operated by large corporations, territorial experiments are on a much smaller scale and remain relatively undocumented. The best known do not include social and societal challenges, being more concerned with infrastructure regulation and the optimisation of major networks (electricity, water, etc.) than the lives of a diverse population of all ages and different social categories.

We believe that gathering expertise from all areas and analysing the projects in progress would be a valuable research project. This work could be accomplished based on a number of administrations that have worked on territorial approaches (Big Investment Plan, ANRU, DITP), certain territories (to be selected among the "innovation territories", for example¹¹⁶), some companies (such as Dassault Systèmes or Thalès) and a few experts¹¹⁷.

¹¹⁶ "Territoires d'innovation – 24 projets Lauréats" (Innovation territories - 24 winning projects) press file, 13 September 2019.

¹¹⁷ For example, the book by Pierre Bekouche - "Les nouveaux territoires du numérique : l'univers digital du sur-mesure de masse" (The new digital territories: the digital world of mass customisation), Sciences Humaines, 2019.

Incidentally, it is clear that any acceleration of the digital transformation must include the capacity to equip all inhabitants of all ages with a digital “survival kit” to prevent the digitalisation of public services, for example, from becoming a huge cause of inequality. The provision of this “survival kit” must involve a physical approach and telephone contact.

B. Substantial competitive advantages

The notion of benefiting from the digital development of Seine-Saint-Denis implies accurate measurement of the area’s assets, which we believe to be many:

- Proximity to the largest employment basin of digital skills;
- Very attractively priced property, often serviced by public transport;
- A young population, most of whom are seeking employment and financial autonomy. Existing experiments (funded by the experimental PIC and certain companies, see below), including those concerning populations excluded from the employment market, show a genuine appetite for digital training courses, provided efforts are made to take into account the complicated relationships that many of these young people have with both school and authority;
- Large corporations prepared to get involved;
- Interesting initiatives, which, when inter-connected, are likely to form a valuable dynamic. Examples include the health ecosystem projects around the new AP-HP hospital in Saint-Ouen, probably related to Paris 13 university, and projects in cultural and creative industries, with most activities in Paris 8 but also in an area based on the SSE structures of Saint-Denis.

In total, a small number of specialisations could emerge, based on the department’s DNA and recent initiatives: cultural industry, health and social sector, industry and logistics of the future, for example.

The initiatives launched by large corporations deserve particular attention. We found three of particular interest:

- Fondation Total has created a training center for the professions of the 4.0 industry in Stains
- SNCF Développement has opened the ENC school of new skills in Saint-Denis, in collaboration with the Wild Code School; a first group of 10 students is already at work, learning basic computer programming; they will be trained in agile methods before being employed on permanent contracts by “Oui.SNCF”. An open examination enabled selection of the young people concerned.
- Uber and OpenClassrooms have joined forces to propose training courses for drivers to improve their access to other jobs; a total of 250 on-line classes are available: “Financing your business”, “Learning HTML5 and CSS coding”, “Conflict management”, “Understanding social contributions”, etc.

Few departments, with the exception of Paris, have such a dense fabric of initiatives.

C. The “leapfrog” approach

Leapfrogging generally concerns less developed countries; it was theorised in a *World Economic Forum* report in 2016¹¹⁸. This report investigates the capacity of developing African countries to develop a financially balanced healthcare system able to respond to the continent’s challenges in spite of its endemic problems (lack of facilities, lack of skilled personnel) and strong demographic growth. The situation of the healthcare systems in these countries is so dire that the “traditional” development route followed by developed countries would be too long and costly.

The “leapfrog” consists in bypassing the conventional process in order to achieve an advanced stage of development directly, sometimes even more innovative than that of developed countries. We believe this to be particularly relevant to Seine-Saint-Denis.

D. Twenty-four ideas from the *pain point* approach

The *pain point* approach consists in identifying difficulties and finding new solutions - generally digital - to “treat” the pain. Associated with existing experiments, it enables a wide range of digital ideas to be determined.

For example, the exclusion of certain young school dropouts who no longer visit the local missions or job centers was clearly identified. What contribution can be made by digital solutions? Social networks could be used to reach out to the young people who no longer go to the public institutions, for example. However, there are a number of conditions that determine the success of such solutions, including the coordination of actions (otherwise the messages will not be subtle enough and may push the young people even further away) and sufficient investment to enable quality actions, with tried and tested messages and approaches.

This exercise, tested during various interviews, resulted in the list of ideas presented below. There is one drawback to this type of ideation process: it is relatively common to imagine smart cities that resemble true cities but with no inhabitants: white and clean, with no past and a disinfected, digital future. Imagining a “digital Seine-Saint-Denis” implies detaching from this mental image to design a “real life territory”, lively, complex, very dense and sometimes violent, with social mixity, children, elderly citizens... In short, a living area.

This exercise tends to support the idea that, contrary to popular belief, the difficulties and delays suffered by Seine-Saint-Denis make this department an ideal location for experiments and breakthrough innovations, enabled by its assets and a particularly suitable local context, not one that should not be neglected by the digital transformation.

118 *Health Systems Leapfrogging in Emerging Economies: Ecosystem of Partnerships for Leapfrogging*

Domain	Difficulties – «pain points»	Example of existing solutions to be considered	Comments
Public management	Little knowledge of the real social and safety situation...	Experimental use of certain tools and cross-referencing of files (controlled by France's data protection authority, CNIL) to improve our understanding of individual and family pathways: RSA - unemployment - training - schooling for children, social welfare for children, etc. in the manner of a "Social Data Hub"	Good calibration of public policies implies knowing how to monitor individuals and families along these pathways
	Monitoring of illegal immigration issues	Use of GSM tracking (controlled by CNIL at the very least) for counting purposes	Sensitive subject, but having no idea of the real numbers involved compromises the effectiveness of public actions in areas such as housing and transport
	Low appeal of civil service positions	Priority access to training in digital technologies and use of more modern tools	
School - university	School dropout rate, different levels in classes	Use of digital technology in the classroom and for after-school support	Multiple experiments in France and abroad, many EdTech solutions
	Lack of proficiency in the French language for certain pupils	On-line French lessons with individual coaching in the classroom	Multiple experiments in France and abroad, many EdTech solutions
	Career guidance recommends too many students take courses leading to professions that have little value on the employment market, while there is very high demand for digital qualifications	Re-orientation of university training courses to digital professions	Complex topic due to university governance, which therefore implies decisive action from the Ministry of Higher Education, Research and Innovation

Domain	Difficulties – «pain points»	Example of existing solutions to be considered	Comments
Employment - irrelevant training courses	Skills gap between job seekers and the employment market	Massive priority training in all digital professions, including those requiring only a low level of qualifications for job seekers	Operators such as OpenClassrooms or Simplon, and funding for training (notably via the PIC)
	Risk that the digital transformation affects employees in SSD companies with no or few qualifications (applies to the whole of France)	Mobilisation of businesses to accelerate digital training initiatives through professional training in SSD	Mobilisation of employers, notably large corporations
	Creation of business incubators, making the most of inexpensive property		Different models, set a limit on the proportion of SSE organisations
	Lack of French as a Foreign Language (FFL) and illiteracy solutions		Multiple experiments in France and abroad, many EdTech solutions
	Exclusion of certain school dropouts who no longer go to the local missions or job centers	Use of social networks, possibly with the participation of influencers respected by this young population	Implies coordinated actions

Domain	Difficulties – «pain points»	Example of existing solutions to be considered	Comments
Employment - Business installations	Possibility of extending the logistics center in Roissy and developing Industry 4.0 subjects in an area with a strong industrial tradition	Systematic development of knowledge in Logistics 4.0 and Industry 4.0	
	Possibility of massively developing e-commerce type logistics activities	Identified needs, low level of qualifications required <i>a priori</i>	
	Possibility of launching new approaches for the health and social professions which are experiencing recruitment difficulties throughout the country	Changing recruitment methods and profession images: monitoring, optimisation, elderly or disabled persons, etc.	
Administrations	Excessive workload in administrations, complex dossiers, low job appeal	Use of new generation digital and ergonomic tools, with decision-making assistance	Facilitates mass processing, improves appeal
	Fraud and failure to claim	Predictive tools to facilitate the fight against failure to claim and fraud	
	Difficulties with people who do not speak French	Use of automatic translators or multi-lingual questionnaires: people respond in their own language and the social worker reads the answers in French	

Domain	Difficulties – «pain points»	Example of existing solutions to be considered	Comments
Safety/Security	Major issue of insecurity	Installation of video cameras connected to a central PC with algorithm to enable monitoring	Multiple experiments in France and abroad (Mexico, for example:)
	Cash circuits encourage trafficking	Acceleration of the elimination of cash	Experiments abroad (India, for example)
Urban management	Costs (investment and operating costs)	Numeric regulation of urban equipment	Existing solutions
Health	Lack of local physicians (general practitioners and specialists)	Use of e-health to limit unnecessary visits to A&E	Existing solutions
Democracy	Limited participation in democratic life, very high abstention rates in certain municipalities, risk of exclusion for inhabitants	New “city life” participation tools	Multiple experiments, many CivicTech solutions
	Appropriation of the Olympic Games and other major events by local populations	New “city life” participation tools	Appropriation should help to prevent incidents of all sizes
Management of major projects	Lack of coordination between the different projects	Mobilisation of “twin city” type tools to view inter-dependencies	

E. Illustrations of four key areas to build an ambitious digital plan

These four illustrations are among the twenty-four proposed above.

1. Use of digital technologies at school: personalised teaching

The poor school results achieved in the department are a major obstacle to the employability of the young populations. Digital technologies can help to provide solutions by enabling teaching to be personalised and adapted to the pupils' progress.

This personalisation is possible thanks to a set of tools developed using EdTech, and which are now perfectly affordable. The capacity to read, store and analyse data concerning pupils is the key to identifying those in difficulty, understanding what is causing the blockage and defining an action plan to resolve the problem. *Civitas learning* is an American start-up specialised in the collection and analysis of educational data, and one of its objectives is to help teachers to identify the areas that cause the most problems for pupils in the classroom. Other start-ups have come up with solutions to make it easier for pupils to speak up in class (*Equity Maps*), others propose innovative training content (*Newslea*). This growing ecosystem, also in France, must be used as the basis for experiments.

The national education system is well aware of the need for innovation and has already taken a number of initiatives in terms of digital technologies:

- The *Partenariat d'Innovation en Intelligence Artificielle* (artificial intelligence innovation partnership) helps pupils and teachers with French language and mathematics
- The provision of *digital hardware* and resources in the doubled CP classes (large scale experimentation of digital tools and applications for basic skills and new evaluation methods).
- Testing of the pertinence of *immersive virtual reality* (with Lab110bis)
- *e-Fran projects* (training, research and digital animation) with €30 million in funding through the PIA.

However, there are very few experiments in Seine-Saint-Denis and the national education system is having trouble imagining what the school of the future might look like.

2. Development of e-administration

Generally speaking, citizens are adapting quickly to the possibilities of digital technology. Many people already use applications and simplified processes.

The French administration has invested heavily in digital technology, but many areas have yet to be covered. In this respect, Seine-Saint-Denis could become a laboratory, notably to improve our understanding of accessibility issues: the problems experienced in dealing with the administrations (waiting time to receive social aid, complexity of administrative formalities, etc.) do nothing to abate the vulnerability of these particularly exposed populations. There is no lack of subjects to be tackled: simplifying the

process to obtain the RSA allowance, using digital technology to access explanations of the formalities to be completed in several different languages, not forgetting the subjects of driving licenses, administrative formalities for small businesses, etc.

3. Use of data to optimise public policies

Beyond mere digitalisation, digital technologies and data analysis using so-called "big data" techniques and even artificial intelligence, can use well-structured data as the basis for analyses to understand phenomena, anticipate events and thus implement effective actions. The field of public policy based on big data and AI is currently booming. The administrations, possessing large volumes of data, have very interesting opportunities to improve the impact of public policies.

In Seine-Saint-Denis, there are any number of possibilities in this area. We have already mentioned the education system (solutions to identify pupils in difficulty and to understand the precise nature of the problem) but this could be extended to other populations, such as job-seekers (to identify particularly vulnerable people), new arrivals (to process their dossiers more quickly), young school dropouts. Countries such as Australia are already using these techniques to monitor young people on social welfare¹¹⁹ or in abuse situations, by cross-referencing their information. The ethical implications of such schemes must obviously be strictly monitored.

However, the department has a unique tradition of data collection with the ODDS, its departmental social data observatory¹²⁰, making it an ideal candidate for the testing of innovative approaches concerning the use of social data, a topic that concerns the whole of France.

4. Development of incubators for digital start-ups

Seine-Saint-Denis has the means to become an attractive location for digital start-ups. Its most obvious assets include proximity to Paris and its pool of digital talents, transport services, property prices, presence of numerous large corporations, investments by a number of major companies, and its central Grand Paris location.

A number of public and private investments have already been mentioned in this report (Stains, Saint-Denis, Roissy and Aubervilliers).

The public authorities must act as facilitators, attentive to private investors to help them to overcome the obstacles they encounter (finding land, getting a building permit, etc.).

¹¹⁹ For example, see the presentation <https://bcove.video/2JJY4XZ>

¹²⁰ <https://ressources.seinesaintdenis.fr/L-Observatoire-Departemental-des-Donnees-Sociales-ODDS>

F. Two major conditions of success: better cooperation and programmes to ensure access to digital technologies for all

1. Cooperation, the root of any digital approach

Digital technology does not reduce the need for cooperation between the parties involved. In fact, looking at the transformations operated by the private sector, if anything, this need tends to increase. In a company, digital transformation involves the following functions, in addition to those generally involved in transformation:

- Information system managers, particularly due to growing cyber security challenges;
- HR managers to manage the change, anticipate new skills and retraining, get organisations to change, stimulate social dialogue concerning the transformation challenges;
- Technical and technological partners, including start-ups, if applicable.

Incidentally, the data policy that is a necessary element of any digital policy for a business or territory, guarantees transparency and transversality, thus cooperation: data availability enables the monitoring of pathways and the comparison of results (between municipalities or agencies of a public service, for example), particularly if we can establish a basis of comparison for relatively different perimeters, using the socio-demographic characteristics of a population.

The conditions of success for a territory have rarely been established to our knowledge, but it is likely that cooperation between the organisations will be essential, since it will be necessary to share:

- A vision, to agree on the use of data: which objectives for pathway improvement? What equilibrium between fighting fraud and failure to claim? How to monitor the professionals who monitor beneficiaries?;
- Operating modes: how to collect and use the data? What are the implications on the privacy of beneficiaries?;
- Funding: who pays? Who benefits from good use of the data?

Seine-Saint-Denis does not appear to have made much progress in terms of cooperation in favour of digital technology according to these two examples:

- The only project proposed by Île-de-France for the Innovation Territory calls for proposes concerns BIM, the primary digital tool used by the construction industry. However, Seine-Saint-Denis is almost absent from the list of partners¹²¹, even though it is probably the department with the largest number of work projects in France over the next fifteen years.
- A TIGA project proposed by the Plaine Commune joint authority, *“Pour une urbanité numérique du droit à la ville”* (digital urbanity to support the right to the city), was abandoned due to tensions between the project partners.

2. Full steam ahead to ensure digital access for all

Systematic digital transformation necessarily implies a massive effort to attain a minimal level of digital skills for everyone. Without this, any digital transformation will exclude part of the population. Today, it is clear that in spite of awareness and some efforts, much remains to be done, particularly when some families not only have no equipment (computer), but also do not speak French and have complicated relations with the administration.

This raises two essential questions: what are these minimal skills? How to ensure that everyone develops them?

To answer the first question, at least the basic usages that will be developed in the near future must be covered. How to access public service on-line accounts (Ameli.fr, etc.)? How to communicate with the public administrations (apply for a grant, access a child's school report, etc.)? How to make a secure on-line payment? Where to find information on personal rights? Previous experience in the private sector indicates that telephone assistance (organised, prepared and therefore financed) is one way of rapidly improving people's autonomy in using digital applications.

In terms of the method to be implemented, the answers vary depending on the population concerned. Free on-line training could be envisaged, like that provided by Microsoft, with an explanation of basic computer skills and a quiz at the end of each lesson. In 2020, Institut Montaigne published free on-line training on the topic of artificial intelligence, in partnership with OpenClassrooms. For the most deprived populations, one model that could serve as inspiration is that of the Anudip association in India, which trains 20,000 women and young people every year in basic digital technology. This NGO has 100 centers proposing physical training courses, with the goal of ensuring basic knowledge of the digital world for all (How to use digital tools? How to use email? How to create an on-line identity? How to find, manage and store data?).

In France, there are many experiments in progress, notably via MASPs (public service missions), initiatives organised by the post office, and Simplon. The subject of scale deployment is pressing.

Paradoxically, discussions concerning access to digital technology for all lead to the relatively obscure question of “outside locations”, i.e. outside work, school and the home. Places for socialisation and solidarity have always existed in popular (not to say poor) districts, but efforts to professionalise social actions and pathways could result in their disappearance. These “outside locations”, which have a naturally inter-generational dimension, could be one of the keys to facilitating access to digital technology for all.

Discussions on the role of cell phones as devices to compensate for not having a computer and the capacity to use a telephone to help users/customers to master these digital devices will also need to be better organised in the specific context of Seine-Saint-Denis.

¹²¹ <https://www.caissedesdepots.fr/sites/default/files/fiche-projet-construire-au-futur-habiter-le-futur.pdf>

Our reasoning concerning the digital transition can naturally be applied to the ecological transition too: the government wants to accelerate the movement, mobilise stakeholders, initiate scale projects and implement national plans rapidly. The idea of mobilisation in Seine-Saint-Denis makes perfect sense.

Thus, among the exemplary State proposals announced in February 2020¹²², 20 measures are now mandatory for all State services, public establishments and operators. These relate to issues such as the sustainable mobility of agents, elimination of single-use plastic, a zero-deforestation purchasing policy, more environmentally friendly food, and the reduction of energy consumption in public buildings.

Other national projects obviously concern Seine-Saint-Denis, and suitable plans should be defined at the level of the department:

- Some of the mobility measures indicated in the LOM law on mobilities¹²³, such as those concerning knowledge of transport needs, developing cycling and access to mobility for the most vulnerable;
- Some of the measures of the anti-waste law for a circular economy¹²⁴, notably those concerning household waste;
- Renovation plans for buildings and “thermal sieves”;
- Awareness plans on themes such as “better eating”, “better training”, etc.

Even more so than for digital technology, the mobilisation in favour of the ecological transition is an integral part of political policy, and notably projects for the department’s inhabitants to reappropriate “city life”.

122 Fourth French ecology defence council meeting – 12 February 2020.

123 Law of 26 December 2019 - <https://www.ecologique-solidaire.gouv.fr/loi-mobilites-0>

124 Law of 11 February 2020 - <https://www.ecologique-solidaire.gouv.fr/loi-anti-gaspillage>

IV

TO CONCLUDE: IDEAS FOR DISCUSSION AND ACTION

Our work, notably on approaches based on cooperation, has revealed ideas that we have illustrated with actions in the field with the stakeholders. One of the objectives common to several ideas is, of course, modification of the stakeholders’ challenges, resources and constraints¹²⁵ in order to improve their capacity to cooperate. From this point of view, certain levers are essential in the field of public action:

- Sharing data and analyses (on employment, schooling, major work projects, digital technology, etc.), because being accountable to public opinion or other civil servants can lead to a change in behaviour; for example, if the data could objectivise the integration difficulties experienced by young people from Paris 8 or Paris 13 universities and, at the same time, data on the impact of interventions by stakeholders such as NQT could be validated by all those involved, it would be difficult not to find the institutional and financial means to improve access to employment. However, without such data, it remains possible to continue to look the other way.
- Encouraging cooperation with funding based on individual or group cooperation incentives; for example, if calls for projects demand a consortium response, the responders (companies, organisations of the SSE, etc.) will find ways of cooperating.
- Celebrating positive actions and “small victories” together to prevent “lone wolf” behaviour. Since many public and private organisations need their actions to be known to the public or to their financial backers, they cannot allow their projects to be slowed down or their impact to be diluted in complex cooperation arrangements. However, well-designed collective promotion actions can be valuable and result in a desire to cooperate.

The recommendations below do not only apply to public stakeholders (although this is true for some of them), since many cooperation initiatives could be founded by private organisations, companies or the SSE: professional federations in the fields of construction, hotels and catering, logistics and even the medico-social sector, could also propose SWP approaches, with assistance from some of the sector’s leading large corporations. Private companies with projects to propose, either directly or via their foundations, could offer financial incentives more systematically to organisations working in partnerships or consortia. The public authorities must then provide assistance with data, expertise and the involvement of public operators if necessary. This would involve creating what could be described as “coalitions for Seine-Saint-Denis”.

125 See the sociological analyses in Part II.

More generally, the developments of Part III on digital technology and the following recommendations concern the private sector in particular. Private businesses, if the public authorities give out clear signals, could work together to invent the digital urban territory of the future.

Objective 1 - Increasing the credibility of government action

In the extremely particular context of Seine-Saint-Denis, notably due to the level of urban integration of the inner suburbs and Paris, the State appears to be the stakeholder most able to change the boundaries and create the conditions for cooperation between all stakeholders. The State cannot succeed alone, and must work with all those involved, notably the local authorities. Of course, other committed and responsible stakeholders must also contribute to the major change in the political and administrative environment.

Three actions to give credit to public announcements:

- 1. Put the measures announced by the Prime Minister on 31 October 2019 into place quickly, because the credibility of the parties involved and their capacity to cooperate will depend upon the rapid implementation of decisions. Today, the players in the field have no knowledge of the implementation schedule. Particular attention must be given to the measures concerning the HR management of civil servants, which concerns tens of thousands of public employees.
- 2. Invest in HR issues concerning the civil servants of Seine-Saint-Denis, by mobilising a range of solutions, not just remuneration elements, even though the financial aspect is crucial: support for staff, autonomy in their work, delegations to deal with personal situations, etc. The management rules for teachers in primary and secondary education (currently very different) must be reviewed again because marginal adaptations will not suffice.
- 3. Help the department to generate sufficient room to manoeuvre in terms of funding for integration actions, since the current situation has reached a deadlock. The solution found for Reunion Island (the State took back responsibility for the RSA allowance on 1 January 2020¹²⁶), following the examples of French Guiana and Mayotte, could serve as a starting point for the discussion.

Seven actions to redesign cooperation in general:

- 1. Promote the successes of the department and its public and private stakeholders (committed companies, innovative civil servants, SSE organisations, elected officials, volunteers, etc.) together. The State should give some thought to the promotion of its actions.
- 2. Improve exploitation of the data and intelligence of local and national stakeholders (statistics from the ministries of social action, employment, education, higher education, job centers, Unedic etc.) to allow collective coordination of public policies. Create new analyses and cross-referencing

operations to improve knowledge of the social and economic realities, prioritise public actions, evaluate the actions deployed in the department and ensure operational coordination.

- 3. Improve the contract schemes (the “city contracts” in particular) to include shared objectives for each population, by promoting the complementarity of the parties involved. Generally speaking, favour approaches based on the identification of priority populations rather than just priority areas or territories.
- 4. Promote cooperation actions between public and private players and sanction the lack of cooperation or cooperation claims that ultimately hinder the achievement of objectives (local authorities that under-invest in areas that are not politically beneficial or SSE players that prefer to work alone).
- 5. Prefer calls for proposals that require consortium presentations, with complementary respondents. The “Experimental PIC”¹²⁷ could set out the guidelines to follow.
- 6. Design new financial mechanisms that prevent funding budgets from being divided up at the municipal level, which results in unnecessary management costs and rigidity. Associate the players of the SSE in the definition of new mechanisms to take account of their current difficulties.
- 7. Build collective projects for deployment on the scale of what works (in Seine-Saint-Denis or elsewhere) and invite private partners to join in by finding time-efficient and effective ways of interacting. Our study revealed different themes that might be suitable for this type of “coalition”. The first stage, of course, is to identify what deserves to be deployed¹²⁸.

Objective 2 - Fostering effective cooperation on matters of employment, integration and education

Five actions for public/public or public/private cooperation:

- 1. Build a capacity to federate the initiatives launched by large corporations for the economic and social development of the department, by activating the levers already identified: internships, first job, partnerships with schools and universities, etc. as well as SWP approaches, social clauses, digital transformation, etc.
- 2. One immediate action: improve the contact interfaces with companies seeking personnel and propose internships within the department, with renewed messages and tools. The job center cannot be the only interface, but on the other hand, it is not very efficient to have too many organisations, notably those of the SSE, contacting companies either.
- 3. Try out an assistance mechanism to help companies if they have difficulties with employees after recruiting them; this will reduce their reluctance to hire people excluded from the employment market. Get the existing organisations to participate in such schemes (Medef 93, CCII, etc.).

¹²⁶ <https://www.banquedesterritoires.fr/un-decret-met-en-place-la-recentralisation-du-rsa-et-du-revenu-de-solidarite-la-reunion-et-en>

¹²⁷ PIC: skills investment plan.
¹²⁸ Some of initiatives being listed in this report.

4. Make a detailed joint analysis (involving the public stakeholders at least, but ideally also including business representatives and the social partners of the territory) of the public policies that have insufficient attention or means, thus limiting the results of other policies. This diagnosis should enable reinvestment to “unblock” the operation of institutions penalised by malfunctions that can be managed if sufficient resources are available. Our investigation identified the following, in particular:
- ▶ French as a Foreign Language (FFL), by ceasing to reserve this scheme for people who have only just arrived in France;
 - ▶ Transition classes for young people aged 16 and over who lack proficiency in French;
 - ▶ Solutions for disabled people, such as IME, ITEP and classroom assistance schemes;
 - ▶ More availability in childcare/crèches for women receiving the higher rate RSA allowance (or seeking employment more generally);
 - ▶ Career guidance for young people, from secondary school to university.
5. Consider creating a departmental plan, built on joint observations concerning different population segments, to organise the efforts made around shared objectives; although these must obviously be compatible with the institutions’ responsibilities, the efforts of each organisation for the populations excluded from employment must be maximised.

Three actions focussed on the challenges of different industries:

1. Revise the training options available to young people via the national education system and universities or otherwise, as a matter of urgency and from a different perspective, to reduce the number of courses leading to careers with low demand (low level management and secretarial) and adapt to the needs of the future (with the upcoming Olympic Games, Grand Paris, the Roissy extension). Since the stakes are high for all institutions, it is important to find a way to combine a high level of participation by these institutions (and data sharing) with great intellectual honesty.
2. Build genuine strategies to attract job seekers and young people to careers in high potential sectors, while verifying the positioning of training offers, notably in the construction sector, hotel/catering industry, health and social professions and logistics. Public/private/SSE “coalitions” could easily be created to federate efforts and resources, and to innovate, notably in terms of image and access to employment. Seine-Saint-Denis could become a laboratory for the rest of France in this area.
3. Mobilise the public security forces, companies and administrations located in Seine-Saint-Denis to identify the measures liable to respond to the security needs expressed by the organisations and employees of the department.

Three actions centered on better mobilisation of certain levers of the employment policy:

1. In collaboration with all those involved, build an ambitious integration plan for RSA allowance beneficiaries, facilitated by more national solidarity in terms of funding (see above for proposals concerning the funding of the RSA allowance and the mobilisation of the different stakeholders in favour of integration).

2. Create an ambitious plan to support business creation projects proposed by job seekers and allowance beneficiaries, covering the whole department through operators such as ADIE, since such projects are known to achieve very good results in terms of relieving poverty. Strangely enough, the scaling problem appears to be mainly financial, since actions implemented locally have very good results.
3. Make social clauses a powerful means of creating jobs for inhabitants:
- ▶ Organise monitoring of contracting parties to make sure the clauses are properly implemented.
 - ▶ Organise the integration scheme so that it is coherent in terms of quality and quantity with the predictable requirements of the companies responding to public invitations to tender, such as Grand Paris or AP-HP. Clarify the issue of geographic priorities (which priority populations in Paris and Seine-Saint-Denis), bearing in mind that the volumes of hours involved should enable all populations to be included.

Four actions centered on schooling and higher education:

1. Get external organisations, notably those involved in the SSE and popular education, more involved in school performance actions. Programmes to interest youngsters in scientific disciplines (even at primary school level) should be much more widely deployed; examples of such programmes include “La main à la pâte” or “Les petits débrouillards”. However, there is not enough funding available for this type of action because the stakes in terms of career choice are obviously very long-term.
2. Implement a specific plan to enable the department’s higher education establishments to help young people find employment. The needs are huge because of the social origin of most young people: job discovery actions, career guidance, access to internships, access to a first permanent contract, etc. We believe the Ministry of Higher Education could be more involved in this area. SSE organisations can also play a major role if they are funded and invited to contribute to the projects of the educational teams. The creation of the Condorcet campus is an opportunity not to be missed.
3. Invest massively in the field of career guidance for the department’s young people at all levels, based on hundreds of successful experiments for all ages; specific resources must be reserved for this action. Involve the dozen or so players of the SSE in this project. The actions implemented have achieved such good results that it is difficult to understand why the solutions found have not been deployed on a wider scale.
4. Allocate financial resources, as well as managerial and political resources, to specific, well-identified issues, such as the integration of disabled children, the link between schools and the world of business, teaching careers, etc. Part of the solution might reside in a more structured, more confident profession, to be redefined with the social partners of the national education and higher education system.

Objective 3 - Cooperating to maximize the impact of the major construction projects underway

Three actions to improve the impact of major projects:

1. Invest in the consolidation of major public and private works projects to anticipate logistics, technical, traffic congestion and urban nuisance issues related to the extent of the works concerned. BIM (*Building Information Modelling*) approaches and “digital twin” solutions could be well-suited to the challenges of coordinating these work sites in terms of space and time.
2. Ensure that the dynamic of urban planning decisions made by different local authorities also takes into account the general dynamic and level of collective investments.
3. Consolidate the provisional employment requirements for all the major projects in progress in Seine-Saint-Denis. Strategic workforce planning research on the jobs and skills involved in the Olympic Games should be extended to include all of the major projects under way in Seine-Saint-Denis. Any SWP type approach should also include analysis of the effects of the private investment associated with the urban transformation: construction of housing, offices, shops, small public facilities.

Objective 4 - Carrying out a successful digital revolution in Seine-Saint-Denis

Six actions to develop digital technology in the department and start work on the ecological transformation:

1. Produce a map of existing public and private digital initiatives, aside from those already listed in this report. Get the CGI investment commission, ANRU and the PIC team to examine together the initiatives of other difficult districts that could also be of interest.
2. Ask the national agencies and administrations preparing to launch e-administration actions to consider testing their systems systematically in Seine-Saint-Denis.
3. Work with the department’s employers to test massive digital re-qualification operations among their employees: as well as “resolving” employment and poverty, it is worthwhile trying to prevent it!
4. Ask the State administrations and their agencies to make a particular effort in terms of access to digital training in Seine-Saint-Denis.
5. Create a work group to analyse the 24 suggestions listed in Part III. Isolate the subjects that require scaling up (digital training for young people excluded from the employment market, training in Industry 4.0 or Logistics 4.0, use of e-health, use of social networks to reach out to young people no longer in contact with the institutions, etc.), and subjects to be tested (database cross-referencing to analyse the causes of poverty, use of GSM tracking for counting purposes, use of a digital twin to monitor the coordination of major works projects, etc.)

6. At the same time, initiative discussions on the ecological transition on the scale of the department, notably around six key themes.

One of the major challenges of the next few years will be to redesign a collective, and therefore political, project for this department. This ambition implies detailed research to identify the challenges that will structure this territory over the next 20 years. It will also involve questioning Seine-Saint-Denis’ economic, social and cultural role within the Île-de-France region, working with different scenarios, and involving local citizens. The role of digital technology and ecology in this project deserves a democratic debate of its own.

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THERE IS NO DESIRE MORE NATURAL THAN THE DESIRE FOR KNOWLEDGE

Seine-Saint-Denis: A French Suburb's Quest for Employment and Inclusion

With the support of J. P. Morgan, Institut Montaigne carried out a study on the access to employment and professional integration in a very specific and complex area: Seine-Saint-Denis.

This study identifies the lack of cooperation between the different public and private actors as the main reason for the limited impact of the policies implemented in the district. It therefore aims to better understand the interactions between these actors, and to formulate concrete actions to collectively overcome the obstacles to employment and inclusion in Seine-Saint-Denis.

Until now, priority measures in the fields of education, urban renewal and economic development have only partially succeeded in curbing the economic and social difficulties of Seine-Saint-Denis. Unemployment, for example, is particularly acute among young people, affecting nearly one in three people under the age of 25.

The lack of cooperation between actors is apparent in all fields and at all levels of governance. For example, the *contrats de ville* (city contracts), which are the instruments of choice for urban policy implementation, serve more as co-financing agreements than genuine cooperation tools. Relations between schools and businesses are too tenuous. Large infrastructure projects are managed in silos. The issue of financial equalization of the *Revenu de Solidarite Active* (RSA) allowance can also be considered a cooperation issue, like all matters of territorial equalization.

The major works planned over the next 20 years are an extraordinary opportunity for job creation in the department. Working on a strategic workforce planning (SWP) should help initiate a proactive project aimed at attracting job seekers to recruiting professions.

This work also lays out an ambitious digital transformation plan for the department. Seine-Saint-Denis could be considered as a testing ground on these issues and use digitization as a comparative advantage.

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