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Negotiating Third Places and Retail Gentrification: Unpacking
the connection people make to place in multi-ethnic
neighborhoods

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Abstract- German

Diese Dissertation untersucht die Auswirkungen der Gentrifizierung des Einzelhandels auf den sozialen Zusammenhalt im multiethnischen Viertel La Goutte d'Or in Paris. La Goutte d'Or ist für seine lebendige ethnische Wirtschaft und seine vielfältigen Einwanderergemeinschaften bekannt und gilt seit langem als Modell für kulturelles Zusammenleben. Derzeit erlebt das Viertel jedoch einen erheblichen kommerziellen Wandel, der durch den Aufstieg von Spezialitäten-Cafés und anderen gehobenen Geschäften gekennzeichnet ist, die oft eine wohlhabendere, überwiegend weiße Kundschaft bedienen. Diese Studie untersucht, wie diese neuen Geschäfte, insbesondere Cafés, als „dritte Orte“ fungieren und die sozialen Verbindungen, die zum kulturellen Gefüge des Viertels beitragen, entweder verstärken oder in Frage stellen. Auf der Grundlage von Feldbeobachtungen, halbstrukturierten Interviews und Fotografien zeichnet die Forschung die Begegnungen und Interaktionen nach, die in diesen gentrifizierten Einzelhandelsräumen stattfinden. Die Dissertation untersucht, wie Cafés – die normalerweise als Symbole der Gentrifizierung gelten – die Spannungen zwischen Gentrifizierern und langjährigen Bewohnern bewältigen, und konzentriert sich dabei auf die Rolle der Identitäten und Wünsche der Eigentümer bei der Gestaltung dieser Räume. Durch die Anwendung psychologischer Theorien und die Untersuchung von Konzepten wie Authentizität und kulturellem Konsum entschlüsselt die Studie die komplexen Machtdynamiken, die diesen Interaktionen zugrunde liegen. Diese Forschung trägt zum laufenden Diskurs über Gentrifizierung bei, indem sie die sozioemotionalen Dimensionen des städtischen Wandels betont, insbesondere in extrem vielfältigen Vierteln wie La Goutte d'Or. Sie stellt die vereinfachende Dichotomie zwischen Gentrifizierern und Gentrifizierten in Frage und hebt die Ambivalenz und verschwommenen Grenzen hervor, die das alltägliche Leben in gentrifizierten Städten kennzeichnen. Letztendlich versucht die Dissertation, ein differenziertes Verständnis dafür zu vermitteln, wie sich die Gentrifizierung des Einzelhandels auf den sozialen Zusammenhalt und

interkulturelle Begegnungen auswirkt, und bietet neue Einblicke in die Lebenserfahrungen von Gemeinschaften im Wandel.

Schlüsselwörter: Einzelhandels-Gentrifizierung, Koexistenz, Coffee Shops, Dritter Ort

Abstract

This dissertation explores the impact of retail gentrification on social cohesion in the multi-ethnic neighborhood of La Goutte d'Or, Paris. Known for its vibrant ethnic economy and diverse immigrant communities, La Goutte d'Or has long served as a model of cultural coexistence. However, the neighborhood is currently undergoing significant commercial transformation, characterized by the rise of specialty coffee shops and other upscale businesses, often catering to a wealthier, predominantly white clientele. This study investigates how these new businesses, specifically coffee shops, function as "third places" and either reinforce or challenge the social connections that contribute to the neighborhood's cultural fabric. Drawing on field observations, semi-structured interviews, and photography, the research maps out the encounters and interactions that take place within these gentrified retail spaces. The dissertation interrogates how coffee shops—typically seen as symbols of gentrification—navigate the tensions between gentrifiers and long-time residents, focusing on the role of owners' identities and desires in shaping these spaces. By applying psychological theories and examining concepts such as authenticity and cultural consumption, the study unpacks the complex power dynamics that underlie these interactions. This research contributes to the ongoing discourse on gentrification by emphasizing the socio-emotional dimensions of urban change, particularly in super-diverse neighborhoods like La Goutte d'Or. It challenges the simplistic dichotomy between gentrifiers and the gentrified, highlighting the ambivalence and blurred boundaries that characterize everyday life in gentrifying cities. Ultimately, the dissertation seeks to provide a nuanced understanding of how retail gentrification affects social cohesion and cross-cultural encounters, offering new insights into the lived experiences of communities in transition.

Keywords: Retail Gentrification, Coexistence, Coffee Shops, Third place

Aim one: Understanding how multi-ethnic neighborhood establish social cohesion and how retail gentrification can affect this.

Question Answering: What role do coffee shops play in reinforcing or challenging the connections its users make to the multi ethnic neighborhood?

Aim2 two: Unpacking retail gentrification through third place and the power dynamics that owners hold using psychological theories

Question: What role do the owners Identity and desires play in allowing(or disallowing) this?

Content Page

1. Chapter 1: Introduction
 - 1.1. Introduction
 - 1.2. Problem under investigation : Lived experience of retail gentrification and how local communities resist it
 - 1.3. Establishing Background of Research
 - 1.4. Establishing the Overarching aim and Main Research Question
 - 1.5. Introducing the Theoretical Framework of the study
 - 1.6. Introducing Research Methods and Techniques used in the Study
 - 1.7. Structure of the Dissertation
2. Chapter 2: Literature Review
 - 2.1. Introduction
 - 2.2. Multi-ethnic community
 - 2.2.1. Ambiance of La Goutte D’or
 - 2.2.2. Diversity feared and Celebrated Self and the Other
 - 2.2.3. Living through Encounters
 - 2.2.4. Symbolic significance of ethnic businesses
 - 2.3. Retail Gentrification spaces of multicultural engagement
 - 2.3.1.1. Residential gentrification and social mix
 - 2.3.1.2. Retail Gentrification
 - 2.3.1.3. Coffee shops and third place
 - 2.3.1.4. Psychic Gentrification
 - 2.4. Coffee shops and Cafes
 - 2.4.1. Political economic
 - 2.4.2. Aesthetics and material implications
 - 2.4.3. Social spatial homogenisation
 - 2.5. Psychic gentrification –
 - 2.5.1. Humanizing gentrification
 - 2.5.2. Third place narratives
 - 2.5.3. Ambivalence and Identity
3. Chapter 3: Research Methods and Techniques
 - 3.1. Introduction
 - 3.2. Research Method
 - 3.2.1. Case Study Method
 - 3.2.2. Ethnography
 - 3.2.3. Visual methods
 - 3.3. Research techniques and Findings
 - 3.3.1. Non-participant observation
 - 3.3.2. Semi- Formal Interviews
 - 3.3.3. Photography
 - 3.4. Research Data Analysis,

- 3.5. Ethical Considerations – photography, academic that approach neighbourhood with detached curiosity obscuring everyday lived realities
- 3.6. Conclusions
- 4. Chapter 4: Research Implications and Analysis
- 5. Chapter 5: Conclusion
- 6. References

Introduction

La Goutte d'Or is a vivid example of an ethnic enclave economy in Paris, marked by its rich diversity and multi-ethnic nature. For decades, this neighborhood has been a hub of cultural exchange and coexistence, largely driven by its ethnic economy. Immigrant communities, particularly from former French colonies, have established businesses that reflect their cultural heritage, providing services and goods that cater to their specific needs. These businesses, such as ethnic grocery stores, cafes, and restaurants, foster a sense of place-making and belonging, allowing immigrants to integrate into the city while maintaining their cultural identities. The ethnic economy in La Goutte d'Or does more than just provide revenue it facilitates cross-cultural encounters and helps to establish social cohesion in this super-diverse neighborhood. Everyday interactions in local shops and on the streets create "mundane intimacies," fostering coexistence and a shared neighborhood identity despite the cultural differences. However, this delicate balance is increasingly threatened by retail gentrification.

Retail gentrification refers to the transformation of commercial spaces as wealthier newcomers—often termed "gentrifiers"—move into a neighborhood. These new residents bring with them different tastes and expectations, often resulting in the displacement of locally-owned businesses by more upscale establishments such as boutiques, craft breweries, and coffee shops. In La Goutte d'Or,

this trend is evident as new coffee shops and other trendy businesses begin to reshape the neighborhood's commercial landscape.

Despite the significant changes, research on the impact of retail gentrification, particularly in ethnic neighborhoods like La Goutte d'Or, remains limited. Most studies on gentrification focus on residential displacement and overlook the nuanced social dynamics that occur within commercial spaces. This dissertation seeks to address this gap by exploring how newly emerging coffee shops—often seen as symbols of gentrification—interact with the local community in La Goutte d'Or. Specifically, it aims to understand the role these coffee shops play in either reinforcing or challenging the social cohesion that has long characterized the neighborhood.

Theoretical Framework

The concept of the "third place" is central to this study. Sociologists Ray Oldenburg and Dennis Brissett define third places as informal public spaces where people gather and interact, separate from the home (the first place) and work (the second place). In neighborhoods like La Goutte d'Or, third places such as coffee shops serve as crucial sites for social interaction, helping to build community ties and foster a sense of belonging.

However, in the context of gentrification, these third places can also become sites of tension. Coffee shops created by gentrifiers may cater to a more affluent clientele, potentially alienating long-time residents who feel excluded from these spaces. This study examines the power dynamics at play in these third places, particularly how the identities and desires of business owners influence the interactions that occur within them. The research draws on psychological theories to unpack the

complex relationships between gentrifiers and the gentrified, challenging the simplistic dichotomy often presented in gentrification studies.

The central research questions guiding this dissertation are:

1. How do coffee shops in gentrifying neighborhoods like La Goutte d'Or reinforce or challenge the connections that their users make to the multi-ethnic neighborhood?
2. What role do the identities and desires of coffee shop owners play in shaping these spaces and either allowing or disallowing cross-cultural encounters?

Retail Gentrification and Third Places

Retail gentrification in La Goutte d'Or is not just a matter of physical change but also a socio-cultural transformation. The introduction of new businesses, such as specialty coffee shops, represents a shift in the neighborhood's identity and dynamics. These establishments often market themselves as "authentic" spaces, appealing to gentrifiers' desires for unique and culturally rich experiences. However, this commodification of cultural diversity can also contribute to the displacement of long-standing businesses that have historically served the local community.

Brandi Summers theorizes that "authenticity" is a tool used in gentrification to attach meaning to spaces, often prioritizing the desires of more privileged newcomers over the needs of long-time residents. This process can create a homogenized commercial landscape that marginalizes the very diversity it purports to celebrate. In La Goutte d'Or, the arrival of upscale coffee shops and other businesses raises questions about how these spaces can either support or undermine the social fabric of the neighborhood.

The Lived Experience of Gentrification

To truly understand the impact of retail gentrification on La Goutte d'Or, it is essential to explore the lived experiences of the neighborhood's residents. This study employs a combination of field observations, semi-structured interviews, and photography to capture the everyday interactions that occur in coffee shops and other gentrified retail spaces. By analyzing the feelings and fantasies associated with these spaces, the research aims to uncover the less formalized ways in which local communities resist or adapt to the changes brought by gentrification.

Through this lens, the study contributes to the growing body of literature on the psychic and emotional dimensions of gentrification. Scholars like Sarah Schulman and Kemi Adeyemi emphasize the importance of understanding the cultural and intellectual impacts of gentrification, particularly how communities of color engage in political action and resist displacement. By attending to the emotional realities of life in gentrifying neighborhoods, this dissertation offers a more nuanced perspective on the complex relationships between gentrifiers and the gentrified.

La Goutte d'Or represents a unique case study for understanding the intersections of ethnic economy, social cohesion, and retail gentrification. As the neighborhood undergoes commercial transformation, it is crucial to examine how these changes affect the connections that residents and newcomers make to the place. By exploring the role of coffee shops as third places, this dissertation sheds light on the power dynamics at play in gentrifying neighborhoods and the ways in which these spaces can either foster or hinder cross-cultural encounters. Ultimately, the study aims to contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of gentrification and its impact on multi-ethnic communities, challenging current conceptions of ethnic relations and social change in urban settings.

Literature review

Chapter 1 will begin by setting out the problem under investigation through two interrelated aims. The first plans to create a deeper understanding of multi-ethnic communities and the ways they establish social cohesion. The purpose is to establish how cultural diversity is lived everyday and the role retail plays in allowing successful coexistence in the context of Goutte D'or. The second aim helps explore retail gentrification through a sociological perspective, focusing on coffee shop spaces as sites of interchange where the politics of difference is negotiated. By using coffee shops, this chapter will show how these spaces can contribute to the process of gentrification. I will unpack the subtle ways in which gentrification operates through these spaces not just as an economic process but as a social and psychological one.

Multi Ethnic community

La Goutte d'Or – Pluralistic Ambiance

La Goutte d'Or is home to three main groups: European French, Maghrebi, and West African communities, as well as smaller communities such as Haitians, Indochinese, and South Asians (Kaplan & Recoquillon, 2015). One sociological study by Virginie Milliot examined the pluralistic ambiance of the neighborhood and its urban socialization. In Milliot's (2023) research on La Goutte d'Or, she describes ambiance as "the medium that configures the everyday sensorial world or sphere out of which phenomena emerge and separate." She found that Goutte d'Or's ambiance is not merely a physical space but a medium that shapes everyday cultural interactions. It resists passive observation and instead demands engagement, evoking strong and differentiated reactions of discomfort, anger, and nostalgia. Passersby are transported into another world as they encounter stalls, products, noises, and smells reminiscent of the cities of the Maghreb or sub-Saharan Africa.

A walk through the neighborhood narrates the historical depth of immigration in France, the intensity of political tensions, the cultural pulse, housing difficulties, issues with work permits, and the economic struggles and survival strategies of newly arrived immigrants. Passersby encounter written signs and messages "evoking faraway places," urban furniture like phone booths and hoardings, stickers advertising Afro-Senegalese gigs, and graffiti on walls advocating an emergency helpline for witnessing the rounding up of illegal immigrants. All these elements contribute to a sensorial and emotional totality that mediates and qualifies social interactions. Furthermore, a particular aesthetic impression is created, which Simmel defines as a color (Carnevali & Pinotti, 2020).

Diversity: The Feared and Celebrated "Other"

While this local color is an important part of the neighborhood's ambiance, its social dimensions are equally relevant for understanding the emotionally charged and contrasting reactions between inhabitants and non-inhabitants. A politics of difference and cultural recognition has begun to emerge in literature and the agendas of planning and design. In her essay, Sandercock (2000) writes, "We all live in cities of difference." Difference can take many forms, including age, gender, class, ethnicity, and religion. The concept of "super-diversity" has been used by some academics and policymakers to express concerns about increasingly culturally diverse communities. In this sense, diversity is viewed through a lens of fear, often using discourse based on psychological, economic, religious, and cultural anxieties. The fear of the "Other"—those perceived as different or outside the dominant culture—raises concerns about the decline of social capital, cohesion, and a unified identity. However, diversity can also be celebrated as a dynamic force for social enrichment.

Sandercock (2000, 2003) views the increasing diversification of cities as an opportunity to create a "mongrel city," a metaphor for a heterogeneous environment where difference and inclusivity are

embraced. Massey (2005) further argue that diversity enriches communities by fostering cross-cultural encounters, bringing new perspectives, and potentially leading to social and cultural renewal.

These mixed discourses are prevalent in La Goutte d'Or. While people, particularly of African origins, describe La Goutte d'Or as a place that feels like home, French people may feel like outsiders. Social dynamics in La Goutte d'Or have reversed traditional majority and minority relationships. A shift in identities has occurred, with new classifications emerging as new inhabitants encounter these spaces. Some new residents of La Goutte, who anticipated a vibrant, multi-ethnic community, have struggled to integrate. Non-immigrant residents may sometimes feel encircled or rejected, leading them to leave the neighborhood. Others have launched media or political campaigns against perceived threats, invoking Republican values such as the "Islamic invasion" or communitarianism. Yet, these same values can also reinforce local activism aimed at improving conditions and combating poverty for newly arrived immigrants. Older residents have learned to coexist with different norms and practices, either through distance or involvement.

"One novelist, who has lived in the area for 20 years, described their experience: One Friday, I was walking along Rue des Poissonniers and thinking how I liked living in a place (a 'country,' i.e., Goutte d'Or—a space or territory) where men pray, even though I'm an atheist. I really liked being able to walk by them as they kneel, without causing offense, living alongside them without having to observe the same laws. I don't mind them blocking the footpath in the same way they accept that I do not cover up my hair (...). Thus, I had the impression that I was not alone in bearing the weight of the world... Everything that I cannot control or understand helps to set me free." (Milliot 2023)

Overall, the neighborhood has become associated with cultural malaise, generating discomfort and anxiety about how diversity and cultural differences fit into the broader social and political landscape. As a result, La Goutte d'Or has come to symbolize larger concerns about the complex and sometimes problematic ways that society addresses cultural diversity.

Living Through Encounters: Coexistence

Henri Lefebvre, a philosopher and sociologist, saw encounters as an important element of appropriation, allowing individuals not only social connection but also the right to the city (Purcell, 2014). There is a wide range of potential influences on feelings and encounters, depending on the different cultures. A common juxtaposition in social psychology considers prejudice as either arising from a lack of contact with the "Other" or as a result of that contact.

La Goutte d'Or facilitates a large and unique stage of sociability that allows coexistence between different ethnic groups. Everyone in Goutte d'Or can carve out their own identity, neighborhood, or micro-territory, providing them with a sense of safety in a larger, diverse urban area. An older study of La Goutte d'Or by Toubon and Messamah concluded that the peaceful coexistence in Goutte d'Or is mainly due to the embodiment of "indifference to others," suggesting that people tolerate differences by simply ignoring them, following a "rule of least resistance"—a strategy of avoiding conflict by not interfering in each other's lives.

However, Milliot argues that the vibrant public life in Goutte d'Or is key to integrating and facilitating coexistence. Instead of simply relying on indifference, the neighborhood's ambiance and its social and cultural interactions in public spaces help create sociability, encouraging people from various backgrounds to interact, even if only on a superficial level. Though certain groups may gather in front of stores or cafés, they remain receptive to their surroundings. Communication across different cultures is limited but still present. These small exchanges and interactions, though mundane in their intimacy, exert a "centrifugal force" that spills into public space, preventing the neighborhood from becoming completely fragmented and maintaining a sense of social cohesion despite its diversity. This enlarged sociability reminds many immigrants of life back home, in which everyone can participate.

Stefan Le Courant also shows that humor acts as a social lubricant, enabling people to acknowledge and express differences in a non-confrontational and even unifying way. By using humor, people can engage with each other's "otherness" through common ground, sometimes playing on stereotypes in playful, antagonistic ways. This makes diversity a source of connection rather than division.

To conclude, this coexistence is not maintained through indifference or avoidance but through active engagement and negotiation of differences. Gatherings of certain groups in front of stores or cafés are still receptive to their surroundings. Essentially, the passage argues that Goutte d'Or's public life plays a crucial role in harmonizing the neighborhood's diversity by enabling small but meaningful interactions that bind the community together, even in a complex and multicultural setting.

Symbolic Significance of Ethnic Businesses

The commercial environment of La Goutte d'Or clearly displays its working-class and multi-ethnic nature. La Goutte d'Or's immigrant presence "claims" public space with distinctive uses and specialized stores (Milliot, 2013). Château Rouge represents one of the main African markets in the Paris region, marked by scenes of multiculturalism and distinct ethno-religious characteristics.

The neighborhood reflects what Light and Gold (2002) describe as an ethnic enclave economy, where businesses are owned by immigrants who employ other immigrants and sell unique products and services to a predominantly immigrant population. Businesses are often passed down within ethnic groups, leading to an ossification of ownership that does not reflect the evolving demographics of the community. Furthermore, the utilization of mobility resources and strong networks allows these businesses to provide mutual aid to other immigrants, facilitating better integration into the city. These

insular networks extend far beyond the neighborhood and maintain strong ties to their homelands. This gives immigrants, whether from Paris or beyond, access to cultural needs and a sense of place.

The strong ethnic presence makes La Goutte d'Or a unique area for immigrant groups throughout the region to participate in the social and cultural life of the neighborhood, emerging as a "third place" for many immigrants seeking a space for socializing and community.

Each ethnic business, however, operate within their own ethnic lines with little collaboration with other ethnic groups(Kaplan Recoquillon 2015) ethnic groups maintain a 'Mirco environment' that fosters a private culture, with some opportunities to encounter one another through work(working men sit in front of store fronts), local cafes, and shopping in local enterprises. This provides communities with opportunities to regulate their differences, and learn to share a common space, even fostering a neighbourhood identity. This reveals a form of co-existence where communities co-exist but do not fully integrate (as is the 'mantra of French ideology). This form of cohabitation instead allows stability as the diversity of the neighbourhood increases. La Goutte D'or is therefore an Ideal model, for Paris and beyond, to understanding patterns of diverse multi-ethnic neighbourhoods, as well as challenge current conceptions of ethnic relations, as more immigrants continue to come(Kaplan Recoquillon 2015). These spaces however are often represented in a simplified or commercialised way that invites gentrification which capitalises on the cultural diversity of while simultaneously displacing it.

Contextualizing Gentrification

Gentrification, a term coined by Ruth Glass in the early 1960s, like many neoliberal concepts, speaks about the commodification of the urban environment, mainly housing. It is seen as the manifestation of social domination by a powerful group to reshape space for their advantage in the urban environment(Smith, 2002). While gentrification is powerful, it is also contested both in and for

itself. For many scholars gentrification is a form of class struggle in urban space that leads to working class evictions. (Anne Clerval beyond revanchist city paris)It associates itself with both regeneration and displacement. For gentrification to occur a few components need to be realized they include the: for-profit capital of the area using rent gap theory (when the potential rent of a place is higher than the capital investments); the material symbolic makeover of a place; and systematic dispossession of incumbent users(López-Morales, 2010). While Earlier discussions concentrated on its origins (whether its was driven by supply or demand side factors) more recent discussions focus on the breadth of its concepts. Scholars who aim to expand the scope of gentrification argue that gentrification encompasses a wide range of urban processes across geographical space(non confined to specific urban areas) and historical time. And emphasise the need to create more precise terms like super gentrification, studentification, rural gentrification ect.(Maloutas, 2011). There is no single form of gentrification worldwide. It possesses a core element with variations that adapt to the process of local cultures, laws, and political and economic circumstances. Furthermore, scholars find that the urban process is showing a particularly strong connection with finance capital and global markets. Gentrification is no longer if it ever was, a small-scale process of urban transformation and has instead taken a planetary scale of creating Cities of rent(Gale, 2018)

For many researches gentrification represents a particular phase in the evolution of a neighbourhood's population, marked by increasing social diversity.(Martin, 2022) It can be conceptualised as a process of physical and social change to an area through municipal and capitalistic process resulting in a drastic shift of people, places and culture.(Kylil Martin, 2022) This phase results in various types of relationships among the social groups living there, which can range from conflict and avoidance to coexistence and alliances. These interactions depend on the stage of the gentrification process, the different types of new residents (gentrifiers), and the unique historical and spatial characteristics of each neighbourhood(Seitz & Proudfoot, 2021). Gentrification is therefore not a

uniform process that leads to a stable outcome. Instead, it is a transitional and fragile period. During this time, the processes of invasion (new residents moving in) and succession (long-term residents moving out) are not guaranteed and occur unevenly across the neighbourhoods. This uneven manifestation reflects the complexity and variability of gentrification in different areas (Bacqué, M, & Fijalkow, Y, 2006)

Contextualising Gentrification Nearly four decades elapsed from Ruth Glass first work on gentrification, before French researches began using the term to discuss the urban changes occurring in their cities (Maloutas, 2012). One of the key issues presented in French literature has been the relations between the gentrifier and gentrified, as represented by the middle classes, and the working and immigrant populations. Assessments of the group's social dynamics through the concentration of social and residential trajectories have described different encounters and situations. Gentrification has therefore focused more on the definition of the various groups making up the middle class and their strategies for the occupation of urban space. (Bacqué & Fijalkow, 2006)

The concept of social mix, dates back to 19th-century urban policies and city planning. Its contemporary popularity can be attributed to the negative social, political, and academic portrayals of working-class neighbourhoods (Bacqué & Fijalkow, 2006). Recent research on residential gentrification in France has shown that social mix is believed to be the remedy to social insecurity and urban exclusion in urban regenerations policies. Neighbourhoods such as La Goutte are perceived as "rough" or "problematic" to justify the need for such radical change. For many public policies social mix is believed to be the remedy to social insecurity and urban exclusion (Bacqué & Fijalkow, 2006).

There is an underlying premise that the middle class are the guarantors that will bring social cohesion between classes, ethnic groups and different generations. And it is their values, norms and involvement in social activities that would bring about a harmonious balance (Bacqué & Fijalkow, 2006).

Few studies have emphasized the impact of policies and public discourse.(Bacqué & Fijalkow, 2006) Sandercock was one of the few planners who realised that the values and norms of dominant cultures are usually embedded in urban planning Policies and regulations(Sandercock, 2000). Recent research by Niel Smith (2001) also highlighted the role of the state and municipalities in promoting gentrification in 1979 by analysing new Yorks public policy. He argued that the ‘rebuilding’ of the city centre to suit the tastes of middle-class consumers is a case of ‘revanchism’, which inevitably leads to evacuation and gentrification. Policy tools used included social diversification, discourses of authenticity, business diversification, cultural distinction and touristification. Smith’s thesis confirmed these policies as class strategies that were changing the commercial outlook of urban areas and had spread throughout Europe

Retail Gentrification

Retail gentrification is a phenomenon where new retail investments transform commercial areas, characterised by the direct or indirect displacement of traditional, local shops that are replaced with new establishments that cater to wealthier clients (Danenberg, 2024). Many scholars have agreed that retail gentrification is a relative consequence of residential gentrification and vice versa. Recent studies have acknowledged that retail changes play a key role in attracting wealthier residence and advancing the gentrification process, but the term itself remains relatively underdefined. Studies have identified common factors like rent increases and shifts in wealthier clientele and consumer behaviour as causes of both residential and retail gentrification and local shopping streets are becoming one of the most important battlegrounds of gentrification. However, there is no universally accepted framework for measuring retail gentrification, and it remains a debated topic in urban studies(Danenberg, 2024)..

Policies driving retail gentrification: Regarding displacement in retail, recent studies have shown that hyper gentrification in central Paris is related to speculation on outlet value to the benefit of global brands (Mermet, 2014) Brandi Summers theorises how a marketized representation of diversity and

multiculturalism can be used and transacted into capital in pursuit of authenticity. 'Authenticity' as Summers explains is a tool that allows people to attach meaning to things and experiences rather than people (Summers, 2021). This can help create a sense of belonging for users who have the privilege of social mobility by producing and celebrating certain spatial narratives. Hence the inclusion of boutiques, craft breweries, and cafés in the practice of branding neighbourhoods to sell distinctive cultural identities (Zukin, 2012). According to Summers authenticity is an integral part of the socio-spatial organization of cities facing gentrification. Remodelling of commercial areas are made to allow invasion of 'hipster' activities (catering to gentrifiers) and displacement of locally anchored neighbourhood businesses, possibly creating a homogenised commercial landscape. This is often supported by creative city policies, social and business diversification touristification etc. that functions as a neoliberal toolkit of urban revitalization (Friesenecker and Lagendijk, 2021). These policies can change commercial outlooks of urban areas that result in the direct or indirect displacement of migrant, minority groups and working class owners. The change of spatial narrative is already visible in the urban landscape of La Goutte with newly emerging flower shops, wine bars, coffee shops etc., unfortunately not a lot of literature has expanded on this. But despite gentrification policies of social mixing and three decades of urban renovation, the area has seen only minimal social transformation.

Socio-spatial Enactments gentrification: Gentrifications scope includes the change of the physical makeup of the environment in order to welcome the more affluent culture. In his Book Public and private, power and space Kilan argues that all spaces whether public and private are expressions of power relationships (Carmona, 2010). Demolition is a prevalent mechanism to reshape places that are gentrified. It displays powers to remove structures both physically and socially that are deemed unsafe (Smith). This is influenced by the idea that urban poverty is the root of main stream societal issues, leading to an ideology that are not focused on the deconcentrating of poverty but is in fact the people. Studies on the relationship (Martin, 2022) Theorists have concluded that gentrification is the

enactment of middle class power. The power has been enacted through sensorial mechanism of visual aesthetics, language, emotions ect. Linguistics, for example, has allowed cities to grow by using manipulative languages of exclusion and entitlement. Imagery and representation have long been part of socio-political economic debates and have been accused to hide forms of racialization, material inequalities and exploitation for capital gains, by aestheticizing diversity and fear. 'Blackness' as an identity, for example, can be sold and transacted into capital, using themes(languages) of diversity and multiculturalism. Even more social-spatial narratives can be controlled with provisions of neighbourhood walks which uses selectiveness that places privilege on certain histories while erasing others(Zukin, 2012). A study by Kate Roy (2020) unpacks tourism led gentrification of walking tours as experienced in Academic travels around La Goutte and how similar or dissimilar it is with more institutionalise commodification and consumption of postcolonialism tours as travel experience. Roy uses the tensions Graham Huggan identified between postcolonialism as a resistance to western systems, structures and thoughts and postcoloniality as the commodification of difference, to expose the ongoing impacts of colonialism through tourism and the marketing of these experiences.

Coffee shops as third place

One of the main ways Paris has historically upscaled there streets is through specialty coffee consumption. In the 2000s a massive expansion of specialty coffee culture began through the marketing of 'Urban, urbane, professional men and women' from companies in the United States. These consumers were marketed to distinguish themselves through consumption, and a global expansion of the trend began merging local coffee culture in cities like Paris and London(Petrovici & Bejinariu, 2023). By 2010 coffee shops selling specialty coffee became a ubiquitous feature of the upscaled streets of central Paris, resulting in clients moving away from classical cafes and brasseries. Though researches like

Bantman-Masum describe coffee shops as the core element of the business mix of revitalised shopping streets (Bantman-Masum, 2020) little research has been done on them and their connection to retail gentrification. Pattern books in 19th century involved café's as part of urbanism architecture and provided templates for decorating public life for both middle class and the working. Spatial rationality and decorative solutions were used to present material as well as social construction for café's, and show how material construction can reflect and facilitate social and cultural practices in cafes. These publishing looked at café's as part of architectural culture to explore the impacts that educated taste had on commercial designs for improving everyday environments (Grafe Bollerey, 2007). Studies of interclass frictions of café culture have used café's to explore how new professionals in the global economy may impacted the retail landscape according to their taste. another study of Cluj by Petrovici and Bejinariu (2023) traces the evolution of café design and branding over thirty years, highlighting how designers and café owners actively shape local taste and consumer preferences. The study reveals that these spaces are not merely passive consumption sites but are actively designed to reflect middle-class tastes. This design process involves balancing local architectural authenticity with global contemporary styles. The study found that cafés are presented as desirable, aspirational spaces, yet they remain exclusive. This dynamic is compared to Harvey's (2005) analysis of Parisian cafés during Haussmann's renovation of the great boulevard, where the working class could see but not participate in the luxurious café culture.

The concept of "third places" is essential to understanding the social function of coffee shops in gentrifying neighborhoods. First introduced by sociologist Ray Oldenburg in 1982, third places are informal gathering spots outside of home (the first place) and work (the second place) that foster social interaction and community. Examples of third places include coffee shops, bars, and restaurants, which are valued for their ability to bring people together and create a sense of belonging. A vital element of third place is sociability. Sociability is known as the ability for individuals to receive benefits of an

environment that holds interpersonal connections. Sociability, for Oldenburg and Brisset is represented in several dimensions/ characteristics of third places. These include the 1)idea of escaping from the burdens of plain ordinary life.

However, gentrification complicates the role of third places. While third places can contribute to neighborhood renewal, they do not automatically serve as extensions of the community. Establishments like Starbucks, for example, may brand themselves as third places, but they often enforce exclusivity through various means, such as heavy policing, signage, and age restrictions, which can alienate certain groups, particularly in communities of color.

Its also important to include that hird place research is growing to model gentrification impacts on space- modernity has caused difficulties in the categorization of third places. This is mainly cause by technological advancements, the internet, and digital third places are online spaces that share the same characteristics as third place. These places with characteristics of sociability include chat rooms. Social media and online faming. Furthermore, sociability aspects are being removed by third places with the introduction of online ordering and drive in.

Psychic Turn in Gentrification Studies

There have been a large amount of debates by urban planners and geographers an how to best explain typologies of complicity, resistance and other forms of ethical or political change towards to gentrification, but little of these researchers have made use of the vocabularies and tools social theorists have developed to make sense of intertwining patterns of emotional and social life. Recent scholarship has emphasized the importance of understanding gentrification through the lens of emotion, affect, and psychoanalysis. It has been argued that political economic approaches have constantly highlighted the generalized conflicts between the gentrifier(the haves) and the gentrified(the have nots) that contributed highly to anti-gentrification movements. This structural view runs risk of overlooking more

‘textured aesthetics, subjectivities and rhythms of retail gentrification.’ (Ji, 2020) Urban change is not just a physical or economic process—it has deep emotional and psychological impacts on residents. Gentrification affects people's identities, feelings of ownership, and relationships to space, which are often overlooked in traditional political-economic analyses.

The work of scholars like David Harvey and Manuel Castell has focused on gentrification as a result of capitalist spaces and resistance from an economic perspective. However, Henri Lefebvre's theory of the "right to the city" challenges this reductionist view by emphasizing the human experience, drives, and desires that shape urban life (Purcell, 2014). Lefebvre advocates for understanding the city as a human phenomenon, rather than merely an economic one.

Another Researcher by Kemi Adeyemi's research on Black queer women's resistance to gentrification in Chicago further highlights the significance of human desire and affect in urban change. Adeyemi critiques class-based and formalized movements, arguing that they often overlook the less formalized ways in which communities of color engage in political action and resist gentrification.

Adeyemi's research has been accused of Only Scratching the Surface. Myung In Ji on the other hand takes it further in her research of Becoming Gentrifier/d. In this research she studies the more than physical forms and processes of displacement have using social theories relating to emotion, affect and psychoanalysis using Seoul as her case study (Ji, 2020) the concepts of aesthetics, subjectivities, and rhythms are linked to psychoanalytic theories by focusing on desires, fantasies, and subconscious processes that influence behavior and identity. **Aesthetics** explores how individuals' desires for authenticity are rooted in deeper psychological needs. In retail gentrification, the aesthetic preservation of old urban spaces taps into a collective nostalgia and yearning for a lost past. This desire to reclaim an "authentic" experience reflects unconscious fantasies that influence gentrifiers' actions, making them crave spaces that evoke emotional and psychological fulfillment, beyond economic motivations.

Subjectivities is the fluid identities in retail gentrification are shaped by the unconscious processes of projection and identification. Gentrifiers project their desires for authenticity onto original residents and neighborhoods, while simultaneously identifying with them to claim their own sense of authenticity. This constant negotiation between the "authentic self" and "inauthentic other" complicates the traditional binary of gentrifiers versus the gentrified, illustrating how subjectivities are constructed through unconscious desires and defenses. Rhythms emphasizes how the rhythms of everyday life are driven by unconscious desires and anxieties. In retail gentrification, the rapid and fluctuating changes in neighborhoods mirror the psychological rhythms of desire and displacement. The cyclical process of wanting to preserve authenticity, yet inadvertently destroying it through commercialization, reflects deeper psychoanalytic concepts of repetition compulsion and ambivalence—where gentrifiers are caught in a loop of seeking fulfillment while simultaneously undermining it.

Furthermore, Sarah Schulman explains that gentrification is a form of homogenization that effects communities culturally and well as intellectually (Aeits & Proudfoot, 2021). Communities often have complex, ambivalent relationships within systems of capitalism, that effect their feelings and fantasies about gentrification. Paying attention to this can open a light to help us understand the many ways in which neoliberal ideologies manifests itself in urban spaces and its effect on people living there. Literary scholar Eric L. Santer further acknowledges and recognizes that respecting the complexities and contradictions in people's feelings and behaviors is not only an ethical stance but crucial to understanding the emotional realities of life in gentrifying cities. Attending the psychic life of gentrification allows us to gain insight on the emotional and diverse lived experience that accompany urban change.

Conclusion: To conclude, this chapter has set the stage for understanding the complexities of multi-ethnic communities and the evolving dynamics within La Goutte d'Or, a neighborhood emblematic of both cultural diversity and the pressures of urban change. By examining the lived experiences of

different ethnic groups and the ways they interact within this vibrant, pluralistic environment, the chapter underscores how social cohesion is both shaped and challenged by these interactions. The concept of *ambiance*—where cultural diversity is encountered on a sensory level—reveals that coexistence is not passive but active, facilitated by a web of small, everyday interactions. These exchanges, though often superficial, play a crucial role in creating a sense of belonging and maintaining social order, even amidst differences.

The chapter also highlights the role of retail in supporting this coexistence, showing how ethnic businesses not only serve as commercial hubs but also act as social and cultural anchors for immigrant communities. However, this economic vibrancy is threatened by retail gentrification, which can disrupt the delicate balance of the neighborhood by displacing long-standing businesses and altering the social fabric. Lastly, it explores retail gentrification through a sociological lens, focusing on coffee shops as spaces where the politics of difference are negotiated. By combining psychoanalysis and the concept of third places, we gain a more nuanced understanding of how gentrification operates not just as an economic process but as a social and emotional one. Coffee shops, as third places, are central to the gentrification of urban spaces, yet they also reflect the tensions and exclusions inherent in this process. By attending to the emotional and relational dynamics of gentrification, we can better understand the diverse lived experiences that accompany urban change.

With Combination of sociological theories, including psychoanalysis and third place, this chapter tries to set the framework to unpack Coffee shops as a site where the politics of difference are negotiated daily.

Research Methods Chapter 4

Case study methods are employed in this research particularly because of their qualitative approach to data collection and analysis (Hammersley et al., 2009). This approach involves direct

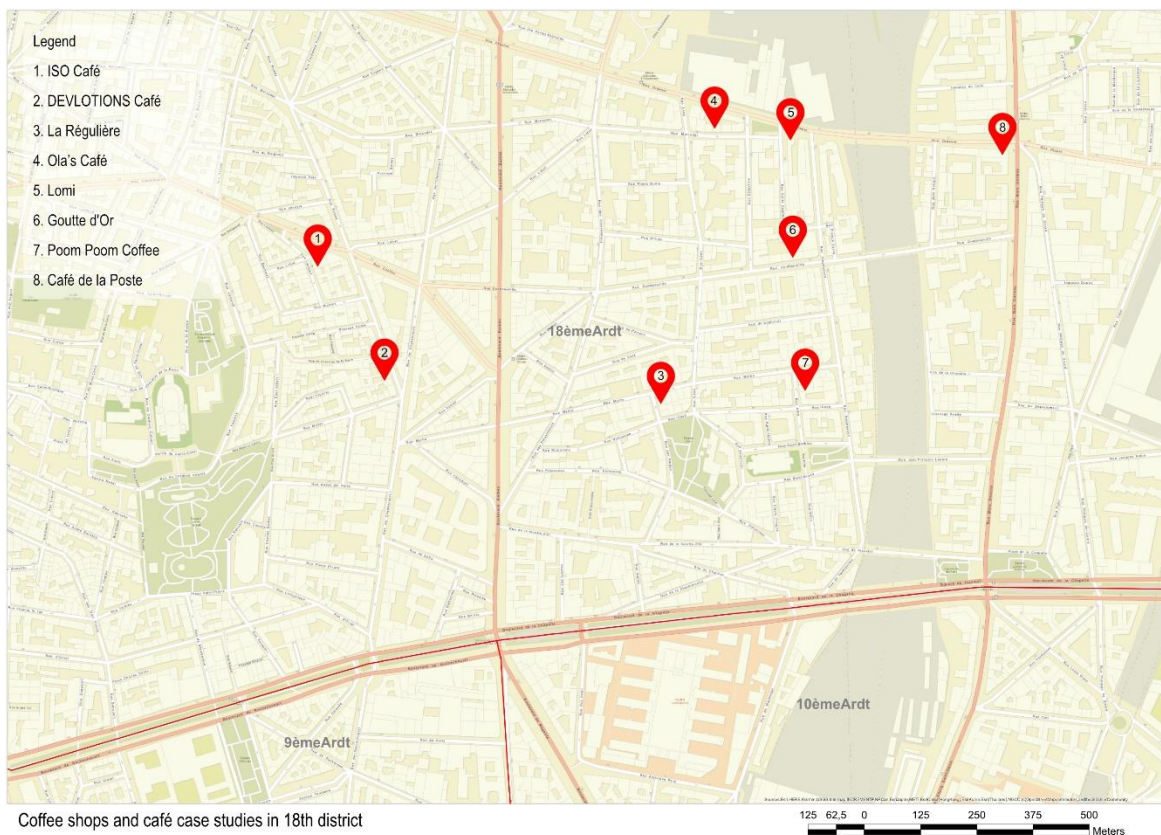
observation, allowing researchers to construct cases from naturally occurring social situations.

Researchers can also employ data analysis while collecting data, which may have implications for the type of data collected and how it is analyzed. As Flyvberg (2011) writes, it is "an intensive analysis of an individual unit," whether it be a person or a community. Case studies capitalize on people's natural ability to experience a phenomenon and investigate it, with the main goal being to understand the case (Yin, 2004) in order to answer the research question.

To use case study methods effectively requires an awareness of potential biases that may occur. These biases can be countered by ensuring that techniques are as objective as possible. A common misconception about case study methods is their perceived inability to be generalized or to serve as an effective tool for hypothesis testing or theory building. However, for researchers such as Eckstein, case studies are valuable at all stages of theory building because they are able to trace specific links between cause and effect. Furthermore, they provide detailed hypotheses of causal mechanisms while considering the sensitivity of concepts in relation to their context. The field of social science highly depends on methods such as the case study due to the absence of "hard theory." In most cases, case studies produce specific cases with contextual knowledge and therefore rely on concrete case knowledge, which is often more valuable to the field than predictive theories and universals.

Ethnography. Because lived experience refers to the subjective, first-person accounts of individuals' experiences, it relies heavily on personal narratives. To quantitatively understand and interpret these experiences, ethnographic approaches may be key. Ethnography is the study of people and cultures from an insider's perspective. Its methods can be conducted both closely and from afar and can be divided into interviewing informants and observing naturally occurring social settings and events (Kusenbach, 2003). However, both approaches have disadvantages. For example, conducting sit-down interviews can prevent informants from engaging in natural activities, taking them out of the

environments where those activities usually occur. On the other hand, it is difficult to access people's concurrent experiences and interpretations purely through observational approaches. This makes it challenging to grasp what subjects are discussing or willing to share. In both cases, important aspects of lived experiences may become invisible. This is especially true when spatially observing experiences or practices in everyday life.



Research techniques

Semi-Structured Interviews. Interviews are an important technique in qualitative research. Semi-structured interviews allow researchers to collect focused and in-depth data in a short amount of time. These interviews consist of open-ended questions that guide the interviewer while still allowing for spontaneity. This form of flexibility sets them apart from structured interviews. As DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree (2006) explain, semi-structured interviews resemble a conversation between two people

discussing a topic of mutual interest. The interview should take place in a relaxed and honest setting where both individuals feel comfortable to elicit as much information as possible. While interviews can be unpredictable, making them a complex process, their particular settings allow the possibility for new lines of inquiry to emerge, resulting in richer data collection.

In this study, 22 interviews and one group discussion (with 4 customers) were conducted with individuals in coffee shops (and older cafés for more insight into the neighborhood) along the three corridors of Rue Poulet, Rue Ordener, and Rue Myrha. The interviewees included the owners or baristas (if the owners were unavailable), as well as customers, to gain a broad perspective from those creating the space and those experiencing it. A minimum of 3 interviews were conducted with the clientele per coffee shop. The interviews were recorded to ensure accurate transcription of their voices, but this was done only with the participants' consent, and they were notified in advance.

One limitation of interviews is their time-consuming nature. Drawing up sets of open-ended questions that relate to the research question takes time. Scheduling interviews with owners also proved challenging, as I was not a resident of Paris, and my only form of communication with them was through private messaging on their Instagram pages. Instead, I approached some of the participants in their daily lives and asked if they would spare some time for the interviews. This approach was risky, as arranging specific times for all the owners and baristas outside their daily jobs could be difficult. The same applies to customers, who may not appreciate being interrupted during their leisure time. Furthermore, follow-up interviews may be required when new questions arise due to the iterative nature of qualitative research.

One of the most significant challenges of the interviews, particularly in my case, was the language barrier. While my French is sufficient for basic communication, I may not fully understand local colloquial or urban expressions. The same issue applies to newly arrived immigrants from North Africa and other regions whose French or English may be limited. Additionally, transcribing and translating the

interviews could present challenges. There are concerns about the accuracy of translations due to human error. Although I could ask a French friend for help, the meaning might not fully translate into another language, and they may not understand the context. Accuracy can also be questioned during the actual interview if researchers ask leading questions or use specific words that influence the participant's answers.

Table 2: Description of the Coffee Shops

Coffee Shop	Owner	Neighbourhood	Cost of Espresso	Song	Speciality Coffee source
La Reguliere	Morgan and friend	18 th District	2	LIMB: Planet Giza	<u>Previously Lomi</u>
Poom Poom	Peppita	18 th District	2.3	Murphys Law: Roisin Murphy	Albar Roasting
Ola's Cafe	Bosan and Ilyaman	Goutte d'Or	2	Sault: Up all night	Unknown
Lomi	Franchise	Goutte d'Or	2.2	Quedate luna (fear Muerdo) Dazed (feat Gabrielle & Geoffroy)	Lomi
Devotions Cafe	Thom	Montmartre	2	Rush: troye Sivan The one: Kylie Minogue	Family Friend (Congo, Guatemala, Ethiopia)
Iso Cafe	Marion, Jerome & Gerome	Montmartre	2.5	Solna (och jag ar sur)	<u>Lomi</u>
Au Claire de lune Classical Café	Key	Montmartre	Unknown	Cuban Africa: San Sebastian strut (cumbia soul) the quantic soul orchestra I feel for you: Chaka Khan	Unknown

Name	Age	Ethnicity	Occupation	Residence
Morgan	Unknown	French	Entrepreneur: Owner of La Regulier	18 th District
Victor	31	French	Unknown	19
Yannis	29	French	PhD researcher	18 th District
Lora	36	French (Cameroon)	Unknown	Paris regions
Peppita	40	French	Entrepreneur: Owner of Poom Poom	Paris regions 18 th District(In past)
Caroline	38	Belgian	Arts and Theatre	18 th District
Ethan	29	English	unknown	UK Bristol tourist
Juliet	25	French	unknown	UK Bristol tourist
Bosan	32	Nigerian	Entrepreneur: Co-owner of Ola	Paris
Tony	17	Moroccan	Scholar	North France
Erphan	33	French (Algerian)	Freelancer	18 th District
Silvian	27	French (Ivory Coast)	Freelancer	19 th District
Olai	?	Nigerian	Freelancer	Unknown
Lena	28	French	Worker at Lomi	<u>Paris Suburbs</u>
Ghislain	27	Rwandan	Data Analyst	18 th District
Ken	37	British (Polish)	Remote worker	18 th District(In past)
Kate	34	USA (American)	Tech Start Up	18 th District(In past)
Thom	38	French	Entrepreneur: Owner of Devotions Cafe	Montmartre
Gregory	unknown	French	Entrepreneur: Co-owner of ISO Cafe	Montmartre

Table 1: Description of the costumers who participated in the interviews conducted in the Cafes

Field Observation

Observation is the perspective of an outsider who may not be familiar with the neighborhood. A key limitation is that any outsider's view that lacks a local vantage point remains superficial, revealing more about the observer's standpoint than that of the locals.

Goss uses visual and verbal rhetoric in his narration of the mall through semiotic reading and participant observation techniques, influenced by the "psychic turn." He approaches the mall like a city, treating it as an unconscious entity—its spatial form objectifying collective values and dreams of fulfillment—blending the material and immaterial. He takes pleasure in the interplay between reality and fantasy while critically examining appearances (Lees, 2002).

I conducted observations in a total of 6 coffee shops and 2 cafés. Four coffee shops were located in the neighborhood of La Goutte d'Or, while two were situated near the neighborhood but geographically within Montmartre. Additionally, I observed two local cafés to help familiarize myself with the neighborhood. I made a minimum of two visits to each café and coffee shop, staying for a minimum of two hours per visit. This approach allowed me to gather as much research as possible while being respectful of the typical duration of customer visits, which on average is 60 minutes, depending on the coffee shop's ambiance. I selected the days and times based on peak and non-peak hours, using data I collected from Google.

During the observation, I paid attention to the types of activities and interactions that customers were engaged in. I noted the types of customers, including their age, gender, and ethnicity. I also focused on the sounds within the room, such as the languages spoken and the music played, as well as its volume. Additionally, I observed the frequency of customer visits, the decorations, and the spatial arrangements.

Furthermore, I extended my field observation to both neighborhoods (La Goutte d'Or and Montmartre) to study their public spaces. I paid attention to the architecture, types of stores and storefronts, the people using the streets, and the activities taking place. I also observed the aesthetic and physical changes happening in the area, which may be a result of gentrification.

Photography can serve as a powerful tool for documenting and illustrating urban life, effectively communicating observations (Cerrone et. al.,2021). It allowed me to preserve these visual moments, enabling further reflection and analysis later in the research process. I used photography to capture images of storefronts, as well as scenes from the interior of the coffee shops and cafés. These photographs included detailed shots of the décor, intimate objects, and the general spatial arrangement of the furniture, along with how the space was utilized by patrons.

Ethical Considerations

One of the most important ethical considerations is obtaining consent, which can be given verbally or through the signing of a consent form. As a researcher, I must be transparent about how I will use the data (e.g., recordings). While nonparticipant observation does not always require consent, it is essential to conduct observations without interfering with or influencing the activities being undertaken.

Another key consideration is awareness of my environment when it comes to photography. While consent may not be required in public spaces, it is important to reflect on the role I assume as a photographer and the potential impact on the community. I draw inspiration from Michel Tournier's postcolonial novel *La Goutte d'Or* (1986), which tells the story of Idriss, a man on a quest to reclaim his stolen image after a French tourist takes his photograph during her visit to the Sahara (Gray II, 2012). Tournier highlights how visual representation can shape identities and perceptions.

Photography in marginalized communities can sometimes border on exploitation, where the photographer benefits from the images at the expense of the subjects' dignity. Photographs may contribute to or challenge existing stereotypes, potentially affecting communities negatively. Although in this research I refrain from photographing individuals and focus instead on storefronts and the broader aspects of space, it is still crucial to be mindful of the complexities of my environment. I must ask myself whether my images portray subjects in a way that respects their dignity and complexity, rather than reducing them to mere symbols of the "other" (the marginalized postcolonial self).

Conclusion

This chapter outlined the methodology, and techniques used to answer the research question, justifying the choices while acknowledging their limitations. Though some setbacks occurred—such as

language barriers and interruptions during interviews—the sample size proved to be sufficient and yielded rich data. Positive engagement was encountered during field observations, which I will further elaborate on in the following chapter, Chapter 4.

Results Chapter 4

Problem statement and purpose of research. . in a world where multiethnic neighborhoods are being gentrified how do we understand the connections that people make to place, that help communities to coexist.

This Chapter presents the research findings of the cases under study. The findings were based on observations and interviews done throughout a 2 week period. The research findings in turn were assessed literature review established in chapter 2. The chapter will begin by providing a brief background of neighborhood under study, namely: I start with an overview of Coffee shops relation to public space All Each of the Coffee shops and cafes that I investigated sit on/ closely in relation to the three main corridors of the neighborhood these corridors included Rue Ordener, Rue Myrha and Rue Poulet. For Context.

Observation Notes:

Rue Ordener is a long street that crosses the railroad tracks to the east of the neighborhood and then stretches into much more affluent sections of the eighteenth endorsement toward the west. The traditional Café de la Poste lies on the east edge of the street at the intersection with Marx Dormoy. The ambiance is very lively with diverse people on the move mainly due to the Marx Dormoy subway that sits opposite. This crowded (as well as vehicle traffic) dies down as you move up the Road towards the west. The street contains less ethnic businesses in comparison to other shopping streets around the neighbourhood serves primarily French Clients(Kaplan, Recoquillon, 2015). It includes clothing stores, a pharmacy, and newly established barber shops that seem to serve wealthier clients, while still sitting next to more ethnic businesses. This contrast seem to be seem to be given signs of gentrification. New

more modernised residential buildings can be found that seem to be part of social housing/ social mix projects Meanwhile the street is filled with artworks and graffiti that give it a sense of culture.



Coffee shop Lomi sits along. A small square sits Infront of Lomi's , which according to a customer frequently hosts dance performances or small festivals which is one of the reasons why he enjoys Lomi. The coffee shops frontage contain decent amounts(not as many as classical Parisian Cafes) of seating areas that share the space of this square. Mainly those who socialise or simply sit alone observing and drinking coffee. There are less remote workers. Sitting outside you are able to see the large display of Graffiti on the walls as well as the quite large amount of pedestrians that walk by. You also find a few linger on the benches provided, with some taking the time to feed birds. The coffee shop is part of a newly constructed residence(part of social housing), that according to google maps had under gone demolition and reconstruction around the year 2008. The more modernised form is doesn't create

to much contrast in the already changing street. The façade is a large glass window with reflective window tints, that don't allow passerby to look in. This created a sense of privacy and seems to be common for more affluent businesses. In comparison to this large glass frame that spreads across the building the actual entrance seems much smaller giving more sense of privacy. Furthermore the left side of the glass frame is decorated with flowers that resemble drawings made from glass pen, as well as a board containing a information on the coffee sold- a very common feature for modern coffee shops selling speciality coffee. Lomi is a Franchise that sells speciality coffee aswell as provides lessons on coffee roasting. Interactions between customers and passerby were not visible



Ola café sits on the street behind Lomi. The street that is found on is relatively quite. With Only residents and shop owners walking by. It is am small store with relatively façade. The door opening and scale of the window does not differ greatly. It also contains drawings with glass markers(that regularly changed according to google maps street view) and a small board with the spatial of today. Only one

seating area is found outside. Mostly used by smoker. During my observation I found that people still waste no time simply standing outside- Those wanting to get quick coffee before work in the morning and chatting. There seemed to be a lot of movement at the threshold with people continuously moving in and out and standing by the entrance having conversations during peak hours. On my visit during a public holiday I noticed some customers seating on the seats of the neighbouring store(selling exotic lighting). The window itself is not tinted making it much easier to look inside. Ola stands out along the street with its bright blue colour in comparison to the warm and tinted colours of the neighbouring business. Its neighbouring businesses are mainly African, with clothing stores, restaurants. One bakery and bar. Can also be found at the far end. According to google the shop was part of a building renovation done in 2008 and had previously been A clothing business for African wear until its opening during covid 2021.



Rue Myrha The entire street runs about three blocks, and is situated entirely within the Goutte d'Or. In the block to the west of rue Leon, there are a large number of African fabric stores that, appeared to be staffed and frequented primarily by West African immigrants. To the east of rue Leon, however, the atmosphere changes and we are in a part of the neighbourhood dominated by immigrants from North Africa(Kaplan, Recoquillon, 2015). La Reguileire faces this street while Poom Poom is close with its intersection to Rue Affre. La Reguileire is made of a coffee shop and a bookstore. No seating is found along the street- this is not a feature for any other restaurants along the street. The store was part of a demolition and reconstruction in 2008. New art galleries, cultural centers, bakeries, restaurants and clothing stores have emerged along with the bookstore, that seem to serve wealthier clients. The store opened in 2016. The street had undergone a lot of demolition and reconstruction around this time, meaning the general façade of the book store doesn't stand out. It sits right at the

corner of giving it access to 2 street views that it layers with a long stream of untinted windows. The windows do not cover the wall down to the bottom. Instead they remain hip length- this along with the elevated of the structure makes it a little more difficult to look in when passing by. However the store fronts entrance sits right against the corner street with a glass door that does not have an indent making it more welcoming. There is still however not a lot of engagement in front of the store. Instead the street is continuously filled with diverse pedestrians. With some men sitting/ standing in front of restaurants and stores socialising or watching the pedestrians. In front of the café those who lingered were families that lived in the newly developed housing. Seemed to me mix of social and middle class.



As you move down the street towards Poom Poom coffee shop, the buildings seem to be more affluent. After doing research on Airbnb and as well as interviews with tourists, bnbs seem to be located on this side of the neighbourhood, around the border of on Rue Stephenson. Poom Poom is a café that had been open March of this year. The building it is found in was also part of a demolishing and

reconstruction project in 2008. Its façade holds large front windows that are not tinted with its opening door placed right in the middle making it more welcoming and easy to look into. Two seating areas are found on the outside along with the typical board and writing with window markers giving information about the store. The store's use of warm colours doesn't make it stand out. As mentioned it faces rue Affre that is very quiet in comparison to rue Myrrha. The street has very few businesses with an African tailor found neighbouring the coffee shop. However it is more residential with few pedestrians that are less diverse.

Rue Poulet could be considered the heart of the commercial Goutte d'Or. It is by far the busiest block in the neighbourhood and displays the widest variety of businesses. Its businesses include hair salons, markets of halal meat and vegetables, mixed local convenience stores all owned by different ethnicities making it very vibrant and diverse. Anchored by the Chateau Rouge metro stop, Rue Poulet runs two blocks. On the western side of Boulevard Barbes, outside the Goutte d'Or is a wealthier block of Moutarde with a few immigrant establishments but several cafes and wine bars (Kaplan, Recoquillon, 2015). While the eastern side is a working class area, with a lot of foot traffic. There are a number of vendors who take up the street making it difficult for vehicles to move through. Cafés and restaurants are only found on the west side facing Moutarde. And has predominantly West African clients (Kaplan, Recoquillon, 2015). The street is undergoing a variety of changes mainly on its west side, bringing new forms of retail such as wine bars and flower shops that show a lot of contrast between the ethnic locals who take up the streets.

Its meeting place with Chateau Rouge is the most vibrant and full of people moving around to buy from the markets on Rue Dejean. While many of the interviewees claimed that the area has physically changed they also expressed that the social change hasn't occurred and the ethnic community hasn't moved regardless. Some believe it's going to happen eventually.





Devotions is a coffee shop that sits near the border of Rue Poulet in the neighbourhood of Montmartre. It doesn't have a physical connection to it but sits across classical Parisian cafes that seems to serve some of its ethnic community. It has one table outside and four chairs to sit. With a picture of its logo on the window that resembles a drawing with white markers. It also contains a board with the cafes information.





Café de La Poste is a large bar and café with prominent outdoor seating that spills onto the busy intersection with rue Marx Dormoy. The itself café hosts a mixed community mainly made by ethnic groups of North and West Africans. While I didn't have the opportunity to interview the owners. Both Café de la Poste and Lomi seem to serve individuals beyond the local population. In my observation I found the Café serving dominated by ethnic groups of male gendered North and west Africans. The

French language seemed secondary in this space. Instead the different groups, who mainly sat in pairs outside and individually inside were speaking on phones or to each other le of colour (one north African women outside with north African group seemed to linger in café)

Interviews Analysis

Role of Coffee Shops as Third Places: Coffee shops in the Goutte d'Or neighborhood function as vital third places, providing spaces where social interactions occur beyond home and work. They foster diverse forms of engagement, from casual socializing and community building to offering a refuge from the bustling city life. However, the nature of these interactions varies widely depending on the clientele, ambiance, and policies of each café.

Ola Café: Ola attracts a diverse clientele who use the space for relaxation, socializing, and recharging. A customer Erphan described Ola as a sanctuary: *“Some people need their friends; some need religion. A place like this helps. I’ve seen people come in alone, and they leave happy just listening to conversations. Even the way the café is set up—it invites connection. Even if you come alone, you leave with something.”* The intimate setup of the café encourages interaction, which contrasts with the typically individualistic nature of Parisian life. Ola Café Owner, Bosan’s vision for Ola was driven by his passion for coffee, literature, and community. He aimed to create a space that blended these elements, providing a social haven for both remote workers and casual visitors. To maintain the café's social atmosphere, Bosan restricts laptop use from 12-14 during lunch, ensuring that the café remains a place for genuine human connection rather than becoming a pseudo-coworking space. Bosan values the presence of “real people” enjoying the space, rather than having it dominated by solitary work.

Lomi Café: Lomi, A Franchise primarily caters to remote workers and tourists. The café's appeal to tourists from Montmartre and remote professionals creates a transient and somewhat impersonal environment, where people are more likely to work in isolation. Regulars still create relationships with each other especially with the barista working there (which consist of 5). This connection makes them frequent customers of the café more, using it as a space for social bonding.

Poom Poom Café Owner, Pepita shares similar concerns about her coffee shop turning into a coworking space. She wants to preserve the coffee shop's social spirit by adding a night culture, introducing wine and champagne for personal celebrations like birthdays, rather than transforming it into a bar. Her vision for Poom Poom focuses on fostering intimate and meaningful social gatherings rather than becoming a workspace. One customer described her use of the coffee shop for emotional comfort. For her coffee and social interaction help alleviate personal tension, making the café an essential part of her routine.

La Regulier Owner, Morgan introduced a coffee shop to her bookstore to attract more visitors and lighten the atmosphere. By adding a coffee shop, she created a welcoming environment where people feel comfortable spending their afternoons.

"we see a lot of people wouldn't come into the shop if it was just a bookstore but they start to come for coffee, getting used to the place and mood and we try to be as welcoming as possible so everyone to feel cool' it's a nice place to spend the afternoon, to have coffee even more to have books."- Morgan

The combination of books and coffee encourages a slower, more relaxed pace of interaction, allowing visitors to gradually familiarize themselves with the space and the community.

Devotions Café Owner, Thom aims to create a dynamic and welcoming atmosphere at Devotions, catering to the diverse crowd that Montmartre hosts. The café's dog-friendly policy and its focus on high-quality, homemade products contribute to its friendly and inviting vibe. However, Thom regulates

laptop use to prevent the café from becoming too work-oriented, especially during busy times like weekends. His goal is to maintain a balance between a social, lively atmosphere and accommodating those who use the café as a workspace.

ISO Café Owner, Gregory envisions Iso as a diverse and vibrant social space where people can gather with friends, read, and relax. However, he shares concerns about the café turning into an office space. Gregory limits laptop use on weekends and dislikes video calls that take up space without contributing to the social atmosphere. *‘They only order one coffee and we have to refuse people who want to eat. We are after all we are a café, we don’t want to be an office’*- Gregory. His primary focus is ensuring that Iso remains a café—a place for social interaction and enjoyment.

Patterns of use and customer base

The patterns of use across the coffee shops in Goutte d'Or reveal a dynamic interplay between locals, expats, and tourists. At La Regulier, Morgan's customers are primarily locals who visit regularly, though the café is beginning to draw more tourists thanks to events that attract people from all over Paris. Pepita at Poom Poom also sees a mix of locals and friends, with fewer tourists, as her café sits in a more residential area of Goutte d'or. For Yannis, a researcher, La Regulier serves as both a workspace and a social space, where he enjoys the familiar routine of working and taking breaks to interact with staff and other customers. *“It’s a place where I work now they(owners) are kind of friends... but its not really a café for me its more of a library, you can say that its my favourite...I like to come here once a week, im used to it during the day, and some nights I like to work in bars, every moday night I go to the Mobe doing research or finish something what I have to read. I am used to it and it’s a reassurance to have that kind of [habit]”*- Yannis

After asking in an interview if people find a difference between café’s and coffee shops, Lora, a French woman with Cameroonian heritage, differentiates between coffee shops and traditional Parisian cafés based on her mood. *“...coffee shop its better when you are with some friends and you want to talk*

because the atmosphere is more cozy, but sometimes you just want to chill and get coffee and in that case you don't need the coffee shop you just go to the café bar." - Lora.

Caroline, a Belgian woman involved in the arts, finds inspiration in Poom Poom's sunlight and street views, using the space for reflective writing and creative work, though she sometimes opts not to go to Ola due to its cramped interior that also affects her dog. *"I need light, last time I sat on the bar their, and the feeling was really different because I was seeing the streets and the sun, and I need that kind of sensation, this is sometimes the reason why I go less to Ola's because it feels like its [cramped] and there isn't a lot of light."* Caroline Also uses more classical Parisian bars to write but not for the coffee. *'When its spring or summer I sometimes ride around on my bike and I don't find any coffee shops its okay so I like to read and write poems in café's, I drink coffee (regardless)[an espresso] I love coffee culture for poems.'* - Caroline

Ethan and Juliet, tourists from England, were drawn to Poom Poom's relaxed vibe and specialty coffee, particularly the flat white, which is rare in France but familiar to them from home. *"Paris isn't there yet, not everywhere.. I think in some places.. it depends where because you've got to find it even in starbucks."* -Ethan— Juliet also add comment to the ambiance *"that's the vibe you are going for very relaxed and you want to meet up with your friends and work it's the perfect balance of peacefulness, this ones perfect because it's very quiet and its nice"*.

In Ola, Bosan, the owner, notes that while his café is in a quiet residential area with less foot traffic, it attracts a loyal group of regular customers who visit daily. *"We are in quite a residential area.. a lot of successful coffee shops in like a busier area with a lot of foot traffic.. so we don't get so much of that what we do get however are regular customers coming every day or two times a day and then some foot traffic and some tourists."* This includes a group of his friends who, despite living in different parts of Paris, gather at Ola after football matches, drawn by the café's welcoming atmosphere and quality coffee.

Lomi Café, on the other hand, is popular with remote workers, particularly expats and foreign students, who appreciate its spacious, international atmosphere. Regulars like Ghislian, a Rwandan data analyst, come to Lomi as part of their work routine, preferring the café to his office for the separation it offers between work and home. *“I come here with my headphones [to work doesn’t do a lot of socializing described himself as introvert] The place is very nice and I like being here. Café’s just have to be cute.”* **Ghislian**

Ken, a former resident of La Goutte d’Or, also uses Lomi for remote work, appreciating its industrial design and high-quality coffee. He contrasts Lomi’s relaxed environment with Ola, which he finds too cramped, and prefers coffee shops over traditional Parisian cafés for work. There are no beers in these cafes ‘That’s why I can focus’, and would rather use them to socialize. He also admits he sees most cafes for their food options. Kate, an American who used to live in the area, agrees, noting that the 18th arrondissement is known for its expat population, particularly in coffee shops where English speakers are common. This diverse clientele reflects the evolving character of the neighborhood, where cafés serve as both community hubs and destinations for international visitors.

Devotion, run by Thom, has seen an increase in tourist customers over the years, with half of its clientele now made up of visitors drawn by positive reviews and the café’s dynamic, international vibe. Thom describes *“After 3 years though 50% of my customers are tourist which is good cause I really like that we speak English between us in the team and it creates a good vibe and people get to meet different people.. its very interesting.”*

Similarly, Iso Café, located near Montmartre, attracts both locals and tourists, with owner Gregory hosting art exhibitions to support local artists and enhance the café’s cultural appeal. *“Most of the tourists we have here are from Airbnb’s that are renting around the area and come. There fewer tourists who are simply wondering/ looking around. In comparison they are a lot of locals particularly Parisian”* -Gregory

Inclusivity vs exclusivity

The concept of inclusivity versus exclusivity in Goutte d'Or's coffee shops is a delicate balance shaped by factors like pricing, aesthetics, and community dynamics. High prices often act as a barrier, with cafés like Lomi catering to a "Bobo" middle-class clientele, distancing some locals. Caroline, originally a student, avoided expensive specialty coffee for quick and cheap espressos. Owner Thom of Devotions acknowledges this divide, noting that his café's prices are higher than traditional bistros, which could alienate the working class. Thom says *"...maybe not the same cliental that I have here, cause the coffee here is 2,50 not sure everyone can afford, we try to welcome everyone with low prices compared to other coffee shops with 4euro...Down the road bistros selling coffee for 1 euro, it will be tricky, people wont understand... When first opening the coffee shop received a few complaints from clients who concerned about the price. Normal prices are one euro but its not good quality coffee."* The café's emphasis on specialty coffee from various regions further distinguishes it from the cheaper, quick espresso culture found in classic Parisian cafés. In my observation I found ISO was the most expensive selling espresso for 2.5. Ola, La Regulier and Devotions sold at 2 euros were the cheapest and finally Poom Poom at 2.3 Euros. In my observation of Café de la Poste, a more classical café their espressos sold for 1,4 euros.

The café environments themselves can also create subtle barriers. The modern, minimalist designs of new coffee shops, like Lomi's sleek glass façade with tinted windows that give a sense of privacy and Ola's vibrant blue exterior, contrast with the more traditional or ethnic businesses nearby. These visual cues may appeal to wealthier, more international clientele, but can inadvertently exclude locals like Silvian who feel disconnected from these modern aesthetics. Management also exclude remote workers, some coffee shops only during certain hours, because they are accused of Ruining the Vibe and desired ambiance. *"Laptops are a challenge because they spend more time on the table and we*

have less turnover and for us business owners each seat is a number because we need to pay the rent. People with laptops also consume less than people with brunch or breakfast for a shorter time. And notes the vibe is different, if you have people with laptops there is no vibe, worst for me is laptops + headphones, we want to create good music and vibes and if you come here like that you are completely avoiding the Devotions vibe” - Thom. The owner at Regulier also explains that their presence makes people assume the bookstore is a library. Furthermore, she feels that they can be intimidating for the working class that she wants to include.

When asked if Café Poom Poom integrates well Caroline says- *Yeah it integrates well in the sense that.. but I’m not sure that it will mix people as the L360 is doing, it’s a musical area devoted to music but more world music they also have a restaurant and it seems like the people who are working there are from the neighborhood and they build local food and I feel that there is more a mixed public that is going there... The guys that are on the streets I never see them here’*

Inclusivity, however, is present in certain spaces like Poom Poom, which fosters a queer-friendly environment. Caroline, a customer, appreciated its dog-friendly atmosphere and connection to the queer community. The café's unique culture blends with typical coffee shop vibes, offering a new, inclusive space where diverse cultures and backgrounds converge. Similarly, tourists and expats like Juliet and Ethan, who identify with the hip, alternative style of places like Poom Poom, feel included in the environments that reflect international trends. *“this is very Bristol (from the UK) its very hip, there’s alternative, this is the kind of places I think are the best and also for people from our generation I think Assume older generation are used to typical terrace café bars and they just have their espresso and its just different generation, and that’s how they think” -Ethan*

Remote workers also find inclusivity in cafés that allow laptops, like Lomi, which welcomes expats and international workers. Ken and Kate, long-time residents of Paris, noted traditional cafés creating a more welcoming space for remote workers. “it felt that you are disturbing the ambiance of everyone else... you get to know the specific ones where laptops are allowed.” -Kate. Ultimately it is certain economic and cultural barriers still persist, shaping who feels comfortable in these spaces

Place Attachment and Identity

Connection to Place Goutte D'or

In Goutte d'Or, the connection to place is deeply intertwined with cultural identity and personal history. Lora, for instance, comes to the neighborhood often not for its cafés but because it represents a connection to her African roots. To her and many others, Goutte d'Or is "the African place," ““all african people come when they want a reminder of something from their roots they come”. She sees food, not coffee shops or bars, as central to socializing within the African community “food is an important element”. For Ghislain, a 27-year-old, bars play a significant role as a "third place" for Africans, a space outside of home and work where community bonds are reinforced.

For a group of Muslim men—Tony, Erphan, Silvian, and Olai—their connection to Goutte d'Or is deeply rooted in their religious practice. The mosque in the 18th arrondissement serves as their primary third place, especially during Ramadan. *“you really stick together through pray then food after and when we could not have coffee during the day so for a month it was our third place. It’s a place to ask for blessing. Feel safe tranquility and puts you on the right path again... Religion is very important to realignment from the city life.. Friday is the day.”* – Silvian. After their mosque visits, they often gather at a local coffee shop, Ola, where the owner, Bosan, has embraced their religious needs. According to them he even volunteered opening the shop early(before sunrise) during Ramadan so they could maintain their coffee rituals.

Silvian, another regular at Ola, emphasizes the importance of supporting businesses that align with his values. Although he doesn't live in the neighborhood, he returns to Ola because of its connection to the mosque and its welcoming atmosphere. He feels comfortable bringing his prayer mat and practicing his faith there, something he doesn't experience in other coffee shops where the owners are "too posh" and make him feel judged. Ola, therefore, represents not just a place for coffee but a space for cultural and religious affirmation.

Lena, a 28-year-old Frenchwoman who commutes to the neighborhood for work at Lomi, finds Goutte d'Or lively. She often visits coffee shop Ola, both situated on the neighborhood's edge, to socialize with friends over long coffee breaks. However, her connection to the neighborhood remains superficial. When asked of her opinion on the Château Rouge market she was largely unaware. This may also be caused by the spatial alignments of the two coffee shops she interacts with. Both are found near/ along Rue Ordener which are at the very border of the neighborhood mainly serving French clients, while the market is found in its core.

Ken, British Boy who used to live in the 18th district because of its affordability, enjoys exploring the neighborhood. He likes to visit the market on the weekends and has participated in cultural activities like Chilean dancing in front of Lomi café. These experiences, along with small festivals hosted in the area, contribute to Ken's sense of connection to Goutte d'Or as a dynamic and diverse place with cultural experiences.

Narratives of Belonging

The stories residents and visitors tell about their relationship to Goutte d'Or reveal a deep sense of belonging intertwined with the challenges of living in a diverse neighborhood. Pepita, the owner of Poom Poom café, appreciates Goutte d'Or for its ethnic and social diversity. Having lived there before, she still feels connected to the neighborhood, describing it as less dominated by "white guys and

bobos". However, she acknowledges the complexity of the area in terms of Crime. She had moved out of the neighborhood 10 years ago because of this. Also notes that while safety has improved over the years, there are still concerns, particularly at night.

Ghislain, a 27-year-old Rwandan resident, echoes these sentiments but highlights the varying experiences of safety depending on one's identity. When asked about the safety he answered "depends who you are.. if you are a black dude you will wont have as much problems than if you were a white girl. You wouldn't feel safe going home at 1am." As a Black man, he feels less vulnerable. He sees Goutte d'Or as a densely packed, multi-ethnic neighborhood with sharp contrasts between rich and poor, which may contribute to crime.

Ken's narrative also reflects the neighborhood's dual nature—culturally vibrant but fraught with difficulties like drug problems. He lived in Goutte d'Or for a year but found it stressful due to frequent encounters with theft and aggression. *"I considered moving back here but really I found it quite stressful cause I like to go and walk around the neighborhood and I think I definitely had... [semi fights] people try to steal things from you is very common in Paris but its more in this neighborhood at night.. I walked around at 2am in the morning so I kind of ask for it"* also added tensions with police *"The police are always policing a specific area but never walking around in quiet streets. they just sit by the canal... five riot vans and then go home"*. He also points out the physical separation created by the railway line, which isolates parts of the neighborhood.

Kate shares similar concerns about safety at night. However, when she lived in Goutte d'Or a decade ago, she felt relatively unaffected by the dangers, she explained people only hassled her to sell her cigarettes. Now, like others, she is more cautious, recognizing that the dangers and finds it difficult to consider moving back.

For Erphan, who has Algerian heritage and lived in the neighborhood for 10 years and Silvian, Goutte d'Or is one of the most open districts in Paris. He feels safe displaying his Muslim identity here,

something he finds challenging in other districts where expressing religious beliefs can lead to accusations of "promoting" religion. Silvian speaks of the double standards that exist across Paris, where tolerance varies by district *"There is a double standard in Paris for what is accepted and it usually depends on the district. 8th district is more tolerant... Others you become a minority- more than a minority you become controlled"*

"All the mosques in the 18th are always crowded on Friday... it's kind of a mess but it is what it is.. some people don't really appreciate our religion ...articles describe the spill of people on the streets. you don't notice it in daily life of Paris but its more when you check the news or what people say in the media... it's not just Paris or France all the western society doesn't like me It's not the worst place but it definitely one of the ones that make you feel.."

"even if not having a job can't give you financial stability, you have the freedom to practice our religion on time everyday it's also a privilege...In a company it's easier to say can I go get a cigarette for 10minutes then to say hey, can I go pray" - Silvian

Tony added "through France is a secular country, the secularism now is more about islamophobia then really the secularism state"

Goutte d'or is where the three can find their place as Muslims. While Goutte d'Or offers some refuge but they acknowledge that practicing Islam in France remains a complex and often difficult experience. The crowded mosques on Fridays, with worshippers spilling onto the streets, illustrate the visible tension between public religious practice and societal acceptance from Goutte D'or's diverse community.

Thom, the owner of Devotions café, also reflects on the neighborhood's rough edges. *"The area its still a rough area if you go 200m down the road. I'm not sure I will settle there because the area is still a bit rough but I think it's getting safer and safer, but more time. But very dynamic area which is good*

but still rough” He is optimistic about the neighborhood’s future but recognizes that it still needs time to fully evolve.

Memory and Tradition

Coffee shops in Goutte d'Or serve as important sites for preserving and transforming the neighborhood's cultural memory and traditions. Morgan, owner of Regulier, has deep ties to the area, and recalls the challenges families faced during her time as a student. *“in or building they were a lot of families and we knew about the difficulties faced deciding where to go with the kids after school so its true that sometimes the kids stay in the streets and they are a lot of problems in the neighborhood, it's the poorest place in Paris so of course you have a lot of challenges but for us we knew there would be the public and the need for a place like this' In Paris they are a lot of bookstores, some neighborhoods have 12/16 but this one there was no bookstore so we.. said okay lets take the opportunity”* This led to the creation of community-oriented spaces, such as bookstores, these spaces offer residents a sense of public belonging and cultural continuity.

For tourists like Juliet and Ethan, Goutte d'Or's reputation as a multicultural hub is part of its allure. They have heard stories from older generations about the diversity of the 18th district, which has long been known for its blend of cultures. These narratives, passed down from Juliet’s mother and grandmother, highlight the neighborhood’s historical identity as a place where different communities have always coexisted. These memories contribute to the ongoing appeal of Goutte d'Or as a vibrant, multicultural destination within Paris.

Gentrification and Urban Change

Gentrification in Goutte d'Or, a neighborhood in Paris's 18th arrondissement, is a complex and layered phenomenon, reflecting both social transformation and the tensions that arise from it. For Lora, the neighborhood has changed over the past decade. , *“its changing but not too much. This has always*

been the cheapest area where people from Africa come here because its cheap, but the most expensive one is Montmartre and its same arondesmont district- right across the road. And you feel like its not the same district- its like there is a frontier in the arondesmont they don't mix, Montmartre is another planet'" Montmartre representing a wealthier, more tourist-oriented side of the arrondissement.

Tony, reflects on this contrasts within the 18th arrondissement. He expressed *"the 18th you can go to one spot and have the most romantic expensive views of paris (up the hill) and then you go down the hill and you see something else, -like London. This is happening in everywhere in big cities like London where everything is getting (I hate this word) gentrified "* He relates this phenomenon to what is happening in cities like London, where gentrification is affecting previously affordable neighborhoods. For Tony, this transformation is part of a broader global trend.

Ken, another resident, has noticed the arrival of new businesses along the edges of the neighborhood on the side where Lomi café is situated. He and other locals see coffee shops as a clear sign of gentrification. Lena, who works at Lomi, acknowledges this dual nature of gentrification, describing it as a "double-edged sword." *"it's a double edge sword because it's nice that they are quality places, but it's just unaffordable for people that are living here... for coffee specialty this isn't even one of the highest prices and I think it's expensive. Regular coffee places coffee is 1 euro so..."*

Pepita, the owner of Poom Poom café, takes a positive view of the changes, noting that the the area became more mixed and new retail stores and apartments brought a quieter, more optimistic atmosphere and people greet each other. She doesn't see the process as pure gentrification, as she feels that people are still incorporated in the area's existing culture and take care of the neighborhood. For her, the blend of old and new is creating a better environment without entirely displacing the original community.

Spatial and Economic Tensions

As previously mentioned the spatial and economic contrasts in Goutte d'Or are stark, and visitors like Juliet and Ethan notice the drastic differences as they walk through the neighborhood. There is a disjointed urban landscape highlighting the economic tensions between long-time residents and the newer, wealthier arrivals brought by redevelopments.

Silvian reflects on the lack of interaction with new *businesses* “*you see wine cave in an area full of Sudanese. This type of businesses come here because it cheap, so if you are the first one to open a business and you have customers living there... obviously you have young white people they want to buy places(apartments) in 18th because its cheap. So you are in the business for them, you will have customers. I thought who's coming here? Because all of the people passing by don't care about this place.*” Silvian sees coffee shops as symbols of this high-end living, where one's sense of belonging can be easily judged by the owners based on appearance or social class.

Displacement

Displacement, both real and perceived, is a growing concern. Ghislain notes that the neighborhood is undergoing significant changes, with constant demolition and reconstruction reshaping its landscape. He describes this process as “sanitizing” dangerous area, but gentrifying in the process. “*they are modernising especially and a lot of construction in paris and this creates things that are bobo. Rue ordener is very pigmented you have pockets that are very cute very rich, then Bd Barbès is very bobo and very rich, then you have rue Marcadet poorer but still very bobo then you have... which is a poor area but getting more and more bobo and gentrified. Even in Marton you they are three borders Bd de la Chapelle its changing it used to be dangerous with crackheads now everything is changing*”

Silvian agrees that gentrification is gradually changing entire neighborhoods, but he also believes that the 18th arrondissement is resistant to rapid transformation and community change hasn't happened. Erphan adds “*I've seen gentrification, but it takes time because the people who move here you have a few who are here for gentrification while a lot come here because of the area and its mixture*

of the area and want their kids to grow up with a lot of communities to see and interact with everyday. And I think that's why something like Chateau rouge will not move, you have a bobo/ bougie/ place like the Boulevard Barbes ..(been here 7 years) with poche coffee, so expensive in front of people/ hustle area.. the guys who hustle cigarettes, fake perfume still haven't moved hustling non the less .. it's the wildest place... Everyone knows barbes because of this" This tension between the old and new is emblematic of the broader struggle in Goutte d'Or, where gentrification is happening but is not yet strong enough to completely displace the original community. Silvian, adds remain skeptical of the change regardless *"You see that you cannot change an area. It will be difficult to move people from chateau rouge or the Senegalese areas... Its going to take time but its going to happen eventually unfortunately*

When asked about the effects of tourism Silvian explained tourists are rare in Goutte d'Or, with some him occasional noticing young Korean visitors but generally seeing little interest from international travelers. Japanese tourists, in particular, avoid the area due to concerns about safety and "Paris Syndrome," a phenomenon where the romanticized image of Paris clashes with reality. While Montmartre with its Moulin Rouge attracts lots tourists, even with risks of pick pocketers, Goutte d'Or remains largely untouched. Places like Château Rouge maintain their authenticity. Visitors who do come are often drawn by affordable Airbnb options or desire to experience *"the hood the real people the real life"*. He continues *"In Goutte D'or there is nothing to see for tourist- maybe people who want to eat local food from the hood- you go there, but it's really the hood. It's like you are in Africa because they don't adjust their way of living to western way of living they just arrive here and live the same so its perfect for them...Its kind of a mess but you walk 5 minutes from chateau rouge and you have a gentrified area. Same district but different"*

Cultural Exchange and Interaction

In the diverse Goutte d'Or neighborhood, cultural identity plays a significant role in shaping interactions and relationships. When asked about their identities, participants in a group discussion shared how their mixed heritage informs their sense of belonging. Olai identifies himself as a Nigerian regardless of where he lives. Silvian, who grew up in social housing, identifies with oppressed and minority groups, even if he aspires for a more successful lifestyle. He finds it challenging to feel accepted in the West, expressing a preference for being wealthy in Africa, where he believes he would face fewer barriers to acceptance.

Erphan, of Algerian heritage, sees Ola café as a safe space for cultural exchange. For him, the café has fostered a sense of community where diverse people can connect and communicate freely. *"They created a community in their coffee, cause everyone is acceptive... you can talk with random people, yesterday I came I talked with this guy for the first time we talked *for 1hr, I was late on my work but I was so happy just to talk with someone and someone that I didn't know to be able to find place where you feel free to share with people. People [can be] too robotic"*

Silvian adds that the influx of gentrifiers, while controversial, has brought some open-mindedness to the neighborhood. *"Its good gentrified people come here, because they are kind of openminded they don't judge because they are places in some districts you feel that you are not in the right place even if you've always been there so its balance. You have a little café like 200m who was opened before them and a few years ago can be the place we all used to go but there it's something else. The mentality[at Ola] we feel welcomed, for me its one of the best place I ever went, it's really nice"*

Silvian explains that the mentality has shifted; the new space makes him feel welcome in a way he hasn't felt before. The atmosphere seems to foster inclusivity and belonging.

Olai echoes this sentiment, *“very creative minds it’s like a like-minded body. At the core of it is just empathy and respect and that’s why it really brings people together and keeps them together also”*

Yannis, a regular at La Regulier, notes that there is little multiethnic interaction in the coffee shop. He believes that simply coexisting is already a positive step, but trying to assume responsibility for bridging cultural divides could be paternalistic. *“Often you can recognize the clients of the library before he even enters the library, because we are kind of the same.. have the same lives. But the girls[owners] are trying to, that’s why I say they are just facing something that’s really difficult to cross. As long as coexisting is happening, its not so bad. It would be bad to try to bear that kind of responsibility, because first they cannot do it, and it would be paternalistic. If people are facing that issue that way, it would mean that we want to bring them into something different, it would mean you consider you can do that for them and they need you for that... so they don’t have to bear that responsibility”* The assumption that people need to be "brought into something different" and that such an effort could reinforce inequalities rather than alleviate them.

For him coexistence is the simple act of sitting by a café window and watching the diverse range of people pass by. This activity connects him to the pulse of the neighborhood, allowing him to observe and reflect on the various lives intersecting in this multicultural space. Cafes serves as a vantage point to experience the complexity of Goutte d'Or, where people are striving for something collectively unattainable on an individual level.



Representation of Ethnicity in Space

The representation of ethnicity within the coffee shops varies. Peppita, the owner of Poom Poom café, recognizes the importance of catering to the local community's needs. She includes halal options in her menu, understanding that this is a necessity for the predominantly Muslim population in the area. She states that businesses in more affluent, "bobo" areas may overlook these considerations, focusing on a clientele that is less representative of the neighborhood's ethnic and religious diversity.

Lora, feels that the La Regulier integrates well with the area. She appreciates the way some businesses incorporate local culture into their décor with artworks that feature black women with traditional braiding. *"it can remind us to accept everyone and this area there are many nationalities- an area is full of different people, so if you want a business to work here you have to welcome everyone"*



Diaspora and Migration

The impact of migration is clearly felt in the Goutte d'Or neighborhood, where a diverse diaspora shapes the character of local cafés. Bosan, the owner of Ola café, reflects on the international clientele that frequents his establishment. He attributes this to the nature of coffee shops, which tend to attract people from all over the world. *"I was having a conversation with someone and he was asking me why they are so many English people.. I just think café's tend to be quite international a lot of people*

travel and say okay where can I get my coffee so next to my accommodation cool and then that's how you start. We are in the middle of Paris.. 18th which is a multicultural area, so everyone who lives around here really speaks French, but we are surprised to see so many internationals in the area too and a lot of our customers younger parents speak French and English."

Yannis, a local, highlights the fact that even the bars remain rooted in the local community rather than catering to tourists. *"different people live here but those different people are locals. 'In the bars -you can hear them discuss about the life of the area because all the people are talking about life here. They are more about the locals, its not a very touristic area. Different people are living here, that's a fact, and those different people are locals and the bars you can here and discus about the life of the area because all the people are talking about live here."*

Alternative Economies

During field observations, the coffee shops in Goutte d'Or revealed nuanced social interactions. At La Regulier and Ola, I observed multiethnic men who entered the spaces without making purchases. One man, who seemed to be of low income, regularly wandered the streets and would drop by La Regulier to briefly speak with the owners and pet the café's cat. In a brief conversation I asked him he goes there regularly, he responded that he goes from there time to time cause he liked the place, adding that the people there were "nice, smart people."

Another man, a Senegalese individual dressed in bright "La Sape" or "Sapologie" clothing, stood out in Ola. Though he did not buy anything, and it became clear he's agenda was to flirt with the waitress(Young white women). Though she tried to remain friendly she showed frustration. It didn't feel like the first time he had made these advances. The man shifted the conversation to politics after

realizing his advances were unwelcome. He did not move around nor sit, but instead held a nervous stance by the counter. During my third visit to Ola I also noticed the group of boys I had interviewed earlier not buying anything but simply using the space to socialize for large amounts of hours.

In contrast another interaction In Poom Poom, was a woman seeking to use the restroom for her and her child and was asked to make a purchase first—a possible indication of the commercial expectations for being in the space of coffee shops that are renegotiated for others.

Morgan, the owner of La Regulier, has realigned the atmosphere of bookstores by merging the coffee shop, creating a more hybrid model. *“we used presence of café to lighten mood of bookstore make it more welcoming and relaxed. We know that bookstores can be a bit impressive for people who are not used to reading books and the shop, so we wanted the place to be light colorful with noise and people talking, it’s a good way to renew the bookstore economic model”*

La Regulier also regularly hosts events like book signings, writing workshops, and talks, which offer community building activities and revenue generators. This enhances the café and bookstores as multi functional spaces. Yannis also mentions how the owners collaborates with local schools, organizing reading and writing sessions for students. During my visit I observed two noticeable (black) boys entering the store and having a conversation with the owner, Morgan. During the interview with her I asked what the boys had approached her about. I was informed that La Regulier hosts a monthly workshop with Clue de Laum, a well-known author, offering free sessions thanks to financial aid from the region. These efforts demonstrate a commitment to fostering education and creativity within the neighborhood, reinforcing the café’s role as a community hub.

Affordability and Business Strategy

Affordability remains a key concern for café owners in Goutte d'Or, especially given the neighborhood's economic diversity. Morgan and other café owners strive to keep prices reasonable despite the high costs of high-quality coffee. Even for those who buy by the more local chain of Lomi. Many like Regulier its hybrid model to subsidize café prices with profits from other ventures like the bookstore. Other owners like Thom in devotions whose restricted by municipal regulations does by getting beans from a friend who helps roasts and create different and original blends of coffee from different origins. He also notes more Parisians are starting to become curious about coffee and more people are buying the small retail bags 250g they sell to make the coffee at home. This creates another form of Revenue that is similar for The other coffee shops. By prioritizing affordability and maintaining strong community ties, the coffee shops are able to resist the full impact of gentrification.

Local support and Avoiding chains

Ethan, a tourist, expresses his preference for local spots like Poom Poom over large chains like Starbucks. Juliet, another visitor, adds that the coffee tastes better, and she appreciates the sense of relaxation that local cafés offer in contrast to the busy atmosphere of international franchises. Supporting local businesses over global chains is, for them, an act of resistance against homogenization and a way to engage with the authentic fabric of the neighborhood. Furthermore Silvan emphasis the importance of his social relations saying that he would rather give his money to someone who respects him and his culture.

Power Dynamics and Governance

Ownership and Management

Morgan, Owner of La Regulier Bookstore Café: Morgan's ownership approach is highly personal and driven by her passions and ideologies. She curates the bookstore's selection based on topics that resonate with her, such as queer studies, colonization, capitalism, and anarchism. *"We only sell stuff*

that we are into(can talk about), subjects that we are interested and books we want to be seen and can't find anywhere...Then host events based on the subjects." This influences the café's social dynamics by creating a space that attracts like-minded individuals. Her governance style fosters an inclusive space for marginalized voices, and the presence of her cat adds a personal, welcoming touch that makes the café feel like a communal living room rather than a commercial business.

Pepita, Owner of Poom Poom Café: Pepita, a French owner with a passion for coffee shop culture, wanted to bring a different vibe to Paris. *"not a bar not a restaurant but something different"* Similar to Morgan she views traditional Parisian cafés as masculine and rushed, often doubling as bars or restaurants. She has a history of traveling, particularly to the USA where she found most of her inspiration for the coffee shop. She also identifies as Queer and wanted to create an environment where the queer community can come together that isn't a club. She created Poom Poom as a relaxed space where she can engage with people and foster connections, creating a welcoming atmosphere that contrasts with the typical Parisian café experience(traditional norms) by prioritizing conversation and human connection over fast-paced service.

Bosan owner Ola Café: Bosan, a 32-year-old Nigerian, co-owns Ola Café with his girlfriend Ilavman. Their motivation for opening the café was deeply personal—they wanted a space that reflected their tastes. *"my music, my literature our vibe because its an English people café, we speak French too."* Bosan, has a background in hospitality in nightlife, brought his experience from the UK to Paris, blending English café culture with French sensibilities. Furthermore, Ola Café tries to be as multicultural as possible reflecting the couple's diverse backgrounds. Their approach to ownership is centered around creating a space that feels like home for themselves and customers, while focusing on inclusivity and cultural exchange.

Lomi (Franchise): Lomi represents a different model of ownership, being a franchise it combines a coffee shop with a coffee roasting school. The owner, is a French entrepreneur, has structured the business to cater primarily to professionals in the coffee industry. Lomi, serves as an office space and a

hub for remote workers, attracting a different crowd than traditional cafés. The café's business model reflects a more commercial approach to coffee culture, where the primary focus is on the coffee industry rather than the local community. It does show a broader connection to Psris through the flyers and workshops it holds. However, by allowing laptops and welcoming remote workers, Lomi carves out a niche for itself as a workspace, which adds a layer of accessibility and functionality to the neighborhood.

Thom, Owner of Devotion, is French owner with a Moroccan wife, wanted to created a dynamic vegetarian and vegan friendly coffee shop. His decision to offer plant-based options, despite not being vegan himself, is driven by his desire to provide a healthier alternative of food. "t and "in the area you have plenty (quality)of burgers, pizza, but if I can offer my clients another option to have something different (vegan) I think it will be really helpful." The coffee shop style and decoration is Inspired by his wife's Moroccan culture. He uses 'painture a la chose' a chalky texture, not simple paint, that most Moroccan buildings to create the same warm, sunny aesthetic, and vibe. His approach to ownership blends personal values with business strategy, creating a space that promotes healthier living while celebrating cultural diversity.









Gregory's, one of 3 owners of Iso, ownership approach is also personal, with every aspect of the café's design aesthetics is based on his own preferences. *"We chose style of decorations based on what we liked, the decorations the plants the music and books... The decoration is not based on attracting certain clients, we did it based on our likes if the clients likes it and feels at home that's great! We don't travel a lot, but we were inspired by what we saw in Amsterdam, Brussel, Engle Aire but still mostly European"* Gregory's governance is driven by the idea of authenticity—he creates a space that he enjoys, hoping that clients will feel at. He also tries to increase the dynamics by hosting art exhibitions for local artists.



Summary

the coffee shops in Goutte d'Or serve as diverse third places where social interactions are shaped by each café's unique policies, clientele, and ambiance. However, the rise of remote work and the impact of gentrification create tensions in maintaining these spaces as authentic third places.

The coffee shops serve diverse roles for locals, expats, and tourists, reflecting the evolving nature of the neighborhood. La Reguilier and Poom Poom attract regulars and some tourists, with patrons using the spaces for work, socializing, and creative activities. Cafés like Lomi and Devotion are popular with remote workers and expats, offering relaxed environments for both work and social interaction. Ola Café fosters a strong sense of community, with regulars gathering despite living in different parts of Paris. Overall, these cafés act as social hubs, blending local culture with international influences and adapting to the needs of their varied clientele

They are varied role in shaping place attachment and identity. For some coffee shops , they reinforce cultural and religious connections, offering spaces of inclusion and comfort. For others, they serve as social hubs, but may also highlight the neighborhood's divisions and contrasts, depending on how individuals interact with the broader community.

Its streets serve as places where cultural identities are both preserved and reshaped. Whether through food, religion, or creative expression, the neighborhood offers its residents and visitors a sense of belonging that is deeply tied to its history of diversity and social complexity. However, this connection to place is not without its challenges, as safety concerns and societal tensions continue to shape the narratives of those who call Goutte d'Or home.

Discussion chapter

Aim one: Understanding how multi-ethnic neighbourhood establish social cohesion and how retail gentrification can affect this.

Question Answering: What role do coffee shops play in reinforcing or challenging the connections its users make to the multi ethnic neighborhood?

Many new coffee shops in La Goutte d'Or adopt modern, sleek designs that appeal to more affluent, often international, customers. These aesthetics often create an invisible barrier for the lower-income, multi-ethnic community, making them feel unwelcome or out of place. For example, places like Lomi, with its tinted windows, create an environment where customers can look out but the community cannot see in. This design choice reinforces a social power dynamic that excludes those who do not identify with the café's aesthetic. Moreover, the use of Western music and the presence of laptops in these spaces further alienate individuals from different cultural backgrounds, who may feel that the space is not intended for them.



Retail gentrification, driven by the establishment of upscale coffee shops, often leads to the displacement of long-term, lower-income residents. As these coffee shops cater to more affluent clientele, they contribute to rising rents and the economic marginalization of the existing community. Many of these shops opened during periods of low rent (such as during COVID-19), highlighting the role of the rent gap theory in gentrification. The result is that the very presence of these coffee shops creates a sense of disconnection, as they attract new, wealthier residents while displacing the original multi-ethnic community. The lack of engagement with the local community, as described by individuals like Silvan, further exacerbates this exclusion, making it difficult for long-term residents to feel a sense of belonging in their own neighborhood.



Despite the challenges, some multi-ethnic residents manage to find a sense of belonging in certain coffee shops through social and cultural exchanges. For example, individuals like Erphan, Silvian, and Tony, despite facing social and economic limitations, use these spaces to interact with others and exchange ideas. These exchanges are crucial for fostering a sense of inclusion, particularly for individuals who may struggle to feel accepted elsewhere. In these cases, verbal interactions and personal connections help break down the barriers that the physical and aesthetic environment might otherwise create. For multi-ethnic residents, coffee shops that prioritize inclusivity and create welcoming environments can become important spaces for cultural exchange and social interaction.

Even for those without direct ties to the multi-ethnic community, coffee shops can foster subtle forms of coexistence. Some customers, like Yannis and Caroline, use café windows as a way to observe the diversity of the neighborhood, allowing them to connect with the community in small but

meaningful ways. Additionally, events like public dance festivals that take place near coffee shops, such as the ones near Lomi, provide opportunities for brief interactions between different groups. These moments of connection, while limited, help bridge the gap between different communities, allowing for a sense of shared space and mutual respect.

Aim2 two: Unpacking retail gentrification through third place and the power dynamics that owners hold using psychological theories

Question: What role do the owners Identity and desires play in allowing(or disallowing) this?

As mentioned in the literature review, space both public and private can reflect broader social structures that relate to inclusion and exclusion. So it is important to ask who hold the power of the space like coffee shops. Past literature on coffee shops have related café design and branding to owners and designers abilities to shape local taste and preferences. At the end of the day these third places are theirs and they have control over how it is managed and what type of ambiance they want. The ownership and management of coffee shops in Goutte d'Or significantly shape the social dynamics and cultural ethos of these spaces. The nature of ownership—whether local, external, individual, or franchise—affects how these cafés engage with the community, their accessibility, and the kind of atmosphere they cultivate. A franchise like Lomi chose those tinted windows. When digesting the main question of the possible influence they can have on creating that multi ethnic relationship it is important to unpack again what it means to have social cohesion in such a society. Living in diversity and coexistence. Vibrant public life that foster social and cultural interactions, that express differences in non confrontational ways. 'engaging in eachother otherness' however mundane. This active use of engagement over avoidance requires a lot of negotiating of eachothers difference.

When analysing the simple interactions of the men in the café it lead me to larger thinking. Their presence went against the usual cultures that I found in the coffee shops. They did not buy anything. As

mentioned when comparing to my other observation with poom poom a womens basic need could not be met without her buying something. These were infact commercial spaces. And the 2 men did not follow them. Similarly the four muslim men from ola didn't buy much for the durations they stayed. Which meant that it was bad for the layover that thom explained he needed for the business. I later realized that it wasn't the first time.

The owners were not bothered by their presents allowing the men to come in and renegotiating the space. The owners Morgan and Bosan who showed this flexibility seemed to be the ones with the strongest connection to La Goutte. Morgan was spoke of by Yannis for constantly trying to reach out to communities and showed a very strong past with the neighbourhood. She has a strong desire to provide something beneficial to the multi ethnic community and their kids. And this manifests through the books and aesthetics she chooses for the coffee shop and bookstore. The emergence of the coffee shop speaks to her nostalgia of her experience as a student. With fantasies of a 'social justice and more equitable cities. This projection as previously shown in the results shapes the community. It brings like minded people to La goutte, and influences the kids/ peoples perception who join the book shops. By providing as welcoming of a space as possible paying attention to her perception of what may keep lower-income multiethnic neighbors away she has perpetuated as space that tries to counter this. By allowing small forms of interaction and acquaintances. The simple action of the man from the street coming in to kiss the cat allowed the customers of the coffee shop and store a short encounter with the community adding to the success of coexistence, while lessening the effects of gentrification.

In a similar way the owner of Ola had done this as well. Though not having as long a history with the neighbourhood itself. He wasted no time in interacting with some of them through basketball, because of his desire for creating a diverse community in the new place that he calls home. A person like Silvan may have never entered the modern coffee shop because of his fear of being judged. Bosan constantly opened doors for negotiation volunteering to open the coffee shop at 5am for them, or

allowing them to linger for long time just to socialize as part of their Friday rituals. This again exposed the already diverse group of customers(French and international) with encounters of more ethnic locals. Thank to this they were able to bond and interact over their difference sometimes with humor, in a non confrontational and unifying way.

In contrast, franchise models like Lomi operate with a more commercial focus. While Lomi still serves the local community, it does so within the framework of a larger business model that prioritizes industry needs over local culture. This approach can create a different kind of social dynamic, one that is more transactional and less personal. Similarly Devotions with Devotions fast paced setting and concentration on commercializing especially due to tourism this sort of negotiation doesn't seem like it would be accepted.

What is also interesting to unpack is Poom Pooms owners feelings towards gentrification. In theories relating to psychic gentrification Ji speaks of blurred effects between gentrified and gentrifier in these context. You can argue that all coffee shop owners are gentrifier from an economic perspective. But Poom Poom's owner uses the term 'Bobo' to describe the white people moving into the residents. The same term that only Lena Ghislian, and Erphan used, who all seem to come from a lower class. Poom Poom owner doesn't see herself as a gentrier because of her history in the neighbourhood claiming her place in the neighbourhood. But also mentions that she thinks positively about gentrification because her presence of the coffee shops improves neighbourhood safety and lessens noise. This same noise caused by the vibrancy that make la goutte d'or what it is. This shows a strong ambivalence. And This speaks to Ji's argument of the constant negotiations people are having between their authentic and inauthentic selves, blurring the line between gentrifier and gentrified even more. And where at times gentrifiers can be caught up in a loop of fulfillment while simultaneously undermining it.

Conclusion

Coffee shops in La Goutte d'Or play a complex role in either reinforcing or challenging social connections within the neighborhood. While they can contribute to exclusion through aesthetic and economic barriers, they also have the potential to foster inclusion through social exchanges and moments of coexistence. The challenge for coffee shops in multi-ethnic neighborhoods is to find ways to be inclusive and welcoming to all residents, rather than becoming symbols of gentrification and displacement. By balancing aesthetics and engagement, these spaces can contribute to the social cohesion of the neighborhood rather than undermine it. Furthermore, The identities and desires of coffee shop owners in La Goutte d'Or significantly shape the social dynamics within these spaces. Owners who prioritize commercial success and modern aesthetics often create environments that exclude lower-income, multi-ethnic residents, while those who focus on social engagement and cultural coexistence foster inclusion and help bridge the gap between different communities. Ultimately, the way owners negotiate their power within these third places determines whether their coffee shops become sites of exclusion or inclusion within the neighborhood.

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Coffee shop	Observation	Notes
Meeting places Meeting places Most notable thing is the amount of seatings outside in comparison to typical café. The amount has been reduced significantly. Giving a sense of privacy.	29 April Lomi 13:00-16:08 8 May holiday) 12:15, 14:06	• Espresso 2,2 euros 83 • Immense amount of remote workers mainly working individually as well as in groups on laptops, even on the holidays (More so on holidays- increases in capacity 14:00 lunch time with those also looking to socialize creating a very busy seen of different activities) known as working and reflective writing area(paper) for many of the 'young residents remote workers/ artists' • A lot of English customers- mostly American partially ethnically diverse(still poor outcome compared to Ola) Ghislian noticeable to me • Few tourists noticeable through conversation • Songs English Indie • Includes wifi(poor), with office at the back • Customers not working mainly sit on the exterior, individually observing the street or socialising • Casual meetups of 2/3 people • Modern factory and industrial looking- typical of American commercial space. Permeable exterior large windows • Often hosts events such as illustration festival, has bookmark advertisements in front of bathroom stalls, also has website
OLA	29 April 10:45-13:00pm 30 April 14:30 16:30 8 May(holiday) short visit too full	• Espresso 2 euros, more variety of teas and coffees. Tea 2,5 euros [In comparison to 4euros in typical French café bars] • A mixture of English and French speakers cliental, workers are able to switch well • Menu on the board in French, offers vegan food • Very small and intimate café • Mainly individual remote workers in the interior working on laptops at the back or the small tablet by the window stayed average time 2hrs(already working before I arrived), they order coffee and work. • Those who socialise congregate on the terrace or small seats in front of the counter. 30-40minutes socialise. • More people took takeaways earlier in the morning. Or drank their coffee outside while socializing then leaving 15min • Order at the counter and served in your seat • All seemed like regulars well acquainted with the workers. Dogs are welcome work

		• Senegalese man 40-50 entered in bright suite (sapologie clothing) - stood out. Did not buy anything. Later realised he had an agenda to flirt and win over the waitress. Waitress seemed distressed. It didn't seem like the first time he had tried the pursuit. After he noted her frustration eventually switched topics and began spoke politics about his country for 15min. Noted he didn't move around or sit. Only stood nervously by the counter interacting only with her. • During the holidays, large friend groups young international 25-39 congregate in front of the stores very well acquainted with the owner, linger
La Regulier- Rue Myhra	1 May 15:50 – 17:50 9 May holiday 15:15-	• Espresso 2euros, organic tea 3euros • A little more diverse, most customers come in to look at the books. • 1 boy North Africa, sits drinking coffee and on a phone call for the duration of my visit. • A group of girls later enters to socialise, another comes in to look for books • By 17:00 became more busy, mainly with females who search for books. • 2 more young men of colour came in and asking about the writing workshops and speaking with the owner • A family with a toddler sits in the small table and orders coffee while child plays on table • More remote workers came on my visit on public holiday. 3 remote workers sat on the edges close to the window. When entered was asked not to work on my laptop. Turned away a man who entered wanting to do remote work recommended he goes to Lomi. • Others socialised. 2 people who I interviewed were individually reading in the café after searching for books in the bookstore. • They are French and International customers more French • Has a clear political sense based on books sold and decorative images • While determined to make the area social with loud hip hop music playing in background seems quiet. People assume it's

		a co working space. With 2 customers excusing themselves to the remote worker next to them. Assures them he is unbothered • A cat is part of the café. Seems to be known by the (poorer) man who lingers the street but comes in more than once a day to great the workers and kiss the cat who sleeps by the café door. Seems well acquainted. Shares her kitty litter with the customers toilet. Customers asked not to close the door after use to let her in.
Poom Poom - Rue Myhra	1May holiday) 13:00 – 15:45 9 May holiday) 12:30-15:00	• Espresso 2.3 euros • Dog friendly environment, sells coffee packets, menu on the board in English drink names • Small more social and group setting large tables with 4 chairs instead of two is dominant . • one remote worker who chose the seat at the very end of the restaurant, second day remote worker chose the high seat close to the entrance • 1 reader/ reflector • Gets busy around 14:30 lunch time people begin to order some sandwiches • Owner seems well acquainted with customers that seem common • Holds events promote nail workers, message therapist creating pro queer environment • Doesn't allow toilet use without buying something • Tourists- American and British, rent Airbnb close to the café's come and use it to socialise. Only tourists who have a connection- been to Paris more than once partially explored the neighbourhood. Not part of the big tourist attractions. Found the vibe of the café familiar to that of home find it calming.
Devotions	3 May12 :00- 14 :00	Vegan and vegetarian food (Branch) Seems very busy / fast pace in comparison to other cafes. Dominated by females alone or with partners Sit by corners alone. Don't seem to be regulars, but tourists. Especially in May 10. They were many Americans.

	10 May 12:00-14:00	4/ 5 workers who stand by the counter(takes up half the space). Owner only there on Mondays Has a menu they bring to tables English and French on either side. Vegan option is Music is noticeably louder as you enter.
ISO	3 May ISO cafe 14 :30 – 17 :00	• Tea is 4 euros , espresso 2,50 euros • Menu on board in French • Not very full. 4 customers Large tables with couches for social setting • Country vibe- with country music in the background a deer hangs on the wall • High fashioned restaurants surround it, with African restaurant next to it that seems closed. (permanently) • International and local. Americans(3 boys) sat on the couches talking about the café as a third place and how they enjoy it over Starbucks, its more intimate, warm not too busy. Described it as the perfect place to smoke weed. • Does not allow laptops weekend peak hours 12-14 • 1 remote worker sat next to me on the edge by the window seating. Since interior is where counter is. Construction worker walks in to ask for price of espresso find it too expensive and leaves 1 tourist girl buys small coffee asks me to take a picture of her because she is traveling alone.
Other older traditional café-bars		
Café de la Poste	30 April 12:30-14:00	• Espresso 1,40 – 2euros. Tea 2,5-3,7 euros • Male dominated people of colour (one north African women outside with north African group seemed to linger in café) – mainly North African, with some Congolese/ central Africa. don't hear customers speaking French. Languages from home countries recognised Kiluba

		- Chinese owners speaking Mandarin seems family business speak French when ordering, women doesn't speak French well daughter translates min server - Menu includes alcohol, main consumption is coffee at this time. - Increased capacity 13:00 - Inside seems individual men who linger more, reading or taking phone calls, watching videos on phone sit on tables by the window. One 40-50 year old man with laptop. Some group activity with North Africans more in the interior who order beer linger more than. - Exterior Arabic/ middle eastern men sit. Increased 13:00 after interviewing one seemed to be workers on break from construction site close by who ordered espresso. Sit individually or small groups. watching the crowds and socializing outside. struggle with French and English - Doesn't seem a lot of trust my line of questioning. Very cautious about sharing information too personal. Some pretended they didn't understand me to avoid being questioned. Noted that the price of coffee had increased in the last 3 months still too expensive for him, seemed frustrated. Noticed la goutte changing doesn't seem admint about it changing. Before there was a lot of work to eat to drink coffee it wasn't expensive. Now work moyen – a little less and to eat and drink increased in price. Uses the café for work break, brings friends and his brother everything. Police presents are there because Algerians hussling cigarette's - Surrounding area is very busy with heavy police presence with vans and ammunition in front of the café that is across close to the metro stop. Environmen seems very tense - Women bathroom is locked and required to ask for key. - I didn't feel comfortable taking photos (probably a busy time) didn't get to interview
Au claire de lune	4 May 14:00-16 :00 10 May	One of oldest cafe- 160 years. Café and bar 2 cultures day and night life. Moroccan worker.



Mainly workers in the older generation 45-60

- Rhythmic bar, Cuban orchestra and hip hop jazz. Youngsters commune on weekdays during lunch time to read and work. Not very busy on weekends during the day. While older generation use space to socialise meet in groups.
- Contains free Wi-Fi. Small round 'individual tables on exterior while group benches inside
- Very permeable frontage terrace windows completely open, tables spill onto street. Designed as if it has no walls, simply columns the café acts as a terrace itself, with blue ceiling that resembles the sky. Feels like you are already inside the café walking by
- Owner 47 year old Ghanaian man, who lived in the neighbourhood. Worked in the restaurants after a few shifts, bought it, with the hope of keeping it the same as it was when he was young and enjoying the space with his friends. He seems well acquainted with locals in bar and outside in the streets. Sitting outside and being interviewed by me he was greeted by many who walked by. Seemed set on the style. Showed a desire to keep it the same, attachment to the nostalgia that it brings. Only appropriated the space with the kind of music he played. Otherwise typical Parisian café.
- Not a lot of tourists, isn't bothered by inflations driving up prices has a 'its just business' mentality.
- Holds a very strong community of elders (particularly white) who live in Montmartre houses just bordering la goutte. Has a us and them mentality. I met an elderly women who lived alone, very keen on showing me Paris. Invited me to the movies and insisted we keep in contact while she introduced me to another Congolese man she met who worked at the museum. Interested in my culture. Family with mixed grand children. Still has an us and them mentality. Showing me Magazines of Montmartre and history of café culture. Knew friends who were part of the municipality. When I told her I was actually

		investigating La Goutt'e didn't have any information on it simply Warned about being robbed and keeping my camera safe when mentioned I was studying the area.
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