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From Roma autochthonous homophily to socialisation and community building in the Parisian metropolitan region shantytowns

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KEYWORDS

Roma; slums; modularity; integration; community; two- mode networks

ABSTRACT

Contemporary West European shantytowns have essentially been studied with qualitative methods. Questions related to their ethnic structure, homophily and interaction with local institutions have not been analysed through large samples and survey data. Based on the example of Romanian and Bulgarian Roma living in shantytowns in the Parisian metropolitan area, we analyse the 'historical' region of origin (autochthony), networks between individuals and households having lived together in a shantytown, as well as some of their attitudes, skills, and behaviour (i.e. expectations as to local welfare, French proficiency, children's schooling). We used a database of slum-dwellers in Paris collected by social workers (N = 12,019). The paper looks at how autochthonies combine with socialisation in shantytowns and with territorial institutional effects of local policies. Evidence shows that while there are limited differences in the socio-professional backgrounds of slum-dwellers, there are several differences in attitudes, behaviour and skills. Moreover, social network analysis shows that these differences are only weakly related to the households' region of origin (autochthony), while they are more correlated to emergent structural clusters of co- habitation connections, where individuals socialise in acting together to build and manage a shantytown. Moreover, local policies at the city level play a role in shaping shantytown dwellers expectations and skills for integration.

Since 2002, the presence of informal shantytowns on the outskirts of French metropolises, inhabited by Romanian and Bulgarian migrants, has gradually become a public question, ethnicised as a Roma question (Legros and Rossetto 2011) related to a larger European Roma question (Sigona and Vermeersch 2012; Van Baar 2011). The French government's answer to shantytown settlement oscillated between specific relocation programmes (Legros 2010) and shantytown systematic destruction (Cousin and Legros 2015). This agenda had the effect of reviving academic research on French shantytowns, squats and camps (Aguilera 2017; Bouillon and Agier 2009) nearly fifty years after Colette Pétonnet's seminal work (1968). In the past few years, empirical research has followed two traditional lines of investigation: the first, inherited from social anthropology, describes ways of being, doing and living in shantytowns (Benarrosh-Orsoni 2019); the second studies the policies applied in shantytowns (Cousin and Legros 2015). Yet there

are no scientific articles in quantitative sociology on contemporary shantytown dwellers in French metropolitan regions. Academics have abandoned the production of statistics, a major political issue (Bruno, Emmanuel, and Vitale 2014), to NGOs like the ERRC and the LDH (2017), experts (Bourgois et al. 2015) or government agencies like the French Direction Intermi- nistérielle à l'Hébergement et au Logement. This absence can be explained by the difficulty of producing data that satisfy academic standards. Social actors' tendency to confuse ethnic concepts such as 'Roma' and residential criteria, like 'shantytown dwellers', also contributes to this negligence. Many recent studies have concentrated on deconstructing the social categories mobilised by the concerned actors (Clavé-Mercier and Olivera 2018).

With this article, we decided to break down this negligence and conduct a quantitative study based on a database of 12,019 shantytown dwellers in the Paris region. Our ethno- graphic experience in those communities has led us to explore the link between auto- chthony, relationships within shantytowns, local embeddedness and pressure from public authorities. Pressures are related to the French way of integration and its injunc- tions. Of course, the French way of integrating as well as the very concept of 'integration' has been widely discussed in sociology (Favell 1998, 2015; Saharso 2019) and especially regarding the so-called integration of Roma (Magazzini 2020; Yildiz and De Genova 2018). It emerges from this critical literature that integration is an injunction to individ- uals, even though it should be an obligation of inclusion for the majority society. In the French assimilationist case, this criticism is particularly acute. Moreover, in this article we also believe that integration involves a series of injunctions, such as 'you must speak French', 'your children must go to school', 'you must accept administrative relocation'. Faced with these injunctions, actors can either submit to them or reject them according to their own agency. Understanding, bargaining, and developing strategy to cope with these injunctions (Clavé-Mercier and Olivera 2018) require skills that we call 'integration skills'. From a pragmatic standpoint, we try to understand if migrants attained those skills in their home country or if they learned them in the host country.

Autochthony as a resource for integration? Roma migratory networks

When we directly asked Roma living in shantytowns why integration seemed easier to certain persons, they usually answered that, in their opinion, skills for integration depended on where people came from:

> When I meet a Roma in Paris, if he tells me "my name is Rostas", I know he comes from Cluj, from Oradea or from Deva, and thus that he is a responsible person, not like someone from Bucharest.[1]

The symbolic boundary expressed in this interview is something we frequently observed in our earlier fieldwork with Roma migrants (Cousin 2017). It divides Northwestern Romania from the South and the East. Discourses distinguishing Roma in migration are based on regional archetypes marking the importance of (local and regional) territories of origin.

In taking symbolic boundaries seriously (Lamont, Pendergrass, and Pachucki 2015), this article uses a quantitative approach to explore the influence of territories of origin on migrants' social integration pathways. Like any distinction, symbolic boundaries are the result of a social and political history (Asséo, Petcut, and Piasere 2017). The distinction does not apply exclusively to Romani people but runs through the whole Romanian popu- lation (Botea 2012) because it results from the ancient border between old kingdoms (Mol- davia and Wallachia) and the territories formerly under Austro-Hungarian domination (Transylvania, Banat and Crisana). For all these reasons we developed a precise definition of autochthony based on previous ethnographic research (Cousin 2018; Olivera 2012; Vitale 2009a). Autochthony is a concept used to express a type of relationship with the territory and history in the construction of a symbolic border that demarcates group belonging. We defined autochthony as the process of affirming group membership from an external, historical legacy of previous administrative and symbolic boundaries. We prefer to speak of autochthony and not of territorial embeddedness to emphasise the sym- bolic dimension of the legacy of the past. This is coherent with the framework of this research that articulates socialisation effects throughout the migratory process, not only at the beginning or at the end. We consider it coherent with a contemporary strong trans- national behaviour observed by empirical research

on Roma in French cities. Compared to the concept of autonomy, talking of autochthony focuses on the symbolic home-grown nature of group boundaries, looking at long-term family territorial belonging.

For a century now, migration studies have dealt strongly with the concept of migratory chains (Thomas and Znaniecki 1918), linking a territory of origin (a town, village, region) to an immigration site. These chains are made up of persons having already migrated and persons still living in the country of origin to whom they are related or tied by village sociability. The chains facilitate new migrants' decision- making, departure, arrival and settling in (Macdonald and Macdonald 1964). Taken together, these chains constitute structures having their own socio-spatial dynamic (Bankston 2014; Vertovec 2003).

These migratory chains were identified as a major 'push factor' in contemporary Roma- nian emigration to Western Europe (Diminescu 2003; Weber 2004) and, more specifically, as an important factor for Roma migration. Looking at Romanian Romani migratory chains in the Paris region, Olivera (2011) showed that the Roma's shantytowns become 'translations' of their towns and villages of departure. This 'translation' allows newcomers to insert themselves into the informal shantytown economy (especially scrap metal collect- ing) and into the daily labour market organised by small, frequently family-based, groups (Bernardot et al. 2016; Florin and Garret 2019). Here, we point out the static nature of this model, as it underestimates the impact of migrants' socialisation in the host country by overemphasising the effect of migrating groups' region-based ties. Recent studies show that Roma from different parts of Romania have major exchange relations with persons whom they had the chance to meet in the various shantytowns in which they have lived (Cousin 2017; Lièvre 2016). Starting from the example of the Romanian and Bulgar- ian Roma living in the shantytowns we studied, we propose to question the effects of selecting exchange relations in reference to territories, combined with the broader effects of socialisation through cohabitation in the course of migration.

In order to achieve this global objective, we took into account regionalised differences in the socio-professional backgrounds of the studied sample and the embeddedness of relationships within the shantytowns in France and in the inclusion policies of French cities. These elements are related to the articulation between socialisation processes active in Roma migrants' hometowns and socialisation processes throughout the migratory process, notably due to cohabitation in shantytowns. In the following sections, we will first show that there are social differences between different Roma groups coming from different regions. Then we will show how relations between persons from different regions change by living in the same shantytown(s). Finally, we will show that Roma inte- gration in the Parisian metropolitan region correlates more with shantytown implantation than with regional origin and, above all, with the socialisation processes and reconfigura- tions of community ties occurring within shantytowns.

Method

We analysed data from 164 surveys (called 'social diagnostic' by French social workers) produced by the GIP-Habitat on shantytowns in the Parisian metropolitan region (Ile- de-France) between 1 February 2013 and 1 September 2015.

These surveys were commissioned by the prefecture of Paris and Ile-de-France as an implementation of the 26 August 2012 Directive concerning 'the anticipation and accom- panying of the evacuations of irregular encampment'. These surveys originated from pro- Roma association lobbying in 2012, which successfully pushed public authorities to perform 'a social diagnostic' prior to evicting shantytowns (Cousin 2013). The surveys were designed to identify vulnerable families for rehousing when shantytowns were evac- uated. The Government, which commissioned the studies, prided itself on a 'non-ethnic' approach, yet, in practice, the mission of GIP-Habitat was uniquely to survey Romanian and Bulgarian Roma shantytowns, thus targeting the implicit public in the 26 August 2012 directive. We conducted ethnographic surveys in the various Romanian and Bulgarian Roma communities in the Parisian metropolitan region involved in the GIP-habitat survey and we recognised the places and groups we knew as Roma (who speak the Romani language and declare themselves as Roma). This ethnic assertion, however, should be relativised. On the one hand, some people targeted by the survey are usually

assimilated to the Romanian or Bulgarian 'Gypsy' but do not consider themselves as Roma. This is the case of the Romanian Rudar community living in Ivry-sur-Seine. On the other hand, there are very often non-Roma inhabitants in shantytowns inhabited mainly by Roma (Cousin 2017). We can say that the GIP-Habitat surveys target the people seen implicitly as Roma by the administrations.

In the space of two years and six months, GIP-Habitat interviewed 12,019 persons. These data have never been analysed before. The largest survey available in the literature on contemporary shantytowns in France concerned just several hundred people (Bourgois et al. 2015). We do not claim that the surveys were able to cover the full population but when comparing the size of our sample with the census of 'irregular settlements' made every three months by the Interministerial Direction for Housing and Accommodation, we see that our data almost cover the whole target population. For example, in November 2014, there were 7486 persons living in 152 'irregular settlements' in Ile-de-France. The people whom we met during our previous ethnographic surveys did not live full-time in the shantytowns of Ile-de-France (Cousin 2017). They had developed a circulatory migration between Romania or Bulgaria and several Western European countries (Reyniers 2015). Logically, the number of residents surveyed in a month—in this case, in November 2014—, was lower than the number of residents who lived in slums during the two-year period involved by the GIP-Habitat survey. Only very few shantytowns were not surveyed before evacuation, therefore the GIP-Habitat surveys provide a good overview of people living in shantytowns between 2013 and 2015.

In other words, this database is the only robust and large database on Romanian Roma living in shantytowns, especially considering that collecting ethnic data for census pur- poses is theoretically forbidden in France (Simon and Stavo-Debauge 2004). Data pro- duced by organisations (administrations, firms, associations) in the context of their work have long been a useful source (Ollion and Boelaert 2015). Looking back into social science history, researchers have had access to high granularity and almost exhaus- tive information produced by government administrations or by Social Security agencies, which has enabled them to produce large-scale studies (Knapen et al. 2014). In our case, the exhaustive nature of the information has saved us the largely difficult task of building a sample on such a difficult, shifting terrain as that of shantytowns, which are continuously in a process of deconstruction-reconstruction.

In order to access GIP-habitat's non-public data, we negotiated a tri-partite agreement with GIP-habitat and the Ile-de-France prefecture, which commissioned the 'social diag- nostic'. This agreement foresaw the anonymisation of the GIP-Habitat's 164 surveys and their transfer to us. We built a single database,[2] by drafting the surveys after deleting dupli- cates. The data account for a sample of 12,019 people who have lived in shantytowns in Ile-de-France between 2013 and 2015. It also contains an index identifying 3915 house- holds and another index identifying 164 shantytowns where these people lived. We selected 10 variables, which are available for almost the whole sample.

1. (1) Country of birth and Region of birth: On the basis of identity papers, the inter- viewers recorded country and department of birth in Romania or Bulgaria and some other countries.
2. (2) Year of birth: the interviewers recorded the date of birth based on identity papers.
3. (3) Adults'schooling:Theinterviewersaskedtheadults:'Howmanyyearsdidyougoto school'? We selected data for those over 29 years of age and recoded it into three classes.
4. (4) Job experience: The interviewers asked the adults 'Did you work back in the old country? And if yes, in which sector?' We selected data for those over 29 years of age and recoded it into four classes.
5. (5) Size of household: For each person, we used the household index to calculate the number of persons living in their household.
6. (6) Size of shantytowns: We calculated the population of each shantytown.
7. (7) Location (city) of shantytowns.
8. (8) Proficiency in French: Interviewers evaluated interviewees' level of French.
9. (9) Children's schooling: For each child, interviewers asked their parents whether the child was enrolled in school.
10. (10) Attitudes on relocation: Interviewers asked: 'Would you like to be rehoused after your eviction?' We recoded the variable into three categories ('yes', 'on certain con- ditions', 'no').

By analysing data about subjects' shantytown settlements, we built a social network representing their co-habitation relations (Wasserman and Faust 1994; see also Borgatti and Everett 1997). In the co-habitation network each node corresponds to one interviewed person. A link was created between any pair of two nodes i and j if the persons represented by i and j had settled in the same shantytown for a certain period. As a result, the co-habi- tation network is composed by 12,019 nodes and 1,015,828 links. This allowed us to analyse certain structural properties of the network, such as the formation of 'clusters', i.e. sets of nodes with high internal connectivity and low external connectivity (e.g. Newman and Girvan 2004; see also Mucha et al. 2010).

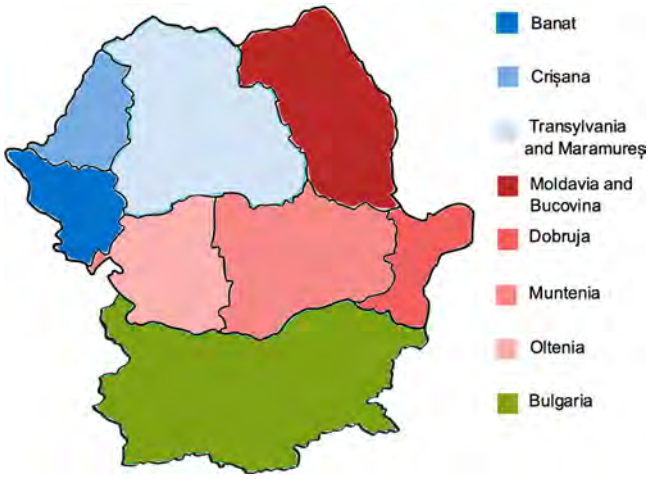
However, unfortunately, our information suffers from typical shortcomings of data produced without clear research protocols. Like any source, our data needed to be criti- cised and contextualised in order to assess the biases (Bourdieu, Passeron, and Chambor- edon 1991). When gathering information, GIP-Habitat favoured the operational aspect, since the data were not initially meant to be studied globally. Thus, certain variables evolved over the course of the project and some information is available only for part of the sample. Data quality also has to be assessed by taking into account the functional relations between interviewers and interviewees. First of all, shantytown residents associ- ated the GIP-Habitat interviewers with evictions, which often occurred shortly after their visit. Secondly, shantytown dwellers answered the interviewers' questions carefully, the survey being the basis on which families were selected for rehousing at the time of 'eva- cuation operations'. Furthermore, data on gender is missing, which is a very important information. This absence is all the more surprising because it is a piece of information that is generally useful in social work. The granularity of our data forces us to reflect on the protection of those interviewed (Laurens and Neyrat 2010). Although GIP-Habitat carried out data anonymisation, combining information such as dates and departments of birth within the same families would have probably allowed us to identify persons by cross-referencing our anonymised data with information from the civil status registers (Sweeney 2002). In order to avoid such cross-checking, we decided not to share the database.

Some regionalised social differences

Following the chronology of migration, the first dimension to explore is the migrants' social background: countries and regions of birth, demographic structure, professional training and experience in the country of origin.

Regions of birth

The 'country of birth' variable shows that 90.33% of the inhabitants in the shantytowns studied were born in Romania. Next comes a small group of people born in Bulgaria (3.53%). 701 were born in Western Europe, 685 of them after 1989 to Romanian and Bulgarian parents. Finally, 37 people were born in other countries. Ethnographic research in the Paris region shows that Bulgarians and Romanians live side-by-side in the same settlements and that there is interpenetration between the two groups. We therefore chose to deal with Bulgarians and Romanians together. We have represented the shantytown dwellers' birthplaces by historical region, grouping together several departments and considering Bulgaria as a single region of the 'Romania-Bulgaria' ensemble. This territorial subdivision agrees with Roma self-identifications, often based on regional autochthonies, in turn based on old territorial divisions. We have defined 8 regions, as shown in Figure 1. These territories are the starting point of migrations numerically more or less important, as shown in Figure 2. We found that 76.83% of those living in shantytowns in Ile-de-France came from three regions in Romania: Muntenia, Oltenia and Crişana, whereas these three regions account for only 40% of the Romanian population.[3]



ellers by region.

A shared demographic morphology

The choice to focus on integration led us to take a close look at age distribution, all the more called for because literature underscores a strong rupture in school and economic insertion between Romanian Roma socialised before and after the collapse of the com- munist regime (Asséo, Petcuț, and Piasere 2017; Leggio and Matras 2017). The demo- graphic distribution of the shantytowns[4] reflects a particular social structure. Although Romanians make up slightly more than 90% of the sample, there are important differences between the demographic data for Romania as a whole. Therefore, the distri- bution of birth years is remarkable from several standpoints as we can see in Figure 3. There are very few elderly subjects: only 1.95% of those interviewed were over 60 years of age in 2013. Shantytown dwellers are young: 46.53% were under 23 years of age in 2013.[5] The distribution pattern is not similar to that of the Romanian age pyramid, which begins to decline with the 1970–1975 generation (Gheț̦ău 2007). Last but not least, the average household size is 3.07 persons, which is more than the general Romanian average of 2.66 persons recorded in the 2011 census (Institutul Naț̦ional de Statistică 2012). There is a break in the ascending

curve between the years 1999 and 2005. This can be explained in several ways: Firstly, the age distribution is an indication of a migratory burden borne by young people between 20 and 30 years of age, who were too young in 2013–2014 to have children born between 1998 and 2005; secondly, parents living in shantytowns often had schooling strategies for their children, which implied sending them back to Romania. Many of the children born between 1999 and 2005, of an age to be enrolled in primary and secondary school in 2013–2015, probably had remained in Romania. Having immigrated recently, the majority of shantytown dwellers are young people between the age of 20 and 30 with young children.[6]

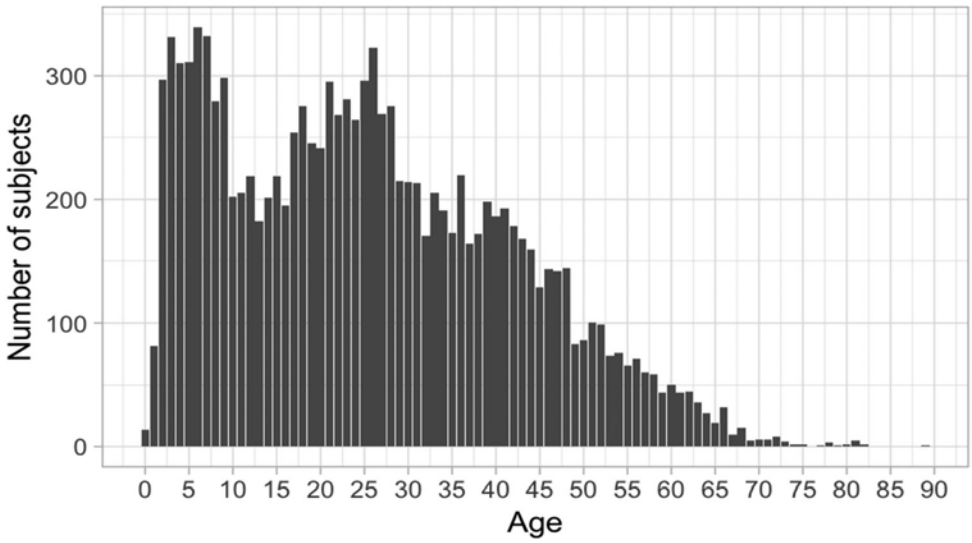


Figure 3. Distribution of year of birth.

Low-skilled migrants

The social history of the Roma people in Romania (Asséo, Petcut, and Piasere 2017) shows that, under the communist regime, Romani families underwent a two-fold process. On the one hand, proletarisation in the industrial sector and, on the other hand, organisation into labour brigades in the agricultural system in state cooperatives. Subsequently, they found themselves in the front line of the economic crisis that accompanied transition to market economy. Therefore, shantytown dwellers over 30 years of age often had some work experi- ence (65%): 27% had worked in agriculture, 23% in construction and industry and 23% as tertiary-sector employees or shopkeepers. The oldest migrants, who had worked before 1990, can cite job experience back home more often than the youngest migrants. Neverthe- less, 34% of migrants over 29 years of age have had no professional experience.

In 1989 the country was essentially rural (Roger 2012) with some strongly industrialised regions. This territorial differentiation was also found in the sectors in which shantytown dwellers gained experience in the old country. As we can see in Table 1, migrants from the three main regions of origin (Oltenia, Muntenia and Crisana), were primarily agricul- tural workers (between 22% and 30%), whereas migrants from Dobruja were primarily con- struction workers (40%) and Bulgarians (39%) were employees and small business owners (mainly artisans). Absence of professional experience can vary as much as 100% depending on the region (20% for Moldavia but 40% for Oltenia and Dobruja). Although they come largely from agricultural and industrial working backgrounds, Romanian and Bulgarian Roma do not share a similar professional background in the different regions of origin.

Table 1. Professional experience and region of origin ($N = 3064$).

Professional experience in the old country	Oltenia	Muntenia	Dobruja	Moldavia Bucovina	Transylvania Maramureș	Crișana	Banat	Bulgaria
Agricultural workers	22%	30%	7%	17%	29%	25%	25%	9%
Workers in construction and industry	18%	21%	40%	23%	21%	26%	25%	26%
Tertiary sector employees and small business owners	20%	19%	13%	40%	24%	19%	26%	39%
No professional experience	40%	30%	40%	20%	26%	30%	24%	25%

The vast majority of professions carried out did not require a specific degree. Leggio and Matras (2017) showed that Romanian Roma immigrants in Manchester of between 25 and 35 years of age had fewer years of schooling than older migrants, who had been sent to primary school during the communist era. Nevertheless, even among those with more than 29 years of age there is a critical lack of primary education: 43% of those inter- viewed have never been to school and 65% have not attended past the first cycle (5 years of school). This very low educational level is a strong sign of a population at the bottom of the social ladder in Romania and Bulgaria. The explanation of a 'lost generation' during the transition is not enough on its own. The critical lack of education largely challenges the idea that Roma received equal education under the communist regime in Romania and Bulgaria (Guest and Nacu 2008). For the sake of comparison, according to the UNDP report for 2005–2015, literacy rate was 98.77% and 98.39% in Romania and Bulgaria, respectively. Migrants from all regions have a very low educational level but we can see some variation in Table 2. Just slightly more than half of Bulgarians had more than 5 years of schooling (54%). The three main regions of emigration (Oltenia, Muntenia and Crisana) show striking differences. For example, 9% more Oltenians than Muntenians have never been to school. Conversely, 9% more Muntenians than Crisanians have com- pleted primary school (5 years).

Table 2. Educational experience and region of birth of adults over 29 years of age ($N = 3214$).

Schooling	Oltenia	Muntenia	Dobruja	Moldavia, Bucovina	Transylvania, Maramures	Crișana	Banat	Bulgaria
No educational experience	48%	39%	48%	49%	48%	44%	44%	24%
1 to 5 years of school	23%	23%	9%	13%	21%	21%	29%	22%
Over 5 years of school	29%	38%	41%	38%	31%	31%	27%	54%

The differences in social characteristics of the shantytown dwellers are massive from one region to the other in terms of socio-professional background and education level. These differences nevertheless fall within a general framework of, on the one hand, belong- ing to the agricultural and industrial proletariat and, on the other hand, an extremely low level of education, far short of Romanian and Bulgarian national standards.

Production of new communities in France

People in the shantytowns often knew each other before migrating since they followed the same migratory chains between a Romanian village or region and a shantytown in France. Mutual acquaintances among the inhabitants of a shantytown can also result from con- tacts established in French shantytowns. The multiplication of settlement sites owing to regular evictions (Cousin and Legros 2015) entails a proliferation of encounters. Settle- ment site destruction-reconstruction cycles constitute many additional occasions for resi- dential communities to re-organise, as some neighbours return to Romania or decide to separate from the group, while new arrivals join. Interconnection modalities can therefore be very different, ranging from simple mechanisms of reputation and exchange to fusion and a high degree of reciprocity. However, in all events shantytowns are places of relationships.

In this paper, we consider the structural properties of living and acting together—'com- munity', in a Weberian (2001) sense—in terms of forms of power and exchange (Blau 1964) that each person can draw on to survive in the shantytowns and to adapt to the sur- rounding territory. To establish this, we searched for emergent structural clusters within the network, then we looked at their correlation with autochthony.

In order to identify emergent clusters in the co-habitation network, we applied the Louvain algorithm (Blondel et al. 2008). The algorithm returns a partition of a given network while optimis- ing modularity, i.e. the difference between the actual proportion of within-cluster links in the observed network and the statistically expected proportion of within-cluster links if a similar network were randomly generated (Newman 2004; see also Traag 2014).[7]

Shantytowns in the Paris region

The GIP-Habitat interviewers visited 164 shantytowns; Figure 4 shows their distribution in the Paris region.[8] These shantytowns have several features in common: They are a col- lection of shacks, cobbled together from salvaged materials (sometimes from old caravans) on an unlawfully occupied lot. Within this definition, shantytowns can vary substantially in terms of internal social organisation. The size of the shantytowns in our tables gives an idea of this diversity: 82 shantytowns had a population of fewer than 50 people. In other words, 2013 people lived in those particular shantytowns that the ethnographic study identifies as mainly family-based settlements. These small shantytowns could sometimes be relatively isolated, with few contacts with institutions and NGOs. Over half of the people (7729) lived in 74 shantytowns with populations of between 50 and 200 individuals. This intermediary size was the most frequent experience of those living in shantytowns. The third type of shantytown hosted over 200 people each. Inhabitants often disparage these big shantytowns as being dirty and overpopulated. However, it is more likely for NGOs and charities to intervene there. GIP-Habitat intervened in 8 shantytowns with over 200 persons, involving a total of 2160 people.

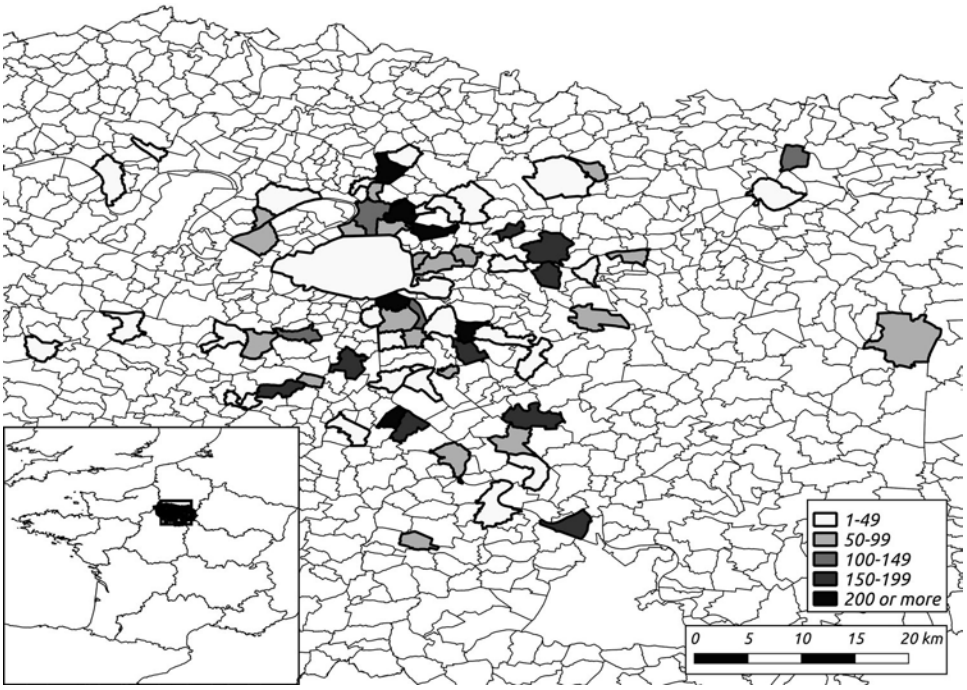


Figure 4. Map of shantytowns-dwellers population.

Shantytown network interconnections

Those living in shantytowns are cyclically evicted in the Parisian metropolitan region and the Roma who are not relocated in social housing are obliged to change shanty- towns, joining an already existing one, or more often building a new one. When moving from one shantytown to another, they do not always remain with the same group of people. This circulation of people increases cohabitation links. We considered that those living in the same shantytown would know each other, and we used these links to draw up the interconnections between shantytown dwellers and to map one single network.

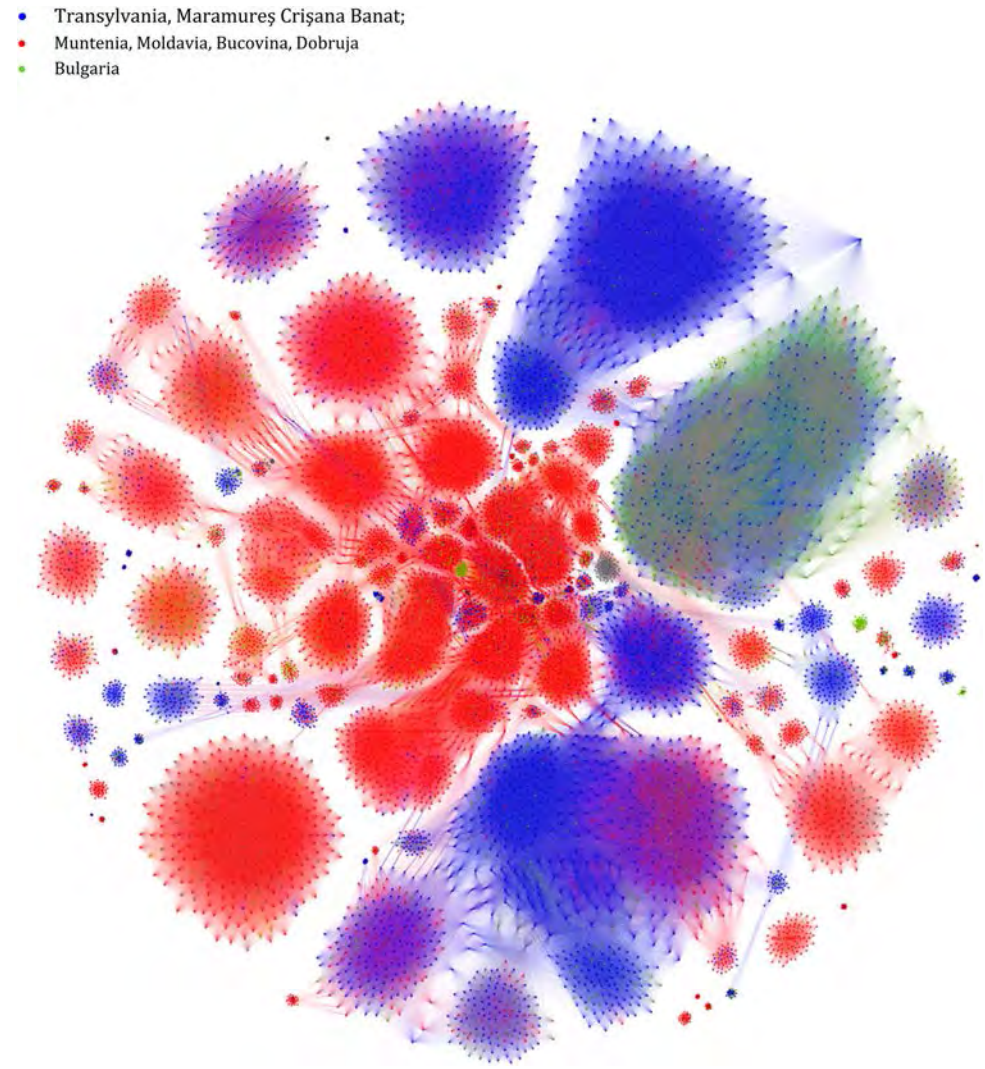


Figure 5. Cohabitation network.

In order to be able to reflect on such a large scale, we produced Figure 5 Cohabitation Network using Gephi software. We coloured the nodes to highlight autochthony within the network: people from the South and East are shown in red, those from the Northwest in blue and Bulgarians in green. The nodes are distributed among 40 connected com- ponents. Each component is defined as to include any pair of nodes where each node is connected to the other one by a path, i.e. a sequence of links (Wasserman and Faust 1994). The largest component included 9872 nodes (82.14% of the network), which means that such a large proportion of the interviewed persons were directly or indirectly connected by cohabitation relations. The rest of the interviewed persons are distributed among 39 smaller components including a number of people ranging from 6 to 257.

While most interviewed people had settled in just one shantytown at the time they were interviewed, 1549 people had lived in more than one shantytown (12.89%). Therefore, the fact that 82.14% of people were indirectly connected in the largest component is due to a minority of people bridging the members of different shantytowns into a large connected network component. In other words, in the Parisian metropolitan region, with an area of 12,011 km^2, 4 out of 5 shantytown inhabitants belong to the same network of people who know each other because they have lived together, side-by-side, in the same shantytowns for at least a period. Clearly, it does not mean that they have all lived together. They do not all know each other but they are in contact with people who, in turn, are in contact with others.

Homophily and heterophily in shantytowns

Visual exploration of the graph allows us to grasp the articulation between mapping (in this case geographical) and clustering (Diminescu 2012; McCarty et al. 2019). We observe that people having lived together in the same shantytowns do not always come from the same territory of autochthony. Studies of migratory networks have tended to underscore the residential homophily of the rural communities in migration (Laffont Lemozy 2017). At the beginning of the year 2000, the first Romanian Romani shantytowns in the Parisian outskirts were probably the result of Romanian village community migration (Olivera 2011). However, the eviction cycle has inter-mixed Roma coming from different villages and different regions. We measured heterogeneity in autochthony of cohabitation relations by dividing, for each person, the number of their relations with individuals from regions other than their own by the total number of their relations; this ratio is on average 29.72%. This means that each person has an average of two-thirds of his cohabitation relationships with people from their own region and one third with those from other regions. Such a level of heterogeneity is much greater than what the literature suggests (Reyniers 2015).

From network to exchange communities

Therefore, mapping by territorial variable seems to be inadequate, while it appears necess- ary to adopt a structural clustering approach. We used algorithms of community structure detection (Newman and Girvan 2004; see also Mucha et al. 2010) to identity communities based on emergent local concentrations of links between nodes. However, being part of the same community in a network does not necessarily imply perceived unity. It is a commu- nity in the Weberian sense of a group of people intentionally associating and acting together to make commonalities (Blokland 2017; Vitale and Tosi 2019; Weber 2001). Iso- lated shantytowns are by definition exchange communities. In order to analyse exchanges between shantytowns, we concentrated on the largest component.

In order to identify clusters, by running a Louvain algorithm for modularity optimis- ation, we detected 27 exchange communities.[9] Figure 6 shows the distribution of individ- uals in these 27 clusters, while Figure 7 shows the contingent distribution of region of origin by Louvain clusters.

For a shantytown dweller, being part of a cluster means being in a dense community where many people have lived together, at least for a certain amount of time. This commu- nity is separated from other communities as cohabitation links between the two commu- nities are fewer. These clusters vary greatly in size, as they can match one little shantytown (e.g. cluster 12) or include up to 22 shantytowns, like cluster 9. This shows a real diversity in inclusion mode within exchange communities of shantytown-dwellers in France. The two clusters of more than 750 people (clusters 9 and 19) are composed of persons from all over Romania. We find the same tendency of heterogeneous origins in all clusters of more than 500 members. Alternatively, one small cluster, such as number 12, is inhabited only by people from Transylvania. Roma from Muntenia are present in 25 clusters out of 27, and Roma from Oltenia and Crisana in 21 out of 27 clusters. Despite the heterogeneous distribution of geographical origins in the set of clusters, the two variables are strongly correlated ($V = .55$; $\chi^2 = 6441.5$, $p < .01$). However, there is still a large part of the community formation (almost half) that cannot be explained simply by shared autochthony.

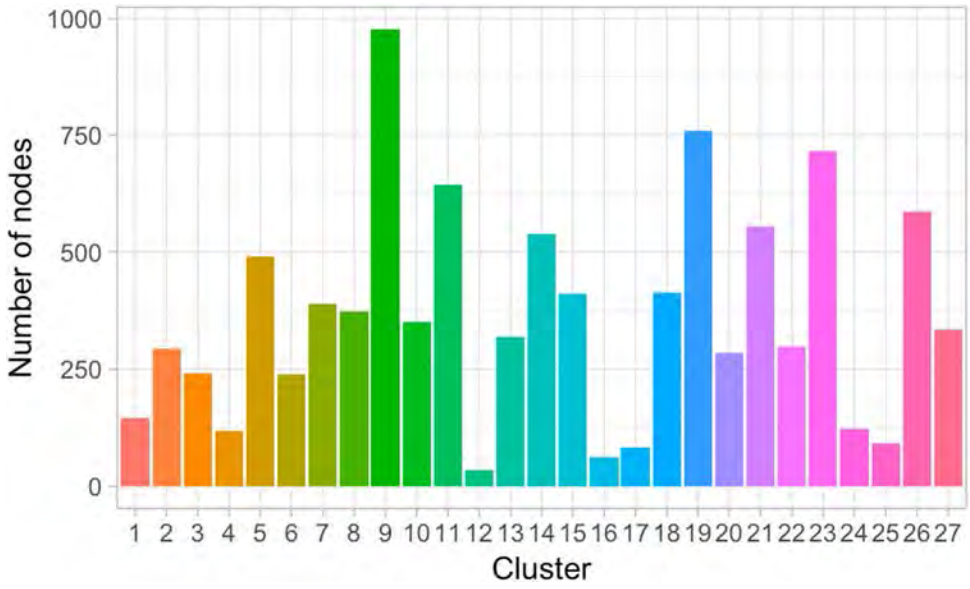


Figure 6. Distribution of individuals in the clusters.

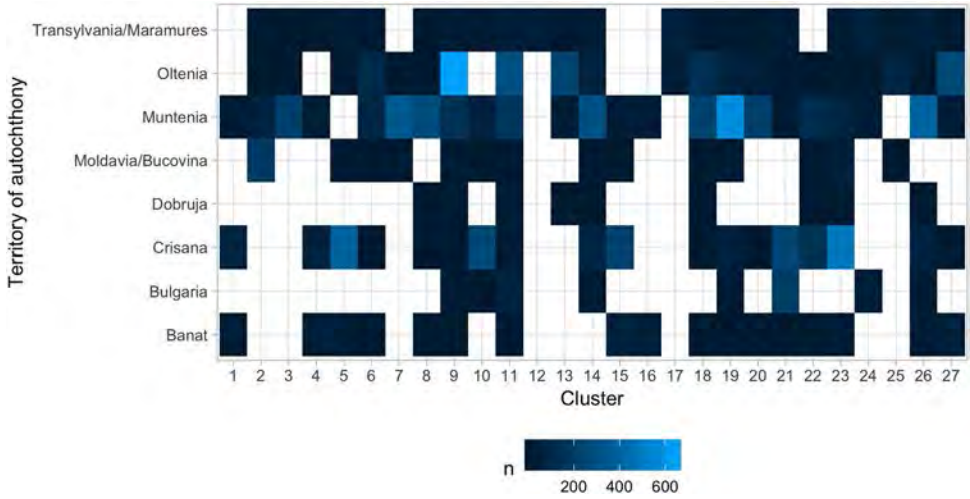


Figure 7. Contingent distribution of region of origin by clusters.

Shantytown dwellers' skills, behaviour and attitudes

While debriefing their fieldwork, the GIP-Habitat interviewers evaluated the interviewees' proficiency in spoken French. More than half of the interviewees spoke no French at all (Figure 8). Shantytown dwellers, despite sometimes having lived in France for several years, have much lower linguistic skills than European migrants in general (Bechichi et al. 2016). This low proficiency in French should be placed alongside the low level of schooling and literacy in Romania and Bulgaria.[10] Immigration amplified lack of school- ing. In 2015, the shantytowns in the Parisian metropolitan region counted 2671 children between the age of 6 and 16 (mandatory age for school attendance), but only 350 were actually enrolled in school. The level of schooling in the shantytowns is extremely low, around 13% (Figure 9).[11] The GIP interviewers asked the interviewees what their prefer- ences were in terms of housing after eviction from their shantytown. The interviewees expected (1) nothing from the government (15.39%), (2) excluded a possibility like emer- gency accommodation (40.66%) because it was too precarious (Le Méner 2013), or (3) were willing to accept any form of accommodation (43.95%) (see Figure 10).

Exchange spaces and ability to interact with institutions

Taken together, the variables 'children's schooling', 'proficiency in French' and 'attitudes on relocation' can be considered as indicators of integration skills, i.e. skills for interacting with institutions. In our conception of integration as injunction on the part of public auth- orities, the expectation of relocation is a good integration skill indicator, even if it is unusual, because, in our case, it shows how people act when faced with a violent relocation system. We wanted to further explore the relative effects of autochthony, communities of exchange and towns of settlement on integration skills using the 3196 households concerned in the largest component of the cohabitation network. In order to obtain a school- ing variable at household level, we computed an indicator covering all members of the family: the household ratio of children in school. This variable was computed by dividing the number of children in a household who were attending school by the total number of children in the household. Figure 8 shows the results of the above mentioned variables at household level. Correlations between the three variables are negligible.[12] These are there- fore independent skills and attitudes that should be tested separately. Even if proficiency in French is not correlated with children's schooling, those who speak French enroll their children in school three times more often than those who do not.

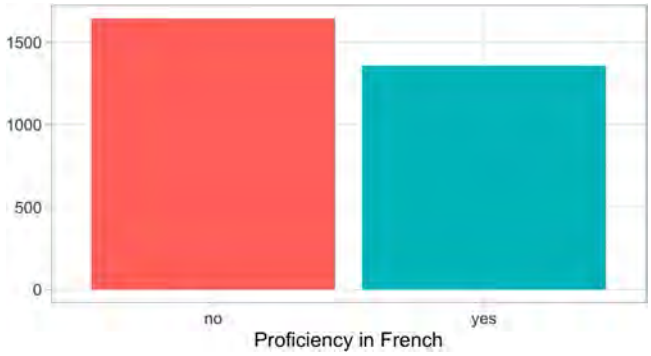


Figure 8. Distribution of *Proficiency in French* among households in the largest component.

The purpose was to understand whether the difference in integration skills among Roma people depends primarily on the kind of autochthonous socialisation related to their region of origin and their ethnic belonging, or on the socialisation they have experi- enced in the communities of exchange created through living together in a shantytown. Our first finding is that autochthonies had a very limited impact on the capacity to interact with institutions. The associations between autochthony and children's schooling ($V = .19$; $\chi^2 = 83.84$, $p < .01$), autochthony and proficiency in French ($V = .12$; $\chi^2 = 41.28$, $p < .01$) and autochthony and attitudes on relocation ($V = .11$; $\chi^2 = 60.51$, $p < .01$) are weak.

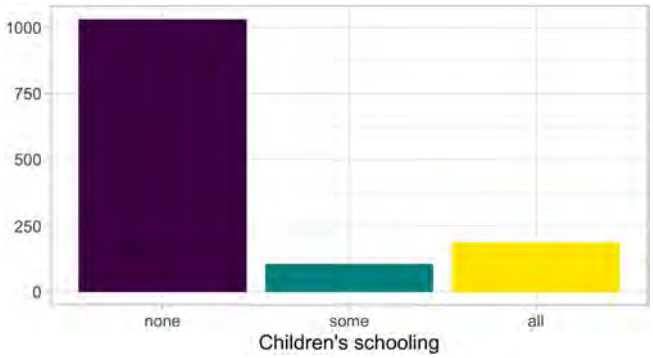


Figure 9. Distribution of *Children's schooling* among households in the largest component.

Secondly, we looked at the impact of exchange communities on integration variables. In this case, we found a different result. Associations between exchange community and inte- gration skills are significantly higher in the case of exchange community and children's schooling ($V = .34$; $\chi^2 = 307.57$, $p < .01$), exchange community and proficiency in French ($V = .21$; $\chi^2 = 131.93$, $p < .01$), exchange community and attitudes on relocation ($V = .27$; $\chi^2 = 367.63$, $p < .01$). These relatively strong associations can be explained by reception and integration policies and attitudes to rejection that differ strongly from one city to another. Here, the communities' spatial distribution has a direct impact on integration skill development. Associations between integration skills and city of settlement are also relatively strong in regard to children's schooling ($V = .38$; $\chi^2 = 371.57$, $p < .01$), proficiency in French ($V = .22$; $\chi^2 = 138.69$, $p < .01$) and attitudes on relocation ($V = 0.35$; $\chi^2 = 654.99$, $p < .01$). This suggests that the intense life together in a shantytown, as well as local policy, yields a greater impact on integration skills and concrete behaviour than does the Roma- nian regional background.

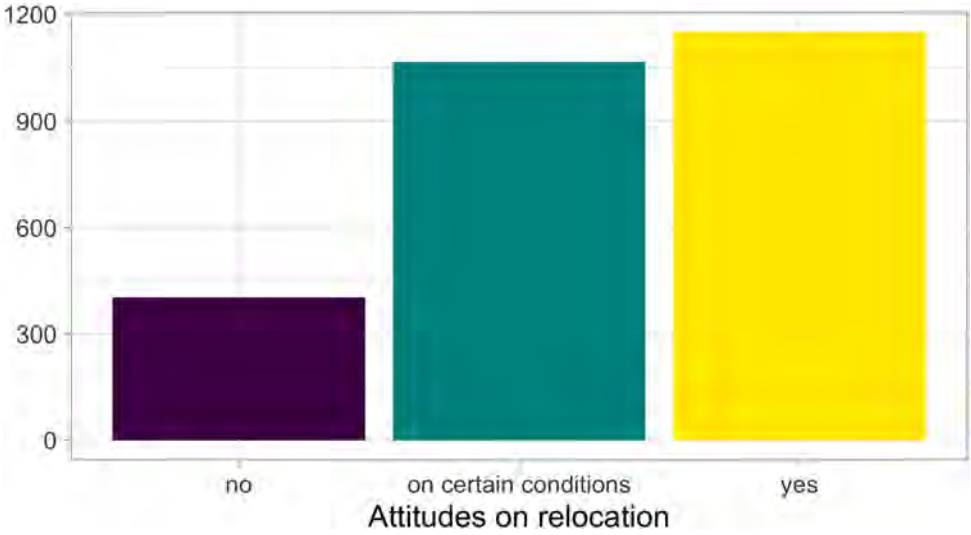


Figure 10. Distribution of *Attitudes on relocation* among households in the largest component.

Discussion

Our findings challenge some of the current ideas found in the literature on Roma migration (Friberg 2018). Romanian shantytown dwellers in the Parisian metropolitan area show massive regional differences in socio-professional and educational backgrounds. Nevertheless, they do fit into a general framework. On the one hand, they all belong to the agricultural and industrial proletariat and, on the other hand, they have been exposed to very little schooling: 43% of the interviewed people over 30 years of age have never attended school.

Even if autochthonies are important for organising part of the migratory chain and marriage strategies (Tesăr 2018), they do not play a major role in defining the boundaries of urban practice. In the Parisian metropolitan region, Roma shantytowns are hetero- geneous spaces in terms of regions of origin. Roma living in a shantytown are exposed to relatively high levels of heterogeneity. These living spaces are not based on the regional/sub-ethnic belonging of the people. The eviction cycle plays a major role in inter- mixing people from different regions and in enriching their contacts. With respect to the rural communities of departure, the networks of contacts in France are broader. They allow migrants to go beyond the cultural and symbolic borders running through Romania while retaining something of their origins and territorial solidarities.

Shantytown dwellers in the Parisian metropolitan region form a system while retaining specificities inherited from migratory chains. It is because they form a system, and can therefore largely pool settlement opportunities, that shantytown dwellers manage to resist governance by expulsion and continue to live in the Parisian metropolitan region. The Romanian and Bulgarian shantytowns constitute a 'single market', in which their inhabitants can find a place to live after eviction, after returning from Romania or follow- ing the breakup of a household. To move means increasing contacts with other Roma while staying in the same place provides the chance to deepen relations in the shantytown and to take advantage of the surrounding structural context of opportunities (Blau 1994). This context of opportunities is formed by associations and political organisations, markets and broader services and connections, as well as easier ties with medical and edu- cational institutions.

Changes of residence, whether voluntary or forced following an eviction, sometimes result in a change of residential group (one no longer lives with the same people) or a change of residential location (city) and sometimes both. In the second case, how does the person who changes residential community and geographical location find another shantytown, integrate and settle? As shown by the literature on shantytown eviction (Cousin 2017; Vitale 2009b), this circulation is regulated by family solidarities and com- mercial exchanges (buying out shacks). We can thus say that the Romanian and Bulgarian Roma living in the shantytowns of Ile-de-France are included in the exchange commu- nities where they are going to interact to find information and effective social support to solve their housing problem. In other words, these communities are not communitarian identity groups based on ethnic/regional belonging, shared norms and beliefs or pre- defined stable symbolic boundaries. There is no need to consider that the fact that indi- viduals live together tends to converge toward a common normative vision of the world, new symbolic boundaries of ethnic belonging or shared attitudes (Vitale 2019). Living in a shantytown does, however, create a community of people who act together and exchange intensively. Living in a shantytown is an urban practice requiring building shacks and finding common arrangements with neighbours, sharing the cost of a gasoline power supply and defining the rules of cohabitation. Urban practices are those that enact communities, or as Talja Blokland (2017) put it, communities are urban practices.

Moreover, while they are created by acting together in self-governing a shantytown, these communities then provide socialisation effects. They are correlated with relevant skills and behaviour, like learning the French language, schooling or improving the capacity to interact with public administrations. Inhabitants of certain shantytowns seem more able to interact with public authorities than those of other shantytowns (Lièvre 2016), as they speak better French and seem more aware of the norms and working modalities of institutions and markets. Stable presence is decisive in acquiring these skills. Regular interventions by associations, such as the Association de Scolarisation des Enfants Tsiganes (ASET), the association Les Enfants du canal, Médecins du Monde or different local groups, favour contacts with administrations, learning the French language and enrolling the children in school. However, the associations do not intervene every- where. They are limited by their resources, by an unequal geographical distribution and also by mechanisms such as 'cream skimming' (Brodkin 2011; Vitale 2009b), whereby they choose what they regard as the easiest cases for intervention.[13] Finally, our empirical ethnographic work of over more than 10 years, gives us the feeling that certain commu- nities had collectively given up on their relations with institutions, while others had made a go with it. Reasons for the differences in life-paths are not related to autochthonies but to the experience of socialisation and to the structural context of opportunities, for instance, the city where the shantytown is located and its inclusionary (or exclusionary) policies. We cannot look at Romania for an explanation of divergent patterns of behaviour. Instead, we

should look at France, at the crossroads between social and political dynamics. Social dynamics are related to broadening personal networks beyond ethnic autochthonies and acting together in meaningful communities, i.e. self-governing shantytowns. Political dynamics relate to the whole set of policy instruments and relational styles of city-level administration and local governments (Le Galès and Vitale 2013).

We thus discover two main structuring dynamics. Firstly, communities have their own social dynamics, which drive certain groups to develop, or not develop, collective skills to interact with the French administration. Secondly, territorialisation of Romani commu- nities through their localised settlement in shantytowns results in different experiences and possibilities from one city to the next as a function of local social policies. Unlike the public discourse on integrating Roma, which overall tends to look at them in terms of their Romanian socioeconomic background, the GIP-Habitat data tells us that the ongoing social dynamics play out in shantytowns, in community ties and in the reception experienced by the different Romani communities over the past 15 years. Moreover, cor- relations between integration variables and the cities where shantytowns are located, are higher than those with Romanian regions. This is because of the impact that policy instru- ments and administrative relational styles have on individuals' attitudes, skills and behav- iour. Local policy may be very exclusionary, governing by eviction. Alternatively, it can be inclusive, by attracting children to schools and investing in housing relocation. However, this capacity is still limited. Over half of shantytown dwellers do not speak any French at all. The percentage of children in school in the shantytowns of Ile-de-France is extremely low, around 13%. Shantytown inhabitants expect little from the state. As we have seen, correlations are higher between cities and dwellers' attitudes toward relocation, as prefer- ences adapt to the local context of the social housing supply. Yet, if we take a closer look, the social relations developed in the shantytowns, together with their location, are decisive factors in the educational and linguistic inclusion of those who live there.

Notes

1. Interview in Alesd (Romania), September 2016.
2. The surveys contained 13,568 entries among which we identified 1549 multi-diagnosed people (duplicates). The duplicates were detected by creating a single chain for each house- hold, with date and place of birth of the two oldest members. We then checked for consist- ency with other items of information.
3. The distribution of the origin of shantytown dwellers born in Romania is very different from that of the general population of the country. See Supplemental data, Figure A3.
4. Date of birth is systematically indicated in the database. Nevertheless, in order to present a histogram that makes statistical sense, we have eliminated children born during the survey, between January 2013 and August 2015.
5. The median age of immigrants in the European Union in 2015 was 27.5 years (Source: Euro- stat. Migration statistics and the migrant population. Data retrieved in March 2017).
6. This standard profile does not change from one region to another. See Supplemental data, Figure A4.
7. We also performed a robustness analysis of our results by running other algorithms for com- munity detection. See Supplemental data for results, Figures A1 and A2.
8. This map illustrates the total number of shantytown inhabitants for each Municipality in Ile- de-France. The data on the geography of the Municipalities were taken from the open data section of the website of the Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques. The map projection used the standard WGS 84. One detail that does not appear in the map is that two of the Municipalities with more than 200 shantytown-inhabitants have significantly more inhabitants than their counterparts in that category; Bonneuil-sur-Marne with 462 and La Courneuve with no less than 1027.
9. We also performed a robustness analysis of our results by running Louvain algorithm at household level. The distribution of clusters of households is almost equal to the distribution of clusters of individuals. See Supplemental data for results, Figure A2.
10. There are large disparities in language fluency as a function of age. See Supplemental data, Figure A5.
11. The true level of schooling is even lower. In the study, the level is increased because we also rated children attending some kind of preparation for school via the bi-weekly visits of mobile classrooms run by the Association de Scolarisation des Enfants Tsiganes as 'in school'.
12. For cross-variable correlations between 'children's schooling', 'proficiency in French' and 'attitudes on relocation', see Supplemental data, Figures A6–A8.
13. It is not unusual to hear association activists justify their action prioritisation by saying: 'We focused on this shantytown because it is easier to work with Bihoren than with Tandarei'.

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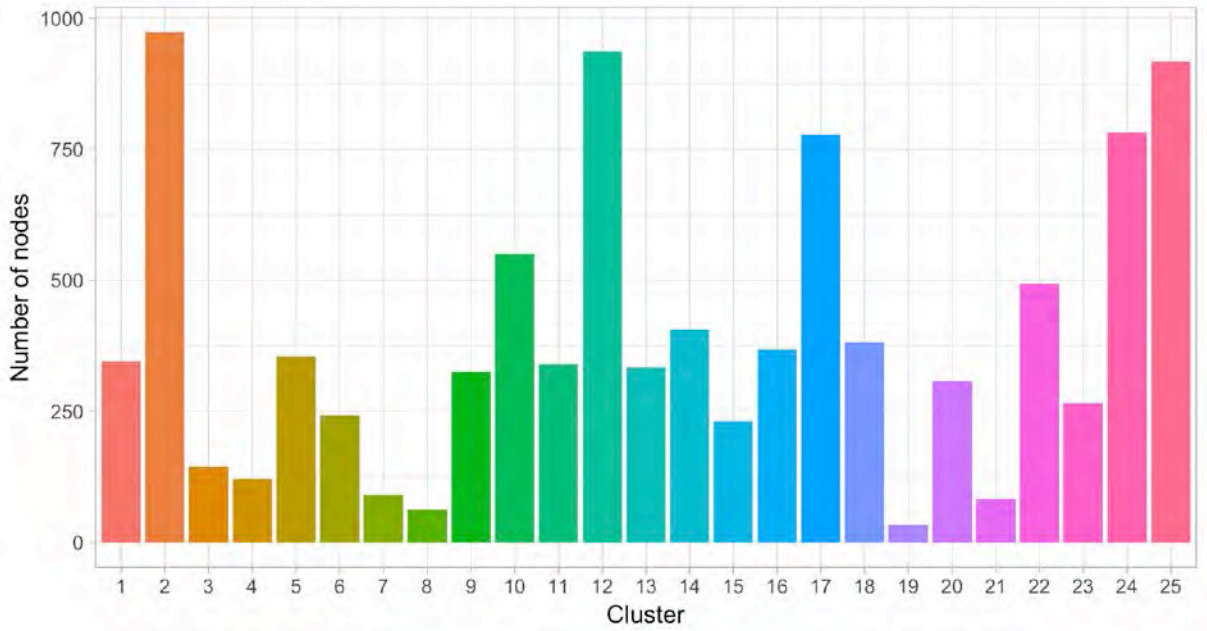
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Online Appendix

In order to perform a robustness check of our main results, we detected clusters in the largest component of the network through the Fast and Greedy algorithm (Clauset et al. 2004). Then, we assessed statistical association of cluster membership with integration-related variables.

25 clusters were detected through this algorithm. The following figure shows the number of nodes of the largest component for each detected cluster.

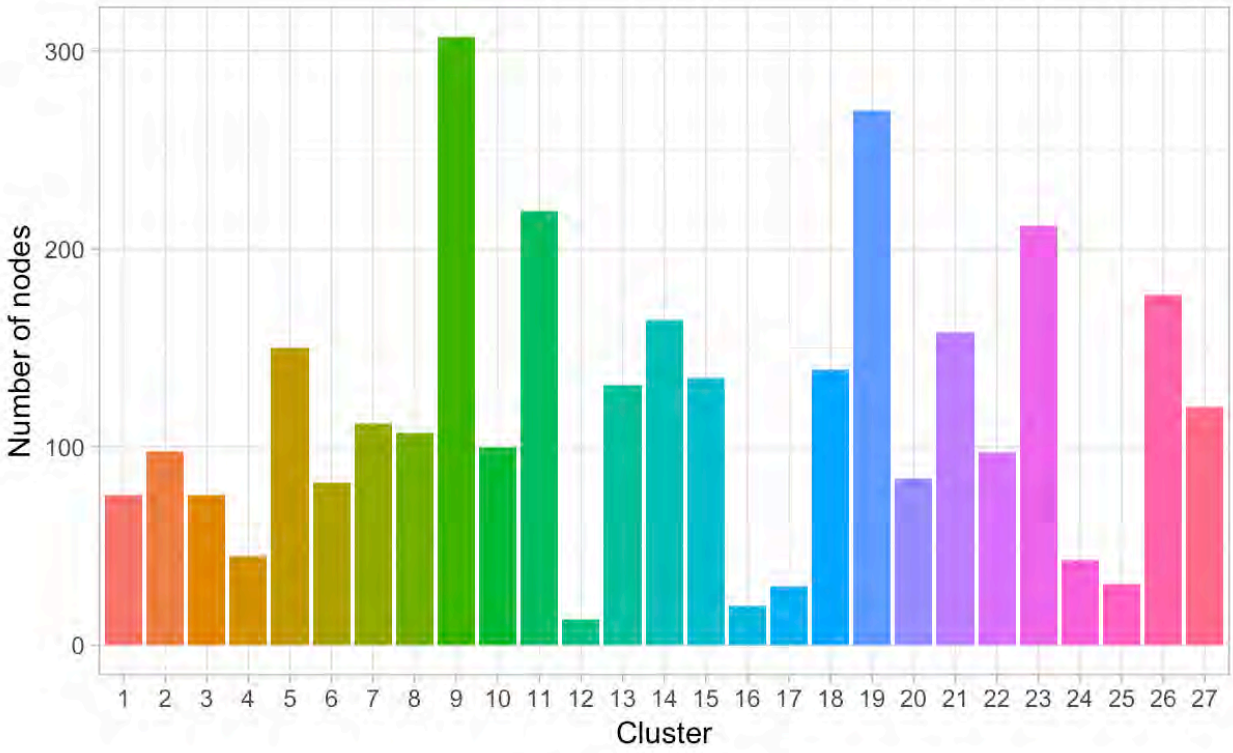
Figure A.1: Robustness analysis of community detection at the individual level



Statistical association between territory of autochthony and cluster membership is very similar to our main analysis (see manuscript): $V = .54$; $\chi^2 = 6179.3$, $p < .01$. Also very similar to the main analysis are statistical associations between cluster membership and: (a) children's schooling ($V = .34$; $\chi^2 = 302.54$, $p < .01$); (b) proficiency in French ($V = .20$; $\chi^2 = 125.43$, $p < .01$); (c) attitudes on relocation ($V = .26$; $\chi^2 = 339.93$, $p < .01$).

We did a second check of our main results: we detected clusters in the largest component of the network through the Louvain algorithm but at the household level and not at the individual level

Figure A.2: Robustness analysis of community detection at the household level



At the houshold level, statistical association between territory of autochthony and cluster membership is very similar to our main analysis (see manuscript): $V = .55$; $chi^2 = 6230.3$, $p < .01$.

Figure A.3: Regional distribution of the origin of Romanian shantytown dwellers and of the general population of the Country

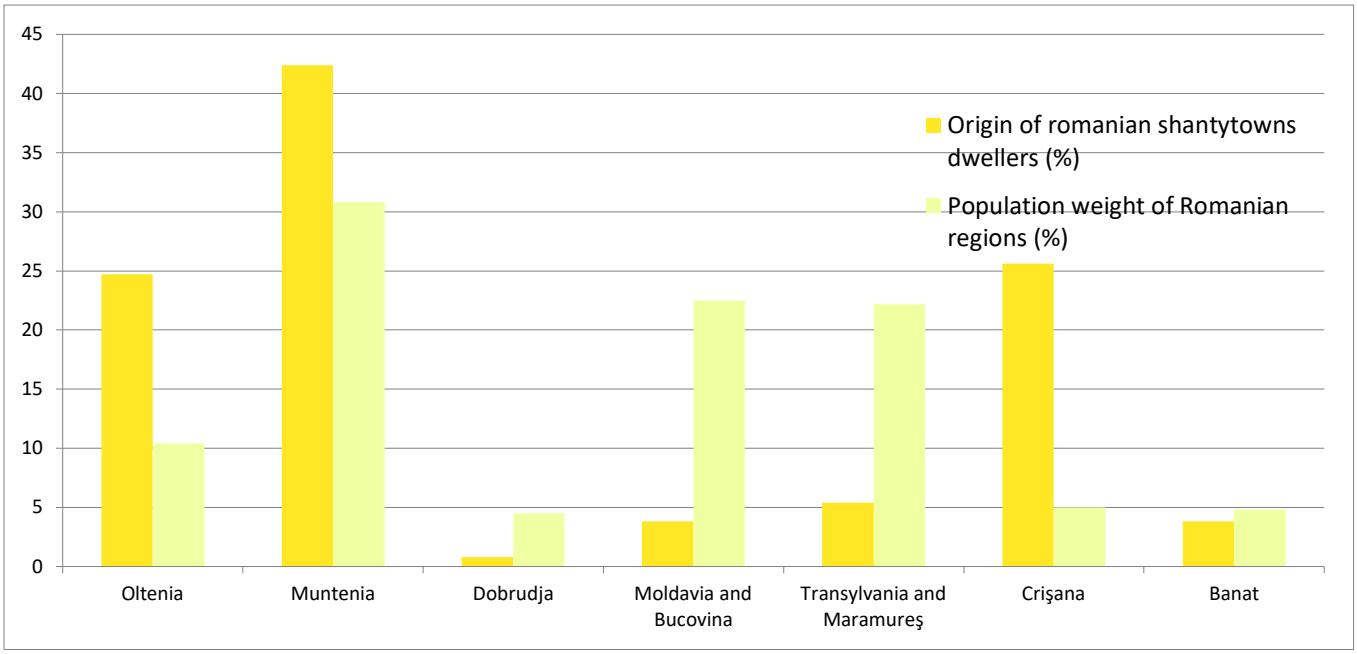


Figure A.4: Years of birth by Region of origin (%).

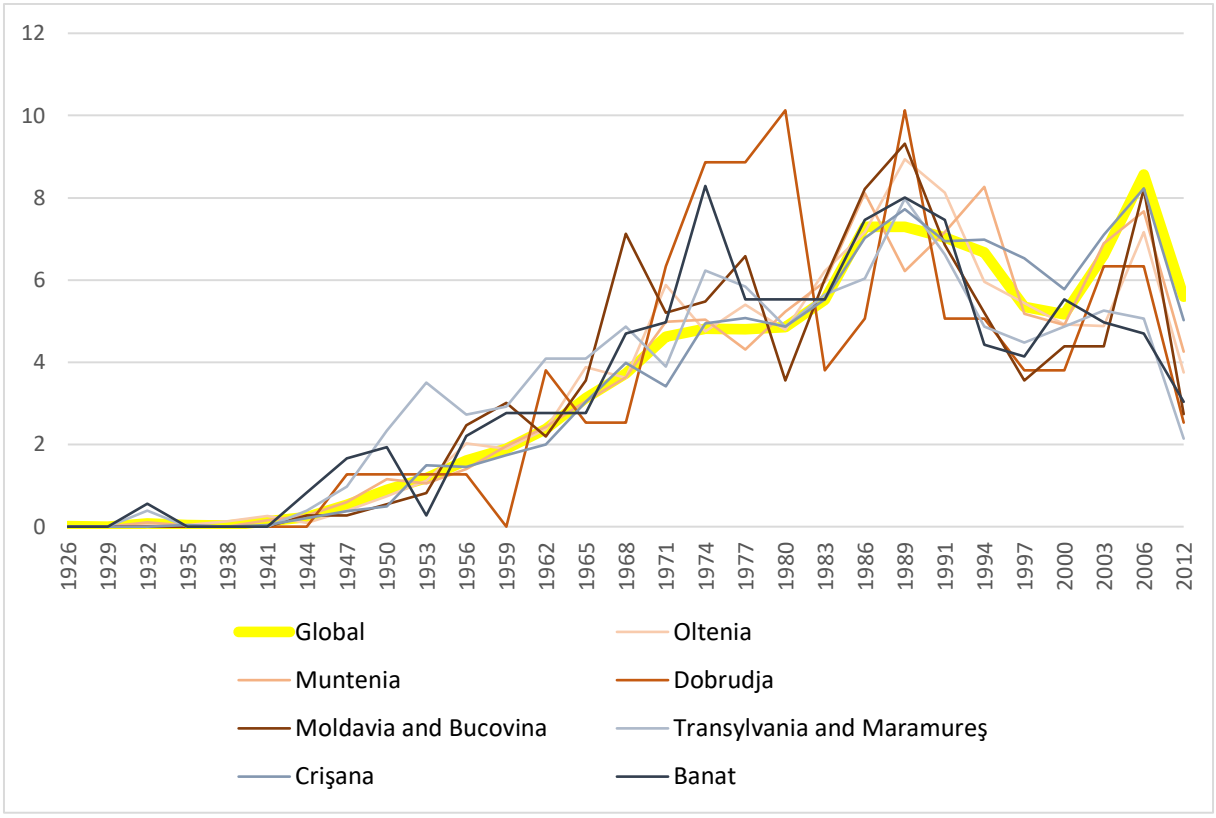


Figure A.5: Knowledge of French and age

	No	Yes
Under 20	46 %	54 %
Between 20 and 39	50 %	50 %
Between 40 and 59	59 %	41 %
More than 60	65 %	35 %

Figure A.6: Cross-variable correlations between language proficiency and attitudes on relocation



Figure A.7: Cross-variable correlations between schooling and attitudes on relocation

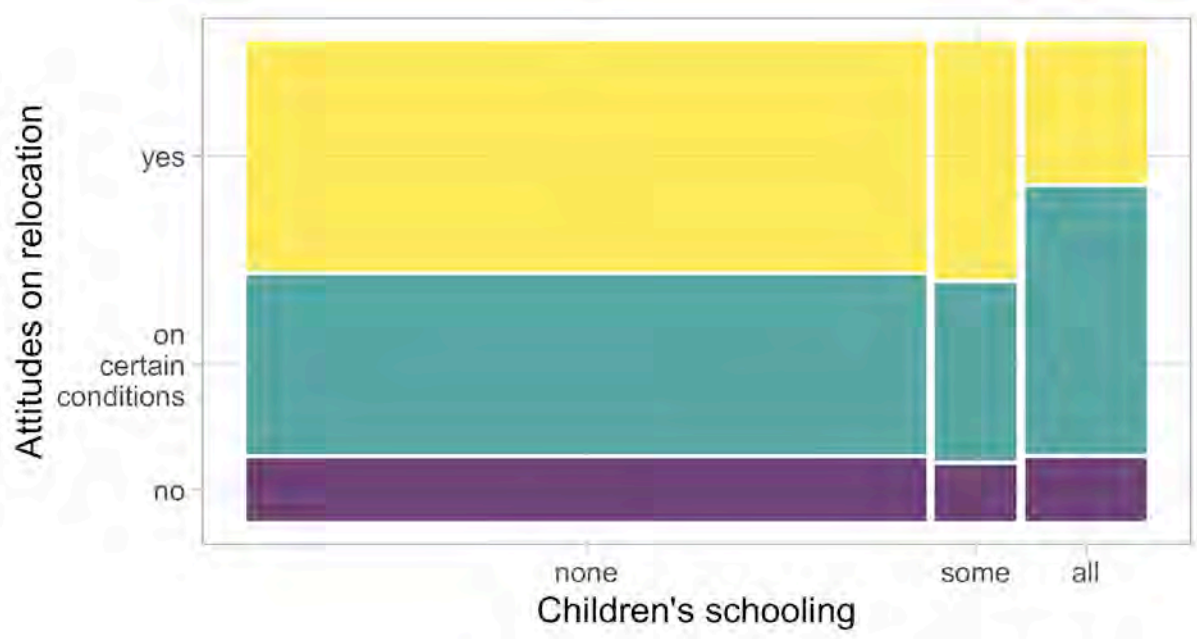
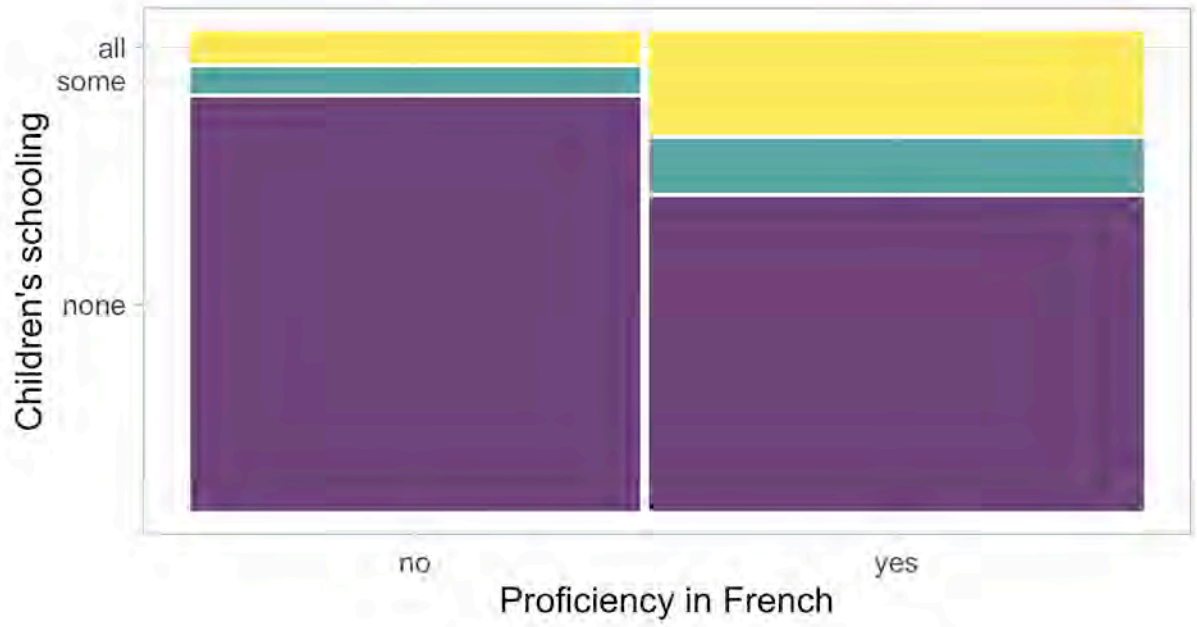


Figure A.8: Cross-variable correlations between schooling and language proficiency



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