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Large Housing Estates in Lyon, France Opinions of residents on recent developments

Fatiha Belmessous, Christine Chemin, Chignier-Riboulon Franck, Nicole Commerçon, Marcele Trigueiro, Marcus Zepf

► To cite this version:

Fatiha Belmessous, Christine Chemin, Chignier-Riboulon Franck, Nicole Commerçon, Marcele Trigueiro, et al.. Large Housing Estates in Lyon, France Opinions of residents on recent developments. A-D Druk bv, pp.87, 2003. hal-02547522

HAL Id: hal-02547522

<https://hal.science/hal-02547522>

Submitted on 20 Apr 2020

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Large Housing Estates in Lyon, France

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ISBN: 90-6266-243-9

Printed in the Netherlands by A-D Druk bv, Zeist

Edition: 2005

Graphic Design: GeoMedia, Faculty of Geosciences, Utrecht University

Lay-out and DTP: david koot tekst & dtp

All publications in this series are published on the RESTATE-website

<http://www.restate.geog.uu.nl> and are available on paper at:

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Large Housing Estates in Lyon, France

Opinions of residents on recent developments

RESTATE report 4a

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Nicole Commerçon
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RESTATE
Restructuring Large-scale Housing Estates in European Cities: Good Practices
and New Visions for Sustainable Neighbourhoods and Cities

Utrecht 2005
Faculty of Geosciences, Utrecht University

RESTATE

RESTATE is the acronym for the international research project Restructuring Large-scale Housing Estates in European Cities: Good Practices and New Visions for Sustainable Neighbourhoods and Cities.

The project is funded under Key Action 4: 'City of Tomorrow and Cultural Heritage' in the 'Energy, Environment and Sustainable Development' programme within the Fifth Framework Programme of the European Union (contract no. EVK4-CT-2002-00085).

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Table of contents

1	Introduction	9
1.1	RESTATE: a general overview	9
1.2	The contents of this report	10
2	The estates: a brief overview	13
2.1	La Ville Nouvelle in Rillieux	13
2.1.1	Housing stock	13
2.1.2	Services	14
2.1.3	Population problems	14
2.2	Les Minguettes in Vénissieux	14
2.2.1	Housing stock	15
2.2.2	Services	15
2.2.3	Population problems	15
2.3	Conclusions	16
	Photo gallery	17
3	The survey: methodological issues and some characteristics of respondents and dwellings	21
3.1	The survey in La Ville Nouvelle and Les Minguettes	21
3.2	Characteristics of the respondents	22
3.2.1	Demographic features	22
3.2.2	Socio-economic features	24
3.3	The respondents' dwellings	26
3.3.1	Characteristics of the dwellings	26
3.3.2	Housing history	28
3.4	Conclusions	29
4	Positive and negative aspects of the estates	31
4.1	What do people do in the neighbourhood?	31
4.1.1	The main activities in the neighbourhood	33
4.2	Satisfaction with the dwelling	34
4.2.1	Population and satisfaction with the dwelling	34
4.2.2	Housing and the estate	37
4.3	Satisfaction with the estate	38
4.4	Social aspects in the area	40
4.5	Conclusions	41

5	Effects of policies	43
5.1	Main policies and actions in Les Minguettes and La Ville Nouvelle	43
5.1.1	Housing and the built environment policies	44
5.1.2	The safety policies	45
5.1.3	Social and economic policies	46
5.2	Perceptions of improvements and policies by respondents	47
5.2.1	Improvements are more significant towards dwellings than neighbourhoods	47
5.2.2	Policies and perceptions of improvement	49
5.2.3	The residents do not know policies and policymakers	52
5.2.4	Participation, local practices are close to common ones	53
5.3	Spill-over effects of policies	54
5.3.1	Neighbourhoods in decline as territories of experimentation	54
5.3.2	Urban policies and stigmatisation effects	54
5.4	Conclusions	55
6	The future of the estates	57
6.1	The future of the neighbourhood	57
6.2	Staying or leaving?	58
6.3	Effects on other areas	60
6.4	Conclusions	62
7	Conclusions	63
7.1	Interests and limits of the sample	63
7.2	The scales of satisfaction, a geographical issue	64
7.3	Public policies, useful but normalised	64
7.4	Failures in social policies?	65
7.5	Knowledge of applied policies, participation and so on	66
	Appendix	67
	Tables	79
	References	83
	List of people interviewed	85

1.1 RESTATE: a general overview

Cities and their regions are the dynamos of the European economy, enabling the European Union (and potential member states) to maintain a strong position in the global economy. When these cities contain large areas that are not faring well, it is important to find out how best to change them so as to remove their dysfunctional characteristics. Large-scale housing estates built in the three or four decades after the Second World War are seen as problem areas in many cities all over Europe. Here, economic decline goes hand in hand with physical and social decline.

All over Europe massive numbers of people live in these post-WWII large-scale housing estates. They were carefully planned, but now they often manifest a multitude of problems. They house large numbers of low-income households, the unemployment rates are above average, and in some countries these estates have become concentration areas for ethnic minorities. Many estates are becoming increasingly associated with crime and social exclusion. The circumstances on the estates and policy initiatives associated with them are the focus of the RESTATE project. An important part of the project is the exchange of experiences and solutions between policymakers and academic researchers.

RESTATE is the acronym for Restructuring Large-scale Housing Estates in European Cities: Good Practices and New Visions for Sustainable Neighbourhoods and Cities. All the participants in this project share the basic underlying conviction: if the problems of these large-scale housing estates are not resolved, they will increasingly hinder the good economic functioning of cities. The study draws on estates in ten European countries: France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom.

The project has the following objectives:

- to identify and to clarify the social and economic changes which have occurred on large post-WWII estates and in particular to identify general and specific factors triggering and influencing the emergence of problems and patterns of decline in these areas;
- to develop a checklist of items that have proved to be important in successful and less successful policy responses with respect to these estates;
- to draw conclusions about the potential for the cross-national transfer of knowledge and experience and for cooperation in strategic planning for these areas and in area and estate management;

- to produce a comprehensive and practical handbook in which forward-looking scenarios and new visions for large post-WWII estates in Europe are associated with examples of evidence-based best practice to achieve the sustainable future development of these areas;
- to build for practitioners and researchers a user-friendly database containing details of the nature, successes, and failures of present policies aimed at improving the position of large post-WWII estates and their inhabitants;
- to consider whether and in what ways European-level policy could contribute to more effective responses to problems associated with these estates.

The primary objective of RESTATE is to deliver evidence-based knowledge drawing on experiences in cities in all parts of Europe. The methods used include literature research, statistical overviews, interviews, a survey, and interviews of urban representatives. The proposed handbook that will be written at the end of the research period will set out best practices for future sustainable developments of these areas and for effective policy implementation. It is hoped that the results will be useful for policymakers seeking to discover the contexts in which measures have been, or can be expected to be, successful in improving large-scale housing estates in cities.

Case studies are the heart of the project. Each study:

- establishes general information about the estate: its characteristics, its history, and its demographic, social, economic, and physical development and problems;
- identifies the philosophy and aims of the policies that are being promoted in the estates, how policies have matured over time, what their effects have been, and how all these matters can be evaluated.

It is important to know precisely what we mean by a large-scale housing estate. Following Power (1997), we could define a large-scale housing estate as a group of buildings that is recognised as a distinct and discrete geographical area. We add one element to this definition: we see large-scale housing estates as developments planned by the state or with state support. With respect to size, we confine our attention to housing estates with at least 2,000 housing units. The focus on the project is on estates built in the second half of the 20th century. Taking these elements together, this project is concerned with large-scale housing estates built in the second half of the 20th century that can be defined as groups of at least 2,000 housing units that are recognised as distinct and geographical areas, planned by the state or with state support.¹

1.2 The contents of this report

In a first report of the RESTATE project (Murie et al., 2003) we concentrated on the structural and other factors that explain the differences between the success and failure of large post-WWII estates in Europe. A later series of reports dealt specifically with large housing estates in the ten countries previously mentioned. In these reports descriptions can be found of the estates

1 In the rest of the report we refer to these estates as *large housing estates*.

in which the RESTATE research has taken place (see Chignier-Riboulon et al., 2003 for the report on France, also see our website (www.restate.geog.uu.nl) for an overview of the rest of the reports). In a third report the focus was on the policies and practices in the estates (see Belmessous et al., 2004 for the report on France and the website for the other reports).

The basic question addressed in the present report reads as follows:

Which inhabitants profit from the developments and policies in the estates? Which inhabitants experience clear disadvantages?

This research question makes it clear that the inhabitants of the estates stand to the fore in this report. It seems logical to assume that current residents would profit from improvements made to their area. But favourable developments such as better housing, more employment opportunities, and better social cohesion may benefit some people or groups but may pass others by completely. Older people will not benefit from policies targeted at those of working age; childless households will not benefit from policies aimed at families; and residents will benefit differentially or at a different time or with different degrees of disruption depending on the part of the estate or the kind of housing in which they live. These patterns may mean that households from minority ethnic groups by and large gain less than others or the other way around. Young people may profit more than old people, households with children more than singles or two-person households. Moreover, developments and policies may have perverse effects: higher quality housing may lead to higher rents and these may force people to move out. Increased social cohesion for some groups may increase exclusion for others; increased employment for some may result in fewer chances for others.

Most results in this report are based on a survey carried out in our estates. The opinions and experiences of the inhabitants of the estates stand to the fore in this survey.

In the second chapter of this report, we give a brief description of the estates that feature in this report: La Ville Nouvelle and Les Minguettes, both post-WWII housing estates in the city of Lyon, France. In Chapter 3 we say something about the survey and give some first impressions of the results of the survey. Chapter 4 focuses on the positive and negative aspects of the estates as seen through the eyes of the residents. Here we describe the kinds of people who are satisfied with their homes and with their environment and what they think about the social relationships on their estates. In Chapter 5 we concentrate on the effects of the policies, again according to the respondents. Chapter 6 concerns the future: do people think that the estate will be a better place to live in the future? Or do people want to move out as soon as possible? In Chapter 7 we present our general conclusions.

This report is concerned with the city of Lyon in France; the same kind of information for estates in other countries in the RESTATE project can be found in the parallel reports.

2 The estates: a brief overview

This chapter will present a summary of the previous reports on the two estates analysed in Greater Lyon: La Ville Nouvelle in Rillieux and Les Minguettes in Vénissieux. The overview will briefly recall the character of the two estates with the main focus on spatial, economic and social issues. The situation in the both estates is not always directly comparable but the presentation in this chapter tries to establish relationships between the evolutions in the two estates. The overview will set out the main developments and problems in the two estates in Greater Lyon.

2.1 La Ville Nouvelle in Rillieux

It is important to say, from the outset, that the spatial, economic and social situation is very different between and within the two estates. Even if there is a particularly disadvantaged neighbourhood in La Ville Nouvelle - La Velette, the situation in La Ville Nouvelle is generally better than in the estate of Les Minguettes.

2.1.1 Housing stock

This estate comprises 7,422 dwellings built between 1960 and 1976; 97 per cent of these are in apartment blocks and three-quarters of them are social rented housing (HLM² type). The estate accounts for two-thirds of the whole housing stock of the commune and 90 per cent of its social housing. The housing stock has changed little since it was built through either demolition or new building. The stock is shared between owner-occupiers (19 per cent), private rented stock (8 per cent), and social landlords (73 per cent).

There were almost no empty dwellings in the social housing sector in the early 1990s. However, the vacancy rate increased markedly from 1992 to 2000 because of the beginning of a new socio-economic cycle, and reached 6.5 per cent of the social stock in La Ville Nouvelle. Since then, the vacancy rate has slightly decreased but is still a serious problem contributing to anti-social behaviour.

Generally, the rent levels in La Ville Nouvelle are among the lowest of the main social estates of Greater Lyon, especially for large units, but the service charges and the maintenance costs are slightly higher. These standards reflect the situation when the estate was built and matched the

2 'Habitation à Loyer Modéré': [social housing].

prevailing French lower middle-class standards at that time. This population has now moved on to housing more adapted to their enhanced wishes and financial capacities, leaving the estate to the less prosperous.

2.1.2 Services

There are, at present, only a few shopping centres in the estate. The Verchères shopping centre is the biggest and the liveliest part of the estate. There is a smaller shopping centre De l'Europe and a little centre Boileau in the Les Alagniers neighbourhood. It has all functions of a city centre comprising 50 shops, a medium-sized groceries supermarket and the main public amenities of the commune (post-office, cultural centre). Nevertheless, the centre is in decline, although to a lesser extent than in the other estates of Greater Lyon.

A turnover has led to a 20 per cent reduction in services during the last ten years. In fact, 75 per cent of expenditure on groceries takes place outside the estate, in the nearby hypermarkets such as Auchan or Leclerc situated in the neighbouring communes. This situation is worse for the two smaller shopping centres De l'Europe and Boileau; the buildings are dilapidated and unattractive. Competition with the major distributors is increasingly intense. Today, three districts have no shops at all and about 6,000 people depend on the Verchères or the De l'Europe centres for their daily shopping.

2.1.3 Population problems

It appears that the living conditions in the estate have an impact on the health of the residents. General practitioners, pharmacists and social workers, have pointed out that many of the residents in social difficulties also experience medical problems, particularly mental illness.

There are obvious problems of educational attainment among those of 15 years of age and older. The share of inhabitants in the district of Alagniers Nord with no qualification is 35.3 per cent; the share having only completed the first level of primary school is 47.5 per cent. Only 1.5 per cent of the men and 0.9 per cent of the woman have a university degree.

The very high unemployment rate has a strong impact on the estate. The residents' underprivileged social and economic situation obliges them to stay in their neighbourhood during their 'leisure' time. With no employment activities, the inhabitants, especially the young, tend to become critical elements for the estate because of their anti-social behaviour.

Consequently, social issues have to be addressed as well as economic issues if the problem of the empty dwellings is to be resolved. If these particular problems will be solved, probably, the housing potential of the estate could be transformed, due to the strong local housing demand.

2.2 Les Minguettes in Vénissieux

Unfortunately, Les Minguettes became internationally well-known with the social and race riots of 1981, because of several news reports on TV. This first period of social troubles pushed forward national policy for urban social questions. Thus, Les Minguettes is an excellent case study to demonstrate the evolution of spatial, economic and social issues.

2.2.1 Housing stock

Today, Les Minguettes is the largest estate in Greater Lyon with about seven constituent neighbourhoods according to the different divisions made by the inhabitants, the local politicians and the social public services. Although the estate now has a very negative image, it is nevertheless composed of various types of property with private and social housing landlords. There have been many policies for this site in the past 25 years; some involved changes to the blocks and flats. Several blocks were transformed. In one neighbourhood a tower block became a training school, in another neighbourhood, tower block flats were joined to create a single flat with a winter garden. Conversely, some large flats were subdivided to offer smaller apartments. Thus, developments are often very neighbourhood specific.

In 2003, the estate comprised 7,505 dwellings; nearly 81.5 per cent of these are social rental dwellings; about 18 per cent are co-ownership dwellings and a half per cent are small owner-occupied dwellings. Since 1983 some social housing has been demolished. The construction of new housing has decreased, during the past 20 years, even though current policy requires a demolition-rebuilding programme. The vacancy rate in the estate is relatively high (14 per cent in 2001) but the situation of empty flats is very different in the seven neighbourhoods (26 per cent in Darnaise in 2002).

Another specificity of the estate is the large number of social public and private landlords. Today there are ten. This large number of landlords and the mix of their housing stock on the site allowed investments to be shared so that each public actor could use this new stock for its residents or employees.

2.2.2 Services

Currently, 25 years of urban policies have improved public services, including a library outside, but in the vicinity of the estate and construction of a third shopping centre in the core of Les Minguettes. It would seem, however, that either the estate was left without any investment for too long a time, or the quality of the renewal work was inferior to that in the city centre, or that the buildings and amenities were ageing faster than elsewhere.

In the neighbourhoods, there are small shopping precincts, each with about six to ten shops and a few private medical services. However, many people go to the main hypermarket, Carrefour, in the centre of Lyon, due to its proximity with Les Minguettes. They travel by car or bus. Finally, on the Plateau there is one of the most important weekly markets, with low prices, large quantities of produce and about 350 stallholders. Unfortunately, the neighbourhood shopkeepers have experienced some problems from shoplifting and delinquency.

2.2.3 Population problems

In Les Minguettes there is a large concentration of social and ethnic issues. The difficulties in terms of delinquency and economic problems started in the 1970s and have persisted. In the 1980s, a strong feeling of rejection by the original inhabitants towards the foreigners coming into the site (riots and petty crime, car theft, joy riding and cars burned out) has seriously damaged the image of the estate. The resulting exodus of residents and the increasing dwellings standing empty during the 1990s have often led to dilapidation of the buildings.

The unemployment rate is high and is one of the worst in Greater Lyon; the general unemployment rate in Les Minguettes in 1999 is 28 per cent while the rate for younger people (15-24) is even 42 per cent. However, it is noticeable that the rate for the group aged 15-24 years

old is based on the decreasing working population since young people now stay in full-time education for a longer time.

The district also has an active nightlife; the principal participants are the young people. The most important problem of this nightlife are the traces of anti-social behaviour such as broken glass on the ground, broken barriers and other various forms of damage.

2.3 Conclusions

The level of dwellings standing empty prior to 1990 was low in both estates. Although the data is not strictly comparable, it is possible to note a similarity in the rate of empty dwellings. The question of vacancy is complex but two factors seem to have a certain influence: the changing economic situation during this period and the politics of rehabilitation set up by the French government. New policies try to adapt supply to demand through the provision of small housing units (UK, France) or by adding more high-cost blocks of flats within former social rented large estates (the Netherlands). The general consensus is about securing a continued demand for dwellings, inside or outside the very large estates, and demolition is considered as a useful tool to regulate the market and change the image of the neighbourhoods in decline within the city.

The situation of the labour force and employment differs between Rillieux and Vénissieux. This difference might be related to the structure of the labour market and the professional skills available. The situation is slightly better in Rillieux because of the balanced relation between intermediate professions and craftsmen. Meanwhile, in Vénissieux, the intermediate professions are under-represented and workers are numerous. Illiteracy, language problems, long-time joblessness, and joblessness with social difficulties are amongst the important factors of the difficult employment situation in Vénissieux.

Access to services seems to be related to the access by public transportation to the city centre of Lyon. This differs strongly between the two estates. While Vénissieux provides a rapid connection to the city centre, Rillieux is geographically separated from a part of the centre (for instance La Part-Dieu) by the Rhône River and the connection is difficult during peak hours. In Rillieux there are few shopping centres and the access to the city centre of Lyon is not always rapid. In Vénissieux shopping centres and public facilities are numerous and the proximity to the city centre of Lyon contributes to the diversity of choices.

In both estates, the North African population is numerous. Feelings of solidarity are stronger in Rillieux than in Vénissieux. Furthermore, public space seems to have more importance for the inhabitants of Vénissieux. Probably, the cultural background of inhabitants can influence the feeling of solidarity and the social practices in public space. The increasing social problems of segregation and concentration of immigrant and poor residents in the large housing estates in many European countries in the late 1970s and in the 1980s led to new political goals towards the question of rebuilding.

In the following chapters we will describe the residents' opinions about the spatial, economic and social situations in their estates. One can easily imagine that certain situations are linked to each other. So the main positive and negative aspects must be understood on the basis of direct and indirect relation between the spatial, economic and social issues quoted by the respondents of the survey.

Photo gallery

La Ville Nouvelle housing estate in Rillieux-la-Pape, Greater Lyon



*Picture 1 – A main centre of the estate with shops
(Photo: Marcus Zepf, 19-3-2003)*



*Picture 2 – A playground (Photo: Marcus Zepf,
19-3-2003)*



*Picture 3 – A public space in the estate
(Photo: Marcus Zepf, 19-3-2003)*



*Picture 4 – A main square of the estate (Photo:
Marcus Zepf, 19-3-2003)*





Picture 5 – Typical entrance of a large building from outside (Photo: Marcus Zepf, 19-3-2003)



Picture 6 – A main square of the estate (Photo: Marcus Zepf, 19-3-2003)



Picture 7 – A typical garbage place (Photo: Marcus Zepf, 19-3-2003)

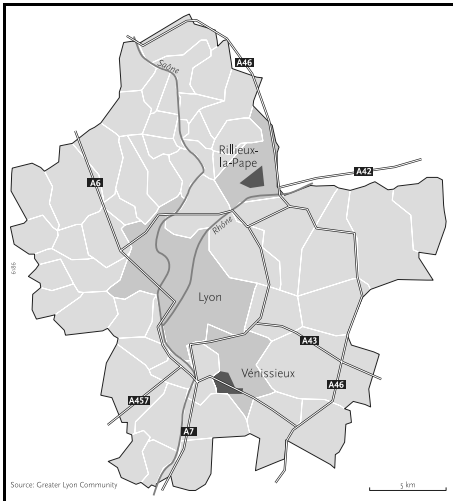


Figure 1 – Location of the two estates in Greater Lyon

Picture 8 – Centre of the estate (Photo: Marcus Zepf, 3-4-2003)



Picture 9 – A typical entrance of a large building from outside (Photo: Marcus Zepf, 3-4-2003)



Picture 10 – A main square of the estate (Photo: Marcus Zepf, 3-4-2003)



Picture 11 – A main square of the estate (Photo: Marcus Zepf, 3-4-2003)



Picture 12 – A playground
(Photo: Marcus Zepf, 3-4-2003)



Picture 13 – A public space in the estate
(Photo: Marcus Zepf, 3-4-2003)



3 The survey: methodological issues and some characteristics of respondents and dwellings

The survey was conducted during two weeks in April 2004 and the database was established at the beginning of May; the interviews were undertaken over three months (April, May and June - see the list of people interviewed at the end of this report).

Two estates are implicated in the survey: La Ville Nouvelle at Rillieux and Les Minguettes at Vénissieux. The whole of the estates were taken into account, representing 19,205 and 21,151 inhabitants, respectively, at the last national census of 1999.

3.1 The survey in La Ville Nouvelle and Les Minguettes

The sample was drawn randomly, as required. However, initially, two problems had to be solved. First of all, the address list. There is no address list legally available, in France, other than the electoral register. This document is of limited use, as many persons can live in a place and vote in another, as long as they declare to have their principal home there. Also, foreigners are not registered on these lists but are numerous in the two estates. The national statistics institute (INSEE) owns nominal lists of the inhabitants at the date of the census, but it is forbidden to publish it.³ The income roll is also not available, nor is the residential tax roll, although the latter includes whole households and the corresponding addresses. So, we had to set up an address list and the only possibility was the telephone list published by France Télécom. Of course, people can be unlisted, or have cancelled their subscription line, keeping only a mobile phone. But, according to France Télécom, there are very few of these people in the case study estates. So, we decided to use this list to set up the sample.

The second problem was about the location of the survey. As the estates have a rather heterogeneous structure in terms of housing, type of tenure and socio-economic groups, we decided to consider the whole estates, but to try to get a sample with as little spatial bias as possible. We, therefore, have chosen various streets to represent the structure of the estates more generally and to reach all the sub districts in a balanced way. Finally, out of 6,900 households in Rillieux and 7,500 in Vénissieux, one address out of 20 was chosen, and so the final list to be interviewed was 2,290 and 2,140, respectively. Out of these addresses we made two samples of 400 and 363 addresses, respectively.

3 Law 78-10 (06-01-1978) called the 'data protection act' related to informatics, files and liberties, (amendment 29-05-2004).

The inquiry was held face-to-face to avoid non-responses as much as possible. In addition, the social housing landlords informed inhabitants about the survey (see the Appendix). Even so, the initial refusal rates were very significant and even desperate, whatever the time and the days for calling! For instance, the first day in Rillieux, 22 per cent of the respondents refused to participate in the inquiry, 71 per cent were not at home or remained silent and the actual response rate was 7 per cent. The researchers also had many difficulties in getting into the buildings because of the door code systems; inhabitants open their doors more easily if people call from within the flat and not out of the building. So, generally, they wait for somebody to come in and open the door. Generally, elderly people refused to respond more than the average age group requested; the inhabitants of the co-ownership buildings were also difficult to convince, but at the end were helpful and interested. Otherwise, no language problems were encountered, all the interviews were in French, and there was always someone in the family to help the respondent in case of any difficulty in understanding the questions. Of course, the questions often had to be presented in plain language, and eventually explained.

At the end of the inquiry we obtained 100 questionnaires⁴ in Rillieux and 141 in Vénissieux, the rate of favourable answers being 25 per cent and 39 per cent, respectively, strictly compared with the sample addresses.

3.2 Characteristics of the respondents⁵

3.2.1 Demographic features

Table 3.1 – Demographic features (%)

Age categories	Les Minguettes	La Ville Nouvelle
<30	29.1	22.5
31-44	29.1	21.4
45-54	19.2	16.3
55-64	11.3	16.3
65+	11.3	23.5
Total (100%)	141	100

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

Generally speaking, the respondents are young; for instance, 58.2 per cent were less than 44 years of age (Table 3.1). On average, they are younger than the whole population of the estates (for instance in Les Minguettes, 36 per cent are between 25 and 49 years old). This corresponds certainly to this feeling of fear and mistrust towards a stranger or to an inquiry, which can be used for an unknown purpose - even against the respondent's interest - a feeling which generally affects the youngest least.

- 4 For a few questions, the result is counted out of less than 100, as a few answers are of no use (mistakes when filling the data base for instance, etc.); also, the unknown and no answer categories are only taken into account in the complete tables of the Appendix.
- 5 It is impossible to strictly compare the sample with the census results as the data available are not collected with the same purpose; the same problems appear with special data ordered by local councils or different government services.

In terms of the length of residence at the current address, the sample was fairly representative (43 per cent had lived there for at least 10 years, while 41 per cent were residents locally at the time of the last census for the same period in Rillieux, with a similar ratio in Vénissieux). The difference in the two samples in terms of more recently settled residents (2001-2004) is also significant (Table 3.2). The turnover is more important in Les Minguettes (50 per cent on average have been living in the same dwelling since 2000 and only 3 per cent from 1975) where the vacancy in Les Minguettes has been an important problem for about ten years. In La Ville Nouvelle, the population is much more stable and the attractiveness much better, partly explained by the policy of the town council to improve and maintain clean public spaces; for instance efforts are made to create flowerbeds.

Table 3.2 – Duration of living (%)

Duration of living in the dwelling	Les Minguettes	La Ville Nouvelle
Before 1960	0.0	1.0
1961-1970	0.0	8.0
1971-1980	9.9	17.0
1981-1990	18.4	23.0
1991-1995	12.1	8.0
1996-2000	24.1	25.0
2001-2004	35.5	18.0
Total (100%)	141	100

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

Persons living alone in the estate are accurately represented in La Ville Nouvelle (21.4 per cent compared to 25 per cent at the last census of 1999) and under-represented in Les Minguettes (25 per cent in 1999), as well as couples without children (24 per cent in 1999) and single parent families for the two estates (25 per cent in La Ville Nouvelle in 1999 and only 9.2 per cent in the sample; 29 per cent in Les Minguettes in 1999 and 12.9 per cent in the sample). When these persons have a job, they are very difficult to access for an interview, of course, especially more than large families which, as a consequence, seem to be over-represented in the samples even though it is difficult to strictly compare the data. For instance there are 56 per cent of families in La Ville Nouvelle with more than two persons and 32.7 per cent of couples with children in the sample (in Les Minguettes 61 per cent and 45.7 per cent, respectively) (Table 3.3).

Table 3.3 – Household composition (%)

Household composition	Les Minguettes	La Ville Nouvelle
Alone	15.0	21.4
Couple without children	16.4	21.4
Couple with child(ren)	45.7	32.7
Single parent	12.9	9.2
Other	10.1	15.3
Total (100%)	140	98

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

Due to the French emigrant context, foreigners are numerous in the sample; but, as no question can be posed in France about ethnicity, the question was about ‘country of origin’ and some confusion could have been introduced with the country and the real nationality, especially for people being recently naturalised. In La Ville Nouvelle the foreigner’s representativeness is rather good especially concerning people from the Maghreb (12 per cent in 1999) while the Asiatic population seems to be over-represented in the sample (8 per cent compared to 3 per cent in 1999). It is also well-known that this population has increased since the last census and the sample is certainly better than the census figures would let suggest (Table 3.4). In Les Minguettes, foreigners are certainly over-represented with a total 65.5 per cent but the comparison with the census data is more delicate as the information available is about householders. Altogether there are 70 per cent from the Maghreb (59 per cent of whom are from Algeria, 5 per cent from Asia and 5 per cent from Africa).

Table 3.4 – Ethnicity (%)

Ethnicity	Les Minguettes	La Ville Nouvelle
Native	34.5	60.0
Moroccan, Tunisian, Algerian	43.2	15.0
Asian	7.2	8.0
African	5.0	6.0
Other	10.1	11.0
Total (100%)	139	100

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

3.2.2 Socio-economic features

Tables 3.5 and 3.6 give an indication of the socio-economic status of the population of the sample. In terms of education, the available data in France do not allow a precise comparison as the census provides information according to qualifications obtained and to convert this to numbers of years is, of course, difficult and is also subject to different meanings.

We can assert, however, that the structure of the sample indicates a more educated level of person than expected. For instance, 31 per cent of the respondents in Les Minguettes indicated they had an educational level equivalent to between 6 and 10 years, compared to 24 per cent in the census. For a level of 11-12 years the percentages are, respectively, 28.5 per cent and 9 per cent. In La Ville Nouvelle, the gap is similar; for instance, 31.3 per cent have had a 6 to 10 years schooling while they are only 23 per cent in the census. In Les Minguettes, the population with no qualifications is 39 per cent (26 per cent in La Ville Nouvelle) and in the sample only 6 per cent and 1 per cent declares they have had no schooling from 6 years old.

The surveyed population has a clear feeling of their economic situation in declaring that their income is generally low (48 per cent in Les Minguettes and 26 per cent in La Ville Nouvelle). This reflects the objective situation; but also, significant proportions think that they belong to a middle-income group (44.5 per cent in Les Minguettes, 55.6 per cent in La Ville Nouvelle), which expresses a misleading idea of the whole socio-economic structure. Also the working population appears to be over-represented with 65.3 per cent of the sample in Les Minguettes and 50.5 per cent in La Ville Nouvelle while the unemployment rate is 28 per cent in Les Minguettes and 19.2 per cent in La Ville Nouvelle.⁶ We also know, for instance, that 59 per cent of the households in Rillieux receive social benefits and 13 per cent in Les Minguettes

Table 3.5 – Education level (%)^{*}

Education level	Les Minguettes	La Ville Nouvelle
None	6.0	1.0
1-6 years	7.5	4.0
6-10 years	31.0	31.3
11-12 years	28.5	31.3
13-14 years	12.8	23.3
15 years or more	14.2	9.1
Total (100%)	133	99

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

* In Tables 3.1A, 3.2A, 3.3A, 3.4A and 3.5A in the Appendix, the rates of the unknown responses are taken into account.

benefit from the national guarantee income. So, it seems that for the survey, the less poor inhabitants and the more educated ones were more willing to answer and are, thus, relatively over-represented.

Table 3.6 – Paid job or not, household income, source of income (%)

	Les Minguettes	La Ville Nouvelle
Paid job or not		
Yes	56.0	37.8
No	44.0	62.2
Total (100%)	141	98
Household income		
High	3.7	4.0
Medium high	3.7	14.1
Average	44.5	55.6
Medium low	22.5	14.1
Low	25.6	12.2
Total (100%)	133	99
Source of income		
Work	65.3	50.5
Unemployment or social benefit	15.2	10.1
Pension	15.2	36.4
Other	4.3	3.0
Total (100%)	138	99

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

6 Data given for 2002, and the unemployment rate has increased since.

3.3 The respondents' dwellings

3.3.1 Characteristics of the dwellings

More than 97 per cent of the respondents are housed in flats, in high-rise buildings (horizontal blocks of dwellings and towers reaching 15 floors) built during the 1960s and 1970s; at that time France was facing a severe lack of housing, especially in main cities, to accommodate flows of migrating population from the rural areas (Table 3.7).

Table 3.7 – Type of dwellings of the respondents (%)

Type of dwelling	Les Minguettes	La Ville Nouvelle
Apartment/flat	100.0	99.0
Single-family house	0.0	1.0
Total (100%)	141	100

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

The stock has changed very little since it was built. In Les Minguettes, at the beginning, there were 58 towers and 30 horizontal blocks of dwellings. Since 1982, the demolition concerns 1,100 apartments from main blocks, like the Démocratie tower (640 apartments), and all the 17-storey blocks have been demolished. In La Ville Nouvelle, there are only 0.5 per cent new more dwellings between 1982 and 1990 and 0.2 per cent between 1990 and 1999 (Table 3.8).

Table 3.8 – Building period (%)

Building period	Les Minguettes	La Ville Nouvelle
Between 1945-1960	9.8	4.2
Between 1961-1970	35.2	70.5
Between 1971-1980	42.3	23.9
Between 1981-2004	12.7	1.4
Total (100%)	71	71

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

The majority of respondents live in high-rise buildings, from 6 to 10 floors (nearly 80 per cent in Les Minguettes, slightly less in La Ville Nouvelle where there are more lower horizontal blocks of dwellings) and these figures accurately represent the housing market (Table 3.9).

Table 3.9 – Numbers of floors (%)

Number of floors of building	Les Minguettes	La Ville Nouvelle
3	7.8	1.0
4	0.7	15.0
5	5.7	3.0
6	10.6	1.0
7	27.6	24.0
8	24.8	10.0
9-15	22.6	46.0
Total (100%)	141	100

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

In terms of tenure, if social housing is important (64 per cent in Les Minguettes and 65 per cent in La Ville Nouvelle), it is slightly under-represented as owner-occupiers are more numerous in the sample than anticipated (Table 3.10). In Les Minguettes, 82 per cent of the dwellings belong to the social sector, and 18 per cent from the private sector; in La Ville Nouvelle, we obtain, respectively, 75 per cent and 25 per cent.

Table 3.10 – Tenure (%)

Tenure	Les Minguettes	La Ville Nouvelle
Rented from local council	8.6	6.1
Rented from housing association	56.1	59.6
Rented from private landlord	13.7	17.2
Owned outright	7.2	13.1
Other	14.4	4.0
Total (100%)	139	99

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

In terms of the size of the apartments, no data exists about the surface area of the apartments. However, we know that the large categories are more numerous, and small ones much fewer and the samples give a generally accurate image of this reality (Tables 3.11 and 3.12).⁷

Table 3.11 – Size of the dwellings and number of rooms (%)

	Les Minguettes	La Ville Nouvelle
Size		
Below 40 m ²	8.2	1.0
41-50 m ²	9.0	4.4
51-60 m ²	9.0	8.6
61-80 m ²	42.6	24.8
81-100 m ²	23.0	40.8
Over 100 m ²	8.2	24.4
Total (100%)	122	93
Number of rooms		
One bedroom	10.0	5.0
Two bedrooms	36.4	40.0
Three bedrooms	38.6	42.0
Four bedrooms	13.6	12.0
Five or more bedrooms	1.4	1.0
Total (100%)	140	100

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

⁷ For instance, in La Ville Nouvelle: 42 per cent of the apartments are T4 (3 bedrooms) for 38 per cent in the sample, 13 per cent are T1 and T2 for 7 per cent.

Table 3.12 – Housing expenses (%)

Housing expenses	Les Minguettes	La Ville Nouvelle
Less than 10 per cent	1.8	10.0
11-30 per cent	35.5	72.9
31-50 per cent	48.2	15.7
More than 50 per cent	14.5	1.4
Total (100%)	110	70

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

3.3.2 Housing history

The housing history described by the respondents conforms to what is already known. A significant proportion of them comprise young inhabitants, having left the family for a personal home, or being single parents, arriving in the social housing stock for economic reasons, in addition to which, a large part of the total is even held captive of this type of housing, also for social and economic reasons. It is obvious that in Les Minguettes, nearly 35 per cent declare their previous address has been on the same estate, and this is because of the low cost (34 per cent) or because they come from abroad (8.5 per cent) or because there is no possibility to live elsewhere (18.2 per cent) (Table 3.13).

Table 3.13 – Reasons for moving to the neighbourhood and previous dwelling localisation (%)

	Les Minguettes	La Ville Nouvelle
Reasons for moving to the neighbourhood		
Low rent/housing costs	34.0	18.5
Nearness to relatives and friends	15.3	13.0
Nearness to work	8.8	32.6
Good connections	1.4	1.1
Good schools	0.7	0.0
Presence of other services	1.4	5.4
No other dwellings available	18.2	3.3
Other	20.2	26.1
Total (100%)	138	92
Previous dwelling localisation		
In the same neighbourhood	34.8	20.2
Somewhere else in the city	29.8	37.4
Elsewhere in the country	26.9	39.4
Elsewhere abroad	8.5	3.0
Total (100%)	141	99

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

3.4 Conclusions

For certain questions, the sample shows some bias compared to the whole estate. But, of course, the established rules of the survey can easily explain it. The sample is a random one and the estates are territorially non-homogeneous.

Also, it is very difficult to make this type of inquiry in such a housing and social context. For many questions, it is also very difficult to strictly and quantitatively appreciate the representativeness of the sample as the data do not exist or are not comparable.

But, as far as we have certain knowledge of the estates, we can say that these two samples can be taken into account; in spite of the peculiar features of the two estates, we finally can say that the samples describe a young population, relatively stable if we consider the duration of living, especially in La Ville Nouvelle, or recently arrived in Les Minguettes. For a majority, the inhabitants from rather large families have greatly participated in the various movements of emigration, mainly from Northern Africa. However, we have to note that it is not the population facing the largest difficulties in terms of education and socio-economic level, which has been certainly willing to answer such an inquiry.

4

Positive and negative aspects of the estates

In this chapter the results of the survey in Les Minguettes and La Ville Nouvelle will be presented. These results comprise data from a quantitative survey by means of a questionnaire with 241 retained interviewed residents and a qualitative survey with more profound interviews with 15 key persons. The data contributes to an impression of what people think about the places they live in.

The methodological approach of crossing the different variables helped to get answers to the questions about the positive and negative factors of the estates as a place to live. In the first part of this chapter the focus is on the activities of the people in their neighbourhood. The aim of this section is to point out the importance (participation and sequences of practices and usage) of the neighbourhood for the respondents.

In the second part of this chapter the satisfaction with the home will be analysed. This analysis gathers the answers of the respondents related to different aspects of the living environment such as: personal and household characteristics, the importance of the neighbourhood and also factual data such as the size of the dwellings.

In the third part of this chapter the main interest is on the satisfaction with the estate. The problems identified in earlier stages of the research will be related to either personal or household characteristics and also to the importance of the neighbourhood for the people. The aim of this part is to present a sort of ranking of those aspects that are liked the most and the least.

The fourth part of this chapter will point out the social aspects in the area. In this part the cross tabulating of the spatial and social variable will help to highlight the most important influences of the built environment towards social practices and social structure. In the last part, finally, a synopsis of the major positive and negative aspects of the estate will be drawn.

4.1 What do people do in the neighbourhood?

The perception of the inhabitants about their neighbourhood generally depends on their attachment and/or their use of the area. For these reasons, the results have to be interrogated carefully and interviews with key persons added to this. For example, some inhabitants agree on the reputation and the bad image of their estate, or they deduce common phenomena about 'problems with young people' as linked with the feeling of insecurity.

In this survey, we had fairly usable data about the lack of participation of residents in associations to improve the neighbourhood. This result is common because for the inhabitants this activity is seen mainly as the role of public actors (state, commune, council housing manager, etc.) and not that of the residents themselves. In the two estates and in all age groups, this personal commitment is very weak (7.8 per cent in Les Minguettes and 14 per cent in La Ville Nouvelle), no matter the attachment to the neighbourhood (Table 4.1). Within this percentage, the participation in any meetings is negligible. Only four persons interviewed in Les Minguettes and five in La Ville Nouvelle have admitted to any real participation.

But, in Les Minguettes, a tenants' association in the Leo Lagrange area for the three housing companies (interview made with their president) has only existed since May 2004. These few inhabitants now want to collaborate with the landlords to improve first the relationships between tenants and managers, and also the future of the neighbourhood. For example, they made a survey of the 457 inhabitants in this area, asking if they would like to buy their apartment. The results were not surprising because many elderly have accepted that they will not have to pay again (for these persons, the past rents that they paid during their residency in the apartment would have to cover the price of the dwelling and, after that, they could become owner of their apartment).

Table 4.1 – Participation in association to improve the neighbourhood (%)

Participation	Les Minguettes	La Ville Nouvelle
Yes	7.8	14.0
No	88.7	86.0
Unknown	3.5	0.0
Total (100%)	141	100

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

Generally, when participation exists, it basically concerns sports clubs or cultural associations. In Les Minguettes, 21.3 per cent said yes to this question and in La Ville Nouvelle, 34 per cent. In both estates, we noticed many cultural associations, especially linked to specific communities (Algeria, Tunisia, natives of the Comoros, Turkey, etc.). Such information means that the immigrants do not isolate themselves when they arrive in the estate but recreate the social ties with their compatriots.

As mentioned before, some inhabitants seem to confuse the reputation and the bad image of their estate and they often make a link between different kinds of problems and the feeling of insecurity. In fact, the question related to safety is a topic, which has always been a focus of interviews. For the inhabitants of both case study estates, the neighbourhood seems to be very important, but the current problems of safety could have changed their representation.

For example, the former member of the city council, currently responsible for a social centre in Rillieux, and the assistant of the mayor, responsible for crime prevention and safety, in Vénissieux, gave the same answer when they were asked about the importance of the neighbourhood for the inhabitants and about their real needs inside of it. From their point of view, a suitable dwelling and a safe place to live are the questions, which have priority among residents. In this sense, the confusion, which is often made by the inhabitants between problems

and the feeling of insecurity, also related to the bad image of the estate, could have influenced the inhabitants towards a feeling of rejection.

4.1.1 The main activities in the neighbourhood

In regard to the activities in the neighbourhood, we can underline once again the very weak participation of the inhabitants as a common point for both case studies. In fact, during the survey, we realised that the persons that answered the survey were not aware about the policies and even about the activities carried out in their neighbourhood (Table 4.2). The results of the survey have shown this reality: 58.2 per cent of the interviewed persons in Les Minguettes and 68.0 per cent in La Ville Nouvelle could not mention any kind of policy existing in their estate. However, in relation to the participation and to the very weak rates, it is important to say that this situation is maybe a generalised reality, even for the rest of the city, where the rates of participation are also rather weak.

Table 4.2 – Knowledge of the policies or actions considering the improvement of living in the neighbourhood (%)

Knowledge of the policies or actions	Les Minguettes	La Ville Nouvelle
Yes	21.3	22.0
No	58.2	68.0
Unknown	20.6	10.0
Total (100%)	141	100

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

Moreover, through the numerous interviews we have done, we could confirm that some practices seem to be very common and generally observed in the estates. In Les Minguettes, the appropriation of public spaces is very marked in some districts by the differences of generation, of origin and sex. The old people like to meet each other to talk or to play bowls; the young people are generally present in green spaces and near the schools (it is not impossible to make a relation between these practices and the drug abuse, according to an actor interviewed) and the women are, mainly, present when school comes out or at the market place (also because they do not use the shopping centre Vénissy, which is a place mainly appropriated by men from North Africa).

In La Ville Nouvelle, the appropriation of public spaces could be seen in a positive and a negative way. According to the former member of the city council of Rillieux, previously quoted, there is a negative interpretation, normally observed in relation to the appropriation of the public spaces by youngsters group: because of the dysfunctions and the bad practices (e.g. the drug abuse, the consummation of alcoholic drinks, etc.), the persons who do not belong to this group usually try to avoid these places.

4.2 Satisfaction with the dwelling

In general, we note that the majority of the respondents of La Ville Nouvelle or Les Minguettes are satisfied with their dwellings (51 per cent in Les Minguettes and 46.5 per cent in Ville Nouvelle), and very satisfied (27 per cent in Les Minguettes and 48.5 per cent in La Ville Nouvelle). There are thus few unsatisfied residents (22 per cent in Les Minguettes and 5 per cent in La Ville Nouvelle). There is a difference between the two case studies concerning the share of very satisfied and unsatisfied respondents. Indeed in Les Minguettes the share of unsatisfied respondents is much more significant than in La Ville Nouvelle. And the share of very satisfied respondents is much more important in La Ville Nouvelle than in Les Minguettes.

In this section, we will try to characterise the population. We will also try to describe the characteristics of housing and the role of the estate in the feeling of satisfaction towards housing. Within the survey, we used a gradual scale to evaluate this satisfaction: answers below five have been coded as 'unsatisfied', while answers above seven have been coded as 'very satisfied'.

4.2.1 Population and satisfaction with the dwelling

We will correlate some criteria of the population (age, ethnic groups, relation with the other inhabitants) and the degree of satisfaction towards housing.

Considering the satisfaction of housing compared to the age of the population we see that, for the estate of Les Minguettes, the 18-30 year old group are divided equally between unsatisfied and very satisfied (Table 4.3) whereas the level of dissatisfaction in La Ville Nouvelle is much lower. Concerning those of 65 years of age and above, we notice on the two estates, that they are very satisfied with their dwellings. The people 65 years old and more are often people who have lived in the estate for many years. At Les Minguettes it would seem that the landlords refuse all requests of moving from the elderly. Also, the president of the association ARCH Adult said: '*They do not want to leave Vénisieux for other places.*' Moreover, old people, for the majority, wish to remain in the estate. Often their children have left and they do not know where to go.

Table 4.3 – Satisfaction with the dwelling according to the age of respondents in Les Minguettes and La Ville Nouvelle (%)

	Age categories				Total
	18-30	31-50	51-65	65+	
Les Minguettes					
Unsatisfied	26.8	21.0	22.5	8.3	22.0
Satisfied	46.3	59.7	45.2	41.7	51.0
Very satisfied	26.8	19.3	32.3	50.0	27.0
Total (100%)	41	57	31	12	141
La Ville Nouvelle					
Unsatisfied	13.6	3.6	0.0	4.4	5.2
Satisfied	54.6	50.0	54.2	30.4	47.4
Very satisfied	31.8	46.4	45.8	65.2	47.4
Total (100%)	22	28	24	23	97

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

Table 4.4 shows clearly that the inhabitants who planned to move within two years are quite satisfied and even very satisfied with their dwelling (66.6 per cent in Les Minguettes and 88.6 per cent in La Ville Nouvelle). The main reason evoked to move does not concern the home (see Chapter 6). But we see a little difference between the two estates; thus in La Ville Nouvelle the respondents who want to leave the estate are only 10.7 per cent unsatisfied with their dwelling and 33.4 per cent in Les Minguettes.

Table 4.4 – Satisfaction with the dwelling according to plans to move within two years in Les Minguettes and La Ville Nouvelle (%)

	Plans to move		Total
	Yes	No	
Les Minguettes			
Unsatisfied	33.4	11.4	21.8
Satisfied	46.0	54.3	50.4
Very satisfied	20.6	34.3	27.8
Total (100%)	63	70	133
La Ville Nouvelle			
Unsatisfied	10.7	3.2	5.5
Satisfied	57.2	42.8	47.3
Very satisfied	32.1	54.0	47.2
Total (100%)	28	63	91

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

People having fairly modest housing costs according to the global household income are satisfied and very satisfied with their home (78.1 per cent in Les Minguettes and 93.1 per cent in La Ville Nouvelle). But in Les Minguettes the share of unsatisfied is more important than in La Ville Nouvelle (respectively 22 per cent, 6.9 per cent) (Table 4.5).

Table 4.5 – Satisfaction with the dwelling according to the share of the income to cover the total housing costs of respondents in Les Minguettes and La Ville Nouvelle (%)

	Housing costs			Total
	< 30 %	31-50 %	> 50 %	
Les Minguettes				
Unsatisfied	22.0	20.8	18.7	21.0
Satisfied	56.1	49.1	56.3	52.7
Very satisfied	22.0	30.1	25.0	26.3
Total (100%)	41	53	16	110
La Ville Nouvelle				
Unsatisfied	6.9	9.1	0.0	7.2
Satisfied	53.4	36.4	100	51.4
Very satisfied	39.7	54.5	0.0	41.4
Total (100%)	58	11	1	70

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

Inhabitants of French extraction are more often dissatisfied with their housing in Les Minguettes than in La Ville Nouvelle. Moreover, the inhabitants of French origin are very satisfied with their housing in La Ville Nouvelle (more than a half); something that is true neither for the other population groups nor in Les Minguettes (Table 4.6).

Table 4.6 – Satisfaction with the dwelling according to the ethnicity of respondents in Les Minguettes and La Ville Nouvelle (%)

	Ethnicity			Total
	Native	Moroccan Tunisian Algerian	Other	
Les Minguettes				
Unsatisfied	20.9	25.0	24.3	23.4
Satisfied	54.1	45.0	51.5	49.7
Very satisfied	25.0	30.0	24.2	26.9
Total (100%)	48	60	33	141
La Ville Nouvelle				
Unsatisfied	6.7	6.6	0.0	5.0
Satisfied	38.3	66.7	52.0	46.0
Very satisfied	55.0	26.7	48.0	49.0
Total (100%)	60	15	25	100

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

Table 4.7 shows us the correlation between the relations of the inhabitants with their neighbours and the degree of satisfaction towards housing. Indeed, 60 per cent of the inhabitants who have bad relations with their neighbours are unsatisfied with their housing in Les Minguettes. And 87.1 per cent of the inhabitants in Les Minguettes and 96.2 per cent of the inhabitants in La Ville Nouvelle who have good relations with other residents are satisfied or very satisfied with their dwellings. The contacts between residents influence the degree of satisfaction towards housing.

Table 4.7 – Satisfaction with the dwelling according to the rate of contacts with other residents of respondents in Les Minguettes and La Ville Nouvelle (%)

	Rate contacts with other residents			Total
	Good	Moderate	Bad	
Les Minguettes				
Unsatisfied	12.9	23.4	60.0	22.0
Satisfied	47.1	63.9	33.3	51.5
Very satisfied	40.0	12.7	6.7	26.5
Total (100%)	70	47	15	132

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

Table 4.7 – Satisfaction with the dwelling according to the rate of contacts with other residents of respondents in Les Minguettes and La Ville Nouvelle (%) (continued)

	Rate contacts with other residents			Total
	Good	Moderate	Bad	
La Ville Nouvelle				
Unsatisfied	3.8	7.1	0.0	4.3
Satisfied	42.3	64.3	100	46.2
Very satisfied	53.9	28.6	0.0	49.5
Total (100%)	78	14	1	93

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

4.2.2 Housing and the estate

The size of the dwelling has been taken into account to measure the degree of satisfaction concerning the housing.

Table 4.8 – Satisfaction with the dwelling according to the size of the dwelling of respondents in Les Minguettes and La Ville Nouvelle (%)

	Size of dwelling			Total
	< 50m ²	51m ² <5<79m ²	>80m ²	
Les Minguettes				
Unsatisfied	42.8	19.0	13.2	21.3
Satisfied	28.6	60.4	50.0	51.6
Very satisfied	28.6	20.6	36.8	27.1
Total (100%)	21	63	38	122
La Ville Nouvelle				
Unsatisfied	0.0	9.7	1.8	4.4
Satisfied	50.0	64.5	36.8	46.7
Very satisfied	50.0	25.8	61.4	48.9
Total (100%)	4	31	57	92

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

Concerning size, 42 per cent of the inhabitants living in a small flat (less than 50m²) are unsatisfied with their housing in Les Minguettes. On the contrary, in La Ville Nouvelle, the four respondents interviewed are satisfied with their housing of the same surface (Table 4.8). But, of course, respondents being so few, it is impossible to generalise. On the contrary, the inhabitants living in large flats are very satisfied. A person interviewed, a member of the committee of the estate of La Ville Nouvelle said: *'the dwellings are very well conceived and large'*.

The dissatisfaction towards housing follows the dissatisfaction towards the estate in a very significant way for Les Minguettes. In fact, 42.3 per cent of the dissatisfied respondents of the estate are also dissatisfied with the housing. And when satisfaction towards the estate decreases compared to the years spent there, it also decreases towards housing (51.9 per cent of the inhabitants of Les Minguettes). We find the same correlation for the share of the population very satisfied with the estate and the housing. For the estate of La Ville Nouvelle, this

correlation does not exist for dissatisfaction: only 7.7 per cent of the dissatisfied population is also dissatisfied with the housing. Also, we notice that 64.3 per cent of the population is very satisfied both with the estate and the housing (Table 4.9). However the increase or the fall of the degree of satisfaction towards the estate does not seem to have any link with the degree of satisfaction for housing for the inhabitants of La Ville Nouvelle.

Table 4.9 – Satisfaction with the dwelling according to the satisfaction with the estate of respondents in Les Minguettes and La Ville Nouvelle (%)

	Satisfaction with the estate			Total
	Unsatisfied	Satisfied	Very Satisfied	
Les Minguettes				
Unsatisfied	42.3	14.8	0.0	22.8
Satisfied	46.2	65.6	21.8	50.7
Very satisfied	11.5	19.7	78.2	26.5
Total (100%)	52	61	23	136
La Ville Nouvelle				
Unsatisfied	7.7	5.2	3.6	5.0
Satisfied	53.8	51.7	32.1	46.5
Very satisfied	38.5	43.1	64.3	48.5
Total (100%)	13	58	28	99

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

4.3 Satisfaction with the estate

We will try to discuss here the aspects that are preferred in the estates and which have been pointed out by the respondents and the interviewed persons.

The green spaces and the accessibility to public services are, undoubtedly, the most popular aspects in both of our case studies. In fact, the rates of the survey confirm this tendency, already revealed by the previous reports. The urban form of the buildings are, in a certain way, compensated by the verdant character of the neighbourhoods: indeed, 22 per cent of the respondents in Les Minguettes and 35 per cent in La Ville Nouvelle have mentioned this point, as a good aspect of their estates.

Moreover, public services and public facilities are also a very popular aspect: 22.7 per cent of the respondents in Les Minguettes and 21 per cent in La Ville Nouvelle have underlined this point (Table 4.10), even if the satisfaction with the estate in general has had an inexpressive evolution (Table 4.11).

One of the inhabitants of La Ville Nouvelle has given evidence about both of these aspects: *‘we can be happy here, you know... there are a lot of nurseries, schools, doctors... and there is something more: when you go for a walk here, you can feel that there is a sort of soul of a little town... people know each other, say hello... in Lyon, kids can’t play anymore... here, children have a special freedom thanks to the parks and the green spaces we have here... Rillieux has a lot of aspects, which we can’t find in Lyon*

anymore'. The relationship between the inhabitants is indeed a positive point and the results of the survey confirm this: 49.6 per cent of the respondents in Les Minguettes and 79.0 per cent in La Ville Nouvelle have mentioned that they have good relations in the neighbourhood (Table 4.12).

Table 4.10 – Aspects that are the most liked in Les Minguettes and La Ville Nouvelle (%)

Aspects that are liked the most	Les Minguettes	La Ville Nouvelle
Green spaces	22.0	35.0
Accessibility to public services	22.7	21.0
Playgrounds for children	3.5	3.0
Youth facilities	0.7	0.0
Proximity to work	8.5	6.0
Proximity to schools	12.8	3.0
Quality of local schools	1.4	3.0
People who live there	10.5	7.0
Others	5.0	16.0
Unknown	12.9	6.0
Total (100%)	141	100

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

Table 4.11 – Evolution of the satisfaction with the estate (%)

Evolution of the satisfaction with the estate	Les Minguettes	La Ville Nouvelle
Lower	39.7	39.0
Same	31.9	33.0
Higher	13.5	16.0
Not concerned (lives in the district since less than one year)	8.5	8.0
Unknown	6.4	4.0
Total (100%)	141	100

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

Table 4.12 – Relationship between the inhabitants in the neighbourhood (%)

Relationship in the neighbourhood	Les Minguettes	La Ville Nouvelle
Good	49.6	79.0
Moderate	33.3	14.0
Bad	10.6	1.0
Unknown	6.4	6.0
Total (100%)	141	100

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

However, all the points related to the petty crimes in the suburbs, like vandalism, anti-social behaviour and all the phenomena of grouping seem to be the aspects that are the most disliked. Even if the rates concerning the feeling of insecurity are rather weak (53.9 per cent of the respondents in Les Minguettes and 65 per cent in La Ville Nouvelle have said that they do not feel insecure), the management of those problems in daily life has presented difficulties

(Table 4.13). Nevertheless, this question remains a very delicate aspect to be commented and most of the inhabitants remain silent about this subject: *'in fact, if there is a feeling of insecurity, they won't tell you'*, said an owner of La Ville Nouvelle. According to her, *'people are very scared about these problems and they prefer to manage with it'*.

Table 4.13 – *The feeling of insecurity among the inhabitants of the two neighbourhoods (%)*

Feeling of insecurity among the inhabitants	Les Minguettes	La Ville Nouvelle
Yes	40.4	22.0
No	53.9	65.0
Not concerned (lives in the district since less than one year)	1.4	3.0
Unknown	4.3	10.0
Total (100%)	141	100

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

The opposition between the rates of the feeling of insecurity and the problems faced by the respondents on a daily basis has brought some interviewed actors to mention the *'law of the silence'*: *'it really exists... some inhabitants are aware about this fact and they don't want to talk about this because they are scared... there are some problems that we have just found out: the young people who work at Bioforce are constantly confronted with the question of delinquency... everyday they have to face the fringes of society and they have to accept it'*, said the assistant of the mayor of Vénissieux, responsible for prevention and safety. *'The feeling of unsafety exists, but people are scared and they mask this fact... we are the most confronted with the daily delinquency... at the high school and even at the school, there is a real problem... this situation has forced people to change their way of life: I never leave objects in my car, for example... and I'm not the only one'* said a previous member of the city council of Rillieux.

In fact, we have an important point to underline here: the problems, which the inhabitants have to confront in their daily lives seem to be the same problems identified in our previous report, in particular related to the questions of insecurity. However, we can not confirm it through the results of the survey. In this sense, we could make the assumption that the respondents have not given an accurate answer, because of their fear. If it were true, all the ideas about the satisfaction with the estate would be completely questionable.

4.4 Social aspects in the area

Indeed, 37 per cent of the inhabitants of Les Minguettes are unsatisfied with their district against 13 per cent for the inhabitants of La Ville Nouvelle. In contrast, 41 per cent of the inhabitants of La Ville Nouvelle are strongly attached to their estate compared to 29.1 per cent for Les Minguettes. This attachment with the estate is not linked to some 'solidarity' between neighbours, as 55.8 per cent of the inhabitants are not involved in this type of network.

Many of the inhabitants have neither family nor friends in the estate (32.6 per cent for Les Minguettes and 30 per cent for La Ville Nouvelle). However, they consider themselves of having good relationships with their vicinity: 79 per cent for the inhabitants of La Ville Nouvelle and

49.6 per cent for the inhabitants of Les Minguettes. Finally, the inhabitants say that they are on good terms with their neighbours because they do not know each other or do so very little. One interviewee, a member of the committee of the estate of La Ville Nouvelle said: *'the relations between neighbours are good. With the two Moroccan women of the building, we discuss a little; with the husbands it is more 'hello-good evening'. I've known them for a long time but we have no common activities. Also, on the ground floor, there is an Asian family, but they do not speak, and there is no contact with them'*.

Concerning social mix, some differences appear between the two estates; 76 per cent of the people interviewed in La Ville Nouvelle find the estate socially heterogeneous, only 31.9 per cent in Les Minguettes; whereas 40.4 per cent of the inhabitants of Les Minguettes find the estate socially homogeneous against 15 per cent for La Ville Nouvelle. This difference can be explained by a relatively important group of civil servants living in the estate of La Ville Nouvelle (district of Mont-Blanc).

The inhabitants are not opposed to a high level of social mix. Although, some are more reserved on this subject. One respondent said to us: *'ethnicity creates problems because we live differently. My neighbours cook spiced peppers, I like it, but it is true that the Asian kitchen have some smells not always appreciated... it can be awkward... I am not a racist; sometimes when I go to the market I am upset, I see those foreign faces, well that makes a strange effect (...) I think that the problems do not come from the racism of people but from the coexistence, an excessively high level of co-existence, a concentration at the same place. It is perhaps a form of racism, I do not know. I think that it is more a coexistence problem'*. It is not easy to know the true feeling of the inhabitants. Some people answered 'good' for this question (Table 4.14) because, maybe, they do not want to be called a racist.

Table 4.14 – Appreciation of high level of social mix in the estate of respondents in Les Minguettes and La Ville Nouvelle (%)

	Good	Neutral	Bad	Unknown	Total
Les Minguettes	42.6	30.5	9.2	17.7	141
La Ville Nouvelle	49	30	9	12	100

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

4.5 Conclusions

The analysis of the positive and negative aspects of the estates in Lyon seems to be characterised in general by the paradoxical feeling of a great number of respondents between the satisfaction of their neighbourhood and the weak attachment to it. In fact, even if the residents seem to approve of their estate and have a strong feeling of belonging to their neighbourhood, they would leave it rapidly if they had the choice to go elsewhere. How can this paradox be explained?

This situation is probably due to the rather balanced situation between the positive and negative aspects of the estate in Lyon. One of the main positive aspects of the neighbourhood quoted by the respondents is for instance the quality of public space. Even if the appropriation of the public spaces in the neighbourhoods is rather fragmented (between young people and

older people, men and women), these spaces are very important for the social cohesion and the feeling of belonging to the area.

Besides, the uncomfortable situation of petty crimes in the neighbourhood seems to be a negative aspect in daily life for the respondents, even if a significant proportion of them do not feel unsafe. A main positive aspect can be related to the feeling of safety, which is the strong relationship between the inhabitants of the neighbourhoods. It seems that the perception of the inhabitants of the estates in Lyon balances between the feeling of ease and unease towards the question of public space and social relationship.

The lack of awareness of the respondents of urban policies on the estates is a big problem. This problem can be related to the feeling of abandonment of a great number of residents. Probably this is another negative aspect contributing to the weak attachment to the estates.

In spite of similar policies applied locally, the two estates remain very different. On average, the households of La Ville Nouvelle are richer than Les Minguettes ones and the exclusion process is less significant in Rillieux. Nevertheless, despite policies of urban regeneration on physical environment and housing, inhabitants are currently poorer than 15 or 20 years ago.

The policies are various and numerous. Nevertheless, the inhabitants are more interested, according to the respondents, by some policies, such as rehabilitation (especially for their own dwelling), safety or for the physical environment (as these policies lead to tangible outcomes). So, this chapter is furthermore oriented to the most representative policies.

5.1 Main policies and actions in Les Minguettes and La Ville Nouvelle

In respect to French political traditions, some key principles, such as equality of treatment for territories or people, are the basis of urban policy. And, in spite of the decentralisation process, France remains a centralised state. Central government is still the main policy maker. Therefore, the policies applied in different places are similar, like 'Grand projet de ville' (GPV), with specific human and, above all, financial efforts to the housing and built environment, or 'Contrat de ville' (CDV), the most common initiative for French cities. GPV only concerns the most disadvantaged very large estates, and CDV is a very common contract in relation to partnerships (central state and local authorities) and for one or several neighbourhoods in decline (post-WWII large estates or inner city areas with social difficulties). Over time, and especially since the 1980s, urban conventions, and the specific urban actions within them, have expanded significantly: many urban areas are now implicated and the majority of physical and social actions are incorporated within urban policy, as educational practices in public schools, contracts for cooperation to fight against insecurity, and so on.

In the case of Lyon, more than 60 CDVs exist and Greater Lyon, the administrative organisation of the city with 55 communes, is an important partner in all policies. As a result, we must note two general periods of public action. The first is during the 1980s in which the key stakeholders were local (i.e. from the communes) with no strong political direction from the Greater Lyon council. The second, with the election of M. Noir, mayor between 1989 and 1995, introduced a genuine solidarity within the conurbation, especially with regard to a new organisation of the Greater Lyon offices. Noir focused on Greater Lyon as a conurbation of the future (creation of an international city), by finding new cooperative forms between Greater

Lyon (traditionally chaired by the mayor of Lyon) and the other communes and by seeking new solutions to improve the urban and social situation in the declining neighbourhoods. Since this period, there has been a similar style of management under the two last mayors (R. Barre, 1995-2001, and G. Collomb since 2001).

Nevertheless, each commune of the urban conurbation of Lyon has a specific history, and often a particular social and cultural identity within the city. In order to understand the results of public policies for neighbourhoods and populations, we have to remember the recent urban history of each site. In the early 1980s, Les Minguettes witnessed urban riots for equal rights for young French people of foreign, especially Arabic, origin. These riots have had an influence nationally on state policy for estates. In La Ville Nouvelle, the situation was, and stays, different; the population is socially and ethnically more mixed and (even if there are differences at a very local level) each district is relatively homogeneous.

However, recent developments (the 1990s overall) give rise to fewer and fewer differences between districts. Exclusion and poverty seem to increase everywhere, despite various and often important public policies. The integration issues (in city, in nation, in employment sector, etc.) are not visible while the urban landscape changes day after day.

5.1.1 Housing and the built environment policies

As in other European countries with very large estates in decline the most significant public actions concern housing and the built environment. Our sites are included in CDV of Greater Lyon and each one is a GPV too. So, the most important general objectives of this type of contract are to regenerate the estate by transforming planning, housing and environment, by improving transport, by encouraging economic growth inside the neighbourhood. By restructuring the housing and physical environment, the stakeholders wish to improve the quality of life and to give a better image of the estate, if possible a residential one to attract new households.

Thus, currently, this policy is called urban renewal. According to the policymakers the obsolescence (both physical and cultural) involves the inadequacy between the current type of urban form, urban planning and the current demand and conception. Therefore, renovation and refurbishing policies still exist, but the main new orientation is demolition. The urban projects are projected to demolish the worst districts or the worst blocks, as towers in La Vilette (La Ville Nouvelle) or towers in La Darnaise (Les Minguettes) or blocks in Monmousseau (Les Minguettes). Demolition is the first stage of the action. The aim is to obtain lower densities, more adequate spaces for living, etc., in order to create and build a new urban landscape. Consequently, the second stage is reconstruction in order to improve the local environment by building small blocks with individual entrances (La Darnaise, Les Minguettes, or Les Cerisiers also in Les Minguettes) and to attract new population or to involve a better image of their neighbourhood for existing households.

More precisely, the urban renewal project for Les Minguettes and La Ville Nouvelle plans several actions. In Rillieux, the demolition programme of 'Barre des Nations', 10 avenue de l'Europe and main Vilette towers⁸ is accompanied by redevelopment measures for public spaces inside districts (Mont Blanc, La Vilette for example) and by refurbishment of most of the

8 These blocks are considered as the worst blocks for social difficulties.

remaining blocks. On the other hand, the project aims to reshape a large green space, renovating car parks and increasing gardens with flowers around blocks. Finally, pedestrian roads will be improved and connected to the main road, the Avenue de l'Europe. In Les Minguettes, the work on the major road Jean Cagne involves the creation of a site designated as the route of the future tramway line A4, as well as the construction of two new public amenities, the Centre Michel Delay (IUFM⁹) and the municipal music school, which is located, at present, in the downtown area. Moreover, the set of interventions of urban planning, which is proposed for the Cerisier block could be considered as the most important part of the project because of its scale. This 'Îlot du Cerisier' project (Cerisier block) includes the development of the public spaces and the roadway system, as well as the relocation of some parking areas. Finally, the urban renewal project plans the demolition of the local shopping centre (called 'Vénissy') and the construction of a new one, a classical village centre with streets and shops along them.

5.1.2 The safety policies

The CDV of Greater Lyon has determined the main directions related to the questions of safety. As usual the principle is partnership between local authorities and central state actors.

For both of the case studies, the 'Contrat local de sécurité'¹⁰, part of the CDV, has implemented some important actions concerning the public 'tranquillity'. For the success of this project, prevention of delinquency and reduction of the feeling of insecurity have been considered as the most important issues. In this respect, the communes of Vénissieux and Rillieux have focused on different issues: the consolidation of the methods, which had already been implemented since the old contract; the collaboration between the actors involved in safety, with the aim to take action, according to the needs of the population; as well as the importance of taking into account the safety questions related to the future urban or economic projects.

More concretely, in Vénissieux and Rillieux, three main policies exist. On the one hand, the activity of the national police; on the other hand, the trend of increasing the number of commune policemen and reducing the number of national policemen in order to respond to social demand for safety; finally, some new services have been organised to improve safety in the estates. In Vénissieux, the office for tranquillity works mainly on delinquency related to cars. With a paid access and having around 100 places, these parking areas were located in three different districts of Les Minguettes: Darnaise, Rotonde and Pyramide. The protected parking areas are open from Monday to Friday, between 18:00 and 08:00, and at all times during the weekend. Moreover, the 'Agents Locaux de Médiation Sociale' (local social mediation staff) were placed there to ensure a preventive and a dissuasive presence, as well as to establish a dialogue with the residents.

Rillieux's local contract of safety, which was signed on June 1999, has also a specific objective related to public spaces: the interest of developing the public presence in the districts of La Ville Nouvelle, by the installation of neighbourhood observers. This action has been carried out with a strict articulation between the services of the commune and those of the local and national police. For the public partners, it is a question of reinforcing the feeling of proximity of the service to the residents, by the presence of the local staff of social mediation. The six young

9 IUFM: 'Institut Universitaire de Formation des Maîtres' (University training institute for masters).

10 CLS: 'Contrat local de sécurité' (local contract of safety).

people, who are involved in this action, have to be present in public spaces, in shopping centres and in other areas. In fact, based on a work of investigation and observation, they have to report to the commune and Greater Lyon, the problems and the dysfunctions in regard to behaviour and social relationships. In this respect, the problems related to anti-social behaviour have been also detected and directly announced to the local staff of police.

For the local actors of the communes of Vénissieux and Rillieux, specially the politicians and the representatives of the police, the feeling of insecurity has also been linked to acts of vandalism or to anti-social behaviour detected in the thoroughfares, like the halls or the alleys of the social housing buildings. Moreover, all the 'grouping phenomena', like the squats in the semi-private areas of the buildings, and even the problems in regard to the violence against the young girls of the social housing estates - sexual violence, rapes and other aggressions - have accentuated the preoccupations related to this question. The set of these situations has led those actors to create some new devices, with the aim to maintain the public tranquillity, even within public thoroughfares.

The policy, which will be described here, has been implemented in our two case studies and is called 'Présence tranquillité' (presence tranquillity). The main activity of this policy is based on a continued presence of the local staff in the thoroughfares of the buildings, even at night. These staffs are comprised of young people who live in the estate. The people that have promoted this work have a specific objective: they must go over their functions of mediation and promote the social cohesion between the residents. Their role can be also considered like a sort of extension of the social landlords' services, because they also have to hear from the residents all their complaints. Moreover, they may help the social landlords to integrate new practices and new actions, according to the local contract of safety.

Since the previous RESTATE report, the state efforts for safety in the Rillieux commune have changed the local situation. The Home Ministry has given new means to local and national police forces; 23 French declining neighbourhoods are involved in these measures. The Rillieux national police have obtained 16 more policemen for night patrols and four persons for investigation. They also obtained new materials to protect them and the police cars, and new materials for daily work ('flashball' guns, new phones for cellar operations).

5.1.3 Social and economic policies

We present this policy at the end because the answers to the survey do not illustrate this type of question. Education, skills or health are real problems, but they did not particularly interest local households; nevertheless, local and state policies are applied to improve training and educational attainment. The responses to the questionnaire indicates an interest in employment, and especially the lack of employment, but no one is aware of the free tax areas policy or any of the services (public, associative or private) working on unemployment and economic inclusion. Finally, racism is identified by the respondents, but policies do not really exist (Vénissieux) or only start (Rillieux).

5.2 Perceptions of improvements and policies by respondents

According to the survey results, a large proportion of the households interviewed do not see the effect of policies, except for those concerned with housing. Nevertheless, they sufficiently appreciate improvements for their physical environment; they may even consider these policies as normal, aiming to maintain a quality of life.

5.2.1 Improvements are more significant towards dwellings than neighbourhoods

One of the most important issues of interests to the survey is the opposition between dwelling and neighbourhood. Almost 80 per cent of the residents in Les Minguettes and more than 80 per cent in La Ville Nouvelle are satisfied or very satisfied with their apartment. And for the last five years, a large majority of tenants have the same opinion or a better one of their dwelling (Table 5.1). The current or recent refurbishment and renovation programmes could have explained this trend as, when there is renovation, the respondents are more satisfied with their dwelling. But the lack of refurbishment does not accentuate the dissatisfaction with the house (3.6 per cent of the respondents, without renovation of their home, are dissatisfied with their house in La Ville Nouvelle). However, according to the key persons interviewed, the quality of rehabilitation and the quality of relationship between officials (social landlords particularly) and inhabitants have been essential in this development. In Les Minguettes, before and during the refurbishing process, households' participation exists but residents have no concrete influence. In fact, their demand concerns the quality of materials used in refurbishing programmes, but social landlords try to obtain an economical rehabilitation process. In La Ville Nouvelle, the participation of residents has been more important; they really participated in the choices and controlled the works, especially in the Mont-Blanc neighbourhood where a citizens' mobilisation led to a policy of quality for the social landlord. The local tenants' association met almost all the households, door-to-door, and organised demonstrations and an operation called 'red card' (i.e. postcards were sent to the landlord with inscriptions about the main defaults of the dwellings). Slowly, they became real partners during and after the policy. However, the different cross-tabulations of the survey does not bring us more information, only that related to the tenure of the flat.

Table 5.1 – Evolution of the satisfaction over the last five years for the dwelling of respondents in Les Minguettes and La Ville Nouvelle (%)

Evolution of satisfaction with the dwelling	Les Minguettes	La Ville Nouvelle
Lower	33.9	23.3
Same	45.8	55.8
Higher	20.3	20.9
Total (100%)	118	86

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

Table 5.1 – Evolution of the satisfaction over the last five years for the dwelling of respondents in Les Minguettes and La Ville Nouvelle (%) (continued)

	Tenure of the place		Total
	Social rent	Outright owner	
Les Minguettes			
	37.3	7.1	33.6
	44.1	57.1	65.4
	18.6	35.8	20.7
	102	14	116
La Ville Nouvelle			
	29.1	15.4	24.7
	45.5	73.1	54.3
	25.4	11.5	21.0
	55	26	81

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

Despite the limited number of owner-occupier respondents, some aspects are relevant. On the one hand, thanks to the rehabilitation programmes, the owners of the dwellings may obtain subsidies to improve their flat. For example, the ANAH (National agency for housing improvement) gives subsidies for households with low incomes. And, the most part of the owners (outright ones or with mortgage) have low incomes or low medium incomes, for current buyers as well as the earlier ones (early 1970s). On the other hand, the outright population is ageing here, after the departure of children; they like their home and 5 years is not very long to witness a real change. Finally, the dissatisfied persons could have often left the neighbourhood during the last economic growth (1997-2001), thanks to the low credit rates, the increasing into employment sector and the fast increasing of prices within housing sector; according to the responsible of the ownership association of Mont Blanc (La Ville Nouvelle), the prices have gone up to 150 per cent between 2002 and 2004 (i.e. EUR 68,600 to EUR 106,700 for a 4-room apartment).

The evolution of the two estates is almost the same (Table 5.2). The households are more interested in family life than the neighbourhood one, by preserving the quality of their daily life and protecting them towards neighbourhood influences. Moreover, probably, they have a feeling of powerlessness about outside questions. Finally, the evolution of satisfaction is linked with the continuation of neighbourhood problems, especially ones related to insecurity.

Table 5.2 – Evolution of satisfaction towards neighbourhood

Evolution of satisfaction towards neighbourhood	Les Minguettes	La Ville Nouvelle
Lower	46.7	44.3
Same	37.5	37.5
Higher	15.8	18.2
Total (100%)	120	88

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

5.2.2 Policies and perceptions of improvement

Many policies are applied and planned. However, their perception by survey respondents is very variable according to each policy. The largest neighbourhood problem for inhabitants remains the safety of the environment, especially for their personal property (above all their car). Furthermore, the unknown responses are very numerous in the La Ville Nouvelle estate, more than 50 per cent for all questions about policies effects. This higher rate can be explained by the sample population, which is older than the sample population in Les Minguettes. Thus, some questions (about schools for example) are unanswered. And La Ville Nouvelle has kept a village atmosphere, worse than in the past but strong enough to mask the effect of policies. In abstract, policies in Rillieux generally maintain a good enough quality of life, even if some neighbourhoods are worse than they have been in the past.

The actions on physical environment have involved a certain satisfaction. The respondents of Les Minguettes are sufficiently satisfied (around 40 per cent) by improvements about the cleanliness of the streets, upkeep of public spaces and the condition of the roads (at 32 per cent). In this respect, one may add playgrounds for children (38 per cent). Without the ‘not known’ responses, the percentages would be almost the same in the La Ville Nouvelle estate. To simplify the presentation, only one aspect mentioned in the survey is analysed in the next table (Table 5.3) because the other ones show around the same results (Table 5.4).

Table 5.3 – Evolution of the ‘dirt on the streets’ for respondents in Les Minguettes and La Ville Nouvelle (%)

Perception of dirt on the streets	Les Minguettes	La Ville Nouvelle
Yes	40.9	24.0
No	46.7	25.0
Unknown	12.4	51.0
Total (100%)	137	96

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

In terms of neighbourhood services, the level of satisfaction of respondents is under 30 per cent in Les Minguettes and around the same in La Ville Nouvelle (excluding non-responses). Stakeholders try to improve these elements of quality of life but households know that educational attainment is more difficult here. In the same way, quality of local shopping provision is often worse than before because people are poorer and insecurity prevents the establishment of better quality shops. However, improvement policies are real, as in the case of the small shopping centre of Darnaise (Les Minguettes). Moreover, usually shopping provision in La Ville Nouvelle is better than in Les Minguettes; the centre of the estate is the centre of the town of Rillieux, so policy induced changes are not immediately obvious or they are considered as normal market mechanisms that maintain a moderate level of shopping provision.

The ignorance about quality of public services is understood in the same way. Nevertheless, the results, especially in Les Minguettes, appear surprising at the first reading because a lot of public investment has been used to maintain and expand services (new public library in Vénissieux, at the end of the ‘Plateau’ of Les Minguettes for example). But, people demand and need services to a greater degree in their situation of social difficulties (Table 5.5).

Table 5.4 – Evolution of the ‘dirt on the streets’ for respondents in regard to the ethnicity and the duration of living in the estate (%)

	Ethnicity			Total
	Native	Moroccan, Tunisian, Algerian	Other	
Les Minguettes				
Yes	44.7	37.3	42.9	41.0
No	53.2	45.7	46.4	48.6
Unknown	2.1	17.0	10.7	10.4
Total (100%)	47	59	28	134
La Ville Nouvelle				
Yes	16.1	33.3	36.0	24.0
No	33.9	13.3	12.0	25.0
Unknown	50.0	53.3	52.0	51.0
Total (100%)	56	15	25	96
	Duration of living in the estate			Total
	< 1980	1981-1995	1996-2004	
Les Minguettes				
Yes	28.6	44.2	41.3	40.9
No	42.8	51.2	45.0	46.7
Unknown	28.6	4.6	13.7	12.4
Total (100%)	14	43	80	137
La Ville Nouvelle				
Yes	28.0	16.1	27.5	24.0
No	40.0	32.3	10.0	25.0
Unknown	32.0	51.6	62.5	51.0
Total (100%)	25	31	40	96

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

Table 5.5 – Dissatisfaction with proximity services

	Quality of schools	Quality of commercial services	Quality of public services	Maintenance of buildings
Les Minguettes				
Yes	29.5	27.2	28.1	25.2
No	40.2	52.9	50.4	60.8
Unknown	30.3	19.9	21.5	14.0
Total (100%)	132	136	135	135
La Ville Nouvelle				
Yes	8.4	8.3	10.4	19.4
No	28.5	29.2	29.2	24.5
Unknown	63.2	62.5	60.4	56.1
Total (100%)	95	96	96	98

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

However, the most important subject of dissatisfaction still remains the question of safety in the neighbourhood. The efforts of public policies efforts are not reflected in these figures (Table 5.6).

Table 5.6 – Dissatisfaction with safety policies

	Drug abuse	Burglary in dwellings	Burglary in cars	Graffiti/ vandalism	Feelings of unsafety
Les Minguettes					
Yes	13.7	18.6	13.6	18.2	21.6
No	60.3	55.8	66.0	61.4	59.0
Unknown	26.0	25.6	20.4	20.4	19.4
Total (100%)	131	129	132	132	134
La Ville Nouvelle					
Yes	10.4	8.3	6.3	11.3	11.6
No	32.3	31.3	34.5	28.9	32.6
Unknown	57.3	60.4	59.4	59.8	55.8
Total (100%)	96	96	96	97	95

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

For drug abuse, it is difficult to distinguish the importance given by the local discourses of inhabitants on this subject and the reality of the traffic. But, in these kinds of neighbourhoods, there exists a combination of obvious drug trafficking within the estate and fear of the inhabitants about the question.

The most important problem for people remains theft, mainly of cars. Cars are considered as the principal private property. And, often, households have no insurance for their car. Therefore, robbery from the car or robbery of the car is not reimbursed. The worst problem is the high number of burnt cars: in La Ville Nouvelle the number is important but varies strongly year to year; Les Minguettes is the worst neighbourhood in the Lyon conurbation for this type of problem with more than 300 burnt vehicles a year. They are burnt by youngsters, just for playing or after a neighbourhood race; in some cases, the owner of the car burns it to receive the insurance indemnity. Thus, households are very sensitive to this issue.

In Chapter 4 we have tried to explain the weakness of feelings of insecurity. However, the social power of the neighbourhood actors against the other households is an essential explanatory factor. Moreover, the neighbourhood atmosphere, worse in the more difficult districts, involves fear mainly among those households inclined towards criminality or, more often, anti-social behaviour. In this context, the feeling of insecurity does not improve because too few persons are keen to speak about delinquency to the police services. According to the police services, in Les Minguettes less than five persons a year are ready to help police with their enquiries. People are afraid of retaliatory measures against them or their children, or against their personal goods (often their car). So, there has been no real improvement but, linked to local climate, inhabitants do not want to testify: they are angrier against police services than against criminals and perpetrators of anti-social behaviour. The efficiency of policy depends a lot on inhabitants' participation in investigations. The last justice law, the Perben Law, (Law 2004-204 (09-03-2004)) protects persons who testify anonymously but, for the moment, there is no real change.

5.2.3 The residents do not know policies and policymakers

One of the most interesting responses to the survey is the weak knowledge of public policies or public actions to improve living in the estate. The variable 'tenure of the place' is relevant because, in most cases, the outright owners are more involved in local policies than social renters (Table 5.7).

Table 5.7 – Knowledge about any policies or actions aiming at improvement of living in the neighbourhood

Knowledge about policies	Les Minguettes	La Ville Nouvelle
Yes	21.3	22.0
No	58.2	68.0
Unknown	20.6	10.0
Total (100%)	141	100

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

Cross-tabulations do not bring more information, except for tenants' tenure status: the knowledge of policies is not really different according to the ethnic origin of households, employment status, arrival dates or year of birth. The only one significant element is residents' tenure status. The percentage is a little bit more important than general average for owner-occupiers in Les Minguettes (but with so few respondents); often, they have lived here a longer time than social renters (Table 5.8). In La Ville Nouvelle, the rate is higher, probably in relation with a stronger traditional participation within public affairs. The same existed in Les Minguettes too but the first tenants went out 20 or 25 years ago. Moreover, new inhabitants are more deprived than previous ones.

Table 5.8 – Knowledge about any policies or actions aiming at improvement of living in the neighbourhood in regard to the tenure of the place (%)

	Tenure of the place	
	Social rent	Outright owner
Les Minguettes		
Yes	20.0	28.6
No	57.6	71.4
Unknown	22.4	-
Total (100%)	125	14
La Ville Nouvelle		
Yes	14.7	42.3
No	75.0	50.0
Unknown	10.3	7.7
Total (100%)	68	26

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

Nevertheless, within respondents knowing public policies, the actions known are very different. The most quoted policies concern rehabilitation programmes, improvements in public

spaces and actions for children and youth. Otherwise, public actions are rarely associated with actors of urban policies (Table 5.9).

Table 5.9 – Knowledge about main actors of these policies

Knowledge about actors	Les Minguettes	La Ville Nouvelle
Yes	0.7	4.0
Unknown	99.3	96.0
Total (100%)	141	100

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

The results of the survey show a very weak knowledge about actors, even if stakeholders conduct information campaigns. Usually, the mayor is considered as the main figure responsible for all policies applied at the commune territory. This is not necessarily the case. Maybe, partnerships involve a more complex set of local actors, so some inhabitants do not know anymore.

5.2.4 Participation, local practices are close to common ones

The participation of the residents in local associations or in local activities to improve the neighbourhood is weak: about 8 per cent in Les Minguettes and around 14 per cent in La Ville Nouvelle. However, compared to other neighbourhoods or cities, this rate is not so low.

Of course, in order to improve planned policies, inhabitants would have to participate further on. In the same way, the large public investment to address local issues could interest more local people. However, the social difficulties of most tenants do not facilitate personal involvement into local actions or policies. They are overall interested in daily problems, such as unemployment and by income.

The few persons who participate in an association generally do so informally. They support the ideas or the development programme for the neighbourhood but they rarely pay a subscription. These few persons go to the official meetings to understand public policies (around four or five persons for each estate) or they join residents’ meetings to debate about policies (six or seven persons per neighbourhood).

Finally, inhabitants who participate often think their point of view is not really of interest to major local actors, because policies are already ready to be applied when policymakers present them to residents or, when tenants come to meetings they do not see concrete effects in the weeks or months after the meeting. Lastly, participation depends on the issue and citizens’ mobilisation. So, a classic scheme exists. For example, thanks to community militants in the social rented sector, refurbishment and renovation programmes for the Mont-Blanc district have been improved by residents, and more than 200 persons were mobilised; but, after the internal works to dwellings, mobilisation decreased. Currently, the association of social renters only comprises two members.

5.3 Spill-over effects of policies

The spill-over effects are different in the two estates and around them in relation to local particularities. The two communes, in which the very large estates are located, have a specific identity. Vénissieux is a traditional town with a substantial working class. In Rillieux, traditionally, the lower-medium class remains. For the last two decades, local developments have involved a wider social differentiation between neighbourhoods of each commune. In Vénissieux, almost all the neighbourhoods are occupied by working classes (with or without employment), even if the neighbourhoods with the better image are mainly lived in by French or European (as opposed to immigrant) working-class households.

In Rillieux, social differences between neighbourhoods have been more important. In terms of the residential trajectories in La Ville Nouvelle, there was a real social opposition between the districts, with residential trajectories. Currently, social differences are less obvious within the estate. Nevertheless, some neighbourhoods, like Crépieux above the Plateau, retain a residential demand from medium classes.

5.3.1 Neighbourhoods in decline as territories of experimentation

On the one hand, policies applied to very large estates are often the basis for other future policies. Concretely, the first experimentation in local participation within neighbourhoods began at the end of the 1980s or early in the 1990s, before being generalised in many cities (often the largest). In the same way, this participation exists in rehabilitation and renovation processes, at least to explain and to inform inhabitants. For anti-social behaviour questions or criminal attitudes, police experiences new methods or new materials. Lastly, specific educational or legal policies (like 'Maison de la Justice'¹¹) are mainly applied within this type of neighbourhood but have social and geographical consequences. Thus, on the other hand, urban and social policies have a specific effect on the large estate concerned, and the other areas of the commune are often affected, with effects on real estate prices.

5.3.2 Urban policies and stigmatisation effects

Policies may increase spatial stigmatisation with spillover effects on the entire commune. In fact, contradictions appear within the numerous policies applied locally. For example, policy aims to increase social mix of the population are not easily achieved; in Le Mont Blanc or around the Les Cerisiers project, the in-coming households are socially more excluded than the current residents. So consequences of the policies can be negative: the higher social classes leave the estates (mainly in La Ville Nouvelle, because the medium classes have long since disappeared in Les Minguettes) in relation to educational difficulties, theft from cars or other issues. Finally, the neighbourhoods close to very large estates react through protective actions: children go to other schools (often a private one); they use their car to buy goods elsewhere.

11 'Maison de la Justice': [Justice House].

5.4 Conclusions

In the two estates, according to the tenants, improvements are more significant towards dwellings than neighbourhoods. Otherwise, the public policies on physical environment have been enforced for the last five years; for example, the urban landscape is nicer. Nevertheless, people do not see real improvements on safety questions. Furthermore, deprivation and unemployment situations keep the evolutions off. Or, maybe the duration of urban policies on these sites (for more than 20 years for Les Minguettes) has changed the perceptions: public actions became normal in local collective representations, according to the time of action and to their social condition. In the same way, the stigmatisation of this type of urbanism (the post-WWII large estates), the impoverishment of people, the local collective discourses reinforce negative perceptions. Moreover, most of the residents do not know policies and policymakers. Partnership and responsibility sharing are not really clear for inhabitants. The high rate of unknown responses (overall in La Ville Nouvelle) shows that when these actions are useful they become invisible.

6 The future of the estates

The question of the future of the large housing estates is often asked in terms of the capacity of their inhabitants to leave and thus considered as a stage for the home ownership. Moreover, within an estate, the question of residential mobility is often regarded as an obvious illustration of the depreciation of particular areas. Thus, this indicator constitutes a means to analyse in a spatial way signs of social decline.

6.1 The future of the neighbourhood

This question must be regarded in the context of belonging to an estate and therefore the appropriation of the area and the appreciation of the quality of the environment. So, the results of the survey have to be observed differently in the two estates and not be considered as a homogeneous one.

Generally in the survey, the aspirations for a better future are linked with the composition of the households and their age. Thus, these indicators are divided on the one hand by the belief in a better future (33.3 per cent in Les Minguettes and 31.3 per cent in La Ville Nouvelle) and on the other hand, by a worse future (21.3 per cent in Les Minguettes and 27.3 per cent in La Ville Nouvelle). Among the people interviewed in Les Minguettes, the youngest (less than 30 years old) and the elderly (more than 66 years old) are more optimistic than the others: 41.5 per cent for the former and 50 per cent for the latter. In La Ville Nouvelle, the situation is more contrasted: if the youngest are optimistic (36.4 per cent), the elderly are more pessimistic because 32 per cent of the people among the 51-64 years old and 39.1 per cent of those 66 years old or more consider the future within the estate to be worse than the present (Table 6.1).

Table 6.1 – Future perspectives in Les Minguettes and La Ville Nouvelle (%)

Future perspectives	Les Minguettes	La Ville Nouvelle
Better	33.3	31.3
Neutral	23.4	16.2
Worse	21.3	27.3
Unknown	22.0	25.3
Total (100%)	141	99

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

Household composition has evident effects on this question but this indicator is very different in the two estates. Thus in Les Minguettes, the households with children, who are in the majority

in this survey, believe in a better future (39.1 per cent) whereas households without children perceive this future as something negative (39.1 per cent). It is interesting to note that single-parent households with children have expressed a neutral opinion. In La Ville Nouvelle, only single people have an optimistic view of the future and all the other household compositions (households with children and households without child) anticipate a bad future (respectively 28.1 per cent and 38.1 per cent). The eventual explanation of such a percentage can be regarded according to the difficulty for this household to project themselves in a better future (Table 6.2).

Table 6.2 – Future perspectives in Les Minguettes and La Ville Nouvelle (%)

		Age categorie			
		18-30	31-50	51-65	65+
Les Minguettes					
	Better	41.5	26.3	29.0	50.0
	Neutral	19.5	29.8	19.4	16.7
	Worse	17.1	19.3	32.3	16.7
	Unknown	22.0	24.6	19.4	16.7
	Total (100%)	41	57	31	12
La Ville Nouvelle					
	Better	36.4	32.1	28.0	30.4
	Neutral	22.7	17.9	20.0	4.3
	Worse	13.6	25.0	32.0	39.1
	Unknown	27.3	25.0	20.0	26.1
	Total (100%)	22	28	25	23

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

The question of the real probability to improve the neighbourhood is enlightening because it highlights the effectiveness of the public policies. Unanimously within the two neighbourhoods and in all the groups, the interviewed people have no idea about this question: 77.3 per cent in Les Minguettes and 79.2 per cent in La Ville Nouvelle. Despite the important attempts to change the estate in a positive way, the results are minuscule. For example, better employment opportunities concern only 3 per cent in Les Minguettes; the creation and/or the improvement of green areas concern only 28 per cent in Les Minguettes and 24 per cent are in favour with a greater mixture of residents in La Ville Nouvelle. The reasons reinforce the analysis about their inability to imagine how to improve the neighbourhood. The variable 'other' accounts for 73.8 per cent people in Les Minguettes and 79 per cent people in La Ville Nouvelle. Moreover, many people did not know how to respond to this question, regardless of their age and their household composition. This important percentage (22 per cent in Les Minguettes and 25.3 per cent in La Ville Nouvelle) means that they cannot anticipate their future or maybe they do not want to; they prefer to live their present life as it is (Table 6.3).

6.2 Staying or leaving?

Overall, aspirations of mobility are a general phenomenon in urban sociologist surveys but particularly acute within the large housing estates (Huet, 1988). In each estate, the mobility

Table 6.3 – How can the future be turned brighter in Les Minguettes and La Ville Nouvelle (%)

Projects	Les Minguettes	La Ville Nouvelle
Creation and/or improvement of green areas	2.8	0.8
Greater mixture of residents	1.7	2.4
Better employment opportunities	3.4	1.6
More police on the streets	1.7	0.0
Unknown	77.3	79.2
Total (100%)	181	125

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

within the neighbourhood and the family breakdowns (departure of children or divorce) are yet the illustration of a certain attachment. This meaning can be interpreted as a refusal to accept the depreciation of the area and a manner to accept one's status and residential trajectory in a positive way.

It seems that the interviewed people who would like to move in two years differ according to age. On the one hand, in Les Minguettes, 63.4 per cent of the youngest people (less than 30 years olds) would probably move. Yet, middle-age groups (between 31 and 50 years old) are divided between staying in the estate (56.1 per cent) and moving (45.5 per cent). A great number (66.7 per cent) of the elderly (more than 66 years old) would like to stay. On the other hand, in La Ville Nouvelle there are different opinions. First, the youngest are divided between moving (45.5 per cent) and staying (54.5 per cent). Nevertheless, in the other ages, the will to stay is widely shared and increases according to age: from 53.6 per cent (31 years old) to more than 70 per cent for the elderly (Table 6.4).

Table 6.4 – Plans to move within two years in Les Minguettes and La Ville Nouvelle (%)

Plan to move house	Les Minguettes	La Ville Nouvelle
Yes	45.0	28.0
No	50.0	63.0
Unknown	5.0	9.0
Total (100%)	140	100

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

These indicators illustrate a real attachment to the neighbourhood, analysis confirmed by another variable concerning the first move in the estate. The question of the age within the area and/or in the dwelling is relevant to explain why some inhabitants absolutely do not want to move. When a household has been settled for a long time, its place of residence may be considered definite. In Les Minguettes, people who are long-term residents in the estate (since before 1990) do not want to move: 3.4 per cent said no to this question, whereas people who arrived recently (since 1996) are potentially agreeable to move. Within the indicator, we can also distinguish 42.9 per cent of people who arrived since 2001 want to move. In Rillieux, the attachment to the neighbourhood is more strongly expressed than in Vénissieux, even among people who arrived more recently. Globally, if 63 per cent of the interviewed people do not want to move (in all age groups), many small percentages reflect the will to do so, but without depreciating the large housing estate. For the two estates, property owners do not anticipate

moving within 2 years. But, the opinion is relatively different for social housing tenants, where the majority is very high. In this case, this answer reflects the desire to own a dwelling. In Les Minguettes, of 124 social housing tenants, 61 (49.2 per cent) would like to move but 58 (46.8 per cent) would like to stay.

In this survey, many answers were given to explain the reasons to move but most answers concern housing conditions: especially the wish to become a home-owner and the environment. For example, expression of dissatisfaction with the dwelling, especially the size of the dwelling and future family needs, concerns particularly young households (Table 6.5).

Table 6.5 – Reasons for considering moving in Les Minguettes and La Ville Nouvelle (%)

Reasons	Les Minguettes	La Ville Nouvelle
Home too small	12.5	20.7
Want to buy a dwelling	14.1	20.7
More quiet environment	26.6	27.6
Other	18.8	20.7
Total (100%)	64	29

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

During the 1950s and the 1960s, the sociologist P-H. Chombart de Lauwe made important surveys about the daily life of working-class people (Chombart de Lauwe, 1977). He identified the main reasons for dissatisfaction linked with their will to move. The opinions often mentioned concerned the small size of the dwellings, the expensive maintenance costs and the fact that they are difficult to clean. It is interesting to note that generally the opinion of the inhabitants is based on quality and functional requirements. This is in contradiction to the view of people outside of these estates who are more focused on the atmosphere and the visual representation of the area (Table 6.6).

Table 6.6 – Places where the respondents would like to move (%)

Place	Les Minguettes	La Ville Nouvelle
In the same neighbourhood	9.5	13.8
Close to the present neighbourhood	3.2	13.8
Somewhere else in the city	23.8	10.3
Elsewhere	63.5	55.2
Unknown	0.0	6.9
Total (100%)	63	29

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

6.3 Effects on other areas

It has been difficult to get significant opinions on the effects of this survey for other areas and integrate them in this analysis. But by making other interviews, we gathered relevant information that did not appear in the formal interviews. For example, about the future perspectives of the inhabitants for their estate, we only heard of the desire of the interviewed people but no further information about the material probability to do it. Consequently, as the

desire to move is not clearly evocated, the spill-over effects are not easy to analyse. We can just make suppositions according to some interviews and comments.

Interviews made with people who work in the state education in Les Minguettes (a principal of a secondary school and an official responsible for one REP¹² in the estate¹³) have clarified the opinion about the potential for households to move when their children arrive in the secondary school. For the Michelet secondary school, if this tendency does not really concern the inhabitants of Les Minguettes, people who live in the small area linked to it refuse to go to this school. Each year, around 60 pupils should enrol there but half of them prefer to study in another school, particularly in a private school (in Lyon) because they cannot obtain special dispensations any more.¹⁴ Recently, this person noticed that the way to get round this rule, is to put their children in a private school, prior to leaving primary school; so one or two years earlier. The reasons evoked by the parents are quite interesting and thus classified. First, they cite poor public transport. In fact, there is only one bus line that goes each hour to the school in the morning but none in the evening. So, the pupils have to come back home on foot or they can take a bus to the centre of Les Minguettes. The second remark concerns the lack of school meals in this secondary school. To eat, pupils have to take a bus and go to another school (Paul Eluard), located in the centre of the estate. This situation creates a real problem for the children who get some optional lessons (Latin language, etc.) that begin at 1 p.m. So, they do not have enough time to eat. But, the main argument, not frankly expressed, concerns the weak level of the other pupils. Parents are afraid for their children and think that they probably would have problems in the future. This person said that this is in fact the most important problem in the estate, more important than the violence because nobody can oblige these children to study in this school, simply because of ideological opposition to social mix.

Concerning the future of the children in the estate Les Minguettes, two persons do not agree. One admits that this future will be disastrous and really understands the parents who put their children in a private school. According to the academic attainment levels in Les Minguettes, only 1 per cent of all pupils who enter in a secondary school and take their 'baccalaureat studies' succeed. The other professional prefers to be more optimistic even if he admits that all the inhabitants consider their children's studies as an important matter, try to get round not the secondary school but the high school. So they try to get special dispensations by taking optional studies (Japanese language, Russian, etc.) because they cannot offer their child a private school (too expensive).

But, for the households who leave the estate Les Minguettes, they go to small cities in the north of a next department¹⁵ (Isère), to become home-owners. Thus, when they have enough money, they go to a city called Heyrieux (residential city) and when they have less money, they go specially in two other cities, Villefontaine and l'Isle d'Abeau. The principal of this school

12 Educational priorities for areas in decline.

13 The estate Les Minguettes contains four REPs: REP Michelet / REP Eluard / REP Triolet / REP Aragon. Within each one, there is a secondary school and four elementary schools.

14 In 2002, because of the principle of social mixture, the French education state has changed the notion of special dispensation. Actually, the parent has to prove why their child cannot go in its secondary school. With this application many people who cannot move, put their children in private secondary schools.

15 These cities are situated around 30 and 50 kilometres from Vénissieux.

noticed that the parents do not often use the argument of their children's studies to explain their moving. This corresponds better to their residential mobility.

At the same time, we have interviewed some actors, belonging to tenants' associations, to make our analysis more precise. First, we noticed an interval within the residential trajectory between older and new arrivals. Both in Les Minguettes and Rillieux, the new arrivals are often immigrants and disadvantaged people. In this case, the two neighbourhoods continue to be the main important housing stock, increasing their problems. The examples show that some depreciated areas (Léo Lagrange in Vénissieux and La Vilette in La Ville Nouvelle) are intentionally chosen by the local councils. This concentration has many effects on the daily life in the area. For example, in La Vilette, many big families coming legally from the South of Tunisia, have constituted the same rules of their past village. In Les Minguettes, the problem comes from Romanian and Asiatic new households, arriving in the estate without knowing the French language. Thus, they operate as a closed community and never really mingle in the neighbourhood.

6.4 Conclusions

The debate of the future of the estates has been recurring since the creation of the urban and social policies called 'politique de la ville' in France, with the aim of conforming them in a good way (normalisation of specially physical aspects). Nevertheless, to question their inhabitants is less used because the actors of these policies often have in background, the idea that if they had good material conditions, the inhabitants would leave. In reality, this argument is not so easy and the moving depends strongly on the residential mobility and their professional, family and social plans.

The last interviews, more open, have observed an increasing phenomena: many families from North Africa are under pressure from traditional Islamic fundamentalism and have to adapt their behaviour according to these rules (no mixture between boys and girls, important status to boys, etc.). These pressures make generally the women and particularly young girls vulnerable who have to fight to have a normal life and not to be considered provocative. For example, in P. Eluard, the secondary school principal, admits that just two girls wear a skirt but around 20 wear a veil. The purpose does not consist on focusing on the debate of the veil but more on this pressure and the consequences of the family structures. The two principals admit that to help the girls to leave their neighbourhood, they sometimes have to inform them how to get round and change the high school. If this case has been experienced in Vénissieux, in Rillieux the situation is quite different and the pressure is less visible in the second estate because of the existence of an official mosque. This place has a main function of moderating the fundamentalist rules and adapting them to the French law. In Vénissieux, the council is basically opposed to the creation of a mosque and argue that the integration of the different communities has to be far from the religion. They also lay the responsibility for this bad situation at the doors of Muslim people.

7 Conclusions

The two estates of Les Minguettes, in the commune of Vénissieux and La Ville Nouvelle in Rillieux, are different. The former neighbourhood exhibits more social difficulties and deprived households than the latter. We have to take into account the social diversity within each large estate in order to understand the results of the survey; some districts remain attractive even though others are declining and those who live in the latter are the most excluded people. So, the survey results must be interpreted in light of several qualitative patterns in order to analyse better the responses of the sample and to know who profits more (or less) from the public policies; therefore, this notion of 'profit' is still subjective, and financial and human efforts in one way can be masked by other problems (for instance insecurity). Thus, we will organise our conclusion in five paragraphs.

7.1 Interests and limits of the sample

At first sight, our sample is different than the last census (1999) results in certain sociological or ethnic aspects. We have more elderly persons and unemployed (see Chapter 3 for more details) and a better educational level than the estate average. The definition of the sample as a random one does not allow a geographical approach but a general one. So, some districts are over-represented because respondents are often at home (they are on old-age pension for instance); conversely, in the worst districts, members of the household do not want to answer to the survey (maybe because of the fear of a stranger). Therefore, generally, it is not the population facing the largest difficulties who has been certainly willing to answer.

Nevertheless, the sample is more representative of demographic and social features for some aspects: on the one hand the ethnicity of the statistical population is near the real one; on the other hand some social practices have been identified thanks to the survey: the high educational level of the respondents may be related to the maintenance of family traditions, one of the young adults (working or not) answers for the entire family, even if he is not the householder. Also, the estates are non-homogeneous in a territorial way although our data does not underline this fact. Finally, many responses can be ambivalent; for instance, *'I like this neighbourhood because my friends have lived here for two decades but I would like to leave it to improve my social situation, but probably I'll remain.'*

7.2 The scales of satisfaction, a geographical issue

According to the survey, one of the most interesting results is satisfaction with the dwelling and the neighbourhood. In the case of the dwelling, a large majority of the respondents in La Ville Nouvelle are satisfied or very satisfied. This satisfaction may be linked, partly, to the refurbishment programmes and to a long-term settlement of 50 per cent of the households (arrived before 1990), even if some districts are more attractive than others (Bottet or Mont-Blanc for instance). However, this satisfaction is not only in relation to improvement works inside the flat, but related to well-being within the apartment (size, rooms for each child) or within the block, and also to the neighbourhood. Thus, responses express several related feelings. In Les Minguettes satisfaction is lower but only around 20 per cent of the respondents are dissatisfied with their flat. The satisfaction with the home translates a real attachment to its family, to the own history and to the district/neighbourhood. Lastly, feelings toward the dwelling are not automatically linked to public policies; for instance, numerous households are satisfied about their dwelling even though they have not been refurbished.

Satisfaction towards the district is ambivalent too. Furthermore, the word neighbourhood is understood in many senses for inhabitants: it may be reduced to the district, and even sometimes to few blocks or one block, or it may be defined as the entire estate. Finally, the definition may vary according to persons, of course, and according to any situation (for instance the estate compared to the commune or all the districts against police operations, or, in the last instance, youth in districts fight each other). In both estates, more than 50 per cent of the respondents are satisfied with their neighbourhood (more than 80 per cent in La Ville Nouvelle). The result is lower than for the dwelling because a private place is preferable to a public one. Moreover, for some respondents, the difference between the two rates may be explained by the priority they afford to change. Finally, satisfaction is comparative: the quality of public services or the building of children's play areas are not the only one element, psychological ones are important too. To summarise, living in the estate involves shared feelings, between a social (and territorialised) identity to a useful space. Reactions against the neighbourhood are related to a deprived situation, more difficult to be accepted within a stigmatised place and, often, within space where local collective points of view are important. Knowing the estate image and participating in neighbourhood life involves a particular regard to the policies locally applied, influenced by local collective representations, without relation to the attachment towards dwellings or districts.

7.3 Public policies, useful but normalised

Public policies are numerous and concern most of the aspects of the neighbourhood. For our two sites public actions began in the 1970s (Les Minguettes) or at the end of the 1980s (La Ville Nouvelle), this duration involves a special regard to the neighbourhood and actions. For instance, the estate of Les Minguettes has been concerned about several renovation and rehabilitation programmes; there has been no period without works on the physical environment. So, this type of action is integrated within local collective psychology. Therefore, inhabitants interviewed are more satisfied by neighbourhood than by recent policies. Concretely, according to the survey and the key persons, the physical environment is

appreciated, however, this is more true in La Ville Nouvelle than in Les Minguettes. The constant maintenance of buildings and amenities slows down the ageing process; even so some services as shopping centres (Verchères and Vénissy) remain in a declining situation; in comparison social housing in Vaulx-en-Velin presents a worst urban landscape (even though the new city centre is nice). Then, gradually, physical environment is improved and regularly maintained.

In the same way, the proximity of shopping or public services is highlighted by a large majority of respondents. However, the opinion about recent policies (for the last five years) contrasts with these former elements. Generally, a strong minority likes environmental policies (upkeep of public spaces...); but often, a majority is dissatisfied with neighbourhood service policies. That real degradation of public spaces is faster here than richer neighbourhoods or quality and supply of shops are lower than Lyon city centre but local population has a lower income. Nevertheless, most of the communes of Greater Lyon have more limited shopping or services provision.

Perception is, thus, subjective. Public actions are normal in local collective perception. Moreover, small daily problems (dirt in the streets or in stairs) are over-represented (as elsewhere). The duration of urban policies, the stigmatisation of this type of neighbourhood (the post-WWII urbanism overall), the impoverishment of people, the local collective discourses reinforce negative perceptions about public policies. However, the high rate of 'unknown' responses, especially in La Ville Nouvelle (a majority of householders does not know about recent developments in relation to policies), shows the quality of regular actions and the normalisation of these actions; they become invisible.

7.4 Failures in social policies?

In the fields of education, employment and safety, recent public policies do not improve the neighbourhoods' situation. Of course, the improvements depend on the inhabitants too, especially for safety or anti-social behaviour. We may consider the public investment is difficult in a qualitative way because political debates about security in public spaces are not definite: what is the role of preventative actions? What is the 'best' policy to punish, to educate and, also, to build a sustainable action within the neighbourhood?

In a quantitative way, is there any duration within safety policies from central state (communes increase their local police)? Until now, policies have depended on population growth, the budget of the Home Ministry and variable choices of ministers. Nicolas Sarkozy's choice to help police services of a few neighbourhoods is a good idea; even so La Ville Nouvelle is not the worst site in the conurbation of Lyon while, at the same time, the police staff in Vénissieux has slightly decreased.

School and unemployment questions involve a continual maintenance of exclusion processes. In spite of more material and human supplies, education is a failure. Some civil servants of the Educational Ministry are really interested in pupils but the strength of local collective representations or social difficulties of the households, the lack of real investment of numerous families and, of course, the greater school (and societal) demands about children training involves a larger gap between spaces with social difficulties and spaces successful in global competition. For the unemployment question, the reality is a little different but the issues are the same. In fact, for local and external reasons, public investments permit long-term

intervention, but success is very uncertain. And the rules of the game are generally not understood: for instance, failure in education is really too late; the educational system stays selective but on a long-term. In fact, maybe social public policies are on the one hand a moral involvement and, on the other hand, one of social pacification. Maybe, the evaluations could be improved accordingly.

7.5 Knowledge of applied policies, participation and so on

Generally, policies are unknown by respondents. And, the actors involved in these policies are even less known than the policies. Then, is there any problem with communication policies? Perhaps, but the communication policies exist and have been increased year to year.

We may think that other hypotheses are possible. Firstly, actions are more and more complex in their construction (a lot of partners, duration with several stages and so on) and in their management (multiplication of meetings (for inhabitants' participation), new intermediary occupations (mediation agents for any fields). Secondly, some temporary actions became permanent; so, they are normalised and seen as integrated into the landscape, even so for social ones. For many people they have always been applied. There is a normalisation process (see above) and a normality of the policies because the neighbourhood is an excluded one.

Participation of the tenants is weak. Thus, we are not sure if it is lower than elsewhere. But, there is a particular relationship between policymakers, local actors, inhabitants and a modern definition of democracy. Furthermore, these sites are often places of experimentation. On the one hand, the success (and the durability) of an action depends of the appreciation of the users, but not only this. On the other hand, the mobilisation of residents in order to improve the quality of refurbishment was very useful according to the militants. Finally, inhabitants are interested within participation for proximity or private spaces, and their mobilisation decreases strongly after the end of the action.

For the future prospect questions, the survey gives us several indications. More than 50 per cent of the residents do not want to leave their flat, especially in La Ville Nouvelle. There is a real attachment to the neighbourhood, in spite of local social difficulties. Moreover, a residential trajectory still exists, at least for La Ville Nouvelle because the districts are considered as more socially different. Nevertheless, the choice of staying in the apartment may be related to the ageing of some households or the quality of the relationships within the neighbourhood or, lastly, to the difficulties to find another dwelling with the same services (rent, proximity services). Leaving may be linked to insecurity or to facilitate social inclusion elsewhere.

Finally, the results of the survey bring us an interesting point of view, a comparative one. These appreciations give us a different analysis than usual: the local well-being is better than our common representations, even so a lot of problems remain unsolved.

Appendix

RESTATE survey

First some basic information to be provided by the interviewer/local coordinator

City of interview: (to be coded later)
Neighbourhood: (to be coded later)
Date of interview:
Name of interviewer:
Number of survey:

Introduction

Interviewer: register the kind of dwelling in which the respondent lives

- 1 apartment/flat
- 2 single-family house
- 3 other:
- 9 unknown

Interviewer: register the number of floors of the building

- floors
- 99 unknown

Interviewer: register the floor of the dwelling under consideration (including ground floor)

- 1 ground floor (i.e. accessible without stairs)
- 2 first floor
- 3 second floor
- 4 third-fifth floor
- 5 sixth-tenth floor
- 6 eleventh floor or higher
- 9 unknown

Good morning/afternoon/night. My name is I am working at the University of ...

We are carrying out a large international comparative research project in cities in 10 European countries. The European Commission subsidises this project. The focus is on housing and neighbourhoods and this area has been included in the study. Therefore we would like to ask you a series of questions and hope you will be prepared to answer these. All information will remain anonymous and confidential. I would like to start with some questions about your current housing situation.

- 1 When did you first move to this address?
 - 1 before 1960
 - 2 1961-1970
 - 3 1971-1980
 - 4 1981-1990
 - 5 1991-1995
 - 6 1996-2000
 - 7 2001-2004
 - 9 unknown

- 2 What was the tenure of the place you lived at before this address?
 - 1 rented from local council
 - 2 rented from housing association/registered social landlord
 - 3 rented from a private landlord
 - 4 owned with mortgage
 - 5 owned outright
 - 9 unknown

- 3 With whom did you live at your previous address?
 - 1 alone
 - 2 partner and/or children
 - 3 family (parents and siblings)
 - 4 friends
 - 9 no answer/unknown

- 4 Do you rent or own your present dwelling?
 - 1 social rent (from municipality, housing corporation, housing company, etc.)
 - 2 rent from private person
 - 3 rent from private company
 - 4 own with mortgage
 - 5 outright owner
 - 6 other:.....
 - 9 unknown

- 5 What is the approximate size of your dwelling in square metres?
 - 1 below 30 m²
 - 2 between 31 and 40 m²
 - 3 between 41 and 50 m²
 - 4 between 51 and 60 m²
 - 5 between 61 and 80 m²
 - 6 between 81 and 100 m²
 - 7 over 100 m²
 - 9 unknown/no answer

- 6 How many bedrooms does your dwelling have?
- 1 one bedroom
 - 2 two bedrooms
 - 3 three bedrooms
 - 4 four bedrooms
 - 5 five or more bedrooms
 - 9 unknown/no answer
- 7 What share of your income is needed to cover your total housing costs (rent or mortgage, electricity, water, etc.)?
- 1 less than 10 per cent
 - 2 11-30 per cent
 - 3 31-50 per cent
 - 4 more than 50 per cent
 - 9 unknown
- 8 When was your present dwelling built?
- 1 between 1945 and 1960
 - 2 between 1961 and 1970
 - 3 between 1971 and 1980
 - 4 between 1981 and 1990
 - 5 between 1991 and 2000
 - 6 between 2001 and 2004
 - 9 unknown
- 9 What was the most important reason for moving to this neighbourhood?
(one answer only: only the most important reason)
- 1 low rent/housing costs
 - 2 nearness to relatives and friends
 - 3 nearness to work
 - 4 good connections (e.g. public transport)
 - 5 good schools
 - 6 presence of other services
 - 7 there were no other dwellings available
 - 8 other
 - 99 unknown
- 10 Where was your previous dwelling located?
- 1 in the same neighbourhood
 - 2 somewhere else in the city
 - 3 elsewhere in the country
 - 4 elsewhere, abroad
 - 9 unknown

Now I would like to ask you some questions about the satisfaction with your present dwelling and the neighbourhood.

11 How satisfied are you with your **home**? Please indicate on a scale between 1 (very low) and 10 (very high).

...

99 unknown

12 Has your satisfaction with your **home** increased or decreased in the last 5 years?

1 lower

2 same

3 higher

8 not applicable (settled less than five years ago)

9 unknown

13 Has your dwelling been renovated/refurbished in the last five years?

1 no (go to question 15)

2 yes

9 unknown

14 What has been improved? (circle all answers that apply)

1 renovation of the kitchen

2 renovation of the bathroom

3 change of layout

4 renovation of the roof

5 renovation of the floor

6 renovation of the entrances

7 renovation of the outside walls

8 complete renewal (after demolition)

9 other:

99 no answer/unknown

15 How satisfied are you with your **neighbourhood**? Please indicate on a scale between 1 (very low) and 10 (very high).

...

99 unknown

16 Has your satisfaction with the **neighbourhood** increased or decreased in the last five years?

1 lower

2 same

3 higher

8 not applicable (settled less than five years ago)

9 unknown

17 Which aspect of the neighbourhood do you like most?

- 1 green spaces
- 2 accessibility to public services
- 3 playgrounds for children
- 4 youth facilities
- 5 proximity to work
- 6 proximity to schools
- 7 quality of local schools
- 8 people who live there
- 9 other:
- 99 unknown

18 Which aspect of the neighbourhood do you like least?

- 1 green spaces
- 2 accessibility to public services
- 3 playgrounds for children
- 4 youth facilities
- 5 proximity to work
- 6 proximity to schools
- 7 quality of local schools
- 8 people who live there
- 9 other:
- 99 unknown

19 How do you rate the contacts you have between yourself and other residents in your neighbourhood?

- 1 good
- 2 moderate
- 3 bad
- 9 unknown

20 Do many of your close friends or relatives live in the neighbourhood?

- 1 yes, both relatives and friends
- 2 yes, but only friends
- 3 yes, but only relatives
- 4 no
- 9 unknown

21 Do you feel weakly or strongly attached to the neighbourhood?

- 1 weak
- 2 neutral
- 3 strong
- 9 unknown

22 Do you regard the estate you are living in to be socially mixed (households with very different incomes) or socially homogenous (mostly households with approximately similar incomes)?

- 1 socially mixed
- 2 moderately mixed
- 3 socially homogenous
- 9 unknown

23 In some areas people mix together and try to help each other, while in other areas people mostly go their own way. Is this an area where people mostly help each other or where people mostly go their own way?

- 1 help each other
- 2 go their own way
- 3 mixture
- 9 unknown

24 In your opinion, is a high level of social mix in the estate good or bad for the interaction between residents?

- 1 good
- 2 neutral
- 3 bad
- 9 unknown

25 What is the reputation of the estate in the rest of the city?

- 1 good
- 2 moderate
- 3 bad
- 9 unknown

26 Do you agree with this reputation?

- 1 yes
- 2 no
- 9 unknown

27 Do you personally experience serious problems in the neighbourhood with respect to:

- 1 = yes
- 2 = no
- 8 = not applicable (has lived here not longer than a year)
- 9 = unknown

- dirt on the streets	1 yes	2 no	8	9
- drug abuse	1 yes	2 no	8	9
- burglary in dwellings	1 yes	2 no	8	9
- burglary in cars	1 yes	2 no	8	9
- graffiti/vandalism	1 yes	2 no	8	9
- feelings of unsafety	1 yes	2 no	8	9

- upkeep of public places	1 yes	2 no	8	9
- condition of roads	1 yes	2 no	8	9
- playgrounds for children	1 yes	2 no	8	9
- maintenance of buildings	1 yes	2 no	8	9
- lack of employment	1 yes	2 no	8	9
- quality of schools	1 yes	2 no	8	9
- quality of commercial services	1 yes	2 no	8	9
- quality of public services	1 yes	2 no	8	9
- different values/norms/lifestyles	1 yes	2 no	8	9
- racism/racist harassment	1 yes	2 no	8	9

28 Which of the mentioned aspects have been improved by any policy or action?

- dirt on the streets	1 yes	2 no	8	9
- drug abuse	1 yes	2 no	8	9
- burglary in dwellings	1 yes	2 no	8	9
- burglary in cars	1 yes	2 no	8	9
- graffiti/vandalism	1 yes	2 no	8	9
- feelings of unsafety	1 yes	2 no	8	9
- upkeep of public places	1 yes	2 no	8	9
- condition of roads	1 yes	2 no	8	9
- playgrounds for children	1 yes	2 no	8	9
- maintenance of buildings	1 yes	2 no	8	9
- lack of employment	1 yes	2 no	8	9
- quality of schools	1 yes	2 no	8	9
- quality of commercial services	1 yes	2 no	8	9
- quality of public services	1 yes	2 no	8	9
- different values/norms/lifestyles	1 yes	2 no	8	9
- racism/racist harassment	1 yes	2 no	8	9

In the next block I would like to ask a few questions regarding the policies of the local government or other institutions with regard to the neighbourhood you are living in.

29 Do you know about any policies or actions aiming at improvement of living in your neighbourhood?

- 1 yes
- 2 no (go to question 32)
- 9 unknown

30 If yes, what are, in your opinion, the most important positive effects of these policies in recent years?

.....

- 99 unknown

- 31 Who were the principal actors in these policies or actions?
- 1 national government
 - 2 local government
 - 3 housing companies/housing corporations
 - 4 local population
 - 5 other:
 - 9 no answer, unknown

I would like to ask you a few questions about your activities in and use of the neighbourhood.

- 32 Do you or one of the members of the household actively participate in an association that aims to improve the neighbourhood?
- 1 yes
 - 2 no (go to question 34)
 - 10 unknown

- 33 What kind of participation is that?
-
- unknown

- 34 Do you participate in a sports club, cultural association or another organised social activity in the neighbourhood?
- 1 yes
 - 2 no
 - 9 unknown

- 35 Can you reach the following facilities within 10 minutes from your home?
- | | | | |
|---------------------------------|-------|------|-----------|
| - a grocery shop | 1 yes | 2 no | 9 unknown |
| - your bank | 1 yes | 2 no | 9 unknown |
| - a post office | 1 yes | 2 no | 9 unknown |
| - a general practioner (doctor) | 1 yes | 2 no | 9 unknown |
| - public park | 1 yes | 2 no | 9 unknown |
| - bus stop | 1 yes | 2 no | 9 unknown |
| - primary school | 1 yes | 2 no | 9 unknown |
| - a dentist | 1 yes | 2 no | 9 unknown |
| - your place of work | 1 yes | 2 no | 9 unknown |

- 36 How many hours per day – on average – do you spend outside your neighbourhood on normal weekdays?
- 1 10 hours or more
 - 2 5-9 hours
 - 3 3-4 hours
 - 4 1-3 hours
 - 5 less than 1 hour
 - 9 unknown

I have a few questions regarding the future.

- 37 Does your household have plans to move house within 2 years?
 - 1 yes
 - 2 no (go to question 40)
 - 9 unknown (go to question 40)

- 38 What is the main reason for considering moving?
 - 1 present home is too small
 - 2 present home is too expensive
 - 3 want to buy a dwelling
 - 4 want to be closer to relatives/friends
 - 5 want to live in a more quiet environment
 - 6 want to live in a more safe environment
 - 7 want to live closer to work
 - 8 other:
 - 99 unknown

- 39 Where would you like to move to?
 - 1 in the same neighbourhood
 - 2 close to the present neighbourhood (less than 5 km from present home)
 - 3 somewhere else in the city
 - 4 elsewhere
 - 9 unknown

- 40 Do you think the future of your present neighbourhood will be better or worse than today?
 - 1 better (go to question 42)
 - 2 neutral (go to question 41)
 - 3 worse (go to question 41)
 - 9 unknown (go to question 43)

- 41 If you envisage no change or change for the worse for the neighbourhood, how can that be turned into a brighter future? What should have highest priority?
 -
 -
 -
 - 99 unknown (go to question 43)

- 42 What is the main reason why you think the neighbourhood's future will be brighter?
 -

Finally I would like to ask you some short questions about the household.

43 *Interviewer:* register gender of respondent

- 1 male
- 2 female

44 May I ask you in which year you were born?

....

45 How is the composition of your household?

- 1 living alone (go to question 48)
- 2 living with a partner, no children (go to question 48)
- 3 living with a partner and children (how many children?)
- 4 single-parent household, with children (how many children?)
- 5 living alone with ... others (no partner, no children) (to question 48)
- 6 living with partner and ... others (to question 48)
- 7 living with partner and ... others and children
- 8 other:
- 9 no answer

46 What is the age of the oldest child still living at home?

- 88 ... age
- not applicable

47 What is the age of the youngest child living at home?

- 88 ... age
- not applicable

48 How many years did you follow school education since you were 6 years of age?

- 1 none
- 2 1-6 years
- 3 6-10 years
- 4 11-12 years
- 5 13-14 years
- 6 15 years or more
- 9 unknown

49 Do you have a paid job?

- 1 yes, for hours per week
- 2 no
- 9 no answer

- 50 Does your partner have a paid job?
- 1 yes, for hours per week
 - 2 no
 - 8 not applicable
 - 9 no answer
- 51 How many people in your household are income earners?
.....
- 52 Would you classify the monthly household income as high, medium high, average, medium low, or low, compared to national levels?
- 1 high (top 10%)
 - 2 medium high (between top 10%-30%)
 - 3 average (between top 30% and bottom 30%)
 - 4 medium low (between bottom 30% and lowest 10%)
 - 5 low (poorest 10%)
 - 9 unknown
- 53 What is the main source of your household income?
- 1 work
 - 2 unemployment or social benefit
 - 3 pension
 - 4 other:.....
 - 9 no answer
- 54 In terms of ethnicity, how would you call yourself (for example: native UK, Moroccan, Dutch Moroccan, American, Hungarian, French, Algerian, etc.)?
.....
- 55 And your partner?
.....
- 56 Is there anything you would like to add related to this interview?
.....

Tables

Appendix to Chapter 3. The survey: methodological issues and some characteristics of respondents and dwellings

Table 3.1A – Socio-economic features (%)

	Les Minguettes	La Ville Nouvelle
Education level		
None	5.6	1.0
1-6 years	7.1	4.0
6-10 years	29.1	31.3
11-12 years	27.0	31.3
13-14 years	12.1	23.3
15 years or more	13.5	9.1
Unknown	5.6	0.0
Total (100%)	141	99
Paid job or not		
Yes	56.0	37.4
No	44.0	61.6
No answer	0.0	1.0
Total (100%)	141	99
Household income		
High	3.5	4.0
Medium high	3.5	14.0
Average	41.9	55.0
Medium low	21.3	14.0
Low	24.1	12.0
Unknown	5.7	1.0
Total (100%)	141	100
Source of income		
Work	63.8	50.5
Unemployment or social benefit	14.9	10.1
Pension	14.9	36.4
Other	4.3	3.0
No answer	2.1	0.0
Total (100%)	141	99

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

Table 3.2A – Dwellings of the respondents (%)

	Les Minguettes	La Ville Nouvelle
Building period		
Between 1945-1960	5.0	3.0
Between 1961-1970	17.7	50.0
Between 1971-1980	21.3	17.0
Between 1981-1990	0.7	1.0
Between 2001-2004	5.7	0.0
Unknown	49.6	29.0
Total (100%)	141	100
Number of floors of building		
3	7.8	1.0
4	0.7	15.0
5	5.7	3.0
6	10.6	1.0
7	27.6	24.0
8	24.8	10.0
9	0.7	9.0
10	5.0	15.0
11	0.0	3.0
12	0.0	2.0
13	2.8	15.0
14	14.1	0.0
15	0.0	2.0
Total (100%)	141	100
Tenure		
Rented from local council	8.5	6.0
Rented from housing association	55.3	59.0
Rented from private landlord	13.5	17.0
Owned outright	7.1	13.0
Other	14.2	4.0
Unknown	1.4	1.0
Total (100%)	141	100
Size		
Below 30 m ²	0.7	0.0
31-40 m ²	6.4	1.0
41-50 m ²	17.8	4.0
51-60 m ²	17.8	8.0
61-80 m ²	36.9	23.0
81-100 m ²	19.9	38.0
Over 100 m ²	17.2	19.0
Unknown/no answer	13.5	7.0
Total (100%)	141	100

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

Table 3.2A – Dwellings of the respondents (%) (continued)

	Les Minguettes	La Ville Nouvelle
Number of rooms		
One bedroom	9.9	5.0
Two bedrooms	36.2	4.0
Three bedrooms	38.3	42.0
Four bedrooms	13.5	12.0
Five or more bedrooms	1.4	1.0
Unknown/no answer	0.7	0.0
Total (100%)	141	100

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

Table 3.3A – Housing expenses (%)

Housing expenses	Les Minguettes	La Ville Nouvelle
Less than 10 per cent	1.4	7.0
11-30 per cent	27.7	51.0
31-50 per cent	37.6	11.0
More than 50 per cent	11.4	1.0
Unknown	21.9	30.0
Total (100%)	141	100

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

Table 3.4A – Housing characteristics of the respondents (%)

Domestic situation	Les Minguettes	La Ville Nouvelle
Alone	13.0	12.0
Partner and/or children	31.2	15.0
Family	54.4	70.0
Friends	1.4	1.0
Total (100%)	138	100

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

Table 3.5A – Reasons for moving to the neighbourhood and previous dwelling localisation (%)

	Les Minguettes	La Ville Nouvelle
Reasons for moving to the neighbourhood		
Low rent/housing costs	33.3	17.0
Nearness to relatives and friends	14.9	12.0
Nearness to work	8.5	30.0
Good connections	1.4	1.0
Good schools	0.8	0.0
Presence of other services	1.4	5.0
No other dwellings available	17.7	3.0
Other	19.9	24.0
Unknown	2.1	8.0
Total (100%)	141	100
Previous dwelling localisation		
In the same neighbourhood	34.8	20.0
Somewhere else in the city	29.8	37.0
Elsewhere in the country	26.9	39.0
Elsewhere abroad	8.5	3.0
Unknown	0.0	1.0
Total (100%)	141	100

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

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- Law 2004-204 (09-03-2004) *Adaptation of justice to the evolutions of criminality*, 'Loi Perben', Paris.

List of people interviewed

- Responsible for Michelet REP (educational priorities in areas of decline), Les Minguettes, Vénissieux
- Principal of the P. Eluard's Secondary School, Les Minguettes, Vénissieux
- President of a tenants' association ARCH, Les Minguettes, Vénissieux
- 'Adultes-relais' (inhabitants acting as a go-between in the neighbourhood) belonging to the social association COGELORE, La Ville Nouvelle, Rillieux-la-Pape
- Responsible for the action 'Observers of the neighbourhood', La Ville Nouvelle, Rillieux-la-Pape
- Member of the neighbourhood committee of Les Alaigniers, and an inhabitant of La Ville Nouvelle, Rillieux-la-Pape
- Person in charge of the animation, social association COGELORE, workshop 'Le jardin d'insertion', La Ville Nouvelle, Rillieux-la-Pape
- Responsible for the leisure service, Les Minguettes, Vénissieux
- Chief of the police station, Vénissieux
- President of the CNL Association and an inhabitant of Mont-Blanc, La Ville Nouvelle, Rillieux-la-Pape
- Active member of the social center, old member of the city council of Rillieux-la-Pape and an inhabitant of La Ville Nouvelle, Rillieux-la-Pape
- Assistant of the mayor, responsible for prevention and safety, Vénissieux
- Principal of the Paul Emile Victor College, Rillieux-la-Pape
- Captain of the national police force, La Ville Nouvelle, Rillieux-la-Pape
- President of the co-owners association of Mont-Blanc and an inhabitant of La Ville Nouvelle, Rillieux-la-Pape

