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TEAM CIRTA-IAR

Daniel Pinson
Mustapha Berra
Laurent Bielicki
Meriem Sadki
Damien Fluchaire
Mohammed Rahmania
Lucas Cogotti

*Assistance given
on a one-off basis :*
Sandrine Mercier
Nabil Abbas

Translator :
Fabienne Certain

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Introduction

The CIRTA research team chose three case studies which seemed accurate according to the expectations of the NEHOM project concerning the innovative practices to improve the quality of life in the deprived neighbourhoods. Every chosen ground is located in the Bouches du Rhône department, in the city of Port de Bouc (18,000 inhabitants, the case of the social housing complex Aigues Douces) and of Marseilles (850,000 inhabitants, the case of the social housing complex Les Flamants and the case of the co-ownership Kallisté).

Even if the selected grounds were chosen because of their proximity, they remain exemplary cases at a national level. Aigues Douces is frequently mentioned as a famous experience of «urban renewal», whereas the Régie 13-14, created in the neighbourhood of Les Flamants was the most important in France among other similar structures created with the residents and at the residents' disposal.

The cities, where these operations took place, are completely different because of their size and of the social and economical stakes involved (which is quite interesting). However, these different cases include the general problem of the struggle against social and territorial exclusion which has been developing since the beginning of the 1980's, particularly through the implementation of the «Town Policy». This national policy has been led by the Ministry of the Town since 1990. It brought together many partners during one of the first experiences of contractual policies, started in 1982 with decentralization acts.

At first there were public or semi-public partners: the French State, the local authorities, the regional councils, the departmental councils, the social housing organizations, the Familial Allocation Funds (CAF), the Funds for Social Actions (FAS, linked to the successive immigrating policies regarding the employment then the peopling). More and more private partners joined this global project such as building companies, and more recently co-ownership unions, through the enlargement of the State's action for the degraded co-ownerships. This was official in December 2000 when the last urban act took into account the

deprived neighbourhoods: the «Solidarité et renouvellement urbain ¹» Act (Loi SRU).

In this way, the chosen operations are included in areas where the “social urban development” is a priority. These cases are particular since the three of them concern collective housing. Meanwhile, if Aigues Douces and Les Flamants are social housing complexes (belonging to the same social lessor: OPAC South), and were targeted by the “Town Policy”, Kallisté has not got the same status. It is a degraded co-ownership and its evolution reveals the move of the deteriorated buildings from the old neighbourhoods in the town centres – more or less rehabilitated and attracting wealthier residents - even from some social housing complexes to certain co-ownerships abandoned by their co-landlords who used to live there at the beginning. This evolution has been lasting for about ten years.

The three cases have been globally studied by considering all the levers helping to the improvement of the quality of life (urbanism, architecture, accommodation, jobs, training schemes, services, transports and moves, security...). However, in our analysis, each case is approached in a specific way in order to highlight some unique aspects of the operations:

- A « urban renewal » operation carried by a strong partnership dynamism in the case of Aigues Douces in Port-de-Bouc ;
- The creation of a « neighbourhood regie » and the development of the change of purpose in the case of Les Flamants in Marseilles ;
- A re-qualification operation through self- rehabilitation in the case of the co-ownership Kallisté ;

To our minds these three operations appeared to be quite original and exemplary, even if the notion of success demands to remain careful insofar as it can be considered neither as a total success nor as permanent success.

¹ Solidarity and urban renewal

This document is going to present each site and each chosen operation. It is going to tackle the effects of these initiatives, from the professionals, the public authorities and the residents point of view. Then we are going to test the transferability of these initiatives. Though, some difficulties owed to the French political environment, such as the local polls, delayed the final selection of our case studies. Passing the questionnaires to the public authorities (narrowly linked with the towns' administration) to professionals and to residents was delayed as well.

The actions for a social development in France have been developed for almost twenty years. They increased the number of residents' consultations. This sort of democratic exercise for urbanism and housing management represents a fair progress. It tended to be transformed into an administrative routine organized by the lessors or even into a standard of the State public action; the residents are extremely tired of these kind of actions.

This is the reason why, it is very difficult to pass the questionnaires or to interview the residents in these social housing complexes. Indeed, the residents end up by doubting the positive use of the results obtained by the surveys. Indeed they announce that actions will be undertaken in the neighbourhood, but the residents often consider these so-called democratic surveys might be misused to their disadvantage, resulting in expenditure and rent increases.

This difficulty led us to implement new inquiry methods. Most of the time, they were very different from the lessor organizations' methods and those of the consultants working for them. We used the local relation networks or in the case of Kallisté, we accompanied the members of the Building Companions from Provence and observed them when visiting the families.

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1. Description of case study area

The Aigues Douces housing complex was built in Port de Bouc² by the regional Public Housing Authority (OPAC-South), on the eastern side of the Lecque peninsula, in 1971 and 1972, to answer the needs triggered by the development of the ZIP (Harbour and Industrialized Area) in Fos. Port de Bouc is a city (19,000 inhabitants in 1990) located on the edge of the Gulf of Fos, and which expanded at the beginning of the twentieth century thanks to the installation of the shipyard (the Chantiers Navals et Ateliers de Provence). Then in the 1970's it kept on growing with the creation of the iron and steels metallurgy complex in Fos. The consequences were a high demographic growth (+50% between 1972 and 1975) and important housing projects. The housing complex in Port de Bouc was built to support the economic development of the city and of its surroundings. It includes a large share of social housings (more than 50% of the main homes); these housing are divided into several neighbourhoods and the belong to different social lessors, the main ones being The Regional Public Housing Authority (OPAC-South) (1,900 flats), LOGIREM (1,000 flats) and Samopor.

The architectural aspect of Aigues Douces

At the beginning, the Aigues Douces complex counted 716 flats divided into 17 buildings, among which 5 twelve-floored towers (on the northern side) and long shaped buildings (on the southern side) with 4 to 7 levels. The block plan of this complex was typical of a large housing complex : a small link with the city limited to one main way and to one less important side access. The five closely-built towers in front of the sea, block the visual and physical links between the inner neighbourhood and the seaside. In spite of the downtown proximity, the neighbourhood seemed isolated and enclosed. The fact that the outer areas were left unkept increased the feeling of a neighbourhood isolated from the city. Besides, as the buildings are located near the seaside, they rapidly decay

because of the wind. At the beginning, the neighbourhood included some shops and nearby services (fishmonger's, grocer's, vegetable and fruit stores, chemist's, shoemaker's, haberdashery's, baker's, newsagent's and book shop, doctor and physiotherapist) which were, most of the time, to be found in the buildings' basements, as well as an agency of The Regional Public Housing Authority (OPAC-South). With the years passing by, most of the activities present in the neighbourhood disappeared. Today, one baker's, the doctor and the physiotherapist still remain. One new grocer's has been created.

The population in Aigues Douces

The housing complex was built to accommodate local workers. An important number of households came from other regions, particularly from Lorraine, because they followed the firms from the North of France which were relocated such as SOLAC. Most of the families left quite quickly the neighbourhood since they followed the traditional process of becoming landlords, in the nearby towns: Saint-Martin-de-Crau, Fos, and Entresein. These families have been mainly replaced by more modest households, often of foreign origin.

In 1993, the survey concerning the residents' social profile of Aigues Douces showed a strong stability of the population (weak turnover rate and a large stable core), but it also revealed that fragile situations were cumulated:

- 85% of the households were from a French origin, 15% originated from the Mediterranean border out of which 8% from Maghreb.
- 33% of the households were single persons or couples without any children
- 50% of the population was between 15 and 24 years old.
- The population had a low income (20% of the households earned less than 4,500FRF a month, 49% earned between 4,500FRF and 7,500F a month)
- The rate of unpaid rents was of 20%

In 1992, the Public Housing Authority indicated that out of 411 interviewed households:

- 68% of the population did not work (unemployment rate: 34.3%).

² About 40km West of Marseilles

- 83% of the inhabitants were satisfied with their flats
- 35.5% of the households were planning to leave the neighbourhood

2. The problem calling for action

The project for an urban remodelling was launched because of the economic downturn which was particularly affecting the town. The development of the Fos area was suspended, then Port de Bouc, from the 1980's, had to face a difficult situation marked by cumulated phenomena i.e. economic recession, urban de-qualification and depreciation of the social life, in particular:

- A loss of 6,000 inhabitants between the 1982 and the 1990 census,
- An economic poverty characterized by a high level of debts (weak tax potential, 34% lower than that of the towns having the same the demographic stratum)
- A population having a low skill level, heavily hit by unemployment (24% of the inhabitants) and counting numerous people on the RMI³ (400)
- A high proportion of immigrated population
- A very constrained spatial context, crossed and cut by harming infrastructures, giving the image of a large industrial fallow land.

Sorrow and a decreasing attractiveness of Aigues Douces

The departure of those becoming landlords and the economic activity decline in the entire surroundings led to the progressive development of vacancies in several neighbourhoods composed of social housings. (450 flats were vacant during the 1990's). In Aigues Douces, the vacancies has continued increasing in Aigues Douces since 1983-1984. A third of the neighbourhood was affected in 1992 (i.e. 220 flats), generating an important financial loss for The Regional Public Housing Authority (OPAC-South) (more than 3 million FRF per year).

Beside the economic factor, the vacancies may be approached as a consequence of the living environment degrading phenomenon (ageing buildings, technical disorders, water infiltrations, lack of maintenance,

omnipresence of the wind, but also deliberate degradations and degradation of the social life). Consequently, the geographic isolation, the degradation of the buildings and of the outer areas, the social occupancy of deprived persons linked to a lot of vacancies, the mono-functions of the neighbourhood were components stigmatising the neighbourhood and giving a very negative image to the exterior.

Within the neighbourhood, the households were generally satisfied with the quality of their flats (except for the towers in which there were the most complaints and vacancies) and with the location near the sea. The CNL (National Confederation for Housing) carried out a diagnosis in 1992 which showed that a strong feeling of abandon was heavily present in the residents' minds. The residents were protesting against "degradation, abandon, sorrow" (mentioned by 42 persons out of 97 questionnaires). Sometimes, they even made reference to the « ghetto » notion to qualify their neighbourhood (mentioned by 19 persons).

The inhabitants' remarks targeted the negative consequences as well as the evolution of the society (« misery », « unemployment », « exclusion »...) or the life itself within the neighbourhood (criminality problems, idleness, inter-generational flat share, the sense of carelessness) or its structural characteristics ("isolated", "far away from everything", "lack of maintenance"...).

Before the restructuration, the communication of the Regional Public Housing Authority (OPAC-South) produced a short movie taking place in Aigues Douces. This film mixed the observations made by some of the residents with those made by employees of the Public Housing Authority (OPAC) and to those made by the architects in charge of the project⁴. One of the young people from the neighbourhood mentions, in this film, the daily sullenness, the boredom and the lack of future projects. He declares that here "we have the privilege to live in a housing complex near the sea, and this is not common. However, we are like the others... unemployment ... we are bored... the young people break the

³ Minimum Income for Integration

⁴ in OPAC, « Les Aigues Douces, demain, un quartier à part entière ».

cars, their parents shoot them, we are caught up in the system. You know, the worse here it is to get bored. When you are 20, what do you want to do, you've got your parents, they play bowls, and us, we do the same thing. Something is going wrong. The worse is at night, the young people take drugs, they rob (...) as long as we have the Minimum Income for Integration (RMI) it is the most important, because at least, at the end of the month, we have enough to get drunk."

Before it was rehabilitated, Aigues Douces experienced a pauperisation process and a progressive degradation. This was linked to urbanism, to buildings, to economical changes, to an easy housing market (there were 222 vacant flats in 1992) and it was worsened by the isolation from the town centre. These components lead the General Director of OPAC South to say that *"what makes the negative factors in the large housing complexes, can be found there in Aigues Douces, but it is worsened by particular factors"*.

Therefore, from a point of view shared by both the town and the Regional Public Housing Authority (OPAC-South), the situation required a broad project completely different from the more classical operations such as those carried out by the lessor before 1985. The project manager from OPAC used to call them "Dulux renovation" (small works on the buildings' fronts, change of doors...).

"If we only proceed to an architectural rehabilitation, we are completely wrong" declares the architect from Marseilles Amadéo, (...) the problem in Port de Bouc cannot be solved through architecture, one must think about urbanism first and then it will be possible to carry out a rehabilitation."

3. The initiative

The project of urban remodelling and of rehabilitation in Aigues Douces was the result of a dialogue and of a negotiation between two main actors : the town authority and the social lessor, each pursuing specific goals. The town authority, encouraged by the French State and by the Region (particularly through the urban social development policy), saw the project in Aigues Douces as a

component of the global urban policy it decided to implement faced with the economic recession and with the current changes.

From 1983, the town started a line of thought aimed at defining a development strategy for the town. It was integrating new economic data and it was targeting a social, urban and economic re-qualification in its entire territory. This reflection emerged in 1987-1989 on an urban approach, integrating a vision on the buildings in the neighbourhoods with social housings, so as to integrate them again within the urban network. Then this reflection was expressed through the definition of five operational objectives within the limits of the contract signed between the State and the region in 1993⁵. The town authority aimed at recomposing the global urban organization by starting the new development of the Lecque peninsula. In this way, the town authority played a major role in the growth of the project for Aigues Douces during the years before the implementation of the works.

The social lessor was facing many stakes among which the issue of the large number of vacancies as well as the depreciation of his patrimony. He also needed re-establish links with the tenants so as to let the residents feel that they were part of the complex and of the neighbourhood. The social lessor made clear the mutual rights and duties of both the lessor and the tenants. Moreover, he wanted the tenants to be more responsible with the maintenance, the repairs and to maintain good neighbourly relationships. Besides, an operation in Aigues Douces would also be the opportunity for the lessor to examine and to reduce gradually case by case the unpaid rents.

⁵ The set objectives are :

- developing the activities and the employment (value the activities and the jobs in the maritime sector),
- offering a better urban quality and change the global image of the town,
- diversifying the housing through the re-qualification of the social housings neighbourhoods which compose a large part of the urban space and creating a urban centre according to the town's dimensions implying the enlargement of the too small historic centre,
- improving the urban function and the social cohesion through the creation of structuring trunk roads required by the links between the neighbourhoods and the large features,
- supporting this global development strategy through leading actions.

In 1991, the Public Housing Authority (OPAC) and the City of Port de Bouc signed an agreement on objectives aiming at

- Reconstituting Aigues Douces' identity as a neighbourhood within the city,
- Re-qualifying the Lecque peninsula,
- Lowering the density of the population in Aigues Douces through a quality architectural project,
- Showing off the inner or surrounding public areas of the neighbourhood,
- Fully associating the inhabitants and the associations from the neighbourhood with this project.

The operation was taken into the EUROREX programme and it was the opportunity to formalize the joint commitment of both the city and the OPAC to target a common goal. This was facilitated by the choice of a common master builder (Fukas Consultants in Roma associated to Amadeo Consultants in Marseilles) for both controlling builder owners. The project had to be completed within one year and then it could rapidly enter the operational phase mainly controlled by the Public Housing Authority which exploited the know-how acquired during previous operations.

The operational phases

The first step, consisting in reflection and in conception, lasted several years (from the 1980's). On the other hand, the achievement took quite a short time : 24 months (1993-95). The operation in Aigues Douces included at the same time, a technical phase (architectural and urban twinning demolition, rehabilitation and new buildings) and a complex social phase.

The technical phase plans :

- to free the neighbourhood from its isolation and to link it back to its environment: the city and the sea. This was conveyed through the total remodelling of the former existing roads (creation of a new urban way crossing the neighbourhood from North to South; new development of the main road linking the neighbourhood to the town centre; along this road were major features such as a multi-media library , the library, the theatre;

this road was extended by a pedestrian path going to the seaside; on the seaside a promenade and a beach were created.

- To lower the density of population for urban reasons (break the wall effect given by the five towers side by side in front of the sea) and because of the vacancies in these towers (demolition of one building and of one tower, cut off the top of four towers to lower them to six or ten levels, piercing two levels in order to weaken the effects of the wind). In total, 219 flats out of 716 were demolished (30%).
- To change the image of the buildings in order to enhance the residential character of the neighbourhood and even its aspect of a resort (on the northern and the western front of buildings, the loggias facing the wind were closed, the front of the buildings were renewed, the railings were replaced...)
- To reorganize and set a hierarchy between the outside areas according to their public function (the central square has an obvious public function, the playgrounds have a semi-public function, the car-parks and the renewed buildings have a private function...)
- To rehabilitate the buildings and their remodelling. In the towers: the hallways and the landings were enlarged, the common parts and the lifts were repaired and re-decorated, some flats were reorganized, the flats were renovated, their floors, the paintings, the outside window frames, the electrical outlets were repaired, the heating and hot water supply system were modified... In the lower buildings: the fronts were refreshed, the flats were rehabilitated inside (floors, heating system, hot water supply, the entrances of building F were relocated enable an access from the main high street...)
- To build a building with new flats at the entrance of the housing complex (34 flats PLA⁶)

⁶ Flats for which the tenants receive a loan for their rent

- To create a building dedicated to offices, agencies and shops in the northern part of the neighbourhood in order to move the housing complex from mono-functional to multi-functional.

The social phase :

In spite of so called « fragile » resident families, the main stimulus of the action is the operation that is conceived to be carried out for and with the residents already there. The social phase of the project can be found through different components:

- The creation of a social diagnosis considered as a key element to get to know and to re-establish contact with the population. The diagnosis mobilizes two more skills, those of the association of tenants (CNL), which is a quite innovative component, and those of ARELFA (external service provider for the social master builder –MOS-).
- A collective agreement negotiated with the tenants association. It concerned a rent increase of 110FRF, the Public Housing Authority commitment to meet the expenditure linked to the moves and the move itself. There had been a personal agreement signed with every single relocated household indicating the mutual commitments. About thirty families benefited from a social follow-up. An internal regulation was set up,
- Mastering information through communications (as of 1992, the newspaper for rehabilitation was created for the tenants, the public authorities, some public meetings were organized, as well as general assemblies, special events, neighbourhood parties...),
- One mission of social master builders (MOS) to support the moving out thanks to the analysis of the situation of each household (information of the households, analysis of their income, their needs and their accommodation wishes, organization of the moving out).
- Implementation of a co-ordination system : «the rehabilitation workshop », working as a constant communication place providing continuous information (to the tenants and external partners among whom were some

highly involved social workers). This place is also a permanent agency for the ARELFA. It is the link between the social aspects and the technical follow-up of the rehabilitation. It is led by the social direction for the economic integration of The Regional Public Housing Authority (OPAC-South). It includes the project manager OPAC, the district manager OPAC, the person responsible for the communication OPAC, the MOS, the project manager for the city policy and according to the approached themes some social workers (CAF- Familial allocations Fund, DIS- Direction for the sanitary and social Intervention), associations and the educational sector.

- A phase of integration through the economical aspect, aiming at facilitating the access to the jobs on the works by the tenants. Then the Dumez company committed itself to implement a recruiting policy.
- Anticipating the after rehabilitation to have the knowledge of the project's dynamic lasting effect through an action targeting the ground agents of the Public Housing Authority (two years training about how to approach a client) and the tenants (becoming more responsible in the social regulation through the definition of common neighbourly rules).

4. The impact of the initiative

The operation of urban remodelling and rehabilitation in Aigues Douces is an actual «urban renewing» project before the others. Even if it remains difficult to “measure” precisely or to identify exhaustively its different impacts, some aspects can be easily perceived.

On the urban and architectural level

The operation carried out in Aigues Douces, combined with other interventions on the city's territory (the re-development of the town centre and the re-qualification of other social housing complexes), participated in the global change in Port de Bouc as far as the urban landscape was concerned. The impact of the operation on this point is not limited to the neighbourhood but it is spread to a constituting role of the new urban identity in the city. The avenue de Turenne was remodelled within the frame of the project. Along it were settled

structuring features used by the entire population of the city (multi-media library, theatre, social centre, school...). This avenue plays therefore the role of a major urban axis allowing at the same time the link between the neighbourhood and the town centre, but also a sort of « extension » of the centre where the population mix occurs.

Besides if Aigues Douces does not turn its back on the rest of the city and is therefore integrated in the city, the cutting of the towers and the demolishing works favour also the opening towards the seaside. The development of a seaside promenade and of a beach are also some important components for the improvement of the quality of life and of the development of the friendship. Indeed, these features enable the bathing habits of not only the tenants but also of the other residents of the city. The maritime landscape and the easy access to the sea appear as being recurrent elements of the interviewed inhabitant satisfaction. The remodelling of the outside areas, the fronts of the buildings' refreshments, the housing complex re-organization around an actual street participated also to the change of the neighbourhood's image and of its perception by its own residents.

As far as the accommodation and the flats are concerned, the towers which were criticized a lot before and where the most of the vacancies were, they became the favourite accommodation and the applicants were keen on getting a flat in them.

The Aigues Douces operation contributes, in this way, to the creation of a new landscape for the city. The housing complex was not stigmatised any more, the neighbourhood and the housing was getting a better value. Lowering the density of the population and re-modelling the site also enabled the vacancies to be reduced. During the years just after this operation, the applications for an accommodation in Aigues Douces increased and « waiting lists » were organized. (Though, this data should be confirmed, insofar as we do not have elements relating to the applications to Aigues Douces for the current period).

Some elements of the project remained on hold. Indeed, the ambitions for the change of purpose and for the development of activities on site were not

followed by any effects. The forecasted office building was not built since there was not any potential market. The area on which it should have been erected, was left to lie fallow during long time before being transformed into a green area. It may have developed the feeling of a failed project, of an unfinished neighbourhood and of a new kind of abandon for the residents. In the same way, the shops kept on closing without any re-opening. The basements with metallic shutters down can participate in the feeling of abandon in the life of the neighbourhood. Meanwhile, this is made up for by the access to the town centre and to the shopping centres.

The social life and the neighbourly relationships matters

Several aspects deserve to be approached through this part.

First of all, the operation was realized taking up the bet that the resident population would remain, despite their financial difficulties, since only a very slight rent increase occurred.

The processes of re-housing and the subsequent operations were mastered in quite a satisfying manner for the tenants. It concerned 180 households (40% of the households living on the site). The existing neighbourly networks had been preserved. Indeed, the work done by the MOS team required, sometimes, long negotiations and each household to be moved had to be considered as a unique case. Numerous criteria were taken into account in order to have the residents appropriating their new flats and the global run of the neighbourhood easily. A contract between the tenant and the lessor was formalized after the following steps: sum up of the tenant situation, evolution of the family cell (e.g. if some persons were planning to leave the flat), wishes of the flat type and of its location, wishes related to the neighbours, having the households more responsible regarding the maintenance and the neighbourly relationships issues...

One of the basis of urban re-valuation operation was to fully associate the inhabitants of the neighbourhood and their associations to the current project. The inhabitants' dynamism supported by a reinforced partnership of professional actors constituted one of the key elements of this operation.

Sometimes, through discussions/negotiations, taking the residents into account allowed the works schedule to be modified or re-orientated. For example, within the framework of a school project, the children met the Mayor, the Public Housing Authority manager and the CNL ; the children made some written proposals concerning the development of the outside areas and they were partially realized. In the same way, the CNL could negotiate that the low buildings were equipped with “La Poste” mailboxes, sun visors on the balconies and holes of light through the towers, these works were not planned at the beginning.

Besides, numerous projects facilitated the residents' feeling of appropriation towards their neighbourhood. It is the case of the long lasting realization by the pupils from the primary and secondary schools of ceramic mural frescos on the building entries and the crossing way walls. This is a significant example of a long term action planned to associate many actors (such as schools, families, the city, OPAC). These frescos are also a means for the residents to let their neighbourhood be visited by people from outside and to reevaluate the image of Aigues Douces.

Other projects, carried out by the schools, the CAF, the social centre or by the theatre the « Semaphore », have been developed to mobilize the inhabitants in their neighbourhood (organization of streets and flats theatre, settlement of a CAF agency welcoming parents and children in the neighbourhood, creation of books made by the inhabitants help from the social centre and the multi-media library ...).

Concerning the daily life in the neighbourhood and the neighbourly relations, work has been set up to define the common rules of good neighbourly relationships. OPAC, social workers and the tenants' association join forces for their work. It has been realized thanks to meetings organized on each landing with all the tenants.

After the rehabilitation, the inhabitant's dynamism and the partnership with the local authorities obviously participated in an obvious change of the daily life in the neighbourhood and in particular in the increasing respect of the persons

and of the place itself. Indeed, during the first years after the operation, one could observe a decrease of the degradation and vandalism phenomena which used to be recurrent before. The “good neighbourly relationship agreement » is on the whole, respected and if the number of complaints didn't decrease, there was an increase of attention and demand concerning the quality of life and maintenance.

Since the professional actors were mobilized during the rehabilitation, after the Public Housing Authority employees became more involved in the welcoming and the listening of the tenants.

All these elements gave the Aigues Douces project a character of being an example. Meanwhile, some aspects did not always worked properly. It is the case, in particular of the integration through economics badly mastered by the Dumez company. The announcements made were different from the actual employment capacity and it created frustrations and a bad climate during the works. However, this experience enabled the Public Housing Authority to re-orientate its strategy. Later, the OPAC constituted a group of employers associated to the Building Federation, which was in charge of the integration scheme of the tenants within the limits of the works being carried out.

5. Assessing the impact of the initiative

The operation in Aigues Douces has already been the subject of several analysis within professional or academic meetings. Several key-factors for the success could be identified in this way⁷ :

- i) An assessment made by the professionals
- *One global approach and a consistent urban project on the scale of entire city.* In a very concrete way, the strategic development of the stricken city. To decide on the future of the neighbourhood, the purpose of Lecque peninsula had to be thought about.

7.. "Evaluation d'opérations de restructuration urbaine. Site de Port de Bouc, les Aigues Douces"; GIE Ville et Quartiers, novembre 1998.

- *A reviewed architectural figure, and remodelled outside areas* : two buildings and more than 200 flats were demolished, the top of four towers were cut off, ...
- *A firm and continuous local will-power*, allowing the final project to be realized in a way that meets the site expectations and taking part in the renewal of the city
- *A strong mobilization of the Public Housing Authority and its employees*. The people got so strongly involved on this work that when it was achieved they found it difficult to be re-motivated for the daily tasks
- *A constant support from the public authorities' partners of the project* (Region, DDE-departmental direction for equipments-, CDC)
- *A strong involvement from the social partners all through the project* within the implementations of the Public Housing Authority concerning: the follow-up of the families to re-house them; the developed initiatives for the appropriation of the places; or to give the residents the chance to express themselves
- *A balanced-time management* : a long phase of growth was favourable to the project's quality, then it was followed by a short time for the realization, diminishing the inconvenience caused to the residents and transforming the neighbourhood with speed.
- *A deliberate structuration of the project operations and of the communication for a good co-ordination of the actors and to control the information* (through the implementations of the OPAC and in particular the rehabilitation workshop)
- *A strong participation of the inhabitants during the process*
- *A «thorough » support of the re-housings..*

The re-evaluation of Aigues Douces was strongly publicized in quite a homogenous and fluent speech. It was presented as an exemplary operation combining the quality of architectural and urban work, the local democracy and the inhabitant participation, the crossed flows and a strong partnership with the

local authorities. This image must be qualified and the reality highlights some diverting points of view, particularly between the public authorities and the inhabitants.

ii) An assessment made by the residents

Almost every interviewed resident talked about their attachment to their neighbourhood. The flats' quality, the rents, the sea-view to the sea are elements of satisfaction. Also, it clearly appeared that the opening of the neighbourhood and the link with the rest of the city were felt as positive factors for the improvement of the quality of life.

However, the bad quality of the finishing-off inside the flats, the soundproofing problems, the chosen colours for the buildings, the delays for some of the services⁸, the under-estimated violence of the winds for the architectural and urban conception, the problems of water infiltrations linked to the repairs on the roofs of certain buildings, the neglected state of the playground, the too fragile or inadequate materials ... appeared as negative points.

The spacious landings, in the conceivers' mind, were supposed to be used as shared spaces and as friendly places for the neighbours. According to the tenants, these places are considered as "thought by people from outside", and not useful, on the contrary, these spaces are the source of many tensions or neighbourly conflicts linked to the cleaning or the abusive occupation. The interviewed people frequently mentioned that the inhabitants' worries were not sufficiently taken into account, even as far as the technical conception of the rehabilitation was concerned (choice of the materials, the colours, creation of the landings, creation of the openings, under-estimation of the Venturi problems...)

⁸ For example, the grounds repairs were only achieved last year after a rent strike organized by the CNL.

All these elements might have reinforced the inhabitants' scepticism towards the lessor; already present before the rehabilitation. This scepticism found its roots partly in the feeling of abandon from the public authorities.

Also, the operation was mainly centred on the problems of restructuring, demolishing, moving out certain tenants. Consequently, the tenants from the lower buildings (less concerned with the works) and all the tenants who did not have to move out might have felt that they were not involved in the project, while seeing their rent increase.

The operation in Aigues Douces modified and valued the image of the neighbourhood, but has it allowed an improvement of the social climate inside the neighbourhood ? The professional actors and the inhabitants interviewed, revealed that a certain improvement took place during the two or three years after the works. Meanwhile the interviews processed these days revealed that a new alteration of the social life is appearing . The noise, not respecting the public areas, forgetting the good neighbourly rules, the often-failing maintenance, all attract attention. Even if the rehabilitation marked the people's minds, it is sometimes described as the symbolic start of the degradation : "*eight days after, today everything seem to have changed with the rehabilitation, less people live in there, maybe mentalities are not the same any more. The streets are less clean, the green areas are left abandoned " ; "The rehabilitation changed the projects of the neighbourhood which is, to me, less pleasant. The shops disappeared. By chance, the children in the streets give life still to this neighbourhood. The social centre with all its activities keeps the Aigues Douces lively.."*⁹

The inhabitants do not have a really homogeneous representation. The points of view fluctuate and sometimes they are opposite concerning the rehabilitation of the neighbourhood and the daily life in the neighbourhood. If some tenants, met near the towers, express their satisfaction to live in Aigues Douces, some others declare they want to leave. "*Here it's fine, we can find*

9.. The residents talking in "Regard des habitants, les Aigues Douces", document made by the social centre F. Menot in Port de Bouc, 2001.

everything". Says a young teenager from the neighbourhood. Spontaneously, some adults join us to take part to the discussion: *"Here everyone knows each other, we talk together, there aren't really any problem, except for some noise made by the children, because the playground is right below our windows."* On the opposite a mother confesses she is afraid to leave her children playing outside, *"because some days they will end in messing around"*. An other one declares that she lives in Aigues Douces only because her flat suits her and has a splendid view over the sea. The alteration of the social climate, the nuisances related to the noise, the depredations and vandalism are the main motivations to justify the inhabitants' desire to leave.

The complaining speeches remain relatively numerous and they often mentioned the idea of a «lost paradise » (the image of the neighbourhood at the beginning in the 1970's). Indeed, even the spectacular works and the physical changes of the neighbourhood cannot succeed in making people forget having it forgot and it remained omnipresent in the oldest residents speech: *"Here, before, it was paradise!"*. In an underlying way, what represented a problem in many old tenants' minds was the arrival of the new tenants in addition to the shops closing, the maintenance failures, the economic fragilities. Indeed, they focus sometimes on the gipsy people and it is quite difficult to apprehend the extent of it (the Public Housing Authority -OPAC- did not provide us with any data related to the present social occupation). In this way, some problems seem to raise such as cohabitation, conflicts between the tenants regarding the use of the place.

iii) An assessment made by the searchers

Indeed, it seems that the peopling policy and the allocation of the flats generated a new social deregulation. The will to protect the towers (sensitive to the concentration of difficulties) and the need to fill the vacant flats (80 flats) led the Public Housing Authority to adopt a policy of flat distribution which installed fragilities in other buildings¹⁰.

10.. cf. "Evaluation d'opérations de restructuration urbaine. Site de Port de Bouc, les Aigues Douces", op. cit.

Even if the actions carried out on the neighbourhood by the social centre, the school, the structuring features (theatre, multi-media library) were unanimously greeted; and even if an organization for social environment was constituted near the social centre, it seems that the end of the rehabilitation brought about a demobilization of the public authorities partnership whereas during the works the mobilization had been very strong.

More generally, one of the underlying issue raised by this kind of thorough and spectacular operation concerned the modalities of going back from the project period to ordinary management – how the rehabilitation experience are or can last, whether it concerns the building or the social relationships inside the neighbourhood? Which meaning can be given to this project logic if the logic does not settle and transform the classical ways of management and rules? In Aigues Douces, it seems that the return to normal management came after the agitated period during the works. The period after the rehabilitation does not seem to have been considered thoroughly enough in terms of improvement of the organizational and operational management process. The agents from the Public Housing Authority based in Aigues Douces mention particularly, the paradoxical situation: the number of employees decreased (less three employees in the mean time than the implementation of the reduction of working time -from 39 to 35 hours a week-) *“whereas the improvements obtained through the rehabilitation should have been maintained and reinforced”*. The agents also witnessed disconnected situations between the central agency (in charge of the peopling policy, the flats’ attribution, the major works) and the local agency (in charge of the hygiene, the cleanliness and the minor works of maintenance). *“90% of our interventions concerns the rented parts. So, we solve problems which are not of our concern but of the tenants’. (...) But, on the contrary, it is logical that people get mad when they ask for an entry door window pane to be replaced and when 2 years later nothing has been done. They don’t understand. We transmitted the demand to Marseilles’, but over there they don’t follow, here people are ready to break the agency. (...) We are in the middle, between the tenants’ demands and the central agency. There is a highly aggressive atmosphere here, the tenants and we resent it, it’s*

getting on everybody's nerves. The old foremen here are on sick leaves and depressed."

In this way, these problems in the wheels of the system reveals that the logic of the project, which is mainly "corrective", struggles or fails to survive more than a few years following the works and its impact on the territorial and renting management remains limited.

6. Transferability

If the operation carried out in Aigues Douces is exemplary, does it have a value of transferability? Without doubt, since it does indeed come from practices and know-how acquired during previous rehabilitations, in particular the operation in La Bégude Sud in Marseilles which also belong to the OPAC.

Meanwhile, it must be highlighted that each case and each context is unique, and this limits the virtues of generalization on a large scale. The example of the town policy in France and the attempts to generalize the experimental trials during the period of the neighbourhood's social development (DSQ) proves this point quite well.

In the Aigues Douces case, many components and many principles had been identified as factors for the success of the operation. We mentioned them earlier, in the part dedicated to the assessment. Some of these factors find their roots directly in the local history, in the site geography or, more simply, in the qualities of the men and women who took part in the project, whether they were professionals or inhabitants. Other factors were more due to the implementation of organizational or decisional processes. For example, it was the case of the signature of the agreement on objectives, of the creation of the partners' co-ordination implementation, of the contracts signed by the lessors and the tenants, of the mobilization of the employees and the different services, of the time schedule and of the schedule of the works...).Anyway, it is surely the

conjunction between all of these factors which ensure success and an exemplary project.

These obvious facts being remembered, we have to say that the operation can reveal the joining of different interests - mainly those of the local authority concerning urban renovation and those of the Public Housing Authority in a patrimonial logic - which got concrete within one common project. The project combined multiple and related actions through a cross approach which broke up the traditional individual intervention modes while leaving a place for listening and individual or collective support of the residents.

Meanwhile, if this very complex operation may seem exemplary, we also saw that the extent of the dynamism fades away insofar as the return to normality and the progressive de-mobilization takes place after the agitation during the works. In the same way, one can affirm that the urban remodelling project of the neighbourhood, which, at first, was considered as a means, became an end in its own right. In this context, rehabilitation became a way of management in itself, the effects in time remain simply limited.

Actually, several conclusions are clear :

- first of all, the hopes placed in the physical rehabilitation, the urban and architectural restructuring are often over-estimated, both with regard to their actual impact in the daily life of the residents and to solving the problems they may encounter and which are out of the development field.

- then, if these operations are not completed by a strong social (collective and individual) support and by the organization of the participation they may fail as far as the improvement of the quality of life is concerned.

- finally, the social relationships' issue within a territory cannot be apprehended as resulting solely from the diversity of the social and cultural situations of the inhabitants or again of their social and cultural belonging. The social relationships must also be studied according to the way they are spatially organized. It is the same for the political and administrative ways participating in the urban management. Lastly, these ways must be considered as co-producing the situation of the residents. In the same way,

the project logic and the experiences are only full of meaning if they can penetrate and transform the traditional ways of management and of regulation ; better taking into account the individual and collective situations.

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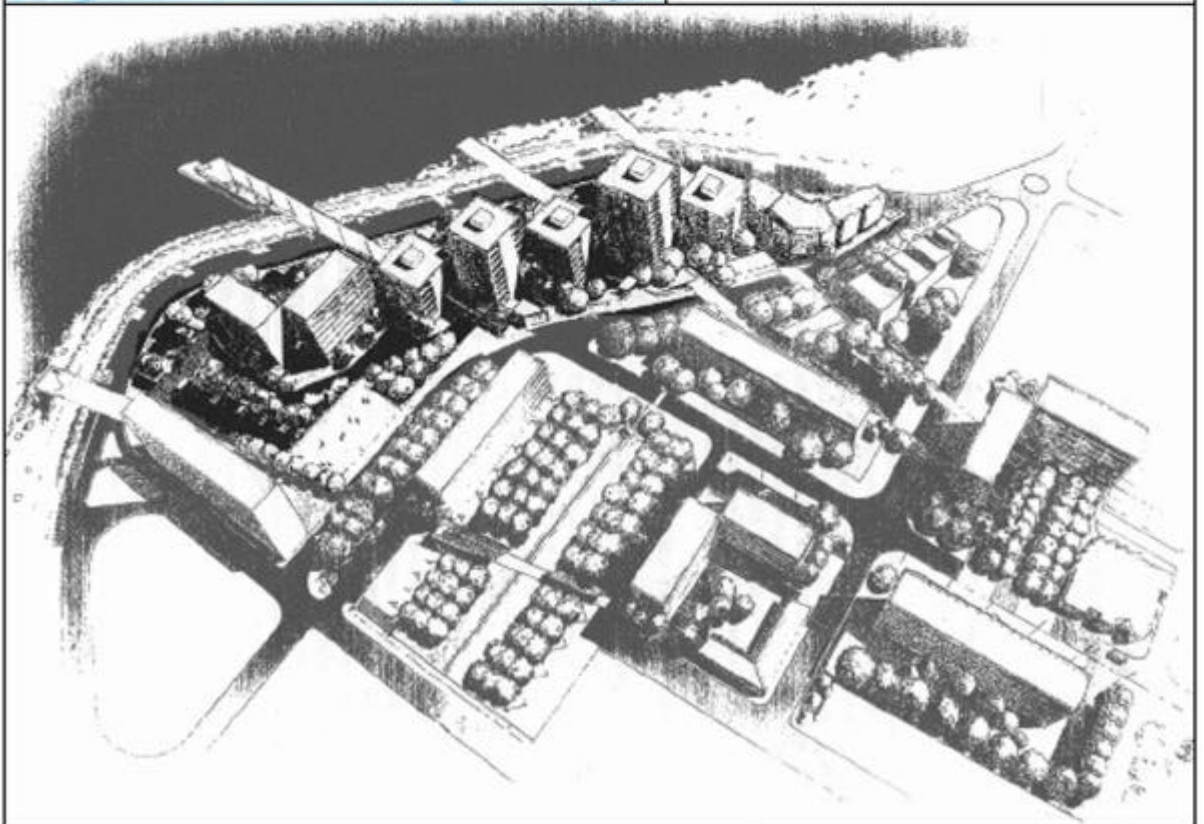
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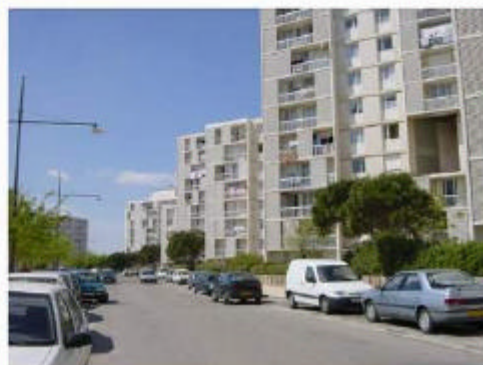
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**CITE DES AIGUES DOUCES
COMMUNE DE PORT-DE-BOUC**



PHOTOS DU QUARTIER DES AIGUES DOUCES (après réhabilitation)



PHOTOGRAPHIE DES AIGUES DOUCES AVANT LA REHABILITATION.





◆ Avant ◆



◆ Après ◆

8. Appendices

Appendix 1

NUMERICAL DATA

The data shown on table 1 help to identify the general characteristics concerning the housing and the households in Port de Bouc. These data, issued from the general census of the population made in 1990, showed four geographical identities (towncentre, Aigues Douces la Leque, the Comtes, the Amarantes), then the policy of social and urban development (DSU) had to be implemented in the constituted neighbourhoods in priority.

Table 1 : general data Housing / population in Port de Bouc :

	TOWN CENTRE		AIGUES DOUCES LA LEQUE		LES COMTES		LES AMARANTES		TOTAL	
		%		%		%		%		
Housing Complex										
Total of flats	909		1525		1435		2018		5887	
Vacant falts	117	12.9	373	24.5	206	14.4	242	12	938	

Total of principle residence	766		1097		1218		1758		4839
Average size of the flats	3.26		3.6		3.68		3.59		3.56
Out of which :									
- landlords	227		215		480		371		1293
- private tenants	313		215		192		314		1034
- tenants HLM ¹¹	226	29.5	667	60.8	546	44.8	1073	61	2512
Out of which:	289		225		107		221		842
- before 1948	342		841		985		1390		3558
- 1948/1974	135		31		126		147		439
- after 1974	52	6.8	62	5.7	26	2.1	53	3	193
Out of which uncomfortable									
Households Population		%		%		%		%	
Total	1920		3287		3799		4946		13952
Average size of the households	2.51		3		3.12		2.81		2.88
- de 20 years	470	24.5	1061	32.3	1128	29.7	1411	28.5	4070
20/24 years	168		264		340		421		1193
25/59 years	837		1435		1668		2236		6176
60 years and +	445		527		663		878		2513

¹¹ HLM : Council Flats

Houshld 1 pers.	202		215		196		394		1007
6 pers. or more	22	2.9	102	9.3	124	10.2	111	6.3	359
Foreign head of family	71	9.3	115	10.5	126	10.3	235	13.4	547
Working population		%		%		%		%	
Working population	830		1191		1554		1884		5459
Pop having 1 job	629		831		1118		1345		3923
Unemployed pers	194	23.4	344	28.9	416	26.8	526	27.9	1480
Men's unemployment rate		21		23.3		20.8		23.3	
Women's unemployment rate		27.5		38.9		38.8		36.5	
15/24 years unemployment rate		44.8		45		48.7		45.8	
Fragility index*		60.1		81		77		76.1	

* Fragility index = population less than 20 yrs + households of 6 pers or more + foreign head of family + unemployed persons.

• **The population in Aigues Douces :**

When the rehabilitation started, a survey, carried out by the MOUS team (Arelfa), in 1992 on 100 households (i.e. a population of 352 personnes) gave the opportunity to have a better knowledge of the characteristics of the inhabitants from Aigues Douces.

➤ **Status of the surveyed households**

Single persons	16
Couples without child	17
Single-parent families	17
Couples with children	50
Total of the households	100

➤ **Size of the surveyed households**

Household with 1 person	16
Household with 2 persons	23
Household with 3 persons	18
Household with 4 persons	15
Household with 5 persons	9
Household with 6 persons	7
Household with 7 persons	8
Household with 8 persons	3
Household with 9 persons	1

Average size of the households : 3.5 persons

➤ **Profile of the head of family**

He is a man (69%). He was born between 1933 and 1942, he is married (61%). He is originating from France (85%), he doesn't work (56%). His average income is between 5000 and 6000 FRF. This presentation of the head of family hides many disparities and specificities, which will be explained later.

➤ **The children**

67 % of the surveyed households have at least one child

The population of the children between 0 and 24 years is of 157 (43% of the total of the surveyed households).

Age limits	Number of children	%
0 - 4 years	26	16.6
5 – 9 years	22	14
10 – 14 years	32	20.4
15 – 19 years	42	26.7
20 – 24 years	35	22.3
Total	157	100

Almost 50% of these children are between 15 and 24. They constitute more than a fifth of the surveyed population.

Also, we noticed that 17 children (concerning 14 households) being 25 years or more live in their parents' flat.

➤ **The other members of the family**

The other persons living in are relatives of the family occupying the flat. They are either great parents (2 households with one ancestral each), or collaterals (3 households declared that they accommodated one person in this situation, 3 other households reckon that they accommodate 2 persons each). In total, 11 relatives are accommodated that way.

• **The residential history**

Before living in Aigues Douces, out of 100 surveyed households:

- 57 used to live in Port de Bouc already
- 32 used in another region in France, more particularly East of France (Lorraine)
- 73 used to live in a housing complex already
- 27 used to live in a detached housing

The left their previous accommodation because :

- 37 for various reasons (demolished accommodation, temporary accommodation in hostel...)
- 23 for familial reasons (to come closer, separation, divorce...)
- 19 for working reasons.
- 19 because of the size of the accommodation

Having a flat in Aigues Douces was a priority for 72 households

- 79 households applied for a flat in Aigues Douces
- 21 households applied for a flat in Aigues Douces or in an other complex

- **How long have they been living there?**

- More than a quarter of the interviewed inhabitants have been renting there for more than 15 years (26%)
- 18 % between 10 and 15 years
- 23 % between 5 and 10 years
- 32 % between 1 and 5 years
- 1 % for less than 1 year
- 81 households always lived in the same flat
- 19 households moved from their flat to an other one for various reasons:
 - 9 for environmental reasons
 - 9 because of the size of the flat
 - 3 because of the location of the flat in the building (too high or too low).
- 86 households declared they were quite satisfied with their flat

- **Features and services**

⇒ Culture, leisure

The residents from Aigues Douces	Go to the...	Do not go to the...
Library	55	45
Multi-media library	50	50
Social centre	28	72
Cinema	30	70
Cultural centre	13	87
Stadium	18	82
Swimming pool	29	71
Gymnasium	5	95

⇒ Social Services :

28 interviewed persons declared they met a social worker (mainly at the social centre), many of them met him/her to fill out or to hand administrative papers. A small number declared they met him/her because of rent struggles.

⇒ Employment and trainings

21 persons go to the Unemployment Agency. 7 persons go to the PAIO

⇒ Shops

Intermarché is the main place to shop at. The shops in the neighbourhoods are the main place with the market where the people buy their fresh products. The chemist's in the neighbourhood is also well frequented.

COMPARISON TABLES

Households

	Port de Bouc		B-d-R		France	
	Out of total families Ensemble : 4774		Cples + kids / all families Single pers. / all houshlds Tot fam : 367944/hous:750987		Out of total fam+kids Tot fam : 9897736	
	Rcp 1999		Rcp 1990		Rcp 1990	
	Gross	%	Gross	%	Gross	%
Age Profile	2100	43,9	186456	50,67%	8296032	83,81%
Couples without kids	1873 89,2%	39,23 Marseille	Port-de-Bouc	B-d-R	France	
Single personnes Less than 40 yrs	// 39	// 51,90%	180940 51%	24,09%	52,10%	52,71%
One-parent family from 40 to 59 yrs	801 33	16,77 24,80%	26,90%	16,704 26,50%	16,18%	25,96%
Source Insee : census in 60 or more	1999 et 1990 28	14,2% (1)	22%	21,30%	21,32%	
Total	100	//	100%	100%	100%	

Source : Enquête Occupation Sociale et données OPAC SUD Cité Les Flamants - Marseille, 1997

Port-de-Bouc, Marseille, Bouches-du-Rhône et France : recensement 1999

(1) Percentage of 60-77 yrs

Professional occupation

	Port-de-Bouc		Marseille		Bouches-du-Rhône		France	
	Population 15 yrs or + Total : 13977		Pop aged + than 15 Ensemble: 661557		Pop 15 yrs or + Ensemble : 1514328		Activity of the household Ensemble : 23810	
	Brut	%	Brut	%	Brut	%	Brut	%
Retired people	2728	19,51	149328	22,57	314216	20,74%	10637031	44,
Unemployed people	1887	13,5	78288	11,83	156189	10,31%	1494547	6

Other non working pers.	3025	21,64	94453	14,27	218704	14,44%	563935	2
Pupils/Students	1378	9,8	81016	12,24	182347	12,04%	5326493	22

Source pour les villes, le département et la France : Insee, recensement 1999

Foreigners

		Port-de-Bouc		Marseille		B-d-
		Tot nb houshlds / ref pers Rcs 1999		/ total pop Rcs 1999		/ to
		Total ménages : 6507		Ens habitants : 797491		Pop tot
		Brut	%	Brut	%	Brut
Foreigners						
Out from EEC	Algerian	360	5,50%	22031	2,76%	34132
	Morrocان	70	1,10%	4346	0,54%	15627
	Out EEC					
Spa, Ita, Port		124	1,70%	5519	0,69%	16168

Source : INSEE, recensement 1999

Appendix 2

THE LIFE IN AIGUES DOUCES (survey carried out by the MOUS team (Arelfa) in 1992 with 100 households, i.e. 352 persons))

The opinion of the inhabitants concerning the quality of life in Aigues Douces was relatively reserved before the rehabilitation.

45% of this population found it pleasant to live in this neighbourhood against 55%.

Meanwhile, this opinion is equilibrated since a satisfaction is expressed concerning the qualities of the housings (85% felt good or quite good). The duality (satisfaction inside/dissatisfaction outside) could appear as a kind of withdrawal and a certain fear of what is not « self » and which is « other ». The expression of a « difficult environment » evokes criminality, depredations (often due to the others, to the people from the tower in front...). The towers seemed to be the sources of dissatisfaction, for the inhabitants of the towers and from the tenants from the other buildings. Besides, the main vacancy was concentrated in these towers. Generally, the survey carried out emphasized the fact that the inhabitants were not resigned to be in this neighbourhood, but rather deceived by its « way of functioning ».

MAKING THE CONTRACT FOR GOOD NEIGHBOURLY RELATIONSHIPS

The physical rehabilitation of Aigues Douces came with the willing to facilitate the improvement of the neighbourly relationships and the respect of the common environment. So as to support this new start, a document summarizing a certain number of rules for good neighbourly relationships was written by the inhabitants for the inhabitants.

The elaboration was made following different steps. First, on each landing level; each time there were new tenants moving in, a meeting was organised during which different priorities, involvements and daily life rules were discussed. Then these rules were centralized and summarized in a global document which had to be applied to the entire neighbourhood of Aigues

Douces. This is only an informative document, it only reminds the basic rules of public spiritedness. It is still distributed to each new comers in Aigues Douces. The meeting between tenants supported by the OPAC, the social centre and the social workers revealed itself to be very positive. It facilitated the knowledge and the negotiation between everybody. However it hadn't been conducted again since then. This kind of action is limited when the inhabitants are renewed and when the people who wrote the rules were less and less numerous in the neighbourhood. The new comers feel less involved and the rules are considered as a constraint. The other difficulty lies in the fact that, on a daily basis, it is difficult to have the rules respected, since the Public Housing Authority does not develop any appropriate mediation means.

CONTRACT FOR GOOD NEIGHBOURLY RELATIONSHIPS

The cleaning

Time schedule :

The tenants clean their alley ways, their doors and window panes according to the schedule pinned on the wall each month by them. In case of difficulty or disagreement, the caretaker can be a mediator.

The common parts :

The landings are owned by all the tenants of the floor, but not by any particular one. They can be collectively decorated but they are not a playground for the children, neither a spare room of a flat. The hallways are only ways to pass by. For everybody's pleasure the floors the walls and the doors must remain clean.

The balconies

They are a private area, the balcony is also an outside place which can be seen by the neighbours and it is a component of the attractiveness of the neighbourhood. It is therefore better not to use it a junk room, a place for dogs or too visible drying wires. When cleaning it take care to the neighbour living underneath. At last, for security reason, the plant pots must be hanged inside the balcony.

The noise

The collective life imposes to respect its neighbourhood, especially as far as noise are concerned: television, music, homeworks, loud voices in the common parts. The simple facts to alert the neighbours can help to prevent from eventual conflicts; in that case a mediator can intervene as well.

The animals

In a housing complex, animals are often the source of conflicts between neighbours when they bark too much, when they dirty the common parts, when they are near the buildings or when they divagate. So as to avoid the conflicts, or even legal pursuing, animals should be taken out, with their leash by adults who will clean all the dirt left.

The cars and their parking

The highway code has to be observed in Aigues Douces . It is forbidden to horn, to park and disturbing the way of the cars and or of the pedestrians. One must respect the speed limits.

In particular, the access for the firemen, the ambulances, must be free at any time also the parking area for disabled persons. Repairing a car is tolerated but it can be a nuisance: noise, pollution with the oil, the used pieces. Each areas must be cleaned after each repair.

The garbage

Containers are at the inhabitants disposal so as to throw out garbage already in a bag. However, children cannot access to them. They are here to avoid the garbage to be left in the common parts or in the outside areas or to be thrown out the windows. The big garbage can be withdrawn by the services of the city on a free basis, either upon request or each 3^d Wednesday of each month. For security reasons, they must not be stored on the landings nor in the common parts. Paper baskets are present near the letter boxes so as to throw out the leaflets and the ads.

Difficulties belong to the past... In order that tomorrow, life will be pleasant, discover together our neighbourhood.

Appendix 3 :

(voir introduction)

Appendix 4 :

1. Methodological considerations

We adapted our way of work to the specificity of Aigues Douces as well as to the people we interviewed.

As far as the professionals are concerned, we carried out qualitative interviews and adapted our orientations to the person we were interviewing and according to our knowledge of the ground. The main difficulty we had to face was to be able to go beyond a consensual speech which was elaborated since the operation was completed.

As far as the inhabitants were concerned, numerous surveys were carried out in this neighbourhood often carried out by consulting bureaus or lessors. It may have led the population to be tired or even fed up with this, sometimes it was aggravated by the fact that they felt that their remarks were not taken into account by the lessor.

During the interviews with the inhabitants, we felt useful to adapt the questionnaire which was too long to implement with inhabitants who were too often solicited. We abandoned the questionnaire to have a discussion and this seemed to be more pertinent to us.

Besides, during our work in Aigues Douces, some spontaneous discussions occurred near the buildings with tenants and also with the caretakers. These experiences happened to be rich insofar as

the people could speak freely.

2. Bias

Since our sample is small, we have difficulties in making a representative panel. The most available persons were neither necessarily involved in the initiative, nor the most representative. We had to face the difficulty in meeting the persons with the information, so as to enter the different social groups, sometimes relatively separated the ones from the others.

3. Cr dibility et validity

The choice of the interviewed persons was compared to the percentages characterising the economical, familial and residential situation as the ones given by the quantitative survey ; this constituted a means of control.

An other criteria of selection took into account the level of involvement in the initiatives.

These different operations of control are the best way to guarantee the representativeness of the speeches collected within the frame of a qualitative work based on information coming from different sources.

Appendix 5 :

Interviewed persons (outside the inhabitants)

Mr. Cerruti, political project manager of the City of Port de Bouc

Mr. Colençon, school director in Aigues Douces and responsible for the Priority of Education in this Area (ZEP)

Mrs Garnès, manageress of the social centre F. Menot in the Aigues Douces

Mr. Caton, former project manager of OPAC Sud during the rehabilitation of Aigues Douces

Mrs Lahondes, manageress of the Department for social action and economical integration at the OPAC Sud

Mr. Illouz, agency manager of the OPAC in Aigues Douces

Mrs Kurtz, resident in Aigues Douces and President of the Tenants' association (CNL)

Mr. Talbi, president of the social centre F.Menot and resident in Aigues Douces

Mrs Bourdier, employed by the social centre F. Menot and resident in Aigues Douces

Appendix 6:

Interview guides for informants :

Guide d'entretien pour la collecte d'informations auprès des "responsables sociaux" (logeurs, autorités publiques chargées du logement, etc.)

a) Base et expérience dans le quartier :

- i. Eléments personnels au sujet des praticiens :
sexe, groupe d'âge, origine régionale, formation de base en matière de social, etc.
- ii. Eléments professionnels :
itinéraire professionnel, organisation/institution du praticien, statut/niveau à l'intérieur de l'organisation/institution, etc.
- iii. Insertion locale :
théorique (historique, sociologique) et connaissance de terrain relative au quartier ; expérience antérieure dans le quartier ; statut du praticien, localement, vis-à-vis de l'organisation : autonomie (+/-), ou mission imposée...

b) Perceptions de l'interrogé sur le logement/le quartier/les habitants ;

- i. perception et caractérisation du (des) problème(s) spécifiques et/ou de (s) l'atout(s) du site comparé au reste de la ville.

c) Changements du quartier dans le temps

- i. Pénétration par le haut/par le bas ?
- ii. Quels aspects semblent signaler précisément le processus de pénétration par en haut/par en bas ? L'économique/l'emploi/le social/ la gouvernabilité /les problèmes de sécurité allant mieux ou moins bien ?

d) La structure institutionnelle du quartier

- i. Est-ce une structure institutionnelle centrée sur la gestion des affaires du quartier impliquant par exemple autorités locales, partenariats spécifiques, organisation du tiers secteur, et comment cela fonctionne-t-il ?
- ii. Y a-t-il des dispositifs particuliers pour assurer la gestion de quartier et les services ?
- iii. Quels changements d'importance ont pris place dans la structure institutionnelle (y compris l'organisation du logement et les moyens de son fonctionnement) dans la dernière décennie ? Comment cela a-t-il affecté le quartier du cas d'étude retenu ?
- iv. Quels liens l'enquête fait-elle entre l'actuel système de logement (y compris le service d'attribution) et les changements dans le quartier ?
- v. Par quels moyens les habitants du quartier sont-ils engagés dans la prise de décision locale (maintenant/auparavant) ?
- vi. Dans quelle mesure les habitants et les organisations locales peuvent-elles influencer la décision politique relative à la gestion du quartier, des logements et des quartiers ?

e) Au sujet de l'initiative locale/de l'application des politiques :

- i. Que sait l'enquêteur sur cette initiative ?

f) L'évaluation des responsables sur cette initiative

- i. Evaluation positive/négative locale et plus large de son impact
- ii. Effets à court et long termes
- iii. Cette initiative est-elle durable dans le long terme
- iv. Certains des effets de l'initiative ont-ils surpris l'enquêteur ?
- v. L'initiative a-t-elle eu des effets au-delà du quartier ?
- vi. L'initiative peut-elle être appliquée ailleurs ?
- vii. Quelle est l'importance respective des autres facteurs (externes) dans l'impact/le succès/l'échec de l'initiative ?

- viii. L'initiative a-t-elle changé la perception générale du problème, sur le quartier, sur d'autres facteurs (y compris la reconnaissance résidentielle) ?
- ix. L'initiative a-t-elle eu un impact sur les façons de travailler – changements organisationnels ou partenariaux ?

g) Attentes futures :

- i. De nouvelles initiatives à prendre par rapport à d'autres/nouveaux ?
- ii. Y a-il eu une évaluation formelle de l'initiative?

Interview guides for residents :

Projet NEHOM : Questionnaire „habitants“

Nom de l'interviewé / adresse / téléphone:

intervieweur :

lieu / date:

numéro de la bande: :.....

INTRODUCTION

L'intervieweur doit expliquer les raisons du choix de l'initiative/cet interview individuel participe d'une étude comparative, internationale sur les modèles innovants en matière de logement et de quartier et est centré sur l'exclusion sociale.

Les différentes institutions nationales travaillant sur le projet NEHOM-project sont présentées. En outre, il/elle fera mention de l'anonymat dans les résultats. Les interviews doivent être enregistrés - ceci a été annoncé à l'interviewé à l'avance - .

Une attention importante doit être portée sur les besoins particuliers des minorités ethniques, des enfants, des personnes âgées et l'égalité des sexes. Nous avons essayé d'intégrer cela dans le questionnaire, mais parfois une seconde question sous forme narrative est nécessaire.

1. EXPERIENCE RESIDENTIELLE PERSONNELLE

1.1 Pouvez-vous me dire comment vous êtes venu vivre dans ce quartier et cet appartement ?

1.2 Depuis quand vivez-vous dans ce logement , dans ce quartier, dans cet arrondissement ?

1.3 Pourquoi êtes-vous venu dans ce quartier, ce logement?

1.4 Où viviez-vous avant de venir dans ce logement ?

1.5 Données sur votre logement actuel:

- nombre d'habitants / ménage
- type d'appartement :
- type d'immeuble:
- surface en m²
- Quel est le coût de ce logement (loyer et autres charges, aussi détaillées que possible, y compris le chauffage) ?
- Y a-t-il eu des améliorations importantes pour votre logement/votre cité, depuis que vous y vivez ?

1.6 Utilisation de l'appartement/des pièces :

- utilisez-vous les pièces comme cela a été prévu?
- le nombre de personnes vivant dans le logement est-il en conformité avec le nombre de pièces?
- la conception du logement satisfait-elle les besoins de votre vie quotidienne?

1.7 Que pensez-vous des relations entre habitants dans votre immeuble?

1.8 Avez-vous de la famille, des amis, „des gens qui vous aiment“ vivant dans le même quartier?

2. PERCEPTION DE LA SITUATION DU LOGEMENT ET DU QUARTIER

Le principal intérêt de cette section est d'obtenir une estimation d'ensemble sur les potentialités et les problèmes de base de la cité. Cette section doit aussi être complétée par des questions plus spécifiques sur des aspects plus détaillés.

Les partenaires de NEHOM ayant l'intention d'écrire un manuel sur les approches innovantes, non pas une description précise des situations précises du logement et du quartier à partir d'un certain nombre de cas d'études, nous devons rassembler dans la section 2 ceux des aspects qui sont essentiels à la compréhension des différentes initiatives/projets interrogés en section 5, 6 et 7 et essayer au mieux de produire des données comparables pour chaque contexte social.

2.1 Nous voudrions savoir quels sont les principaux avantages /les principaux problèmes de vie de la cité :

- Les trois meilleurs et les trois pires choses concernant la cité,
- Donnez-nous votre ordre de classement sur les sujets suivants

	1	2	3	4	5	0	
	très bon	bon	satisf.	insatisf.	mauvais	sans rép.	
Infrastructures							
Commerces de détail	?	?	?	?	?	?	
cafés / bars / restaurants		?	?	?	?	?	?
services de santé		?	?	?	?	?	?
facilités pour toutes sortes d'handicaps	?	?	?	?	?		
services dans leur langue pour les étrangers	?	?	?	?	?		
offres d'emploi	?	?	?	?	?		
écoles	?	?	?	?	?		
crèches		?	?	?	?		
?							
Réseau social							
Réseau social dans le quartier		?	?	?	?		
?							

Mélange ethnique	?	?	?	?
?				
intégration des différents groupes ethniques	?	?	?	?
activités autorisant l'esprit communautaire	?	?	?	?
Activités culturelles				
Activités culturelles	?	?	?	?
?				
institutions pour les personnes âgées	?	?	?	?
local jeunes	?	?	?	?
?				
activités / institutions améliorant leur éducation	?	?	?	?
autres moyens de diversification des activités	?	?	?	?
Qualité spatiale				
maintenance de la cité dans son ensemble	?	?	?	?
?				
maintenance de l'espace public	?	?	?	?
densité du trafic	?	?	?	?
?				
accessibilité de la cité par les transports publics	?	?	?	?
aires de jeux / terrains de sport	?	?	?	?
présence d'espace verts, de parcs	?	?	?	?
?				
maintenance des espace verts	?	?	?	?
sécurité dans l'accès à l'ensemble du quartier	?	?	?	?
autre :	?	?	?	?
?				
?				

Il y a-t-il des organismes ou des services existants dans le quartier dont vous n'avez pas usage ? Si oui, pourquoi ?

2.2. Que pensez-vous des relations sociales dans la cité ?

Pensez-vous que l'un des sujets suivants ait de l'importance pour votre logement / la cité?

	logement	cité
1. Violence, vandalisme	?	?
2. Crime organisé	?	?
3. Manque d'ordre et de propreté	?	?
4. Mécontentement des jeunes	?	?
5. Toute sorte de drogues	?	?
6. anonymat	?	?
7. conflit entre générations	?	?
8. menace à l'égard de certains		
9. groupes de population	?	?
10. taux de chômage élevé	?	?
11. conflit interethnique	?	?
12. autre :		

2.3. Que pensez-vous de votre situation actuelle en matière de logement?

(réponses : ? très bon ? bon ? satisfaisant ? insatisfaisant ? mauvais)

- appartement :
- immeuble:
- cité :
- conception arch. du quartier :
- situation à l'intérieur du quartier :
- séparation des espaces publics, semi-publics et privés
- conception et usage de l'espace public:
- conception et usage des espaces verts :
- taille des zones protégées du trafic :
- circulation à l'intérieur de la cité:
- selon vous, que pense de ce quartier la population qui vit ici ?
- comment les personnes qui vivent en dehors de ce quartier le décrivent-elles ?
- remarques :

2.4. Pouvez-vous nous montrer sur la carte comment vous définissez :

- les limites spatiales de votre cité
- les subdivisions par des frontières naturelles à l'intérieur de la cité
- les subdivisions par la composition sociale de la cité

2.5. Pouvez-vous décrire une récente amélioration structurelle ou esthétique ayant eu une influence positive sur votre perception de la cité?

3. PERCEPTION DES CHANGEMENTS DE QUALITE DE VIE DANS LA CITE

Dans cette section, nous souhaitons donner un aperçu global des changements et des dynamiques socio-économiques telles qu'ils sont perçus par les résidents. En particulier, nous avons l'intention de « vérifier » dans quelle mesure l' « initiative innovante » est mentionnée comme un changement (majeur) de ces dernières années. Les dimensions potentielles de ce changement sont : le contexte physique, l'offre de logements, le niveau de gestion, la mixité des habitants, les bases socio-économiques, etc.

3.1. Pouvez-vous dire en quoi votre quartier a changé depuis que vous y habitez ?

- Nommez le plus important changement que vous avez noté.
- Pensez-vous que l'un des aspects suivants a changé en mieux, en pire ou pas du tout?

(Noter : 1 : sans changement ; 2 : a changé ; 3 : pas de réponse ; A : amélioration ; D : détérioration)

- la mobilité des locataires
- la structure d'âge
- la mixité ethnique des habitants
- l'intégration sociale des différents groupes sociaux
- l'environnement physique
- le redéveloppement
- la modernisation de l'habitat
- l'amélioration des espaces communs
- la gestion du logement
- le service social
- le réseau social privé
- la situation de l'emploi
- l'accessibilité au travail payé
- l'activité volontaire dans la cité

-pas de réponse

-autre :

3.2. A votre avis, chaque groupe de population at-il été effectivement concerné par ces changements / par l'un d'entre eux ?

4. AMELIORATION DANS LE PROCESSUS DE PRISE DE DECISION

L'amélioration dans la prise de décision est assez important pour notre projet : en accord avec la définition élaborée par nous, les "initiatives innovantes" sont celles qui mènent au changement des idées et de la capacité des habitants à résoudre les problèmes de leur quartier. En conséquence, il est crucial de connaître avec quelle intensité les habitants sont déjà (ou se sentent être) impliqués dans le développement de leur cité/situation.

4.1. Quelles sont les forces motrices du changement dans votre cité?

- **À votre avis, qui est la cause ou le responsable de ces changements?**
- **À votre avis, qui doit être responsable de ces changements ?**
- **Quels sont les actions les plus déterminants dans le développement du quartier?**

? les politiques locales de l'habitat

? la communauté

? les associations de logement

? la gestion du quartier

? les habitants

? les acteurs économiques locaux

? les acteurs nationaux / internationaux

? autre

? pas de réponse

4.1. Etes vous membres d'un groupe local ? Si oui, :

De quel groupe?

Comment êtes-vous impliqué?

Avez-vous obtenu des résultats majeurs avec ce groupe?

Avez-vous eu des déceptions importantes avec ce groupe?

Etes-vous impliqué avec des groupes en dehors de la cité?

4.3. A votre avis, les habitants peuvent-ils influencer le développement de la cité ?

4.4. Pensez-vous qu'une plus grande participation des habitants est nécessaire pour améliorer la vie quotidienne?

4.5. Comment les habitants peuvent-ils organiser/influencer le développement de leur cité?

4.6. Existe-t-il des organisations collectives ou d'autres formes organisées de représentation/ d'autres opportunités de participer dans votre cité ?

4.7. Comment évaluez-vous votre volonté personnelle de participation?

4.8. En respectant votre vie personnelle : comment évaluez-vous votre opportunité de participation ?

4.9. Qu'est ce qui peut impliquer plus de monde à participer au développement de la cité ?

5. CONNAISSANCE DE L'INITIATIVE ANALYSEE

La section 5 amorce une brève présentation de l' "initiative innovante" par l'interviewer. Ensuite, nous devons trouver quels éléments de l'initiative sont connus de l'interviewé ; notre échantillon d'interviewés doit comprendre 50% d'habitants impliqués et 50% d'interviewés choisis au hasard (méthode des contrastes) – sinon, l'estimation de l'impact (section 7) restera vague, et nous n'apprendrons pas grand chose sur leur perception.

5.1. Que savez-vous de cette initiative / du projet ?

5.2. D'où tenez-vous votre information?

5.3. Pensez vous que l'information était suffisante / information sur le droit à la qualité pour tous les habitants ?

6. QUESTIONS SPECIFIQUES CONCERNANT CETTE INITIATIVE

Sociaux - professionnels locaux; résultats attendus ; conséquences imprévues ...

7. EVALUATION DE L'IMPACT DE L'INITIATIVE

Dans la section 7, nous approchons le «centre d'intérêt» de notre questionnaire. Donc, un temps suffisant doit être réservé à cette section. L'intention est de trouver comment est évalué l'impact de l'„initiative innovante“.

7.1. Avez-vous été personnellement impliqué dans cette initiative / ce projet ?

7.2. A votre avis, quels sont les principaux résultats / effets de cette initiative / de ce projet ?

7.3. Une évaluation personnelle:

7.4. Si c'est le cas, en quoi avez-vous profité de cette initiative ?

7.5. Pensez-vous que l'initiative et les moyens adoptés ont augmenté la capacité des population à résoudre leurs propres problèmes ?

7.6. Pensez-vous que cette initiative a eu un impact sur les groupes qui ont des besoins particuliers ?

7.7. Cette initiative a-t-elle eu un impact sur les relations entre les différents groupes qui vivent dans les environs ?

7.8. Avez-vous repéré un important sujet dans ces relations sociales de la population que cette initiative n'aurait pas pris en compte?

8. ATTENTES FUTURES

Pour conclure, nous demandons à l'interviewé son appréciation personnelle sur le développement du quartier, sur les moyens mis en œuvre et les formes d'action de ce processus.

8.1. Une estimation personnelle: comment a évolué la situation du logement/celle du quartier depuis ces 5 dernières années ?

8.2. Souhaitez-vous que cela change?

8.3. Pensez-vous que cela a des chances de changer pour vous ?

8.4. Quels sont les problèmes les plus urgents à régler ?

8.5. Comment peut-on améliorer la qualité de vie?

Liste des 3 choses à changer, selon vous, pour créer de meilleures conditions de vie quotidienne

9. DONNEES PERSONNELLES SUR L'INTERVIEWE / LE MENAGE

9.1. Quelques questions sur la situation personnelle de l'interviewé et les autres personnes vivant dans le ménage (1^e personne : l'interviewé)

	1 pers	2 pers.	3 pers	4 pers	5 pers
sexe					
age					
Situat. Econom.					
Relation au chef de ménage					

9.3. Disposez vous d'allocations? Si oui, de quelle nature :

9.4. Comment vous situez-vous vous-même ethniquement ?

9.5. Formation

9.6. Occupation

9.7. Statut de l'emploi

9.8. Où travaillez-vous?

? dans la cité ? à la maison ? dans le quartier ? dans une autre partie de la ville

? à une plus grande distance ? pas de réponse

Remarques générales à propos de l'interview : .

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Flamants Case Study :

3. Description of case study area

Written description of the neighbourhood

"Les Flamants" is a housing complex including council flats. They are located in northern Marseilles (14th district), between three villages (Saint-Barthélemy, Sainte-Marthe and Le Merlan). This housing complex was built on land formerly classified ZUP n°1 (Area for priority urbanization), which, according to the policy of this specific area dating from 1958, counted a large number of housings (6,500) divided between many social lessors. The regional public housing authority, OPAC (PUBLIC HOUSING AUTHORITY)-South, owns "Les Flamants" and is one of the most important regional social lessors (ca 30,000 housings).

Buildings and housings

The flats were delivered in 1972, according to Minister Chalandon's policy of the guidelines. The buildings were mass-produced at a scale of 15,000 units per town, the manufacture was ensured by a firm chosen on a national level.

The Flamants housing complex is composed of 5 relatively high buildings (basement+10) with 24 hallways. They are set up lengthways on a ground presenting sharp differences in height and surrounded by motorways. The housings in « Les Flamants » are considered to be comfortable.

Nearby areas and features

The density is high since the buildings occupy 15,000 square meters out of a 56,800 square meters ground. The playgrounds and the green areas have been sacrificed to the benefit of the access ways and the car parks.

In terms of features, the neighbourhood has a small shopping centre (chemist's, baker's, tobacconist's and newsagent's, fast food restaurant and a supermarket). The shopping centre suffers from competition from the urban centre of Le Merlan, which is a large building grouping one hypermarket, one

shopping centre, public services (such as a second office of the Town Hall) and one theatre. This urban centre conveys the big effort made in terms of features in these neighbourhoods during the 80's and the 90's.

Numerical descriptions

In 1997, out of 899 housings, only 591 were rented (34% were vacant). They accommodated an estimated population of 1,650 persons. The vacancies constitute a long-lasting and important lack.

As far as the social occupation is concerned, the general data of «Les Flamants » place the estate, within the anomalous situations scale, above the averages of the Public Housing Authority's housing complex

The social occupation of the neighbourhood:

The results of the survey carried out in 1997 on behalf of the regional Public Housing Authority (OPAC-South) about the social occupation of "Les Flamants" highlight the following characteristics:

- The presence of a rather stable population : 63% of the families had been living for more than 6 years in the neighbourhood. The turnover rate is between 10% and 12%,
- A large presence of youngsters in the neighbourhood (36% are under 18 against 23, 3 % in Marseilles),
- The existence of large households : the average number of persons per household in the neighbourhood is 2.75 (higher than the averages noticed by the housing authority in their entire housings: 2.29),
- An important number of single-parent families (11,2%),
- An important number of foreign origin families, of which a large proportion of families from the Maghreb (the French statistics produce only the nationality, which gives a false image of the inhabitants culture),
- A large majority of households have very low incomes : 81% of the tenants get the personalized housing allowance (APL) (the average in the housings managed by Public Housing Authority (OPAC) is 54.6%)

4. The problem calling for action.

Like many housing units built during the 70's, « les Flamants » housing complex faced a brutal change of population as from 1975.

The shift of French-immigrants

Many French households settled provisionally in this housing unit; they soon left the neighbourhood to go and live in the suburban detached house they had had built. In the meantime, owing to the policy of the familial reassembly of the immigrant population, the arrival of an important number of foreign families, especially from the Maghreb, could be observed.

The devastating effect of the economic crisis

These movements associated to departures and arrivals occurred within the context of the outbreak (in 1973) and the development of the economic crisis. This latter first hit the immigrant workers and their children who, while taking part in a cultural integration of which their parents only feebly took advantage, were cut off from the economic integration through the access to employment.

This was the point when the Flamants neighbourhood was marked by the pauperisation of its inhabitants, the idleness of the unemployed and youngsters in difficulty at school and without professional integration, the development of the criminality and of drug-trafficking, and a series of situations and events (particularly the murder of a young man from the neighbourhood) which all contributed to stigmatise it.

The amplifying effect of the negative designation

This negative designation, here stronger than elsewhere, was conveyed by rumours more or less justified, (which the newspapers can accentuate), tended to play a negative role on the allocating of accommodation and consecutively on the “equilibrium” of the population which the Public Housing Authority (OPAC) look for.

The Public Housing Authority (OPAC) would have liked the presence in their housing of some families, less deprived than the average of the residents of « les Flamants ». However, these families refused the proposed flats, not only were they discouraged by the surroundings, but they also feared the ambient insecurity, actual or/and fantasized, which hit the neighbourhood.

The reform of the housing subsidies

We mention here only as a matter of interest the effect of the new measures for the social housing aid and, within this frame, for the switch from promoting the help building to helping people, brought along by Prime Minister Barre in 1977. These subsidies, first implemented for new operations and then for rehabilitations based on an agreement with the Administration (prices and rents ceilings), tended to introduce a split between those who benefited from the personalized housing allowance (APL) and those who did not, which certain solvent households forecasted by leaving the neighbourhood.

The lessor organization was from this time onwards, taken into a period of difficult financial management and depreciation of its patrimony whose different vectors could no longer be controlled: difficulty in perceiving the rents, « natural » (normal) and deliberate depreciation of the built frame, latent trend to the vacancy of a large number of accommodation, insecurity problems, departure of solvent households, refusal more or less obvious of owed allocations to very deprived families who might have increased even more the poverty of the neighbourhood.

The «management of the population from the neighbourhoods » became a major issue which the OPAC (Public Housing Authority) tried to treat at the same time within the framework of the « Urban Policy » implemented from 1983, and within a partnership between the State and the City of Marseilles, and within specific initiatives adapted to particular problems of the neighbourhood, which will be about the physical frame and the social and economic life of the neighbourhood.

5. The initiative

Local implementation of the national policies

The development of the vacancies in « les Flamants », from the beginning of the 80's, led to thinking about the link between the rejection of the neighbourhood, its mono-functional character and the depreciation of the housing complex. At that time, the accommodation itself was not considered as the problem core.

The Regional Public Housing Authority (OPAC-South) thought about stopping this vacancy and depreciation process by introducing other functions, meant to « open » the neighbourhood, to attract new people, by taking better charge of the maintenance, with one of the first neighbourhood control regimes created in 1984. We will mainly focus on both these initiatives and in particular on the second one in terms of consequence on the neighbourhood.

It was not until later, in 1989, that a rehabilitation was implemented on the housing. It opened in a favourable way for the lessor and the tenants an agreement permitting the housing personal allowance (APL), which secured the rents for the Public Housing Authority (OPAC) and which was a better financial support for the inhabitants in terms of allowances, leaving them with a fairly low amount of rent to pay.

Change of purpose and functional diversification

This action was launched in 1982. A certain number of vacant housings, thanks to few moves, were allocated new functions, mainly in the educational sector, with the creation of a nurse's and social worker's school and a training institute for social educators.

Two thousand square meters of premises dedicated to education were created by re-modelling vacant housings, as well as a lecture hall welcoming up to 150 students in the upper parts of one of the buildings. Other premises were also created in the lower part of the buildings, allocated to social services such

as the DISS (Authority for social and sanitary action) and the local office for employment.

Between 1989 and 1991, owing to the rehabilitation works made in the flats and on the fronts (removal of the flats in the lower part of the buildings, creation of balconies), one student hall counting 148 one-bedroom flats was included in one of the buildings, allowing the welcome of students, not only from the schools present in the neighbourhood but also from the nearby university site of Saint Jerome.

Maintenance services, economic integration and reinforcement of the social link

In 1985, a local operated system, the regie, was created. It was in charge of the maintenance and the quality of life in the neighbourhood, narrowly linked with the inhabitants; moreover, it aimed to recruit the staff among the deprived inhabitants, in order to facilitate their return to work.

Evolution of the « Régie Service 13-14 »

According to the document presenting the « Régie Service 13-14 », this structure based its roots on the diagnosis demanded by the Regional Public Housing Authority (OPAC–South) and Habitat Marseilles Provence (HMP : formerly the Public Housing Authority in the City of Marseilles) from the consulting bureau Cerfise. They were asked to set out proposals aimed at solving the most important problems of the neighbourhood: the lack of maintenance and of cleanliness in the neighbourhood. This depreciation, quite directly linked to the « climate » in the neighbourhood, was also due to the demotivation of the employees of the housing public authorities.

Initially created as an association (according to the French Act of 1901) and quite directly managed by the inhabitants, the regie faced quickly financial problems.

The first idea was to favour a more direct management of the Regie by the inhabitants themselves. In itself, it is an attractive project, moving to make the inhabitants aware of their responsibilities and to reinforce the solidarity in the

neighbourhood. But if such an initiative is badly driven, it may lead to the opposite result and on the contrary, weaken the social link.

Indeed, it seems that, rapidly, the initial control, which was rather direct, by the representative of inhabitants' association did wander. The financial situation of the inhabitants' association went downhill and those responsible for the association, coming from different organizations, were criticized for favouring the hiring of certain inhabitants rather than others, and this without using the strict recruiting criteria. Instead of reinforcing the social cohesion in the neighbourhood, the initial management of the Regie, which was already employing a lot of people from the neighbourhood, was therefore increasing the split between the inhabitants.

In 1989, within this context, the Regie Iris-Flamants was taken over under a tighter control by the managing housing authorities. Besides, they were the main fund suppliers and gave to the association some maintenance and cleaning services contracts in the neighbourhood. The enlargement of the action area gave the opportunity to counter the risk of locking up the Regie and their employees. In a certain way, the rather direct control of the inhabitants on the association was questioned by this hold of the lessors. In the meantime, the inhabitants were not deprived from their right to control the goals, the activities and the management of the association.

It seems that upon this occasion, a plan of action was found and it would be a relevant answer to the good process of the association, subject to further assessment: the plan of action tempered the bureaucratic wander of the managing housing authority. Indeed, the housing management authority became huge because of the housing policy between the 60's and the 70's, they lost the sight of, or they were not able to transmit to their employees, the spirit of the endowments of the HLM movement. The plan of action tempered as well the clanic wander of the organizations which pretended to represent the inhabitants of the neighbourhood.

In 1989, the regie was therefore taken over by Public Housing Authority (OPAC) and Habitat Marseilles Provence, becoming then the "Régie 13/14".

Two other housing organizations soon joined the first two. Even if the social lessors hold a dominating place in the regie, the inhabitants kept on being represented, the official motto of the « Régie Service 13 – 14 » remaining: “Inhabitants at the inhabitants’ disposal”.

The duties of the « Régie 13–14 »

The regie mainly ensure two duties :

- carrying out the maintenance, the cleaning and repair services to the inhabitants benefit, based on works ordered by the lessor organizations,
- offering jobs, for these tasks, to the inhabitants from the neighbourhoods coming under the lessor partners and the follow up of the employees’ integration during their contract with the regie and after the end of it.

The share of these services put the maintenance and cleaning service first (62%), followed by the replacement of the unavailable agents of the lessors (28%), then by the up keep of the green areas (6%) (Activity report 2000).

To organise these services and prepare the return to work of the recruited persons, the Regie uses a permanent leading team composed of 13 salaried persons and, so as to ensure the services itself, it can appeal to a flexible number of about hundred people, employed on a contract basis from the most regular (The temporary contract prevails: 52%) to the most recent ones.

Beneficiaries of these jobs are recruited among the most deprived persons from the neighbourhood and the kind of job takes into account the skills of these persons (who are sometimes illiterate)

The follow-up of the integration is, for the leading team, a strategic duty, implemented as a « tutorial », consisting in following the employed inhabitant during his/her office with the Regie and in preparing his/her forthcoming integration in a private company operating comparable works.

Finally the Regie 13-14 made the effort, during its existence, not to limit its services to the maintenance and to the cleaning by supporting various projects expressed by the inhabitants, such as the creation of a mural fresco in 1991 in

the Iris neighbourhood, a safety project, in partnership with the French National Railways Company (SNCF) to protect the estates crossed by the railways.

Technical services and reinforcement of the social link

The duties of the Regie are not only limited to maintenance and to integration. “As part of its traditional activity of maintenance and cleaning, indicated the activity report issued in 2000, the Regie offers a global service which integrate all together:

- the technical service
- the social and professional integration
- the weaving of the social link and its mediating action” (AR 2000, p. 34).

Within a societal context in which the social links weaken, because of the development (positive and negative) of the individuation, the Regie through the behaviour of the permanent team who listen attentively as well as of the salaried persons in integration who are known in the neighbourhood, take part in the everyday building of the social link.

Remaining in the same orientation, a third activity has been opened and developed since 2000, enriching the range of available services of the Regie and it seems to link again with the “mediation” duty that the former Regie wished to encourage: the development of a “listen and eye-watch” service.

Their present duties consist in showing an attentive presence in the neighbourhood. It allowed a systematic survey, by keeping a «rough book» with all the abnormalities, whether it be matter of the buildings or of the daily life in the neighbourhood, to collect the inhabitants’ claims and to facilitate the welcome of the new tenants. Ten persons divided into 3 teams (2 for the eye-watch, one for the reception) were enrolled within the framework of this new task.

A first experimental year enabled the collection of 2,500 informative data related to the life of the neighbourhood. An attempt was made to classify this data in seven categories these data (hygiene : 31%, safety : 24%, incivility

acts : 24%, dysfunctions: 18%, reminding the rules: 4%, mediation: 3%). (AR 2000, p 52).

6. The impacts of the initiative

It is not easy to identify the actual respective impacts of the various initiatives taken in “Les Flamants”.

The change of purpose, the functional diversification

The change of the use of some flats in order to let in the buildings other activities than housing, gave the opportunity to solve, in a certain way, the vacancies. Also, it allowed the Public Housing Authority's (OPAC) patrimony to find an other concern than the sole housing.

The functional diversification was also meant to provide the neighbourhoods –dedicated to a single activity i.e. housing - with the contribution of a broader social and economic life, thanks to the creation of places for education. This diversity also contributed to improve the image of the neighbourhood, both to some inhabitants and to the external eye.

It has also favoured a larger social diversity, a larger social mix, some crossed «alternating migrations » : some inhabitants leave the neighbourhood in the morning to go to work outside, while students and teachers arrive there for their activities integrated in the neighbourhood.

The creation of educational institutions therefore objectively improve the image of the neighbourhood, to some inhabitants' minds. The more the grafted institution looks carefully after integration within the neighbourhood and the more they prepare their public to it, the better the results. So the nursing school took different initiatives to create a relationship between the students and the population through the “café-health” which gives sanitary information to the families from the neighbourhood.

However, in the part dedicated to the assessment we will see that this impact remains limited. Indeed, all the new grafted activities have not received the relevant measures for the social implementation of the initiative, so as to let the population originally here accept it.

The neighbourhood controlled regie

The Régie Service 13-14 employs as of today 120 persons, and the aim which was initially focused on the neighbourhood has been opened to all the neighbourhood of North-Marseilles (13th and 14th district). Indeed the relationship between the employees and the urban zone was, before, too confined. Now, the activities are developed in about thirty neighbourhoods.

Besides, the Regie is part of national network. The affiliation to this network depends on the acceptance of a Neighbourhood's Regies Charter. Any association of service are not authorized to use the label « régie » in their appellation.

Among the earliest regies created in France, the Régie Service 13 – 14 is by far the first in France with regards to the number of employees and the number of services supplied. The activity report issued for year 2000 mentions a turnover of 12,5 million Francs, i.e. three times the turnover of the second regie.

The enlargement of the regie's field of action, the participation into a national and even international network bring the proof of a real efficiency and of a true success with regards to the goals which were set. This development shows, in a certain way, the interests of such an organization's aims concerning both the lessor's and the inhabitant's expectations.

All these services are organized in a combinatoric of which the goal works towards the improvement of the quality of life in the deprived neighbourhoods, both on a physical and on a social front :

1. the maintenance and repairing service is made for the inhabitants by the inhabitants.

It replaces in particular the traditional « sweep turn » (each inhabitant cleaning the stairwell in turn) which did not have any sense in the buildings built in the 70's. This “cleaning turn” of the outbuildings was settled as a rule of “good-living” in council flats and was conceivable in small sized building. The larger architectural scale gave to this « fair duty » an image of “collective punishment”, held through administrative notes by the lessor and in an

anonymous climate which led the households more to escape from it than to accomplish it. From now on, the neighbourhood's stairwells are normally maintained like the buildings from the private sector, this guarantees a minimum of cleanliness.

In the same way, the level of reaction of the employees of the Régie working at the maintenance and replacing the employees of the housing manager brings an essential improvement to the daily life of the neighbourhood. The staff of the Régie intervene when the staff of the housing manager is off-duty, i.e. during their off-hours and their leave. Therefore, the staff of the Régie react when most of the inhabitants are in the neighbourhood and thus, when the breakdowns are the most unbearable.

2. the creation of these services brings a source of jobs appropriated to the most deprived inhabitants of the neighbourhood.

These jobs are managed by an organization, the Régie, where the inhabitants are represented with the lessors. It can ease particularly difficult situations of the most deprived, sometimes short-term, and can offer them more lasting possibilities in external companies. The jobs are managed on the demands basis. The leading team apply strictly fixed criteria and reject any form of favouritism.

At this point, we must insist on the importance of the «tutorial» function, ensured by the Régie permanent organizers, who shoulder the employee in his work. This person may be the first support in the inhabitant's life, that is why the tutor must help him/her to assimilate the working behaviour standards (respect of the timetables, quality of the services supplied...), to prepare him/her to a job outside the neighbourhood (essential worry for certain women of the neighbourhood). This entire tutorial frame is, as from now, co-ordinated by an «Integration Trajectory Manager». His/her duties were set down in 2000 : « tutorial follow-up » and « management of the training scheme ».

The annual activity report shows the good success level of the integrations. In the same way, the annual report for 2000 gives a result considered as relatively satisfying : at the end of the contract with the Régie 13-14, 52% of the

employed people (49 out of 93) found a job outside (46%) or are on training leave (6%) (this result enters the standard settled for the integrative organizations – Annual Report 2000, p42).

3. the service given by the inhabitant for the inhabitant supplies a listening and an eye-watch which favours the strengthening of the social link.

The members of the leading team who are needed for a repair, a job, a persisting physical or social disorder, the employees doing the cleaning and the repairs and now, the «listening and watching agents », all make up a network of ombudsmen present all over the neighbourhood. They are at the same time witnesses and actors, able to draw up a more accurate inventory of fixture of the neighbourhood, which would not be the vision of the far-away administration, the lessors or of the consulting bureau. They must also be able to intervene at the proper level to correct the ordinary dysfunctions, to down-play small conflicts which, without this mediation work, would skid to more serious situations..

When looking at the results the integration function of the Regie seems to be more visible than the maintenance services. Even if the impact is rather limited in number, the aid to get a temporary job, then later a more permanent position in other firms, for the inhabitants in the neighbourhood, seems to characterize better the impact of the action of the Regie –especially in the inhabitants' mind as we will see later - than the quality of the maintenance services. If improvements have been acquired at this level, they remain fragile. Indeed, in the meantime, the Regie took charge of the maintenance and allowed the creation of charring jobs. Therefore, it seems that the inhabitants dropped their responsibilities as far as their own contribution to cleanliness is concerned.

7. Assessing the impact of the initiative?

Within the overall evolutions of the economic and social context, of the voluntary actions which are the matter of the town policy and of the different actors present in the neighbourhood, it is difficult to measure the resultant of the numerous interactions playing on the neighbourhood.

Both above-mentioned initiatives express voluntary actions in which the lessor holds a decisive position, even if, when the Regie was created, it seemed that the inhabitants played a more important but discussed role. The lessor's appreciation contrasts with the inhabitants' ones. They are far from being unanimous in their critics, but they generally express a rather negative opinion about the evolution of the neighbourhood.

The effects of these initiatives must therefore be appraised, with regards to a global conjecture at the national and local level and to the special characteristics of the chosen estate – from the physical and social point of view – but also, with regards to the way these initiatives were defined within their content and implementation. A new initiative of re-qualification, today decided within the framework of the national policy « the urban renewal » revives once again the question of the acceptability of the lessor's initiatives by the inhabitants.

The change of purpose

The effects brought about by the change of purpose of a certain number of flats so as to let other kinds of activities, than the housing one, in the neighbourhood poorly match the expectations. This point of view is shared by the lessor, the inhabitants and the other partners.

The change of purpose favoured a larger social intermixing, referring to the model of the working-class neighbourhood in the 50's. It did not have any sense for the housing complex built in the 70's. Indeed, the more and more numerous jobless people remain confined in the neighbourhood. The youngsters without any hope of a job « keep the walls up », according to the dedicated expression.

They are, in a certain way, the « frustrated » observers of those who are « lucky » to study.

Then, the functional intermixing does not necessarily lead to a social mix favourable to the disappearance of the social tensions in the neighbourhood. If the grafted institution does not look after its integration within the neighbourhood and if it does not prepare the public who attend it, the institution may be rejected. That is precisely the difference existing between the nurse school and the training institution for the social workers. The management of the nurse's school took different initiatives to link the students with the population (through their initiative of the « café-health »), whereas the training institution had a bad image.

Then the rejection of the « pitch forked » institution will focus on the litigious occupations of some areas. For example, the inhabitants contest the use of the car parks by the students, sometimes the vehicles are even vandalised. In the same way, the care-taking of the student hall opened in the 90's is not appreciated by some inhabitants who feel that it is a discriminating privilege.

“...The change of purpose in Les Flamants was perfect, but it has been neither explained nor implemented at the inhabitants' level; within these conditions, the inhabitants saw the Public Housing Authority (OPAC) preferring the change of purpose than themselves. The worst thing, for them, was the settlement of the student hall in building n°7: not only had an entire building been reserved for the students, but also one caretaker was nominated at the bottom of this building; the young people took it as a provocation and wondered why they did not have the right to a caretaker at the bottom of their own buildings.” (I 1, representative of Public Housing Authority (OPAC) South).

This initiative of diversification is not a failure in itself. However, the way the new activities were introduced, shows numerous lacks as far as the social implementation of the initiative is concerned, with regards to the acceptance by the living populations of origin.

The contribution of the “Régie Service 13-14 »

The impact of the Regie’s activity on the improvement of the quality of life in the neighbourhood is not easily identifiable. Its actions can be considered, be it on the maintenance level or on the integration level, as being the main ones until now. They participated in these initiatives, doubtless more than others, which preserved the neighbourhood (and the entire group of housing complexes in which the Regie intervene) from going astray. The initiatives allowed the neighbourhood to escape from the worst, without actually improving the quality of life of these neighbourhoods too dependent on reducing the economic poverty of the people living in there.

i) An assessment made by the managers

According to an interview with them, it is quite clear that the current managers of the Regie, some of whom were present from the start, supply the inhabitants an ethic of service with an obstinate determination. With a democratic participative and citizen inspiration, they match the realism of a balanced economic management –as mentioned in the annual report of 2000- with the efficiency of the maintenance services accomplished in mind, as far as the integration work and the reinforcement of the jeopardized social link are concerned.

All this is mentioned in the speech made by the managers of the Regie:

“To us, the dynamism of the employment is a restructuring element and, beyond it, there are obviously all the problems linked to a distressful situation, i.e. housing, education, health, etc.” (I 2, Manager of the Regie 13-14)

“The Regie is a financial management tool, on the one hand, it is a tool which helps to do the cleaning, etc. in certain neighbourhoods where the public services provided by the City are deficient for some social or urbanism reasons, that’s the first thing. The second thing is that the Regie is a tool to promote the social link, to re-build the social link in the neighbourhoods, that is the philosophy of the neighbourhood’s Regie.

The neighbourhood's Regie is a place where the local democracy develops itself, i.e. the inhabitant has got a place where he/she can express himself/herself, it is not a place where two by two the different partners split naturally between town and lessor, town and resident, resident and lessor. Pursuing an utopian ideal, we try to organize a place where the resident can express himself/herself so as to be listened to, not only he/she must express his/her choices, but also his/her ground actions, his/her actions as a salaried person having a legitimacy towards his/her family because he/she works. Then this person is replaced in a dynamic situation to re-build himself/herself. That's what a neighbourhood's Regie is." (I 2, Manager of the Régie 13-14).

In that way, this association does not appear as a lessor's service, but as a kind of latent «cooperative », turned towards the inhabitants. The association would indeed like to drop its status of a non profit-making association (according to the French Act of 1901) in favour of proposals currently studied by the French government.

The managers of the Regie feel that the growth of the Regie's size, due to solicitations received since it has a positive image, can represent a danger. They foresee the dangers of this evolution: becoming an ordinary firm which would loose its ethic of a local service.

"In terms of local development, it was a marking experience for Marseilles' region. It is true that we are a reference tool for many people. Today, we raise 12 millions French Francs (circa 1.830.000 euros) with our activity product and the subsidies. This is huge and going beyond this limit would not be serious for a structure of this nature.

Today, we reach a limit where we cannot answer all the solicitations, we are a tool with a territorial aim; we must remain in this situation.

Talking about the notion of a local development tool, at the Regie, we feel that there is a paradox: such a tool is essentially based on the dynamic of a project, it is not a structure made for employing, raising a turnover and profits. This means that the structure must develop itself, whereas it is paradoxical with

the goals of this tool really based on the local services.” (I 2, Manager of the Régie 13-14).

ii) An assessment made by the residents

Except for the most recently arrived inhabitants, many people from the neighbourhood, in particular the ones we interviewed, knew about the activities of the regie and especially the integration duty, since a lot of them took advantage of them.

“It allowed certain inhabitants to find a job, which helped them to be better integrated into the neighbourhood.” (R 6, Woman, French, originating from Tahiti, French Polynesia, 38, widow, 2 children)

Those who benefited directly from the Regie not only withdrew immediate advantages, but also benefits for the future:

“You know, when you work for the first time, you feel like a puff of oxygen sweeping through you, it’s true that you learn things, first of all the work in itself -even if the cleaning, I have known that for a long time- (great laugh!) and then, you start seeing your problems in a different way... it’s true that new projects became available for me!” (R 8, Woman, French, 29, married to an Algerian, 3 children)

However, for other persons, the end of the contract with the Regie is not necessarily followed by a guaranteed job, in that case the assessment is more reserved:

“Good results, since they allow people to WORK, which is very important to me, because, with the work a certain dignity, that you may have lost, comes back (indeed, to clean the shit left by the others, one must be really in need!) and you feel good!... I think it depends on the persons: for some of them, for sure, it stimulated them to look for an other job, because the Regie is only a temporary job, but for others, they are so bewildered that once their contract is finished, they don’t know what to do. I think that these persons must be supported by the Regie itself or by an other organization.” (R 2, Woman, Algerian, 37, widow, 2 children)

A lot of these employees complain about the lack of respect from the other residents towards their work and about the lack of attention of the Public Housing Authority (OPAC) towards the neighbourhood and its evolution, which is judged all in all without any improvement.

iii) Assessment made by the searchers (for both initiatives)

The change of purpose and the functional diversification supported social expectations as far as their effects on the neighbourhood are concerned. To our mind, they took place among the patrimonial preoccupations of the lessor, without implementing a sufficient dialogue with the residents to identify the effects of the initiatives on their daily lives. This identification should have been made on both positive effects (improvement of the neighbourhood's image) and negative effects (negotiating the coexistence with other populations: car parks share for example).

The influence of the « Régie Service 13-14 » attests its success in Marseilles, this success instituting it as a national reference. Meanwhile, its economic results (and the manager of the Regie is aware of it) are widely dependent on the cleaning service ordered by the social lessors who take part in the management of the association. The risk for the Regie, needed for other duties, is to raise a turnover for the sake of it and therefore to become a firm like the others because it would be a branch of the housing management authorities which requests its services

The assessment of the Regie cannot only or mainly be economic. Other less quantifiable components, concentrated on the quality of services, the career scheme of the employees, the contribution to the social climate in the neighbourhood, the request of the residential implication, must be taken into account at any time. To our mind, the recent measure taken by the Regie which consists in implementing listening and eye-watching teams, seems to reinforce the local actions and to help the Regie to keep its originality.

In a certain way, the Regie remains widely dependent on the orders made by the lessors : these orders determine the nature of the operations, because of

the financial weight of the contracts and because of the commitments they force the Regie to achieve. Thus, the important part of these activities concerns the maintenance of the hallways, whereas the green areas which need more technical work than the cleaning service of hallways is awarded a smaller part. This fact is obvious when looking at the aspect of the neighbourhood: the quality of the landscape, already dominated by the importance of the car parks, remains especially poor.

8. Transferability

In France, the «urban policy» is the matter of the action conception (which this policy has been contributing to develop since almost twenty years) which aims to exit the sectorial approaches so as to link all the initiatives together. For this reason, it came to us that it was interesting to report two kinds of initiatives applied at the same time to a single neighbourhood. These initiatives were mentioned by the professional actors as well as by the inhabitants and their link is far from being obvious.

Nowadays, in France, the first kind of initiative (the change of purpose) experiences a sort of generalization through what is called the «urban renewal». The example of Aigues-Douces constitutes an exemplary reference. Its long standing experimentation in «les Flamants» shows that the social support of such a plan is essential. Indeed, while satisfying the patrimonial goals of the lessor, the inhabitants may be entitled to feel hard done by, whereas some of these works are often spectacular. The transferability of such an experimentation seems to be relevant as far as the one-functioned and isolated housing complexes are concerned. However, it is still difficult to perceive the positive effect on the inhabitants or on the people using the newly-introduced activities. This is because the results are not immediate if the graft has been badly planned and prepared.

On the opposite, the other innovating action, i.e. the neighbourhood controlled regie, takes place more deliberately within an integrative approach, heavily supported by the residential population. This action aims to deal with a

problem of physical depreciation, which would fall upon the quality of life in the neighbourhood and upon its image outside. Then, the problem is tackled by linking the service to be supplied (the maintenance), the job creation for the most deprived inhabitants, an ethic of the supplied service and therefore favouring the re-building of the social link in the neighbourhood.

The experience of the neighbourhood's Regie, less spectacular and more linked to the content of the daily social life of the neighbourhood, is set up within the frame of the national network and shows, through the spread of this kind of organization, that the dynamic of these initiatives being duplicated at a national level begins to raise a large interest as an expression of what we call the fair economy.

The transferability of the Régie 13-14's experience has an interest only if it remains a tool at the residents' disposal, as for the employment than for the cleaning services. The Régie 13-14 is significant of the existence of a Regie's federation in France, and the example of the Regie 13-14 shows that a charter must absolutely be written to remind the principles of the social ethic of this kind of associations. Since the Regie provides both material and immaterial services, its material character must not become banal and its social character must not fade away in the routine of the material duties.

The economic aspect of the initiative reproduction remains therefore submitted to the way the maintenance is taken care of inside the social housing complexes and to the possibility to organize such an activity within an appropriate legal framework. Actually, in France, the legal status of the « Regie Service 13-14 » is not exactly the ideal frame any more for this new kind of so called "social and fair" economy. Nowadays, various actors are interested in it, since they are encouraged by the Secretariat d'Etat à l'Economie Solidaire (French Ministry of Fair Economy) after the law for the "New economic regulations" was voted in Spring 2001. A particular production law should be defined for this kind of economic structures, so as to help them to be differentiated from the ordinary private businesses (exemption of their Income Taxes). From now on, the reflection takes place at a European level (Meeting of

the social economy in Gent, on 13th and 14th November 2002, organized during the Belgian Presidency of the European Union; Meeting of the social economy in Salamanca, in April 2002, organized during the Spanish Presidency of the European Union), and the development of this reflection at this geo-political scale represents a good opportunity to facilitate the transferability of this kind of structure, providing services which allow the improvement of the quality of life in the deprived neighbourhoods.

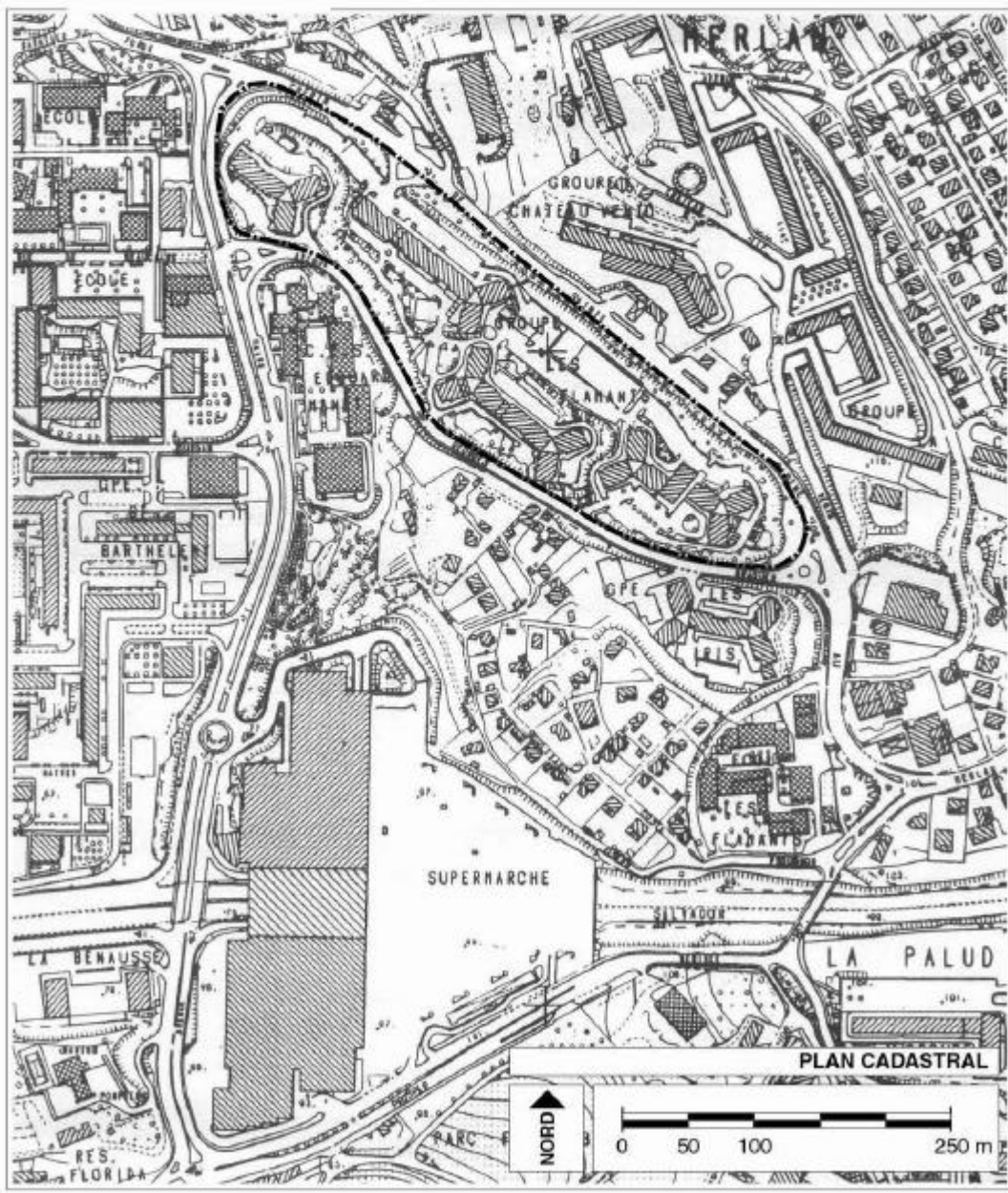
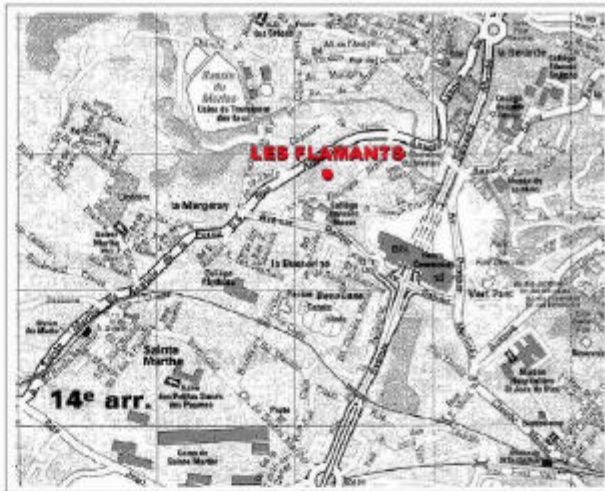
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LES FLAMANTS Marseille 14ème Arrt.

Commune of Marseille



PHOTOS DE LA CITE DES FLAMANTS



Crédits photos : Édouard EXPOSITO, oct. 1997

7. Appendices

Appendix 1

Age of the tenants in Les Flamants (on the basis of 365 answers in 1997)					
	% en 1995	Flamants	Marseille	BdR	France
	1995	1997	1999	1999	1999
Less than 40	39%	41%	51,9%	52,1%	52,71%
from 40 to 59	33%	32%	24,8%	26,5%	25,96%
More than 60	28%	27%	14,2	22%	21,32%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source : Enquête Occupation Sociale et données OPAC SUD Cité Les Flamants - Marseille, 1997 et INSEE 1999

Type of households in Les Flamants (on the basis of 365 answers in 1997)					
	% en 1995	Nb en 1997	% en 1997	BdR %	France %
	1996	1996	1997	1999	1999
Couples with kids	32%	98	27%	50,67%	83,81%
Couples with no kids	19%	40	11%		
Single persons	28%	186	51%	24,9%	
One parent family	21%	41	11%		16,8%
Total	100%	365	100%	100%	100%

Professional occupations in Les Flamants (on the basis of 365 answers in 1997)				
	Flamants	Marseille	BdR	France
	1997			
Unlimited Contract	19%	51,8%	53,4%	58%
Limited Contract, Training,	2%	7,7%	11,1%	7,6%
Self employed person	21%	5,8%	5,9%	6%
Retired person	19%	22,57%	20,74%	44,67%
Person on the dole	24,5%	11,83%	10,31%	6,27%
Non-working	14%	14,27%	14,44%	2,36%
Student	0,5%	12,24%	12,04%	22,37%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source : Enquête Occupation Sociale et données OPAC SUD Cité Les Flamants - Marseille, 1997 et INSEE 1999

Foreigners at Les Flamants (on the basis of 365 answers in 1997)						
		Flamants	Marseille	BdR	France	
		1997	1999	1999	1999	
Foreigners originating from outside EEC	Of which Algerian	17%	24%	2,76%	1,85%	0,81%
	Of which Moroccan	2%		0,54%	0,85%	0,86%

	Other Nationalities outside EEC	5%		5,79%	4,96%	3,99%
Foreigners from the EEC		1%		1,06%	1,43%	2,27%
Total		25%		10,15%	9,09%	7,93%

Source : Enquête Occupation Sociale et données OPAC SUD Cité Les Flamants - Marseille, 1997 et INSEE 1999

Appendix 2

1/ Change of purpose :

This project was set up within the frame of the national procedures of the Towns' Policy, it had to facilitate a partnership between the regional public housing authority –OPAC-South-, the city and the State, which brought together more easily educational or other structures (the CROUS: Regional Centre for University Matters) which needed places.

2/ Neighbourhood's Regies

Financing the initiatives :

The Régie 13-14 raises a turnover of 12, 5 millions French Francs (1,9 millions Euros) : 84% come from the services provided by the Régie, 15% from the subsidies of the State and of the territorial authorities. The services provided concern 43 % of the neighbourhoods managed by OPAC-SOUTH, 26% Habitat Marseilles Provence... 62% of the services concern the maintenance and the cleaning, 28% concern the replacement of the agents from the Public Housing Authorities.

Involvement of the organisations

The Board of Administrators is composed of 11 members. It is directed by the Manager from OPAC-South, two of the administrators are residents from the neighbourhoods 13-14, one administrator is also a member of the Municipal Council of Marseilles, an other one belongs to the local Mission for the employment in the 14th district.

Dependence towards the social lessors :

The Regie is relatively depending on the Public Housing Authorities – OPAC - to finance the services as well as because the OPAC is present at the Board of Administrators of the Regie.

Involvement in the employment and difficulties to implement:

The Regie observes a flow of 280 employees per year. On 31st december 2000 , there were 130 salaried persons and 157.552 working hours were provided. The Regie must face a large

variety of working contracts while it has to comply with the evolution of the law concerning the struggle against exclusion (particularly the regulations set to improve the Integration through an economic activity) and the regulations to reduce the legal working time. These evolutions were taken in charge by the creation of the position of « Manager of Integrative Scheme ».

Appendix 3:

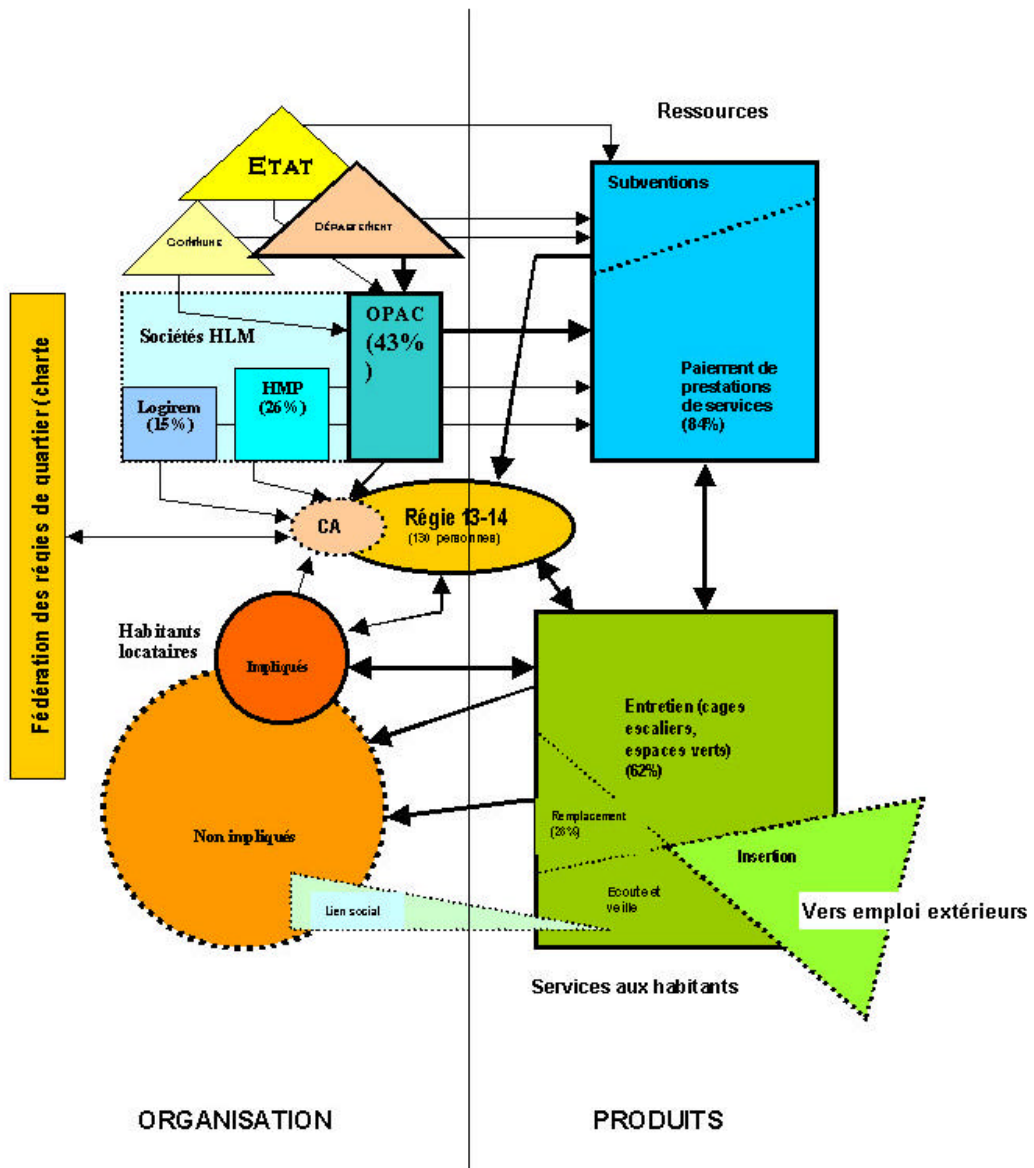
At first, the site of Les Flamants was chosen because two initiatives were implemented there ; we wanted to show the articulation between them:

- The first one, was carried out during the years 1985, it aimed at changing the purpose of some vacant accommodation in order to introduce in this housing complex a functional mix which was not existing there until then.
- The second one, was started in 1989, and it superposed itself rather than was articulated with the first one. It pursued simultaneously two goals: the cleanliness of the neighbourhood and the progressive integration to the social and professional life of some residents through the benefits of a limited-period contract signed with the Regie. This Regie is the largest in France.

Studying these two initiatives shows that there is a small relationship between them.

The first one lacked of a necessary social support. As studying deeper and deeper the second one, we observed that the physical effects happened to be less spectacular, but that it was more efficient with regards to the residents' daily life, the maintenance of the flats and to the support given to the reconstruction of the social link. These are the reasons why we worked more on this second initiative.

REGIE 13 - 14



Appendix 4:

1. Methodological considerations

We adapted the questionnaires provided by NEHOM as well as the way we carried the survey out, according to the Flamants' specific situation. The French municipal polls delayed this survey, especially the interviews with the practitioners.

In this neighbourhood, as in many others in Marseilles, numerous surveys were carried out often organized by the lessor or by specialized consulting bureaus. Consequently, the inhabitants feel tired since the surveys are presented as a means to collect the residents' wishes and because they cannot see any actual effects.

2. Bias

Since the considered populations originating from Maghreb separate the men and the women, the main female surveyor, originating from Algeria, was forced to interview women only, rarely with their companion. We compensated by having a male surveyor – also from Algeria - doing the interviews.

3. Credibility and validity

The characteristics of the chosen interviewed persons were compared to those of the economic, the familial and the residential situation obtained with the quantitative surveys. It was a means to control the chosen persons. We also took into account the level of involvement of the persons in the initiatives. These different operations of control are the best way to guarantee the representativeness of the speeches collected within the frame of a qualitative work based on information coming from different sources.

Appendix 5:

1. Interviews with the professional and institutional actors

1. Mme Christine Arnaudo, chargée de mission à l'OPAC Sud
2. M. Gérard Parnis et M. Mohamed Arabi, Régie Service 13 - 14
3. M. Patrick Cassoudessales, chef du service Patrimoine de l'OPAC
4. Mme Anna Pochet, Centre social des Flamants
5. M. Denis Rossi, Conseiller général des Bouches du Rhône

2. Interviews with the inhabitants

	Name	Age	Sex	Status	Year of arrival	Implication	Ethnic Origin
1	K.	33	M	Maried 1 child	1980	Yes	Algerian, Maried to a French woman
2	M.	37	F	Widow 2 kids	1972	Yes	Algerian
3	S.	38	F	Divorced, 2 kids	1973	No	French
4	F.	35	F	Divorced, 4 kids	1989	Yes	Gipsy
5	A.	40	F	Maried, 4 kids	1972	No	French Maried to a French man
6	R.	38	F	Widow, 2 kids	1989	Yes	Tahitian
7	A.	36	F et M	Maried, 6 kids	2000	Yes	Algerians
8	E.	29	F	Maried, 3 kids	1997	No	French Maried to an Algerian man
9	D.	45	F	Divorced, 3 kids	1985	No	Algerian
10	M.	35	M	Single	2000	No	Moroccan
11	A.	31	F	Maried,3 kids	1993	Yes	Algerian , Maried to an Algerian

							man
12	X.	39	M	Maried,3 kids	1992	No	Algerian
13	Y.	39	M	Maried,8 kids	1993	Yes	Algerian
14	Z.	68	M	Isolated	1976	No	French

Appendix 6:

Interview guides for informants :

Guide d'entretien pour la collecte d'informations auprès des "responsables sociaux" (logeurs, autorités publiques chargées du logement, etc.)

h) Base et expérience dans le quartier :

- i. Eléments personnels au sujet des praticiens :
sexe, groupe d'âge, origine régionale, formation de base en matière de social, etc.
- ii. Eléments professionnels :
itinéraire professionnel, organisation/institution du praticien, statut/niveau à l'intérieur de l'organisation/institution, etc.
- iii. Insertion locale :
théorique (historique, sociologique) et connaissance de terrain relative au quartier ; expérience antérieure dans le quartier ; statut du praticien, localement, vis-à-vis de l'organisation : autonomie (+/-), ou mission imposée...

i) Perceptions de l'interrogé sur le logement/le quartier/les habitants ;

- i. perception et caractérisation du (des) problème(s) spécifiques et/ou de (s) l'atout(s) du site comparé au reste de la ville.

j) Changements du quartier dans le temps

- i. Pénétration par le haut/par le bas ?
- ii. Quels aspects semblent signaler précisément le processus de pénétration par en haut/par en bas ? L'économique/l'emploi/le social/ la gouvernabilité /les problèmes de sécurité allant mieux ou moins bien ?

k) La structure institutionnelle du quartier

- i. Est-ce une structure institutionnelle centrée sur la gestion des affaires du quartier impliquant par exemple autorités locales, partenariats spécifiques, organisation du tiers secteur, et comment cela fonctionne-t-il ?
- ii. Y a-t-il des dispositifs particuliers pour assurer la gestion de quartier et les services ?
- iii. Quels changements d'importance ont pris place dans la structure institutionnelle (y compris l'organisation du logement et les moyens de son fonctionnement) dans la dernière décennie ? Comment cela a-t-il affecté le quartier du cas d'étude retenu ?
- iv. Quels liens l'enquête fait-il entre l'actuel système de logement (y compris le service d'attribution) et les changements dans le quartier ?
- v. Par quels moyens les habitants du quartier sont-ils engagés dans la prise de décision locale (maintenant/auparavant) ?
- vi. Dans quelle mesure les habitants et les organisations locales peuvent-elles influencer la décision politique relative à la gestion du quartier, des logements et des quartiers ?

l) Au sujet de l'initiative locale/de l'application des politiques :

- i. Que sait l'enquête sur cette initiative ?

m) L'évaluation des responsables sur cette initiative

- i. Evaluation positive/négative locale et plus large de son impact
- ii. Effets à court et long termes
- iii. Cette initiative est-elle durable dans le long terme
- iv. Certains des effets de l'initiative ont-ils surpris l'enquête ?
- v. L'initiative a-t-elle eu des effets au-delà du quartier ?
- vi. L'initiative peut-elle être appliquée ailleurs ?
- vii. Quelle est l'importance respective des autres facteurs (externes) dans l'impact/le succès/l'échec de l'initiative ?
- viii. L'initiative a-t-elle changé la perception générale du problème, sur le quartier, sur d'autres facteurs (y compris la reconnaissance résidentielle) ?
- ix. L'initiative a-t-elle eu un impact sur les façons de travailler – changements organisationnels ou partenariaux ?

n) Attentes futures :

- i. De nouvelles initiatives à prendre par rapport à d'autres/nouveaux ?
- ii. Y a-t-il eu une évaluation formelle de l'initiative ?

Interview guides for residents :

Projet NEHOM : Questionnaire „habitants“

Nom de l'interviewé / adresse / téléphone:

.....

intervieweur :

.....

lieu / date:

.....

numéro de la bande:

.....

INTRODUCTION

L'intervieweur doit expliquer les raisons du choix de l'initiative/cet interview individuel participe d'une étude comparative, internationale sur les modèles innovants en matière de logement et de quartier et est centré sur l'exclusion sociale.

Les différentes institutions nationales travaillant sur le projet NEHOM-project sont présentées. En outre, il/elle fera mention de l'anonymat dans les résultats. Les interviews doivent être enregistrés - ceci a été annoncé à l'interviewé à l'avance - .

Une attention importante doit être portée sur les besoins particuliers des minorités ethniques, des enfants, des personnes âgées et l'égalité des sexes. Nous avons essayé d'intégrer cela dans le questionnaire, mais parfois une seconde question sous forme narrative est nécessaire.

1. EXPERIENCE RESIDENTIELLE PERSONNELLE

1.9 Pouvez-vous me dire comment vous êtes venu vivre dans ce quartier et cet appartement ?

1.10 Depuis quand vivez-vous dans ce logement , dans ce quartier, dans cet arrondissement ?

1.11 Pourquoi êtes-vous venu dans ce quartier, ce logement?

1.12 Où viviez-vous avant de venir dans ce logement ?

1.13 Données sur votre logement actuel:

- nombre d'habitants / ménage
- type d'appartement :
- type d'immeuble:
- surface en m²
- Quel est le coût de ce logement (loyer et autres charges, aussi détaillées que possible, y compris le chauffage) ?
- Y a-t-il eu des améliorations importantes pour votre logement/votre cité, depuis que vous y vivez ?

1.14 Utilisation de l'appartement/des pièces :

- utilisez-vous les pièces comme cela a été prévu?
- le nombre de personnes vivant dans le logement est-il en conformité avec le nombre de pièces?
- la conception du logement satisfait-elle les besoins de votre vie quotidienne?

1.15 Que pensez-vous des relations entre habitants dans votre immeuble?

1.16 Avez-vous de la famille, des amis , „des gens qui vous aiment“ vivant dans le même quartier?

2. PERCEPTION DE LA SITUATION DU LOGEMENT ET DU QUARTIER

Le principal intérêt de cette section est d'obtenir une estimation d'ensemble sur les potentialités et les problèmes de base de la cité. Cette section doit aussi être complétée par des questions plus spécifiques sur des aspects plus détaillés.

Les partenaires de NEHOM ayant l'intention d'écrire un manuel sur les approches innovantes, non pas une description précise des situations précises du logement et du quartier à partir d'un certain nombre de cas d'études, nous devons rassembler dans la section 2 ceux des aspects qui sont essentiels à la compréhension des différentes initiatives/projets interrogés en section 5, 6 et 7 et essayer au mieux de produire des données comparables pour chaque contexte social.

2.1 Nous voudrions savoir quels sont les principaux avantages /les principaux problèmes de vie de la cité :

- Les trois meilleurs et les trois pires choses concernant la cité,
- Donnez-nous votre ordre de classement sur les sujets suivants

1 2 3 4 5

0

très bon bon satisf. insatisf. mauvais sans rép.

Infrastructures

Commerces de détail	?	?	?	?	?	?
cafés / bars / restaurants	?	?	?	?	?	?
services de santé	?	?	?	?	?	?
facilités pour toutes sortes d'handicaps	?	?	?	?		
?						
services dans leur langue pour les étrangers	?	?	?	?	?	
offres d'emploi	?	?	?	?	?	
écoles	?	?	?	?	?	
crèches	?	?	?	?		
?						

Réseau social

Réseau social dans le quartier		?	?	?		
?	?					
Mélange ethnique	?	?	?	?		
?						
intégration des différents groupes ethniques	?	?	?	?		
?						
activités autorisant l'esprit communautaire		?	?	?		
?	?					

Activités culturelles

Activités culturelles	?	?	?	?		
?						
institutions pour les personnes âgées	?	?	?	?		
?						
local jeunes	?	?	?	?		
?						
activités / institutions améliorant leur éducation		?	?	?		
?	?					

autres moyens de diversification des activités	?	?	?	?
?				
Qualité spatiale				
maintenance de la cité dans son ensemble		?	?	?
?	?			
maintenance de l'espace public		?	?	?
?				
densité du trafic		?	?	?
?				
accessibilité de la cité par les		?	?	?
?				
transports publics				
aires de jeux / terrains de sport		?	?	?
?				
présence d'espace verts, de parcs			?	?
?	?			
maintenance des espace verts		?	?	?
?				
sécurité dans l'accès à l'ensemble du quartier	?	?	?	?
?				
autre :		?	?	?
?	?			

Il y a-t-il des organismes ou des services existants dans le quartier dont vous n'avez pas usage ? Si oui, pourquoi ?

2.2. Que pensez-vous des relations sociales dans la cité ?

Pensez-vous que l'un des sujets suivants ait de l'importance pour votre logement / la cité?

	logement	cité
13. Violence, vandalisme	?	?

14. Crime organisé	?	?
15. Manque d'ordre et de propreté	?	?
16. Mécontentement des jeunes	?	?
17. Toute sorte de drogues	?	?
18. anonymat	?	?
19. conflit entre générations	?	?
20. menace à l'égard de certains		
21. groupes de population	?	?
22. taux de chômage élevé	?	?
23. conflit interethnique	?	?
24. autre :		

2.3. Que pensez-vous de votre situation actuelle en matière de logement?

(réponses : ? très bon ? bon ? satisfaisant ? insatisfaisant ? mauvais)

- appartement :
- immeuble:
- cité :
- conception arch. du quartier :
- situation à l'intérieur du quartier :
- séparation des espaces publics, semi-publics et privés
- conception et usage de l'espace public:
- conception et usage des espaces verts :
- taille des zones protégées du trafic :
- circulation à l'intérieur de la cité:
- selon vous, que pense de ce quartier la population qui vit ici ?
- comment les personnes qui vivent en dehors de ce quartier le décrivent-elles ?
- remarques :

2.4. Pouvez-vous nous montrer sur la carte comment vous définissez :

- les limites spatiales de votre cité
- les subdivisions par des frontières naturelles à l'intérieur de la cité
- les subdivisions par la composition sociale de la cité

2.5. Pouvez-vous décrire une récente amélioration structurelle ou esthétique ayant eu une influence positive sur votre perception de la cité?

3. PERCEPTION DES CHANGEMENTS DE QUALITE DE VIE DANS LA CITE

Dans cette section, nous souhaitons donner un aperçu global des changements et des dynamiques socio-économiques telles qu'ils sont perçus par les résidents. En particulier, nous avons l'intention de « vérifier » dans quelle mesure l' « initiative innovante » est mentionnée comme un changement (majeur) de ces dernières années. Les dimensions potentielles de ce changement sont : le contexte physique, l'offre de logements, le niveau de gestion, la mixité des habitants, les bases socio-économiques, etc.

3.1. Pouvez-vous dire en quoi votre quartier a changé depuis que vous y habitez ?

- Nommez le plus important changement que vous avez noté.
- Pensez-vous que l'un des aspects suivants a changé en mieux, en pire ou pas du tout?

(Noter : 1 : sans changement ; 2 : a changé ; 3 : pas de réponse ; A : amélioration ; D : détérioration)

- la mobilité des locataires
- la structure d'âge
- la mixité ethnique des habitants
- l'intégration sociale des différents groupes sociaux
- l'environnement physique
- le redéveloppement
- la modernisation de l'habitat
- l'amélioration des espaces communs

- la gestion du logement
- le service social
- le réseau social privé
- la situation de l'emploi
- l'accessibilité au travail payé
- l'activité volontaire dans la cité
- pas de réponse
- autre :

3.2. A votre avis, chaque groupe de population at-il été effectivement concerné par ces changements / par l'un d'entre eux ?

4. AMELIORATION DANS LE PROCESSUS DE PRISE DE DECISION

L'amélioration dans la prise de décision est assez important pour notre projet : en accord avec la définition élaborée par nous, les "initiatives innovantes" sont celles qui mènent au changement des idées et de la capacité des habitants à résoudre les problèmes de leur quartier. En conséquence, il est crucial de connaître avec quelle intensité les habitants sont déjà (ou se sentent être) impliqués dans le développement de leur cité/situation.

4.1. Quelles sont les forces motrices du changement dans votre cité?

- **À votre avis, qui est la cause ou le responsable de ces changements?**
- **À votre avis, qui doit être responsable de ces changements ?**
- **Quels sont les actions les plus déterminants dans le développement du quartier?**
 - ? les politiques locales de l'habitat
 - ? la communauté
 - ? les associations de logement

- ? la gestion du quartier
- ? les habitants
- ? les acteurs économiques locaux
- ? les acteurs nationaux / internationaux
- ? autre
- ? pas de réponse

4.1. Etes vous membres d'un groupe local ? Si oui, :

De quel groupe?

Comment êtes-vous impliqué?

Avez-vous obtenu des résultats majeurs avec ce groupe?

Avez-vous eu des déceptions importantes avec ce groupe?

Etes-vous impliqué avec des groupes en dehors de la cité?

4.3. A votre avis, les habitants peuvent-ils influencer le développement de la cité ?

4.4. Pensez-vous qu'une plus grande participation des habitants est nécessaire pour améliorer la vie quotidienne?

4.5. Comment les habitants peuvent-ils organiser/influencer le développement de leur cité?

4.6. Existe-t-il des organisations collectives ou d'autres formes organisées de représentation/ d'autres opportunités de participer dans votre cité ?

4.7. Comment évaluez-vous votre volonté personnelle de participation?

4.8. En respectant votre vie personnelle : comment évaluez-vous votre opportunité de participation ?

4.9. Qu'est ce qui peut impliquer plus de monde à participer au développement de la cité ?

5. CONNAISSANCE DE L'INITIATIVE ANALYSEE

La section 5 amorce une brève présentation de l' "initiative innovante" par l'interviewer. Ensuite, nous devons trouver quels éléments de l'initiative sont connus de l'interviewé ; notre échantillon d'interviewés doit comprendre 50% d'habitants impliqués et 50% d'interviewés choisis au hasard (méthode des contrastes) – sinon, l'estimation de l'impact (section 7) restera vague, et nous n'apprendrons pas grand chose sur leur perception.

5.1. Que savez-vous de cette initiative / du projet ?

5.2. D'où tenez-vous votre information?

5.3. Pensez vous que l'information était suffisante / information sur le droit à la qualité pour tous les habitants ?

6. QUESTIONS SPECIFIQUES CONCERNANT CETTE INITIATIVE

Sociaux - professionnels locaux; résultats attendus ; conséquences imprévues ...

7. EVALUATION DE L'IMPACT DE L'INITIATIVE

Dans la section 7, nous approchons le «centre d'intérêt» de notre questionnaire. Donc, un temps suffisant doit être réservé à cette section. L'intention est de trouver comment est évalué l'impact de l'„initiative innovante“.

7.1. Avez-vous été personnellement impliqué dans cette initiative / ce projet ?

7.2. A votre avis, quels sont les principaux résultats / effets de cette initiative / de ce projet ?

7.3. Une évaluation personnelle:

7.4. Si c'est le cas, en quoi avez-vous profité de cette initiative ?

7.5. Pensez-vous que l'initiative et les moyens adoptés ont augmenté la capacité des populations à résoudre leurs propres problèmes ?

7.6. Pensez-vous que cette initiative a eu un impact sur les groupes qui ont des besoins particuliers ?

7.7. Cette initiative a-t-elle eu un impact sur les relations entre les différents groupes qui vivent dans les environs ?

7.8. Avez-vous repéré un important sujet dans ces relations sociales de la population que cette initiative n'aurait pas pris en compte?

8. ATTENTES FUTURES

Pour conclure, nous demandons à l'interviewé son appréciation personnelle sur le développement du quartier, sur les moyens mis en œuvre et les formes d'action de ce processus.

8.1. Une estimation personnelle: comment a évolué la situation du logement/celle du quartier depuis ces 5 dernières années ?

8.2. Souhaitez-vous que cela change?

8.3. Pensez-vous que cela a des chances de changer pour vous ?

8.4. Quels sont les problèmes les plus urgents à régler ?

8.5. Comment peut-on améliorer la qualité de vie?

Liste des 3 choses à changer, selon vous, pour créer de meilleures conditions de vie quotidienne

9. DONNEES PERSONNELLES SUR L'INTERVIEWE / LE MENAGE

9.1. Quelques questions sur la situation personnelle de l'interviewé et les autres personnes vivant dans le ménage (1^e personne : l'interviewé)

	1 pers	2 pers.	3 pers	4 pers	5 pers
sexe					
age					
Situat. Econom.					
Relation au chef de ménage					

9.5. Disposez vous d'allocations? Si oui, de quelle nature :

9.6. Comment vous situez-vous vous-même ethniquement ?

9.5. Formation

9.6. Occupation

9.7. Statut de l'emploi

9.8. Où travaillez-vous?

? dans la cité ? à la maison ? dans le quartier ? dans une autre partie de la ville

? à une plus grande distance ? pas de réponse

Remarques générales à propos de l'interview : .

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1. Description of case study area

Written description of the neighbourhood

Behind the Northern Hospital, in the suburban surroundings of Marseilles, about ten long-shaped buildings (from 4 to 17 floors) are the limits of the inhabitants' daily life in the co-ownership Kallisté. Like numerous French housing complexes, concrete and asphalt are the main components of this urban landscape. When the summer heat does not rage, the wind rushes between the buildings, it gets more and more violent and sweeps the angles and the forty-odd entrances.

Buildings and flats

The co-ownership was built in 1963, it totals 9 long-shaped buildings which are unevenly maintained. (Basement + 4 to Basement +17)

The flats are nearly all the same and they are mainly three- or four-bedroomed flats. Some of them, poorly maintained, require a re-modelling of their electrical network re-modelled according to the legal standards. They also need a better adjustment of ventilation in the damp rooms. The stairways are not very welcoming in buildings H and B; the same applies to some of the stairways in building G (respectively basement+12, basement+17 and basement+12). The lifts in these buildings are very often out of order, damaged and nauseating. These daily troubles force the inhabitants to use isolated and dark stairways, since there is no electrical light.

The «green» areas represent a large surface in the co-ownership but their quality is poor and they lack of maintenance. Here and there, the pedestrians draw littered paths by walking on these areas, they are strewn with broken furniture mostly thrown out of the flats. The car parks are overcrowded and badly designed along the roads, they are scattered with wrecked cars sometimes next to glittering saloon cars. Two words could summarize the general feelings of the inhabitants in Kallisté : tension and resignation.

Nearby areas and features

Unlike a lot of housing complexes presenting similar urban and social characteristics, this Kallisté co-ownership has some features and services which provide a lively social life. There is one kindergarten and one primary school both near a playground and a sport hall; one general store, one hairdresser, one pub, one fast food restaurant, one newsagent's and tobacconist's, one chemist's, one surgery, one physiotherapist, one driving school, one social centre and some offices for associations. Meanwhile, all these features and services suffer from small delinquency on the one hand and from the negative image of the co-ownership on the other hand.

Numerical descriptions

The co-ownership totals 753 flats altogether and accommodates a little over 2900 inhabitants. The key data collected in 1997 showed that we face a population more and more in trouble¹². We can observe, in particular :

- A growing size of the households : +3,8% per year,
- A large number of persons per household : 3,9 against 2,8 in the 15th district and some large households: 25% of the households included 6 persons or more,
- A high number of single-parent families (one third of the households), had 3 children or more,
- A large proportion of the householders were under thirty years old (22% against 11% in the entire district) and a small proportion of householders were over 60 (15% against 35% in the district).
- A small number of salaried persons (less than one third)
- A large number of persons living on the Minimum Revenue for Integration – RMI- (a total of 246, out of which 76 did not have the right to a flat on their own and 22 had children).

12 . ADEUS-ADELE, Diagnostic social du parc Kallisté, Juin 1997.

2. The problem calling for action.

Three major kinds of problems are present in this co-ownership : a problem of financial equilibrium as far as the financial management of the co-ownership is concerned; a degradation of the living environment reinforced through the divisions tenants / landlord-tenants / landlord-lessors; some highly precarious households. To understand the origins of the problems in Kallisté, some important points must be recalled dating from the building of the housing complex in 1963 up to the complexity of the present situation.

In the 60's, the conception of Kallisté led to today's obsolete and stigmatising heritage of an urban and architectural model. The property developer bought the land from a landlord. He built the housing complex so as to rent it and wanted to manage it on his own.

But between 1972 and 1973, when the economic recession was felt in France, the developer was obliged to sell his housing complex since he had financial difficulties. A lot of households who were tenants took the opportunity to buy their flat in relatively interesting conditions: the organisation of the flats was fairly appropriate, the green areas were maintained, the motorways were nearby, the population was diversified, socially and economically stable.

During 10 years Kallisté experienced persisting bad management by the sole managing agent, dissensions among the co-landlords and difficulties for the tenants and the landlords to cohabit. Ten years later, all this led to the compulsory liquidation of the ownership, then the management of the housing complex was ensured by a principal agent and some secondary agents. Only 4 buildings were left independently managed.

In 1990, the co-ownership, which accommodated 2,300 inhabitants, was experiencing an unstable financial situation. It was reinforced by the pauperisation of some of the resident landlords, then less and less solvent tenants moved in. In 1997, a survey was made on 150 households out of the

2900 inhabitants. It confirmed the degradation of the economical situations and of the social relationships in this neighbourhood¹³.

Evolution of the social structure of the population

The solvent households left progressively Kallisté to more attractive estates which suited the better. These departures, added to a high resident-turnover in some of the buildings, put an end to the rather good living atmosphere which existed up to the beginning of the 90's. In fact, different conflicts already existed, they concerned the expenses for the communal parts, the water bills, etc..

The bad management and the ensuing conflicts constitute the basis of the financial depreciation. As well, the depreciation of the buildings was due to the lack of maintenance. The financial situation added to the fact that the co-landlords did not get on well together, contributed to accelerate the departure of the more solvent households. Naturally, numerous resident landlords became landlords-lessors; sometimes they owned several flats, then they allowed little by little this co-ownership to be rented.

In a relatively short time, the co-ownership, which was mainly occupied by landlords, became occupied half by tenants and half by landlords. Besides, the social, economical and cultural profile of the new households was completely different to the previous ones. Indeed, whereas the households until the beginning of the 90's were older and rather stable, the new incoming households were younger, bigger and ethnically marked. Most of them were in a very precarious economical and social situation. Therefore, this co-ownership became specialized in housing the households whose demands were rejected by the traditional public housing authorities in Marseilles.

This situation participated to a large degree in the degradation of the relationships between the inhabitants of Kallisté and, at the same time, in the depreciation in terms of image. Although the financial equilibrium in the co-

13 . ADEUS, survey mentioned above

ownership was the first reason of its close-down, today, the bad image is based on the social profile of the inhabitants rather than on the decay of certain buildings. Several co-landlords living in the neighbourhood feel that the value of their patrimony is diminished.

In fact, the evolution towards this complex and difficult situation in the co-ownership came from a succession of malfunctions, from which it will not be easy to escape.

How different ethnic groups can live together

Although the relationships between the ethnic groups were not the basis of the problems in Kallisté, today, the feelings and the small daily conflicts focus on this aspect. If we consider the nationalities only, between 1990 and 1997, the number of foreigners increased of one third¹⁴.

In these circumstances, it is easy to understand that the increasing degradation of the housing complex has been linked to the arrival of these “foreign” households, even if most of them were naturalized French. Actually, we can say that the co-landlords living there saw the progressive departure of former co-landlords and the arrivals of new households. Their traditional social markers disappeared and their way of life changed.

The resident landlords: «...the definition of hell is the other people » (J.P. Sartre).

Captive, disorientated and full of bitterness, the landlords living in the neighbourhood felt as if they were in hell and as if they had been trapped. Indeed, the acquisition of their flat was, for many of them, the investment of their life. Though they chose their social environment when they bought their flat, today they are at the mercy of the lessors-co-landlords and of real estates which dictate the social environment which they can hardly control anymore.

14. In 1997, the survey made by ADEUS on a sample of 150 households showed that 67% of the householders were French, 31% had a nationality from outside the EU. However a closer analysis of these figures showed that out of these 150 households, only 30% of the householders had originated from the EU – of which 26% from France – whereas 70% had originated from outside the EU and were displayed as follows: 28% from the Comoro Islands,

Yesterday's neighbours and co-landlords choose their neighbours today by selecting the tenants. The only solution found by the co-landlords living in Kallisté was to organize themselves within the managing agency so as to impose to the lessors and the real estate agents some criteria to choose the tenants. Through this criteria they tried to avoid to living in a neighbourhood defined by others. These decisions barely hid the pursued objectives: the selection is mainly based on the criteria of income. For the time being, this criterion is sufficient to keep the estimated undesirable households away.

Some of the inhabitants we met, and mainly those living in the most deteriorated buildings, admit that they are victims of a kind of discrimination when in some of the co-ownership's buildings. Even if they are right, one must reckon that this kind of discrimination happens in the town as well, on a daily basis. Although, this similarity cannot excuse these facts, it may explain why the majority of the foreign families are accommodated in some buildings and not in others.

If the discrimination in some of the buildings continues where the co-landlords were living in majority, it becomes more and more difficult to find tenants answering the requirements as far as the income is concerned. Indeed, these buildings cannot easily be separated from their depreciated urban, architectural, social, economical and cultural context.

3. The initiative

In 1995, the co-landlords in Kallisté, by demonstrating their disarray in front of Marseilles Town Hall, drew the local public authorities attention to the financial and social situation to which the co-ownership had been moving to since 1990. Further to this demonstration, the local public authorities started a partnership between the Town, the State and the Region. Then in 1996, a juridical and financial audit was implemented in the co-ownership. This audit recommended the splitting of the co-ownership into nine independent co-

23% from the Maghreb, 7% from Armenia, 6% from sub-Saharan Africa, 4% from Eastern Europe and 2% undefined.

ownerships, i.e. one per building. The streets and the green areas should be managed by the Town. Therefore the expenditures of the nine co-ownerships would be lower. This first action was completed by a social inquiry. The conclusion highlighted the blatant similarity between the situation in the Kallisté co-ownership and the one experienced by the social housing complexes in difficulty, bearing in mind that Kallisté is a co-ownership, therefore without one sole managing lessor.

At the beginning of the year 2000, upon this basis and under the managing agents' pressure, the local public authorities decided to implement a saving Project specific to the co-ownerships (see appendix 2). In 1998, the co-landlords, willing to see the intervention of the local authorities, signed an agreement implementing a moratorium so as to clean the debt the co-ownership had with the Water Supply Company of Marseilles (the company was the main co-ownership's debtor). Then the water metering would be improved as well as the water supply network.

Beyond this arrangement, the Saving Project dated 8th march 2000, developed within the departmental committee of the Bouches du Rhône, aimed at pursuing the actions already started, elaborating and implementing a plan of action. The authorities associated in this project were : the State, the Town of Marseilles, the Regional Council for Provence-Alps and French Riviera, the Department of Bouches du Rhône and the co-landlords' trade-union. This plan of action with regards to the problems noticed in Kallisté, was organized into twelve actions to be led in Kallisté. Among them is the action of auto-rehabilitation led by the Building Companions (French ancient guild specialized in every manual work linked to the building, the furniture...). This innovative initiative was studied as part of the NEHOM¹⁵ research framework.

Why choose the Building Companions from Provence?

15. The title of the Building Companions' action is «Helping the inhabitants to maintain their housings » and the cost including taxes represents 5% i.e. 61 971€ (406 500 Frs) of the total cost i.e. 1,241,289€ (8,142,322 FRF) to involve within this Saving Project.

At that time and within this context, the Building Companions had been leading an operation of « supported self-rehabilitation » for more than a year and a half. They were at the tenants' or landlords' disposal through their workshop in the neighbourhood. This action was led within the frame of the Saving Project and it aimed to prepare the inhabitants for a thorough rehabilitation of the partly deserted buildings by the landlords (52.5% of the inhabitants were landlords and 44% were tenants).

As part of a narrow partnership with the Familial Allocation Fund (CAF) which had been the major social fund until 1999, the Building Companions from Provence used to intervene punctually in the co-ownership Kallisté a long time before being directly sought by the local authorities within the frame of the Saving Project.

“The Familial Allocation Fund (CAF) was the only social organization to work in Kallisté. During many years, they met the residents, they helped them when they were struggled, they asked us sometimes to come and intervene for some small works”. [Mr G. Kammerlocher – Director of the Building Companions from Provence]

In 1999, this partnership was the origin of a joint proposal made by the Building Companions and the Familial Allocation Fund. It consisted in implementing an agency where a technician helped the inhabitants who wanted to improve their housing. The action suggested by the Companions, which was chosen as part of the Saving Project, structures itself according to three orientations : someone on duty, technical trainings, repairs and diagnosis of the visited flats.

The reasons why the public partners, in charge of the Saving Project, to call for the Building Companions from Provence to implement this action, were based on two important points: first of all on their past actions in the co-ownership and mainly on their experience concerning the “supported self-rehabilitation” towards people in difficulty. The trade association of the Building Companions from Provence base their actions upon solidarity and aim to help deprived persons to maintain, rehabilitate, to renovate their flat by lending them tools and providing trainings and technical assistance thanks to their Technical

Organizers. This trade association was created in 1979 and set up in the 15th district of Marseilles in July 1998. They realize different actions on a voluntary basis for the benefit of deprived persons, associations and territorial public authorities.

The co-ownership Kallisté represents a particular case for the Building Companions due to its exceptional scale of intervention. Indeed, this trade association was used, in Marseilles, to set up workshops in neighbourhoods to rally persons and families perceiving the Minimum Income for Integration (RMI) within a set geographical area. This self-rehabilitation of housings implies that the persons who benefit from this help should act as a group and think in a collective way. Also, this action is supported by the partnership between the social workers, the network of associations, the organizations working on the ground and the fund investors.

The workshops in the neighbourhoods take place under the responsibility of a Technical Organizer whose role is counselling and training. He checks the way that the tools, useful for the self-rehabilitation, are lent. The people taking part in these workshops are trained in groups of no more than 15 persons. Each session concentrates on one theme; they are organized by the Technical Organizer and then they all meet at each others place for the actual works.

Most of these self-rehabilitation operations supported by this trade association are financed by the Departmental Authority. This financial partner, associated to the Saving Project, was aware of the association's know-how and therefore the Departmental Authority reinforced the credibility of the proposal made by the Building Companions to help the inhabitants to maintain and renovate their housing. Concretely, the financial help concerning the global cost of this action (61,971€ - 406,500FRF) is ensured by three partners : the Departmental Direction for the Social and Sanitary Matters (DDASS), the Town's Policy through the Departmental Authority Funds and the Abbé Pierre Foundation.

Nowadays, the co-ownership Kallisté can be considered as a social housing complex, de facto. The experience can be particularly enriching for the

inhabitants but also for the trade association. The Building Companions were used to approach transversally the problems ; in the Kallisté case, they first held reflections with the public authorities working on the ground; then they defined the implementation and the limits of their action.

4. The impact of the initiative

In March 2001, the action had been implemented for one year and a half, and a first assessment¹⁶ was made. The assessment stated that there were about two duties a week (one a week since January 2001), and that 80 families had been welcomed. 42 families came in to get miscellaneous information concerning social services, employment, training schemes etc... they were directed to the relevant services. The other 38¹⁷ families came in for specific demands related to housing and asked for the intervention of the companions (35 wanted an intervention in their flat and 3 wanted an inventory of fixtures further to FSL Accès requirement).

Today, the inhabitants acknowledge that the Building Companions are actual ground partners. The number of calls for interventions is increasing, but this brings problems.

The interventions may be of three types : the emergencies; the out-fitting / the improvements; the dagnosis about the state of the flats. For example, the Building Companions sometimes have to face problems due to the heating or obsolete gas heaters. They do not have any agreement to accomplish such works, but they consult and negotiate with the plumbing and heating firms so as to obtain better tariffs and services for the entire Kallisté housing complex.

Eventually something happened...

The impact of this action is difficult to identify globally since it has to do with many problems occurring in Kallisté. First, to the inhabitants mind, the local authorities eventually implemented « something » and « they » did something.

16. Yearly report on the action of the Bulding Companions «The upkeep of my residence” concerning Kalliste in the 15th district of Marseilles, March 2001.

¹⁷ See board appendix 2

This aspect could seem trivial, but in Kallisté it is very important since all the partners within the frame of the Saving Project, are involved in different actions spread over time and not necessarily visible.

The very existence of action on the ground means to the inhabitants that they are being looked after, even if, during the first six months, the action was perceived as a means of making the inhabitants wait for the extensive rehabilitation that the Saving Project let them foresee. Although the Saving Project was implemented, the inhabitants could hardly see it on the ground.

The Building Companion : In between expert and listener ...

Through his activities, the Building Companion who operates in this co-ownership is able to state an accurate diagnosis of the flats in which he had to intervene as a support for the tenants or the live-in landlords. For each new work in a flat, the Building Companion must first state an inventory of fixtures, even if the work is as little as changing a broken window. The inventory is a means to list the different points on which there should be a repair, sometimes in an urgent way for security reasons. The repairs will be started after the family's agreement and their acceptance of the quotation. The accumulation of such list of works to be done allows the trade association to present the different partners with a proposal of global action for rehabilitation and finance in the entire Kallisté housing complex.

The territorial inscription and the progressive integration of the Building Companion within the local associative network at the inhabitants' service allow him to prepare and to accompany the external firms with the utmost security when they operate in the housing complex. The Building Companions is specialized in D.I.Y. building and help-supported DIY rehabilitation. In that particular case he is between the technical aspects of building and the social aspects, through his knowledge of the inhabitants difficulties. Indeed, he is one of the few who, among the other workers in the neighbourhood, is driven to enter the families intimacy by visiting the flats and, he is the only person from « outside » who knows how the interiors and exteriors areas are used in the co-ownership.

The inhabitant in the action eye

The impact of the action towards the inhabitants of Kallisté is linked directly to the core of action. These works take place inside the domestic area of the families living in Kallisté, therefore the inhabitant is the centre of the relationships and systems implemented. Indeed, since the work takes place “with” the inhabitants and “at” their place, they personally contribute to maintaining and improving their daily environment of living.

This aspect of the action goes beyond the achievement of the works since the member of the Building Companions and the family create a relationship which goes further than the action by itself. Quite often, the intervention, even if it is a minor one, may enhance uneasy situations in the family. When the help required cannot be provided by the companion, this latter is driven to orientate the family towards a company able to answer their needs. In this way, the relationship set between the inhabitant and the companion helps the former to get involved and to move from observation to action. In this situation, the inhabitant obtains the ability to act on his own environment and he is re-positioned as a tenant having duties and rights. This transformation is not immediate : in Kallisté, during the first ten months and still today, the Building Companion have been perceived mostly as a repairer or as a «super fixing caretaker » rather than a person providing support and care.

Implementation of a reception process in Kallisté

Since the agency of the Building Companions was set up in the co-ownership, a kind of help when entering the flat has been implemented to welcome the newcomers and more particularly the deprived families, often from a foreign origin. This reception inside the flat is ensured by the person responsible for the building and by one Building Companion. It aims to help the family to understand how the co-ownership operate, what the rules of collective life are . Then they state an inventory of fixtures so as the family will not be infringed when leaving. When welcoming the newcomers, they give a booklet « practical guide for your flat » including written parts as well as illustrations; it explains their duties, their rights but also how to prevent domestic risks.

This kind of welcome is a good means of informing the tenants about their rights. Indeed, some unscrupulous real estate agencies and landlords-lessors make the families sign an inventory of fixture far from reality, since some families can neither speak nor read very well French. These families are in vulnerable situation because of their desperate need of a shelter. Thanks to the setting up of this procedure, lessors abuse is gradually decreasing. Therefore, the presence of the Building Companions Guild allows the regulation of some aspects of the flats attribution in the co-ownership.

5. How was the impact of initiative assessed ?

This action is strongly appreciated by all the inhabitants who benefited from it and by all the organizations and public authorities which allowed the implementation. In order to observe and to assess this action on the ground, we followed the companion when working on about fifteen sites. We were in the position of an participative ethnographical observer. Beyond interviewing the managers of this initiative, we were able to observe the development of the works and to collect the opinions from the inhabitants and from the technical organizer about this action.

“[...] Mrs R, from the Town’s Policy, told me: your initiative is very interesting, could we ask for your services in other places” [Mr G. Kammerlocher, Director of the Association of the Building Companions]

The example of this extract from the interview we have had with the Director of the Building Companions from Provence, shows that the action led by the Building Companions in the co-ownership Kallisté is, without any doubt, considered as a very good initiative by the different local partners. Meanwhile, some professionals reckon that there are some juridical, technical and even economical limits. Indeed, as Ms A. Souville says : *“The companions face very high expectations from the tenants in terms of improvements of their flats, but at a certain stage, they are blocked since, according to the law, they have to make inventory of fixtures or they must clearly define which work has to be done by who...”*. She also brings up the problem of co-ordinating the different actions of the Saving Project: *“ As it is one of the first actions, people expect a lot from it*

and they are inevitably deceived because the actions don't work all together, therefore, they can only hold a small part. The actions would have much more impact if they were implemented at the same time. Moreover, as the buildings are occupied by different kind of residents (landlords and tenants), the people have very different expectations". [Miss A. Souville, Consulting Bureau for Social and Urban Diagnosis "Lieux-Dits"]

The first objective of the Building Companions' action is to have the inhabitants effectively participating to the improvement of their housing. The initiative implemented in this deprived neighbourhood, mostly highlighted that the inhabitants were really in need of a local actor to face the emergencies occurring in their private housing. However, the residents' mobilization is far from being effective.

Inhabitants difficult to mobilize

The workshops organized by the Building Companions did not meet their expectations in term of mobilization. These workshops aimed at making the inhabitants become aware of the electrical or plumbing repairs, of laying wallpaper or tiles, of the use of tools such as a drill... The workshops went on regularly but the number of attendants was rather hectic since the inhabitants were not heavily involved. However, the workshops represent a good means to have the residents be more aware of one of the most important problems of the co-ownership as says Miss A. Souville: *"we noticed that the tenants with a fragile situation consume a lot of electric power. Therefore, the basic thing to do is to help them to control their central and water heating."* [Miss A. Souville, Consulting Bureau for Social and Urban Diagnosis "Lieux-Dits"]

The inhabitants' mobilization to some activities of the Building Companions Guild required a lot of energy to make them understand why their participation was essential as far as the good progress of the activities was concerned. This was the case of the workshops and of the involvement in different works. "Maxime", the technical companion present in Kallisté feels sometimes confused when facing the lack of involvement of the residents: *"You see, at the beginning, the people come because there is an emergency, either through the*

word of mouth, or after being informed, but after then, it is difficult to work with them in the long term. There is a lack of attendance. We have difficulty to go further than the current intervention – repair. Maybe, our message doesn't go through...”[Mr Maxime Coevoet – Technical Building Companion from Provence]

The relative failure was mainly due to the imposed time schedule, mostly in the morning, and also due to the fact that the inhabitants who were expecting an urgent intervention rather than a training which was not of interest to them at that time, have difficulties in planning this weekly appointment. According to us, there is, without any doubt, a difference between the notion of time of those who organize a workshop and the one of the residents. This phenomenon can be also observed when the technical companion has an appointment to do a small work and finds nobody at home. Besides, as Mr Mze Dafiné says, one must reckon that a part of the residents put the emergency first and not the training: *“Sometimes, the building companions were replaced, but they were there to organize the workshops and not to intervene. The workshops are a good thing but it is not vital in Kallisté, the priority is the emergency interventions”*. [K.O5, tenant originating from Comoro Island, employed by the Tenants Association].

The inhabitants usually take part in the works effectively, but some of them, aware of the rules, do not hesitate to divert the objectives by trying to diminish their participation using any excuse. This recurrent behaviour of some of the inhabitants forces the companion to start the works only when he is sure about the involvement of the household concerned. As shown in the interview with Mr Abderamane, the technical companion must always keep an eye on the objectives of his mission: *“ Personally, at my place, I had some completely broken windows to be replaced. Maxime repaired two windows and showed me how to do it, then I tried to do it myself but I couldn't. Then I called him to tell him I couldn't manage. Because I was afraid of doing it wrong, not really good! Then, I was waiting for Maxime to do it. Psychologically, I thought: he has to do it. I was afraid of doing something wrong. When he came back he forced me to do it in front of him. I did it and now each time I look at that window, know that I*

did it myself.” [K.O6 A, tenant originating from Comoro Island, employed by the Tenants Association].

The presence of the Building Companions’ agency¹⁸ as well as their activities were promoted in five of the buildings : the companions informed door-to-door. Each time, he was accompanied by a representative of a relevant associations to take into account the different residents’ origins. However, it seems that the message was not perceived properly by the inhabitants nor by some of the associations. The action of the Building Companions was taken over by some of the associations settled in certain buildings, especially by the Amicale des Locataires (the tenants’ association). The tenants considered that the Building Companion’s actions were provided by this tenants’ association; this association thus took the advantage of establishing its legitimacy and of directing the action of the companions. *“[...] At the beginning of the action, we didn’t understand the action in that way. We understood the information very badly sometimes. At the beginning, we transformed it as we liked and then it turned back against us. We told the people that if they had any problem, they just had to call or to come to the agency, they had to say that they had a problem and immediately Maxime would fix it. But it turned against us because a lot of people contacted the agency and they didn’t understand that they had to wait 15 days before the intervention”.* [K.O5 M, tenant originating from Comoro Island, employed by the Tenants’ Association]

Then, with regards to the ambiguities which occurred from the beginning, the Building Companions informed the associations that they were full partner in their own rights and with their own objectives and that consequently they were not willing to serve private interests.

One action victim of its success

¹⁸ The office dedicated to different associations where the agency of the Building Companions was based was vandalized and became out of order. The place was closed and the activity was re-located in a nearby neighbourhood. One interviewed person [K.O3, accommodated inhabitant originating from Comoro Island] feels bad about that and reminds us that even if you help people, it is difficult to avoid depredations even if they are due very few persons.

According to the inhabitants we met, the action is globally positive, because it is one of the few which is concrete and which answers urgent but not often expressed needs. For example, with the companions, some families repaired some long-time leaking pipes. This example among others, shows that inhabitants may become impatient when they realise that a free assistance exists. In the same way, the companions were needed many times and the inhabitants could not understand why they did not come to their residence the following hour or day, whereas the leaks had been going on for many months. On the opposite, according to the technical companion, other persons don't want to face the problems: *"The residents by whom I intervene have difficulties in doing a small repair as soon as a problem occurs as, for example, a leak or something else... They often wait for the things to worsen, for damages before repairing or calling us..."* [Mr Maxime Coevoet – Technical Building Companion from Provence]

Each operation at an inhabitant's home is submitted to a procedure: an inventory of fixtures is made then the operations schedule is set. This procedure is observed for each family that calls the Building Companions. The support requires more time than a traditional intervention by a regular service provider. This is due to the objectives of the action: the aim is not to replace the companies from the private sector¹⁹ but to mobilize the inhabitant.

Most of the inhabitants we met are very satisfied of having taken part in the improvement or the repair of their flat; however they regret the long delay between their call and the effective visit of the companion. They also feel that the length of the works was a negative point: the works were spread over 3 half days per week and per household therefore it can last more than two weeks. Each inhabitant feels that their own situation is more urgent than the others, then the increasing number of delayed requests lead certain inhabitants to be unhappy since they think there should be more companions. Mrs Beaucoup and

19. Moreover, before starting a work, the companion asks the inhabitant to join the Building Companions Guild. The cost is modest: 4,57 € (30 FRF), by this way they will not be punished by the private professionals.

Mr Abderamane, as all the inhabitants we interviewed, wish there were more technical companions:

“The current action carried out by the building companions is very good, but since the winter is coming, there certainly should be more Maximes (the technical companion) here to repair the leaks and the electrical plugs, that’s for sure. That’s certain because I don’t know if he will cope alone.”. [K.O7-B, resident landlady originating from France, formerly managing agent.]

“The inhabitants of the neighbourhood call for the building companions first. But the people wonder why there aren’t 3 or 4 companions. [...] And the fact that Maxime (the technical companion) is on his own, at last the need is not really satisfied”. [K.O6-A, resident originating from Comoro Island, employed by the Tenants’ Association].

Contradictory logic of the inhabitants

In terms of intervention at the households’ home, the situations may be very different according to the occupancy status, the social and economical situation of the households. In the five buildings A, B, G, H, I the tenant status and an over-occupancy is the most common situation. In there, as well, one can observe the most degradations and a very bad general state almost insalubrious for certain flats. This mainly concerns the 3- and 4-bedroomed flats with a high turnover. For example, a 3-bedroomed flat is occupied by a household originating from the Comoro Islands composed of 12 persons of which 10 are children.

Beyond this over-crowding, this example shows the major risks raised by the obsolete electrical and sanitary systems, and the lack of any appropriate mechanical ventilation. As we personally observed it, for some of these households, the use and the maintenance of the flat is not the most important : some of them would rather buy a vehicle or a Hi-Fi player or a video with a socially prestigious brand, than look after the interior of their flat. According to A. Souville, this behaviour can also be explained as follows: *“The recent tenants don’t necessarily plan to remain in their present flat, it takes time before they realize that they will live there many years and during that time, they hardly care*

for their flat and often prefer to spot the buildings and the flats which seems to be better than the others and prefer to move rather than maintaining the place they live in at the moment.” [Miss A. Souville, Consulting Bureau for Social and Urban Diagnosis “Lieux-Dits”].

6. Transferability

This highly appreciated action is innovative for two main reasons. On the one hand, it answered an « indirect expectation » of the inhabitants and the local associations and on the other hand, it matched the local ground actors will i.e. to help the inhabitants to take part in their flat improvement. “Indirect expectation » means to us that the Building Companions’ action was initiated by the local ground actors and by the public authority. This action to improve the living environment, was set up after reflection about the kind of action suitable for the co-ownership rather than after the claims made by the inhabitants from Kallisté.

Asking to the inhabitants to take part in an action, comes from the fact that urban policies in France concerning deprived housing consist in “making with” rather than “doing for” the inhabitants. Since the early 1980’s, in the French deprived neighbourhoods, the urban and social interventions were grouped in “the Town Policy”. The inhabitants participation was displayed as the principle of implementation of any action. In fact, this will got rarely concrete, either because it was difficult to actually implement it, or because the public authorities often preferred to « make for » rather than to make for and with the residents.

The oldness and the situation of the Building Companions Guild agency in the 15th district of Marseilles are worthwhile in terms of knowledge of the local actors. It is also profitable to build a network with the public authorities and the financial partners. This guild is very well identified among the other associations in Marseilles. Their credibility is founded on their professionalism and their activities rely upon the City of Marseilles and on a broader scale, upon the entire department. During the last twenty years of activity, the experience they

acquired allowed the guild to answer to different kind of situations concerning the “supported self-rehabilitation”.

Since this guild employs about thirty persons, out of which about ten technical organizers, all of whom all have an average of ten years' experience in the building sector, the action of the guild is based on an effective know-how. Moreover, the technical organizers are trained on a regular basis. The trainings are either about the technical building sector or about the social approach of the persons with whom they have to work.

On the ground level, this action, which required premises and at least one technical organizer, experienced some failures when being implemented in Kallisté. The take-off came after a long period during which the inhabitants and the associations got informed (posters and door-to-door information) about the existence, the objectives and the limits of the guild, then by word of mouth did the rest, while keeping in mind as says Miss A. Souville: *“The transferability of this kind of action is obvious. The action of the building companions, which is based on good intentions, and right now, it’s a good thing they are here, must target more precisely its public. But without any Project Manager or any Co-ordinator for the entire Project (Saving Project) which concerns the entire co-ownership, it is difficult to target...”* [Miss A. Souville, Consulting Bureau for Social and Urban Diagnosis “Lieux-Dits”]

The transferability of this kind of action on other grounds will be possible if such a trade association exists and has a good logistic, employees with a good experience in different jobs. The agency and the actions led in Kallisté is only the visible part of the guild from Marseilles ; it is one out of four existing Building Companions Guild in France.

So as to transfer this kind of action, it seems that a good knowledge of the local public authorities is needed as far as the fund raising is concerned and therefore to renew the action. Beyond this aspect, our observation on the ground highlights the fact that the technical organizers must be able to work with all the different partners on the ground, i.e. social services and associations. The companions must be involved in the social project bearing in

mind that they sometimes operate in difficult circumstances while they must also secure themselves.

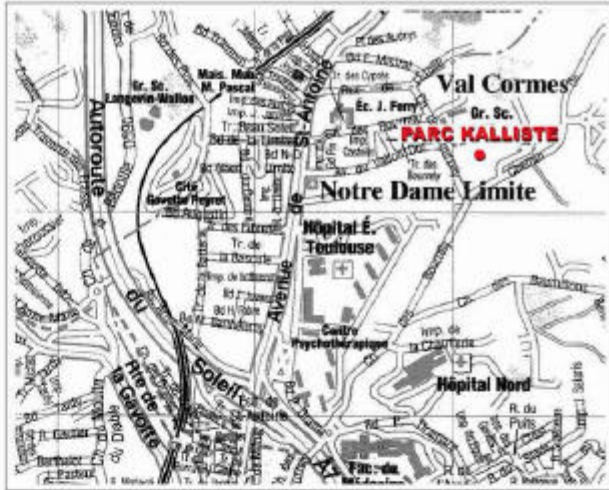
7. References

Ground documentation

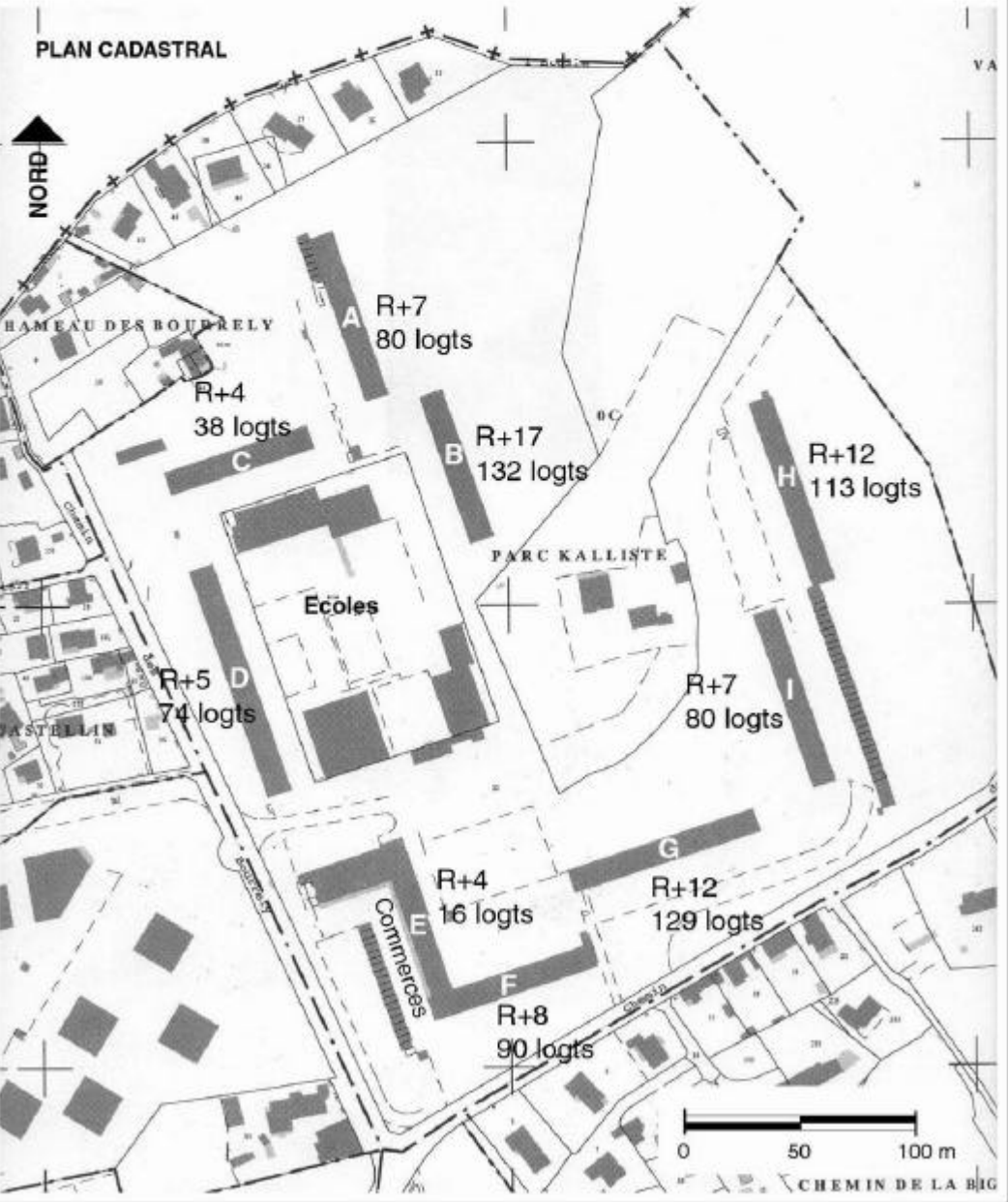
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COPROPRIETE KALLISTE
Marseille 15ème Arrt.

Commune of Marseille



PLAN CADASTRAL



COPROPRIETE KALLISTE
Marseille 15ème Arrt.



Photo 1

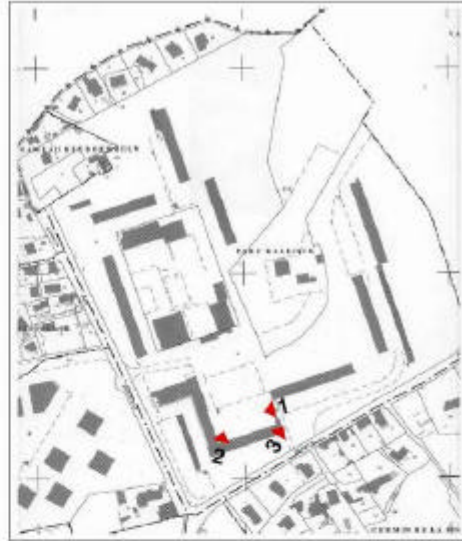


Photo 2

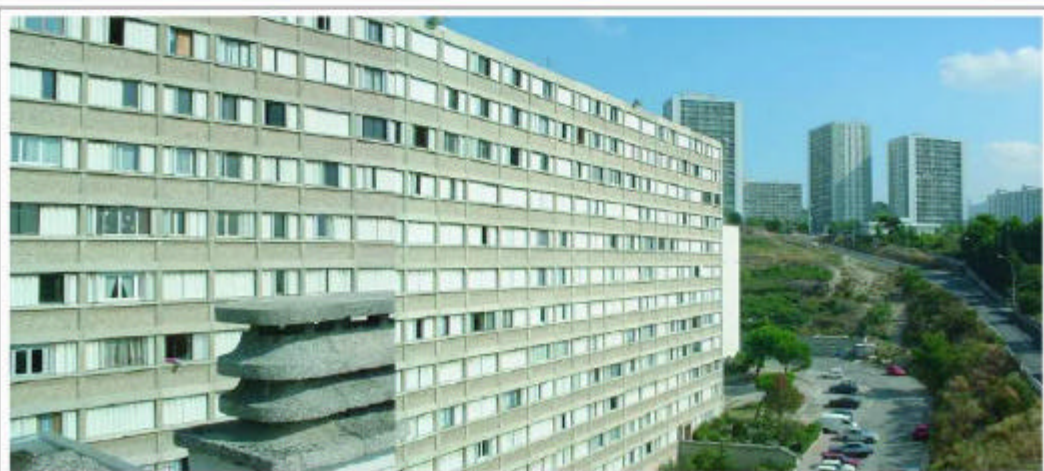


Photo 3

APPENDICES 1 :

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE CO-OWNERSHIP KALLISTE :

Number of housings :	753	Number of resident landlords:	395
Number of buildings :	9	Number of rented flats :	358
		Number of inhabitants in 1997 :	2970

General description of the population

	Parc Kallisté 1997	Parc Kallisté 1990	15° Arrt. 1990	Copro 15° 1990
Population	2970	2275	73305	
Growth rate/Year	3,86%	-0,038%	-2,13%	
Size of the households	3,9	3,3	2,8	2,8
% of househld with 6 et +	25,00%	11,90%	7,50%	4,40%
% Head househld - 30yrs	22%		11,40%	
% Head househld +60yrs	15,33%	18,00%	34,70%	25,00%
Rate of unemployment	40,00%	33,40%	29,10%	22,10%
Rate of turnover	9,64%	6,13%	5,00%	5,00%

Sources : Tableau de Bord Copropriétés, Tableau de bord Politique de la ville-DSU Quartiers de Marseille, Enquête 1997). Pour 1997, les pourcentages sont issus des 150 enquêtes effectuées sur cinq bâtiments. B.E. ADEUS, Diagnostic social Parc Kallisté, rapport final, juin 1997, p.53

STRUCTURE OF THE POPULATION

Sex et ages					
	man	%	women	%	Total
of houshld/spouse	96	40,2%	143	59,8%	239
Children in houshld	169	49,6%	172	50,4%	341
Accommodated pers.	2	33,3%	4	66,7%	6
Total	267	45,6%	319	54,4%	586

Source : ADEUS-ADELE, Diagnostic social du parc Kallisté, Juin 1997. Enquête portant sur 150 ménages (586 pers.) des bâtiments A, B, G, H, I

Age of he head of household according to his occupation status

	Total	%	Landlords	%	Tenants	%
30 yrs et less	33	22%	5	9%	28	30%
from 31 to 50 yrs	72	48%	23	41%	49	52%
from 51 to 60 yrs	22	15%	10	18%	12	13%
more than 61 yrs	23	15%	18	32%	5	5%
Total	150	100%	56	100%	94	100%

Source : ADEUS-ADELE, Diagnostic social du parc Kallisté, Juin 1997. Enquête portant sur 150 ménages (586 pers.) des bâtiments A, B, G, H, I

Size of the household

	Total	%
Household with 1 pers.	17	11%
Household with 2 to 3 pers.	43	29%
Household with 4 to 5 pers.	53	35%
Household with 6 pers. et +	37	25%
Total of the Households	150	100%

Source : ADEUS-ADELE, Diagnostic social du parc Kallisté, Juin 1997. Enquête portant sur 150 ménages (586 pers.) des bâtiments A, B, G, H, I

The renting households count 4.47 persons in average, whereas, the owning households count 3.07 persons. 83% of the households composed of 5 persons or more are tenants.

Structure of the households according to the occupation status						
	Total	%	Landlords	%	Tenants	%
Single	24	16%	4	7%	20	21%
Married	80	53%	35	63%	45	48%
Divorced, separated	24	16%	4	7%	20	21%
Widow	11	7%	9	16%	2	2%
Cohabit	11	7%	4	7%	7	7%
Total	150	100%	56	100%	94	100%

Source : ADEUS-ADELE, Diagnostic social du parc Kallisté, Juin 1997. Enquête portant sur 150 ménages (586 pers.) des bâtiments A, B, G, H, I

Number of children according to the kind of household (115 houshld with child. / 150 houshld interw.)						
	Total	%	Single parent	%	Married or cohabiting	%
1 or 2 kids	53	100%	15	28%	38	72%
3 or 4 kids	45	100%	20	44%	25	56%
5 enfants or +	17	100%	4	24%	13	76%
Total	115	100%	39	34%	76	66%

Source : ADEUS-ADELE, Diagnostic social du parc Kallisté, Juin 1997. Enquête portant sur 150 ménages (586 pers.) des bâtiments A, B, G, H, I

NATIONALITY ET ORIGIN

Nationality of head of the family according to the occupation status						
	Total	%	Landlords	%	Tenants	%
French	100	67%	44	79%	56	60%
EC (except French)	3	2%	3	5%	0	0%
Hors EC	46	31%	9	16%	37	39%
Not Known	1	1%	0	0%	1	1%
Total	150	100%	56	100%	94	100%

Source : ADEUS-ADELE, Diagnostic social du parc Kallisté, Juin 1997. Enquête portant sur 150 ménages (586 pers.) des bâtiments A, B, G, H, I

Origin of head of the family according to the occupation status						
	Total	%	Landlords	%	Tenants	%
French	39	26%	24	43%	15	16%
CE (except French)	5	3%	5	9%	0	0%
Hors EC	105	70%	27	48%	78	83%
Not known	1	1%	0	0%	1	1%
Total	150	100%	56	100%	94	100%

Source : ADEUS-ADELE, Diagnostic social du parc Kallisté, Juin 1997. Enquête portant sur 150 ménages (586 pers.) des bâtiments A, B, G, H, I

SOCIAL, PROFESSIONAL AND FINANCIAL SITUATION

Status of the head of the family			Sector of activity of the head of family (% worked out on 119 answers)			Familial coefficient on 109 known incomes (in FRF per day and per pers.)		
Total		%	Number		%	Total		%
Salaried persons	39	26%	Building workers	31	26%	<= 0 Frs	2	2%
Retired / disabled	33	22%	Office clerks	18	15%	> 0 <= 25 Frs	7	6%
Unemployed	27	18%	Maintenance...	15	13%	> 25 <= 50 Frs	56	51%
Minimum Income-CES	31	21%	Industrial workers	14	12%	> 50 <=100 Frs	26	24%
Unemployed no income	20	13%	Students - Trainees	13	11%	>100 Frs	18	17%
			Catering	10	8%	Total answers	109	100%
			Transportations	9	8%	Not known	41	-
			Other	9	8%			
Total	150	100%	Total of households	119	100%	Total answers+N.K.	150	-

Source : ADEUS-ADELE, Diagnostic social du parc Kallisté, Juin 1997. Enquête portant sur 150 ménages (586 pers.) des bâtiments A, B, G, H, I

PEOPLE BENEFITING FROM THE MINIMUM INCOME FOR INTEGRATION IN KALLISTÉ

According to a study carried out by the consulting bureau ADEUS-ADELE, the statistics concerning the people benefiting from the Minimum Income for Integration show some elements which confirm the precarious and fragile situation of the residents in Kallisté.

- 246 people benefiting from the Minimum Income for Integration (RMI);
- 88% of these people benefiting from RMI lives in A,B,G,H,I buildings whereas these five buildings represent 70% of the flats from the complex. 70% of the people benefiting from the RMI live mainly in B,G, H buildings (52% of the housing complex).
- The single parent family are proportionally the most numerous (35%), then the couples with children (33%) and the single persons (32%).
- Out of 81 single persons benefiting from the RMI, the two third are accommodated by other households against 17% of the single parent families and 9% of the couples.
- Therefore, we can estimate that:
- 170 heads of family benefit from the RMI, i.e. 23% of the head of family from the co-ownership, the majority being tenants (we registered 14 landlords)
- 54 persons benefiting from the RMI are single and they live by their parents or their relatives.
- 22 families are accommodated (out of which 15 single-parent families)

HISTORY OF THE RESIDENCE OF THE PEOPLE LIVING IN KALLISTÉ

Out of 150 surveyed households:

73% used to live outside France.

42% of them arrived between 1986 and 1996 and 30% between 1991 and 1996.

45% of those who used to live outside France came here for familial or personal reasons (37% for professional reason).

Arrival period in Marseilles, in the neighbourhood, and in the flat:

(150 households surveyed)

Period	Before 1960	1961-1978	1979-1985	1986-1997
Arrival in				
Marseilles	31*	39	18	61
Neighbourhood	3	21	21	106
Flat	3	19	21	106

*(Including the 20 households from Marseilles)

Head of household arrival in France since (according to occupation status) :

	Total	%	Landlords	%	Tenants	%
1960 and before	7	5%	4	8%	3	3%
between 1961 and 1975	31	21%	18	34%	13	14%
between 1976 and 1978	5	3%	3	6%	2	2%
between 1979 and 1985	17	11%	1	2%	13	14%
between 1986 and 1990	13	9%	1	2%	12	13%
between 1991 and 1994	22	15%	0	0%	21	22%
After 1994	10	7%	24	45%	10	11%
Not concerned	44	29%	1	2%	20	21%
Not known	1	1%	1	2%	0	0%
Total	150	100%	53	100%	94	100%

Source : ADEUS-ADELE, Diagnostic social du parc Kallisté, Juin 1997. Enquête portant sur 150 ménages (586 pers.) des bâtiments A, B, G, H, I

Reason of arrival in France (according to occupation status)

	Total	%	Landlords	%	Tenants	%
Contract of employment	6	6%	3	10%	3	3%
To search for work	35	34%	9	30%	26	28%
Army	4	4%	2	7%	2	2%
To follow a parent	25	25%	10	33%	15	16%
by chance	2	2%	0	0%	2	2%
to take care of	2	2%	0	0%	2	2%
the events	13	13%	7	23%	6	7%
Others	25	25%	3	10%	22	24%
Total answers	112		34		78	
Not concerned	44		24		20	
Not Known	4		2		2	
Total households	102		30		92	

Source : ADEUS-ADELE, Diagnostic social du parc Kallisté, Juin 1997. Enquête portant sur 150 ménages (586 pers.) des bâtiments A, B, G, H, I

COMPARISON TABLES

Households

	Kallisté*		B-d-R		France	
	150 households (interw.)* Ensemble : 586 pers.		Cples + kids / all families Single pers. / all houshlds Tot fam : 367944/hous:750987		Out of total fam+kids Tot fam : 9897736	
	Rcp 1997		Rcp 1990		Rcp 1990	
	Gross households	%	Gross	%	Gross	%
Couples + kids	76	51%	186456	50,67%	8296032	83,81%
Coupl. without kids						
Single personnes	17	11%	180940	24,09%		
One-parent family	39	26%			1601704	16,18%

Source Insee 1999/90- * ADEUS - Diagnostic social du parc Kallisté, Juin 1997. (Enquête 150 ménages - 586 pers.)

sional occupation

	Kallisté*		Marseille		Bouches-du-Rhône		France	
	150 Header of family		Pop aged + than 15 Ensemble: 661557		Pop 15 yrs or + Ensemble : 1514328		Activity of the household Ensemble: 23810161	
	Gross	%	Gross	%	Gross	%	Gross	%
Retired people	33	26%	149328	22,57	314216	20,74%	10637031	44,67%
Unemployed people	47	31%	78288	11,83	156189	10,31%	1494547	6,27
Other non working pers.	31	21%	94453	14,27	218704	14,44%	563935	2,36
Salarié	39	26%						

Source pour Marseille, le département et la France : Insee 1999 - *ADEUS - Diagnostic social du parc Kallisté, Juin 1997. (Enquête 150 ménages - 586 pers.)

Foreigners

	Kallisté*	Marseille	B-d-R	France
			/ pop tot	Rcs 1999
		/ pop totale Rcs 1999		/ pop totale 1999
	Nb tot de households / header of family (1997)			

		Total ménages : 150		Ensemble habitants : 797491		Pop tot : 1835407		Tot pop : 58500688	
		Gross	%	Gross	%		%	Gross	%
Etrangers Hors CE		10	7%	22031	2,76%	34132	1,85	477482	0,81
	Moroccan	4	3%	4346	0,54%	15627	0,85	504096	0,86
	Comoro	14	9%						
Spa., Ita., Port.		3	3%	5519	0,69%	16168	0,88	917095	1,56

Source : INSEE 1999 - *ADEUS - Diagnostic social du parc Kallisté, Juin 1997. (Enquête 150 ménages - 586 pers.)

APPENDICE 2: Practical issues in setting up the initiative

SITUATION AT FIRST

The difficult and complex current situation of the co-ownership Kallisté reveals the following dysfunctions:

- The level of debts and the bad management by the different co-landlords' managements;
- The tensions between resident-landlords, lessor-landlords and tenants;
- The size, the urban and architectural shape of the co-ownership is today out of date;
- The housing market in Marseilles and the fact that the social lessors from Marseilles keeps on denying to welcome some populations, lead these populations to accept to be accommodated in the awful conditions provided by numerous flats in some Kallistés buildings ;
- The escape of the more solvent households for security reasons, because they feel insecure, because they can get better school for their children by living somewhere else or because they can have better housing offers.
- A large number of households with social and economical difficulties are concentrated in certain buildings of the co-ownership;
- The variety of the ways of life of the different communities taking place in the same area, often led to the explosion of the common life ;
- The presence of numerous children mainly belonging to the recent immigrant families which are socially and economically struggled lead to cleavages between communities and / or generations.
- Even if it is a minority in the co-ownership, some people behave criminally in impunity, therefore it is difficult to keep the common parts and features in a good state since they are often depredated.

ACTIONS AND FINANCES

With regards to the observed problems, the Saving Project, launched on 8th March 2000, conveyed itself into 12 actions to be carried out in Kallisté out of which the action of the Building Companions:

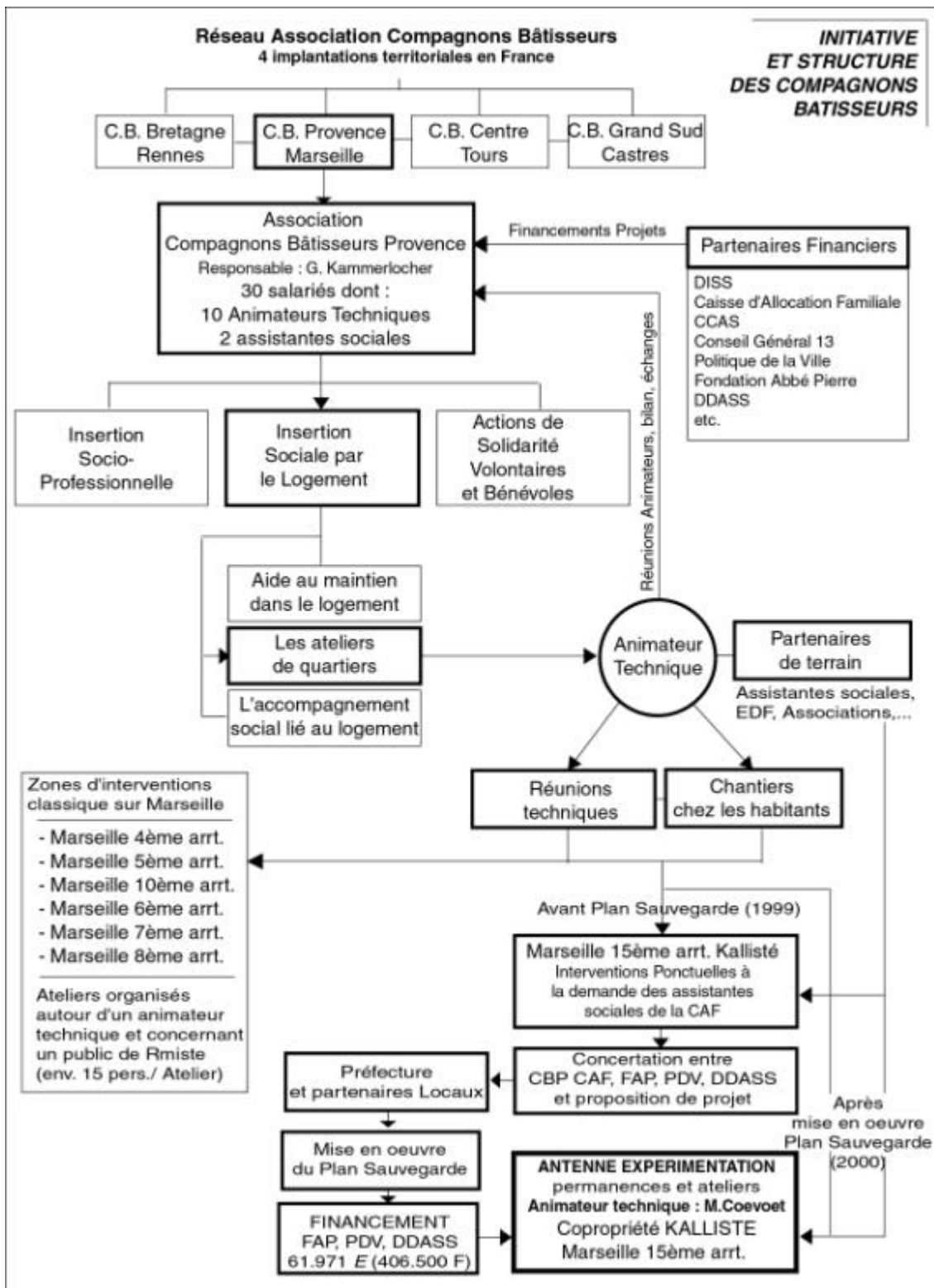
	Coût TTC
• Start the split of the co-ownership	36 588 € (240 000 FRF)
• Make a technical diagnosis on the state of the co-ownership	42 686 € (280 000 FRF)
• Get to know the residents of the co-ownership	44 851 € (294 200 FRF)
• Define the implementation of an OPAH	22 867 € (150 000 FRF)
• Facilitate the participation of the co-owners and the residents	to be assessed
• Maintain the frame of living of the residents	377 870 € (2 478 662 FRF)
• Ensure the maintenance of the green areas	to be assessed
• <i>Help the inhabitants to maintain their housing</i>	<i>61 971 € (406 500 FRF)*</i>
• Have the residents being aware of environmental issues	15 245 € (100 000 FRF)
• Create spaces for the associations	609 796 € (4 000 000 FRF)
• Define the future status of the ways and the exteriors areas	to be defined
• Implement a co-ordinating team	29 417 € (192 960 FRF)
	<i>Total : 1 241 289 € (8 142 322 FRF)</i>

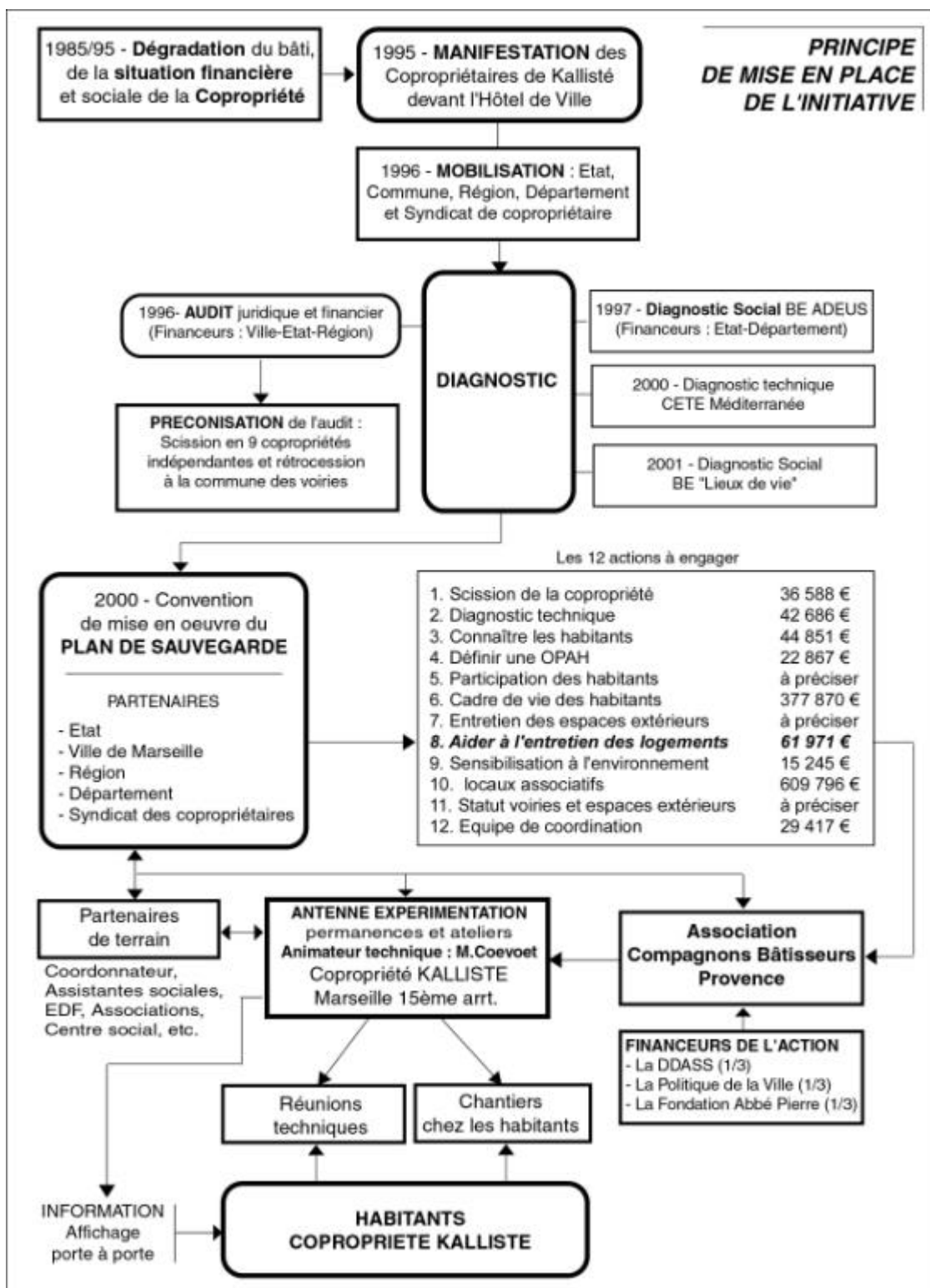
*If we do not consider what is to be assessed, the cost of the action of the Building Companions represents 5% of the total cost

The action of the Building Companions is financed by three partners :

- DDASS (Departmental Direction for Social and Sanitary Matters)
- The town's Policy thanks to the Departmental Authority's Fund
- The Foundation Abbé Pierre

Each partner took in charge the third of the cost of this action.





1ST ANNUAL REPORT (MARS 2001)

Composition et ressources des 38 ménages ayant fait appel au Compagnons Bâisseurs pour l'amélioration de leur logement

Bâtiment	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
Répartition	1	15	0	2	1	0	4	12	3
Composition :	1PS + 2 E	3PS + 3E 7PS + 4E 1C 2C + 1E 1C + 2E 2C + 4E 2C + 6E 1C + 7E 2C + 8E	0	2PS	1PS	0	1PS + 2E 1PS + 4E 1C + 4E 1C + 5E	1PS 2 PS + 1 E 1 PS + 5 E 1 PS + 6 E 2 C 3 C + 2 E 1 C	1PS + 8E
PS = pers.seule C = couple PS+E = pers.seule + enfants C+E = couple + enfants									
P = propriétaire L = locataire	1L	1P 14L	0	1L 1P	1P	0	4L	11L 1P	3L
Type de logement	1 T2	5 T4 10 T3	0	2 T3	1 T3	0	1 T4 3 T3	2 T5 1 T4 9 T3	2 T4 1 T3
Loyer		T3 = 2400/3400 T4 = 2500/3200	0				T3 = 3300 T4 = 3300	T3 = 2600/2700 T4 = ? T5 = 3400	T3 = ? T4 = 2800

Source : Bilan Annuel de l'action des Compagnons Bâisseurs « entretien de mon logement » sur le parc Kallisté à Marseille 15^{ème}, Mars 2001.

APPENDICE 3: Rationale for choosing this specific initiative for a case study

The co-ownership Kallisté was chosen as a ground for investigation since the action of the Building Companions from Provence is quite innovative. Indeed, their action takes place on a specific ground because of its urban and social dimensions. Indeed, the co-ownership Kallisté is characteristic because of its status: it is a depredated housing complex where different social, economical, ethnical situations live together as well as different occupation status (tenants, resident-landlords and lessor-landlords).

The action of the building companions, whose first objective is to permit the inhabitants' mobilization by supporting them in improving their housing, takes place within the frame of a Saving Project which aims at reversing the depredateions of the buildings, the social and economical situations and the social relationships of the inhabitants from Kallisté.

We chose this action since it is completely different from the traditional operations already observed on similar grounds: in Kallisté, the inhabitant has a central position within the process of the action.

The experience carried out in Kallisté has been lasting for one year and a half. It is based on the fact that, on the one hand the inhabitant is able to modify his/her relationship to the housing since he/she has to focus on a real matter (the flat). On the other hand, the inhabitant has responsibilities because he is supported during the rehabilitation.

During this study, we had to observe the implementation and the impact of such an initiative so as to highlight the future projects of operations centred on the inhabitant and the housing.

APPENDICE 4:

4. Methodological considerations

The co-ownership Kallisté, with regards to its population's diversity and to the difficult social situations, was not very easy to enter in. That's why we lost a lot of time when carrying out the NEHOM interviews. Indeed, a part of the population was worried with the questionnaire and because we had to come in their flats to interview the people. So as to counter these worries and the kind aggression of their intimate areas, we had to visit them with the Building Companions first. We personally participated to have the persons we wanted to interview to feel at ease with us.

5. Bias

The main bias of the sample lies on the fact that we concentrated on a group of persons directly or indirectly connected to the action. We must confess that it was very difficult for us to have another role than the participating observer one. Therefore, we were highly depending on the interventions planned by the Building Companions.

6. Credibility and validity

Although we cared about the equilibrium of our sample bearing in mind the different components of the co-ownership (men/women, tenants/landlords, ethnical origin, age...) it was difficult for us to contact persons which were not concerned by the action. The experimentation and the very nature of the action which lies on human solidarity, leads easily to a supportive feeling and maintain kindness. Therefore, the interviewed persons have difficulties in stepping back which is necessary to comment this action. Meanwhile, we paid attention to highlight the diversity of the inhabitants' speeches with regards to the quantitative results.

APPENDICE 5: List of informants / respondents

1. Interviews with professional or institutional actors :

M. Georges Kammerlaucher	Directeur des Compagnons Bâtisseurs Provence
M. Maxime Coevoet	Animateur technique, Compagnons Bâtisseurs Provence
Mlle Anne Souville	Bureau d'étude diagnostic social et urbain « Lieux-dits »
Mme Ginauvèze	Chef de projet politique de la ville 15 ^{ème} Arrt. Marseille

2. Interviews with the inhabitants

	Nom	Age	Sexe	Situation familiale	statut	Situation	Origine ethnique
K.01	R	46	F	Cohabits, 2 children	Tenants	RMI Spouse : building painter	Uruguayan
K.02	H	35	F	Single, 5 children	Landlady	RMI (+ fowerist)	Bosniac Muslim
K.03	A	25	M	Single	Accommodated By her sister(37, 3 children)	Warehouse man	Comoro
K.04	S	19	M	Single, 5 brother and sisters	Tenant (isolated mother)	Unemployed	Comoro
K.05	M	34	M	Maried, 5 children	Tenants	RMI before being employed by the Tenants' Association	Comorio (teacher)
K.06	A	36	M	Maried, 4 children	Tenants	RMI before being employed by the Tenants' Association	Comoro
K.07	B	74	F & M	Widow, (2 children, lives with her nephew)	Landlords	Retired (Accountant clerk) formerly building manager	French
K.08	L	28	M	Single	Tenant	Educator	Algerian
K.09	R	58	M	Maried, 3 children	Tenant	Retired	Tunisian
K.10	Br	63	F	Single	Landlady	Retired	French
K.11	A	54	F	Maried, 4 children	Tenants	District counsellor	Comoro
K.12	B	65	F	Widow, 3 children	Landlady	Retired responsible for the tenants' association	French

APPENDICE 6: Interview guides / questionnaires

Interview guides for informants :

Guide d'entretien pour la collecte d'informations auprès des "responsables sociaux" (logeurs, autorités publiques chargées du logement, etc.)

o) Base et expérience dans le quartier :

- i. Eléments personnels au sujet des praticiens :
sexe, groupe d'âge, origine régionale, formation de base en matière de social, etc.
- ii. Eléments professionnels :
itinéraire professionnel, organisation/institution du praticien, statut/niveau à l'intérieur de l'organisation/institution, etc.
- iii. Insertion locale :
théorique (historique, sociologique) et connaissance de terrain relative au quartier ; expérience antérieure dans le quartier ; statut du praticien, localement, vis-à-vis de l'organisation : autonomie (+/-), ou mission imposée...

p) Perceptions de l'interrogé sur le logement/le quartier/les habitants ;

- i. perception et caractérisation du (des) problème(s) spécifiques et/ou de (s) l'atout(s) du site comparé au reste de la ville.

q) Changements du quartier dans le temps

- i. Pénétration par le haut/par le bas ?
- ii. Quels aspects semblent signaler précisément le processus de pénétration par en haut/par en bas ? L'économique/l'emploi/le social/ la gouvernabilité /les problèmes de sécurité allant mieux ou moins bien ?

r) La structure institutionnelle du quartier

- i. Est-ce une structure institutionnelle centrée sur la gestion des affaires du quartier impliquant par exemple autorités locales, partenariats spécifiques, organisation du tiers secteur, et comment cela fonctionne-t-il ?
- ii. Y a-t-il des dispositifs particuliers pour assurer la gestion de quartier et les services ?
- iii. Quels changements d'importance ont pris place dans la structure institutionnelle (y compris l'organisation du logement et les moyens de son fonctionnement) dans la dernière décennie ? Comment cela a-t-il affecté le quartier du cas d'étude retenu ?
- iv. Quels liens l'enquête fait-elle entre l'actuel système de logement (y compris le service d'attribution) et les changements dans le quartier ?
- v. Par quels moyens les habitants du quartier sont-ils engagés dans la prise de décision locale (maintenant/auparavant) ?
- vi. Dans quelle mesure les habitants et les organisations locales peuvent-elles influencer la décision politique relative à la gestion du quartier, des logements et des quartiers ?

s) Au sujet de l'initiative locale/de l'application des politiques :

- i. Que sait l'enquête sur cette initiative ?

t) L'évaluation des responsables sur cette initiative

- i. Evaluation positive/négative locale et plus large de son impact
- ii. Effets à court et long termes
- iii. Cette initiative est-elle durable dans le long terme
- iv. Certains des effets de l'initiative ont-ils surpris l'enquête ?
- v. L'initiative a-t-elle eu des effets au-delà du quartier ?
- vi. L'initiative peut-elle être appliquée ailleurs ?
- vii. Quelle est l'importance respective des autres facteurs (externes) dans l'impact/le succès/l'échec de l'initiative ?
- viii. L'initiative a-t-elle changé la perception générale du problème, sur le quartier, sur d'autres facteurs (y compris la reconnaissance résidentielle) ?
- ix. L'initiative a-t-elle eu un impact sur les façons de travailler – changements organisationnels ou partenariaux ?

u) Attentes futures :

- i. De nouvelles initiatives à prendre par rapport à d'autres/nouveaux ?
- ii. Y a-t-il eu une évaluation formelle de l'initiative ?

Interview guides for residents :

Projet NEHOM : Questionnaire „habitants“

Nom de l'interviewé / adresse / téléphone:

intervieweur :

lieu / date:

numéro de la bande:

INTRODUCTION

L'intervieweur doit expliquer les raisons du choix de l'initiative/cet interview individuel participe d'une étude comparative, internationale sur les modèles innovants en matière de logement et de quartier et est centré sur l'exclusion sociale.

Les différentes institutions nationales travaillant sur le projet NEHOM-project sont présentées. En outre, il/elle fera mention de l'anonymat dans les résultats. Les interviews doivent être enregistrés - ceci a été annoncé à l'interviewé à l'avance - .

Une attention importante doit être portée sur les besoins particuliers des minorités ethniques, des enfants, des personnes âgées et l'égalité des sexes. Nous avons essayé d'intégrer cela dans le questionnaire, mais parfois une seconde question sous forme narrative est nécessaire.

1. EXPERIENCE RESIDENTIELLE PERSONNELLE

1.17 *Pouvez-vous me dire comment vous êtes venu vivre dans ce quartier et cet appartement ?*

1.18 *Depuis quand vivez-vous dans ce logement , dans ce quartier, dans cet arrondissement ?*

1.19 *Pourquoi êtes-vous venu dans ce quartier, ce logement?*

1.20 *Où viviez-vous avant de venir dans ce logement ?*

1.21 *Données sur votre logement actuel:*

- nombre d'habitants / ménage
- type d'appartement :
- type d'immeuble:
- surface en m²
- Quel est le coût de ce logement (loyer et autres charges, aussi détaillées que possible, y compris le chauffage) ?
- Y a-t-il eu des améliorations importantes pour votre logement/votre cité, depuis que vous y vivez ?

1.22 *Utilisation de l'appartement/des pièces :*

- utilisez-vous les pièces comme cela a été prévu?
- le nombre de personnes vivant dans le logement est-il en conformité avec le nombre de pièces?
- la conception du logement satisfait-elle les besoins de votre vie quotidienne?

1.23 *Que pensez-vous des relations entre habitants dans votre immeuble?*

1.24 *Avez-vous de la famille, des amis , „des gens qui vous aiment“ vivant dans le même quartier?*

2. PERCEPTION DE LA SITUATION DU LOGEMENT ET DU QUARTIER

Le principal intérêt de cette section est d'obtenir une estimation d'ensemble sur les potentialités et les problèmes de base de la cité. Cette section doit aussi être complétée par des questions plus spécifiques sur des aspects plus détaillés.

Les partenaires de NEHOM ayant l'intention d'écrire un manuel sur les approches innovantes, non pas une description précise des situations précises du logement et du quartier à partir d'un certain nombre de cas d'études, nous devons rassembler dans la section 2 ceux des aspects qui sont essentiels à la compréhension des différentes initiatives/projets interrogés en section 5, 6 et 7 et essayer au mieux de produire des données comparables pour chaque contexte social.

2.1 Nous voudrions savoir quels sont les principaux avantages /les principaux problèmes de vie de la cité :

- Les trois meilleurs et les trois pires choses concernant la cité,
- Donnez-nous votre ordre de classement sur les sujets suivants

	1	2	3	4	5	0
	très bon	bon	satisf.	insatisf.	mauvais	sans rép.
Infrastructures						
Commerces de détail	?	?	?	?	?	?
cafés / bars / restaurants	?	?	?	?	?	?
services de santé	?	?	?	?	?	?
facilités pour toutes sortes d'handicaps	?	?	?	?	?	
services dans leur langue pour les étrangers	?	?	?	?	?	
offres d'emploi	?	?	?	?	?	
écoles	?	?	?	?	?	
crèches	?	?	?	?	?	
Réseau social						
Réseau social dans le quartier	?	?	?	?	?	
Mélange ethnique	?	?	?	?	?	
intégration des différents groupes ethniques	?	?	?	?	?	
activités autorisant l'esprit communautaire	?	?	?	?	?	
Activités culturelles						
Activités culturelles	?	?	?	?	?	
institutions pour les personnes âgées	?	?	?	?	?	
local jeunes	?	?	?	?	?	
activités / institutions améliorant leur éducation	?	?	?	?	?	
autres moyens de diversification des activités	?	?	?	?	?	
Qualité spatiale						
maintenance de la cité dans son ensemble	?	?	?	?	?	
maintenance de l'espace public	?	?	?	?	?	
densité du trafic	?	?	?	?	?	
accessibilité de la cité par les transports publics	?	?	?	?	?	
aires de jeux / terrains de sport	?	?	?	?	?	
présence d'espace verts, de parcs	?	?	?	?	?	
maintenance des espace verts	?	?	?	?	?	
sécurité dans l'accès à l'ensemble du quartier	?	?	?	?	?	
autre :	?	?	?	?	?	?

Il y a-t-il des organismes ou des services existants dans le quartier dont vous n'avez pas usage ? Si oui, pourquoi ?

2.2. Que pensez-vous des relations sociales dans la cité ?

Pensez-vous que l'un des sujets suivants ait de l'importance pour votre logement / la cité?

	logement	cité
25. Violence, vandalisme	?	?
26. Crime organisé	?	?
27. Manque d'ordre et de propreté	?	?
28. Mécontentement des jeunes	?	?
29. Toute sorte de drogues	?	?
30. anonymat	?	?
31. conflit entre générations	?	?
32. menace à l'égard de certains	?	?
33. groupes de population	?	?
34. taux de chômage élevé	?	?
35. conflit interethnique	?	?
36. autre :		

2.3. Que pensez-vous de votre situation actuelle en matière de logement?

(réponses : ? très bon ? bon ? satisfaisant ? insatisfaisant ? mauvais)

- appartement :
- immeuble:
- cité :
- conception arch. du quartier :
- situation à l'intérieur du quartier :
- séparation des espaces publics, semi-publics et privés
- conception et usage de l'espace public:
- conception et usage des espaces verts :
- taille des zones protégées du trafic :
- circulation à l'intérieur de la cité:
- selon vous, que pense de ce quartier la population qui vit ici ?
- comment les personnes qui vivent en dehors de ce quartier le décrivent-elles ?
- remarques :

2.4. Pouvez-vous nous montrer sur la carte comment vous définissez :

- les limites spatiales de votre cité
- les subdivisions par des frontières naturelles à l'intérieur de la cité
- les subdivisions par la composition sociale de la cité

2.5. Pouvez-vous décrire une récente amélioration structurelle ou esthétique ayant eu une influence positive sur votre perception de la cité?

3. PERCEPTION DES CHANGEMENTS DE QUALITE DE VIE DANS LA CITE

Dans cette section, nous souhaitons donner un aperçu global des changements et des dynamiques socio-économiques telles qu'ils sont perçus par les résidents. En particulier, nous avons l'intention de « vérifier » dans quelle mesure l' « initiative innovante » est mentionnée comme un changement (majeur) de ces dernières années. Les dimensions potentielles de ce changement sont : le contexte physique, l'offre de logements, le niveau de gestion, la mixité des habitants, les bases socio-économiques, etc.

3.1. Pouvez-vous dire en quoi votre quartier a changé depuis que vous y habitez ?

- Nommez le plus important changement que vous avez noté.
- Pensez-vous que l'un des aspects suivants a changé en mieux, en pire ou pas du tout?

(Noter : 1 : sans changement ; 2 : a changé ; 3 : pas de réponse ; A : amélioration ; D : détérioration)

- la mobilité des locataires
- la structure d'âge
- la mixité ethnique des habitants
- l'intégration sociale des différents groupes sociaux
- l'environnement physique
- le redéveloppement
- la modernisation de l'habitat
- l'amélioration des espaces communs
- la gestion du logement
- le service social
- le réseau social privé
- la situation de l'emploi
- l'accessibilité au travail payé
- l'activité volontaire dans la cité
- pas de réponse
- autre :

3.2. A votre avis, chaque groupe de population at-il été effectivement concerné par ces changements / par l'un d'entre eux ?

4. AMELIORATION DANS LE PROCESSUS DE PRISE DE DECISION

L'amélioration dans la prise de décision est assez important pour notre projet : en accord avec la définition élaborée par nous, les "initiatives innovantes" sont celles qui mènent au changement des idées et de la capacité des habitants à résoudre les problèmes de leur quartier. En conséquence, il est crucial de connaître avec quelle intensité les habitants sont déjà (ou se sentent être) impliqués dans le développement de leur cité/situation.

4.1. Quelles sont les forces motrices du changement dans votre cité?

- **À votre avis, qui est la cause ou le responsable de ces changements?**
- **À votre avis, qui doit être responsable de ces changements ?**
- **Quels sont les actions les plus déterminants dans le développement du quartier?**
 - ? les politiques locales de l'habitat
 - ? la communauté
 - ? les associations de logement
 - ? la gestion du quartier
 - ? les habitants
 - ? les acteurs économiques locaux
 - ? les acteurs nationaux / internationaux
 - ? autre
 - ? pas de réponse

4.1. Etes vous membres d'un groupe local ? Si oui, :

De quel groupe?

Comment êtes-vous impliqué?

Avez-vous obtenu des résultats majeurs avec ce groupe?

Avez-vous eu des déceptions importantes avec ce groupe?

Etes-vous impliqué avec des groupes en dehors de la cité?

4.3. A votre avis, les habitants peuvent-ils influencer le développement de la cité ?

4.4. Pensez-vous qu'une plus grande participation des habitants est nécessaire pour améliorer la vie quotidienne?

4.5. Comment les habitants peuvent-ils organiser/influencer le développement de leur cité?

4.6. Existe-t-il des organisations collectives ou d'autres formes organisées de représentation/ d'autres opportunités de participer dans votre cité ?

4.7. Comment évaluez-vous votre volonté personnelle de participation?

4.8. En respectant votre vie personnelle : comment évaluez-vous votre opportunité de participation ?

4.9. Qu'est ce qui peut impliquer plus de monde à participer au développement de la cité ?

5. CONNAISSANCE DE L'INITIATIVE ANALYSEE

La section 5 amorce une brève présentation de l' "initiative innovante" par l'interviewer. Ensuite, nous devons trouver quels éléments de l'initiative sont connus de l'interviewé ; notre échantillon d'interviewés doit comprendre 50% d'habitants impliqués et 50% d'interviewés choisis au hasard (méthode des contrastes) – sinon, l'estimation de l'impact (section 7) restera vague, et nous n'apprendrons pas grand chose sur leur perception.

5.1. Que savez-vous de cette initiative / du projet ?

5.2. D'où tenez-vous votre information?

5.3. Pensez vous que l'information était suffisante / information sur le droit à la qualité pour tous les habitants ?

6. QUESTIONS SPECIFIQUES CONCERNANT CETTE INITIATIVE

Sociaux - professionnels locaux; résultats attendus ; conséquences imprévues ...

7. EVALUATION DE L'IMPACT DE L'INITIATIVE

Dans la section 7, nous approchons le «centre d'intérêt» de notre questionnaire. Donc, un temps suffisant doit être réservé à cette section. L'intention est de trouver comment est évalué l'impact de l'„initiative innovante“.

7.1. Avez-vous été personnellement impliqué dans cette initiative / ce projet ?

7.2. A votre avis, quels sont les principaux résultats / effets de cette initiative / de ce projet ?

7.3. Une évaluation personnelle:

7.4. Si c'est le cas, en quoi avez-vous profité de cette initiative ?

7.5. Pensez-vous que l'initiative et les moyens adoptés ont augmenté la capacité des population à résoudre leurs propres problèmes ?

7.6. Pensez-vous que cette initiative a eu un impact sur les groupes qui ont des besoins particuliers ?

7.7. Cette initiative a-t-elle eu un impact sur les relations entre les différents groupes qui vivent dans les environs ?

7.8. Avez-vous repéré un important sujet dans ces relations sociales de la population que cette initiative n'aurait pas pris en compte?

8. ATTENTES FUTURES

Pour conclure, nous demandons à l'interviewé son appréciation personnelle sur le développement du quartier, sur les moyens mis en œuvre et les formes d'action de ce processus.

8.1. Une estimation personnelle: comment a évolué la situation du logement/celle du quartier depuis ces 5 dernières années ?

8.2. Souhaitez-vous que cela change?

8.3. Pensez-vous que cela a des chances de changer pour vous ?

8.4. Quels sont les problèmes les plus urgents à régler ?

8.5. Comment peut-on améliorer la qualité de vie?

Liste des 3 choses à changer, selon vous, pour créer de meilleures conditions de vie quotidienne

9. DONNEES PERSONNELLES SUR L'INTERVIEWE / LE MENAGE

9.1. Quelques questions sur la situation personnelle de l'interviewé et les autres personnes vivant dans le ménage (1^e personne : l'interviewé)

	1 pers	2 pers.	3 pers	4 pers	5 pers
sexe					
age					
Situat. Econom.					
Relation au chef de ménage					

9.7. Disposez vous d'allocations? Si oui, de quelle nature :

9.8. Comment vous situez-vous vous-même ethniquement ?

9.5. Formation

9.6. Occupation

9.7. Statut de l'emploi

9.8. Où travaillez-vous?

? dans la cité ? à la maison ? dans le quartier ? dans une autre partie de la ville

? à une plus grande distance ? pas de réponse

Remarques générales à propos de l'interview :

Conclusion

As mentioned earlier, every analysed initiative takes place within the framework of the «Town Policy », which had been progressively implemented since the 1980's. This Policy was set up when the French State implemented the de-centralisation. At first, this experimental Policy was limited to well-defined neighbourhoods; it recommended the local development, more participation by the residents, the integration of actions concerning different aspects of the social and economical life in the neighbourhoods : employment, accommodation, education, leisure, security and the share of the action through the contractualisation of the supports provided by the main partners of these actions: the State and the concerned local authorities.

The determining context of the « Town Policy »

This policy is more and more sophisticated, meanwhile its assessment didn't enable to obtain indisputable results of its impact. Without doubt because the political alternations led the political actors to deny the indisputable results obtained by their predecessors.

But also because the situation in these neighbourhoods was not independent enough and could not be sufficiently isolated from the rest of the city, to report the effects of aids and actions they benefited. First of all, the measures were difficult to process, the limits of the benefiting neighbourhoods barely matched the existing statistical limits.

Besides, the statistical differences were highlighted in comparison with the rest of the city; they were measured between two maps or between two population censuses. These differences enabled an observation, but it didn't really give the keys to understand the difficulties of these neighbourhoods. The evidence of the economic situation recalled the employment situation on the broader scales of the town and of the nation.

According to all these reasons, this policy experienced many re-orientations far from being relevant, and which revealed the difficulty to sort out the factors

of degradation and de-qualification of these neighbourhoods, beyond the political appreciations.

This policy was firstly focused on the neighbourhood and on the buildings, then it opened progressively to the city and to the economy then to the practice of the citizenship. In the meantime, the initiatives regarding education were reinforced through the creation of “areas with priority education » (the discrimination is positive for the schools located in the deprived neighbourhoods). The initiatives were also reinforced regarding the struggle to prevent the small criminality.

The chosen initiatives and their ability to be transferred in Europe

The chosen initiatives reveal the different aspects of the «Town Policy » at the national level as we mentioned it above.

The action carried out in Aigues Douces is, without doubt, the most representative of a successful application of the «Town Policy » in France ; even if this result should be considered as fragile, since it is always thrown back into questions. The questions occur when «exiting » from the implementation (DSU- Social and urban development) when the action is over, i.e. the funds raised for the action are not guaranteed to be raised again in the future.

As far as the improvement of the quality of life is concerned, convincing results were acquired. They regarded the housing, its immediate environment, its link with the city and also the image of the neighbourhood. This image was upgraded thanks to the operation which better integrated Aigues Douces to the entire town’s territory: Aigues Douces was considered by the rest of the town as a neighbourhood and as a sea resort.

Above all, this result had only been possible thanks to the exemplary partnership between the housing authority, the State, the local authorities and the residents. The size of the city, the experience of the Mayor (one the first Mayors to participate in the Town Policy) and the importance of giving a better value to the urban and maritime landscape of this city and more broadly of the region.

The re-qualification of architecture and urbanism through the rehabilitation of the flats, the re-designed block plan of the buildings and looking after the outside areas, take an important place. It is reinforced when the residents associated themselves well to the entire process of functional and formal re-organization of the neighbourhood and when the selected options are quickly achieved. All this gives to the population the feeling of a democratic and efficient collective action; they feel a real change of the environment of living and they are satisfied because they are taken into account as residents.

Therefore, one can weight the conditions allowing the possibility of the transferability of an «urban renewal» to other urban environments, whether they belong to France or to other European countries.

The situation is very different in Les Flamants and in Kallisté; a neighbourhood totalling few thousands inhabitants doesn't weight the same if it is located in a town such as Marseilles (almost one million inhabitants) or if it is in a smaller town such as Port de Bouc. Of course, it is only one single element of comparison and many other factors should be considered to estimate the degree of success of the actions undertaken in these neighbourhoods, and to characterize the field which is concerned.

In this way, Les Flamants represents the most frequent evolution of the French deprived neighbourhoods: the initiatives taken over there refrained the neighbourhood from sinking into a more serious situation, rather than they improved the quality of life in the whole. That is why, in Les Flamants, we can talk about fragments of success, such as the actions of the Régie 13-14, fragments of semi-success or even of failure such as the change of use of some parts of the buildings. With regards to this context, the measure of the improvements is difficult, since the residents consider the action as a failure if the improvements are not obvious enough.

The «urban renewal» is once again considered by OPAC South (it is the same social housing authority than in Port de Bouc) for the benefit of Les Flamants. This may reveal the inadequacy of the first re-structuration in Les Flamants. Indeed, the latter superposed new activities to the primary residential

function of the neighbourhood and these activities were not really integrated within a co-ordinated action concerning the housing of the residents and the vacant patrimony of the OPAC, which was used for other purposes than accommodation, and which aimed at being profitable and at opening the neighbourhood to the city of Marseilles and at being a functional and social mix.

The activity of the Régie 13-14 had a less spectacular effect on the neighbourhood's aspect. But it showed that a well-limited success is possible and profitable for the residents of the neighbourhood, within its fields of knowledge. The Régie 13-14 was not only competent at the level of maintenance or assistance to technical disorders but also at the level of integration through employment and through the re-establishment of the social links by listening and eye-watching.

To be more efficient, the Regie spread its activities over a broader territory than the neighbourhood where it comes from. By implementing a partnership respecting the residents and thanks to a national network which is opening itself on a European scale, the Regie found a genuine conception of the service for the resident by the resident. This conception is founded on responsibility and solidarity, this ethic being expressed in a national agreement of the neighbourhood's regies. These principles allow the orientation of all the service provided: whether they be material (maintenance of the neighbourhood: stairways and outside areas) or moral (professional integration of the employed residents and social integration between the residents providing the service and those being provided).

The new situation, which has been developing for the past ten years in the degraded co-ownerships, is marked by the extreme diversity of the profiles of the residents (landlords-residents, landlords-lessors, tenants or even subtenants). The experience, which has been running for one year and a half in Kallisté, tests the ability of the residents to take their own responsibilities. As part of an ambitious project to save this neighbourhood, the public authorities have to face a new kind of situation. The attention must be focused on the impact of an initiative which has nothing to do with the situations of assistance

appearing in the social housing complexes relying on the management of the traditional social building owners.

Indeed, these social housing complexes tended to develop themselves like public structures, depending on the Welfare State, and providing housing aids (by giving rebates on the rent through APL –Personal Help for Accommodation- and by subsidizing the management housing authorities). It allowed the inhabitants to be dependant on these financial helps. This behaviour combined with the dissatisfaction because of the allocated flat and with the cultural gaps, led the residents to be less and less responsible for their own flat and their close environment.

The work carried out by the Building Companions with the inhabitants in Kallisté (for and with them) aims at reversing this trend and at allowing the persons to re-build themselves through their participation in the repairs of their home.

The social-market economy created through this action must take into account, outside the usual financial standards, the number of rehabilitated flats and the number of residents who were rehabilitated in their dignity since they have now a proper flat thanks to their own involvement. The work of the Building Companions doesn't only provide a service for the resident, but they also participate in training schemes and facilitate the return of a social link, this being possible through the re-appropriation of a welcoming home.

In Kallisté, the long lasting experience of the Building Companions Guild is involved in a new original and innovative experience which requires to step back, and a national support to plan the first experimental extension in France. This project would be profitable if it would share with comparable experiences in Europe.