

# **POLITECNICO DI MILANO**

School of Architecture Urban Planning Construction Engineering

Degree Program of: Sustainable Architecture and Landscape Design



## **Gender, ethnicity, and embodied diversity: an intersectional analysis of appropriation and use of urban space**

**Case study the redevelopment of La Duchère, a peripheral district in Lyon City**

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INTRODUCTION

**AIM AND STRUCTURE OF THE RESEARCH**





## INTRODUCTION

### AIM OF RESEARCH

This study consists of theoretical research, based on studies and data recorded on the territory, that relates intersectional gender studies to the city, its planning and the spatio-temporal use that users make of the city. The analysis field is restricted to Western countries.

The main idea starts from an interest in two domains of study: that of architectural planning at the urban scale and that of gender studies. So, the research relates these two fields of study, investigating their interconnectedness.

Gender studies investigates among other issues, what power relations exist between the male gender, the female gender and other genders, aims to promote practices that enable the development of equal opportunities, and to eliminate discrimination that individuals experience because of their gender. Then with respect to this, the Thesis work engages in understanding how different urban planning practices can promote or conversely limit the interests of different individuals.

An intersectional analysis approach was chosen, so as to study how the perception of space and the use of built space, varies according to different groups of people who differ according to their belonging to the categories of gender, race, social class, ability/disability, age-children, adults, elderly-, sexual orientation, religious orientation, and other categories.

The research focuses particularly on gender, but also especially investigates the relationship between spatial planning with respect to ethnicity and social class, and to a lesser extent for reasons of space in the discussion, the relationship between spatial planning with respect to disability, age and sexual orientation or cultural-religious diversity and other factors.

The study aims to understand the architecture of our cities from a perspective of the use and the social and cultural pathways that users establish there, rather than from a merely structural and technical point of view. The purpose of the study is then to investigate how the built environment, and thus the physical and functional organization of our cities, the material and symbolic functions we ascribe to the city's spaces and infrastructure, are translations of our social organization, in terms of the distribution of the individuals' social roles and the spatio-temporal organization of individuals' activities, in and through, the places of the city.

By social roles of individuals, are meant professional, family, political, and business roles; while their activities include paid work activities, unpaid work activities, political action, the exercise of one's decision-making power over other individuals, activities of movement, education, sociability, trade and exchange, rest, sleep, nutrition, recreation, care activities, domestic activities, etc.

In fact, the structure of built space, which is composed of infrastructure, roads, public and private buildings, parks and all that is anthropized, is determined by design choices that the community considers suitable for the performance of its activities of daily life. Social dynamics, through a process of repetition and iteration (Butler, 2005) shape our urban organization and this in turn influences social dynamics, it can perpetuate social dynamics because of its physical design that can enable repetition. Contextually, it is investigated how the design and arrangement of built space can, based on the arrangements of spatio-temporal relationships between structures and their respective functions, create problems or conversely support in responding to the interests of diverse individuals and the promotion of equal opportunities - of movement, accessibility, services, access to employment and training, security and so on - regardless of all forms of diversity. So, with respect to this, the research questions how planning can help counter some forms of discrimination, toward certain minorities in the population.

In this sense, the research starts from the assumption that every citizen is different, in particular, the bodies of every citizen are different, that is, they carry with them an embodied diversity, in terms of differences in age, gender, ethnicity, physical ability/disability, sexual orientation, and an embodied diversity in terms of habits, clothing, the way they pose and move in space, depending on membership in a cultural, religious, political group and different social classes.

The research focuses indeed on the diversity of bodies, and bodies within architecture and urban structure, with the understanding that our experience in space is "embedded" and also depends on the body we are in and how our body is perceived by others and interacts with others.

An observational approach inspired by the concept of *geography closest in*, the term by which Adrienne Rich (Rich, 1986) defines the body. Because our body is the first place we are and is in constant interaction with the surrounding area. Everyone's body has a specific identity and carries a range of symbolism for oneself and for society, moves in certain ways in space and time, and has certain perceptions of its environment.

Because our bodies experience space differently based on their diversity, "political" position, gender, and movement abilities, it is useful to take into account the sensory and lived experiences of our bodies in space to fully understand the dynamics that take shape in space itself. The body is where power relations and urban politics of gender and race are played out.

Each category of social group has, depending on the order of society's values in which it moves, certain privileges or disadvantages compared to other categories.

Intersectionality allows us to investigate what different needs people have with respect to urban planning, nonetheless it allows us to understand how any discrimination is reinforced or modified at the intersection of multiple social categories to which a specific social group belongs. Here it can be summarized through three very brief explanatory examples: a woman because of her gender may perceive, in certain contexts a greater sense of insecurity moving around the city on foot at night, or a "racialized" man may perceive a greater sense of alienation in a neighbourhood with a strong homogeneity of ethnicity, different from his own ethnicity, and therefore have difficulty finding employment there, for example. Or again, the intersection of gender and social class allows us to understand how, a woman, mother of young children, belonging to the working class, not being able to afford housing in the city center and a private car, will not have a wide range of paid employment opportunities, as these workplaces may be mainly located in the city center, or far from her place of residence. And the necessity of having to make several commutes for care work to her family does not allow her time to access paid employment. This condition hinders or severely limits her access to economic independence.

## TOPICS DISCUSSED IN THE RESEARCH

The topics discussed are multiple.

Among the main ones discussed are: the issues surrounding the division of gender roles with respect to the division between public and private space, and thus the division between the space of paid work and the space of unpaid care work; the complexity of the daily itineraries within the city of those who perform care work, who are mainly women, as well as the difference in the use of private or public transportation by men and women; the organization of public transportation and its accessibility, which varies for different people; the problem of inadequate and insufficient public toilets in the city; the issue of architectural barriers; the issue of breastfeeding in public; and the issue of greater housing provision for nuclear families than for singles or single-parent families. Observations are advanced on city systems that contemplate a principle of participation as a solution to promote the socio-economic well-being of citizens: co-working spaces, co-housing, car-sharing systems, and participatory planning; the possible transformation that the solidarity economy and co-managed societies can bring to the improvement of social dynamics in the urban fabric and the promotion of residents' empowerment.

An analysis of alternative housing systems to the single-family house in history is advanced, for example, the Hull House of American activist Jane Addams, and the importance of the emergence of shelters for women victims of domestic violence.

The research addresses issues already debated by Jane Jacobs' urban studies, with respect to critiques of the functionalist city, Betty Smith's concept of *the problem that has no name* is discussed with respect to the issue of suburbs, and critiques of the suburbs themselves advanced by various scholars such as planning expert Gerda Wekerle, Sherilyn MacGregor, and professor of architecture, urbanism and American studies Dolores Hayden.

Another topic addressed is the experience women have when passing through or being in public space, examining the concept of "flâneuse". The trend of primarily male use of sports facilities in public spaces and parks is also addressed, to understand why girls and women do not use these facilities, and whether it might be interesting to provide other outdoor furniture in public space that can also be used by women.

The issue of racial segregation is examined, as well as the relationship between immigration from poorer to richer countries and the care work of immigrant women, and a historical observation on the Levittown model and brief research on the influence of Levittown in France is presented.

All of these issues are discussed in order to understand what role urban space plays in creating barriers between people, in limiting accessibility to certain services, in considering or not considering needs in the provision of facilities and their intended functions, for different categories of people; and how, conversely, the design of space can foster the reception and fruitful coexistence of diversity while respecting diversity itself. How can the built space enable all citizens to benefit from sufficient time for rest, recreation and socialization, adequate time to reach the workplace, and ensure that the amount and time of domestic work and unpaid care work is equally distributed among individuals, or at least that it does not burden one component of the population to the benefit of another. In this regard, the 15-minute city model is mentioned, remarks are introduced on the importance of urban functional mix, and of permeability between functions.

Finally, it is investigated what role gender diversity actually plays in the city, who among the inhabitants/users has a sense of belonging to the city, a sense of security in the city, who occupies what place and why, for how long, who enjoys more or less visibility in the space and why, how gender differences are represented in the public space, and how all this affects individuals' sense of freedom and their possibility of personal/professional expression and fulfillment.

In addressing these questions, the complexity of different spatial contexts and the partiality of the answers that can be advanced are always taken into account, knowing that the social phenomenon changes rapidly and it is difficult to predict how changing the organization of the city by an urban project or a spontaneous change, can have good effective results over time, and for each person.

## THE OBJECTIVE OF THE CASE STUDY ANALYSIS

As stated above, some social groups enjoy privileges, compared to other social groups whose interests may be overshadowed or subject to discrimination: certain ethnic groups, immigrants, people of certain age groups, disabilities, sexual orientation, or religious orientation. All of these groups are part of what is often referred to as "diversity".

A reflection arises at this point: it is necessary to understand what meaning of "diversity" is more or less sustainable today. It is desirable to move away from an interpretation that sees "diversity" as a hierarchy of powers, values and benefits among different inhabitants, toward an understanding of "diversity" as the richness of the community, composed of each individual's unique characteristics, which deserve respect and visibility in equal measure. It is important to understand what meaning we want to give to the term "diversity" in the future and how a sustainable urban project, especially at the societal level, should position itself with respect to diversity, what it can offer through its design.

Professionals in the field of architecture and urban design have the opportunity and the means to apply certain attitudes in the design of urban space to promote equal opportunities for benefit, development, education and belonging to the city, its users and inhabitants, and it is advisable to aim at designing a flexible space that enhances diversity and is adapted to meet different needs for living and inhabiting.

In this regard, this study investigates whether there are urban projects today that target these goals, what strategies are implemented, and whether/how the results are effective.

The example identified as a case study is the La Duchère urban regeneration project, a neighbourhood in Lyon, France, which is interesting for analyzing in concrete terms how the issues discussed in the first part of the dissertation are being tackled in urban projects today. The project was promoted by the ANRU National Agency for Urban Renewal and the Métropole de Lyon, which identified La Duchère as one of the city's problematic neighbourhoods.

La Duchère is a neighborhood on the city's periphery, which arose in the 1960s in response to strong demographic growth and the need to house repatriates from Algeria.

The district has a large component of the population of immigrant origins from North Africa and has had a problem of recent impoverishment, in part for a reason of concentration of public housing that had prevented a necessary social and employment mix in the recent past.

Although the redevelopment project, which began in the early 2000s, is also interesting for its landscaping reconfiguration strategies and was certified as an eco-neighbourhood in 2013 as a result of the technological and environmental sustainable innovations introduced, it is a project analyzed in this thesis work to understand whether and to what extent it has generated improvements in enhancing diversity and responding to the needs of all its users and inhabitants while considering their different needs.

With respect to this, the sociological action-study that was held on the neighbourhood in 2012 by a group of researchers from Lyon2 University at the request of the City of Lyon with respect to the multifactorial discrimination that women may experience in public space is also analyzed. An extensive action-study that was followed by a series of resolute design recommendations.

## STRUCTURE OF THE RESEARCH

The theoretical research is developed in the first two chapters of the thesis, while the third chapter outlines the case study.

The structure of the thesis then develops into three main chapters, followed by the conclusions in Chapter 4, and by three in-depth appendices.

The first chapter, *The built environment and the problem of ensuring equal opportunity regardless of race, gender and disability*, presents how, in Western countries today, the equal opportunities of individuals and the satisfaction of different individuals' interests can be realised or, on the contrary, restricted by the structure of built space and urban planning.

With respect to this, studies by European and American authors specialised in the fields of architecture, urban and spatial planning, geography and social geography, are reported and discussed. The reasons why the city sometimes overshadows the needs of certain people and the problems these people face today in inhabiting the city, its public and private space, are discussed, examining spatial planning and the way spaces are used from a perspective that highlights the cultural system that has produced and produces this type of planning. Furthermore, it is discussed how forms of oppression intertwine and overlap on multiple marginalised groups through intersectionality.

The second chapter, *Contemporary history and the construction of the current city*, contains a historical excursus that exposes how the problems encountered in today's city, exposed in the first chapter, have been constructed in history according to the social organization in force. This is followed by considerations on how the planning of today's city maintains certain dynamics from tradition, and how in some cases changes were made to meet new needs of the population, and who and what was the driving force behind these changes.

An analysis is conducted on the housing model in contemporary history as the place of residence of the nuclear family, which is the social cell of the economic organization of the nation-state; and an insight is conducted on the relationship in contemporary history between gender roles and the places where these are enacted, the feminist critique of the functionalist city and the problem of the isolation of residential neighbourhoods. The theme of racial segregation and the recent debate on the problematic issues in the French banlieues and the theme of territorial stigmatization are also set out in this chapter, introducing the responses of urban policy to the problems described.

The third chapter, *The case study of the redevelopment of a French neighbourhood: la Duchère in Lyon*, contains the discussion of the case study.

The methodological approach taken in dealing with the case study, the reasons for the choice of this site and the objectives of the case study analysis are initially outlined.

The morphology and location of the district is described, as well as its history since its recent origins in the 1960s. This is followed by a description of the different and intensive public planning phases that have affected it from the 1980s to the present day, which have used very diverse strategies and tools and adapted to several objectives over time, ranging from a territorial, environmental and formal recomposition of the built-up area to intentions of economic and social revitalization of the district. Finally, the sociological action-study, launched by public policy, is studied as a tool to protect the interests of different people at the urban planning level.

The fourth chapter *Conclusions. The current issues and challenges for an equal opportunity space*, identifies the challenges that planners have in planning a city that meets the needs of a changing society, in order to solve the problems addressed in the Thesis discussion and to approach and

promote social justice, safe spaces, coexistence and acceptance of diversity, management of care work, rethinking the functions intended for public and private space, and better connectivity. Finally, conclusions are presented with respect to the case study analysis, some observations on strategies and design manoeuvres adopted in the La Duchère case study project.

Appendix 1, *Urban segregation in France and the USA*, contains an in-depth study, inherent to chapter 2, on the topic of racial segregation, and residential segregation, how this is measured by the state and scholars and what strategies are used to counter it. In particular, an analysis is made with respect to the territory of France, being the country of the case study, and a comparison is made between France and the USA, as the latter have, to date, more effective strategies for measuring racial segregation, providing a useful statistical basis for counteracting it. Strategies that could then serve as an example for France in particular.

Appendix 2, *Racialisation and urban planning's relation*, also tying in with chapter 2, examines the concept of racialisation and its relation to the use, perception and planning of urban space.

Appendix 3, *Context of urban policy in France*, which is useful for chapter 3, reports the study of the institutional programs' context of the French urban policy, within which La Duchère neighbourhood has developed, from the post Second World War period to the current day. This insight is made in order to understand the institutional tools and the normative framework within which French urban policy operates, and how redevelopment public projects are managed in large areas of the built environment. The concepts of priority neighbourhoods, the organization of French public housing, and the instruments - ANRU, PNRU, NPNRU among others - used by public authorities to implement urban projects are specified.







## CHAPTER 1

# **THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT AND THE PROBLEM OF ENSURING EQUAL OPPORTUNITY REGARDLESS OF RACE, GENDER AND DISABILITY**



## 1.1 EMBEDDED SPACE EXPERIENCE

With regard to the conception of space, the meanings attributed to it, feminist theories constitute a revolutionary alternative because they start from the recognition of subjective positioning as an analytical starting point, with all its variations of gender, class, race, geography, producing a knowledge in which the consideration of embodied singularity, becomes a critical challenge to the abstract idea, rooted in Western culture, of knowledge as results of a universal and disembodied Subject.

A theoretical reference in this sense is the one provided by the contemporary American feminist poet and essayist Adrienne Rich, in her text *Notes Towards A Politics of Location* (1985), in which the writer begins by positioning herself, a white, Jewish, American woman, as a starting point for understanding and perceiving the space and as a tool that can elaborate a definition of "space". In doing so, she adopts a new discursive practice, one that is critical of and in opposition to the traditional abstract epistemological system. The body, its embodied and singular materiality, becomes an essential starting point for questioning where, how, when, in which relationships and conditions of power the self is pronounced.

The feminist contribution consists in soliciting the vision of space not through a top-down, absolute and improbably objective point of view, but from a subjective point of view that implies an interpretation filtered by the peculiar characteristics of the subject's body. It is therefore a matter of soliciting a practice that starts from the awareness that the story, in our case the story of space, is told by a subject, complex and unique, who is in a given place in turn and who is observing a non-homogeneous space, but which varies according to time, phenomena, positions and interpretations.

I am arguing for politics and epistemologies of location, positioning, and situating, where partiality and not universality is the condition of being heard to make rational knowledge claims. These are claims on people's lives. I am arguing for the view from a body, always a complex, contradictory, structuring, and structured body, versus the view from above, from nowhere, from simplicity ... Feminism is about the science of the multiple subject with (at least) double vision. ... a critical vision consequent upon a critical positioning in unhomogeneous gendered social space. (Haraway 1991)

In order to understand the space Adrienne Rich wants to start from the point of view of *geography closest in - the body*. She suggests that we must keep returning to the body to help us imagine alternatives. Because the body is a site where gendered classes, raced, and sexualized urban power relations and politics play out.

Perhaps we need a moratorium on saying "the body". For it's also possible to abstract "the" body. When I write "the body," I see nothing in particular. To write "my body" plunges me into lived experience, particularly: I see scars, disfigurements, discolorations, damages, losses, as well as what pleases me. ... White skin, marked and scarred by three pregnancies, an elected sterilization, progressive arthritis, four joint operations, calcium deposits, no rapes, no abortions, long hours at a typewriter-my own, not in a typing pool-and so forth. To say "the body" lifts me away from what has given me a primary perspective. To say "my body" reduces the temptation to grandiose assertions. (Rich, 1986)

Adrienne Rich reflecting on her body, a female body, white Jewish and lesbian, talks about the politics of location, of which she has noticed the dynamics in her life experience: this implies that her body – she has been seen and treated as female, but also seen and treated as white by both blacks and whites. So, politics of location that recognizes this white skin, and allows it to go to certain places, and not to go to other places.

On this perspective, to understand the place where we are, it is necessary to be aware of what our body signifies and how it is marking the environment. For example: a white, cis, able, hetero woman, can be a sign of exclusion for people for whom spaces dominated by whiteness and normative bodies are not welcoming – trans folk, people of color, indigenous, disabled people.

Being a woman alone in the city means learning a set of embodied habits, mostly unconsciously. Through repetition, or iteration, as Judith Butler says, this condenses and shapes the body: your posture, walk, facial expressions, movements, gestures, eye contact, stance, muscle tension and so on. Judith Butler is a contemporary American scholar, who works on political philosophy, literary theory, and gender studies.

Regarding this we can mention the mental maps that each of us has of his own city, or of known places. Which are mental maps where we also trace the emotional and sensitive state we feel in the certain places where we pass/stay. In the same way each one automatically figures out mental map of safety and danger.

Feminist geography studies how gender roles play on and through the space. And specifically, it explores how gender is interlocked with other social inequalities and the role that space played in structuring systems of oppression, racial and gender segregation for instance.

The contemporary British geographer Gill Valentine investigated women's fear of violence in public space, and the street.

In her study she considers how public space is occupied and controlled by different groups at different times. Finally, she argues that women's inhibited use of space is a spatial expression of patriarchy.

Regarding the perception of public space, Western European sociology and criminology literatures argue that women are the gender most afraid of crime and that this is related to women's sense of physical vulnerability to men, in particular the fear of rape and sexual homicide, and the awareness of the gravity and horror of such an experience, which is more serious than a theft or other crime.

Valentine observes that when a woman is a victim of violence in a public space, often the police and the media insinuate that this woman was, in a sense, responsible for her own fate by putting herself in such a situation, for example in an isolated public space away from the 'protection' of others. And this kind of message automatically informs other women to avoid putting themselves in such vulnerable situations. Thus, feeding the assumption of women's lack of freedom to be in certain public spaces.

The public blaming of victims who were in public places for being in a dangerous or inappropriate place when they were assaulted encourages all women to shift their threat assessment from men to certain public spaces where they may encounter aggressors. But at the same time this fear of being in public space causes women to make false assumptions about their safety when they are in places falsely considered safe for women, such as home.

Specifically, women avoid certain places perceived as dangerous at specific times of the day with the conclusion that by adopting these defensive strategies, women are driven to a limited use and occupation of public space.

The individual mental maps that women develop of the places where they fear aggression result from both their past experience of the space and secondary information. Women assume that male violence is unequally distributed in space and time. In particular, women learn in our social system to perceive the fear of violence from unknown men in public space, while statistics on rape and assault clearly

point out that most male violence against women occurs at home and is perpetrated by known men. But on the other hand, unlike men, women find that when they are in a public space their personal space is frequently invaded by whistling, comments or outright physical intrusion by unknown men. Thus, sometimes it is not women who choose with whom to interact and communicate, and they may come across people who use unwelcome types of interaction, such as catcalling. This deeply affects their sense of safety in public.

Generally, places considered to be dangerous are wide open deserted spaces: such as parks, countryside, forests, places along the river, industrial districts not frequented at night. Or enclosed spaces with limited exits where attackers may be hidden and able to attack out of sight of others: subways, alleys, multi-storey car parks and empty train cars.

These opportunities for covert attack are crucial if there is poor lighting, building and landscape design. At times of the day when there is a greater presence of people, the space is perceived to be safer as people are aware of the possible rescue of others in the event of an aggression. This perception of safety 'in a crowd' is even more present in neighbourhoods where people have strong social and family ties through long periods of residence.

In any case, a woman will not automatically feel safe in a public space occupied by others, if she perceives those present as threatening groups controlling that space or as an alien group. These fears of possible hostility are particularly strong in residential areas or city's areas where there is a strong identification of ethnicity or class.

It is also important to underline in this reflection how the intersectional approach allows us to find a differentiation in the extent of women's perception of fear in the public space. In fact, the fear perceived in a given neighbourhood is very different, clearly varying from woman to woman. Where a neighbourhood may be perceived as dangerous by one it may be perceived completely neutral by another woman, depending on the age, of the race and social class.

For example, a middle/upper-middle-class white woman might feel a sense of fear in a periphery, a working class neighbourhood, perhaps with a strong racialized component of the population. In this case, a system of racist prejudices comes into play in the formation of the sense of fear, which in this sense serve to "recall the order of gender", as is addressed a few lines below by connecting to the studies of Gill Valentine.

The fact that places with a strong ethnic or class connotation/uniformity can increase the perception of fear and insecurity is not a universal fact, but depends precisely on the intertwining of the three dimensions - gender, race and class -, and on prejudice. Angela Davis points out that an individual who knows about gender discrimination may at the same time possess racist or classist attitudes (Davis, 1981).

Moreover, the group that is actually dominant in a public space is determined by the time slots, the control group varies according to the time of day. As the groups that frequent the public space, their characteristics of sex, age and class vary according to the time. All this is due to the different lifestyles and therefore to the space-time routines.

During the day in cities, public places, shops, parks, streets, public transport are quantitatively occupied by women in paid part-time work, children, housewives, and the elderly. This is due to their limited possibility to access private vehicles, to the need to move in flexible times to follow the activities of their children and carry out care and domestic tasks, such as shopping.

In the evening, instead, mainly young people occupy the public space, and men, to a greater extent than women. Men leave work, and usually without the family responsibilities of most women, have the time, and the financial resources to devote themselves to free time and thus to numerically dominate the public space.

At this point women are afraid of the public place in its entirety, in the nighttime, not only because the night reduces visibility and therefore increases the possibility for the attackers to strike unnoticed, but because of this greater predominance of men.

Gill Valentine's study of 1989 highlights how sometimes this inability of women to appropriate independence and the freedom to move safely in public space acts as a possible pressure to seek the "protection" of one man from all others.

Through the boyfriend or cohabitation. Valentine notes that this dependence on a single man "for reasons of necessity" limited women's career opportunities and the world of life in general. This successively translates into a limited use of public space by mostly women, making it especially men who appropriate public space and thus reinforcing women's relative confinement at home. Thus, this cycle of fear reproduces the system of male domination, patriarchy. The limited use of public space by women is then a manifestation of patriarchy, in spatial terms.

This generalized conclusion can still be valid today in the observation of different western territories; however, it is useful to underline as Valentine does in her conclusions that it is always necessary to contextualize the observation of this phenomenon, and insert multiple differentiated subjectivities, therefore also developing an intersectional approach. In fact, there are and may exist behavioral variables of the groups that occupy and predominate the public space relative to the different locations. Furthermore, it is necessary to study in more detail how the fear of women in the use of public space varies with age, and according to ethnicity and disability. Finally, to investigate how the perception of space by children and the elderly varies from that of adults of working age.

In contrast to the point made above, of this very old vision of an urban space where women feel the need to tie themselves to a man who gives them "protection", it is clearly preferable for each person to be able to feel both independent and secure within her/his own city. And in this way, according to Rebecca Traister, an American contemporary journalist covering politics and gender studies, a good city can be a "true love", furnishing women - but also men - with all the support that traditional marriage was meant to provide.

With respect to the danger in public space for women crossing it at night, a clarification must be made that the intersectional approach helps to note. Exposure to risk is strongly dependent on the intersection of class and gender. The city becomes the prerogative of men in the evening hours and more interdicted to women, thus becoming more dangerous for all women indistinctly. But in particular, poorer women are more exposed to violence and fear in the public space at night, since they are the ones who cross it more frequently in an autonomous and "risky" way for work needs. One example is that of the dangers for women related to the use of evening/night public transport in large cities. And almost always it is poor women who use public transport in the evening/night hours, those who live outside the city because they do not have the economic resources to access rent in central areas, but who, nevertheless, are compelled to work to support their families and to make long journeys by public transport to reach work. Due to their economic condition, they cannot choose where to live, cannot afford private transportation, and cannot refrain from going out during at-risk hours. Ultimately, some times the limited accessibility of public space at given times is an issue of restricted freedom, but for somebody - such as subaltern class women - it is a fact of unavoidable exposure, by necessity of work, to conditions of constant risk and insecurity.

## 1.2 RECIPROCAL INFLUENCE OF SOCIETY AND SPACE

The reciprocity between the social system and the conformation/use of public space, has been noted by other scholars, as the contemporary geographer Jane Darke states "any settlement is an inscription in space of the social relations in the society that built it, our cities are patriarchy written". The built environment reflects the society.

In this regard we can mention the example that Lorna Day, director of urban design for the city of Toronto, found in 2019 that the Toronto city's guidelines for wind effects assumed that the standard person had an area of 1.8 square meters, similar to an adult male and not taking into account the fact that a woman or child might be smaller and less able to tolerate the wind.

Subsequently, as a boomerang effect, once built our cities continue to shape and influence social relations, power, eventual inequality, and so on. The spatio-temporal organization - temporal as we also consider the use of space and the modalities of movement in it - reflects the sociocultural organization and vice versa, the conformation and interpretation of the built space influences social relations.

Many architects and urban planners explore this relationship between society and space. The Czech Architect Pavla Melková, in her *Manual for the creation of public spaces of Prague*, argues "*Public spaces are kind of a mirror to the city culture, to the city life... undoubtedly it is a medium influencing and completing the cultural profile of a man and society.*"

Similarly, Augustin Berque, geographer, orientalist and contemporary French philosopher of Moroccan origin, affirms "*societies organize their environment according to the interpretation they make of it, and interpret it reciprocally according to the disposition they make of it*".

After all these considerations it is at this point important to keep in mind, in observing the design of the city and to counteract social inequalities, that space reveals the dominant worldview of society. Moreover, the built environment's conformation actively conditions and shapes the assumptions that designers, architects and planners of these value-laden contexts have about who will - and should - inhabit the space. Therefore, the designer has a consistent potential in maintaining the social hierarchy dynamics that are established in the environment, or rather modifying them, after an awareness of the need for new urban forms adapted to specific user exigencies, and new ways of social organization and thus of living.

### 1.3 INTERSECTIONAL APPROACH IN UNDERSTANDING SPATIAL BELONGING

Observing that in our society there are power imbalances between different social groups, we can consider an intersectional approach in the study of the dynamics of appropriation of public space and its design. Intersectionality led to a racial shift in how feminism understood the relationships among various systems of privilege and oppression including sexism, racism, classism, homophobia, and ableism.

Intersectional feminist theory's origin comes from the Black feminism.

It is based on the term coined by US jurist and Black feminist Kimberlé Crenshaw in 1989, and further developed by US Black feminists such as Patricia Hill Collins and bell hooks - pseudonym of the writer and activist Gloria Jean Watkins, which according to her, should be written in lower case -. Intersectionality is an approach to research that focuses on how social oppression overlaps in a complex and multidirectional way on different social categories of race, gender, age and disability. Crenshaw brings a new perspective to the approach to the study of discrimination: indeed, the dominant approach that was used before her intervention focused on problems of social marginalization occurring along a single categorical axis. For Crenshaw, simply adding up racism and sexism does not really capture the ways in which Black women are marginalized.

This approach is not only about the identities of individual social groups or categories but also about the relationality between these categories, the social context, power relations, complexity, social justice and inequality. Crenshaw has conducted research on the experience of the employment of Black women, and later, intersectional approach has been applied by other scholars to the study of phenomena such as residential segregation, social justice, immigration and embodiment.

Crenshaw made a significant contribution, to a new attention to lived and embodied experiences, and introduced the distinction between structural, political and representative intersectionality. Structural intersectionality concerns the ways in which Black women encounter forms in their daily lives of domination such as those associated with housing inequalities or labour practices. Political intersectionality focuses on the identification that is made of Black women belonging to at least two marginalized groups and therefore often they have to engage with different political agendas. Representational intersectionality, instead, studies how Black women are represented - the images of them and the discourse that follows - and how this representation tends to overlook the intersectional interests of these women.

Historically, there has been a consistent engagement of the Global South with ideas of intersectionality without necessarily naming them as such, even long before the 1980s.

Among these works, major ones by African American women that laid the groundwork for what came to be identified as intersectionality include Angela Davis's ground-breaking volume *Women, Race and Class* (1981), June Jordan's *Civil wars* (1981), Audre Laurde's classic volume *Sister Outsider* (1984).

In particular, the figure of Angela Yvonne Davis, born in Birmingham in 1944, in a neighborhood dominated by acute racial conflict, was emblematic in the development of the intersectional approach. She is an activist of the Afro-American movement in the United States, militant in the Communist Party of the United States until 1991. In New York she began her studies of socialism and communism and began to serve in the Communist youth group. She continued her studies in Massachusetts, then in France and Germany, a student of Marcuse. Her political consciousness and activism were always strong. Her analysis made a fundamental contribution to the construction of a theory that identifies exploitation as the root of oppression, specifically on the working class, which at the same time suffers - but can fight - racism and sexism.

*Women, Race and Class* is the third book written by Davis, and covers the history of the United States from the slave trade and abolitionist movements to the women's liberation movements that began in the 1960s. She applies Marxist analysis to the relationship of class and race to capitalism in America.



Davis critiques the fact that the women's liberation movement was run by and for white middle-class women to the exclusion of black women, other women of color, and other social classes; similarly to women's suffrage.

Davis explores the economic role of black female slaves, stating that they fought similar struggles to black men, both groups shared the task of manual labor and participated in abolitionist activism. Davis points out, however, that it was commonly acknowledged that the task of white women, too, was to perform domestic labor, similar to women of other races. Engaging in Marxist analysis, Davis argues that women's liberation should consist of women's participation in wage labor. With respect to the topic of gender-based violence and rape, she discusses the fact that it is a crime of power, using the example of the gender-based violence perpetrated by white slavers on black slaves, as well as discussing the different treatment of black and white men of different social classes when they are accused of the same crimes. She also comments on the relationship between race and birth control. Ultimately, Angela Davis was one of the first scholars to provide exhaustive and detailed reflections on how forms of oppression modify and take on specific characteristics based on the interposition of different social categories to which social groups belong, in particular the categories of gender, race and class, as the title of her 1981 work clearly referred.

Anyway, after the coinage of the term intersectionality, to date, there is no single method associated with intersectionality: researchers have used content analysis, survey data, in-depth interviews, autobiographical and biographical approaches, narratives and discourse analysis. Furthermore, there are discrepancies in Feminist Urban Geography because each geographer has a different experience of their country, due to cultural differences - how women are considered in different cultures - and different urban problems.

However, the intersectionality's challenges for researchers are: to understand how specific forms of inequality are mutually constitutive; to clarify what is meant by "interlocking", since intersectionality often tells forms of "interlocking" oppression, but does not clearly define their meaning.

Scholars have used intersectional approach to investigate the interconnection of sexuality and race in understanding patriarchal urban spaces, the connections among race gender and body, or among race, gender and class, to understand geographies of age. A final example is the work of Karen T. Fisher human geographer, professor in New Zealand, specialized in qualitative social research, who, in 2015, used an autoethnographic approach to analyse how her racialised body is read differently according to contexts. This work, which relates race, context and subjectivity, explores how positionality plays a key role in the intersectional approach. As Adrienne Rich lists the peculiarities of her body, she recalls how her body keeps her grounded in her perspective, the point of view that allows her to observe and speak.

Yuval-Davis, British sociologist of the Israeli diaspora, specializing in the relationship between gender and nationality, reported in her work in 2011, the intersectional approach she used to understand the dynamics of territorial belonging in geography. Placements of the different individuals within social and economic categories are often determined by various embodied facts, such as skin color, accent, clothing, cultural behavior/gesture and emotional attachments.

## EMBODIED PRIVILEGE

People experience different level of comfort while passing through public spaces, and studies demonstrate that women generally report more cases of body nonprivileged. In addition, several individuals belonging to specific ethnic groups experience more intensely than others a sense of "body consciousness" that makes them act a certain kind of "body management".

This body privilege varies and depends on bodily characteristics: racial, gender, age and other embodied characteristics, and it varies according to the spatial-territorial context.

In 1988, the contemporary US feminist and anti-racism activist Peggy McIntosh introduced the concept of "white privilege" in the study of the social oppression's phenomenon. White privilege is a set of advantages that whites have on a daily basis, automatically due to the fact of being white .

Whites are often unaware of their privilege, they take it for granted and act as if their lives and experiences are somehow morally neutral.

For example, in Western countries the media widely and positively represent white people and it is easy to find dolls, toys and magazines depicting white people on the market.

As a white woman, McIntosh affirms:

Some privileges make me feel at home in the world. Others allow me to escape penalties or dangers that others suffer. Through some, I escape fear, anxiety, insult, injury, or a sense of not being welcome, not being real. Some keep me from having to hide, to be in disguise, to feel sick or crazy, to negotiate each transaction from the position of being an outsider.... Most keep me from having to be angry. (McIntosh, 1988)

## 1.4 DISABILITY AND URBAN PLANNING

In some cases, our cities do not respond to the needs of people with disabilities, and in other cases these people may experience multiple types of intersectional discrimination. For example, for a 35-year-old disabled student at university, the factors of ageism, disability and gender expectations - in this case social expectations that identify masculinity as a strong independence and therefore that men should not need help - may arise, together.

Intersectional dynamics vary according to the dominant culture in different places. Recognising the dynamics of intersectionality helps to better combat discrimination and ensure that the needs of those from more than one marginalised group are met.

Forms of sexism, racism, classism, homophobia, transphobia, ableism, xenophobia, ageism or other forms of religious or belief-based discrimination act interdependently and feed on each other.

While intersectionality was initially applied to women, an individual of any identity can be affected by this phenomenon of marginalization into a minority status because of the overlapping of multiple characteristics of the subject - characteristics taken as discriminative -. Oppression is not always singular or one-dimensional.

The World Health Organisation (2011) estimates that 15% of the world's population has a disability, so it is one of the largest "minority groups" in the world.

We have seen how the spatial structures of cities reproduce dominant power relations. And sometimes they contribute both overtly and in more subtle ways to the oppression and exclusion of disabled people, who are automatically excluded from embodied privilege.

Some of the most important problems faced by disabled people in cities relate to the issue of accessibility.

Another problem lies in the cuts in social services that lead to urban segregation: in this case, disabled people can only stay in the private environment of their home, which has negative repercussions on mental health and the visibility and participation of these people in the public space.

To counter this ableist city-making, it is required to reformulate disability as part of a broader continuum, rather than a disabled/non-disabled dichotomy, in such a way as not to simplify disabled people as "others", but to integrate disability into wider urban development processes.

Regarding the provision of practicable paths for example, some concrete aspects of planning need to be increased today; as the regulations that detail the surface types required - paving stones, grids, gradients and lengths -, the arrangement of facilities to guide road crossings. As well, for people with reduced mobility, is necessary to improve route's layout, legibility and understanding of the overall space.

Linked to the theme of accessibility we find that of displacement. And in particular the pedestrian movement. The practice of pedestrian movement depends on three aspects: the psycho-physical characteristics of an individual, the characteristics of the environment in which the displacement occurs and the relationship between the individual and the environment.

The environmental criteria that influence the choice of a pedestrian path are different, among these we have: safety, relating to traffic and crime, path's width, speed of other vehicles and separation of lanes for vehicles, quality of crossings and time of traffic lights, connectivity, sensorial quality, greenery and landscape, soil uniformity, buffer zones, cleanliness, building's shape and height, noise and air quality, continuity and linearity, climatic conditions, sunlight and shading, topography, presence of physical barriers and the sense of belonging to the place.

For some users, these parameters are indifferent to their choice to take a route, while other users may be very sensitive to some or more of these parameters, depending on specific phyco-physical characteristics, disease conditions or age.

Pedestrian displacement is therefore dependent on a process that is both practical and functional but also sensitive.

However, the urban space may in some cases present characteristics that are favourable to some users and at the same time unfavourable to others. Consequently, the implementation of a pedestrian displacement model must be adaptable to each situation, also by promoting the use of tools that can overlap multiple parameters of adaptability to users, in the design, such as GIS. As is known, these allow the creation of a pedestrian network at various scales, suitable for specific handicap situations. Evaluating altitude values in the calculation of the project, which are related to the recommended accessibility and practicability standards, to adapt the design to multidisciplinary urban planning rules and specific legislation such as the Highway Code. All this by integrating into the network, the topography, the slope rules in force, the travel times of a user, the waiting situations and so on.

From an intersectional point of view, some analogies have been found between gender studies and disability studies - such as it have been found analogies between race studies and gender studies or among other studies in minority groups, that will be treated later -.

In this specific paragraph, are reported from these analogies concerning gender and disability studies, those ones focusing on the built space's theme.

It has been observed that disability studies and gender studies have often highlighted the same kind of issues in norms. Thus, there are many similarities between the issues raised by the two fields of study in questioning social norms. For example, there are two important innovations brought to sociology by both gender studies and disability studies. One is the recognition of the "situated nature of norms" that had previously been considered neutral norms. The second innovation is the practice of naming an "unthought fact", that is, identifying as a norm something previously not taken into account or taken for granted.

In gender studies and disability studies, the main "unthought fact" or taken for granted fact, that is discussed and questioned, is the assumption of a precise social hierarchical order.

This *hierarchy* includes the shared belief in the superiority of men over women, which the anthropologist Françoise Héritier, defines as the "differential valence of the sexes" (Héritier, 1996). The same hierarchy generate a shared assumption of the greater value of able-bodied lives over disabled lives, identified by society as a compromised form of humanity, "as a diminished state of being human" (Campbell, 2001), according to Fiona Kumari Campbell a disability studies researcher and theorist of Jewish, Scottish, and Sri Lankan descent; or even an assumed superiority of heterosexuality over homosexuality - which, among others, is discussed by Judith Butler, (Butler, 2005) -.

Gender studies have brought to light the meaning that our tradition assigns to the concept of *nature*. And then the key role of *naturalisation* - thinking of a state of affairs as natural rather than social - as the driving force behind the hierarchisation mentioned above.

In gender as in ethno-racial inequalities, "the idea of nature" has historically served to legitimise social inequalities, as recalled, for example, by the French sociologist and who dealt with anti-racist activism and gender studies, Colette Guillaumin (Guillaumin, 1992).

In order to politically dispute these inequalities, feminists have used denaturalization or social constructivism, an approach that consists of emphasizing that something is social rather than natural. Simone de Beauvoir's motto sums up this theory: "one is not born, but rather becomes, a woman" (Beauvoir, 1949).

Linked to the naturalization approach, criticism has been expressed about how society simplistically reduces disability to a medical phenomenon, obscuring the strictly social dimensions of the inequalities experienced by people with disabilities, which are manifested as: lack of accessibility, prejudice and discrimination. Disability studies therefore work on shifting the focus from the medical dimension to these strictly social mechanisms.

Gender studies have highlighted the gendered character of the public/private dichotomy - or doctrine of the separation of spheres -, which underlies the modern political order.

According to this theory developed by various philosophers of the social contract such as Locke and Rousseau, politics and citizenship, take their place in the public space; while the private space, of the family, the intimate, but also of the body and its needs, is conceived as a natural and apolitical space. Re-reading these theories from a gender perspective has shown how they have contributed to the exclusion of women from politics. Furthermore, has been identified a gender symbolism derived from these theories, which reinforces this public/private partition and the consequent material exclusion of women from public space and men from private space. These representations have the particular effect of constructing the private space as an apolitical place, where the existence of power relations is not identified.

On the contrary, gender studies have tried to highlight the political dimension of this intimate sphere and private space, and the decisive presence of power relations here. In relation to this, the political value of situations of domestic violence or exploitation of domestic work can be mentioned.

Disability studies extend these gender studies' critiques in several respects. Even people with disabilities are often assigned to the private sphere, and suffer from the fact that this sphere is assumed to be apolitical. The issue of domestic violence and depoliticization also particularly concerns disabled people who are victims of it in various events. The social movements of the disabled have broadened the discourse on the public/private dichotomy to the debate on institutions assimilated to the private sphere and also conceived as apolitical places. In this sense, the private sphere, in the more traditional sense of an individual or family home, was instead defended as a potentially more protective place - positively - than the institution, leading to qualify the more critical vision initially proposed by approaches feminists. This critical inflection is reminiscent of that introduced by racial minority women from an intersectional perspective.

Concerning the interconnection of disadvantages between the issue of gender and disability, the following topic was discussed.

The fact that women have traditionally been entrusted with the care work and therefore also the assistance of disabled people in the context of the private sphere, has justified the exclusion or marginalization of women precisely from a series of spaces in the public sphere corresponding to places of power, prestige or economic gain - parliament, high administration, more prestigious professions, senior executives of large companies, etc. -.

Disability studies have also shown that the public/private binomial is not based only on a male/female opposition, but also an able/disabled opposition. In other words, the dominant system assigns the public sphere to an able citizen, autonomous and rational, and relegates vulnerable people who need the support of others - question of dependence - to the private sphere, conceived as apolitical.

Research on domestic work and the gender division of labor revealed trait of having been an "invisible work" until before the 1980s, as it was ignored by a sociology of work centered on paid work, which gave rise to a definition of work focused on paid work itself.

It has been highlighted the immense amount of work that has historically been carried out, and the social and economic significance of work carried out by women for free in the private sphere - domestic work and care work for children and "dependent" adults - and/or in the public sphere on

behalf of their husbands for free, for example in the case of women farmers or collaborators of tradesmen or artisans.

These studies have revealed a situation of exploitation of women's work within the heterosexual marital relationship.

Within this discussion, children and disabled adults, for whom women take "care", have been objectified as a "burden" that hinders women's possibilities of emancipation through participation in the labour market.

Gender studies have therefore broadened the notion of work by also revealing the processes of paid work organizations, highlighting how they are not neutral but operate differently according to gender. Professional inequalities have been pointed out, that are determined by specific operational standards and evaluation criteria used in most work organizations, which are actually inspired by a male worker model: a worker who has become more familiar with the values of competition, affirmation and individualism - more present in the socialization of boys than in that of girls -, and above all a worker of unlimited availability - thanks to the delegation of domestic and care work to the wife within the framework of a heterosexual couple relationship -, and a worker with no constraint of geographical mobility - the possible career of the spouse is subordinate to his own -. But these norms are also the more informal ones that regulate interactions and mark working environments as more or less hostile to women.

Disability sociology has taken up the same discourse to show how organizational norms are also based on the model of the healthy worker and the assumption of homogeneity of needs and abilities in the workplace. Therefore, it seems essential, both for people with disabilities and for women and gender minorities, that society acts collectively to make the standards of work organizations more inclusive. Also providing suitable places and furniture for the workplace and for the belonging to the public space. Inclusive design recognizes diversity and difference and is most likely to be achieved when it is considered at every stage of the project development process, from beginning to completion. However, the mistake is often made of viewing inclusive design as a matter of building regulations, to be reviewed once planning permission has been granted. Instead, it is a matter of embracing from the moment of project conception a sensitivity to inclusivity in a broad and cultural sense in the approach of designers and project implementers. Thinking about how the building and its wider built environment, will be occupied and managed prevents many barriers encountered by some users.

## 1.5 THE SUBURBS AND PARENTAL WORK

There's a long feminist critic on the suburbs as places which are not providing the same range of opportunities for all its inhabitants. Those critics move especially around the theme of spatial distance in which the suburb is located in relation to the city center that is the public space par excellence, the space for education, formation, politics and the workplace.

While the suburb has always been conceived, especially the American suburbs built after the war, to create a place for housing, with a vocation as a residential neighbourhood, therefore the place to host the private space of home.

Home's private space is traditionally the space for domestic work and childcare intended for women, who, being far away from the city center, have very limited access to it, which offers all the services and opportunities for personal development that they may need, and the possibilities to have experiences and behave in the public domain rather than in the private one. Therefore, often women have to give up such activities in order to take care of domestic work, running errands and accompanying their children and the elderly to all their activities, thus spending their time mainly in daytime commuting to perform these tasks and within home itself.

In history we find examples of this critic on the suburbs in the article "*A woman's place is in the city*" Gerda Wekerle, 1985, and the Betty Friedan's 1963 diagnosis of the "*problem that has no name*" that will be discussed in the second chapter. Gerda Wekerle is a German scholar, Professor Emeritus at York in Environmental Studies, and then in Women's Studies, whereas Betty Friedan was an American activist and theorist of the feminist movement of the 1960s and 1970s.

We can find other examples and stereotypes of the "suburban gender problem" in literature and representation as the series *Desperate Housewives* or *Mad Men*, and the movie *Revolutionary Road*. The spatial planning issues that are considered key parameters in this discourse are urban density and functional mix.

An urban density that permits people to reach different services - school, pharmacy, doctor, grocery, park, workplace etc. - by walk, offers many more ways to manage parenting and domestic responsibilities, rather than the suburbs.

The spheres on which the conformation of the suburb may have problematic repercussions are the lifestyle, gender roles, racial and class inequality.

It is interesting to understand from an intersectional point of view how the forms of oppression experienced by these different categories interconnect and reproduce each other in this context.

Feminist geographers were looking at the very material of the suburbs, their form, design, and architecture as foundational sources of the "problem that has no name".

The suburb is usually considered as a natural development of the city to create residences for new families. However, suburbs are not the only solution for finding new living space or for the growth of the city. Suburbs stem from specific social and economic plans.

They are a plan to support economic growth after World War II: providing housing for returning soldiers and their new families and promoting post-war industry.

The suburbs of the 1950s/60s appeared as large residential plots of land with spacious single-family houses with private gardens. The North America's government facilitated home ownership, creating nations of homeowners, tying workers to their mortgages, producing a more anti-communist society. The residential real estate sector grew into one of the most significant components of economy. According to that, when the US housing sector was undermined by risky lending practices in 2007, it provoked a global economic crisis.

This issue was clarified by Dolores Hayden, American professor emerita of architecture, urbanism and American studies, when she stated: "*single family suburban homes have become inseparable from the*

*North American dream, of economic success. Their presence pervades every aspect of economic, social and political life*”, in her work *Redesigning the American Dream: gender, housing and family life*, p. 30. The economic role of the suburbs' development was essential, but there was also a social agenda that affected race and gender. The WW II was a period when many African Americans left the rural South looking for better opportunities in the industrial cities of the North.

Many white families have preferred to move to the suburbs, in a phenomenon known as the white flight. We have the famous example of the Levittown suburb built in this period “only for white”. Thus non-white communities have been confined to the decaying, underfunded and overpoliced inner city and denied opportunities to accumulate wealth through home ownership. This is one of the patterns of racial segregation and wealth disparity into the twenty-first century.

Regarding the gender agenda, Hayden says in *Redesigning the American Dream: gender, housing and family life*, p.59: “Developers argued that a particular kind of house would help the veteran change from an aggressive air ace to a commuting salesman who mowed the lawn. That house would also help a woman change from Rosie the Riveter to a stay-at-home mom.”

Post-war propaganda was explicit about the need for women to quit their wartime factory jobs to returning men and the suburban home was the perfect “fix” for re-establishing normative gender roles. Suburban lifestyle required a heterosexual nuclear family with one adult working outside and one inside home. Large houses isolated from the public transport system required full-time domestic work and the management of the needs of children, destined for women. So the main features of this space are: the isolation, the consistent size of family home, the need for multiple vehicles, the demand of (private) childcare. These characteristics will continue to push women out of the workplace or lower-paid, part-time jobs that mostly allow them to deal with the responsibilities of the suburbs.

This spatial organization, the suburb phenomenon created, as English contemporary feminist planner Sherilyn MacGregor states, “a lasting infrastructure for the [gendered] labor division”, in *Change of plans : towards a non-sexist sustainable city*, edited by Margrit Eichler, p.30.

Hayden contested that only a small percentage of household were composed by one male breadwinner/one unemployed housewife. Indeed, this model hasn't taken into consideration the lives of Black and working-class women, but yet the predominant residential landscape is designed with this idea.

This phenomenon brings us to consider that the built environment lasts for a long time, so we get stuck in spaces that sometimes reproduce outdated and inappropriate social realities. This is a vicious circle because it affects how people live their lives and the variety of choices and possibilities available to them.

Given the assumption on which they were born, the suburbs will actively hinder attempts to manage different forms of family and working life.

So, in this case the suburbs continue to naturalize and sustain the “traditional” gender roles in the heterosexual family and in the labor market. And linking to this, we can mention again the reciprocal influence between space's organization and social norms.

As a consequence of these critics of the suburb, the discourse of the “city fix” is raised.

Gerda Wekerle and others sustain that city, rather than suburb, help much more women to overcome the problems related to gender role differences, find more work opportunities and have access to much more services dedicated to the childcare, especially in the city center.

Research of 1970s and 80s found that women living in city, use city much more than men, and they are more involved in work, cultural activities, and neighbourhood than women living in suburbs, and they will often loose these engagements if/when they move to a suburb.



Regarding this point, it is worth remembering some observations of the interesting work of the American architect Jane Jacobs, one of the major critical observers of the modern and functionalist movement and the transformations that this architectural conception brought to the great Western cities' reconstruction after the Second World War. Jane Jacobs' thinking was later joined by many other scholars and architects in the debates on urban planning of the 1970s and subsequent years.

Jane Jacobs noted these characteristics of the suburb:

- Insolation,
- lack of people on the streets,
- car dependency,

She identified them as concerns that particularly affected women and contributing to a decline of the public realm in general.

But the city is not a magic fix for these concerns, city contains barriers anyway and it is built on the same assumed social norms.

US contemporary geographer Kim England writes that "*gender roles are fossilized into the concrete appearance of space. Hence the location of residential areas, workplace, transportation networks, and the overall layout of cities in general reflect a patriarchal capitalist society's expectation of what types of activities take place where, when and how.*"

In fact, the urban plans are made on the assumption we have about the "typical citizen", their daily itinerary, needs, desires, values, and activities.

A consideration on transit will be advanced here.

We can see that the public transport transit born to accommodate the typical rush hour, according to the full-time work schedules that is mostly carried out by adult men, whose start time coincides with the early morning and the end time with the late afternoon-evening. Suburb's transit is design to commute the users in a specific direction at a specific time, a linear trip without multiple stops, satisfying the needs of male worker commuters.

But research demonstrate that women's commutes are much more complex: bring different children at different schools, go to work, go to shopping, bank commission and so on. Some research sees that there is another system where women pay a pink tax.

Furthermore, public transport is not always accessible for a stroller: London's metro has only fifty accessible stations, out of 270. So, a caregiver has to wait for someone offering help when she/he has a stroller. In some cases, the city is not designed taking into accounts parents and child care's necessities. Transit is a major area of women's urban activism. Disabled people or senior even face some problems of accommodation.

So, for people who are different from the "typical citizen", that could be identified in the breadwinning husband and father, able-bodied, cis gender heterosexual, white man, is more difficult to passing through public spaces. In general, considering the complexity of our society and the amount of activities that various individuals undertake, it is increasingly imperative to develop rapid transport systems, well connected and attentive to everyone's needs.

Some studies investigate the role of gentrification in achieving better conditions or not, for the women's interests in city.

Gentrification is the phenomenon that sees middle-class families and businesses appropriating working-class, low incomes neighborhoods. Neighbourhoods in cities historically inhabited by the poorest sections of the population, to which richer people are moving in mass, causing an increase in rents and often a drastic transformation of the identity of the place. In the US gentrification is a direct consequence of the renewed interest in city life that has affected the middle classes in recent years.

The phenomenon of gentrification as "return to the city" has been interpreted as a geographical solution that middle-class families adopt to help women find a balance between the management of

work and home. As feminist geographer Winifred Curran writes *"women were not only potential beneficiaries of gentrification, but driver of the process"*. But there have been no significant changes that have transformed the city into a place that helps gender equality. Indeed, widespread gentrification has sometimes depleted the city of the resources that interest many women. Gentrified neighborhoods include facilities suitable for middle-class parents: shops, bars, clean parks, bookshops; often located near good transit routes and centered around the school. However, the scheme of the gender division of domestic work and spatial organization originally conceived to facilitate the movement and work schedule of men, do not vary. The lifestyle and the structure of these new neighborhoods does not make changes to the organization of the care of the family and all the work that is commonly carried out in the private space of the house.

Hence, care work or reproductive labour is not an element that urban planning deems necessary to facilitate through spatial organization, and gentrification does not change this fact.

These services offered by gentrification can sometimes have counterproductive implications towards greater independence of women when combined with the social trend of "gentrification of parenthood", a concept that was built on the idea of "intensive motherhood", a term coined by sociologist Sharon Hays, to describe a new attitude of mothers in Western countries who see them as strongly centered on their children, and on their parental role, constantly looking for information to best perform this role, and intensely committed to work for their children and willing to spend very economically, for all children's activities.

The maternal scholar, Andrea O'Reilly, says that "intensive motherhood" and a new "mystique of motherhood" have emerged as an additional argument to the new claim for greater social, sexual and economic independence for women in the 1970s and 1980s.

This attitude is manifested by a series of conspicuous expenses that take the name of "gentrification of parenting": the rules of "good parenting" and cultural belonging are identified with the acquisition of specific brand products, styles, types of activities offered to children - middle to class parents -.

So, this trend makes parents to demand a built environment that offers upscale shopping, and curated child-centered activities.

But in this sense, living in a gentrified neighborhood for parents sometimes doesn't evoke a sense of ease. But a sense of tiredness, as this "intensive parenting work" that is being promoted here requires an amount of money, time and energy, that many mothers cannot handle.

This suggests that gentrified neighborhoods sometimes exclude single parents and low-income people.

What is reported above about the condition of women refers to the condition of middle-class women. The observations reported with respect to life in the American suburbs are transferable to the European context with respect to commuting for work between cities and small towns or provincial villages - where there is a lack of childcare services and entertainment and leisure activities.

On the other hand, the wealthiest families resolve these contradictions by delegating care work to others, mainly at low wages. A dynamic that perpetuates the social reproduction is the one in which domestic maids who are immigrants, Black women, and men or people from a poorer class, working for richer women, to take care of their house and children. In fact, many States don't supply affordable childcare services and the social conventions sometimes don't expect men - husband - to help with the domestic work, so, women of a lower class are hired to do this.

In similar cases gentrification can perpetuate social reproduction, in other words the reproduction of social inequalities throughout generations, because when low-class people are pushed outside the gentrified neighbourhood, they will find a new affordable home in zones not well connected, maybe far from their workplace and where there are not many services.

Geographer Geraldine Pratt writes in her search of the dynamics of distance and separation of Filipina mothers who leave their children in their home country to work as a colf and take care of Canadian children in Canada. Their children are then raised by grandparents, husbands, or relatives.

We need a commitment from our cities to develop adequate childcare facilities and services. There are many blended families: divorced, remarried parents, polyamorous families, foster families, migration of family's members etc. Yet our city is not designed to support them, most of the care tasks burden the mothers.

When children have divorced parents, we have to take into account more trips to move from one parent to the other. Therefore, for the parents there is a more complex daily travel pattern.

The example of Milwaukee city, Wisconsin, has an evident racially divided geography, and great disparities in the quality of school that are reflected in the raced and classed geography. In such wise, mothers prefer sometimes to move to look for a good school, even if that means to loose employment opportunities and the family's support. And insecure transport systems result in mothers preferring to take their children to school, making their daily commuting pattern more complex and tiring.

Of the city of Newark, New Jersey, the urban ethnographer Zenzele Isoke describes a deeply racialised landscape in her book *In Urban Black Women and the Politics of Resistance*. Nevertheless, here Black women have rethought urban space and politics and its meanings. They create homeplaces where they build urban politics of care. Aiming to build a city that makes care work more collective, less tiring and more equitable. Zenzele Isoke has identified in the city of Newark a commitment and creativity that aims to invent ways of care work that break down the binomials of paid and unpaid work, private and public space, production and social reproduction.

After all these considerations the question that arises is: how to create housing developments or neighbourhoods that collectivize and facilitate the care work/reproduction labour?

We have some examples in 1980s, 1990s and even 1800s in North America.

The visions of a "city for equal opportunities" advanced by the projects, sometimes left on paper other times instead realized as homes and communities, conceived by the first materialist feminists argued that domestic work and childcare if they are collectivized in new spatial arrangements can help women enter the world of work, achieve gender equality and intellectual development. Dolores Hayden describes these ideologies in her book *The Grand Domestic Revolution: A History of Feminist Designs for American Homes, Neighborhoods, and Cities*. These strategies start from the housing system as the pivot point for resolving gender inequality, and are placed in contrast to the housing system of the family unit considered inefficient as it takes away time and energy from women to carry out other activities outside of it. However, housing that permits sharing the work of cooking, cleaning and care are common characteristics of feminist design. So, there are already existing alternatives: for instance, housing cooperative among single mother, disabled and old women were built up in the 1970s. But there are very few changes on the urban structure that take care work seriously, especially in North America.

Under neoliberalism, most of the solution for the problems of the caregivers, to gain time for their job for example, have been market-based, hence it was necessary to pay services, and rely on someone else's underpaid labour.

On the other hand, in Europe there is a long history of a gender-mainstreaming approach in urban planning.

Vienna for instance, has been using gender mainstreaming since the early 1990s. The city develops laws, rules and regulations that benefit men and women alike, to ensure equal access to the city's resources. There have been made a successful program to improve pedestrian areas, accessibility street's system, and the public transport. The city developed housing welcoming women and families' needs: on-site childcare, health services, access to transit.

But also, women of the south mega-cities which has big problems of social inequalities, and slums management have founded collectives to advocate for security of housing, health and improve economic opportunities and child services.

Stockholm urban gender mainstreaming plan prioritizes sidewalk, bus lane, bike paths and day care zones rather than the organization-activities of the city-center.

Anyway, often gender mainstreaming has its limits: it considers the beneficiary of its method an able-bodied, cis gender heterosexual pink or white-collar job, mother woman. This prototype is a minority of the female users of the city.

## 1.6 PASSING THROUGH AND BEING IN PUBLIC SPACE

For some people telephones and headphones are part of the tools of urban survival, precisely as barriers. Such as headphones could be used as barrier for catcalling or similar intrusions.

The ability to be alone while walking - without violation on one's personal space, via touch, words, etc. - is an important marker of a successful city. Enjoy being alone requires respect for personal space.

Men's catcalling is a more or less conscious to intimate to the person who it is addressed "You are present in my space and I'm going to let you know it's my space." It is to some extent an act of appropriation of a public place, intruding on the personal space of another, who is passing through that place.

This power play is present in most of the unsolicited sexual attention to women, particularly when men are with other men. While men or boys may think they're whistling or catcalling to score a date, harassment really has little to do with romance, or even with women. "The real center of attention is a man's relationship with other men". Men and boys that want to find validation and acceptance from other men, as some men apply what is their idea of masculinity to how they treat women on the street.

Concerning the theme of simply passing through the space and moving from a place to another, it has been observed whether differences can be found between different people: their passage through space is always in some way a gendered and embedded experience which therefore differs according to the body passing through the space. And the feedback and interactions that each individual person encounters from the people around them, as they walk down the street, are different and dictated in part by the body they are in and how it is read and interpreted.

The question then arises as to how is for a woman to be a flaneuse: someone who walks through the city among strangers watching the streets. If the passage of a woman walking in the city remains anonymous at the same time. As the figure of the flâneur of Charles Baudelaire, "*a passionate spectator of the city that become one flesh with the crowd, at the center of the action and yet invisible*". The idealized flâneur is part of the city, yet anonymous and autonomous

Some theorists say that a woman cannot be a flaneuse in these terms, of invisibility, because their gender marks them as objects of the male gaze. Others say that the flaneuse has always existed, like Virginia Woolf.

Jane Jacobs's book *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961) emphasizes the importance of city streets as places where people can meet and get to know each other in the neighbourhood. Knowing the daily activities of the neighbourhood creates a sense of social cohesion and safety on the street. Jacobs refers to the concept of "eyes on the street", which is the phenomenon on city streets that keeps the very movement of people and the safety of the street intact. She sustains that where there is a crowd of people, our streets are safer to use because if someone is in trouble the "eyes on the street" are ready to assist and protect them from danger. She refers to this constant mix of strangers on the street as an "intricate ballet" or dance where everyone contributes to the well-being of the street by making it a livable place.

She suggests that the "eyes" get stronger when there are a range of activities taking place on the street, such as pubs and shops. This concept does not mean the "eyes" of state surveillance, CCTV, policing or harassment, but the presence of people in a public space, and specifically the street which inspires social cohesion.

After observing movement in public space, we consider "being" in public space. Such as standing in a park, a square, a bar, a cinema, a theatre or a sports ground.

Sitting in a café or a parc, varying position during the day is often recreational, it relaxes and gives new ideas for a person's creativity and well-being. Also from a working point of view the change of setting and background can be productive elements.

Even moving around the city on one's own and experiencing places in solitude is also an experience that allows one to discover her/himself and new situations independently and above all to live one's own personal space, which everyone needs in certain amounts of time.

Concretely in view of a mother perspective, sitting in a bar or a garden is sometimes a breakout from the demands of home or work, and even working alone in public is sometimes a comfort.

Actually, home, when one has a family, is a place where women can have very few moments of solitude. However, while staying in public space is possible to come across a societal assumption: a woman alone - in a café, at the disco club, in the parc, at cinema, and so forth - is presumed available to other men. Today, this assumption is less present, but it still sometimes occurs. This relates back to the concept of women as the property of men. When a woman in public is not marked by a wedding ring or anyway, she seems to be single or not accompanied by another man, she is automatically presumed to be free for other men, who could sometimes manifest a type of attention/intrusion that can be not meant in that specific moment by the woman.

Jane Darke argues that women are made to feel as guests in the city, every time that they are catcalled, or a man asks them to smile, or he insistently looks at her and so on, in the specific moment in which such a behavior is not meant to be: while a woman passes through the street to go to work, or to do her errands and she is actually thinking about her things, agenda, or she is seated alone on a bench, she is not walking along the street to please men or be an object of their gaze. Nevertheless, it is in this context that some men make such interactions, in the sense intended by Darke.

Another specific activity that requires stationing and is carried out only by women is breastfeeding, which deserves to be considered in urban planning. Our cities often do not provide comfortable and inviting places and systems for breastfeeding. The spatial characteristics of a place can be important in enabling a woman to breastfeed with some comfort.

The more a city has comfortable places to breastfeed, the more women will feel comfortable doing so and in turn their presence will encourage other mothers to feel welcome to breastfeed their babies in public places without having to go back into their homes to do so. Studies show that it is not practical to exclusively increase the number of places dedicated to breastfeeding, as this would require a lot of space and also needed to meet the other needs of society. It is, to a certain extent, to make the various infrastructures - workplaces, parks, shopping centers, community buildings - available and also available for breastfeeding, while the best commercial times and spaces for everyone and having a community capable of spaces, especially for such an important activity as feeding the little ones. Doing this with the placement along the parcs, for instance, of simple yet specific benches for breastfeeding, with built-in small support tables for the arms and cups, screening edge to bench, and appropriate setback from the street to accommodate strollers and access. Or similar simple and flexible but well conceived urban installations.

#### DIVISION BETWEEN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SPACE

One more example of how our society delegates some specific functions purely to private space is the inaccurate and approximate design of public toilets. Often the public toilets in the city are not many and cleaned or they could not have enough tools as coat racks and shelves for placing personal objects or baby changing tables, and bins.

During the Victorian period, because of the growth of the cities, municipalities start to provide more public toilet but with a little attention to the need of women, disabled people and children. But in general cities tend to delegate this service's provision to private or semi-private bodies as department store,

government institutions, cafés, which are mostly places where you are a client, rather than on the street, square, parc and so on.

It is worth remembering that bathroom needs are also gendered issues. Women have menstruation needs and they need a bin and some time to remove or adjust some cloths. and for this reason and for the body's shape women need more toilet paper, for instance.

## 1.7 A SAFE CITY FOR EVERYONE

In 1980s and 1990s social science did many surveys on fear of crime and fear of violence, investigating where, when and with whom women experience fear (Kern, 2019, p. 144; Gordon and Riger, 1989; Stanko, 1993, 1996; Hanmer and Maynard, 1987; Whitzman, 1993). They identify cities, night-time, and strangers as primary source of fear. But in the same years conspicuous data were collected on the domestic violence events and crimes against women in general in the private spaces (reported) of home or on the workplace, committed by know people. Men were more likely to be subjected to crimes in public spaces, such as assaults or muggings.

Nevertheless, women continue to be afraid of strangers in public spaces.

For this reason, some researchers define the women's fear as irrational. Though this is making bad science, because if a huge group of people has a feeling/behavior there is a reason, is not something irrational.

After that, other scientists started to analyze this phenomenon through a lens that also considered the gendered power relations.

It arose that: the crime women most fear is rape, whereas the crime men most fear is robbery. Rape is worse. Sexual assaults are underreported, so the number of harassments on women are underestimated. Catcalling serves to reinforce fear as women are constantly sexualized, objectified, and made to feel uncomfortable in public space. Finally cultural representation, for example some TV series like Criminal minds, Law and Order and so on, implying that the stranger violence - in a public space, not domestic - is always around the corner, shift the women's fear from the domestic space to the public space, reinforcing patriarchal institutions like the nuclear family for the appearance of security.

The contemporary Finnish geographer Hille Koskela observes that *"sexual harassment reminds women every day that they are not meant to be in certain spaces"* (Koskela, 1999).

Koskela's research is about human geography, social power relations and a critical action to urban surveillance systems.

The question is why is women's fear socially and culturally embedded?

It has been found that women's fear serves some kind of social function, the women's control: in fact, fear restricts women's lives. Limitating their use of social spaces, shaping the choices about work and other opportunities, and keep them, in an actual paradox, dependent on men as protectors. This brings women once again bound to a heteropatriarchal capitalist system in which women are tied to private space and domestic work within the institution of the nuclear family (Koskela, 1997).

How does gendered control actually work? Studies that relate geography and women's studies, acknowledge that women automatically think at "which place to avoid", rather than "which people to avoid". Thus, there is a societal identification between aggressors and territory (Valentine, 1989). Geographer Gill Valentine states that women think about dangerous places, not only at dangerous people. It exists a common-sense notion that sees "natural" for women to code the environment in terms of threat and safety when they produce their mental maps.

Consequently, hidden costs of fear arise: like losing a job place, or losing places that keep women from living full, free and independent lives in the city.

Some planning actions to counter this are:

- improve lighting,
- clear obstructed sightlines
- create well-trafficked routs through housing and civic developments,



- place emergency phone boxes in parking garages, parks, university campus
- use of CCTV - video surveillance = closed-circuit television -
- provide spaces for breastfeeding
- secure transport infrastructure
- develop apps that report harassments, or that create danger/security maps with the opinions of the users

These are among the main strategies used by cities, although not all of them are effective in enhancing safety in themselves and the sense of community and bond of trust among the inhabitants, as we will see in the third chapter, with respect to the approach to planning that is based on trust and respect for people's time of adaptation and habits, the "civic courage", of which the architect Soulier speaks.

In the matter of the last point a model is the Vancouver's project global guardian: a system by which people can directly text to police or public transit officers, in Melbourne there is a similar program that developed an app for security. Geneva and Stockholm have banned sexualized and objectifying advertising images or sexist advertising on the public transit systems, recognizing the harm of negative stereotypes and their role in creating harassment porn-environments. And many other cities have invented networking technological solutions to this point.

In respect of public transit, it could be a critical spot where women can often be assaulted or victims of harassment or they can be followed. Some cities as Tokyo, Osaka, Mexico City, Tehran, Cairo, have developed women-only train carriages, which on the other hand could create other limits, being a form of segregation.

## 1.8 SPACES FOR DIFFERENT TYPE OF RELATIONSHIPS

When community advocate for “spaces for youth”, the municipalities come up with spaces for skate parks, basketball courts, and hockey arenas, so spaces for boys.

In response to this the architecture firm White Arkitekter in Sweden approached teenage girls to design scale models of public spaces, they asked for instance for places for sitting together face to face.

Gill Valentine's research on adult versus youth spaces found that girls paradoxically identify public space, such as city streets, as “private” because these spaces allow them anonymity away from the gaze of parents, teachers, and caregivers. Home is strangely considered more like a public space.

Venturing into the city for a young girl or boy is the possibility to be weird or just experiment other parts of herself/himself, also with the presence of the friends that will protect her/him in any case.

A study on media representation carried out by the contemporary urban social geographer Alison Bain shows how the major north american teen films from the 1980s to the 1990s associate certain places with the presence of girls. She found that girls' culture doesn't extend beyond the girls' bedrooms, and the female school bathroom, sometimes the mall. These are the primary sites for scenes of friendship - except from the film Foxfire (1996) -.

With regard to the different types of relationships and interpersonal interaction that we have in society, and thus the social network of which the city is composed, we have, among others, family relationships: parents-children, sisters-brothers, kinship; marital or romantic relationships; work relationships: colleagues, employer, teachers-students; relationships with neighbours, the casual relationships we encounter on the basis of our activities, and friendship relationships.

Focusing on the latter, friendship, it is possible to define it as part of our survival toolkits in the city, a reciprocal urban safety net.

Friendships among women or among men is often underestimated. Culturally we lack a language to adequately describe the character and quality of friendship without resorting to borrowed vocabulary or mis categorization. Friendship is a central theme in childhood and adolescence, but it's not taken seriously in adulthood. And, unlike, marriage it exists in an informal and unstructured context - in other words is not recognized by the state -. But anyway, friendship could be considered among the relationships and values important to the imagining of urban spaces. Although friendship is always diminished in relation to legitimate connections such as marriage, blood connections, sexual intimacy. In planning and city politics in fact is difficult to address households that didn't align with the nuclear family model or “typical” life course - from being single, to getting married, having kids, and finally be an old couple that lives alone because the sons are grown up -.

How can we create spaces that open up a wide range of possibilities for sustaining and practicing the kind of relationships that we think are supporting us across the life course? Considering also that people's life is changing, the number of single people has increased for instance.

Who do we would like to live with, among these groups of people? Who would we like our houses or our housing system to be designed for? For what kinds of interactions?

Questions about gender, sexuality, and families are typically viewed as outside the rational, technical box ascribed to planning practice. However, the canonical system of urban planning has remained male-centered due to a binary notion of “hard” infrastructure planning and “soft” people-oriented projects. To counter this system, Deland Chan, a professor of urban studies at Stanford University,

argues that urban planning needs to expand what counts as “real planning” to give importance to what is worthy of attention.

It is in this sense that gender mainstreaming can be a valuable tool in urban planning. To bring to light and delineate architectural-territorial designs that resolve those concerns that have been designated as "soft", and put on the back burner, sometimes even because they are associated with women.

People's lives are changing from the heteropatriarchal traditional lifestyle, so maybe we can begin to imagine and draw different kind of households to accommodate the new forms of social relations.

Has been noted above, the importance of the emotional support of friendship among people and the very material support of shared childcare, elder care, transportation, housing, health care, and other life spheres. Then, it could be an aim of the city to provide the infrastructures to place these activities and spaces for act these interactions.

As a result of all these considerations, and as studies conducted in recent years amply demonstrate, it emerges that urban planning and development tends strongly to reflect the male perspective that considers women mainly as mere caregivers.

To have a truly sustainable environment requires a radical change in the way we think about, and use the city, after reformulating families, communities, social roles, and promoting greater elasticity in understanding people's identities - as opposed to the way we do today, which assigns to individuals, identities that fall into a few specific rigid social groups to which specific roles and (dis)advantages are attached -. To implement this, we need to start from an intersectional gender perspective.



## CHAPTER 2

# **CONTEMPORARY HISTORY AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE CURRENT CITY**



## 2.1 CONTEMPORARY HISTORY, THE HOUSING MODEL HINGES ON THE CELL OF THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION OF THE NATION-STATE: THE NUCLEAR FAMILY

The professionals and decision-makers who have dealt with urban planning in contemporary history have been predominantly men, which means that the product of their designs was dictated by their interpretation of the needs of society, and, not experiencing on their own skin the problems that women encountered in their social role, they did not seek solutions to these problems because they could not see them.

In the design of contemporary urban centers, the woman's body is still anchored, as we have seen, within the domestic space, and invisibilized in public space.

In more recent history our western cities are the result of a Fordist spatial organization, they are functionalist cities: each building has a function separate from the others, often even entire neighborhoods have a homogeneous functional vocation, and then to connect the places of the different functions, large infrastructures exist for mobility. Sometimes more recently, they are streets that also contemplate other activities, such as commerce in the city avenues with stores on the ground floor, or recreation and sports, on bicycle and pedestrian paths. But most of them are arteries for the only displacement, in particular of motor vehicles to allow the saving of travel time.

Hence, the activities of the individual person, and of different people according to their specialized profession, take place in different places depending on the activity.

The residence is the place where almost every individual stays on a daily basis or at least for long periods of time. It is the place with which each of us is familiar. It is the most important place for individuals, and specifically it is here that 4 essential functions are fulfilled: fulfilling basic needs - nutrition, personal care, hygiene, safekeeping of personal belongings -, family interaction, location of the individual - geographical coordinates where the person can be found - and self-expression.

The residence can be summarized as the basic location distinguished by the private character, privacy and invisibility of its interior with respect to all other spaces outside of it.

Then we have all the other places that have to do with exchanges with the outside world and with the rest of society, specialized for different functions, such as education, production of goods, storage, commerce, economic, political and governmental administration, health, welfare, recreation, meeting, etc., which are at the same time places of the activity of paid work, where work is carried out as an activity recognized as a source of income. Thus we have kindergartens, childcare centers, schools, factories, places of production of commercial goods, banks, financial firms, accounting firms, police stations, courts, prisons, hospitals, galleries, museums, theaters, cinemas, places of reception and entertainment, restaurants, government offices, places for wellness and sports, offices, stores, multipurpose places, religious centers, open spaces such as parks and squares, road infrastructure and transportation stations, storage and parking, and still other spaces for other specialized functions. And in the functionalist city all these spaces are generally grouped in whole blocks or districts dedicated purely to one function: residential, productive, commercial, administrative, tourist, school-university districts, etc. - overlooking virtual space for a moment -.

The urban planning tool has therefore been used for different purposes and to serve different functions, lowering from above the guidelines to organize many aspects of the citizens' lives and their movement through the activities carried out in space.

Today the relations between the two sexes have changed, but the functionalist structure of our cities still tends to remain unchanged: women are still largely tied to the domestic environment, men to the public or paid work environment. This is because, in spite of the fact that the percentage of women involved in the occupational system has gradually increased, the cities remain largely organized in a functional sense, and therefore shaped according to a gender division between paid work and care work typical of industrialization. And even the many women who do have paid work take up much more time than men to deal with the unpaid care work always linked to the domestic sphere, and the maintenance of domestic space. And this gives rise to an imbalance of power and economic and social resources. But in many ways this stereotype of men is also to their disadvantage: they are held more responsible for the economic well-being of the family, they do not benefit from enough time to spend with their children, etc.

The idea of functional city already appeared in Tony Garnier's *Cité industrielle* (1901), in Le Corbusier's *Ville Radieuse* (1933), and in the *Athens Charter* (1933 and 1942), which proposed a composition through zoning, often marked by regular street grids, which stimulated the mobility of cars, reducing the possibility of chance encounters along the road and social relations of neighbours, but promoting new economic development thanks to fast movements between home and work. The Athens Charter suggests a whole series of rational parameters, including the relationship between public and private space, services, distances between buildings. The Modern Movement thus realizes a "machine city".

From the second post-war period prevailed the urban design dictated by the compositional idea of the Modern Movement, on a vast world territory that characterizes all industrialized cities. It was a model applied both in the USA and in Russia, with the only difference that in the USA the construction of the city is characterized by the liberal model that privatizes the profit and the building areas are freely chosen by the builders, while in Russia the construction of the city is regulated by the socialist model, which plans everything centrally.

However, we saw the advent of urban disorder, with the rapid appearance of residential and industrial peripheries with often uncontrolled composition, for example, and this belied to some extent the effectiveness of these compositional ideas.

The first urban social studies of the early 1900s, such as *Die Grosstädte und das Geistesleben*, by George Simmel, of 1903; or *Urbanism as a way of Life*, by Louis Wirth, of 1938, analyze the effects of functional architecture and urbanism, underlining the lack of commitment to create "community", that is, to create public environments for meeting and interpersonal exchange. This lack of commitment to creating "community" stemmed from the continued fragmentation of the urban fabric for circumscribed purposes that were not permeable to one another.

This constructive logic led in the 70s to the appearance of a massive diffusion of "non-places", places that lose their identity, parking lots, airports, shopping malls, places of entertainment, etc., all formally the same, indistinguishable everywhere. The formation of the problem of "non-places" was in fact one of the criticisms made of the Fordist city's logic, which in this case was not a criticism linked to gender issues but rather an imputation of inattention to the landscape heritage and the identity of the place, and an imputation of disinterest in the dimension of the place as a catalyst of social relations.

While criticism of the functionalist city, made from a gendered lens, was born as early as the 1950s. In this period the first speeches opposing the Athens Charter appear, pointing out how the urban norm responds to the male need for the model of the father-head of the family who, in short, leaves home, goes to work and returns home in the evening waiting for his wife, who has taken care of the house and the children.



Among the evaluations that oppose the functionalist city are those of Jane Jacobs, who never directly attributes a patriarchal matrix to this model, but criticizes the functionalist urban approaches, the same ones that were and are generally recognized by other scholars as unfavorable to well-being and the position of women in the city. Jacobs analyzing her neighborhood in New York advanced her warning against building speculation, proposing instead, to adopt an ethnographic approach in planning, that is, a social observation of urban composition, made of networks of contacts rather than neutral lines of orientation of buildings and directions of streets.

Jane Jacobs tried to re-gift value to the spontaneity of how buildings and their functions arise, compared to the top-down abstract models of city-machine, she proposed to return to the functional mix and an urban space full of meetings, she proposed to shift the focus to understanding what are the networks, resources and forces at play in an urban neighborhood, what makes a street beautiful or not, pleasant to walk, what the set of sensitive aspects that make it so for the experience of the body that crosses it? Observing who specifically uses a place or not: men, women, children, the elderly, at what times, for how long, according to what interpretations.

Jacobs advanced that a mistake of modern urbanism was to ignore the actual mode of functioning of cities.

As in her *The death and life of great American cities*, 1961, she wrote:

“It is futile to plan a city's appearance, or speculate on how to endow it with a pleasing appearance of order, without knowing what sort of innate, functioning order it has. To seek for the look of things as a primary purpose or as the main drama is apt to make nothing but trouble.

... Unstudied, unrespected, cities have served as sacrificial victims.”

Among the solutions proposed is that of valuing differences, reclaiming the functional mix, developing well thought out spaces for young people and children, and reducing the automobile since large urban spaces are dedicated to the car, which imposes itself on the presence of people.

It could be asserted that Jane Jacobs has made a great contribution in proposing a bottom-up view for understanding and planning the city, and a qualitative, rather than quantitative, urban planning standard.

This chapter discusses how historically the contemporary city has been built, which today appears to derive from the construction on a patriarchal model that contemplates an anthropocentric hierarchy, in relation to which a partial city is conceived with respect to the needs of its inhabitants, in some of its aspects. These aspects, as seen above, are for example, the division between public space for paid work and private space for unpaid domestic work, or in the aspect of the organization of public transport, and the road system, not meeting the needs of all categories of people, among other aspects of urban organization. A city that prioritizes the prevalent activities of the standard inhabitant - male, white, cisgender, heterosexual, able-bodied, working, possibly husband and family man - over the needs of others who differ from him, such as women, children, the elderly, people of color or ethnic minorities, the disabled, homosexuals and minorities of sexual orientation. A spatial arrangement that thus lacks sufficient consideration to other categories of people. This difference in treatment clearly varies from one urban area to another.

To clarify this observation: urban space does not exclude anyone who is not the standard inhabitant described above, but social space continues to be thought of according to an organization logic of the population in space. This is analogous to the analysis of Michel Foucault, when he argues that the problem of neoliberal governmentality is no longer that of repressing, but of organizing the population in a given territory, where territory and population also become governmental technologies, essentially disposing of a capitalist type of logic (Foucault, 1977), and therefore directed to enhance diversity in this sense. Where diversity in this capitalist logic is understood as functional of the city, so

that the diversity of population be functional to the processes of accumulation, in the creation of value - more diversity, more consumers - (Lefebvre, 1974).

For example, one of the strategies for repositioning entrepreneurial cities (Harvey, 1989) in the post-industrial phase is that oriented towards maximizing opportunities for consumption. A strategy that, for example, is based on increasing tourism, on attracting more or less temporary populations that cross the city in search of opportunities for consumption, thus feeding the urban economy. In some cases, the urban space devoted to consumption can be specifically designed for women. The problem, in this case, is not that of domestic segregation, although clearly the functional organization of space tends to reproduce gender inequalities, but here the woman, as a consumer, faces a selective and functional access to urban space. On the other hand, in the urban area of suburbs and banlieues, conceived in an industrial framework and which therefore reproduce a rigid division between salaried work - man, husband - and care work - woman, wife, mother - the gender problem that the division of public space-private space brings with it becomes more evident.

Thus in the space we can find the problem of domestic segregation, to the disadvantage of women, the elderly and the disabled, who here become like burdens on the private care of families and in particular of women, residential segregation, to the disadvantage of ethnic minorities and minorities of sexual orientation, and the combination of the two for which we see the phenomenon whereby women of ethnic minorities, take care of domestic work in the homes of white women to allow the latter to carry out their activities.

The design of XIX century residences in western countries reflects the ideal of the bourgeois family, with its strong boundary between the private and the public world, between the feminine and the masculine, with a rigid separation between interior spaces and their functions and users.

Thus, we see the division between the kitchen, a place dominated mainly by the woman responsible for preparing meals, and the garage, the prerogative of the husband and his bricolage activities for example.

As the nuclear family corresponds to the breadwinner model in which the heterosexual couple is composed by the man who has a retributed work outside the home and his wife who takes care of the home and their children.

This ideal of the bourgeois family and the relative organization of the spaces in the home continued into the XX century as a model of domestic respectability and influenced the structure of suburban residences in America and Europe.

The home is the spatial locus of housework, on the other hand it is also its object and requires maintenance. This dominant association between housework and domestic space ignores the "outdoor" history of household practices.

Before the industrialization activities that nowadays we act inside the home were practiced outside as the laundry, for instance. While many food products were not bought at the supermarket, but they were produced directly in the home for consumption by the family itself.

Women's place in the home has gone through several evolutions throughout history, depending on the type of society and social class.

Before the XVII century in Europe, dwellings were occupied by different people not necessarily belonging to a nuclear family consisting only of a married man and woman with their respective children, but sometimes also including parents in-law, siblings, employees and so on.

In addition, the spaces were multifunctional and were used for different functions depending on the season, - for example for farming or craft activities - or a single room was the site of several activities - among the working classes the kitchen also served as a dormitory -, so the designation of spaces remained fluid.

Houses were both a place to live and a place to work for many sections of the population.

From the XVIII century, and especially from the XIX century onwards, most women left the economic sphere to re-enter the home and take care of the household and family. And it was in this same period that a more distinct separation of private space and reception space took place, accompanied by a sexualization of the rooms' uses.

The First Industrial Revolution was earlier in England than in the rest of Europe, and it was here that the emerging bourgeoisie as a social group played an important role in determining the *foyer* as a place of family enclosure and the confinement of women.

The organization of the dwelling, being a space divided from other social activities, anchors the notion of intimacy, and an accentuated sexual division of labor within the habitation.

This characteristic moral and physical organization is proper to the emergent bourgeoisie, that presents a stronger gender division than the aristocracy and the working class.

Into this bourgeois housing model each space has a function - a room to cook, one to eat, one to wash, another to sleep - and it is isolated from other kind of social interactions.

The other characteristic involved in adhering to this bourgeois model of living is buying a single-family house in the suburbs, financially and socially detached and separated from the work environment.

It is important to underline that this ideal is dependent on the predominant family values of this period, which became norms for the working class: a family able to own a house as a guarantee of moral respectability and of the general community's order. This point of view sees the individual property as a safeguard of the social protection.

This domestic and residential model, arose in England, developed in Europe and North America, consolidating a new living style, whose pivot is the nuclear family and modifying the woman's status (Scott and Tilly, 1975).

## 2.2 CONTEMPORARY HISTORY, GENDER ROLES, AND THE PLACES OF THEIR PERFORMANCE: THE PLACES OF MEN'S AND WOMEN'S ACTIVITIES

Now, we investigate in more detail the history of the division between women's work inside the home in the private environment and women's work outside the home in the public, visible environment, to understand the origin and meaning of women's place within the home.

Most general works on women present women's employment history, like the history of legal and political rights, as a gradual transition from a traditional place at home to a modern position in the world of work. Some historians cite industrialization as the main cause of changes in employment opportunities and legal emancipation. Others stress political rights as the source of the improved economic status.

Women gained political rights in Europe mostly in XX century.

In Great Britain, a Protestant country, the civil status of women was reformed through the married women's property acts of the late nineteenth century, and political emancipation in the form of suffrage came in 1918. In 1851 and 1861, about 25 percent of British women worked; in 1921, the figure was still about 25 percent. In both Catholic France and Italy, women's legal rights within the family were severely limited until the post-WWII period. Immediately after the war, constitutional changes granted women the right to vote. In France, in 1866, 25 percent of women worked; in 1896, 33 percent worked and in 1954, 30 percent worked, down from a high of 42 percent in 1921.

In Italy, the highest percentage, 32,5 %, for women's employment outside the home - before 1964 - was in 1901 (Scott and Tilly, 1975).

So, there was little relationship between women's political rights and women's work.

As we have seen above, the hierarchical division of labor within the family assigning to the husband the role of breadwinner and to the wife the role of domestic manager and moral guardian emerged from the XIX century onwards and was associated with the growth of the middle class and the spread of its values.

In fact, the situation was different with regard to the working class and peasantry; it was perfectly normal for women, to be part of the labor force contributing to the general economy, not just the economy of caring for family members.

The many working women of the nineteenth century performed farm work, breeder and herder, food production, domestic service for other families, tailoring and other crafts. The work performed by the peasant and working classes was always part of a family subsistence economy. In pre-industrial Europe, the family is the crucial economic unit. As Peter Laslett describes, in *The World We Have Lost*, 1965, the household was the center of production. - Peter Laslett was a XX century English historian and anthropologist who played a key role in the renewal of historical sociology of historical demography and the study of family systems. In fact, he was the one who outlined the five types of families, now categories used by many sociologists: the nuclear family, extended family, multiple family, family without a marital structure, and solitary family. -

It was simply taken for granted that women worked, because their contribution was necessary for the survival of the family.

Thus, the family was not only the entity that provided solidarity and emotional support, but also the cell of socialization, control and subsistence economy that formed, with other family economies and the exchanges between them, the economy of the Country.

The work of the family is usually carried out around the family farm, property considered to belong to the group rather than to an individual: individual, family and farm are thought an indivisible whole. The

family was organized in a patriarchal sense with the role of the man-husband as the head of the family, however the head of the family appeared as the manager rather than the owner of the family land. Within this elementary unity the married couple is the simple basis of the working community; marriage was in this sense a means of survival for both man and woman. In the nineteenth century, all the inhabitants of the farm formed a working community, even the children, and eventually the couple's in-laws, siblings and employees. The same happened in Russia.

In each case, different tasks existed for members of the household, depending on their age, position within the family and gender. Gender role differentiation clearly existed in these societies, men and women performed sometimes different tasks, and occupied different spaces. Often, even then, women managed the household more than men, whose presence was required for work demanding greater physical strength: the production of firewood and construction, work in the countryside. But as soon as it was possible, women also did agricultural work, raising livestock, manufacturing clothes, selling dairy products, poultry and vegetables or products that were surplus to requirements. As well as taking care of the house and children. Work roles also varied according to the seasonal needs of the fields from sowing to harvesting. Martin Nadaud, a bricklayer from the Creuse region of France, expressed his personal experience in this way: "*We know there are countries where women marry with the oft-realized hope of having to work only in the house; in France, there is nothing of the sort, precisely the contrary happens; my wife, like all other women of the country was raised to work in the fields from morning until night and she worked no less... after our marriage...*" - Martin Nadaud, *Mémoires de Léonard, ancien garçon maçon*, - Memoirs of Léonard, a former mason boy - Paris, 1895, reissued 1948 -.

Specifically with respect to this example we see a recurring pattern of family organization according to which the wives of some artisans of this era, in this case the wives of the Creuse masons, carried out all agricultural work, as their husbands had gone away for long periods to build houses in Lyon or Paris. The women's work on the farm was so important here that, going back to Martin Nadaud's example, his family tried to arrange a wedding for him with a girl whose mother was a widow. In this way, the Nadaud family farm would have acquired two women workers instead of one.

Women worked on the farm, and in all kinds of other jobs, depending on the occupations they found available in the area. In most cases their activity was an extension, in the form of commercial exchange or the provision of labor, of their savoir faire and activities they carried out for their family, from food production and preparation to animal husbandry and clothing production. Almost all the family monographs in the six volumes of Le Play's *Les ouvriers européens* document this system. Pierre Guillaume Frédéric Le Play, born in 1806 was a French engineer, politician and social reformer.

These additional jobs served to supplement the family income. Le Play states that these activities were a significant contribution to the family's earnings and in this way women supported greatly the "well-being of the family".

Concerning the spatial assignment of the working sphere versus intimacy to specific places, another example that testifies to the inexistence of a marked division of spaces according to functions among the working classes is the cultivation of silkworms.

In the regions surrounding the silk city of Lyon, peasants' wives and daughters tended worms and reeled silk. Similarly, in Lombardy, the seasonal work of caring for silkworms kept women and children busy at home.

Therefore, the workshop was not separated from the home, and everyone's place was at home.

In the weaver's house, for example, while the father was weaving, the wives and older daughters spun, the children carded and combed. Even in the city there was often a similar division of labor within the

houses. In the families of the Parisian laundries, the women devoted themselves to soaping and ironing, the other members of the family carried out all the other tasks necessary for this profession. In the shops, the relationship with customers was entrusted as much to the daughters as to the sons. The wives of the artisans, such as tailors, shoemakers, knifemakers or bakers, etc., supported their husbands in their work. Sometimes they were in charge of the commercial role, receiving commissions, and accounting. The women also took care of purchasing raw materials to make finished products and negotiating job rates and wages with employers.

When husbands worked outside the home, like their rural counterparts, urban working-class women contributed to the family economy by tending vegetable gardens and raising animals - usually some pigs and hens - and selling the surplus, or the food and drink they had prepared, in the streets and in the markets. Some women opened bars in their homes.

In eighteenth-century Paris and Bordeaux, among the popular classes, it was recognized that women played a very important role in the domestic economy. The death or incapacity of the mother could lead a family to poverty and destitution. Popular culture that valued women's work continued to exist in France for much of the nineteenth century.

#### THE ROLE OF ECONOMIC MANAGER WITHIN THE FAMILY

Several historical sources indicate that while men took precedence in public roles, it was women who mastered the domestic sphere. The British historian Dame Olwen Hufton claims that they held "social supremacy" within the family. This statement adheres to Le Play's observations. His in-depth study of the urban and rural families of the European working class, from the 1840s-70s, led him to be surprised by the role of women: *"Women are treated with deference, often ... exert a preponderant influence on family affairs (la communauté)"*. Le Play reports that women worked harder and more sustainably than their husbands and concluded that their energy and intelligence *"makes them more fit... to direct the family"*. Actually, the power of these women was limited almost exclusively to the household.

The business accounts were managed by the wives or daughters of the artisans and peasants. This designation as guardian of the family accounts was also given by the fact that the woman was usually the person responsible for purchasing the products on the market and often also the main family member in charge of sales. As basic as the accounting these women could do, it was the mean to cope with external exchanges.

Working-class women often made decisions about how to spend the money and determined the weekly allowance their husbands received for wine and tobacco. They were the ones who dealt with the financial saving strategies and knew more closely the needs of children and home economy. Factory owners sometimes paid directly to the wives the wages earned by their husbands.

It is important to point out that here it is discussed the married women's situation. Whatever power these women enjoyed was subordinate to their duty of responsibility to the family.

In fact, the daughters were socialized early, to take on family and work responsibilities. The daughters help the mother in all her tasks. Often, they were sent out to work as farm laborers, maids, or weaver's apprentices. Especially when their farm's earnings weren't enough, they worked for other farms, and gave their earnings to the family which had priority over individual happiness. The work of women, like that of men, was in the interest of the family economy.

With the rise of industrialization, families used the same perspective: all members who worked in factories brought their earnings to the household.

Added to this was the fact that the demographic growth of Western Europe in the nineteenth century caused land shortages in some areas, and large-scale agriculture put smaller landowners under severe competitive pressure. The new methods of industrial production lowered the productivity of rural and urban artisans.

Thus, it became increasingly necessary for family members, but especially for children, to work outside the home, and in the industries themselves.

The European female workforce was composed mainly of young unmarried women, and this is an indication of the persistence of familial values: they were daughters sent by parents of the rural and urban working class to work for the household, while the figure of the mother was more desirable to stay at home to manage the whole ménage. Domestic service was a traditional job, often considered safer than other jobs because it ensured a place to live, food and supervision of employers. Although the exploitation of the servants was a real risk.

The working sectors in which the parents sent their daughters were not detached from the past: they corresponded mainly in the domestic service, the clothing domain and textile manufacturing.

In Italy and France, there was a practice in the textile factories' organization, according to which the owners aimed to provide "familiar" conditions for their working girls. There were educational rules of conduct that limited their activities outside of workplace, and nuns were in charge of overseeing the establishments, acting as substitute parents.

In loco parentis, some factory owners occasionally even organized suitable weddings for their workers. These factory practices also served the owner's interests by keeping his workforce in check and limiting their mobility.

Similar systems also existed on the other side of the Atlantic, the so-called moral houses for women and later the hotels for working class women.

## 2.3 WOMEN'S HOUSING

In the United States during the first half of XIX century, industrial growth increased the demand for female labor especially in the northeastern side.

Thus, the number of single working women increased significantly in the cities. However, there was no precedent for housing arrangements and housing models, other than homes for mononuclear families - or families including in-laws, brothers-in-law and possible servants always serving a family - to host single working women in the cities. Furthermore, these women were often destined to live in unpleasant situations: shared rooms in public housing, sometimes shared with male tenants, a condition frowned upon by the public opinion of the time. All this was also due to the much lower wages paid to female workers.

A housing crisis then manifested both physical and also symbolic for the culture and values of that time: the idea of a woman living in an independent apartment was in contrast with the traditional image of the female figure as an "angel of the hearth", "protected" and accompanied in public by her male spouse.

The practical question of finding decent housing for single workers thus also became a moral question of preserving the purity, dignity and femininity of future wives and mothers. As a result, between 1860s and 1930s an urban construction policy for single female workers was developed, which studied the location, design and even furnishings for female workers' housing.

New York City was among the first cities to provide this specific housing.

Beginning in 1860, the Ladies Christian Union, made up of rich and charitable Christian women, provided low-cost housing for workers, seamstresses, shop assistants, white-collar jobs such as office workers, secretaries, stenographers, journalists telephone operators and others. These settlements were former middle-class houses refurbished with stately furniture, the spatial arrangement of the living room, dining room, kitchen and bedrooms upstairs was maintained.

These places had the peculiarity that in order to be admitted here, women were explicitly required to have good moral character. The house was guarded by a matron called the "mother," and offered material comfort and shelter in exchange for adhering to strict rules designed to enforce good behavior.

The rules to live here were written and really strict, under penalty of expulsion: the room had to be "tidy and clean", it was necessary to be present at breakfast and dinner, participate in morning prayers, entertain guests in the living room and respect the bedtime at 10 - at which point the gas light in the House was off -.

The premise of the LCU Houses was actually to host girls who came from the lower classes, to teach them how to behave like good middle-class girls and turn them into mothers and wives (Harkrader, 2019).

This became the housing model for other organizations designing homes for young workers. Several settlements were in fact built on this footprint between the late 1800s and early 1900s.

A model different from the "benevolent houses" was also proposed: the hotel for women.

In 1869, the business leader Alexander T. Stewart conceived the Hotel for Working Women, inspired by the fact that its shops employed many young women as saleswomen. It was an innovation in a broad sense because until then single women were never allowed in hotels; to be a guest, a woman had to be accompanied by a man. Stewart, indeed, built a hotel for young working women at low rates.

A large seven-storey structure: consisting of a dining room, lounges to entertain guests, reading rooms fully stocked with books and periodicals, and other services, on the lower floors, and single and double rooms on the upper floor<sup>2.6.2s</sup>. The building had five elevators, more than 1700 gas lamps and



hot and cold running water, an interior garden with a fountain, and an elegant atrium with marble columns.

At the time of opening, 1000 requests for rooms were registered.

This experiment did not last long: before the completion of the hotel Stewart died, and the following year it was sold and transformed into the Park Avenue Hotel, a business at market price for a mainly male and affluent clientele.

Women interested in Stewart's project argued that a very large number of female workers would have liked to enter it as it was originally conceived, but the executor converted it to make personal profit from a luxury hotel.

Only about ten years later a second hotel for women was built in New York City and completed in 1903: the twelve-storey Hotel Martha Washington, designed by Robert Gibson. The hotel could accommodate 400-500 "businesswomen", it was conceived as a for-profit enterprise, organized by the Women's Hotel Company, and it was staffed entirely by women.

As the previous one, Martha Washington included several facilities: pharmacy, millinery shop, women's tailor shop, manicure shop and newsagent. Female advice, specifically, was requested to make the interior design as comfortable as possible for the customers.

It was an immediate success and was fully occupied by both permanent and temporary guests.

The hotel brochure emphasized that this was conceived without "paternalism or philanthropic ideas" and no harassing restrictions imposed. Thus, the female residents had the same freedoms as their male counterparts in other hotels. The philosophy with which it was built stemmed from feminist ideals of independence, supported women's possibility and ability to earn a living, who were consciously referred to by the hotel as "businesswomen", clearly contrasting with the view of the surveillance houses. Important feminist groups welcomed this new attitude of inhabiting, and among others, the Interurban Women's Suffrage Council used the hotel as its headquarters from 1907.

Whilst the Martha Washington provided a housing model for businesswomen, the so-called white-collar workers, working-class women found suitable accommodation later in 1906, in the design of the Trowmart Inn.

This hotel had more modest forms and facilities, but the functional concept had been taken up by the Martha Washington: accommodation for working women, without the impositions of the surveillance houses. The Trowmart Inn offered, in addition to the bedrooms, dining room, cafeteria and "beau parlors", that is, lounges to entertain gentlemen friends, a further large parlor with piano, library and doctor's office, sewing room, full laundry and drying room, shop space and millinery. Accommodation, including breakfast and dinner, ranged from \$4.50 to \$5 per week.

The Trowmart Inn was also a success, housing 250 women and its rooms were always in demand. However, it was the only hotel for working class women, the others were for "businesswomen".

In the years that followed and after 1920, the year in which American women gained the right to vote, several other hotels were built that embodied through their spaces and services the new ideal of the independent woman, suited to the clientele.

The development of these hotels was initially driven by women, who wanted to find a housing solution for their peers in the new female working class and promote their independence and self-sufficiency in parallel with the women's suffrage movements of the time. For example, the construction of the Virginia Hotel (1910) and Hotel Irvin (1916) was led by Miss Virginia Potter and Mrs Richard Irvin and supported by a women's board of directors.

Later, the Great Depression of the 1930s put an end to the construction of women's hotels. After the Second World War, the building boom focused on the development of residences for nuclear families rather than for single working women. Women-only residences remained popular until the 1970s, while a combination of social changes and economic factors led to the closure or conversion of most of these

edifices at the end of the XX century, hence these pioneering residences for women have largely disappeared.

In any case, we can see in this housing organization of the hotels for working women, one of the design alternatives that contemporary history has produced, departing from the traditional system of the family home, to respond to new needs of society. However, according to a more correct understanding, before being a necessity of society, it was a necessity of the economic system. The real intent of this design alternative was to respond to the needs of the economic and industrial enterprises that had developed at that time, of which women constituted the workforce, and this main objective had the effect of giving women greater social independence from the family home. Precisely, these hotels for women were not a direct solution born from the request of the interested parties to embrace a different model of life and living, but arose from the need of the economic system to find temporary housing for its workers. So much so that here, young girls stayed, who then married for the most part of them and went to live in a home for nuclear family or otherwise linked to the system-family, with her husband, any in-laws, and future children.

Returning to the XIX century, these housing situations were also in America dependent on the economic and social system in force, young men and women from the working classes always worked to contribute to the family income, until they in turn married to form a new household.

It can be assumed that the hotels for American working women were in any case a temporary housing system for young women who would then probably settle down in a residential property with a new family.

If in some cases the factories themselves sent girls' wages to their parents, it was only from the 1890s that single working girls in England began to keep part of their earnings for themselves.

For some farmers, in fact, the contributions of their daughters were indispensable to pay the rent of the fields they cultivated. The financial support of the daughters and sons for their parents was absolutely normal for both parties.

Families who emigrated to the United States also brought these traditional practices with them.

An example of the system of strong family attachment and interdependence that continued in this epoch is the fact that the children of married girls who worked in Norwegian cities as maids were raised in the homes of their grandparents. In this case, the young husbands and wives worked separately as servants to economize and afford their own house at a later stage.

In many European cities from 1750 to 1850 there was an increase in illegitimate birth rates, probably because children were far from the supervision and protection of their parents.

Female wages in factories were thought to be relatively well paid, however most of the girls did not work in factories. Women in the needle trade and other piecework industries were poorly paid, so much so that they could barely support themselves. Women in these trades were paid up to half of what men received for the same work, under the pretext that he assumed, often erroneously, that women's wages were part of a family wage.

This situation of economic precariousness pushed young women to submit to another form of dependence: to look for a husband, in order to be able to add their earnings together with those of their husbands to guarantee their livelihood.

Some historians attribute the increase in illegitimate birth rates to the possibility that girls would allow themselves to be given to the men they intended to marry.

It was also customary to live together until after a period of work the woman had purchased the necessary equipment for the traditional "dowry" in order to be able to marry.

Sometimes couples did not marry, due to a simple mistake in the path, or due to lack of money, or the man's need to reach a new distant job opportunity.

In pre-industrial society, lower-class women developed endless resources to obtain food for their families, including, as was the case previously, begging prostitution and smuggling.

Once married, the daughters no longer had to contribute their salary to the parents' family. Marriage meant the transfer from the family of origin to the responsibilities towards the new husband.

The traditional role of the married woman also involved mobilizing her into the world of work when her earnings were necessary for the family budget. Mothers of young children sometimes left the workforce only after their eldest son had gone to work.

Much of the work done by married women was temporary, depending on family priorities, and they were often not even listed in official records as being employed. The old jobs persisted for many years along with the new ones.

Women who are married to industrial workers and who have lived in the city have imported old styles of behavior into new contexts.

Many helped their husbands, others ran "small shops or inns."

Sometimes families made sure that mothers or fathers worked in the same factory with their children so that they could be taken care of even during working hours.

Married women, whether they worked outside the home or not, defined their role in the family economy according to the pre-industrial values of the working class. Long after their husbands and children had begun to adopt some of the individualistic values associated with industrialization, these women continued the work of self-sacrifice and self-exploitation that so impressed Le Play characteristic of the peasant or domestic economy.

Subsequently, historical evolution entailed the replacement of family values with individualistic ones. These promote the idea that the individual owns himself rather than a part of a social or moral whole. Young women developed a more individualistic and instrumental orientation in the late XIX century. The job of a maid also began to be covered as an opportunity for geographical and occupational mobility, which allowed the girl to find a better and more remunerative job. This also opened up better perspectives on the traditional desire to marry someone who made better money in the new city.

Women began to live and work more and more with peers. the perspective of saving was now more focused on the acquisition of clothes, entertainment, or personal items, placing their own desires and interests above those of their families. The decrease in infant mortality and the increase in educational opportunities have also changed the strategies of family work: parents began to invest in the future of their children by keeping them out of the world of work and sending them to school. Clearly this strategy was adopted earlier for sons than for daughters (Scott and Tilly, 1975, p.28).

The economic change has created new business sectors. After the First World War, domestic service was far less important as a work area for young women, who began occupying occupations in public services, business support services, commerce, health services, and teaching.

The rhetoric of some working-class organizations also suggests a change in ideas about family roles. Unions demanded higher wages for men so they could support families and keep their wives at home. Some socialist newspapers have described the ideal society as one in which "good wives" would stay at home and take care of the health and education of "good children".

## 2.4 THE SUBURB PROBLEM

After the Second World War, the "golden age" of the nuclear family, the association woman-home has crystallized and took place a boom in the residential production of suburbs - *banlieues pavillonnaires* in the case of social housing peripheries in France -, as territorial areas outside the city center, and purely residential.

As for the United States, the suburbs were mainly neighborhoods for the middle-class where well-off families could live in the green, away from pollution and chaotic life of industrial cities, embodying the way of life of the American middle class, and the American dream with respect to the style of housing. In Europe, too, there was the development of single-family housing for the middle class, but there was also, in particular, the realization of peripheral quarters of public housing, intended for the working class - the *banlieues pavillonnaires* in France and, for example, the *Quartieri INA Casa* in Italy, the latter not necessarily in sites peripheral to the city -.

This led to working-class access to decent housing in Europe in terms of subsidized housing, and was a particularly important event in improving the living conditions of working-class citizens.

Nevertheless, the problematic character of the peripheral location of these residential districts emerged in this period. The peripheral location away from city services and workplaces, according to feminist critics, entailed limitations for the development of equal opportunities for work and personal expression for the female gender.

This same period saw improvements in women's wages, women's economic autonomy, access to bank accounts and divorce, and their first achievements in terms of civil and political rights. It was in this context of mutation of women's condition and these new struggles for greater economic independence that feminist materialist critiques arose, particularly in the United States, on the organization of domestic space and the suburban model of life that sees women in the foyer, denouncing it as a patriarchal system of domination.

After the Second World War, the problematic nature of large residential complexes characterized by their peripheral location, far from services, schools and workplaces, emerged. For this reason, they were judged as places that widen and crystallize the separation and distance - distance in physical and temporal terms - between the private environment where care work is carried out and the city center where paid work opportunities exist.

In addition, the domestic space was criticized for being a closed, hidden place where women's labor was free, unrecognized, and thus impeded women's emancipation. An enclosed space, hidden from outside view and from the forms of control that regulate social life, home places women and men in a situation of long-lasting physical co-presence that determines multiple power relations.

It is in private space more than in public space that gender roles are played out and constructed, as, among other things, children are socialized and taught about gender roles. It is in the private scene that the familial, marital, and filial order is constituted. In this discussion, it is necessary to reflect on the fact that most violence against women occurs in the private sphere. The private space constitutes in this sense a place of "close domination" according to Dominique Memmi's interpretation, which she calls "*domination rapprochée*" (Memmi, 2016, 2019). Memmi is a contemporary French political scientist, sociologist, director of research at the CNRS in Paris, and specialist in biopolitics.

To summarize, going back to the post Second World War years, it was during this period that feminist critics began to reason about the key role of the position of functions in urban space, as catalysts for power roles, and the key role of the division between public and private space.

The division between public and private space was analyzed by observing who occupies predominantly and for a longer period of time the private-domestic space (women) and who occupies more of the

public/semi-public space - the paid work environment, the city, etc. - (men), and what economic and independence repercussions the different individuals experience for this different positioning. In addition, it was underlined the key role of the distance between residential areas (private space) and the city center - or neighborhoods where services and job opportunities are located - (public space): the greater the distance between residence and the city center, the greater the difficulties of access to paid work and services for the individual who takes care of the domestic environment.

Here it is important to note that this observation pertains to the large number of women who performed the role of mothers, or women who performed care work for child or elderly relatives, or even women who performed domestic work as paid labor for other households. This observation applies less to women without children or who were not responsible for care work for others.

Personally, I would add that this clear division of roles whereby the mother was primarily responsible for care work in the home and the father was primarily responsible for paid labor outside the home, a job that took up the entire day, given the patterns of work timetables in force that generally provided for full-time schedules, involves an imbalance that probably does not even benefit the man. In fact, the responsibility for the economic sustenance of family members weighs entirely or largely on the shoulders of the father of the family, and this can lead to a certain psychological stress for him, and a lack of time in being able to enjoy moments of conviviality with family members and in getting to know his children better.

This also leads to a certain mutual alienation between men and women with respect to the world of the other's competence: the world of paid work and relations with the world outside the family and the world of home economics, family relationships, care work and emotional labor; as well as creating an effective disparity in the distribution of economic responsibilities among adult family members.

Finally, reasoning on the feminist criticism made in the '60s on the problematic nature of the distance of residential areas from the city center and on the extension of the size of middle-class single-family houses that require a large amount of time for maintenance, it must be stressed that these criticisms must be related to the system of paid work that was in force at the time - and still is, albeit with some changes -. The system of paid work included two important factors that, in addition to the distance between home and work, contributed to crystallize the separation of roles between men and women. These two factors are: the working hours in force at that time, which, as we have seen, contemplated more full-time hours than flexible working hours, for which it is assumed that the worker will be free from family commitments - if he has a family he delegates family commitments to his spouse or others, often grandmothers, aunts, etc. - and the factor of higher economic remuneration in general for men. This implies that for the economic sustenance of the family the work possibilities are only - or mostly - full-time types of work. Thus, at least one adult member of the family will have to devote himself full-time to work, delegating family commitments, bureaucratic errands, expenses, and housekeeping duties to the other adult members of the family. This is an important reason for the sharp division of the roles of paid worker and caregiver within the family.

Secondly, the fact that for the most part men found better paying jobs than women contributed to opting for the man to do the paid work and the woman to do the housework.

In third place, in cases in which the place of residence - as in the case of American suburbs, but also of many other territorial realities, such as the distance between village/city or village A as home place/village B as work place - is particularly distant from schools, from childcare services, and these in turn are far from the places where the woman could find a plausible full-time or even part-time job, the travel time to get among these places is too long, taking time away from the care work, and therefore does not ultimately allow the woman to access a paid job (Bonvalet and Dietrich-Ragon, 2018).

So, the spatial organization associated with the capitalist organization of the paid work system, and in general the organization of society, do not allow equal opportunities for economic independence, emancipation and the right to devote time to their families, of each individual, a matter that applies to both men and women.

#### 2.4.1 THE PROBLEM THAT HAS NO NAME

Two famous historical examples of the suburbs' critique are the article *A woman's place is in the city* of Gerda Wekerle published in 1985, and the Betty Friedan's 1963 diagnosis of the "*problem that has no name*", regarding the USA's suburbs.

In her 1963 book *The Feminine Mystique*, Betty Friedan writes about "*the problem that has no name.*"

*The Feminine Mystique* discusses the social expectation towards American women in the first half of the XX century. Friedan describes how the best expectation a woman aspired to and was asked to fulfill was to play the role of mother and wife. Similarly, literature and economics marketed at the time the idealized image of the happy suburban housewife. And this role appeared to be the best or the only one that every woman should aim for in order to feel accomplished in life.

However, Friedan says that many women in this role experienced a general feeling of dissatisfaction. As a widespread sense of unhappiness, it was a pervasive problem to which it seemed difficult to attribute a cause: a problem that had no name.

After the Second World War, the men returned, and the women abandoned the careers and important work roles they had taken on in manufacturing, medicine, administration and other spheres, to replace the men when they were on the battlefields.

Thus, women returned to their old role of mothers and wives, taking care of the household, leaving the men to make the most important decisions, and those concerning the world of politics and paid work.

The messages and setting of women's magazines, media, companies, schools, universities and various institutions in USA society contributed strongly to encourage girls to marry young and fit into the constructed female image, above all other goals.

Many women, however, perceived this system as particularly hostile to allowing them to realize themselves through other activities and effective independence.

Betty Friedan called this widespread unhappiness "the problem that has no name".

In particular it was identified as the result of the boredom experienced by women.

According to the writer, this mystique female image was a useful commercial strategy mainly for advertisers and large companies, rather than a real social necessity, or a necessity for families and children. Much less for women who played the "role".

Friedan identified the problem into the general capitalistic system of our society. In fact, she emphasized that the creation of a mythical "happy housewife" image had brought major dollars to advertisers and corporations, at a great cost to women.

Women simply wanted to explore their potential and true interests and put them to best use, just like any other human being.

Betty Friedan offered some solutions, such as to repropose the image of an independent working-class women, already appeared in the 1920s and 1930s. Although a similarly pervasive image of the independent woman did not yet exist in the culture of the 1930s, Friedan rather launched a visionary drive through her work.

## 2.4.2 INTERSECTION OF ETHNIC SEGREGATION

These two forms of spatial segregation discussed above, one at the micro scale that separates public and private space and the other at the macro scale that functionally divides entire districts of the city, bring with them not only the gender segregation phenomenon but, as is well known, also ethnic segregation, which in turn intersects with gender segregation.

Among others, there is the case of the white flight, a term appeared in the United States since the 1950s and 1960s, to describe the phenomenon of large-scale migration of Whites from areas that are becoming more diverse from an ethnocultural point of view. These white-skinned population groups thus moved from ethnically mixed urban regions to more ethnically homogeneous suburban regions.

This migration was triggered by racism and economic reasons that were always interconnected, and it took place with the social movements' context of those years, that promoted the civil rights of Black Americans. The cities of Cleveland, Detroit, Kansas City and Oakland were among those most affected. The Whites shift was a response to the great migration of Blacks from the rural southern United States to cities in the northern and western United States and waves of new immigrants from around the world. Some historians contest the designation "white flight" as an inappropriate term. Amanda Seligman, for example, considers that the term incorrectly suggests that as soon as the Blacks arrived, the Whites left directly, while the latter have often pretended their exclusive presence/possession of the neighbourhood even violently, or through intimidation and legal strategies.

Concerning the United States, the geographical area preferred by those White families was the suburb, in antithesis with the city center. The famous example of the Levittown suburb was built in 1947 "only for White".

## 2.4.3 LEVITTOWN

Historically, suburbanization accelerated sharply in the United States in the 1940s and 1950s. In the decade 1940-1949, the population of the suburbs increased by 35%, while the inhabitants who returned to the urban centers increased by only 13%.

The social composition also changed. Until the mid-1950s, the number of workers remained very high in the

American suburbs, which also expanded with the great building programs of industrialization.

It was from the XVIII century onwards that American society began to direct its housing towards the suburbs, unlike the English, wanting to avoid industrialization bringing with it a proliferation of council housing next to factories, to avoid too high a density, congestion and pollution; a situation perceived as a source of disorder, especially by Christian religious orders.

Industrialization led to the emergence of a new American sentiment: that of moving closer to nature, linking the settlements area to rurality, a residential area in a simpler, more authentic environment such as the countryside, which facilitates the peaceful development of families and the preservation of moral values, in opposition to the city, seen as a place of temptation and danger, which, being the place of business par excellence, can bring people closer to both wealth and risk. Hence the great development of suburbia.

With regard to the relationship between cities and nature, the opinions of Americans are divided by region. On the East Coast, the principle of the "garden in the city" is favoured, i.e., a design that brings parks and green open spaces into the heart of the city to make it more livable, while on the West Coast the principle of the "city in the garden" thrives, from Seattle to San Diego, at the risk of almost infinite sprawl.

This American ideal of peaceful life through the family's private retreat away from the city center is reflected in the design of the Levittown village case, in Nassau County, on Long Island, east of New York City. It was built from 1947 to 1951, founded by the firm Levitt & Sons, Inc. led by Abraham Levitt and his two sons William and Alfred.

It is a suburb built specifically for returning Second World War veterans - who could live here peacefully without financial burden - and is one of the first mass-produced suburbs in the country, now considered a symbol of post-war suburbia that emphasizes formal conformity and a return to traditional gender roles.

The Levitts built four communities called "Levittowns" in the states of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Puerto Rico and New York. In the latter, the transformation of previously existing farmland was implemented.

The Levitt firm was engaged in the construction of custom homes for upper-middle class communities throughout Long Island, while after the war, they began to serialize houses that could be built quickly, in about 26 phases, and rented at low prices; in one day, it was possible to build over thirty of these one-story homes with "expansion attics." The design was carefully detailed and provided the house with stove, futuristic television and modern kitchen.

Levittown, Long Island originally planned to house 2,000 of these mass-produced homes. Approximately half of the properties were rented within two days of the community's opening announcement in 1947. In fact, many more houses were added to the construction plans later. Thousands of people purchased these affordable homes and by 1951, Levittown and the surrounding area included more than 17 000 homes.

The houses had simple shapes, and were accessible to both white-collar and blue-collar workers. The Levitts were also attentive to the surrounding environment, designing the road system through curvilinear streets considered a "graceful form" for the atmosphere of the suburb, which thus departed from the classic urban grid layout. The passage of cars was planned outside the neighbourhood so that it would not be disturbed by noisy traffic. The upkeep of the houses and yards was also meticulously controlled and organized: the buyers agreed on a list of rules which, for example, forbade residents to hang out their washing outside the houses.

Levittown adhered to the new post-war culture that emphasized conformity and uniformity, and the convention for many women to leave the work they had done during the war to take care of their families and homes in the domestic sphere.

However, such meticulous community planning was accompanied by a strong problem of racism: the Levitts also controlled access to the neighbourhood for the inhabitants themselves. Homes were sold only to White buyers, excluding African Americans from buying: a clause in the original Levittown covenant prevented tenants from allowing non-Caucasians to use or occupy Levitt homes. The Levitts justified the clause by claiming that it preserved the value of the properties, since most Whites at the time preferred not to live in mixed communities.

Other areas, such as Stuyvesant Town, Parkchester and Addisleigh Park also initially accepted only Whites.

By 1953, the 70 000 people living in Levittown constituted the largest community in the United States without Black residents.

Shortly after the opening, protests were raised against discrimination in Levittown. In 1948, Shelley v. Kraemer nullified these racially restrictive housing covenants because they violated the 14th Amendment, and the Levittown clause was struck down. But Abraham Levitt continued to enforce racial homogeneity in practice by rejecting aspiring Black buyers. The area remained overwhelmingly segregated until 1954 after the Brown v. Board of Education cases.



The neighbourhood today has a rather different demographic composition, but Black residents in the area still constitute only a surprisingly small minority.

This neighbourhood embodies some of the salient features of the American society's "way of inhabiting" at the time, such as the separation of family nuclear units, the widening division between work and leisure, the dependence on the private car and the tendency towards racial and economic exclusivity. For some, suburbia was a symbol of American can-do; for others, it was a symbol of conformity and exclusion. The story of Levittown captures both the hopeful aspects of the American dream and the more sombre aspects of segregation and individualism of the rise of the American suburbs.

#### 2.4.4 LEVITT'S MODEL IN FRANCE

In 1965, William Levitt brought his neighbourhood model of prefabricated, single-family, low-cost housing to France as well, intending to target middle-class families. The first suburb of this plan was built in the French village of Le Mesnil-Saint-Denis, of fewer than 2 000 inhabitants, 35 kilometers from Paris Notre-Dame. He built 510 Levitt houses here - 370 detached and 140 semi-detached, on lots of 600 sqm on average -, which sold quickly, given that there was very little real estate market for detached houses.

Les Résidences du Château helped popularize the new village formula, with characteristic North American suburb elements: uninterrupted lawns, driveways perpendicular to the street, garages, and built-in porches.

From here Levitt developed other village-suburbs: 1968, Le Parc de Lesigny à Lesigny, 604 houses; 1969 La Commanderie des Templiers à Saint Quentin en Yvelines, 480 houses; 1970, La Commanderie des Templiers II à Saint Quentin en Yvelines, 280 houses ; 1970, L'Orée de Lesigny à Lesigny, 276 houses ; 1970, Le Parc de Villeroy à Mennecey, 1 264 houses ; 1973, La Colline de Verville à Mennecey, 405 houses ; 1979, Les Greens de Gif-sur-Yvette.

Thus appeared several Levitt communities, quite similar to their American counterparts, even here were imposed with rules of common life habits and customs: it was forbidden to place garden houses - too visible signs of the proletariat -, nor to dry laundry in the open air, to grow vegetables and to park outside the place assigned for long periods. Only inhabitants' cars were allowed to circulate in residential villages.

In total, Levitt's French subsidiary company has built just under 5 000 homes, far fewer than the more than 125 000 in America. Nevertheless, Levitt's French project was followed with interest on both sides of the Atlantic. And it eventually met with some success.

France underwent processes of urban transformation and Americanization in the 1950s and 1960s, and Levitt & Sons was among the American firms that contributed to the emergence of the " peripheral " housing concept intended for a middle-class clientele looking for detached houses in a green environment, not far from large cities. This development testifies to the influence in Europe of the concept of the garden city, proposed more than half a century earlier by the Englishman Ebenezer Howard, and later taken up by various thinkers and builders such as Levitt himself, and the prospect of a single-family house with garden in a peri-urban-agricultural environment as the solution to the city environment. A city environment read in itself, as a place antagonistic to human well-being, for its supposed dangers of crime, the frenetic working rhythms, the smog and the economic expenditure of the city.

In contrast, these verdant suburbs were intended to foster a place for the growth of children within a more fair and stable society. Although this concept partially proposes interesting and useful themes, such as the rapprochement with nature and the desire for a calm urban atmosphere, history shows us

the miscalculation of this solution, which turned out to be misleading and discriminatory, conceived exclusively for the benefit of a specific profile of citizens corresponding to a very small percentage of the population to the detriment of the rest of the citizens.

While the strict community rules of Levittville may have seemed limiting, the residents who chose to settle here saw this new way of life as a sign of belonging to an elite. The garage size could only accommodate one car, and certainly the French Levitt model has also been subjected to criticism that emphasizes the segregative and homogenizing nature of the social fabric of this housing system, which generally lowers the level of tolerance for diversity. However, there are no specific studies on the ethnic component of Levitt-French villagers, let alone on the occupation of female inhabitants and their roles within the neighbourhood or family.

## 2.5 FUNCTION AND EVOLUTION OF PERIPHERIES IN EUROPE

### THE STIGMATIZATION OF FRENCH BANLIEUES

In France, there is sometimes a spontaneous association between the peripheral districts, *banlieues*, and a negative atmosphere. The image of the banlieues sometimes evokes the theme of delinquency, insecurity, and is often perceived in a pejorative way.

On this subject, French society transmits a collectively constructed representation, through media communications, of violence and misfortune. Paradoxically, sociologists contribute to consolidating this negative representation - which they would rather combat - when they approach the subject of the banlieue with discourses on poverty or discourses with a populist bias.

Thus, actual events of violence and riots, media and public debates produce stigmatizing effects. Moreover, the majority of the population has no real connection with the inhabitants of these neighbourhoods. Rather, they have an image drawn from reading newspapers or television reports.

This stigmatization of the suburbs has a long-standing origin in the past and is linked to the establishment of modern cities and the relative contrast between the center and the suburbs.

In France from the XII century onwards, the term "banlieue" referred to an area around the city over which the right of "ban", i.e., seigniorial or communal authority, was applied. Within this banlieue the emigrant populations, rejected by the city, settled with their activities in the so-called faubourgs - "village outside the walls" -.

Whereas the banlieue, in today's sense of the term, developed with industrialization in the first half of the XIX century.

In this period, too, the banlieue evoked a sense of fear of the "dangerous classes", just as today's *banlieues sensibles*, vulnerable suburbs, are interpreted as places of spatial concentration of poverty, delinquency and violence, distance between social classes, remoteness or carelessness of parents towards their children.

Poor suburbs are thus perceived as a threat to the rich city. This social interpretation, while on the one hand leading to political action to integrate the "excluded" lower classes into society, on the other reduces the problem of class difference to a problem of spatial marginality.

As in all Western countries, this phenomenon reappeared more recently in France with the massive development of residential suburbs in the post-World War Second phase.

The problem of peripheral neighbourhoods, a large part of which are grouped in France among the "vulnerable neighbourhoods" subject to redevelopment policies, stems largely from the result of the transformations of the large housing estates created by post-war "functional urbanism" between the 1950s and 1970s. The economic growth and demographic expansion of this period put pressure on the rapid search for new low-cost housing solutions to fulfil several functions: reducing substandard housing, accommodating repatriated people from North Africa and the immigrant workforce, but also providing housing for young families and the middle classes. The French State took on the task of solving this problem by creating, between 1958 and 1973, 195 ZUPs (*Zones à urbaniser en priorité* - priority urbanization zones) in the countryside, mainly of the rented type. These comprised more than 2 million dwellings. At that time, large housing estates were a "solution" and not a problem, they represented social progress and an objective improvement in living standards. These settlement systems provided access to modern conveniences: running water, electricity, dining room, bathroom, central heating, etc. The historical developments then saw the economic crisis of the mid-1970s lead to mass unemployment, and these neighbourhoods were hard hit by the effects of deindustrialization.

The shift from a material goods economy to a service economy, technological innovations, and the concentration of new jobs in the tertiary sector, which require a high level of qualification, greatly increased the risk of unemployment, which was one of the main causes of urban segregation and exclusion.

At the same time, since the early 1970s, some experts have been drawing attention to the "malaise of the peripheries" and the "problems of segregation", since it was in the peripheries that the extent of inequality in French society was revealed. It was here that the dynamics of unemployment and precariousness were installed and reproduced.

Since then, statistics have shown a widening of the gaps between the suburbs of French cities and other city districts, particularly in terms of employment, income and social mix.

A number of figures may illustrate this.

Between 1990 and 1999, the unemployment rate rose in "sensitive urban areas," from 18.9% to 25.4%. The unemployment rate for those under 25 was 40% within sensitive neighbourhoods in 2005, compared to 24.5% in other national districts (Avenel, *Les émeutiers de la politique de la ville*, 2006). In the same year, 39% of people living in sensitive neighbourhoods did not have a high school diploma - compared to 21.2% of people from other districts -. Only 3.9% earn a master's or doctoral degree. Finally, one in five households living in a priority neighbourhood was below the poverty line, compared to one in ten households in the rest of France.

Concerning the evolution of the current situation, the social problem of the French banlieues became particularly evident and started to be the subject of public debate and political mobility, in two significant historical recordings, not surprisingly two episodes of riots. One dated from the summer of 1981, and the other from the autumn of 2005.

The summer of 1981 was marked by riots in Lyon.

After the precedent of the incidents in Vaulx-en-Velin, a suburb to the north of Lyon in 1979, the large HLM - low cost housing, with partial public financing - housing estates experienced other episodes of violence between young residents and the police, in the eastern suburbs of Lyon, Les Minguettes in Vénissieux in the summer of 1981.

A group of young boys burned more than 200 cars in their neighbourhood, expressing their resentment at feeling rejected by society.

Incidents of violence were widely mediatized and triggered fear. The public authorities responded with emergency measures: the "anti-hot summer operations (*anti-été chaude*)", serious incidents linked to racial discrimination, there were cases of people dying, and then what was called the "*Beurs*" (North Africans) equality march, shaped the "banlieues problem".

It was in particular from this moment that the media, researchers and politicians opened the debate on the "periphery to exclusion". The suburbs' problems at that time, concerned unemployment, delinquency, riots, parallel economy, school failure, immigration, exclusion.

While it was an event that shook the conscience of the population and led them to seek solutions to the outbreak of problems affecting them, it was also an opportunity to cement yet again a misleading description of "banlieue" by repeating the devaluing meanings of the past.

A misleading banlieue's definition re-emerged in this period, characterized by a single image, that of poverty and social destruction, based on the most "excluded" population and orienting the discourse on the pronunciation of ghettos, speaking of "problematic" young people, generalizing and, by stigmatizing this territory.

Later, similar episodes of unrest spread to other banlieues of French territory, especially in the 1990s.

In autumn 2005, the wave of riots and urban violence started with the same pattern of the one of 1981: the accidental death in Clichy-sous-Bois (Seine-Saint-Denis) of two teenagers, one of North African

origin and the other of sub-Saharan origin, who were electrocuted after entering an electrical transformer while being chased by police officers. Almost immediately, the first clashes broke out between the police and young people from the popular houses and the nearby city of Montfermeil.

Rapidly these clashes spread to many other municipalities in the working-class peripheries of Paris, but also to some wealthy residential communities, and to the peripheries of some fifty provincial cities, particularly in the west and center of France, often the clashes took place near neighbourhoods with a strong component of young French people of immigrant origin.

In response, the government found it necessary to enact the exceptional procedure of a state of emergency through a curfew.

These riots have struck the public opinion both for their duration and the extent of the territory affected - 18 regions out of 22 in mainland France -, and for the extent of the material damage caused by the young rioters: 10 000 cars burned, more than 250 public buildings damaged, economic activities looted. It has been estimated a total cost of the riots of about 200 million euros (Avenel, 2011; Cazelles, Morel and Roché, 2007; Gracieux, 2007; Rauzy, 2015).

The riots of October and November 2005 manifested themselves in their specificity, linked to the surrounding context, recorded at that time, of phenomena concerning the issue of racial segregation. This context included: the debate on the SRU (loi Solidarité et Renouvellement Urbain) law of Solidarity and Urban Renewal in 2000; the debate on the law on religious symbols at school - known as the "veil law" - in 2004; the call of the "natives of the Republic" in 2005; and the debate on France's colonial past and, in particular, on slavery, provoked by article 4 of the law of February 2005 on the "positive aspects of colonization"; the death of about fifty people of African origin in the fires of three substandard buildings in Paris in 2005, followed by a demonstration to denounce the unhealthiness of the housing occupied by many immigrants; also in 2005, the creation of a Council of Representatives of Black Associations, CRAN (Conseil représentatif des associations Noires), based on the model of the Council of Representatives of the Jewish Institutions of France (CRIF) and American associations for the defense of Black rights; and finally, the growing concern with the issue of segregation, which was increasingly discussed using two mutually antagonistic representations such as "ghetto" and "social mix".

## 2.6 DESCRIPTION OF THE CURRENT PHENOMENON, BANLIEUES AND SEGREGATION

But let's see in more detail what the "problem of the banlieues" in France consists of.

First of all, it should be pointed out that the banlieues are not homogeneous neighbourhoods, but present different social and urban situations.

For example, the priority neighbourhoods of the former working-class mining towns in the north and east of France are clearly distinct from the large residential complexes that arose with post-war urbanization. Moreover, not all vulnerable urban areas are located in the peripheries. In the province, half of the vulnerable neighbourhoods are located in the center of the agglomerations. The situations of segregation are related to different contexts. The presence of foreign families is greater than elsewhere, but it is difficult to speak of real "ethnic enclaves". The representation of "young people from vulnerable residential neighbourhoods" is negatively stereotyped, covering a multiplicity of different situations and backgrounds. Young people have varied levels of education and occupations, which testifies to the heterogeneity of their parents' social origins. In this broad context, the use of the notion "excluded" is fallacious, since it does not take into account the plurality of situations.

In this sense, the problem of banlieues runs into the problem of its definition. The terms used such as: "disadvantaged", "vulnerable", "struggling" neighbourhoods, etc. are vague, and above all, they are all negative. Banlieues are thus defined only by the problems they pose. This is particularly relevant because words are not neutral but give situations and populations an identity, a deep meaning, which in turn influences the self-identification that these populations have of themselves, and their behaviors.

Despite this clear heterogeneity, there remain similar characteristics that unite the different identities of the banlieues. There is no all-encompassing process that causes the problem of banlieues but partial processes, of which three recurring ones can often be recognized. These are social housing policies, employment and the place given to populations of immigrant origin. Depending on how these three processes develop, their subsequent level of concentration on the territory manifests itself.

Contextually with the economic crisis of the 1970s and the subsequent mass unemployment and impoverishment of the banlieues, it can be observed that the relationship to employment is an important criterion in the study of these quarters.

The analysis of employment explains a large part of the behavior of the inhabitants of a socially divided territory. Young people in particular, finding themselves without a stable or well-paid job, lose a credible prospect of integration. They no longer define themselves as "workers" but as being in an "integration phase".

Unemployment and precariousness slow down integration and block the populations of "vulnerable neighbourhoods" in a process of social involution. Urban segregation spreads over time and triggers cumulative inequalities that affect many other aspects of residents' daily lives. For example, unequal access to work, difficulties in entering the school system and, more generally, in enjoying urban potential are encountered.

With regard to the second process: the place assigned to immigrants, it is important to dwell on the importance in French society of the mutual influence between social classification and "ethnic" classification in the processes of urban segregation.

## 2.6.1 ETHNIC DIVERSITY, BODILY DIVERSITY AND RACIALIZATION

In France as in the United States, the issue of racial discrimination and the "racialization or ethnicization" of social relations is interconnected with the problem of vulnerable neighbourhoods.

Racial discrimination implements exclusionary practices based on skin color - not civic status -. It is complex to analyze racial discrimination because it acts according to a series of hidden, indirect and opaque mechanisms. They spread indirectly in all interpersonal relationships, in the context of the settlement system, work, leisure and transport. As regard to immigration, racism is persistent in the immigrant's experience and contributes to form the child's representation of himself.

Racial segregation operates according to processes of ethnicization or racialization. The concept of "ethnicization" does not refer to any actual ethnic origin, relative to a geographical origin or a dynastic lineage. Ethnicization is a social construction, and not a state of the ethnicized individual, an attribution and not an attribute, which appears in the relationships between the different groups of the population. It does not indicate the existence of "ethnic" groups, but designates the highlighting of this category in the perception of self and in the relationship with others. The boundaries of a definition are not immanent but fluctuating, consolidated as a result of an elaboration that society makes of them, reconstructed according to situations, and even abandoned depending on the context. It can be shown that "ethnicization" is all the stronger when "ethnic" identity is weak.

Thus, French youth of immigrant origin may develop a sense of identity characterized by the exhibition of "ethnic" traits. Even if this "ethnicity" is not necessarily the same as the culture of origin and does not correspond to identification with a community group.

The "beur culture" is a strategic construction of an identity made above all to defend itself from a look of devaluation. Beur is a term that defines a person born on French territory with one or both parents immigrating from North Africa. Thus, the fact of defining oneself, declaring oneself "Arab" or "Black" when one is French becomes a statement of a proud identity moving away from stigma.

The fact remains that in vulnerable neighbourhoods, as in French society, social relations have been, at least in part, "racialized" according to criteria that oppose French and Arabs, or Arabs and Jews.

Studies of urban anthropology in the 1980s showed that one tool for processing relations in neighbourhoods is gossip, rumors. "Ethnic" categories formulate, imposing themselves, predefined classifications of individuals, forming interpersonal hierarchies rather than purely ethnic hierarchies.

"Racialization" is one of the elements that organizes social relations in sensitive neighbourhoods, both integrating at times, and dividing social life. Thus, the "problem of the banlieues" hinges on precarious employment and poverty, leading to a reasoning in terms of "class", the formation of which is often not independent of the constitution of a division in "ethnic" terms.

Therefore, (dis)employment, class and ethnicization are processes that feed off each other, if observed with an intersectional lens.

A spatial key comes into play to foment such mechanisms of overlap between unemployment and racial discrimination: when these two phenomena are spatially concentrated.

So, it can be seen that for the inhabitants, the neighbourhood not only involves economic difficulties but constitutes a real stigma. This stigma is both an external process, fueled by the exterior interpretation of the neighbourhood and its media representation, as well as an internal process, since the internal inhabitants know the representation made of their neighbourhood and are wary of each other.

Stigmatization, therefore, when it acts in this way can alter the relationships and the self-image of the banlieue's community, and negatively affect the relationships between inhabitants and representatives of local institutions. It also compromises the employment of young people who sometimes may not find work because of their address, causing a generalized sense of distrust among the inhabitants.

Then, the stigma leads to an ambivalent attitude, both of rejection and of defense of one's own place of residence.

Even if the neighbourhood is the place of stigma and segregation, it is the object of a very strong attachment and a dense sociality that acts as a backlash to exclusion, which also consists in the practice of a "street culture", typical of the habits of a part of the teenagers of the popular neighbourhoods.

This ambiguity of the neighbourhood is perceived also by the young residents: it is still a place of protection and mobilization, but also a place of confinement. It is as well for this reason that young people let appear only the image of "incivility".

Some people distance themselves from the neighbourhood on the one hand and withdraw into the private sphere of the family on the other. To avoid stigma, some inhabitants pass it on to others, so the finger is pointed at those who are considered responsible for the bad reputation.

Other times a more positive attitude towards their own neighbourhood is shown, especially when the usefulness of its services and solidarity bonds is recognized. Solidarity is often implemented between families who share the same type of problems or who have a similar past, the same cultural origins or a common migratory experience. And the same people are quick to rebut that the bad reputation is largely unwarranted and damaging.

Concerning the issue of poverty, there are some mechanisms in this context, that makes it become a way of life, not just a lack of income.

Most of the young people grew up there and immigrants are no longer newcomers. Specific adaptation strategies have been developed, such as practices of exchange and solidarity, mutual aid, and specific forms of organization of community life, a "territorial over-affiliation".

The economically poorest families are consequently the most socially isolated ones, therefore the possibilities for meetings are reduced more to the perimeter of the neighbourhood. The number of people with whom one has contact is smaller, but daily encounters are more frequent among these few people. We help each other in daily activities, for example after-school support for children, and in the domestic economy, resulting in a system of reciprocal obligations that operates on personal loyalties, breakups and alliances.

However, this "sociality of community" can be the target of racist recriminations by those who feel dispossessed of it, or sometimes immigrants are accused of benefiting from social services and having an "invasive" presence through their travels for meetings.

The intensity of this sociality is more often than not perceived by the environment as a threat and generates a feeling of insecurity among the inhabitants.

## 2.6.2 GENDER INVOLVEMENT IN THE BANLIEUES

It is now necessary to discuss the differences in the appropriation of space that exist between boys and girls. The banlieues have their own peculiar relationship between the sexes.

The public space here is accessed according to specific codes that determine a different use based on the age and gender of the users. Boys respond to social immobility and exclusion with spatial immobility and control of girls. They take over the territory, the streets and public places, and try to block the movements of others (Abdallah, 2003; Avenel, 2006; Beaugé, 2009; Avenel, 2009; Clair, and Descoutures, 2009).

Young boys become part of the street "gang" dynamic, tending towards a construction of themselves as a sort of authority in their territory.



Through their stay on the streets, they exercise control over the girls, who are encouraged to stay at home. The boys themselves try to maintain these role norms, establishing other kinds of relationships with girls only, generally, outside the neighbourhood.

In this situation being "dispossessed" of the territory, girls choose to succeed at school, going along with this exclusion from public space so as not to get into disputes with boys, they remain within the walls of the home. Sometimes they respond with strategies of independence and mobility in urban space. In order to change the bonds in the family and their place in public space, girls have to negotiate and make compromises.

The result is that, in summary, the banlieues are the scene of various dynamics that differ from one reality to another, and it is possible to identify categories of actors who play a role in a specific position with respect to each other, being involved in determining a social density whose interactions at times overlap according to similar processes.

In any case, compared to the community as a whole, the inhabitants of the banlieue are too different to share a system of common norms and values. They don't usually see themselves as a social class, and they do not make a cultural distinction that contrasts an "us" with a "they".

Whatever their social diversity, individuals present themselves as actors in the consumer society, especially when they are subject to forms of rejection. They identify with and adhere to the dominant cultural model of the middle strata, which focuses on concern for the person and the search for personal autonomy, even when one does not have the economic means to achieve it.

The philosophy of our society sees individuals as fully responsible for themselves. They are "forced" to be free and autonomous regardless of the extent of resources. This is both a personal desire and a social imperative. This ideal of life, however, can lead to a feeling of contempt for those in a situation of marginalization. Social problems are then considered personal problems.

## 2.7 INSTITUTIONAL ANSWERS TO THE PROBLEM

The uprisings of autumn 2005 automatically called into question the institutional policies adopted up until that moment to improve the conditions of the banlieues, and here was better understood the conflict, or rather the lack of mutual trust between young people and institutions, that was at the basis of these episodes of violence.

The criticisms raised against the institutional strategies stated that, after the employment crisis of the 1970s, in the affected popular neighbourhoods, the old popular structures and trade unions disappeared and were replaced by social workers and relationship professionals. In this, a social policy was initiated aimed at starting "individualized insertion paths" which consist of strategies for involving the person in society "as it presents itself". However, according to the critics, this has the disadvantage of creating a circle of dependence between the individual subjected to the path of insertion and social services.

As for the figures in the same year 2005, there were 3,2 million people in France who had inadequate housing, including around 90 000 homeless people, 500 000 people who rented or sublet furnished housing and nearly 2,2 million people who they lived in housing with no basic services - no bathroom, toilet, central heating - or heavily overcrowded. The worrying feature was that among the people who did not have access to decent housing, some were nevertheless employed. In the same period, there was an increase in rents in the private sector, and this combination resulted in a high demand for social housing that could not be satisfied by the supply: more than 1,3 million French families were on the waiting list. For an HLM accommodation, a number doubled compared to 1986.

Despite this residential shortage, the country still continued to tear down tens of thousands of social housings in the immediately preceding years.

The reason for these demolitions of the HLM towers and *barres* dating back to the 60s and 70s was to ease the social tensions concentrated here, and to increase the social mix, making room for new housing for the middle classes.

But this policy did not respond to the need to build new HLMs at a time when the demand for these was also increasing.

In 2005, 410 000 new dwellings were being built for all other categories, but very few were being built for low-income households.

In particular, there is a gap with previous years: in the early 1990s, conventional HLM housing - mainly subsidized loan, PLA -, which caters for conventional social housing clients, accounted for 30% of new construction, whereas in 2005 it accounted for only about 13% of the total.

### 2.7.1 THE INNOVATIONS MADE BY THE SRU LAW

To cope with this situation, the law "loi Solidarité et renouvellement urbain" SRU was devised in 2000. Article 55 of this law provides that all municipalities with more than 3 500 inhabitants, which are located in a larger urban agglomeration or inter-municipal area of at least 50 000 inhabitants, must have at least 20% of social housing by 2020. As regards the Parisian territory of Île-de-France, this law extends to municipalities with at least 1 500 inhabitants. The law also foresaw that HLM low-cost housing units would no longer be built where they were concentrated, before being demolished in previous years, as part of the policy of creating social diversity through the construction of residences for the middle classes, but would be built on the rest of the national territory. Aiming to achieve less HLM where there were too many and more where they were lacking.

There was provision for fines for violators and possibly direct state intervention to impose the construction of HLMs. The municipalities affected by the law numbered approximately 700 throughout the country - 742 at the beginning of 2004 -.

Indeed, HLMs and their inhabitants constitute an additional expense for municipalities, such as financial aid, collective facilities, investment in city policies; and for the departments of RMI and social action. Many households are exempt from the house tax, in some municipalities more than 50% of the households were exempt; therefore, the property tax is very small in these cases.

Several equalization systems between municipalities were activated in the early 1990s: Urban Solidarity Grant (DSU); Solidarity Fund for the Île-de-France Region (FSRIF); a lump sum allocation (DF) paid annually by the State to the most disadvantaged municipalities; departmental funds for equalization of business tax. However, these measures, which allocated EUR 16,8 billion each year, did not prove sufficient; it was estimated that they only closed one third of the gap between rich and poor municipalities.

Some described this phenomenon as "territorial apartheid".

The SRU law was launched to make an updated contribution to the territorial planning that had been implemented up to that point. In the 1990s, a partial failure of the existing urban policy was being drawn, which, although it had succeeded in curbing the problem of banlieues, limiting riots, improving the urban landscape and providing neighbourhoods with many of the necessary facilities, had not fulfilled the reduction of segregation, which on the contrary seemed to have become widespread.

In the thirty years preceding the SRU law, an urban policy was pursued, covering an increasing number of municipalities in difficulty, through the *Habitat et Vie Sociale* procedure and other programs. This policy initiated the construction of low-income housing HLMs, large-scale urban regeneration projects, extended to existing buildings or infrastructure in a state of decay, renewal of accessibility to public transport, school programs - with the *Zones d'éducation prioritaires*, ZEP - and job placement - *zones franches* policy -.

With respect to this policy, the SRU law has introduced an important change: the economic and social revitalization programs for vulnerable districts also included the territories that have remained unscathed by the urban crisis, so that the burden of the issue is not placed only on the usual problem areas, but is absorbed by the territory, since the fundamental element of segregation is spatial concentration. In these terms, the SRU law uses as a backlash the exact opposite of the phenomenon: geographical decentralization.

A second innovation was brought about by the SRU law. The previous urban policy was based on the voluntary participation of municipalities, which could apply to be selected by the state services.

Once a municipality's application was approved, it was the mayor, and not the developers or state services, who took charge of the project and thus exercised control over it. As a result, municipalities sometimes participated in the system because they had a financial interest in it.

In contrast, the SRU law exerts a criterion of constraint: by assigning an obligation, based on objective parameters - the rate of social housing on the total of residences -, and financial penalties for any recalcitrant municipalities. Thus, it sets a more controlled and constrained scheme of action, in the name of national interest.

## 2.7.2 DEBATE ON AMERICANIZATION OF THE SRU

The riots and debates of 2005 together with the increased public interest in racial discrimination raised the question of a plausible analogy between French banlieues and American segregated suburbs or ghettos both in terms of the representations applied to them by the media, local deputies, associations, and researchers, and at the level of their own reality.

The strategy of "imposition" adopted by the SRU law is reminiscent, at first glance, of the precedent of American busing, the government practice of imposing ethnic diversity in schools, and in public services, established in the United States since 1968.

Like busing, the French 2000 law promotes greater diversity by mixing populations that had previously lived on separate territories, this time by implanting whole families in affluent residential areas, through social housing, and not just children during school hours. Like busing, this mix is forced, imposed on political actors - in the case of the United States: the federal states and the municipalities - and populations - those in White neighbourhoods - who would not otherwise have implemented it spontaneously.

However, it should be noted that the two policies are significantly different: the historical and social context and their content clearly differ.

Starting from the fact that, unlike the SRU law, busing was not the product of the will of the federal state and was not approved by Congress. It was the Black associations that mobilized, at local and federal level, which denounced the problems encountered and imposed this policy, starting from a will for desegregation even before a willingness to ethnic mix.

Already in 1954, the *Brown vs. Board of Education* ruling in Topeka, Kansas, by the US Supreme Court prohibited racial segregation in school buildings. Then in 1968, given that White families were sprawling in large numbers in the suburbs, another court ruling set up "school desegregation plans" and proposed the use of buses to take students out of their residential areas.

It is also important to note that, unlike busing, the SRU law is not presented as a law in favor of racial or ethnic mixing, but for socio-economic mixing. In fact, politicians, researchers and activists for desegregation policies in the United States talk about racial discrimination as a decisive factor for segregation.

In France, however, racial segregation is not mentioned.

In speeches in the National Assembly and in the Senate, Jean-Claude Gayssot, as well as Louis Besson, have expressed their concerns at the fact that the issue of segregation is only addressed in the SRU law from the point of view of social issues and inequalities between local authorities, without mentioning the factor of ethnicization. The ethnic dimension of the problem of priority neighbourhoods has been totally silent.

The words "immigrants", "foreigners", "population of immigrant origin", "descendants of immigration" and "Blacks", "Arabs" or "North Africans" are never mentioned.

This absence is particularly strange as the ethnic or racial component is intrinsic to the reality of segregation in France. And this always remains the opinion of those directly concerned, namely the immigrants, those who belong to a visible ethnic minority and those who are subject to ethnicization.

This alarming absence is attributed to two causes. One cause is the choice of an institutional strategy that uses the omission of the ethnic component to avoid raising the correlation social stock = foreigners or immigrants, which could have strengthened the reluctance of local elected representatives or public opinion before the law was approved, or could have reinforced racism.

The second cause is the real taboo on the ethnic question in France, for essentially political reasons, and the difficulty of eradicating it. The taboo of "race or ethnicity" is a consequence of the unworthy meaning that Europeans and Western populations have attributed to these concepts in the past. It is therefore a taboo linked purely to the representations or "myths" made about "race", not to the actual physical characteristics of individuals or their origins. It is possible to affirm that the political reasons governing the taboo of "ethnicity" are the basis of the French political consensus, especially with regard to the representation of the nation in France.

There are many examples of this freezing of the topic, from the debate on the incompleteness of demographic statistics on ethnicity, to the analysis of the riots of autumn 2005, of which the social or not social dimension, the ethnic, and the citizenship dimension was discussed by many politicians and intellectuals, despite the fact that young "Beur" and Africans made up a large portion of the participants in the riots, and the inhabitants of the banlieues are in large numbers North Africans, immigrants and their descendants. Nevertheless, within the protests that saw many representatives of the municipalities calling for the abolition or 'adjustment' of the 20% quota of HLMs provided by law, the term 'ghetto' resurfaced, which in France had long been banished from the public debate on the peripheries.

Apparently, it was preferred not to mention the aspect of ethnicity in order to avoid the re-emergence and normalization of the term "ghetto" and not to compromise the collective and historical goal of a Nation of citizens equal before the law, without discrimination on the basis of origin, religion and race.

If this was a cause of this omission, the goal of a truly egalitarian and discrimination-free society is certainly noble, but hiding discrimination is not the way to solve it. This strategy of concealment belittles the extent of real inequality and discrimination and ends up hiding the nature of its mechanisms. At this point, it is more difficult to work against discrimination, given that its causes and dynamics have not been pronounced, let alone analyzed in detail.

The ethnic dimension of segregation is at best seen as a simple attribute of its social dimension, not as a component in itself that operates according to stratified logic, mobile and in continuous interchange with the other components of discrimination. It is rather mentioned "urban segregation," a relatively limiting term because it reasons only about the type of territory in which the phenomenon takes place, without delving into the characteristics of the populations concerned; or "social segregation," which discusses the level of education, the relationship with the labor market, etc.

Concerning the comparison between French banlieues and American suburbs and ghettos, and issues with respect to the theme of urban segregation that is often intertwined with this spatial context there is an in-depth discussion in Appendix 1, on page ...

While an in-depth discussion made with respect to the concept of rationalization and how it acts in dividing built space is found in Appendix 2, on page ..

## 2.8 WOMEN, BANLIEUES AND ALTERNATIVE SOLUTIONS OF HOUSING

### 2.8.1 WOMEN AND THE BUILT SPACE OF THE BANLIEUES

Further consideration is now given to the problems faced by women in vulnerable neighbourhoods in France, which we introduced above.

The on-field surveys and research conducted over the last forty years report specific difficulties encountered by women in neighbourhood dynamics, of which it can be identified four recurrent ones: the problematic issue of occupation, the appropriation of public space, sports and public facilities aimed primarily at male use, and the weak recognition-visibility of women.

Starting with the issue of employment, women also, are frequently affected by problems of job precariousness, since these are often residential neighbourhoods far from urban areas with a high concentration of job offers, and sometimes working-class women do not have their own means of commuting to work or, if they travel by public transportation, they do not have enough time to travel. In addition, a large proportion of the neighbourhood population has children; women with children sometimes need flexible work schedules that are often not available in the labor market. In addition, a large proportion of the neighbourhood population has children; women with children sometimes need flexible work schedules that are often not available in the labor market. In particular, in families composed of a couple and children, there is always a preference in the working classes to divide the roles within the couple in such a way that it is the man who has the time to devote to paid work and the woman to take care of home and family, even in the case of families of immigrant origin, which are just as numerous in vulnerable neighbourhoods. So, on the whole, women are more subject than men to time constraints and mobility, which pulls them away from paid employment.

In addition, in the case of immigrant women, or those with a background that has not allowed them to achieve certain levels of schooling and/or professional qualifications, occupations with low pay are envisaged. This discourages them from returning to work if they already have a substantial family workload and the need to make several trips in the neighbourhood or between cities and neighbourhoods to follow their children's activities. Immigration policies aimed at mothers were in past years focused on literacy or mediation between culture of origin and local administration, certainly useful, but they were not focused on vocational training or job creation.

The ideal for many women would be to reconcile family and professional life and to ensure interaction between the private and public spheres. That is why they often choose to work part-time and in the neighbourhood, if the possibility exists.

Another important problem is the difficulty of occupying public space. In fact, in the residential complexes of vulnerable neighbourhoods, there has been a phenomenon of male appropriation of public space at the expense of women's presence. Women avoid cafes where men meet and sometimes even take a detour to avoid being seen.

In addition, it is complained that social activities and public facilities installed in these neighbourhoods, especially sports facilities are designed primarily for boys and not for women and girls. The planning tradition and the urban equipment developed to manage social crises do not operate a sustainable prevention. In fact, the planning logic in force identifies the "street gangs" of young people as the main actors of the problems of the peripheries, and therefore implements a whole series of provisions of "constructions" - sports facilities in parks and on bicycle paths, sports fields, music cafes, sports halls, social centers - specifically intended for boys. In such a way as to give them a space for activity, leisure and accommodation, and with the foresight to introduce them into healthy community practices,

distancing them from other activities that threaten public safety - delinquency, drug dealing, and so forth -.

Nevertheless, this mainly male city policy forgets girls and their legitimacy to be part of the neighbourhood and its activities. In fact, the activities devised are hardly open to girls, who feel increasingly excluded and out of the box and abandon sites where they don't find their place.

This urban planning contemplates a logic of immediate response to problems, through a hard design rather than a soft design. A soft design that should include the organization of paths on the territory that takes into account the social dynamics over time. Specifically, in short times - the rhythm of daily rituals and habits of the neighbourhood's users - and in extended times - paths for territory use that consider seasonality and provide for transformations and adaptations during the weeks and months - . While it seems that the urban planning in place imprinted in the hard design, eludes the social dynamics that exist between the different actors of the site and the power relations, which are in imbalance between genders, and would need instead a new balance. Concerns about social diversity and equality have received little attention, largely because girls and young women were more discreet, less visible, and posed no apparent problem. In past decades, girls focused on school and stayed in their homes for much of the time.

Finally, another obstacle is that of recognition: immigrant women in precarious or disadvantaged situations are in relative invisibility, and are rarely taken seriously by public authorities. It is more difficult for them to gain access to banks and credit, and to gain credibility, for example when they want to launch a business or take up a job. Changes of scale in city politics, including the politics of the Grands Projets Urbains (GPU) and the Grand Projet de Ville (GPV), the emergence of increasingly specialized promoters and developers may not have bridged the gap between decision makers and inhabitants.

In the majority attitude of urban politics, priority is always given to territorial redevelopment and construction. The place left to the consideration of people, to the union of energies, of the more subtle dynamics of attachment and belonging that are intertwined in the urban fabric and its economy is very limited. In these conditions, the needs and priorities of women are considered minimal or unimportant in the face of the great challenges of reconstruction.

A reconstruction that seems to be more interested in physical constructions *of space*, rather than in constructions of spatio-temporal paths *in space*, which, these latter, approach to space as a place within which people's actions and their expected transformations develop during a period of time in which interactions, role plays, shifts from a point A to a point B, interpretations of these shifts, pauses, intervals and reactions come into play.

## INSIGHTS

With regard to the difficulty of occupying public space, the example of the "*Ni putes, ni soumises* (Neither whores, nor submissives)" movement of 2003 testifies to the existence of this tension also in past years, in this case encountered by young girls who organised a series of demonstrations starting in Paris to claim their will of taking their place, in vulnerable neighbourhoods' public space. The demonstrations spread to 23 other cities, including Lyon, and were also widely broadcast in the media, especially following the femicide of 17-year-old Sohane Benziane by a 19-year-old, both of Maghrebi origin, in the Vitry-sur-Seine district near Paris.

The activists of *Ni putes, ni soumises*, most of the girls living in the vulnerable neighbourhoods, denounced the multiple pressures commonly encountered in their daily lives: the need to control many aspects of their behaviour in order to escape the judgements of their brothers and families and to act on the basis of these, thus calculating the path to walk in the public space, to avoid or not avoid specific encounters, determining the way they dress, the way they speak on the basis of indirect impositions

coming from the opinions of the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, and according to them, especially the boys in the neighbourhood who exercise social control here. The movement sheds light on a feeling of insecurity that follows this situation, insecurity in that the girls' autonomy is denied and their person is more or less indirectly threatened by these attitudes coming from the environment around the residence. The girls also blamed the fact that access to municipal sports or cultural facilities was mainly exercised by boys, and there was no organization in place to ensure that girls could also benefit from these services.

These demonstrations were followed by a massive mediatization, but this was especially a mediatization that devalued Arab culture, accompanied by a discourse on the crisis of masculinity in vulnerable neighbourhoods. These discourses put forward the idea that in vulnerable neighbourhoods there was a large presence of working-class boys in a precarious condition, often associated with criminals or Islamists, and they were singled out as mainly responsible for the creation of "ghettos" and the worsening of discriminatory practices against women. This discourse, rather simplistic, implied that the rest of society was generally exempt from these dynamics of power relations and the problems arising from them.

In 2003, Dounia Bouzar, the person responsible for the judicial protection of youth (PJJ) and contacted by Nicolas Sarkozy to represent young people in the French Council of the Muslim Faith (CFCM), openly criticised in the press the media exploitation that had misled the speeches made by the young girls of the Ni putes, ni soumises movement. According to Dounia Bouzar, the media's portrayal of this phenomenon has given a very rough description and partial misunderstanding of the problem, partly by turning the tables to the advantage of the ruling class and the local administration, or by eluding certain actors fundamentally involved in the phenomenon.

*"Muslims are stigmatised, and the society is not questioned." One can be "French and Muslim without renouncing one to be the other". "The first freedom of a democracy is that given to the individual to choose his references in order to construct himself freely. This right is not given to women of North African and African immigration. It is still thought that they can "integrate", "modernise", only if they get rid of all their original references. [...] They are reduced to a single alternative: submissive Arab Muslim women or so-called westernised atheist women. They start from the principle that they have to choose one model or the other."*

In short, Dounia Bouzar warned about not confusing the problems concerning gender relations in vulnerable neighbourhoods with the unfounded idea that Islam is the bearer of values opposing the Republic. Indeed, the problem must be approached from several angles and cannot be reduced only to a religious discourse, or to a simplistic assimilation of Islam equals sexism.

Another reflection, on the problems encountered by girls in the use of public space in the peripheries, is advanced by the work *Les Jeunes et l'amour dans les cités* by sociologist Isabelle Clair published in 2008. The book discusses the relationships between the sexes and the love relationships among adolescents and in married life in the banlieues of Paris. It also includes elaborations of interviews made, between 2002 and 2005, to 56 young people - one third boys and two thirds girls - between 14 and 20 years old, in the youth centers of four residential districts of the Parisian banlieues.

Clair reflects on the concept of "gender order," and how this is perceived and enacted by the inhabitants of these neighbourhoods. "Gender order" is a concept inspired by the work of Pierre Bourdieu and Judith Butler, which the authoress uses to describe a social setting burdening both boys and girls. This "Gender Order" clearly delimits the two categories of man and woman and establishes their roles: the man has a position of legitimacy and permanence in the streets and squares and in public space, compared to the woman who has no position in these spaces, is absent or barely present. This social organization also determines specific roles in love: for example, in the representations young people



make of love, the dichotomy between feelings and sexuality is omnipresent and is reflected in the dichotomy between the two sexes. Thus, one sex, the male, is associated with sexuality in terms of the body, while the other sex, the female, is associated with the sphere of sexuality in terms of feelings. So, this representation sees feelings as a purely female domain and corporeality, the physical impulse, as the purely male domain.

All the adolescents interviewed agree on the idea that girls should show reserve, for example in terms of clothing, because it attests to the "level of sexual morality of girls" - according to local codes -. Thus, clothing judgment is one of the tools to "call them to order." It is about not showing their "form" and "staying in their place," and not transgressing age barriers according to local codes: wearing pointy boots is "grown-up lady". Exhibiting "grown-up lady" clothes means exhibiting an adult sexuality, therefore explicit and assumed. So, a young girl wearing this footwear would be skipping the stages of the marital scenario associated with the image of the "good girl" who, in the eyes of many boys, can only become a fully sexualized being after marriage.

Clair's interviews reveal that in these neighbourhoods, girls do not occupy public space except for specific needs, to run errands, for example, but otherwise girls do not "hang out," or as some boys say do not "Traîner" which means to be visible in the boys' space only for leisure, without heading towards a specific errand or activity.

The girls themselves agree that they prefer to adopt this attitude of invisibility and domestic retreat because it is generally agreed that an aimless girl, while walking through public space, is interpreted as a girl with a sexual purpose.

Girls adhere to these behaviors because their social image depends on conforming to the implicit norms of the gender order constructed in this context.

The issue of "reputation" comes into play here. A concept that seems to be very important in the perception of the inhabitants, and a powerful tool that regulates power relations among them. In fact, girls risk having a "bad reputation" if they contravene the just-mentioned rules of gender order, although the labeling is not systematic but very plausible.

Clair in particular asserts that girls' bad reputations are inevitably linked to their sexuality. "Having a bad reputation", or, according to the local language, "having a reputation", necessarily means "having a reputation as a slut".

The bad reputation causes such a girl to be removed from virtuous opportunities in choosing love partners and sexuality.

Girls are themselves the agents of gender order when they react to the behaviors of other girls by labeling them negatively and avoiding them: at this point the labeled girl adopts a position of withdrawal/retreat - waiting for things to calm down - or reterritorializes herself elsewhere - where she has no "reputation," or where the local criteria that make reputation are less pressing -. This "harshness" of judgment and attitude of reprimand among girls acts as self-defense for the individual: to avoid any contact with girls who have already been negatively labeled in such a way that they will not be labeled in the same way and incur the same stigma. This social control, on the part of both the family and the group of young peers, is facilitated by the strong mutual acquaintance that characterizes popular residential neighbourhoods.

Sometimes the sentimental relationships - studied - took place between boys and girls of different neighbourhoods, this allowed, among other things, the couple to distance themselves from social control. An amorous geography extended therefore to the capital and to the suburbs or nearby cities. In any case, the couples were almost always characterized not so much by ethnic endogamy but by social endogamy: a large number of the couples observed were formed by individuals of the same socio-economic extraction. It can be summarized that in this social organization the three elements of

space - its use and appropriation -, behavior and reputation, are actors in a single dynamic that represents and constructs the relationships between people.

Although the authoress has a point of view that in some spots seems to perceive the norms of sexuality and the limits placed on it rather rigidly and negatively, only as "obstacles", leaving out some positive aspects such as self-affirmation within the group, or anchoring in a story; Isabelle Clair's book is an important contribution to the knowledge of residential vulnerable districts' youth.

Regarding the employment problems encountered by women in vulnerable neighbourhoods, an interesting solution has been the contribution made by women's associations aimed at creating economic activity in these sites.

Over the past thirty years, many cooperatives have been created by women living in the peripheral neighbourhoods, often immigrants, to start businesses and economic projects aimed at changing their living conditions and those of their environment. It has proved to be a useful solution to join together in a collective approach, allowing women to compensate for their individual weaknesses and frailties, providing sufficient strength to undertake long and difficult administrative procedures by pooling skills, and operating in intercultural contexts.

Some examples of intercultural associations were, "Femmes sans frontières" in Creil, "Femmes d'ici et d'ailleurs". Queste associazioni cercano di costruire un ponte tra la cultura d'origine e la cultura del paese ospitante.

Many organizations are engaged in actions of international solidarity with their countries of origin.

Sometimes the literacy courses, and the activities offered by the neighbourhoods and social centers, have also allowed them to get to know each other better, to gain self-confidence, to confront different cultures and to leave the exclusive role of housewife and mother, strengthening their skills, and encouraging them to leave the care system by enrolling in professional paths, also in this case by joining cooperatives in their place of residence. In such a way as to transform this cooperative force into a tool for earning a living. Sometimes in order to do this these women experiment original and innovative enterprises and economic activities with respect to what is already traditionally present on the market. As we have seen, the time of women in vulnerable neighbourhoods is marked by family commitments, so it is a great advantage for them to install an income-generating enterprise close to home. Developing an activity on their own territory that allows them to generate income and improve their own and their children's prospects, implements a process of empowerment.

The projects undertaken in their own living area, and in its economy, allow them to draw strength from the very knowledge of the dynamics of the quarter and the offers of its market, but also from the emotional attachment to it, from the network of relationships woven over the years. This allows them to promote their children's future through positive images of the place of residence and their activities; building, among other things, a model of positive integration for their children.

The more "co-managed" mode of organization is another important element for these women, as it allows them to maintain collective dynamics, alternating their work shifts in a flexible way according to the needs of their respective families. Collective entrepreneurship promotes versatility, shared responsibilities and tasks, and facilitates times of maturation and learning. In fact, transitional periods and graduality in entering into activities, such as part-time or flexible schedules, are key to managing destabilization from the family sphere, especially for immigrant populations where women's place in the home is strongly defined by tradition.

The projects are linked to the savoir-faire of these women, they are often linked to basic needs, food, housing, literacy, personal services, relational needs. Many associations invest in intercultural restaurants - "Le Flamboyant" in Creil, "Le Petit Prince" in La Seyne-sur-Mer, "Plein sud" in Rouen, "Cannelle et piment" in Vaulx-en-Velin -. In this case, they create new spaces for conviviality and exchange, and bridges with the city center, promoting a new permeability between previously unknown territories: discovering a cuisine in neighbourhoods where one does not usually arrive. This enhances the uniqueness of these women: their culture and knowledge.

In these actions women regain legitimacy and a recognized social place.

They claim the will to reappropriate public space, and the organization in cooperatives facilitates the realization of this goal, especially in the case of developing reception activities or open to the public precisely, or the creation of intermediate places between public and private space where to meet in a relaxed atmosphere. This allows many women to catch their breath, to walk in the street and be visible within the city, without pressure, finding a semi-public space of expression, and rebuild a sense of belonging to the place. The women involved in these activities, in fact, are often mothers whose intentions include "taking younger girls under their wing" who are often isolated, and little involved in activities that in these neighbourhoods exist only for boys.

These atypical initiatives are very often found in the solidarity economy movement and play an important role in social cohesion: for example, a restaurant in a sensitive neighbourhood sells food and drink, but also allows for meetings and conviviality. In addition, a chain effect can occur: if an association succeeds in starting an economic project, sometimes others follow. After the restaurant, hairdressing salons, nurseries, gastronomies and service areas flourish. The concept of social and solidarity economy (ESS) refers to a set of companies organized in the form of cooperatives, associations or foundations, based on a principle of solidarity and social utility.

They use democratic and participatory management methods. Profit is not individual and is reinvested. The financial resources of the companies are generally partly public.

The organizing principle sees the person at the center of activities and not capital; often the goal is to employ people who have difficulty finding work and to operate a business system in a more humane or ethical way than in the traditional business environment. For example, ADEL and Réactives support projects to create solidarity-based businesses started by women living in working-class neighbourhoods.

However, as we have seen above that one obstacle to neighbourhood activities is the difficulty of collecting recognition. In addition, most business creation systems do not recognize the cooperative or associative model. These projects are then slowed down and blocked, as they do not fit into administrative schemes, they clash with partitioned and sectoral public policies. Institutional and bureaucratic procedures are often long and rigid and immigrant women have difficulty in navigating the procedures for starting up activities. With the possible repercussion that in these conditions the population disengages and withdraws.

Women's voices are often confiscated by social assistants and educators, who better master the rules and institutional language and speak for them. Perhaps, then, there is a need to move toward improving urban policy in giving citizens a voice.

In any case, this solution of collective enterprise projects constitutes an alternative way of living and shaping living space, which women have conceived to respond to their specific needs. These projects are an example of how to prospect and open up to alternatives in urban organization.

## 2.8.2 LIVING AND ORGANIZATIONAL ALTERNATIVES OF SPACE IN HISTORY

As these solutions just seen, there have been other alternatives to living today and throughout history, the success of which may suggest that we should be opened to taking a broad view when designing in terms of housing possibilities and innovative solutions that meet the interests of the community and fit well with the historical context and period, rather than fossilizing on traditional housing systems that sometimes prove limiting.

Other historical alternatives that we can mention are: the more recent anti-violence shelters, or the "young woman's house," or the more remote examples of the hotels for working women in late XIX and early XX century US cities, seen above or even the case of the Hull House in Chicago.

These are all alternatives developed on differentiated needs

Over the past 50 years, the women's movement has had an important development of initiatives to protect women and girls exposed to violence, within religious institutions, or community or family support structures, and childcare and related services.

The first well-documented shelter for women victims of domestic violence was established in 1971 in Hounslow, Great Britain. At that time, other shelters were opened in other countries and the first hotline for rape victims was established in Washington, USA. The first services offered by the shelters addressed: physical injuries; psychological aspects related to violence and relationship breakdown; difficulties in escaping violence and living in an unfamiliar environment; children who arrived with their mothers; and legal, social and medical service needs. The National Women's Aid Federation was founded in 1974, bringing together groups from England, Scotland, and Wales to set goals for the development of shelters and services for women fleeing violence. Initiatives to increase public awareness of these issues and the production of publications provided networking tools for shelters.

Today, however, despite the increased attention and commitment to helping women and girls escape violence, many countries suffer from a lack of shelters for these people. Mobilization for shelter services continues, along with the emergence of new partnerships and networks, such as the first World Conference of Shelters for Women Victims of Violence held in 2008 in Alberta, Canada, followed by the establishment of a global network of women's shelters that brings together representatives from all regions of the world. The second global conference of women's shelters for victims of violence, held in 2012, highlighted the diversity of women's shelters and organizations facilitating alternative housing. Despite the lack of a comprehensive assessment of these services, many countries have conducted nationwide mapping of shelters and related services.

### THE HULL HOUSE

In history we can find some precedents of alternative way of living, different from the settlement of the nuclear family, as the example of the Jane Addams' Hull House in Chicago.

In 1880 the appearance of the first social settlements was recorded in London. These were new housing systems that responded to the needs of the new city, which was being transformed by the industrial boom and massive immigration.

These settlements were born out of the initial idea of simply putting the working classes in contact with other classes, and specifically with graduates - in fact the first settlements were mainly Oxford and Cambridge graduates - as a colony of learning and friendship in the industrial districts. This idea was conceived in the 1860s by a group of idealistic, middle-class British reformers, morally concerned about the poverty of the working classes, which included John Ruskin, Thomas Carlyle, Charles Kingsley and Christian Socialists. Linked to the liberal political current of the utilitarians Bentham and Mill, these reformers aspired to oppose certain aspects of industrial capitalism: including its materialist and individualist philosophy and the growing class divide.

This idea of inter-class exchange promoted offering to the working classes to come closer to culture and thus to moral and spiritual values in opposition to the material-economic values of capitalism. Among the first promulgators of this phenomenon were Edward Denison, later and Arnold Toynbee, two middle-class citizens who settled in poor neighbourhoods to offer lessons to children and improve housing and sanitation conditions. Later, larger education and discussion centers were set up to offer lectures on political economy to adults as well, and then several colonies for university students were established.

From the beginning, however, there was no precise organization of the settlement, which took on different strategies in response to different conditions, depending on the needs of the different communities. The only strategy was flexibility, in order to aim at a constant goal: to provide a place for culture and learning, a center for sharing, recreation, advice and an assembly for local organizations, such as teachers and clergy, police, politicians, trade union and business groups - in order to facilitate the development of life in the neighbourhood and solve its problems.

It was generally run by two or three educated, native-born, middle- and upper-middle-class men and women tenants, known as "residents", under the supervision of a chief worker, who lived inside the settlement. The internal structure provided a number of rooms for lectures, classes and childcare.

Some social settlements were laic, others were linked to religious institutions.

From here the appearance of social settlements diffused throughout England and other industrialized countries.

In the United States, the late XIX century was a time of even more profound economic, cultural and demographic change than in England.

There was a strong immigration and affluence of the inhabitants of the countryside to the cities. The income of the artisans fell considerably due to the decrease in the demand for manual labor; resulting in an increase in unemployment. The growing difficulties of the poorer classes resulted in an increase in child labor. Public welfare and health care were almost non-existent.

As a result, reform movements arose here too, yet lacking the philosophical coherence of their British counterparts, especially given the heterogeneous character of American society, which included large numbers of immigrants from Europe.

It was mainly in the Social Gospel movement, which spread to American churches at the end of the XIX century, that the reform took shape.

The Hull House in Chicago was one of the first social settlements of the United States.

Hull-House was founded on Chicago's Near West Side in 1889 by Ellen Gates Starr and Jane Addams, the foremost of American settlement theorists.

Jane Addams lived and worked in Hull House itself until her death in 1935.

The settlement was located in a dense neighbourhood populated by Jewish, Italian, Greek, Bohemian, Irish, German, Russian and Polish immigrants. African Americans and Mexicans also began arriving in the neighbourhood in the 1920s. The clubs and activities of the Hull-House welcomed this multi-ethnic population. The structure consisted of a kindergarten, a crèches and a playground for the children of working mothers, an employment office, libraries, an art gallery, classes for English and citizenship, and lessons in theater, music and art.

The complex expanded to include thirteen buildings, including a Labor Museum, the Jane Club for single working girls, meeting places for union groups and cultural events.

The hull house, in addition to having as residents many prominent women in the national sphere as activists in the fields of education, politics for the right to vote for women and African Americans, and the social and medical-social sector, who helped to launch important projects (including among others the Immigrants' Protective League, the Juvenile Protective Association, the Institute for Juvenile Research, a protective legislation for women and children in 1893 for Illinois), was a space that housed a different dimension of living. It is for this particular reason that it is interesting in this research.

The initial intent of the Hull House was modest: to offer literary and artistic education to the working classes. This idea was successful, and the settlement activities became more numerous. At the request of the surrounding community, practical lessons were offered to help immigrants to be part of and familiarize themselves with American culture: American government, English language, cooking, sewing and technical skills. The community also stayed here to eat, using the public kitchen. The residents were the men and women who chose to live in Hull-House; they paid the rent and contributed to the activities and services that the Settlement undertook to provide to their neighbours, which also developed into a cultural center for music, art and theater. The settlement constituted as well, a safe haven where the community of the neighbourhood and the immigrants could find company, support and conviviality.

The Hull House, in this sense, served as a space to welcome not only ethnic minorities but also women and unmarried women, protecting them from a sometimes hostile urban space.

Here there was the idea that women could rely one another, rather than exclusively to an individual man, for support, company, shared labor, education, and more.







## CHAPTER 3

# **THE CASE STUDY OF THE REDEVELOPMENT OF A FRENCH NEIGHBOURHOOD: LA DUCHÈRE IN LYON**



### 3.1 CASE STUDY METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH AND SELECTION

The main interest of this Thesis is research on the functioning of intersectional gender roles and power roles among social groups, on the use of built space, both public and private. And contextually research on the effectiveness of gender mainstreaming to urban planning. Main interest that has been investigated in the first two chapters of the Thesis.

This chapter deals instead with a case study through which to understand, in practice, the existence of power dynamics existing between gender roles that determine the structure of the city, and at the same time, mutually, are built on the organization and use of built space.

It was therefore sought, an urban site or a previous study on an urban site that was akin to my research, in order to give empirical relevance to the results obtained and the questions produced by the first phase of theoretical research of the Thesis.

#### THE SITE'S SELECTION

Initially, as just anticipated, an urban site, urban project, or previous study that applied intersectional gender studies to architectural analysis or urban planning studies was sought. Given the coincidence of my Erasmus stay in Lyon at the time I undertook this thesis work, it was decided to look for a case study on French territory in order to deepen the knowledge on the French advancement of studies and applications in the field of gender mainstreaming on spatial planning. One more opportunity to give greater relevance to the Erasmus stay, in the spirit of international exchange.

I then contacted by e-mail some professors at the University of Architecture of Lyon ENSAL, with whom I had come into contact during the Erasmus Courses, who had kindly put me in touch with other local researchers who had worked on the issues of my interest and in particular pointed me to the action-study carried out by Egalité, a social psychology research group at the Université Lyon2, in 2012 - 2013. This study-action consisted of research followed by recommendations for the urban transformation project on the sensitive neighborhood of Lyon, La Duchère, entitled "*Action-study on multifactorial discrimination against women in three priority neighborhoods of Lyon: Non-use of socio-educational and leisure activities, place in public space and ethnicization of social (gender) relations*". La Duchère is one of the three priority neighborhoods indicated in the title. Afterwards, I inquired about this action-study which I found very interesting and about the urban transformations that had taken place in the neighborhood, which I found equally interesting in the context of the study of urban scale projects and landscape transformation inherent to the Master's Degree Program in Sustainable Architecture and Landscape Design, in which I am enrolled. At this point I chose my case study: La Duchère, a priority neighborhood of Lyon.

The case study was then found by a principle of research analogy.

#### THE SITE'S PRESENTATION

La Duchère is a district of Lyon of about 120 hectares located in the 9th arrondissement. The district is located on the plateau of the northwestern part of Lyon and from the top overlooks the Saône River. It constitutes in itself the third hill of Lyon, after Fourvière and La Croix-Rousse.

La Duchère has today 10 000 inhabitants.



LYON

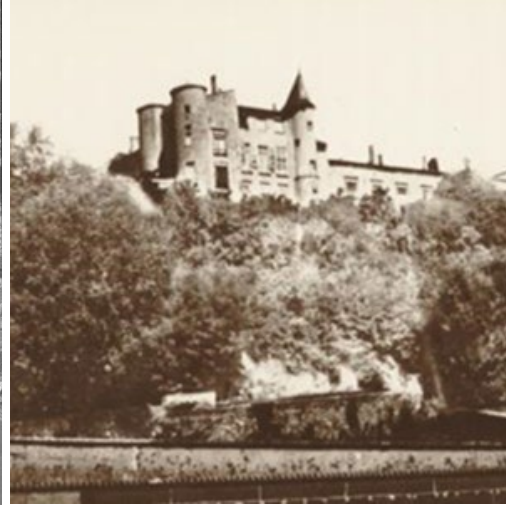
# La Duchère







Chateau de La Duchère, 19..



Market scene, La Duchère, 1964



Barre 240 La Duchère, 1965



Swimming pool of La Duchère, 1960s Autor

Aerial views of La Duchère, 1971



This neighbourhood is taken as a case study for the thesis because it contains the overlap of several themes discussed by the research of interest of this Thesis, and addressed in the first part. On the territory of La Duchère were in fact concentrated in the 70s - 80s several problems of social order on which the French State, the city and other public institutions have intervened to solve them and enhance the human and territorial heritage of this site.

The problems that appeared on the site are linked, in particular, to the negative repercussions of a hasty urbanization of a functionalist kind in the post-war period, a concentration of ethnicized population, and of working class population that took the blow of the oil and economic crisis of 1974 with the consequence of creating a new poverty concentrated in this site, where a concomitance of unemployment, physical marginalization, given the territory strongly circumscribed by borders that distanced it from the city, and racializing stigmatization were created. This was followed by the development of a network of youth drug trafficking, a sense of abandonment perceived by the population, school drop-out, social unrest and episodes of riots. The territory was for this reason marked by a discriminatory attitude on the part of the city's inhabitants and among the inhabitants of the neighborhood itself, which fed the vicious circle of difficulty in relaunching the employment and the economy of the neighborhood but above all undermines the positive self-vision of the identity of the territory, the sense of serene belonging, interpersonal relationships and the well-being of the inhabitants.

For these reasons, La Duchère has undergone a remarkable transformation in the last 20 years, as a result of several public projects for the redevelopment of the neighborhood, as a reaction to its severe impoverishment in previous years, especially during the 1960s and 1970s. There have been several project phases following different programs and agencies, ad hoc for each step. Currently, another design phase is underway with a 2030 completion date.

## OBJECTIVES OF THE CASE STUDY ANALYSIS

The case study analysis ultimately had two goals:

1. To investigate the problems that have arisen in order to find the effectiveness of the theory studied, and to apply an intersectional lens of observation to the understanding of these social problems in relation to the conformation on the one hand and the use on the other of the urban fabric.

Investigate the strategies adopted by scholars and especially by public planning to overcome these difficulties of the neighborhood. To solve these difficulties, as will be seen, the city has in broad strokes adopted the strategy of "transformation" of and on the "built environment".

The first objective is an investigation of a more sociological character that wants to look at the territory as a place of social relations, and at social relations as place creators as an organization of social role orders.

The second objective has a more historical character, in the sense that it aims to know what existing strategies have been applied in recent history by walls of urban planning to intervene on the welfare of social networks.

This second objective, for logical reasons has been investigated in order, in the first part of the chapter, to have a clear picture of the vicissitudes of the neighborhood and of the literature that reports its history and the various project interventions implemented here.

Then, in the second part of the chapter, the second objective was investigated. Through the study of articles and interviews about the lives of the inhabitants and the events of the district and in particular

through the study of a sociological research conducted on this very neighborhood on multifactorial discrimination of gender and race.

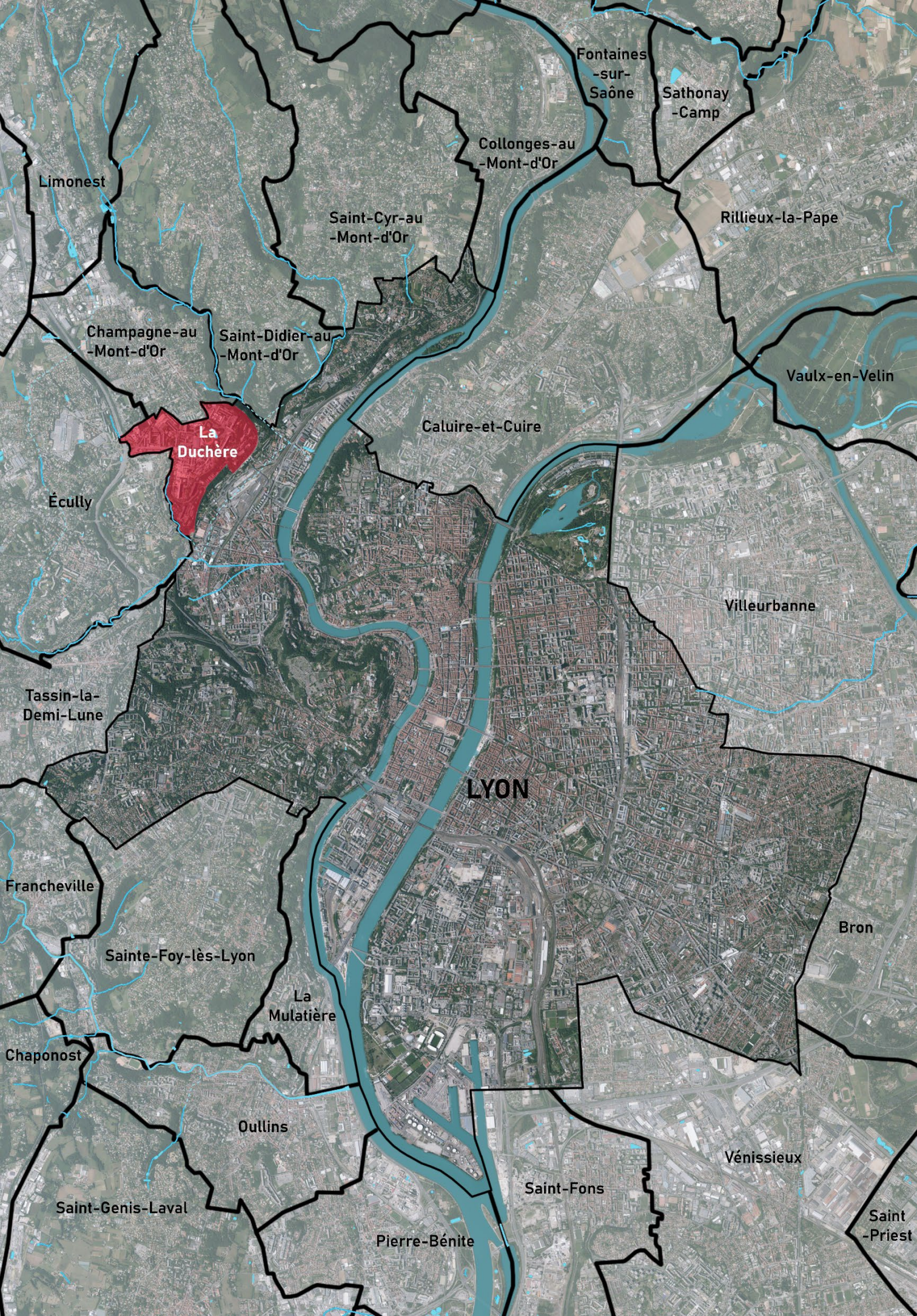
## CONDUCTING OF THE CASE STUDY

The course of the case study discussion developed chronologically as follows:

1. Study of the actual neighbourhood's state and a brief look at its recent history
  - Consultation of articles and publications dealing with the site
  - Overall consultation of the online platforms dedicated to the dissemination of the GPV project phases that have affected the site ([www.gpvlyonduchere.org](http://www.gpvlyonduchere.org), [www.polville.lyon.fr](http://www.polville.lyon.fr), [sig.ville.gouv.fr](http://sig.ville.gouv.fr)) and summary consultation of the relevant documentation
  - 2 photographic inspections
  - 2 informal interviews with two former inhabitants to obtain some testimonies
2. Study in detail of the urban policy framework and regulations of French social housing. Given the institutional and state nature of the project, subsidized almost entirely by public funds, it has been studied in detail the framework of urban policy in force and the history of French urban policy since the post-war period in which, among other things, the district was born, which has therefore very recent origins, having previously been an agricultural land.
3. Study of the birth and history of the neighborhood and chronological detail of the phases of urbanization followed by demolition and then reconstruction of the neighborhood, by urban policy.
  - In-depth consultation of online project platforms, already reviewed more briefly in the first phase
  - Collection of articles and publications on the vicissitudes of the district
  - Collection of historical and more recent images tracing the transformation
  - Consultation of the information stand, in December 2021, regarding the objectives of the current project
4. Study of the transformations of the social fabric - based on the urban conformation and the context and territorial location of the site - and study of the power roles and gender relations in force on the site. Through:
  - Analysis of the action study conducted by Egaliter, in particular
  - Reading of interviews, publications, ethnological studies conducted on the site
5. Revising the study as a whole and drawing conclusions

Despite the limitation in getting in touch with local stakeholders, designers and developers, specifically to know if the recommendations of the action-study conducted by Èlise Vinet in 2012 had actually been actively considered in the later stages of the project, the study conducted has collected a large amount of material on which to work and through which to know more in depth the challenges of an urban and landscape planning that effectively responds to the expectations of the inhabitants. To know when the planning respects the inhabitants' personal attachment to the place and in order to enhance the benefit of enjoying an effective urban composition, flexible and open to the possibilities of use, so as to ensure equal development and equal opportunities for each citizen, considering their social roles, embedded





Limonest

Fontaines  
-sur-  
Saône

Sathonay  
-Camp

Collonges-au-  
-Mont-d'Or

Saint-Cyr-au-  
-Mont-d'Or

Rillieux-la-Pape

Champagne-au-  
-Mont-d'Or

Saint-Didier-au-  
-Mont-d'Or

Vaulx-en-Velin

**La  
Duchère**

Caluire-et-Cuire

Écully

Villeurbanne

Tassin-la-  
Demi-Lune

**LYON**

Bron

Francheville

Sainte-Foy-lès-Lyon

La  
Mulatière

Chaponost

Oullins

Vénissieux

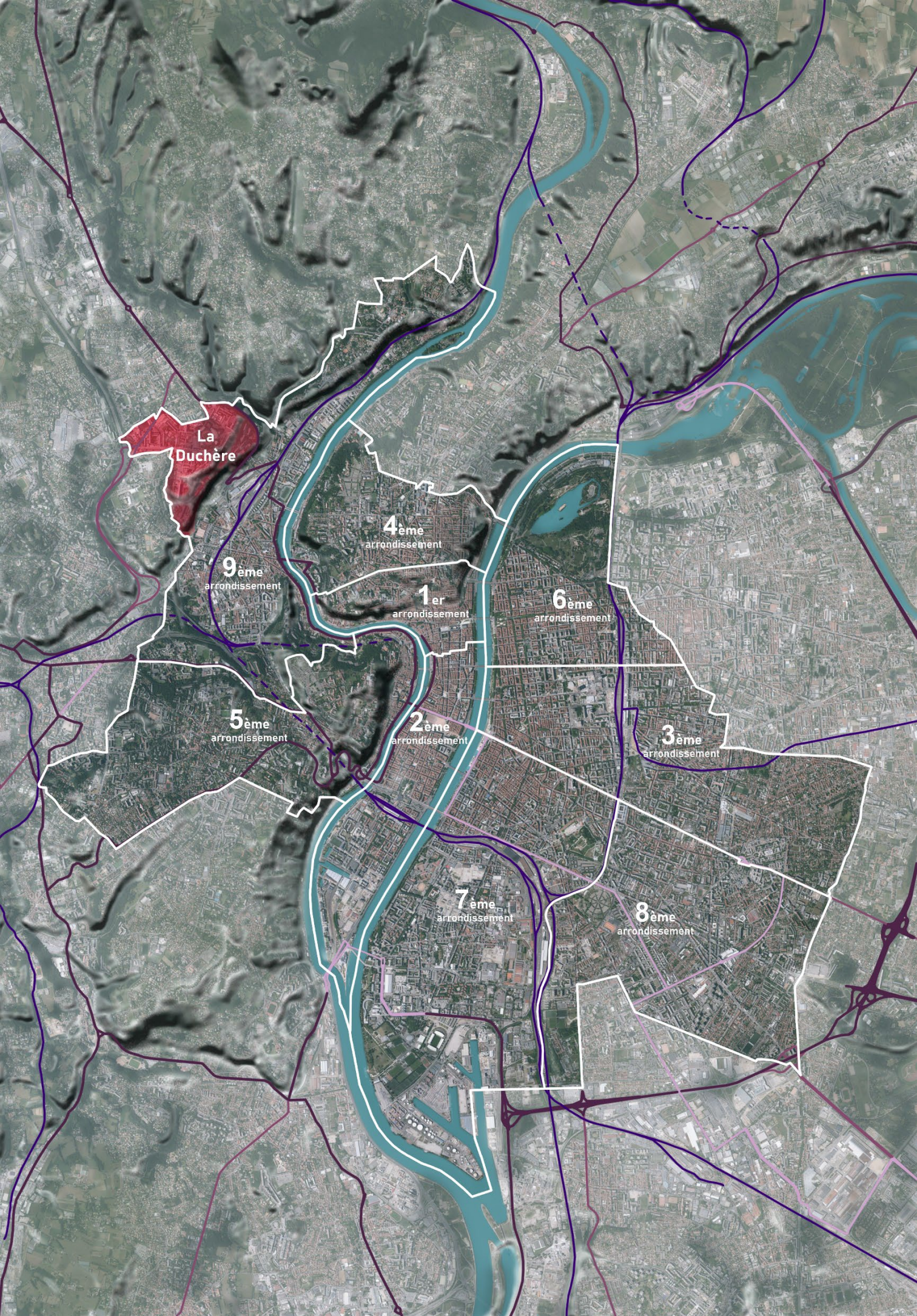
Saint-Genis-Laval

Saint-Fons

Pierre-Bénite

Saint-  
-Priest





**La  
Duchère**

**9ème  
arrondissement**

**4ème  
arrondissement**

**1er  
arrondissement**

**6ème  
arrondissement**

**5ème  
arrondissement**

**2ème  
arrondissement**

**3ème  
arrondissement**

**7ème  
arrondissement**

**8ème  
arrondissement**







identity, time of use, the meanings attributed to the public and private environment, and the relationships between them.

In short, this research allowed me to be able to take an informed look toward the gender mainstreaming approach to planning.

Finally, the limitation in being able to collect interviews and data for qualitative research, in the field, allowed me to further understand the difficulties of implementing participatory planning, which in recent years appears more and more an imperative approach to achieve effective architectural, urban and landscape projects, and to have a democratic city. So, in this sense, this limitation has been particularly useful, in this moment of the university study, to increase the awareness that in order to communicate with stakeholders and collect important information for the understanding of the local territorial identity, a fundamental prerogative for the success of a good project if we talk about a project of landscape scale, it is essential for the professional to know the strategies to obtain a good collection and analysis of data.

## BRIEF HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

The several public project plans for La Duchère's redevelopment have been accomplished as a reaction to its severe socio-economic impoverishment in previous years, as well as to the fact that it has been the scene of various social problems: unemployment, poverty, segregation of ethnicized groups of people, stigmatization of the quarter, etc.

Indeed, as often happens, rapid urban growth can bring with it an emphasis on socioeconomic disparities and different types of segregation, in the absence of inclusive policies and intersectional gender attention. This can happen even in the case of rehabilitation, urban replacements or the rapid emergence of new neighborhoods with a certain size, as is the case with La Duchère, when the external edges and connections of the site and the relational dynamics that occur or may develop in the future are not fully taken into account.

For the occurrence of this problem, starting in the mid-1980s, the district became part of the classification of vulnerable neighborhoods, that is, urban areas identified by the French State as economically and socially fragile compared to the rest of the territory and, therefore, subject to redevelopment interventions subsidized by the public administration, benefiting from the programs of the *politique de la ville*.

The Duchère neighborhood has since then been considered a sensitive-priority neighborhood on which a whole series of public projects implemented by the *politique de la ville* have followed.

The latter, as we shall see, consists of a State program launched in the late 1970s for the recovery and urban development of the country's problematic territories, which has been modified over time. Both its programs and the bodies implementing the programs themselves have varied from the 1980s to the present, as have varied the quarters' appellations and criteria for defining the quarters receiving public subsidies and interventions for redevelopment and economic revitalization.

The redevelopment that has been implemented since the 1980s until today emphasizes an economic revitalization of the neighbourhood but, more recently, it is at the same time a redevelopment in terms of landscape, social service provision and revitalizing of the neighbourhood's sociability, aims to promote the social and multi-ethnic integration, equal opportunities for gender and different social groups, while fighting against possible ethnic or gender segregation. Therefore today, the set of projects works on accessibility, quality and functionality of public space, citizens participation on the project's design and construction, as well as on the attention to the climate issue and environmental sustainability.

Appendix 3, on page 78, delves into the context of the institutional programs of French urban policy within which the development of La Duchère neighbourhood took place.

## 3.2 HISTORY AND PROJECT OF LA DUCHÈRE NEIGHBOURHOOD

### 3.2.1 FIRST DEVELOPMENT OF LA DUCHÈRE, A SOLUTION TO POST-WAR URBAN OVERCROWDING – 1958-1986

On the area of Duchère there is evidence of anthropization since the arrival of the ancient Romans, the area is the third hill of Lyon and was in the past a strategic place of defense. At the end of the XIII century built by Guillaume de Varey the castle Château de la Duchère, on the eastern slope facing Lyon, which was a base of defense and refuge during the conflicts of the following centuries.

The city of Lyon is located in the area of confluence of the two rivers Rhône and Saône, located in its lower part to 162 meters above sea level, has a hilly area in the northwest of the city center identified with the Presqu'île, ie the "peninsula" between the two rivers, a long strip of land that extends in a north-south direction. In particular, the hills of Lyon are three.

The hill of Fourvière, at an altitude of 294 meters, west of the city known in the past as the "mystical mountain", because of the presence on the top of the imposing white basilica of Notre-Dame de Fourvière, a landmark visible from every point of the city, the bishop's residence, several convents, a large cemetery and the complex of two theaters dating back to Roman times, which together give this "mystical" aspect to the hill as well as accommodate various other functions, residential, institutional, commercial and other.

The Croix-Rousse hill, 250 meters above sea level on the plateau in the northern hamlet of Presqu'île, is the "working hill" because it was the place where the canuts, the silk weavers who built Lyon's reputation as a silk city, lived and worked. Today it presents an urban fabric characterized by functional mix;

Finally, the hill of La Duchère is located at the foot of the Monts-d'Or to the northwest of the city at an altitude of 265 m, even further north of the hill of the Croix-Rousse, on the perimeter of the city therefore in a peripheral position, partly because it is separated from the rest of the city by railway lines and is surrounded by the national road D306 with 4 lanes, and the freeway du Soleil. The hill was the protagonist of a strong urbanization in the 60s.

On the plateau of Duchère, there is also another structure with a more recent military vocation: the Fort of Balmont, built by General Rohault de Fleury between 1844 and 1851, was part of the first city walls of Lyon, consisting of five bastions with a star-shaped structure that follows the pattern of the typical defensive walls of the Renaissance. It was in fact intended to protect the city from enemy attacks. It was destroyed in the urbanization operations of the '60s to build a sports center, the area is still currently used for sports but the morphology of the bastioned fort is still visible, especially from a bird's eye view.

The remaining part of the hill of La Duchère, until the middle of the XX century, was mainly in the form of agricultural land and woods. It was from the '60s that it was subjected to massive urbanization, in response to the strong demand for housing that had a suitable quality of life and met the standards of hygiene and volume, to move the inhabitants installed in the slums in the working-class neighborhoods of Vaise, the neighborhood to the east at the foot of the hill, and other areas of the agglomeration of Lyon, which manifested a general housing crisis as happened in the rest of France in this period. The housing crisis stemmed from the city's strong population growth due to the baby boom of the 1950s, the last wave of the rural exodus, and the immigration caused by North African decolonization. Contextually with the Marshall Plan maneuvers of 1948 and the French Ministry of Reconstruction and Housing's call for an initial project to satisfied the postwar residential affordable housing program, the

first master plan was implemented in this same year, by a team of urban planners accompanied by sociologists the architects Franck Grimal and François-Régis Cottin.

The design envisaged 5500 housing units for 20 000 inhabitants. In 1958, Louis Pradel, the mayor of Lyon, launched the construction project in the neighborhood. The first civil construction in this new neighborhood was the Lycée de la Martinière in 1959. In the same years, the first kindergartens and elementary school were designed and started operating in 1962. Under the direction of the architect François-Régis Cottin, about 5 300 housing units were built in five years.

It was created for the occasion, the SERL<sup>1</sup>, *Société d'équipement du Rhône et de Lyon*, to which are delegated by the municipality the works of land acquisition, implementation of the road system and preparation of the site, given the grandeur of the plan. La Duchère was divided into four sub-districts, following the morphology of the site and naming the places according to the pre-existing structures: Le Plateau which corresponds to the plateau area and is in the center placing itself as a link of the other three sub-neighborhoods, La Sauvegarde to the east, Balmont to the northwest separated from the rest of the district by the presence of the fort, and Le Château to the south.

Each sub-neighborhood was equipped with stores, public services and places of worship, La Duchère became at the time an emblem of modernity, an "American-style" neighborhood, with tall buildings, and long condominium slats of about 16 floors that formally characterized the appearance of the neighborhood. Its first residents settled there in 1962. Thousands of families from all walks of life settled in La Duchère, which by 1970 had up to 20,000 inhabitants. A new, strong identity was thus established in the city of Lyon, weaving a social life that is still very rich today. In 1965, about a third of the population of La Duchère was made up of returnees from Algeria, and another part of the Duchéroises came from North Africa<sup>2</sup>.

In the 1960s and 1970s, a mainly Catholic population arrived, made up of both residents of Lyon who had moved here and repatriated and immigrated, and a large proportion of Jews, while fewer were of the Muslim faith. Initially, the Jewish community, which had French citizenship under the Crémieux decree of 1870, was more easily integrated than the Muslim community, being able to benefit from the right of association, which was not the case for the Muslim community, most of whom did not have French nationality. It was not until the 1980s that the Muslims of La Duchère were able to create their own association.

Regarding the presence of religious infrastructures, 1965 saw the completion of the construction of Notre Dame de Balmont church - now converted into a cinema -. In 1968 a second church, l'église du Plateau, was built by architect François-Régis Cottin, and also in the 1960s a synagogue was built,

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<sup>1</sup> SERL is a semi-public company that still exists today and has been involved in almost all of the major sites of Lyon's redevelopment and development. SERL was founded in 1957, when the Department of Rhône, the Cities of Lyon and Villeurbanne, availed themselves of the creation of this instrument to carry out post-war urban reconstruction and development. It was supported by institutional organizations such as the Caisse des Dépôts, working in partnership with public and private clients to design and implement urban centrality and renewal projects, economic spaces and construction-superstructure projects. The mixed-economy company was in charge, in the 1960s, of all major projects related then to the reconstruction of the city, through the implementation of major urban works such as Part-Dieu, Tonkin, Minguettes, Gerland and others. In the 70s and 80s, the company collaborated in the development of entire neighborhoods with the architects of the moment, Charles Delfante, René Gagès or Jean Zumbrunnen. And it has continued to work to this day on urban works, including the Saint-Luc/Saint-Joseph hospital, the Confluences museum or the Hôtel-Dieu project.

<sup>2</sup> The repatriation of the french people from Algeria, also called Pieds-noirs, was the wave of migrations in continental France had around 1962 of the French population, or of European origin, who were in the French departments of Algeria, ie the areas conquered by France in 1830. The 1962 was in fact the year of independence of Algeria, there was a strong tension, violent also after the end of the Algerian war, between the Algerian population and the population coming from the countries that had exercised the previous colonization, for this reason the populations of European origin returned to Europe and especially in France. Between 1962 and 1965, about one million Frenchmen from Algeria arrived in France. Among these returnees 100,000 were Jews. The returnees were French from Algeria whose ancestors were Europeans from France, but also from Spain, Malta, Italy, Switzerland, and Algerians of non-European origin, therefore natives, Muslim or not, or Jews, naturalized French by decree. There was the repatriation of other populations coming from North African countries that had achieved independence in these years, among others we remember the exodus of populations from Morocco and Tunisia, countries that had achieved independence in 1956.

while it waited until 2016 for the construction of the Mosquée At-Tawba, located in La Sauvegarde very close to the synagogue, when the Muslim population had grown in the neighborhood. Today, however, the Muslim community is in the majority with about a thousand members, the Jewish community has about a hundred members, and practicing Christians number about 250.

With respect to the first phases of construction, large slab-shaped condos are mainly realized, labeled with numbers starting from 200 and differing by tens, therefore we have Bar 200, Bar 210, Bar 220 etc. In particular, the Plateau was the neuralgic center of the district also functionally, from then until now, where the panoramic tower, the administrative and sporting equipments and the main Barre line stand out, it is in fact here that the complex of the barre des mille was realized, that is the alignment of the 3 long condominium slats 210, 220 and 230 which host 1000 housing units.

The Balmont sub-neighborhood featured a small shopping center designed by Grimal and Cottin, and was the only sub-neighborhood with rentals and condominiums with a co-ownership system: 303 housing units were built by CILOF and 330 financed by SACVL.

The Le Château site was built by the *Caisse des Dépôts et Consignation* and featured a slab-shaped building with 293 housing units, 8 towers with 272 units and a tree-lined park. While La Sauvegarde featured only buildings less than 6 stories high, built by the municipal HLM organization, 56.3% of the housing was occupied in 1968 by returnees from North Africa.

The project called for each building to be uniform in its use, in fact the social mix was not planned within the same building but from one building to another.

Already in the early years, several services for the population were created: in 1964 a first youth association was established in a building at Sauvegarde, which was used in the following years with an associative function for young people, and in 1973 the association Maison des Jeunes de la Duchère was born here, which would later become in 1997 the current MJC of the neighborhood; 1966 is the year of birth of the social center Centre Social Duchère Plateau, the land was provided by the city of Lyon, which supplied half of the operating expenses, the other half furnished by the Caisse d'Allocations.

In 1967, a 40m high water tower and the condominium structure Les Érables, also called Barre 250, designed by architect Jean Dubuisson, were built.

In 1968, the war memorial of the Algerian city of Oran<sup>3</sup> was transferred to La Duchère.

The architect François-Régis Cottin also designed the Panoramic Tower, which was put on site in 1969 and completed in 1972, consisting of a skyscraper including a hundred co-owned residences, stores and offices, 37 floors high, 101 m high and 28 m in diameter. At the foot of the tower extended a shopping center. Since 2003, the tower has been listed as a XX century heritage site.

The new district was conceived as an independent and self-sufficient neighborhood, according to the principles of the Athens Charter and the urban planning theories of Le Corbusier.

There is in fact a strong separation from the rest of the city, not only because of its urban organization but also because of the barrier created by the transport infrastructure surrounding the sector, the significant difference in height that separates this hill from the rest of the districts of the 9th arrondissement and neighboring municipalities, and the green belt that was preserved.

Since 1975 the district recorded the beginning of a population decline, until it reached 13 966 inhabitants in 1990. At the same time the foreign population increased from 5.5% in 1975 to 17% in 1990, in the same year the unemployment rate in the district was 14%.

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<sup>3</sup> This is a monument to commemorate those killed in the massacre of Oran on July 5, 1962, carried out by a shooting, whose origin is unknown, but which is traced to an act of vindication against the French Pieds-noir and pro-French, in Place d'Armes. This caused at least one hundred deaths and numerous missing, the numbers are uncertain.

In the 1990s, several projects were designed by the OPAC du Rhône and the city of Lyon to redevelop the district. The Notre-Dame-de-Balmont church was decommissioned in 1995 and transformed into a cinema under the name Ciné Duchère.

In 2000, the district consisted of 5 176 housing units, including 4 026 social housing units: 2 396 dwellings are located on the Plaeau, 1 162 in Balmont, 1,055 in La Sauvegarde, and 563 in Château.

### 3.2.2 FIRST PUBLIC RENEWAL INTERVENTIONS - POLITIQUE DE LA VILLE - AFTER THE IMPOVERISHMENT OF LA DUCHÈRE - 1986 – 2000

In the 70's La Duchère pass through a deep crisis: its landlocked nature, the concentration of social housing and the impoverishment of the population weakens the neighbourhood, characterized by an urban system of slab-shaped condos unsuitable for current lifestyles, by an almost absence of economic activities, as anticipated in the previous chapter and so the politique de la ville intervened on the district of La Duchère in 1986 through a DSQ agreement between the State, the municipality of Lyon, the métropole de Lyon, and the HLM organizations. The aim was to carry out actions of physical renovation of the neighborhood but also to improve the educational offer and social integration.

An inter-district working group, GTI, was set up, supported by a group of local residents with the aim of acting as an intermediary between the inhabitants and the decision-making bodies. In 1991 the DSQ was renewed and gave rise to an action plan of 74 million francs, to redevelop public spaces, housing and support the action of social and economic integration. In 1994 the new system of the City Contract was applied to the neighborhood. In 1998 a plan for security was implemented, through the installation of video surveillance cameras and increasing police personnel.

Some condominium complexes are rehabilitated and commercial spaces on the ground floors of new buildings are redistributed. In the 1990s, the neighborhood was the focus of some riots, particularly in 1997. The neighborhood was shaken by riots in 1997.

In 1999, La Duchère had 80% social housing compared to the rest of the housing stock, in contrast to the 18% social housing rate in the rest of the Lyon municipality. In the same year, however, the population had halved since the late 1960s, the unemployment rate was 22% compared to 12% for the city average, and educational attainment was generally low. 17% of households were single-parent compared to 9% for the Lyon average

The main owners of the HLMs were the Opac du Grand Lyon, the Opac du Rhône, and the SACVL<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>4</sup> La SACVL, *Société Anonyme de Construction de la Ville de Lyon*, is a construction and real estate management company, founded in 1954 by the then mayor of Lyon Edouard Herriot. It realized mainly from housing, but also from stores, offices and social, cultural and administrative facilities. It has capital that is partly public, with a majority held by the City of Lyon, and partly private.





## ORGANIGRAM

In 2003, the great urban project of La Duchère was signed between the State, Grand Lyon - or Métropole de Lyon - and the City of Lyon, with the provision of two project steps that will take place over the period 2003 - 2016. The management body of the project is the Mission Lyon la Duchère, created in 2001, which brings together the city of Lyon and the Métropole de Lyon, the Rhône department and the Rhône-Alpes region.

The *Mission Lyon Duchère* is in charge of coordinating the implementation of the urban regeneration project and also of the Urban Contract for Social Cohesion. The realizations of the project are achieved within a ZAC<sup>5</sup>, created in 2003, encompassing almost the entire neighborhood, for whose development SERL is responsible. While the group composed by Atelier Alain Marguerit and Atelier Bernard Paris, defines urban architectural, landscape and environmental requirements in view of consultations and competitions and follows public and private projects throughout their implementation.

The project was also supported by the State, the National Agency for Territorial Cohesion (ANCT), the social owners of the territory and European funds.

At the same time as the grand projet de ville, the city contract was renewed for the period from 2000 to 2006.

The initial budget for the grand projet de ville La Duchère is 600 million euros, of which 350 million euros from public funds.

The active and constant involvement of the inhabitants was considered an important element in the design of the planning program, integrating them into the governance of the project. Were made available spaces for information and dialogue with the inhabitants by organizing periodic public meetings, a project center open on the site five days a week, a multidimensional information system - newsletters, notices, brochures, installations of street furniture for information, website and Facebook page and Twitter with which to interact -, a quarterly newspaper of 12 pages distributed to all mailboxes in the district.

Since 2005, three or four meetings of the "participatory monitoring committee" (*comité de suivi participatif*) have been held, comprising the elected representatives, the technicians in charge of the project and about thirty representatives of the inhabitants, for consultation on the progress of the project, choice of themes to be elaborated, evaluation of methods, possible proposals for general improvement and participation of the inhabitants.

## OBJECTIVES

The project wanted to set itself specific guidelines for sustainable development: solidarity, between generations and between territories; transversality, between the cultural, environmental, economic and social dimensions; participation of civil society actors in the decision-making process, responsibility and precaution, towards future generations and disadvantaged populations.

As far as urban planning is concerned, the project aimed to achieve a sustainable approach to the recomposition of open spaces, public spaces and roads, promoting soft mobility, adapting interventions through sensitivity to climate change, and realizing mixed housing units and also mixed urban functions. Other objectives are the enhancement of heritage, natural and man-made; greater density,

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<sup>5</sup> A ZAC, *Zone d'Aménagement Concerté*, or, simply, a zone to be built on, is in France, a public operation for the development of urban space provided for by the town planning code and established by the law of territorial orientation n° 67-1253 of December 30, 1967 and modified several times following.

through more housing, added to public facilities, commercial areas and services; greater presence of public spaces and greenery.

## REALIZATIONS

### URBANIZATION AND NEW STRUCTURES

In 2003, the demolition operations of the first condominium building began: the Barre 200. In addition to the demolition of social housing and the construction of private housing, new social housing and a new neighborhood center with stores and public services on the Plateau were also planned, including two schools, a gymnasium, a library, an athletic hall and a party hall, the rehabilitation of the MJC and the creation of a new orthogonal street grid, made possible by the destruction of several condominium bars, including Barre 260. While the demolition of the Barre des milles allowed to open the view to the Parc du Vallon and the built-up area below the hill, thus enhancing the landscape heritage.

Regarding the differences between social housing and private housing, these mainly concern the criteria for becoming a tenant or owner, the economic amount for access.

With regard to rent, three main aspects differ: the criteria for becoming a tenant, the amount of rent and the duration of the lease. For social housing, the conditions of access are defined by the income of the applicant, which must be less than a maximum amount predetermined by the State, in addition, for some applicants the right of priority access is established. The amount of the housing rent is regulated by the state, it is possible to obtain a reduction of the rent RLS, if the tenant's income is below a certain threshold or if there is a certain number of family members staying, dependent on the tenant. The term of the lease is indefinite. For private housing, there is no criterion for the conditions of access, the owner freely chooses the tenant, with the only condition that he does not exercise discriminatory choices. Depending on the municipality where the housing is located, the amount of rent is free or regulated, the duration of the lease is a minimum of one year and must be renewed.

In terms of access to ownership, private - or free - membership, unlike subsidized membership, allows all individuals to become owners, with no resource conditions or sale price, acquisition depending solely on your ability to finance the buyer. There is, however, the facilitation in ARNU areas of the right of the purchaser and future owner to a reduced VAT rate of 5.5% instead of 20%. On the other hand, subsidized access is regulated or price controlled, depending on the income conditions of the buyer. In addition, it is possible to benefit from new housing at a reduced price.

You also benefit, under certain conditions, from certain guarantees - of outplacement, of redemption of the home, of resale -, or in case of accidents.

Since 2003, 1,570 families have been relocated, about half of them in La Duchère, as requested by the families themselves. 1,000 new houses have been rebuilt, while 719 social housing units have been rehabilitated. Social diversity is promoted by the following distribution: home ownership (35%), free or intermediate rental (13%), intermediate social rental (9%), social rental (29%), student housing (14%). Households with average or modest incomes to access ownership. 76% of buyers benefited from a reduced VAT rate.

The developers of the lots, selected in 2004, were: Nexity-Georges V, Bowfonds Marignan, Alliade, Cogédim, Rhône Saône Habitat, Spirit Grand Sud and SLCI Promotion.

The following year, the participatory oversight committee was established, and rehabilitation of the observation tower began. In May 2005 the convention with ANRU was signed, and Duchère was included in the national program of urban regeneration, PNRU. In 2006 the Duchère was classified as an urban free zone ZFU, i.e. falling within the category of sensitive urban area, ZUS, this assignment allows the operations of demolition-reconstruction. Thus, the first demolitions of apartment buildings

took place, in particular bar 210 and bar 260. The 602 families who lived there were transferred elsewhere in the neighborhood and in the rest of the conurbation.

The sale of new social housing began in the spring of 2006 the result was the sale of 153 in this first phase. In 2007, the first private residential buildings for ownership and rent were launched: the Les Rives de Champagne residence, the Carré Anaïs, the Nexity George V Rhône Loire Auvergne student residence, the old Lycée de la Martinière gymnasium was demolished and replaced by the design of a renovated 2 000 m<sup>2</sup> multi-sports gymnasium. The Géraniums and Bleuets schools were renovated: demolished and then rebuilt. As well as the public spaces were reorganized in stages, after the completion of each building: the sidewalks and bike path on the Plateau, rue Marcel Cerdan and the new tree-lined street rue Edith Piaf.

The following year, 306 new homes went on the market and more than 60% were booked.

In 2010, Bar 220, home to 340 homes, was also demolished. By 2012, a total of 1 338 social housing units had been demolished, with the parallel construction of 860 new units.

2012 is the time of the inauguration of the Stéphane-Diagana athletics hall, named after the French athlete. It hosted several French indoor track and field championships in the following years. In the same year, La Duchère became one of the top 15 priority safety zones, in the nation.

After redevelopment began in 2011, the 11-hectare Parc du Vallon was opened to the public in spring 2014. The hydraulic project was directed by the Direction de l'Eau du Grand Lyon, while the landscape project was led by SERL and the Ilex agency, assisted by Cap Vert Ingénierie, Sogréah and LEA.

Many of these operations were developed in consultation with the inhabitants: the vacation and family center (*maison des fêtes et des familles*), Parc du Vallon, the two squares Place Abbé Pierre, Square Averroès, public spaces on the Plateau, such as the names of new streets and public spaces.

This involvement was organized according to innovative approaches through evening workshops, field visits, focus groups in socio-cultural centers, and by facilitating parental participation through a childcare organization during the workshops.

With respect to the 719 rehabilitated social housing units and all of the former 13 co-ownerships that totaled 1,130 housing units, a subsidy program was activated to improve energy efficiency and thus limit the increase in charges to tenants.

The La Duchère observation tower was the subject of a 3.7 million euro conservation plan, subsidized by 76%.

In the context of CUCS, a support system for new co-ownerships was established to ensure a good start and to inform users about the type of contract and individual and collective obligations of co-ownership. All co-ownerships in the neighborhood, both old and new, benefit from an appropriate monitoring and support system. Some new social housing programs have also been the subject of specific support after handover, for the same reason of ensuring smooth operation, informing tenants about the new facilities and creating social ties, through the "tenant's booklet" distributed at home, collective meetings at the foot of the building, cultural activities in common spaces, shared gardens, awareness sessions on energy and sustainable development issues.

Concerning economic activities, an economic developer supports companies in their development projects in La Duchère, which since 2006 became part of the ZFU and therefore its economic competitiveness increased. Particular preference was given to the establishment of companies whose activity was rooted in the territory, approval committees were created, of companies and real estate programs, to select companies. In addition, integration clauses were included in all public contracts - Ville de Lyon, Grand Lyon, SERL -.

Between 2011 and 2016, a *médicentre* medical center covering 13 doctors or health professionals today, two office buildings near Place Abbé Pierre - including Yellow square - and an entrepreneurial center dedicated to young businesses were built.

## MOBILITY

On the theme of soft mobility, the new east-west avenue Rosa Parks was built to open up the neighborhood to the west of Lyon, this avenue promotes soft mobility and optimizes the connection through 3 bus lines to the multimodal station of Vaise, the main connection point to the city center, and to the university and commercial centers to the west. 3.2 km of continuous bike lanes have been created and three self-service bicycle stations have been installed, *velo'velo'v* the Lyon municipal system. In 2011, the frequency of bus passage was increased. The mobility project ensured that all housing was within 150 m of a bus stop, and a 150-space parking lot was built at the western entrance to the neighborhood. For accessibility, slopes are less than 4% for the main routes and there are podotactile strips at the foot of the facades to guide the way for the visually impaired.

Interesting is the action of enhancement of the existing heritage, which has chosen to preserve the ramparts of the old fort, the washhouse of the XVI century in the Parc du Vallon, some of the buildings of the first construction such as the Érables apartment building, the panoramic tower and the old church turned into a cinema.

The smaller and well spaced buildings have allowed the creation of private gardens in formal continuity with the public green spaces and in particular with the Parc du Vallon that seems to enter the neighborhood through this network of gardens.

## GREEN, ENERGY SYSTEM AND ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACT

Some actions have been conducted regarding the energy system and the commitment to environmental sustainability. All buildings and public facilities are connected to the same district heating network. The renovation of this system in 2007 resulted in 75% of the district's needs being met through low-pressure biomass heat production, using untreated chopped wood, in the boiler room of La Duchère with natural gas supplying 19%, and back-up with domestic fuel oil supplying 1%. In addition, solar panels have been installed to provide hot water. Tools such as the PLU, the "Grand Lyon benchmark for environmental quality in the construction of new housing and office buildings," and the SERL's "booklets of architectural, urban planning, landscaping and environmental prescriptions," have been used to promote the environmental quality of building operations.

This installation promotes the ecological sustainability of the neighborhood, allowing 60,000 MWh of fossil fuels to be replaced by wood and avoiding the release of more than 25,000 tons of CO<sub>2</sub> per year, which coincides with an 87% reduction in emissions compared to the previous trend. In January 2014, the city of Lyon received the Écoréseau de chaleur, Heat Econetwork label from the Amorce association.

The TRIBU study, through a bioclimatic assessment of the project, reported a reduction in heat islands between the initial state of the site and 2018, with average albedo  $A < 0.30$  at the exception of Vallon Park.

The open spaces such as squares, gardens, tree-lined streets, vegetation of buildings, green cover, become greater in this phase of the project covering 1 ha of land, this transformation contributes to the climatic moderation of the district.

In order to relieve the wastewater flow of the water plant which risked reaching saturation, a separation network was built for the sewer and rainwater networks, the latter flowing into the Gorges stream, in the Vallon park, eliminating the transport of rainwater, which does not need heavy treatment, to the Pierre-Bénite treatment plant.

In the heart of the park three retention basins - with a capacity of - have been built.

If the stream overflows in case of heavy rains, three such retention basins with a capacity of 21,000 m<sup>3</sup> have been provided to convey the excess. The Gorges stream is partly underground and partly on the surface at some parts of the Park for more than 400 m, acting in this sense as a landscape element.

The new Parc du Vallon is the 4th largest park in Lyon, the project has also led to the creation of new landscaping, playgrounds, pedestrian connections between La Duchère and the surrounding neighborhoods, the installation of toilets and new lighting.

The Green Spaces Department of the City of Lyon (*direction des Espaces verts de la Ville de Lyon*) manages the green spaces of the neighborhood where, as in the rest of the city, no herbicide, fungicide or insecticide treatments are carried out.

Recycling management has included the distribution of underground silos along the sidewalks, having a high capacity that decreases the frequency of collection, which has become once a week, which means limiting the passage of garbage trucks with their noise and greenhouse gas emissions. And a weekly collection of bulky items has been introduced. It is all of these aspects that make Duchère an eco-neighbourhood.

## PUBLIC SPACES

Since 2003, numerous public facilities have been built or rehabilitated, with a total budget of 67 million euros.

The redevelopment of the 12 000 sqm Place Abbé Pierre will be completed in 2012. It is the heart of the district and is located at the intersection of the cardo Avenue du Plateau changed to a vocation of shopping street, and the decumanus, Avenue Rosa Parks whose new arrangement aims to promote openness and circulation.

Place Abbé Pierre was imagined in consultation with the inhabitants, and is intended to express their spirit, according to the official presentation of the project: conviviality, openness and celebration. It is surrounded by the main functions of the district: the Martinière Duchère high school with its 2 400 students, the municipal library, the Stéphane Diagana athletics gymnasium, new residences and 7 600 sqm of new commercial premises. The square includes a system of steps that also serve as seating, a fountain with water features, some trees within a regular mesh and finally hosts an afternoon food market.

Other public facilities include: two kindergartens, two schools, a library, a gymnasium, a soccer stadium with artificial turf, an athletics hall of regional scope, a local employment center Maison de l'Emploi et de la Formation de Lyon, a party and family center Maison des Fêtes et des Familles, a headquarters of the department of Rhône Maison du Département du Rhône.

The Stéphane Diagana athletics hall, designed for 2 000 spectators with an athletics area of 6 400 sqm, is the largest indoor athletics hall in the entire southeastern area of France, the investment amounted to 25 million euros. Sixty percent of its energy needs are covered by renewable energy.

## ACTIVE INVOLVEMENT OF INHABITANTS

The construction period was accompanied by activities to support change and to raise awareness of the works as part of the cultural project for the area: between 2005 and 2010 an open-air museum was held on the site and a temporary museum in an apartment building slated for demolition, as well as the creation of a giant participatory fresco on the facade of the same building for the Fête des Lumières 2008.

From 2010 to 2013, a temporary theater was held in an apartment during the move of the tenants of Bar 230, following the collection of testimonies, a play inspired by the move was performed, and again a competition was held to curate temporary gardens.

In order to monitor the status of operations, since 1999, a weekly technical watchdog and a small fund for works have been in place, making it possible to quickly intervene in functional or logistical problems with the use of public space - installation of a flight of stairs, arrangement of a path, etc. -. A tool for defining these interventions are also the "living environment while walking" meetings, which

allow dysfunctions to be identified with residents and services in order to find rapid and appropriate solutions together.

Since 2003, a pilot approach of the Territorial Social Project (PST) has addressed the social development of the neighborhood, in conjunction with the Urban Contract for Social Cohesion.

One of the priority challenges is the mutual openness between the La Duchère neighborhood and the rest of the city: encouraging the mutual participation of residents from one part of the city to the other in sports, cultural activities, associations and festivals. To encourage this meeting, many actions have been carried out between old and new residents, such as sports activities, neighborhood festivals, annual art *festival D'Art et d'Air, Lieux Accueil Parents* listening place for parents, in all elementary and middle schools, theater performances in the open air of the building with the Cie Le Fanal, or even the project *la.Ba.la.bel* of historical enhancement of the lived experience of the neighborhood and cultural diversity, led by CMTRA and ARFI, which work on languages.

A number of specific actions have been devised for vulnerable residents such as the provision of courses for the mastery of the French language in the local language center, Sports Culture tickets that allow for pricing practices adapted to the economic realities of families, and other actions for the prevention of school dropouts, support for parenting and home support for the elderly. As part of the Atelier Santé Ville City Health Workshop, actions are also developed in partnership with sports clubs and the Clica de La Sauvegarde, adapted to local needs on issues such as awareness of obesity prevention, mental health problems, or specific actions aimed at the elderly and young adults.

In La Duchère, there are a number of practices put in place to support and encourage residents' initiatives aimed at building community and benefiting the community of residents: creations of tenant collectives, support for emerging associations are supported, there is the Local Initiative Fund system i.e. a system intended for residents of priority neighborhoods of the City of Lyon that allows them to go from an idea to the implementation of a project having a benefit for the neighborhood: breaking isolation, improving the living environment, creating conviviality: a one-time financial boost for a short-term action or a start-up project. The contribution granted can reach a maximum of 1500 euros. The creation of a resource center for the elderly - *l'Espace Seniors*, the Espace Seniors - is also supported.

In addition, a number of collective initiatives have been developed in a sustainable key: the promotion of mobility on bikes of a "school-bike" and a bike repair workshop by the social center Sauvegarde, the development of shared vegetable gardens, awareness actions on waste recycling and separate collection, energy saving, creation of a collective compost, cooking workshops, laboratories for the realization of cosmetics and natural products for the home, a *vestiaire solidaire* that is the collection of used clothes to resell them at very low prices or recycle the fabric, forum of residents on the theme of sustainable development, study trip organized by residents to visit the eco-districts of Freiburg.

With VRAC (*Vers un Réseau d'Achats Groupés*), a system of responsible and collective purchasing was implemented, relating, for example, to the collective purchase of school supplies in relation to middle schools.

## CONCLUSIONS

On September 9, 2013, the Duchère neighborhood was labeled as an ÉcoQuartier, eco-district. In fact, in 2008 The Sustainable City Plan (*Ville durable*) launched the first call for ÉcoQuartier projects.

The appellation eco-quarter designates an urban development project that integrates three aspects from the perspective of sustainable development: economic, social and environmental aspects, while reducing the ecological impact of the project.

This first project phase on the Plateau is currently nearing completion, with the last commercial buildings to be delivered and by 2023.

In 2008, a medium-term Environmental Analysis of Urbanism (AEU) was carried out, which comprehensively examined the urban, ecological, hydrological and climatic characteristics of the area, in order to establish specific guides for environmental sustainability to be followed in the next phase of development of the ZAC.

In the end, the inhabitants have been strongly involved in the decisions and planning, in its monitoring and have been assisted in the creation of a new community life through associations and different activities.

### 3.2.4 SECOND PHASE OF GRAND PROJET DE VILLE ON LA DUCHERE - 2015 - 2030

#### INTRODUCTION

To continue the transformation of the neighborhood, a second phase of redevelopment of Duchère was launched in 2015 as part of the new national urban renewal program NPNRU. The design specifically concerns the Sauvegarde and Château sub-neighborhoods and will be carried out until 2030.

The main needs of this new project step are to open up and connect La Duchère to the west of Lyon via the east-west axis of Rosa Parks Avenue; reinforce the presence of green spaces; build an additional 1,850 diversified housing units; redevelop older housing; and build new stores and businesses. All of this is done preeminently through the development of the La Sauvegarde and Le Château sectors. In particular, the three-year period 2015 - 2018 includes analyses and design consultations, while the period 2018 - 2030 corresponds to the works phase. The project is designed in a participatory manner, with the continuous involvement of the inhabitants.

More in detail, almost 198 million euros of public investment - ANRU, Action Logement, social landlords, Métropole de Lyon, City of Lyon, National Housing Agency - will be invested on 6.9 ha of public space to be redesigned and developed including 3,410 square meters of economic area and about 540 new housing units to be built, 677 old housing units to be upgraded, 601 social housing units to be demolished.

#### OBJECTIVES

For the Le Château sub-neighborhood, it is planned to reduce its isolation by improving the connections with Plateau and Vaise; increase the landscape quality and the connection with the Parc du Vallon; improve the usability of public spaces and existing public facilities; rehabilitate some housing.

In the La Sauvegarde sub-neighborhood pi aimed at a more effective permeability and connectivity to Plateau, Champagne and Ecully; diversify the housing offer by demolishing and reconstructing some buildings; diversify the functions of the neighborhood, particularly economic, towards Ben Gurion and Rosa Parks avenues: create premises for crafts, small and medium enterprises; rehabilitate existing buildings; develop new open spaces based on the expectations of the inhabitants.

A solar irradiance assessment based on 3D modeling of the neighborhood also allowed for the optimization of building locations in the second phase of the urban design so that each of the homes has at least 2 hours of sunlight at the winter solstice, when the sun is lowest.

## LE CHÂTEAU

In the Château sector, the rehousing of the barre 110's inhabitants began in 2020.

The design concept is that of the "connected inhabited park", aiming to maximize the presence of green to take advantage of the environmental benefit and enhance the landscape qualities, and opening here too, the edges of the sector for better accessibility.

With respect to the change in housing supply, it was planned to demolish the 293 social housing units of the slat-shaped building 110, the shopping center and to build new smaller residences, corresponding to about 180 housing units owned or rented; the recovery of old buildings including the 4 ALLIADE Habitat towers - 135 housing units - and the co-ownership of the sector - 136 housing units -;

On the issue of connectivity, the project included the development of new pedestrian links to the center of Vaise, the Tunnel bus stop, Plateau de la Duchère and Parc du Vallon and the redevelopment of outdoor spaces and buildings to improve the quality of life in the public environment.

To meet the needs of the inhabitants an additional plan is the improvement of the Maison de l'Enfance, the MJC and the school.

## LA SAUVEGARDE

The first rehousing operations began in 2016 in the Sauvegarde sector and redevelopment and demolition operations began in 2020.

The design concept for the Sauvegarde sector is the "landscape city in connection", maximizing the presence of greenery for a first environmental benefit and enhancing its landscape qualities, creating an identity distinction in this sense of the suburb from the rest of the district. The enhancement of the plant heritage is aimed at naturally improving living comfort, reducing heat islands and increasing biodiversity, with the aspiration of obtaining the district certificate AOC: *Appellation d'Origine Climatique*.

An important objective is to open up the area to permeability with the surrounding urban fabric and park, improving both internal circulation and connections to the other sites of Plateau, Champagne-au-Mont-d'Or and Ecully.

Another design axis is the enhancement of public space from a formal and functional point of view by upgrading important green spaces, in line with the expectations of residents: pedestrian paths, roads, playgrounds and public spaces, in particular square des 400 and Square des Équipements, located behind the social center la Salvaguardia.

With respect to the adaptation of the housing supply, it is planned to redevelop the old social housing buildings, demolish 308 social housing units and build about 360 new housing units in buildings equipped with planted areas.

In addition, it is promoted the establishment of new economic activities with a craft vocation complementary to those already existing and the maintenance of the local commercial offer of stores and services at the foot of buildings on an area of 860 square meters.

With respect to the system of public spaces, a new centrality will be created to complete the Place Abbé Pierre, in the heart of La Salvaguardia, with a community and aggregative vocation. It will also be redesigned the place for cars and motor vehicles in order to offer a quiet living environment; in fact, a double mobility system will be arranged: one that welcomes cars, the other exclusively pedestrian and soft mobility.

The distribution of the new homes, will be well integrated into the vegetal fabric, and placed mainly on the land freed from the demolished buildings, namely the former slat-shaped buildings 520 and 530. The new buildings, of different heights, will be positioned to favor the bioclimate with south-west



orientation, visual perspectives studied and gardens of relevance rich in vegetation. Particular attention will be paid to the energy performance and climatic comfort of the building, specifically to the facades, insulation and ventilation.

For better accessibility, commercial and service activities will be on the ground floor of buildings near the central plaza, and connected to Ben Gurion Avenue. This street will be repurposed to allow all modes of traffic, not just cars. The new economic activities with a craft vocation will be located on the north side of the district, along the Avenue d'Ecully.

The governance of participation has involved the inhabitants from the beginning and at the end of January 2021 began a consultation phase during the exhibition "La Sauvegarde demain : regards d'étudiants" and the subsequent evening debate.

The demolition of the slab-shaped buildings 520 and 530 was completed in December 2020. The redevelopment of buildings 440 and 460 is currently underway.

### LATEST UPDATES ON LA SAUVEGARDE DEVELOPMENT OF 2021

In January 2021 a conference was held, with confrontation among designers, elected representatives, and La Duchère's citizens' council

Dominique Gautier, one of the architects responsible for the project, pointed out that there are five components of cité paysagère. These components are: redefine the perimeter of Parc du Vallon and integrate it as a compository part of the project inside La Sauvegarde; the Square des 400, as the central space of the neighbourhood, complementary to Parc du Vallon; the development of the green belt – border of La Sauvegarde; the use and remark the pattern's continuity of the urban network and reinforce it; the development of the gardens.

The main planners' issues exposed about the lines to take on La Sauvegarde existing situation were the followings.

Wondering on what it means to be a landscaper today, trying to always approach the design with the effort to think it in relation to the landscape. And understanding the neighbourhood location in relation to the territory, and its connection to the rest of the territory.

The planners have chosen to determine the landscape project's center at the intersection of Rue de Beer-Sheva and Avenue de La Sauvegarde, considering that it is an interesting node, because it connects different points on the district and different green plots.

They aim to improve also Square des 400 which is already a good space, but it needs just to be valorized and consolidated, in line with the Square des Équipements and at the level of Place Central.

Another point is to rethink the district relation with its environment, so they propose to enhance a green belt on the north, which is already existing. As this green belt will constitute a positive filter, in terms of neighbourhood's protection, and it may reinforce its residential vocation, giving an image of the neighbourhood from the exterior, as a framework. In this perspective users will enter the district through the green pattern.

La Sauvegarde masterplan shows a detailed, attentive accessibility and viability's conception.

It proposes also to extend existing green plots along buildings.

Regarding the public space, there are already public areas and roads that adequately serve the neighbourhood. Especially the main roads are Rosa Parks on the South side, Avenue Be Gourion on the West side, Avenue d'Ecully on the North side and Avenue Maurice Bèjart on the East side. Axes that are already well dimensioned for all modes of transport, this allow planners to think at creating a network of public spaces within this district there will be as calm as possible.

They imagine a central service two-way street that starts from the junction between Avenue Rosa Parks and Avenue de La Sauvegarde, till the district center and continue in Rue de Beer-Sheva, for the North-South dessert, and to make Rue Ben Guiron more peaceful.

And two patterns of roads: one pattern of quiet one-way streets, available for all modes of transport, and another pedestrian pattern of streets that guarantees a certain residential quality of different programs. The project defines a district center creating a rectangular square at the crossing of Rue Beer-Sheva and Avenue de La Sauvegarde, this point is conceived as a place of intensity for the neighbourhood, where the motorized access is limited, and whose composition provides planted alleys. This central square is identified as the opportunity to create a district centrality on the scale of the La Sauvegarde but also complementary to the other centralities already exists on the Plateau de La Duchère, as notably Place Abbé Pierre.

The central square is conceived as pedestrian, except for - as mentioned - a path for the vehicles' road. It's also proposed a main large pedestrian East-West path, passing through the central square, that connects the rest of La Duchère neighbourhood to La Sauvegarde. The central square is connected to the Square des 400 by a wide pedestrian green path.

Regarding the buildings' system, the constructability is variable in the district.

The project's key points are:

- to locate commerce and service activities at the ground level facing the central mobility's axis, near the central square;
- to build new housing within the blocks, mostly on the north-east edge of the district - some residential blocks also on the west border and on the south border -;
- to locate the economic activities on the district's façade, so along its border. In order to implement existing and new economic activities to bring new life and vibrancy here. The activities are the Centre du Vallon, already existing on the west border and a new activity is imagined at the north border, therefore in a complementary position to stimulate a functionality-mix into the district's texture;
- to open the Parc du Vallon to the heart of the district;
- to develop a grid of public spaces to connect the different parts of the district. The landscape belt marks a vegetation filter and also the entrances to the quarter. So, the greenbelt has both functions which can appear to be a paradox: according to the architects, it is necessary to open up the district but at the same time to protect it to affirm its residential quality. The project has found a language to mark the different entrances to the district in terms of visibility and differentiation, but it has studied also how to make the accessibility the most efficient;
- to develop the central square with a just partial commercial vocation, and rather an urban furniture and gardens' system, also ludic and sport spaces, places aimed to gather people and encourage the district sociality.

The architect Dominique Gautier presents a composition plan - masterplan - which is a first intention plan.

This plan aims to translate on a more formal point of view the main principles already presented.

The project aims to enhance the woodland potential, taking advantage of topography.

The district will be opened not only through the new green doors, but also demolishing buildings at the northern and western edges.

Rue Ben Guiron will be modified, promoting less traffic. An inter-quarter street is foreseen to find here also a landscape, in term of green views, accompanied by a pedestrian path, a bicycle path, so this street will be seen in a new way, as an element completely integrated to the borough, rather than how it is today with its configuration as barrier. So, even the demolition of certain buildings is an occasion to open the district on the Rue Ben Guiron.

It has been deemed important to enhance also the access at north-west towards the Sauvegarde Stadium and the College Jean-Philippe Rameau, in Champagne-au-Mont-d'Or.

The quarter will maintain its identity, but it will have more porosity, more linkability with the surrounding environment.

On the requalified residential area, the new buildings will have a smaller scale compared to the previous ones, and they are more fragmented, no longer a slab-shaped condominium, to permit the light's passage, and create some view cuts. It's promoted a bioclimatic approach to the building's placement, to have the sun essentially turned towards south-west. The soil is almost everywhere conceived as an embankment garden.

The building's ground floor will host housing, to permit the inhabitants to enjoy the garden's presence, and necessarily rubbish rooms, bicycle and service rooms.

The difference between public and private space could be marked by fences, plants, or level differences. There will be a visual continuity but there will be anyway a marking of the limit between public and private space.

Around the social center there's the Square des Équipements, that has a great potential to be develop because it desserts the school école des Géramiums, and the social center is quite isolated in relation to the park, so it is necessary to create more contact between the two, and it's the key point to open a link connecting Parc du Vallon and the Central Square, passing between the building 510 and residence for elderly people, and continue again along the green corridors inside the residential part. The latter have an important function to protect the fauna and biodiversity, and as vegetal canopies to combat heat islands.

There is a differentiation on the building heights - to cut up the sky -, the buildings will have a various formal shape, a varied building typology to promote mixed housing.

The Central Square Program is combined with the objective of a very rich plant presence.

On the north edge of the neighbourhood, at the crossing between Av d'Ecully and Av. Ben Gouiron, where the new residential buildings will be located, in place of the school and other services. The size of the buildings is gradually lower towards the edge of the neighbourhood, especially towards Avenue d'Ecully, in order to better open up the neighbourhood towards its surroundings.

The strong proximity between the green and the built environment brings us into the notion of an inhabited park.

There is the same principle on the part of square des équipements and the social center, a wide presence of vegetation also to combat the climate warming.

On the central square, it is not an open and uncluttered-ordered place but rather a partially covered square.

A shrewd reflection was conducted on the future configuration of public space. Several hypotheses were imagined about the activities the public space could host, and attempts were made to predict how it would be experienced by its users and how it would be conceived in the long term.

About La Sauvegarde's vegetal heritage, there are 789 existing trees: 149 evergreen trees and 640 deciduous. And the surface with vegetation cover is 22.115 sqm, which corresponds to 17% floor area. There is indeed a good opportunity here to create a landscaped district thanks to the conspicuous presence of greenery. The project aims to reach the 30% of vegetal floor area, planting more trees and renewing the plant heritage, to face the climatic problems that we will have in the future because of the global warming. It was emphasized the positive energy impact that the construction technologies and the choice of surfaces of the buildings will bring.

The details are exposed below.

Square des Équipements, near the social center, hosts an already existing playground "Aire de jeux pour enfants" which has nowadays a good quality, but the objective is to raise this quality, to make more contrasting spaces, to re-plant trees, to find more diversity.

Square des 400, also is grassed over and surrounded by trees, and this plant structure will be sustained and developed. There is a secular old oak tree which is the emblem of the project.

The implementation of this landscaped quartier foresees the installation of vegetable gardens, near the buildings, sharing spaces.

Regarding the climatic issue, 2020 was the warmest year on record, and Lyon is the French city that has been warming up the most since the year 2000. Therefore, it's important to react to this problem. Creating a landscaped quartier in La Duchère will represent a sort of manifest quartier for the attention to the climatic issue.

In Lyon in July at 12:00 a.m. there is 44 °C of difference between a paved or built place and a green place, the general wish of the city is to significantly lower this temperature difference and cool down the urban environment, acclimate the city. The project intends to obtain the label of "AOC, Appellation d'origine climatique".

Specifically for the use of public space, tactical urbanism interventions have been proposed through installations for temporary uses. Through modest urban furnishings and light infrastructures that generate a strong impact on the uses. The design proposals include temporary areas with workshops of local crafts that enhance the countries of origin of the inhabitants, an open-air green theater with terraces, water play areas with the idea of water mirrors and misting, taking into account the safety of children; intergenerational and multi-ethnic games: checkers, bowls, chess, etc. Several benches or multi-purpose street furniture will be installed to promote encounters, areas with temporary activities depending on the season, mixed equipment, both games and rest areas such as trampolines or hammocks.

More than 66.000 euros for the buildings' rehabilitation for: the recovery of sanitary rooms, change of landing doors, electrical security, replacement of windows and patio doors, intervention on the façades and on the damaged concrete, insulation.

Regarding the creation of new commerce and public services, the project foresees 860 sqm of commercial and service spaces, and relocate the existing commerce, and to develop medical services on the ground floor. The central square is just complementary to the other centralities of the whole neighbourhood, it will host the population for activities such as ateliers, services, urban agriculture activities that could implement the sociality and the economy, fostering the circular economy concept. Therefore, an aggregation node for several daily life's functions, the place of the soul of the new neighbourhood.

The waste collection system will be implemented, because in the previous years appeared some problems about its management, especially because it was often empty. As there were not enough garbage collection shifts during the week -one per week -, or the concern that residents from other municipalities had come to dump their waste in the silos of La Duchère. With respect to this, solutions of timing organization were proposed, or solutions to assure the actual use of the silos by the legitimate inhabitants, rather than structural solutions.

Concerning the rehabilitation of the long condominium complex, the project made an analysis on what type of rental will be proposed, how will be the urban form and the renovation of the commerce activities, especially after the demolition of the former mall, and how the envisaged buildings' heights will become.

For the re-housing, at the time, there were still several ideas but not a single decisive vision, the designers will have work on this for the following 36 months. The fixed points were that diversified housing units will be planned, adapted to the needs of the different inhabitants: for example littler housing units that will be cheaper. Not all the inhabitants have to move, if they want to stay into their

previous apartment they will stay there, but if they have other needs, the project will try to adapt the new housing to these specific needs. The project will mobilize not just one landlord, but all landlords in order to listen to the needs of all the inhabitants.

A problem has been reported by the inhabitants regarding the parking; particularly because the parking of La Clinique was too expensive so the clients went to occupy the residents free parking, taking their space. The problem of this practice of unauthorized parking, generated insecurity also for children. In fact, the new design will provide underground parking. Another issue being discussed was where to locate the residents, after the demolitions, while their new housing is under construction.

Under the notion of "Quartier fertile" an interesting action was proposed: to realize a pedagogic garden called jardin des milles = a place for sharing, gathering and experimentation which will involve pedagogical workshops regarding gardening, healthy nutrition, artistic atelier to enlarge also the Sauvegarde community center's events, with the possibility of having access to products in short circuit and the association Vrac. The idea is to multiply sites to make gardens with an accompaniment.

Consultations with the conseil citoyen of this project phase revealed that the garden in the heart of the developed block on the Plateau was a project that worked well according to the consensus of the residents. This was especially so when there was co-ownership.

There are already shared gardens in Lyon, with permaculture, and the Conseil citoyen suggested promoting training on this for the residents of La Sauvegarde.

Students from the Lycée Diderot proposed to set up semi-covered kitchens near the gardens, to showcase the cuisines of the world, given the rich nationality of the population.

With respect to the importance claimed by the inhabitants of having places where people can meet, the architects emphasized that the road system strategies devised for the sub-neighborhood also aimed at this, turning it towards a pedestrian and cycling vocation, favorable to meetings. Above all, because of the new green public spaces, the limitation of the passage for a few cars walking slowly, the determination of the zone with the obligation of 30 km/h on the central street.

### 3.3 THE ACTION-STUDY EXAMPLE ON LA DUCHÈRE ABOUT MULTIFACTORIAL DISCRIMINATION HELD BY THE LYON UNIVERCITY GREPS' TEAM EGALITER IN 2012

#### EUROPEAN INITIATIVES TOWARDS A GENDER MAINSTREAMING APPROACH IN URBAN PLANNING AND THE APPLICATION OF LYON CITY

In 2010, the European Community created the European Charter for the Equality of Women and Men in Local Life, the aim of which is to provide a network of support to the Member States in the implementation of equal gender opportunities by creating Cities of Equality. Along the lines of this initiative, Lyon City launched a public policy aimed at developing equality between women and men in its territory.

Indeed, it was in March 2012 that the Ville de Lyon signed the European Charter for Equality of Women and Men in Local Life, accompanied by a first Plan of 65 actions, mostly implemented between 2012 and 2014. A second Action Plan was then voted for the three-year period 2016 - 2019.

The first Action Plan, entitled *Cultivons l'égalité femmes-hommes à Lyon* (Let's make gender equality grow in Lyon), has led to several concrete results including, for example, the creation of 3 emergency reception centers for women victims of violence; a training course on gender equality - given to officers, elected officials, partners, neighborhood councils - the implementation of a non-discrimination clause in the Municipality's public procurement that takes gender equality into account; a system that promotes sexual and reproductive health advocacy for women; support for top Lyon sportswomen; and increased visibility of women in public space by naming streets, squares and other places with names of women who have existed in history.

But this Action Plan is particularly interesting within this Thesis as its 15th action involved the implementation of an action-research on multifactorial discrimination - gender in particular, class, ethnic origin - on three priority neighborhoods of the city of Lyon, defined as such within the context of the Urban Contract of Social Cohesion CUCS of the period 2011-2014, including the neighborhood of La Duchère. This research aimed to identify the situations and specific needs of women in priority neighborhoods and to develop new approaches in projects conducted in the areas intended for urban policy interventions.

On the initiative of two delegations of the city (Equality F-H and Politique de la Ville), the Ville de Lyon launched, in November 2012, launched the action-study on multifactorial discrimination concerning women in the three priority neighborhoods of Mermoz, La Duchère and Le Vergoin.

This chapter evidently focuses only on the part done on La Duchère, of the research, conducted by the Egaliter Team of the GREPS research group composed of researchers and students of social psychology and sociology at the Université Lyon2.

In the context of subchapter 3.4.3, it will be reported also the work of analysis on the Ducchérois people's lived experience after their living environment's transformation, a study conducted by the ethnologist Bianca Botea. This is because, although it is a separate study from Egaliter's, it has always been conducted in collaboration with the Ville de Lyon and local institutional structures, between 2007 and 2010, just a few years before Egaliter's work. And it brought to light some interesting observations, in which some of the results found in the GREPS study reappear and enrich our understanding.

In particular, these are findings about the neighbourhood's life, the uses and meanings attributed to the place by the inhabitants. And these results make us reflect on the importance of considering existing local social networks when implementing an urban design project.

### 3.3.1 THE ACTIN-STUDY « ÉTUDE-ACTION SUR LES DISCRIMINATIONS MULTIFACTORIELLES ENVERS LES FEMMES DANS TROIS QUARTIERS PRIORITAIRES LYONNAIS » AND ONE OF ITS CASES: LA DUCHÈRE

This was an action-study commissioned through a call for tenders by the city of Lyon.

At the request of the "Egalité femmes-hommes et handicap (Equality between women and men and disability)" delegation and the "Politique de la ville et logement (City policy and housing)" delegation, of La Ville de Lyon (the City of Lyon), and under the guidance of its Mission égalité (Equality Mission), the action-study was carried out by the University of Lyon2's laboratory GREPS (Groupe de Recherche en Psychologie Sociale) and its team Egaliter, between 2012 and 2013. The action-study was expected to have two functions: to draw up an inventory and to provide recommendations for public action.

The director and scientific manager of the Egaliter's team was Elise Vinet, professor of Social Psychology. The other research team's members were :Cynthia Cadel, full-time research fellow, at that time a doctoral student at the GREPS laboratory; Nicolas Fieulaine, senior lecturer in Social Psychology; Colline Colombani, research engineer, graduate of the M2Pro Applied Social Psychology; Arnaud Beal, Gaëlle Deschamps, Elodie Levasseur, doctoral students at GREPS; Elise Chane Sha Lin, Morgan Clement, Stéphanie Laurent, Marie-Amandine Vermillon, students who graduated in 2012-2013 from the M2Pro PSA, GREPS.

The research made it possible to develop an innovative multifactorial approach to learning about the dynamics of discrimination in France, as it brought to light, from an intersectional point of view, how different discriminatory factors - gender, ethnic origin, socio-economic conditions, age, living in a neighborhood with a sometimes degraded image, etc. - can combine, interrelate to weigh even more heavily on people's lives.

A final report was presented in 2013, including about forty recommendations aimed at socio-educational and recreational facilities, as well as urban planning and forms of activities and uses to be proposed for the social organization of the neighborhood.

The research's results and recommendations were presented and debated in a follow-up group involving representatives of associations and residents in order to act on different levers. Two types of returns were held to share the results:

- The professionals involved organized three meetings to share the results of the research in the area on November 8, 15 and 22, 2013;
- A theatre show was produced that contained themes about the restitution of the research with the residents. The show was written and directed by the Compagnie du Théâtre du Grabuge. This form of artistic and sensitive restitution was deemed appropriate to invite residents to follow a complex reflection, deeply rooted in the history of the project, on the reality of their territory. About 400 people saw this performance, which was reproduced 6 times.

It should be underlined that the purpose of the research was to evaluate and understand the multifactorial social problems of these populations, and to identify appropriate solutions to be proposed to city policy and to the inhabitants.

Therefore, the research did not focus on the existing positive aspects of the relational and social dynamics of these neighborhoods, but rather on their problems, so that they could then be resolved in a proactive manner.

And in particular, in the La Duchère area, the problems related to the significant change that had taken place in the previous years were also identified, given the massive urban reconstruction project held

here. In a certain sense, the part of the GREPS research that took place in La Duchère served as a moment of evaluation of the project results and also of monitoring, in order to understand which planning lines to adopt for the second phase of urban reconstruction of this ZAC.

This action-study brought to light some of the effects of socio-economic inequalities that run through French society and are manifested at the neighborhood level through discriminatory representations, practices, experiences and feelings.

The intersectional approach adopted has proven its effectiveness in the study of multifactorial discrimination, taking into account complex, intertwined and co-constructive phenomena that cannot be explained by a cumulative approach to discrimination.

Indeed, the action-study called for continued use of the intersectional approach to discrimination in public policy.

The study found a general interest of the actors met and mobilized in gender and discrimination issues, since they were often involved in these problems on a daily basis, even if not always consciously. The need emerged for greater inter-knowledge between local professionals and residents, and for better communication, particularly to the male audience, of the activities offered by the facilities.

The study underlined the richness of the activities offered and the active participation of women in these activities, counterbalanced by the tendency of men not to participate, due to their reluctance towards the activities planned by the institutions and because there were no suitable activities, a sign that the consideration of men's needs in the activities proposed by the organizations turned out to be an institutional oversight, which needed to be resolved. While the strong participation of women in the offers proposed has revealed some emancipatory effects such as the acquisition of socio-economic and cultural resources or the acquisition of resources with respect to gender relations.

One problem that emerged was the fact that the people who held positions of responsibility in the neighborhood, for example on boards of directors, belonged to the least disadvantaged classes of the population. Here again, the intersectional approach was key in highlighting what a simple gender approach to social relations would have hidden.

In addition, a tendency was identified on the part of social structures and municipal organizations to propose very gender-stereotyped activities, with the binding repercussion of reproducing gender norms, rather than always providing individuals who would like to overcome these gender norms with the tools to do so or even to challenge them.

Another aspect identified by the study was the largely ethnicizing and culturalist view of discrimination among many "non-racialized" actors, who relegate to a specific culture, the North African and Muslim one, the problem of sexism, which instead affects all of French society, thus invisibilizing the structural sexism of society as a whole, while contributing to the further stigmatization of an already largely disadvantaged social category, the racialized one. In this sense, the conclusions of the action-study conducted on the three priority neighborhoods of Lyon agree with the position of Isabelle Clair and Virginie Descoutures expressed in their 2009 work *Filles et garçons d'un quartier populaire parisien*, on the need for trans-social research, and not only in so-called "priority" areas, on issues of gender relations.

Finally, the part of the study devoted to women's place in public space revealed some quite classic dynamics such as a predominantly female transit in a deeply masculine space of male stationing, where women and even men who transgress gender expectations are subject to social control, particularly in the form of multiple gender-based calls to order, especially during adolescence.

Recommendations were developed regarding each of these issues.



La Duchère is designated as priority neighbourhood, as well as 33 other districts in Lyon, and in this case is one of the three neighbourhoods being subjects of the action-study.

The study focused on three main areas:

1. The place of women in public space - inside and outside the neighbourhood -;
2. The presence or lack of access of women to the socio-educational and leisure activities proposed in the neighbourhoods concerned - in particular in MJsCs, social centres, various socio-educational and leisure - cultural and/or sporting - associations, etc. -;
3. The mobilisation on gender equality issues of professionals in these structures and more transversal associations - dealing with equality and/or discrimination issues - in Lyon and also in the Rhône-Alpes region.

### 3.3.2 THE RESEARCH METHOD AND CONDUCT

The study lasted 8 months, including 5 months of on-site work: from October 2012 to April 2013.

The participatory nature of the action-study was intentional, starting from a point of view that considers residents and professionals as "resources", and enabled the mobilisation, both individually and collectively, of nearly 200 actors - residents, volunteers, professionals, elected officials or technicians - around the issue of discrimination. Indeed, the study intended to appeal to the knowledge, skills, and competencies of residents and professionals working in the neighborhood as subjects, and not objects, of study, in order moreover to think about future actions that directly affect them.

A total of 180 interviews were conducted with residents, facility professionals and local and regional elected officials, combined with observations and site visits - alone or accompanied by residents, professionals or elected officials - in the public space and facilities.

Despite the short time of 8 months allotted to this action-study, it was structured around three collective instances ranging from an institutional level - sponsors and elected officials - to broader participation through a monitoring committee - open to all, professionals and residents but also transversal actors - with the aim of regularly questioning the relevance of the lines of analysis identified during the study and initiating shared reflection. The study used a process of mobilization of local and non-local actors, such as associations that deal with gender and discrimination issues, at different levels of involvement, through moments of individual reflection and moments of collective reflection on this issue. An aim was to better understand how actors understand and deal with multifactorial discrimination, the role of gender, people's needs and obstacles encountered, the challenges of activities and their contribution to gender studies, issues and the negative aspects of gender diversity.

More specifically, in the evolution of the study the questions investigated regarding the discrimination dynamics were the following:

- Do women in the priority districts of Lyon suffer specific discrimination, in particular in the use of public space - inside and outside the district - and in the relationship with the socio-educational and leisure activities proposed in these districts?
- What is the tendency of individuals to internalize and underestimate the multifactorial discrimination they experience?
- Are these discriminations due to their sex, gender, age, belonging to a neighborhood classified as a priority area, their possible religion, or their racialization by society, which is regularly described as "ethnic origin"?
- From an intersectional point of view, are these discriminations also due to the sum and interrelation of two or more of these multiple aspects?

- Does not the focus on the "woman" category risk making invisible other forms of discrimination experienced by other categories of people not belonging to the "woman" category in these territories, who still incorporate the issue of gender relations?
- Are these forms of discrimination linked to specific issues of these territories and / or are they linked to systemic issues that are embodied in various ways in these territories?
- Are local and regional professionals working in socio-educational and leisure facilities subject to specific forms of discrimination, and if so, to what extent? They feel equipped to deal with these types of discrimination?
- Finally, in the light of the answers to these questions, what directions can public action take?

The conceptual framework between which the questions above are addressed is first of all a psychosocial framework, but also partly sociological and philosophical, geographical and architectural. The study drew on and made references to numerous scholars who are experts in the various fields just mentioned.

The study started from the position according to which all social relations precede the category, generate it and tend to perpetuate it "naturalizing" it. In this sense, the different social categories, as gender, "ethnic origin", class, age, etc., are not natural despite their "visibility" but are constructed, naturalised, justified and legitimized in and through relations of domination. While common sense thinking often reverses causality: gender, "ethnicity", class or age, etc. are seen as groups with natural traits that cause their practices and explain their behaviour. Thus, the categories of gender or "ethnic origin" are empirically effective in everyday life although they are not empirically valid.

In this sense, the study draws readers' attention to a conceptual positioning that is translated into language: the study speaks of "racialized" or "non-racialized" people rather than "people of immigrant origin" or "people of non-immigrant origin", except in specific cases.

Egaliter's research underlines that these linguistic modifications are not simple adjustments, they allow to make visible and to reverse a conventionally camouflaged mechanism. In fact, for example, people who are defined as being of "immigrant origin", even though they have been for one, two or even three generations, are thus permanently referred to their "ethnic origin" and therefore to the figure of the Other. Its strangeness is constructed and actualized through language. In this sense, language constitutes, in line with the philosophical work of Austin and Searle, a performative act, in the sense that it creates a certain reality when one undertakes to name it; as we stated in the first chapter of this Thesis with respect to Foucault's genealogical work.

Thus, talking about "racialized" people and "racialization" or "ethnicization" reverses the view: people are no longer referred to an essence, an indelible and almost naturalized "personal" characteristic of "origin". On the contrary, this "racialized" character indicates that this specificity is not ontological but emanates from a social process developed towards them. From "being foreigners" they become "being perceived as foreigners", "beings referred to their ethnic origin", "beings to whom society attributes a different 'race'", in short "racialized beings". Language, being a true performative act, partly constructs reality according to its image.

The legal analysis approach to discrimination is different from the psychosocial approach to discrimination undertaken by the Egaliter study.

In fact, the legal approach considers two types of discrimination, direct and indirect.

Direct discrimination is visible and evident and corresponds to an action whereby a person is treated, for a prohibited reason (by law), less favorably than another person in a comparable situation. French law provides a list of 19 prohibited discrimination criteria, including disability, health status, but also age, gender, origin, pregnancy, etc.

Indirect discrimination, on the other hand, is a provision, criterion or practice that is apparently neutral, but which may, for one of the reasons prohibited by law, put people at a particular disadvantage

compared to other people. Thus, a situation or act that, on the surface, does not discriminate and does not arise from a discriminatory intention, but which may have the effect of discriminating.

Legally defined indirect discrimination opens up the issue of systematic discrimination, defined in the human sciences as relating to the overall effects of the social system.

Legal approaches to the study of discrimination are not sufficient according to Egaliter's research, since they do not take into account exhaustively the social functionality of some discriminations since the law is mainly the expression of the dominant class, which is privileged and not touched by some types of discrimination. For this reason, the action-study focused on analyzing discrimination against women, but also against residents more generally, based on their feelings: the point of view of their feelings, perceptions and experiences of injustice, inequality or different treatment.

In order to define the issues with respect to the dynamics of discrimination and the representation that social groups in the area have of discrimination, the study focused on understanding whether discrimination is attributed by actors to people's maladaptation or discomfort, or to the prejudice system/generalized mentality, or yet a third eventuality, to the material bases (economic and social structural inequalities) that can be a reason for discrimination.

### 3.3.3 RESULTS ON LOCAL URBAN FABRIC'S SOCIAL RELATIONS

#### FORMS OF MEN AND WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN SOCIO-EDUCATIONAL AND LEISURE ACTIVITIES

La Duchère has a range of facilities, clubs, sports and leisure associations.

In this topic the study investigated men and women's participation and the issues they encounter.

It arose that, regarding the Administrative Boards of the Structures, women were more involved than men in various associations, there was a deep participation of women in the life of the neighbourhood. They took part in cultural and participatory projects, in the socio-educational fields, including literacy courses, which were particularly attended by women, in accompanying children to school, in attending parents' centers, but also in the boards of associations.

However, not all women participated in the same projects, and there was a general tendency for women of a certain socio-economic background to become involved in specific projects or bodies within associations.

Concerning the boards of administration, some professionals complained of a lack of gender diversity, but also of generational diversity - the majority were retired people -, class diversity - less or no representation of the most disadvantaged residents - and finally "race" diversity - low representation of racialized people -.

With respect to the use of community centers some trends emerged regarding the social class and non-mixed socio-economic profile of users: people with higher economic capital who do not reside in the neighborhood attended MJs (Youth and Cultural Centers) more than CSs (Social Centers). Conversely, those with the lowest economic capital who live in the neighborhood attended neighborhood social centers more than MJs.

The difference between CSs and MJs is that the CS is subsidized by the state organization of the Caisse d'Allocation Familiale, while the MJ benefits from subsidies from cities and other local governments and from membership fees.

Another trend was the difference in adolescent attendance, which was mixed gender, while adult attendance featured almost exclusively women: almost all adult women and very few adult men. And most of the women were mothers.

Overall, there were as many boys as girls in public facilities, most often divided into non-mixed groups in adolescence and this depended on the type of activity, as boys joined predominantly gender-based

activities such as football, and girls attended predominantly gender-based activities such as "workshops for girls".

In short, the older one gets, the more unmixed the activities within the facilities became.

The neighbourhood had, and has today, a clear "family" vocation, here live for the most part, families composed of couples with children, or families composed of one parent and children.

Considering only women and men in the 15-29 age group, those who have no children and live alone were only 3,2%. Even lower was the percentage, of 1,7%, that considers only the number of childless women living alone of the 15-29-year-old group.

This provides insight into why there were few single women without children attending socio-educational and leisure activities, knowing that 90% of women in the neighborhood between the ages of 15-29 were mothers. Women who were not mothers represented a small minority, the 10% of neighborhood women, corresponding to the 5% of total neighborhood population.

While the adult male audience was almost absent from the offerings of neighborhood educational and sports activities, even though the vast majority of men in this neighborhood were fathers, which means they are likely to attend the facilities at least to accompany their children.

However, a recent change in the role of fathers was witnessed by professionals, who indicated that more and more men were bringing their children to activities, and in particular to daycare. It was in this place that professionals, who worked in the daycare, met some fathers and took this occasion to incite them to participate to other activities offered by the neighbourhood. However, while professionals very often emphasized the need to involve mothers to "empower" them as women, they almost never emphasized the need to involve fathers to "empower" them as men, or simply to provide them with leisure activities.

The absence of men from the community leisure activities was most often a fact that went unnoticed in the interviews made by the study.

Another characteristic was the unstable nature of the residents groups composition that participated in socio-educational and leisure activities. In fact, these groups renewed themselves regularly and sometimes formed around an ad hoc project. Once a project held by the community center had end, the group who attended it disappeared and another group made up to attend a different following project. Each group was different: they were mostly non-mixed groups in terms of gender, age, and socio-economic affiliation - "sewing" workshops are attended mostly by retired women -; "race" - literacy workshops or other women's groups linked to community centers -; "parental status" - some groups of mothers or groups of racialized mothers succeeding groups of non-racialized mothers -.

In this sense there was a general tendency for individuals to seek out their peers in activities, to group together by affinity.

The women who used the socio-educational and leisure facilities of the neighborhood were generally satisfied with them and believed they were instruments of "emancipation" from what they wished to emancipate from.

In fact, some activities are important supports for some women if not real springboards.

It seemed that girls, but also women, were more likely to perceive the socio-educational and leisure offer, as well as the educational institution, as a possible means to change their living conditions. Some of them saw it as a way to get out of the neighborhood, others as a way to stay there but live with more resources, intellectual, financial, cultural resources.

On the other hand, sometimes some initiatives aimed to emancipate women despite not being in their interest and according to values that were not those of these women, and constituted a significant symbolic violence that could generate non-participation in such initiatives.

The action-study distinguished two types of activities that create a form of emancipation.

The "emancipatory" activities were more often initiated by the resident women themselves, at their request, and were accompanied by professionals. Other activities may have been initially proposed by the professionals who provided the logistical, financial and administrative support, but co-built with the residents who wished to participate.

Among the activities for the acquisition of resources in relation to socio-economic and cultural conditions there were:

- development of practices - cycling for example: some women learned to ride a bike at the age of 50 with the support of the Sauvegarde social center -;
- collective investments;
- artistic expression, via writing workshops for example, or via the various projects set up in the territory;
- Access to the language of the host country for immigrants who do not speak French, mainly through literacy courses. There were mainly women who attended these workshops, although men did attend from time to time;
- Sometimes creating a job by starting to participate in a group;

The reasons why men did not participate in the socio-educational and leisure offers proposed by the organizations are many, and are as follows.

The too often top-down approach of the social centers and schools that decided in advance the type of offers without actually consulting what the inhabitants would like to deal with, and consequently resulted in few offers aimed at adult men.

Another reason, as found elsewhere among populations in sensitive neighborhoods, was the mistrust of institutions on the part of residents, particularly incumbents and people of immigrant origin who seemed to be particularly bothered by the French model of assimilationist integration that required them to break with a culture of origin, which was often stereotyped.

This was followed by a perception of social control and infantilization to which they felt to be subjected, and a desire to claim the self-autonomy, especially on the part of men. They manifested their resistance to this assimilationist pressure by not participating in the offers of the institutions. There was also a lack of communication or inaccurate information from the institutions, resulting in a lack of awareness of the existence of the activities on the part of the population; and a lack of active involvement, of closeness of the institutions to the people, not only through leaflets about what was being done and proposed in the neighborhood.

Another reason was the alleged lack of time for men, who work, to participate in activities. This argument was widely invoked primarily by professionals and not by residents, despite the data showed a high unemployment rate in the neighborhood. And it manifested a generalized view of traditional roles that imputes to women a greater willingness to devote themselves to leisure activities than men, "who work".

Furthermore, it was found a men's feeling of not legitimacy to attend leisure activities and educational offerings, linked precisely to this image of the "working man" and to the fact that if a man does not have a job, he still has to deal with looking for one, rather than engaging in other activities.

The common thought of residents and professionals with respect to the fact that men do not participate in the offerings of institutional facilities appeared as an obvious and unthought of fact: the socialization of men occurs outside of facilities, and this fact was not questioned by any of the interviewees.

In addition, issues related to the "emancipation" of these men were not mentioned, but only related to the "emancipation" of women.

One reason already mentioned is the male appropriation of public space: to do outdoor sports activities, for example, at the soccer field, without the need for an enclosed facility. It is clear, then, that women's greater recourse to the services offered by facilities is explained in part by their lack of access to

public space, which was used mostly by boys, and because of the leisure time activities to which women are socialized, that is, activities that often require a protected place - for example, writing - and equipment - for example, cooking -. The action-study then proposed in this regard to counterbalance this situation by implementing women's activities that can occupy public space and gradually build women's legitimacy to occupy it. And viceversa to implement men's activities that can be proposed by institutional facilities and could be really interesting for men.

Then there was the perception of some, that they risked being identified with poverty when attending a social center: male residents felt that their social identity would be threatened by stigmatization if they attended these types of organized activities. Or conversely, a feeling of class inadequacy: the use of leisure facilities, or the activities proposed by social centers were sometimes identified as something "bourgeois" that did not correspond to certain identity codes of some residents of the working-class environment of La Duchère (Vinet, *Étude-action*, 2013, p. 63).

And finally, the perception of uselessness in attending these offerings because according to some, they would not bring anything or improve their situation.

But the reasons for the lack of access by men to the offers of the institutions also stemmed in large part from an unthinking on the part of the institutions of the question of the emancipation of men.

The professionals interviewed, in fact, stated that they were trying to counteract the low presence of fathers in accompanying their children to activities by trying to mobilize and involve them in this regard but only with respect to their role as fathers.

Professionals were not thinking about mobilizing men with respect to their situation as men. Men are almost never perceived as needing multifactorial empowerment, or in general the need for activities for their well-being.

It emerged in the study that the issue of the plurality of male identities and their intersecting characteristics at class, age, ethnic origin, etc., remained largely unthought of, in residents' self-representation and in the intervention of institutions.

The hyperfeminization of the activities offered for adults, the few offered for men - if not stereotyped, soccer activities, bodybuilding - has effects on gender identities and gender inequalities in the territories. As socialization process continues throughout life, the effects on adult socialization into an alike context, consist of the perpetuation of certain hierarchical social gender roles, particularly through the practice of appropriation of domestic or public places.

#### DISCRIMINATORY EXPERIENCES LINKED TO THE ETHNICISATION OF (GENDER) SOCIAL RELATIONS

There existed in the comments of the majority of non-racialized people, whether residents, professionals, or elected representatives, a view that tended to represent men as subjects to be controlled, and women as subjects to be emancipated, and manifested itself as a common thread through all of the research territories. The action-study reported that this vision was at the root of many attitudes and behaviors, organized many political orientations towards neighbourhoods, and produced considerable effects, especially in terms of discriminatory feelings, and lived experiences on the populations that were the objects of this vision.

#### DISCOMFORT AROUND BODY'S UNVEILING AND VEILING, THE USE OF THE VEIL

The interviews revealed a widespread consensus among women who do not wear the veil experiencing some discomfort when they encountered women who wear the veil.

The veil "bothered" them, but most of the time the interviewees did not know what to attribute this feeling to, yet they still perceived the veil as a general threat. In a quite concerted manner, the veil was

perceived mainly as a sign of these women's submission to the male sphere, submission to their culture and religion.

In relation to this theme, numerous discussions opened up, among the actors consulted, concerning the values that these women would transmit to children in the context of accompanying them on school outings or in associations for adolescents.

Some of the very clear opinions collected in the field, through individual interviews or group meetings, stated, in particular, that women's freedom, and sometimes even "feminism," was incompatible with Islam, since the latter would convey a retrograde image of women, or that women's emancipation was incompatible with the use of the veil because it was perceived as a visible and clear sign of discrimination. This according to non-Muslims.

For example, there emerged a usual discourse in the CUCS neighborhoods with respect to a rather systematic classification on young girls in the neighborhoods, to an assignment of them to a certain category of person attributed on the basis of the way they dressed. From this it was then evident that specific values or characters were attributed to the type of clothing: girls were in this view defined as "normal" - dressed neither too masculine nor too feminine nor religiously -, or defined as "bonhommes i.e. masculine" - girls who dress in jogging suits, or talk "like boys" or "are worse than boys, they are no longer girls" -, or the "veiled girls" - understood as "submissive", hidden, but also "not integrated" -, or finally the "whores" - clothing considered too provocative, ultra-feminine or even vulgar -.

In sum, the issue of the veil was mainly perceived by those who do not wear it as a sign of women's "subjugation" as well as a "threat" to republican and feminist values and principles, leading to a perception of the veil as a "problem" that should be "solved" by "emancipating" these women, regardless of their age.

In addition, the veil appeared in the discourse as an additional marker of the Other, the figure of the Stranger, which seemed to be a source of discomfort for most professionals and residents, not just the women without the veil.

The action-study was not intended to deal directly with the issue of the veil, or veils, but suggested that one could engage the topic to understand some of its dynamics or effects, therefore, it was discussed with the women who wore the hijab, during the various meetings, only when they wanted to talk about it themselves.

The women who wore the hijab did not mention any cultural or religious constraints, or any constraints from a family member, in wearing the veil. However, they unanimously emphasized the stigma they were subjected to for wearing the veil: the sometimes violent or even racist comments directed at them, the feelings of injustice or unequal treatment they had sometimes experienced, particularly in the workplace.

Numerous sociological studies indicate the manifestation of Islamophobia around the issue of the veil, and point to multiple reasons why some women choose to wear the veil for more than just religious reasons. Wearing the veil can take the form of a true identity strategy of resistance and self-assertion to distance themselves from a French model of assimilationist integration that denies, or has led parents of Muslim women to deny, certain parts of their culture of origin upon their arrival in France. In this case, it is a strategy to react to stigma and racial discrimination, to manifest the fact of proudly wearing the veil as one's own identity component, and to claim that being French can be compatible with Islam.

Some women may therefore wear the veil while their mothers did not, they may wear it against parental consent or out of compulsion, they may wear it to hide their bodies in adolescence, to protest against the market society that imposes the sexualized exposure of female bodies as women-objects-of-desire, and more.

For the last reason mentioned, the veil on the body corresponds for some women to a protection against this overexposure of bodies-commodities eroticized in function of male visual gratification, then to a protection and a rejection of a very Western form of male dominance, as told for example in the book *Beauté Fatale : Les nouveaux visages d'une aliénation féminine*, by Mona Chollet, a contemporary Swiss journalist and essayist, who has been working on the women's condition, the media, and the scope of the "image" in the current era.

Contextually, Iraqi-born French sociologist Zarah Ali, a contemporary activist on gender issues and racism in relation to Islam, brings to attention the fact that the demand for justification of clothing choice and body unveiling is asymmetrical. In fact, in the Western world there is a greater question as to why some girls or women choose to wear a veil, but not why some others choose to wear tight jeans, low-cut tops, or dresses that externalize a strong sexualization of the body, consistent with an "imposed form of femininity" by the Western system. According to Ali, any mode or habit of dress should be questioned in connection with issues of capitalism and economics, commodification and sexualization of the body. Some common aspects might emerge between the two cultures with respect to female sexual subjectification.

Ultimately in the action-study it emerged that this view of veil as a "problem" may be experienced as a source of injustice or even discrimination.

#### THE ETHNICIZATION OF SOCIAL RELATIONS

The issue of the veil, however, is more the tip of the iceberg of the ethnicization problem. The study observed an ethnicization of social relations, perceived and operated by many of the non-ethnicized respondents, which demonstrated a generalized culturalist view. Particular attention was given in the discourse and bias on the youth category.

Similar to the findings of other sociological research already conducted elsewhere on these issues, there was a consensual stigmatization of an "internal enemy" with the characteristics of the "Arab boy" also described in studies by Nacira Guénif-Souleimas, a contemporary French sociologist and anthropologist of Algerian descent, whose work focuses on issues of gender and ethnicity, the relationship between immigration and integration, and family forms. The figure of the "internal enemy" categorized by the interviewees, mostly non-racialized and particularly the elderly, as: young age, of male gender, of ethnic origin from post-colonial North African immigration, of Muslim religion, of precarious class or delinquent, responsible for his fate and a burden on society *"they get all the help and we work without receiving anything"*. This character embodies the figure of the "poor villain".

There was then an agreed discourse on the figure of the oppressed woman as a mirror image of the "internal enemy". Here, it is the sex factor that takes precedence over all others in the description, followed by the factor of "race," "religion," and finally "class". In the case of this female figure, age does not seem to be an organizing factor in the representations. The characteristics of the oppressed figure named by the same non-racialized respondents are: person of female gender, of ethnic origin from post-colonial North African immigration, of Muslim religion, of precarious class, of any age.

It emerged, however, in the study that the two most powerful factors in organizing representations of the "internal enemy" were the factors "race" and "age." In fact, racialized young women - of postcolonial immigrant origin - were also present in some discourses that indicated "people who cause problems in the neighbourhood", therefore perceived both as threatened because they were "submissive" and sometimes as threatening, again because of their culture of origin in both cases.

Overall, it was racialized people, meaning those from postcolonial North African immigration, who were perceived to be responsible for many of the problems and difficulties of the non-racialized inhabitants of the neighborhoods. These people were believed to benefit improperly from the welfare



system, to be more likely to deal drugs than to work, to be favored in access to employment over "working white Frenchmen" through positive discrimination policies, to be responsible for the bad image of CUCS neighborhoods, responsible for the damage caused to street furniture in particular, disrespectful and lacking in values, and "racist, but anti-white racists."

However, not all of the statements, while pointing to the "annoyances" associated with "young people," were negative toward life in the neighborhood, among which were some nostalgic remarks, of what the neighborhood was like before, in earlier years.

For their part, racialized adolescents and adults indicated the racism they experienced in very different ways: sometimes with great restraint and modesty, sometimes with impetus; sometimes with hope for a better future, or resignation; sometimes imputing this to a social cause or an individual cause. It was, however, quite possible to find feelings of racism on the site. Many of the young people interviewed mostly those racialized in La Duchère spoke of a feeling of abandonment in the neighborhood despite urban renewal, which they felt had only replaced the buildings in which they said they felt comfortable and regretted the social ties that were previously marked by greater conviviality.

#### THE CRITICS OF THE INHABITANTS WITH REGARD TO THE GPV ON LA DUCHÈRE

The action-study pointed out that, even if it could be transitory, the renovation of the GPV de La Duchère left the feeling that the lives of the inhabitants had not been sufficiently taken into account.

The interviewees denounced an increase in rents and the disappearance of social memories and places of conviviality due to demolitions and the closure of stores. That resulted in the absence of meeting and exchange places, and central green spaces, the absence of jobs, which fed the concern about unemployment and the consequent vagrancy in the neighborhood, unwanted by the same people who roamed the streets but who claimed they could not do anything else being without a job. With respect to this came mention of drug trafficking as a way for some to get by, and earn some money *"because we have no choice, there is not even a local mission - to find work -, there is nothing."*

Sometimes in the speeches there was the use of an opposition between a "they" - the new residents - to a "we" - the old ones - and the manifestation of a certain nostalgia for a probably idealized past, presented as friendly, where everyone knew each other, while the changes of the renovation in the last ten years or so had not improved things. They often felt cheated, "exploited" by public policy, by urban renewal, by the police because they were controlled and bothered by private security agents.

Older residents sometimes felt unwanted or supported stating that newcomers had more advantages. *"All this is not for us, it's to bring people in, it's their social mix, but anyway people don't mix"*. The past of the La Duchère neighborhood was described by adults as that of a friendly place of cohesion, where food was exchanged from one house to another or people invited each other between houses or to celebrations even between people of different religions, while now it appeared as a place where discrimination was still strong, and many social ties had been broken.

Some of the interviewees indicated a desire to leave the neighborhood and move to the countryside. In contrast, newcomers expressed their satisfaction with living in La Duchère by stating that it was a very quiet area, so much so that *"it did not seem to be in La Duchère"*, this observation, in the opinion of the older residents, was perhaps due to the fact that actually the social dynamics and vitality of the neighborhood had indeed changed.

## THE ATTACHMENT TO RELATIONSHIPS AS AN IMPORTANT COMPONENT OF THE URBAN FABRIC IN BIANCA BOTEAS RESEARCH ON LA DUCHÈRE

A parenthesis is opened here on this topic of urban change involving a change in social networks, recalling the research conducted by ethnologist Bianca Botea, entitled *Expérience du changement et attachements. Réaménagement urbain dans un quartier lyonnais (la Duchère)*, (Experience of change and attachments. Urban redevelopment in a district of Lyon - La Duchère -), which specifically investigated the impact of urban transformation on residents' feelings.

The survey conducted since 2007 on demolition interventions in the La Duchère neighborhood revealed people's attachment to their living space. In the context of demolitions and their subsequent displacement, these attachments were reformulated.

Attachment, "what we are affected by and what connects us," is a specific spatiotemporal element as an expression of individuals' relationships with their environment.

In 2007, the local structures, MJC and the social centers of La Duchère, were required to initiate a work with the inhabitants who resided in the slab-shaped buildings recently demolished or in the process of demolition, in order to promote the maintenance of contacts with the inhabitants in this complicated context, a mission that at the beginning proved rather difficult due to the lack of interest of these inhabitants in participating in cultural or artistic actions or in telling their memories.

The MJC and the two social centers set up meetings called "shared cafes" inviting the ethnologist Bianca Botea to carry out a scientific framing of this cultural project.

Subsequently, Botea initiated an action-research with individual and group observations and interviews in the neighborhood, which took place between 2007 and 2010, in partnership with different structures in the district and the city - MJC, social centers, library, Gadagne museum, etc. -, and was carried out by means of café-debates, city walks and, in 2010, an exhibition on the results. The project was supported by the Direction régionale des Affaires culturelles (DRAC) and the Conseil régional Rhône-Alpes.

The study showed that the event of demolition brings out new temporalities in the imagination, introducing a temporal order often thought in terms of "before" and "after".

It is a significant biographical event that leads to the reorganization of the family's networks of sociality and domestic economy. In this study, too, the character of mutual support of neighbors among families emerged, and the fact that previous family patterns and friendships can, as a result of the structural transformation of the habitat, redistribute themselves in positions that are geographically different and perhaps more distant from each other. It also causes a shift in the geographical reference points of the neighborhood and sensitive relationships.

From the interviews it emerged that the most powerful perception of the residents is that of the change in the relational environment and the emotional attachment to it, rather than the physical environment. The inhabitants' discourses about the past and their experience in the neighborhood were sometimes close to the designers' discourses, as they focused on the hope generated by the new design. Others were nostalgic, similar to what the action-study conducted by Élise Vinet found later on, still other inhabitants took advantage of the demolitions to move and wished to forget La Duchère, but this was a quite marginal position, sometimes felt by young people between 18 and 20 years old.

In the vision of the planners and promoters, however, the rebirth of the neighborhood was aimed at correcting the past with respect to specifically erasing the symptom of stigmatization and transforming the image of La Duchère so that it would more closely resemble other Lyon neighborhoods by reformulating a greater balance on the city's scale.

The "past" conceived by the city planners, different from that meant by the inhabitants, was identified in two elements: one symbolic, the stigma of the neighborhood, and the other material, the architectural and landscape heritage. This heritage was represented by places such as the Panoramic Tower, the Temple of Love, the Fort, the Castle, the Parc du Vallon, places sometimes close, sometimes

far due to the interposition of large buildings. However, an interested observation of Botea presents the fact that although we could appreciate the architectural and aesthetic value of these buildings and places, they remained disconnected at times from the daily life experience of the neighbourhood's users, who were often indifferent to these places, did not particularly notice them, did not visit them or were not aware of their heritage value.

Compared to this "great" material heritage, there is a "smaller", "temporal" one made up of everyday life, habits, uses, customs, movements, linked to experiences, memories and attachments. This is the reality of the small squares at the foot of the buildings, the landings, the "little walls where you can sit", and the stores in the shopping center. However, decision makers and planners had rarely considered this aspect of the empirical meanings of the inhabitants in using the spaces of collective memories as a means of design or as a heritage object to be protected. And reading this observation may echo in the mind the considerations of Jane Jacobs with respect to the importance in the urban structure's meaning, of everyday uses and of the relational richness and complexity that are realized at street level and in public spaces. Botea further deepened the nature of the difference between the two past conceptions of planners and inhabitants.

In the logic of urban action, the past is considered through the lens of History, the great universal History, considered in a linear and unique temporality. The discourses of urban decision-makers and technicians generally formulate this type of consideration of the past, often without considering local histories, forgetting to contextualize the understanding of the past of the project site to the specific plural experiences that took place there. This linear conception of time means that in the eyes of the institutional actors, the history of this area resembles that of any other so-called "vulnerable" neighbourhood, and is reduced to a past perceived as degraded, with respect to which it is necessary to intervene in the present, for a better future.

While from the point of view of those who have lived in the neighborhood, the past takes on rather the value of "experience" and "little" stories - told around the corner, at the bar table, etc. -.

In this vision, the past corresponds to a strong collective experience, of positive and negative episodes, as well as memories of solidarity, mutual aid within the homes, citizens' commitment to the construction of the neighborhood, participation in city festivals. The plural histories of individuals often go beyond the homogeneous and linear time and closed categories of time - past, present, future - characteristic of universal History. Temporal boundaries blur and histories are different each time depending on individual and family mobility/migration experiences. For example, some enjoyed the 1960s very much, others, for other reasons the 1980s, while for still others, this past was viewed positively in the 2000s.

In La Duchère, some interviewees recall with nostalgia the male social practices related to frequenting garages where meals were prepared among neighbors, or the collective participation in soccer games, or table football that took place in bars, neighbors watched from their windows. And for most of the interviews, it was difficult to precisely place the time of the events mentioned by the interlocutors.

In light of these narratives and in response to the resistance to urban operations by the inhabitants, the project leaders promoted the measures of "accompaniment for the inhabitants" within the framework of urban renewal, to help the residents overcome a nostalgic situation, integrating the issue of memory and enabling them to engage with the future.

Botea asserted that as a result of this project of reworking the plural memories of the inhabitants and setting up the exhibition, the same users who had previously been skeptical about urban transformations were subsequently happy to experience the renewal of the neighborhood.

## THE ESSENTIALIST AND CULTURALIST VISIONS THAT GOVERN SOCIAL RELATIONS

There are both an essentialist and a culturalist vision at the root of the archetypal figures of the "barbarian to be repressed" and of the "woman to be emancipated with or against her will" mentioned by the contemporary Algerian-born French sociologist Saïd Bouamama, similarly to the description made by Nacira Guénif-Souilamas of the figure of the "dangerous young Arab Muslim from the banlieues". There are several references in Egalité's study to scholars, including the two just mentioned, who deal with intersectionality particularly with regard to issues of immigration, ethnicity, and gender. Saïd Bouamama, has written several works on the analysis of a sociology concerning dominations, and his objects of study, analogous to those investigated by Guénif-Souilamas, are especially the dynamics relating to popular and working-class districts, immigration, place and image of the people of immigrant origin in French society, young people and different forms of discrimination based on sex, "race" and class.

Returning to La Duchère study, it appeared that most of the professionals and residents met by the Egalité team were rooted in an essentialist view of women and men, reduced to biological categories to justify their gender differences. This means that the interests of women and men or their parental or social roles were referred not to education and therefore to social norms but to nature, a sort of transcendental male or female "essence".

This essentialist approach homogenizes groups that are nevertheless very heterogeneous, closes the possibility of opening towards other practices and, consequently, marginalizes all those individuals who do not recognize themselves in the normative and so-called "natural" or "instinctive" criteria of masculinity and femininity. Furthermore, this vision reduces individuals to the rather caricatured roles of victims to be emancipated by choice or by force and oppressor to be channeled, rather than individuals to accompany in a self-emancipation chosen according to their own intent. Finally, this perspective ignores the other factors that intervene in social positions and discriminatory feelings, that is, age, ethnic origin or the "racialization" of which individuals are or are not the object, the anchoring in a more or less stigmatized, etc.

In this sense, an essentialist vision of women contributes to homogenize the group of women and often imposes to them a Western model of emancipation designed for racialized women, in a mechanism sometimes close to a neo-colonial dynamic.

It is possible to encounter thoughts about an alleged universality of the "women" category, that does not take into account all the diversities of this group, beyond the realities of social condition and ethnic culture.

In truth, the group of women is extremely varied and contains many groups of very different people, similarly to the topic about the group of Black people examined in chapter two of this Thesis: a group of people that includes countless very different groups of people, and perhaps the only thing they have in common is that they have been discriminated against because of their "darker" skin color. It is therefore clear that the struggles of Western feminists are not transposable to all women's struggles, as the feminist currents coming from black feminism or even more recently from postcolonial gender studies have pointed out. And in this sense, a presumed "emancipation" value for a certain person may not be understood as such for another person.

In the action-study it emerged that the inhabitants were perceived through the prism of their ethnic origin, instead of being perceived just as inhabitants, some individuals were referred to their origin, even if they were born in France to parents who are themselves born in France. In this way, they were subject to a racialization that assigned them a sort of essentialist and stigmatized otherness.

Simultaneously there was a culturalist vision, adopted generally by the interviewed population, this vision instead determined the representation of racialized residents, often conjugating it with references to a specific culture, largely combined with religion, perceived as a threat rather than a resource.

Nonetheless, some residents were aware of this, and stressed the negative effects of this culturalist view and its impact on the discriminatory feelings they recognized seeing other people, who felt observed because they wore the veil for example, or people who nevertheless belonged to a culture considered "other".

To these two visions there was the addition of a common imaginary of a more or less decaying youth. The presence of a strong division arose in the three districts investigated, between the "old people" on the one hand and the "young people" on the other, who were often accused of all the badness, and of the difficulties faced by the other residents. Here it was not the material basis of discrimination based on socio-economic inequalities that is targeted by the people, but the mentality of young people that was scapegoated.

The interviewees affirmed a distrust in the mentality of the young people of their neighborhood, of most of them, and the motivations concerned the fact that young people were the protagonists of drug dealing and received the RSA<sup>6</sup> undeservedly according to the inhabitants who "otherwise they worked and did not benefit from public subsidies". So a general eyesight that considered neighbourhood youth as dangerous people to monitor and control rather than as resources to be valued and supported.

Ultimately, the problem reported by non-racialized people was very much about racialized people, while the problems reported by racialized people were mainly about social and economic inequalities, the lack of access to public expression or the lack of consideration of their demands, the anxiety linked to precariousness, unemployment and housing prices. In the case of La Duchère, even newcomers, generally non-racialized, were perceived by many of the historical inhabitants as benefiting from more favorable conditions, always for economic reasons linked to the subsidies they received or to the new apartments they could stay in. This rekindled a strong feeling of injustice and discrimination within the neighbourhood itself, and division between "them" and "us".

In the end, the two archetypal figures discussed above, which are widely reproduced by the media, emerged at the intersection of all visions, were therefore based on a culturalist explanation according to which the foreign populations, Arabs or Africans are more violent than the so-called "native" or "French" populations. And the same culture is taken up and accused as the reason for the violence committed against women - and the result of the application or misuse of the Muslim religion for example sometimes in the media and political discourse -, especially in public spaces, similarly to the debate on the movement *Ni putes ni soumises* of chapter 2 of this Thesis.

In this sense, the study-action underlined that the policies had until then focused on the violence suffered by girls and women of immigrant origin, while if in fact it is essential to analyze the variation of violence from one territory to another, one should not run the risk of minimizing the type of violence that occurs in other contexts: those that are not racialized. Indeed, gender-based violence exists in all social settings in different forms. While the reproduction in the discourse of the two archetypal figures mentioned above does nothing but immobilize a part of the inhabitants, those most disadvantaged, in stigmatization, and thus strengthen social distinctions and hierarchies.

The segregation between the racialized groups of the working class and the white middle-class groups ends up minimizing if not invisibilizing, the sexism or violence against women, committed by men of more privileged social status. And in addition, this representation erroneously implies that women of the upper classes are less likely to be victims of sexist attitudes.

It is clear here how the intersectionality between gender and race act in the culturalist explanation of violence against women.

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<sup>6</sup> Revenu de Solidarité Active (RSA), that means active solidarity income, is a social benefit designed to guarantee a minimum income based on resources and household composition.

The effects of this archetypal representation of victim and executioner can be several: proposals for help directed mainly at those women who are perceived as "to be emancipated"; expectations of emancipation in the sense of adherence to Western values, intolerance towards religious symbols interpreted as submission, estrangement from the family perceived as negatively influencing; blindness to sexist and discriminatory behaviors of the host culture; disregard of the socio-economic inequalities that generate the situations of CUCS residents; consequent depoliticization of social relations, in particular gender relations, through the ethnicization of these relations; consequent maintenance of stigmatization and discrimination and sometimes response of different forms of resistance by the stigmatized people.

### 3.3.4 MEN AND WOMEN'S ROLE INTO PUBLIC SPACE

The term "use of public space" intended by the action-study referred both to external structures, such as stadiums, and to non-equipped spaces such as green areas, streets, but also to other forms of space such as shops.

The relationship between institutions and inhabitants was investigated, as the one between inhabitants and the environment. In particular, if the inhabitants participated in what was offered by the public authorities in dedicated internal or external structures, that is, to what already exists, as it is. Or if the inhabitants established their own rules of life, what forms of self-organization could be observed, if the residents tried to influence the institution towards new rules of coexistence according to what they needed.

The preferences of the inhabitants were also questioned regarding public spaces and informal social relations, but beyond what was offered by the city - for example, stairs, bars, etc. -. And which places in the neighborhood were used and claimed, by whom, and what these uses meant, how were the power relations.

These questions were examined from a double point of view on public space: one that sees it as a place of passage and / or parking, the other that sees it as a scene of more or less visible interaction rituals. The relationship between public space and discrimination has also been approached through the lens of two complementary dialectics. The first places the public space as a mirror, where social norms, including those of gender, are imprinted and are expressed dynamically, serving as a place where inequalities and discrimination are projected. The second dialectic consider public space as a possible influencer of these inequalities and discrimination, also playing an active role in reinforcing these inequalities, or on the contrary possibly shaking them through new private / public lines of use and appropriation of space that open a range of possibilities.

This double approach is in line with the reflection made in chapter 1 of the Thesis on how space is both a reflection of society and an element that influences the behavior of society for the structure in which it is composed and the habits with respect to its use.

### ANALYSIS' OUTCOMES OF PUBLIC SPACE USE

The following aspects emerged from the analysis:

- a greater presence of men than women in public space, characterized by male statism and female transit;
- the use of public places by different social groups, on separate time frames for each homogeneous group;
- the social control of men, internalized in gender roles and gendered calls to order;
- public space as an event of avoidance rituals and interactions;

- the reputation as one of the powerful tools of social regulation.

## MALE STATIONING AND FEMALE TRANSIT

With respect to the first point, it was noted that men were present in all time slots in public places, in the particular attitude of standing fixed in one place for a certain time.

In fact, while women in these neighbourhoods were more inclined to attend activities set up by collectives or associations, and in particular in socio-educational and leisure structures regulated by their own rules, men tended to favor more or less public spaces and informal social relations, outside what was offered by the city or institutional services - for example, in the streets, squares, within the stairwells, condo's corridors, etc. -. Men resorted more than women to forms of self-organization.

When women were not at home, it seemed that everyone knew where they were: at work, if they had it, at their activities related to fairly traditional caregiving roles such as grocery shopping, taking their children to school and their activities, or with friends.

Women frequented public space, but aside from the mothers who sat in parks with their children when weather and time permitted or who waited for their children to get out of school, most were just passing through: in transit. Women were crossing the public space, on foot generally, they were on the move. Thus, it was women who were the main moving actors in the public space of the neighbourhood, crossing to get from home to public transportation, stores, services, or school.

When women were not in "transit," professionals and residents claimed that they were at home, especially in the evenings, principally mothers and some teenagers who were not allowed to go out to their parents or brothers or who feared gaining a "reputation" simply by going out.

In addition, some women viewed the home as a place of protection from a society that can sometimes be stigmatizing. But there were also a considerable number of women, particularly "racialized" women, who testified to roaming the neighborhood however they pleased, minding their own business, going out regularly with friends, leaving children in the care of their husbands if necessary.

Another observation confirming the greater presence of men in the open space of the neighborhood was the fact that women, when they were not in "transit" or at home, were outside the neighbourhood. As professionals and residents pointed out. Young women or adult women, often in female groups, sometimes went to the city center, or to the parks of Lyon, places they frequented more than men and boys, who tended instead to stay in the neighbourhood.

The stationing of people in the public space of the neighborhood is mainly done by young men, retirees and mothers, at different times and/or places, while in the evening, it was mainly men who stationed. Therefore, the domestic sphere, followed by the public space outside the neighbourhood - especially the center of Lyon -, were more frequented by the female population than the male population, whereas the public space of the neighbourhood was more appropriated by men than women.

For most girls and women in the neighbourhood, the space outside their residence was not perceived as a place where they would like to be: in fact, they adopted paths of avoidance of encounters, preferring to frequent neighborhoods whose socio-demographic composition was richer, such as the city center, parks, where even here they generally told of moving around, without staying unmoving. Girls tended to go more places and have more extensive and varied displacements than their male peers.

For adolescent girls, the city became a territory of relative freedom of movement, once they had negotiated a time of return, and assured their family that they were in the company of trusted female friends. The more anonymous spaces of the city proved conducive to encounters with the opposite sex, and flirtation, encounters instead improbable in the domestic space of working-class families, even less so for Muslim communities.

While boys tended to stay somewhere in the neighbourhood with two or three friends, and went to the city very rarely, due to spatial habits of strong homosociality, both in preadolescence and adolescence, a factor that has important significance in the constitution of sociality. In addition, Horia Kebabza sociologist, a specialist in gender studies, youth relations and immigration, points out that the socialization of boys from popular backgrounds takes place partly in spaces described as the "house of men", among themselves, which structures their behavior of "manhood", or virility, to the exclusion of women.

#### MIXED USE OF PUBLIC PLACES, BY NON-MIXED GROUPS ON SEPARATE TIME FRAMES

At La Duchère, it emerged that public space was the scene of mixed uses in terms of age, gender, and social class, sometimes simultaneous but often diachronic. This means that different groups used the same space but at different times of the day. In the case of simultaneous mixed uses there was slight spatial mixing.

There was very little exchange and interaction between people, in relation to the amount of physical encounters on the street: places were shared, but here there tended not to be much interaction with the people encountered especially not between different groups of people, with some exceptions for example groups of children leaving school, which are mixed groups by school standards.

Such is the example of Place Abbé Pierre which was used by different populations at different times of the day: male and female students of the Lycée La Martinière at the end of classes, pensioners, certain women or certain young people at other times. These places may therefore be mixed in relation to age, gender or ethnicity but not mixed in terms of temporality. Other places, conversely, were not mixed for a variety of factors. And some places were used by groups at the intersection of gender and age.

Young men between 20 and 30 years old were mainly situated in certain squares, in front of shop windows - outside the tobacco shop on Le Plateau de La Duchère, for example - or in the corridors of buildings. Other places were invested by the intersection of gender and parental status, such as the case of most children's squares or school exits, which were mostly occupied by mothers and their children.

In this sense, it is interesting to note that the places where women stayed, playgrounds or school exits, were almost exclusively monofunctional - for the function of looking after children -, while male places were generally multifunctional - stores, yards, streets, etc. - in other words, much more exposed to frequentation.

In fact, a playground is a specific place where only children go or where people go with the function of looking after children and is therefore avoidable because of the uniqueness of its function.

On the contrary, the places used by men are difficult to avoid because they are multifunctional and constitute a kind of interface to access to a service, for example, the bus; to a good, such as buying bread; or even to one's own home, as the corridors and the stairs of apartment buildings have the function of leading into residences.

In addition, the places used by women are rarely exclusively female, such as sidewalks, stores, squares, bus stops, and so on.

Often in the observations it emerged that playgrounds were also frequented by fathers or by young and older men. In other words, places that were "female gendered" because of the original and traditional use of that place, were mostly but not exclusively, occupied by women.

In contrast, places that were "male gendered" because of their intended or unintended use, a male use that here had become traditional, were rarely occupied by women, or when women went there, it was to pass through, temporarily.

In correspondence with the observation of the time frames of use of the public space by the different groups of people and the relative interactions between the groups, an aspect to be improved was noted



in the conformation of the playgrounds. This was followed, within the recommendations, by design suggestions to enhance the benefit of the use of playgrounds by different social groups and multiply the possibilities of interaction.

Observations revealed that most of the playgrounds present in La Duchère were assessed by the action-study to be sociofugal places, that is, discouraging social interaction and visibility of the actors in or around them, in this case to prefer the concentration of the gaze of those inside the playground on the activity taking place in its center thus the activity of the children. This sociofugal spatial disposition and organization of the playgrounds determined, in fact, little or no reciprocal visibility between the women inside the park and the people who passed inside and outside of it.

Some playgrounds were not secured, due to too few barriers or unfenced spaces, resulting in the need for strong and continuous vigilance on the part of the mothers towards the children. Mothers thus found themselves in an enclosed space within the public space over which they had little "control". While the planting, the fences and the conformation of the parks allowed people outside to see what was going on inside, unlike the difficulty of mothers who were inside to see what was going on outside.

### THE SOCIAL CONTROL OF MEN IN PUBLIC SPACE

The issue of the non-mixing of people in certain places, brought with it the concept of "being among themselves" similar to the concept of the "house of men", expressed above. This attitude of being in the company of a group of people perceived as similar to oneself, or even to be alone with oneself is defined by the action-study as a being *entre soi*, a phenomenon that manifests insofar as people may tend to seek, in effect, the company of those whom they believe to be similar to their own characteristics.

This *entre soi* refers to a criterion of similarity about the people's group, that varies from situation to situation: it can be for example, a criterion according to which the group of people is formed around the commonality of their age and their sex - a group of young men - or a criterion of commonality that takes into consideration only sex - a group of women, of all ages -, or else there may be groups of *entre soi* formed around the sharing of the same territorial or ethnic origin or of the same political ideology, or of the same work, when we come across dinners with colleagues for instance, and so on. This attitude of *entre soi*, on the one hand, makes it possible to escape certain relationships of domination.

It emerged in the study that the *entre soi* was embodied in La Duchère in a specific multifunctional place, used by different categories of people, and precisely for this reason it had the function of social control.

In particular, women's *entre soi* in public space did not prevent men from occupying the space or passing by it, as seen earlier in the case of playgrounds.

In contrast, the place of men's *entre soi* remained as such, a place for men only. The latter was almost systematically a place of access, either at the level of apartments, such as corridors and entrance halls, or at the level of services and stores, such as bakeries, tobacco stores, post offices, grocery stores, or at the level of daily movements, hence public benches, sidewalks, bus shelters.

This stationing of men's groups in key places of access and passage for women is an attitude that can create an imbalance between men and women's belonging of the space, despite being an internalized and not fully conscious process, of actors of both sexes.

The action-study shows how this attitude can be considered a manifestation of the androcentric norm, which places man at the center, within a hierarchical order of powers for which the center corresponds to the domain of the predominant power. Relations of power in this case acted on the public place. The heterosexual norm, or heteronormativity, is a consequence of androcentrism, and it hierarchizes man/woman relations, hiding its cultural character behind "naturalistic" arguments, defining women

as objects of desire in function of men, as objects of male gaze and not as subjects, women as subordinate, women as temptations, as vulnerable, and men as dominant, desiring, or as threatening. Furthermore, in this context of the men's stationings, there is the combination of the cited dominant social norms with the belonging of the majority of these men to the ethnicized group of inhabitants. This combination creates and reflects the culturalist prejudices advocating the threatening figure of the "Arab boy", and brings with it specific effects.

The presence of men's groups can therefore revive in women a feeling of vulnerability given by the education they received, and its corollaries such as feelings of perceived threat or fear. And here we can refer our thoughts back to the analyses of geographer Gill Valentine in Chapter 1 of the Thesis. This fear is fueled by a variety of sexual calls that aim to constantly return women to their status as passive sexual objects for men to look at and enjoy.

In addition to advertising images in magazines, on television, and on the Internet, in this case it is billboards in public space that serve as a sexualized call to gender order.

In fact, often in these billboards women are not represented in their different individualities and personalities. But is represented *the* pretended and constructed woman. Exposed according to a representation sometimes naked, infantilized, objectified.

In the public space of the neighbourhood, even the interactions of certain men in the street had the same function as a call to hierarchical sexualized order: sexualized glances, winks or mischievous smiles, whistles, misplaced compliments, remarks, approaches, catcalling.

Thus some of the women interviewed reported experiencing some discomfort in the summer crossing the square or sitting on a bench, for wearing short clothes for the season, which could determine unwanted attention from some boys, and other similar examples concerning sexualizing comments and puns.

Most notably, this hierarchy of control was supported by the two roles performed by men and women, roles that fed off each other in favor of the same dynamic.

Thus, girls tended to be afraid, in part because of the differentiated socialization that existed between groups of girls and boys, namely the homosocial tendency of this territorial context; and boys tended to adopt these attitudes of patriarchy-based masculinity that they acquired in the "house of men".

Attitudes of boys and girls, but also of men and women, which were then mutually reinforcing, giving rise to many declinations of adaptation or avoidance on the part of women.

Girls and women were often perceived, and perceive themselves, through the prism of their vulnerability, often the action-study has found discourses of this type and the alleged "inability to defend themselves as women" related to the perception and the narrative about the public space, and the related habits of avoidance, precaution, adaptation, coming precisely also from a self-assumption that could be countered with greater awareness (Vinet, *Étude-action*, 2013, 97-103).

## PUBLIC SPACE AS AN EVENT OF AVOIDANCE RITUALS AND INTERACTIONS

The narratives collected in the field reported that, because of this relational phenomenon, girls were consequently restricted from going out less and staying at home, and that it was generally shared by families to allow boys to go out without restriction while girls' outings were more limited by families. And here is once again the "culture of fear of public space" that Gill Valentine talks about (Valentine, 1989).

The women interviewed claimed that they sometimes felt not particularly comfortable on public transportation and uncomfortable in public space particularly in the evening or at night.

This aspect can draw back the attention to the conclusions obtained from the studies presented in Chapter 1 of this Thesis, regarding the link between public space and women's perceived fear, and the representation of public space as a less feminine place than the domestic sphere generally understood

as the place of women, particularly in comparison to the studies conducted by contemporary geographers Gill Valentine, Hille Koskela and Alison Bain. Examinations carried out, for their part, in Northern Europe and North America, but that reveal a social aspect that globally concerns the public space of Western countries.

In the case of La Duchère, the interviewees sometimes felt vulnerable as racialized women, therefore, manifested a fear of racist sexism.

The strategies of avoidance between groups in this environment, were for somebody experienced as obvious and habitual (Vinet, *Étude-action*, 2013, p. 100). This was also confirmed by the reaction to the question in the interviews addressed to the groups of young men, as to why there were no girls with them in the evening at the foot of the buildings or in the public space. In the response they generally mentioned the fact that women were among them, at home, and manifested a certain naive surprise at this question. In addition to this, the discourse of "respect" was used: they did not mix with the girls in the neighbourhood because girls could be sisters of acquaintances, and not mixing was intended as a matter of respect. The question of "respect" appeared other times in the research and it was apparent that this concept was applied particularly to girls from the neighbourhood, with whom the boys preferred not to have interactions, more than to girls from outside the neighbourhood.

Girls also experienced as normal, internalized and naturalized this situation, in which boys occupy the most favorable position of social control.

## THE REPUTATION

As already found in other studies done on certain French peripheral urban territories, as for instance that of the sociologist Isabelle Clair presented in the paragraph *Women and the built space of the banlieues* of this Thesis, As already found in other studies done on certain French peripheral urban territories, one of the specific tools of generalized social regulation of gender relations in French society in these quarters is the category of reputation.

Or another study, mentioned by EgalitéTer, which identifies reputation as an instrument of social regulation, in certain of these banlieues and in French society is that of Marylène Lieber in 2008 *Genre, violences et espaces publics, la vulnérabilité des femmes en question* (Gender, violence and public spaces, the vulnerability of women in question).

The use of reputation in discourse to regulate relationships was also found by the EgalitéTer study in its analysis of La Duchère.

This part constitutes one of the aspects that were investigated in an intentionally focused manner, in view of the issues surrounding it, emphasized by professionals as well as elected officials and residents themselves.

From the interviews it appeared that indeed some girls admitted to not leaving the house in the evening for fear of being seen by the boys and to receive for this the assignment of a "reputation" labeled to them, however it was found that this fact was clearly not systematic and that there was a certain flexibility and very varied situations among the relationships between girls and boys.

In any case, there was never any mention of "reputation" for boys. So, if something happened between a boy and a girl, and there was gossip, it was the girl who was judged. And that is how reputation acted as a powerful tool to control young women. Reputation was created based on judgments about how women and girls frequented the space - control of movement -, what their clothing was - control over bodies - and their sociability - control over affinity bonds -.

The notion of reputation was used by both men and women: in fact, it was internalized by women as a tool of self-control to avoid evading rules, and being disapproved of, this would result in exclusion, by boys and other girls. De facto, reputation was used by girls and young women to control other girls and young women, as a self-defense to detach themselves from those whose behavior was pointed out, following an individualistic principle rather than a solidarity one, as already seen above.

Basically, the main beneficiaries of this control were men who were not hindered in their movements, bodies, or bonds of affinity by the risk of reputation.

Related to these considerations is the fact that the control exercised over bodies through judgment with respect to clothing has always been used in western system to justify, by both women and men, the risk of rape towards women.

The issue of "respect" also was very much linked to the notion of girls' reputation mentioned by many adolescents: a person who deviates from the norms of a group will not deserve respect and will be stigmatized. Stigmatization and exclusion help preserve the group's social identity, and the internalized and tacit norms within it.

Reputation also acts in the increased monitoring by parents, of girls' outings and relationships, and to the perceived "natural" feeling of vulnerability.

This ideology is found elsewhere in society, as one of the mechanisms of patriarchal social regulation, it is not exclusive to these neighbourhoods, and it is essential to point this out to avoid the culturalist biases mentioned above. This punctilization must be made, as written on the action-study report, in order not to run the risk of considering these dynamics of social control as relating only to specific territorial contexts or racialized individuals, invisibilizing the fact that this happens in all strata of society.

By focusing only on vulnerable districts, inequalities and relations of domination between women and men would be depoliticized and relegated to a culturalist issue, and the patriarchal system would not be challenged in its actual pervasiveness, nor would inequalities be fought. The result would be precisely the perpetuation of inequalities between racialized and non-racialized individuals, all in the name of defending gender equality in a European continent that has been profoundly patriarchal for centuries, and still is. Finally, it is interesting the action-study's assertion, stating that urban policy should not take the risk of aiming to solve the problem of male social control through the emancipation, targeted on the vulnerable quarters' inhabitants. This action would be wrong. The problem of gender inequality and racism must be addressed on a global scale.

It was found, however, that the young men's position of social control, through their stationing in public space was already undermined by several factors, at that time of 2012.

One factor was the stigma made on "young men", particularly racialized men, by a large portion of residents who did not view them favorably. This stigmatization echoes the characters of the representation made of a portion of the youth, classified as *chaav*, of the London working class during the London riots in late 2011.

Out of fear that their children would be stigmatized, some racialized parents claimed at the time to limit their daughters' outings lest they get a reputation, and their sons' outings lest they be associated with the negative image of the street boy.

Another factor was the recurring police checks, as well as those of security guards working as subcontractors for Grand Lyon Habitat, which gave young people the feeling of being threatened or persecuted. These multiple controls effectively hindered the stationing of young people, particularly in the corridors of apartment buildings, one of the key locations of social control, and according to some residents, of drug trafficking as well.

This space in the corridors appropriated by men seemed to be a rule internalized and respected by the whole group, women and men. However, this attitude was not allowed by the condominium regulations set by the owners of social housing condos and some security agents were in charge of enforcing them through patrols to free these occupied spaces, considered private.

The action-study advanced a consideration on this place of corridors which had an intermediate character between public and private: these spaces evoke the functions of the Algerian *houma*.

The *houma* is a protected but also controlled space, it is perceived mainly in terms of relationships that create space. It is a kind of interlude space between the public and the domestic environment, and therefore has a semi-private feature whose limits are not physical but depend on the application of

specific rules in the uses, notably in relation to others. They are proximity places - streets, cul-de-sacs, passages, stairs, squares - used as a support for collective exchanges. The houma, is perceived as a familiar place by the resident, therefore forms of appropriation considered legitimate and ordinary occur, even if they seem to be transgressions to the rules of the civic system.

In the case of La Duchère, the appropriation of corridors for "private" and "group" use indicated the very strong division in this neighbourhood between public and private space. In fact, after the urban renovation, many meeting places were missing for example cafés, which in this context also functioned as a traditionally male gathering place, having a spatial role that has a precise meaning in the regulation of social relations and gender order relations, beyond the impact that the absence of cafés can have on drug's traffic.

EgalitéTer's study report states that the absence of in-between or interstitial spaces, such as bars or stores, that everyone could legally appropriate, reinforced the symbolic demarcation between "mythical" female domestic space and male outdoor space, thus contributing to the rigidity of women's and men's positions.

And men used other places to compensate for this absence: the hallways and corridors.

Many residents, including women, emphasized the negative effects after reconstruction, of this lack of commerce or dining facilities, they had the feeling that this disappearance of services for collective gathering meant that the residents and their circulation were not welcome. One criticism was made, for example, of the new brasserie building on the Plateau, which was not considered a suitable place for all residents, as a large percentage are Muslim and do not eat pork, moreover the restaurant did not offer halal food. Other criticisms were made about the closing time being too early at 8:00 pm, as the new bar also closed early. The utility of intersectional analysis is again very visible here.

Ultimately emerged the desire of many young men, between the ages of 20 and 35, to have meeting places with opening hours that suited them therefore also late in the evening, as at this stage of the site's transformation they no longer had anywhere to go in the neighbourhood.

It then appeared that the combination of the actual very little access for men to socio-educational and leisure activities, and the lack of meeting places, where to operate that traditionally male self-organization, contributed to the instability of the position of men in the space of the neighborhood.

### 3.3.5 RECOMMENDATIONS PROPOSED BY GREPS ACTION-STUDY FOR LA DUCHÈRE PROJECT

Recommendations from the action-study were advanced with respect to each field of investigation and all issues addressed, and prompt actions such as: making visible and valuing women's place in public space; partially reinventing traditionally masculine places to make them more mixed and tolerant; adapting the functions of traditionally feminine places, including playgrounds; accompanying men to appropriate other spaces, especially socio-educational and leisure facilities; and finally reorganizing the boundaries between public and private through architectural designs at the foot of residences such as frontages to make gender roles more egalitarian.

Among the many recommendations proposed by this study regarding urban policy and various actions to be implemented to remedy the problems identified, to counteract stigma and discrimination, and to promote the inclusion of all inhabitants, only a few interesting recommendations are listed below. The recommendations taken up are those that concern more the design of public space, and architectural and urban intervention. The other ones, related to suggestions of training and sensitization to issues of discrimination and inclusion for the users and professionals of institutional services, or projects of various involvement of inhabitants and public policies that do not closely touch the urban design, although strongly related to the consequences on structural uses, have not been mentioned in this Thesis of Architecture, to leave more attention to considerations more strictly urbanistic and physical of the built environment.

Reconfigurations of public space can mitigate the effects of gender inequalities, i.e. the differential use of public spaces, and over a long period of time change the representations users make of their community, given that public space is a revealer of gender norms.

The recommendations put forward by the GRESP group to counteract the problem of male statism in public space, crossed by a female transient dynamism, are to inscribe women in public space in various ways. The strategy is to give women greater visibility and specific spaces of expression, which in some way counterbalance the male omnipresence in public space. Through the following actions:

- 1) Feminize the names of streets and structures.

Thus allowing for the establishment of a mixed symbolic urban universe where women are better represented and where they can therefore better appropriate public space. The city has historically been designed by and for men. This masculine imprint is reflected in the names of the city's streets, which are predominantly masculine because of the gender of the person - dedicated to male characters - and the gender of his function - for example, the military and warrior world, the "hard" sciences, etc.-. This image has a strong social impact on the amount of importance to be attributed to the male and female worlds respectively, and on the collective imagination of the meaning of belonging to one or the other gender. Indeed, language has a powerful performative function in creating a certain reality by naming it.

This feminization, however, must allow the identification of all residents through multifactoriality, proposing characters' names that represent all categories of people considering gender, ethnic origin, sexual orientation, and so on.

- 2) Place a perennial panel, sculpture, or installation in public space depicting a woman or symbols pertaining to women's worlds.

Valuing even in this scenario the multifactorial visibility of women.

This "symbolic" statism would compensate for the physical statism of men and the transit of women, and would symbolically give women a visible and fixed place in public space.

- 3) Making women - all of them - "be heard" in the public space, e.g. in the form of a street theater performance.

Another way of (re)giving them a place in the public space can be done not only from a visual perspective, but from a sound perspective. This would allow women's concerns, usually unpublicized, to be reintroduced into the public space according to their situation - at the intersection of other factors such as socio-professional category, "racism", age, parental status, and more -. An oral expression that could be performed by one or more women.

Ensuring that this space for expression remains a space for residents and not institutions.

One or more letterboxes could be set up in the neighborhood to allow residents to insert their stories, with artists on call to help people who do not speak French put their stories into words, as well as to meet with residents who wish to participate closely in the project.

This course of action is not without "risks" for institutions: it can generate conflict by making known problems that are often hidden, even if reworked from an artistic point of view. But if this conflict is accompanied by social workers, it can then enable to raise and make visible blind or unheard points, and thus orient public action and recreate social ties.

Regarding the matter of mixed use of public places, by non-mixed groups on separate time frames and the relative few interactions between the groups, those solutions were advanced:

4) Redesigning playgrounds, to counteract their sociofugal disposition.

This recommendation proposed a redesign that would think about the visual relationship to the outdoors to actually provide a greater sense of security, offer a choice to the mothers' gaze - given that fieldwork testified to the almost exclusive use of these spaces by women - to allow them to see inside the park or outside the park, and exercise visual control over both of these spaces.

The principle is to open up a wider visual horizon.

For example, the playground could be considered as a space that is both sociofugal and sociopetal - facing inward, promoting social interactions -, depending on the bench chosen to sit on. For example, a series of benches leaning against an existing wall or a hedge of plants that secures the back - they are not seen from the outside -, games placed in the center, and a visual opening to the public space behind the games, allowing the view of the child to overlap with the view of the outside of the park.

The example of Square des Marronniers on the Plateau de la Duchère is a type of square that is both sociofugal and sociopetal, even if the arrangement of the benches does not allow to take advantage of all the possible positions in this place.

5) Better fence playgrounds, an action that appeared important from observations and interviews.

This would allow women to focus some of their attention on aspects other than safety, such as interactions with other people or focusing on themselves or enjoying the landscape.

6) Plan some playgrounds central to the public space and others set back.

So that women are not forced to expose themselves to the center of everyone's view all the time, but can enjoy a more secluded space, for example a park created from the interstitial space between two buildings but set back from the street, or in a "court" configuration and so forth.

With respect to the theme of male social control and attitudes towards calls to order exercised in public space and the consequent declination of this space as a place of rituals of avoidance by women, it was suggested to:

7) Stimulate women's embodiment through the practice of a self-defense sport and encourage a reduction in aggression by publicizing this practice.

This recommendation was made to answer to gendered reminders of order through the staying of men in public space and restoring a sense of capacity, confidence and power to act among women, by working on the feeling of vulnerability felt and perceived and by working on the alienating sexualization of women referred to their represented body-object of desire.

Embodiment allows women to appropriate their body as a tool for action and not only as a passive object, and notably as a sexualized object linked to men's desire. The operation of stimulating body awareness allows women to overcome the assumed sense of women's intrinsic vulnerability.

An assumption linked to the "rape culture" in Western societies is that women are seen as inherently vulnerable and sexual assault is seen as inevitable. However, the practice of self-defense allows women to behave in a culturally "unfeminine" way and thus to discover that they are capable of defending themselves, of fighting, breaking certain stereotypes.

A social effort could be done by offering free self-defense courses to women, within certain structures such as social centers, schools, etc. on the initiative of the City.

The city would thus ensure that it is publicised throughout the agglomeration, which would constitute the second effect sought in the social experimentation: the modification of perceptions of women's vulnerability and the reduction of aggression, in both the private and public spheres.

The action study suggest that it would be necessary to think also about a mixed way of those self-defenses courses so that it attracts both women and men.

8) Counterbalance the hyper-sexualisation of women in the public space via advertising hoardings by counter-mediatisations on non-eroticised women, subjects and not objects, diverse and non-normative.

And when it is not possible to remove billboards, it is possible to counterbalance them, through several possibilities: with displays on building facades in the neighbourhoods, on street furniture, on ad hoc billboards of the same type, and more, with topics that value women - and eventually also men -, in a desexualized, non-commercial, non-dominant, multi-factorial, and non-racist iconography.

9) Thinking about ways of participation for adult men that take into account their resistance: going to meet them in the territories where they are located in order to carry out ad hoc projects, together with them.

The strategy consists in meeting people in the territories to know their opinions, possible needs, their skills, and suggest that they co-construct "emancipation" activities, or activities of their interest, within the framework of socio-educational and recreational offers and support them.

Given the problem encountered related to the lack of a place for some men, especially racialized youth, it was suggested to re-think the urban layout so that it would be accessible to all, to remedy the absence of places, but at the same time, not reintroduce places that go back to being only "home of men". Therefore, thinking about spaces in the area that respond to people's need to meet, but also in the name of greater social and gender equality.

The prior consultation of the inhabitants serves precisely to create projects that will then be really used. If, for example, some men have gardening skills in their country of origin - for immigrants - shared gardens can be created for them.

With respect to the work that can be done to counter the rigid assignment of public-male space versus private-female space, to counter the dialectic of "reputation" and generally the site's failures to meet residents' expectations, it was proposed to:

10) Rethink semi-private/semi-public intermediary places that blur the traditional private/public, female/masculine demarcation, that can be legally appropriated by all and not only by men, and whose principle is based not on prevention or surveillance but on trust and support. Le tre azioni che seguono sono tutte legate a questa specifica strategia.

11) Place the activities, thought of in point 9, in a way that rebalances the presences of the two genders in the different spaces.

To accomplish this, it is necessary to create these activities, targeted based on the identities of the men residents, even within the facilities, and to create activities for the women outside, in the open environment. Unlike at the time of the survey.

12) To set up a social café.



To avoid it being monopolized only by men, the social café should have features and proposed practices suitable for both genders and different groups, based on age, background, parental status, sexual identity, and so on. This social café could be paired with an existing facility - Social Center or MJC or other - by holding activities in collaboration with professionals from those facilities. Organizing theme nights, cultural events or games, also playing on the furniture and varying it according to the connotations of gender or style that are intended for different events or periods.

Important in this plan, is to attract different audiences so that everyone can familiarize themselves and take possession of the place at the same time or at different times. In such a way that there is a gradual accompaniment towards a future self-management of the social café, which will witness the advent of a greater mixing of the population groups that visit it.

### 13) Develop frontage areas at the foot of buildings.

This is an idea to make the construction of space assist the desired social construction.

The EgalitéTer team pursues the notion of frontage, in the meaning intended by contemporary French architect and urbanist Nicolas Soulier in his projects. Soulier has militated in his work particularly on the theme of the street, considering it a fundamental space of city life, promoting its return to being a place of sharing and social bonding. The frontage is a space at the edge of the street, of sharing, placed between the public environment and residents, an in-between zone that has a specific value for social relations, acting in a certain sense as a collective houna space, at the foot of a building.

It involves a setback of the building with respect to the sidewalk and can consist of a planted or green interlude, a space for gardening or bicycle storage, a location reserved for benches or tools that reconcile conviviality and rest, and can gradually accompany the users towards the domestic space through a sequence of small spatial variations such as a *décalage* with respect to the sidewalk or a slight slope, a subsequent difference in level by means of a raised entrance balcony, and still possibly, an element of semi-closed character that anticipates the separation from the residence, such as a pergola or a veranda.

The EgalitéTer team aims, in this new perspective of the Duchérois context, to promote the frontage as a space for all and for mutual support and encounter. The action-study suggested to initially establish rules for use by social mediators, to ensure equality of use and facilitate coexistence.

The creation of interstitial spaces open to all, can overturn the clear boundaries of sudden passage from public to private. Architecture can in fact amplify a feeling of confinement among inhabitants, of impediment or of security and openness.

The action-study reports an interesting consideration of security in relation to built space. It is possible to apply two organizational approaches to urban planning, one opposite to the other. The first is based on the view of people as individuals who can make mistakes and cause problems and therefore need to be controlled, the second is based on the view of people as resources. These approaches to planning are analyzed by Nicolas Soulier, in his 2012 work, *Reconquérir les rues. Exemples à travers le monde et pistes d'actions* (Reclaiming the streets. Examples from around the world and possible actions).

According to Soulier, when organization and urban planning are based on the distrust of individuals, and apply a series of control maneuvers, physical obstacles and surveillance, this approach, which separates and divides, impedes the informality and spontaneity of the social life of the habitat, and undermines the formation of mutual trust between the inhabitants. An approach that strives for security but inversely produces feelings of insecurity or stigmatization and prevents all social ties.

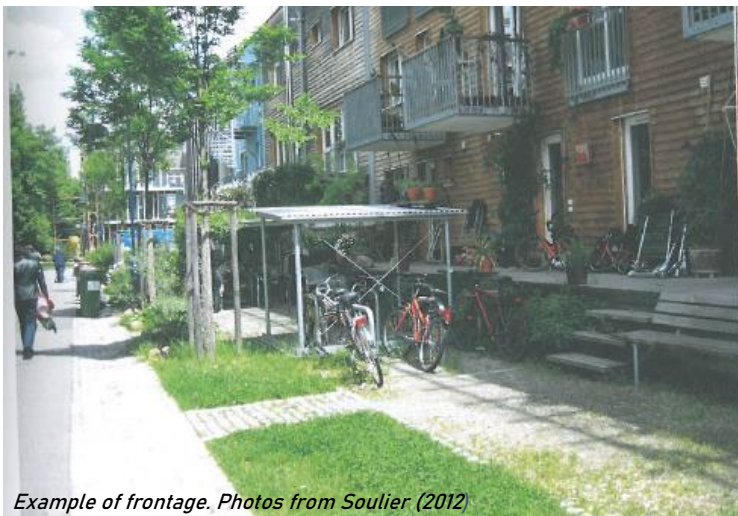
Conversely, when there is an approach to planning that is based on trust and respect for people's time of adaptation and habits, a balance of security is established in the long term, although it is delicate because it always risks being compromised, like any complex process.

Therefore, the expedient of the frontage, which creates an interstitial place, partly out of sight, implies a break with a policy of panoptic control over the inhabitants perceived as "to be observed and monitored" and that leads to defensive reactions, a feeling of dispossession and non-appropriation of the neighborhood, ultimately helping to fuel the phenomenon that one would like to counteract.

This attitude thus implies a certain amount of immediate risk-taking for future benefits on the part of planners and government.



Some elected officials in Lyons emphasized the fact that such an approach, however, may meet with resistance on their part, given past incidents of vandalism at the expense of new public facilities or street furniture left unattended. In the case of damage or neglect to public places, the concept of appropriation of space is acted upon negatively by residents, and a challenge is to understand how to regulate this situation. Therefore, politicians and technicians are extremely cautious with respect to possible spontaneous initiatives proposed by the citizens, or with respect to an attenuation of surveillance.



*Example of frontage. Photos from Soulier (2012)*

In the face of these apprehensions, the French team of the GREPS action-study indicates as necessary the assistance, as for the social café. The accompaniment would consist in an initial development supervised by mediators who would co-construct with the inhabitants the bands of frontage or public spaces of sharing. The inhabitants could spontaneously install activities according to their needs, such as gardens, pergolas, benches, and more, through flexible

rules that facilitate the occupants to use them in respect of everyone and the environment itself. Within this approach can be promoted the concept of "civic courage", that is the attitude for which everyone feels responsible and an integral part of their neighborhood, intervening alone when something happens that threatens the community - insults, vandalism, problems -. A concept already familiar to the German reality of the Reiselied district, in Freiburg for example, where training has been given to all people, therefore men, women, elderly, young people, on how to react to certain situations and intervene when possible. In addition, these spaces would allow men to find places to socialize but also women, remembering the fact that the territory can act both as a place of projection of social norms and as a place that influences these norms, and these intermediate structures-functions could contribute to a new, more egalitarian distribution of roles.





## CHAPTER 4

# **CONCLUSIONS. THE NOWADAYS ISSUES AND CHALLENGES FOR AN EQUAL OPPORTUNITY SPACE**



## CONCLUSIONS.

### THE NOWADAYS ISSUES AND CHALLENGES FOR AN EQUAL OPPORTUNITY SPACE

With respect to the latest developments on La Duchère, it emerges that this second project phase that began in 2016 has been more attentive to the neighborhood's local identity, social networks, and the actual needs externalized by citizens, thanks in part to the improvement of resident consultation systems through the conseil citoyen and the strengthening of the participatory project strategy.

With respect to the recommendations put forward by the action-study conducted by Egaliter, it appears that several ideas have been adopted, as shown in Chapter 3.3.4. Such as establishing public places dedicated to the specific personal expression of the interests of residents, such as shared gardens that include activities of active involvement and exchange of citizens. Another emerging aspect is the valorization of the multiethnic and multicultural component of the local community, through the idea of setting up semi-covered kitchens near the gardens, to showcase the cuisines of the world.

With respect to the importance claimed by the inhabitants of having places where people can meet, the central square of La Sauvegarde will host different services and stores and receptive areas through the installation of barbecues in the transitional spaces with the square des 400, to organize spontaneous parties now and intergenerational and multiethnic games.

However, there is no targeted gender mainstreaming program in planning, that is, a set of laws, regulations and planning strategies designed to improve the lives of women and men - and all the multifactorial aspects of their identities - in project areas and at all levels of intervention. An action that in fact would be very useful to adopt.

In fact, as we have seen, the professionals and decision-makers who have dealt with urban planning in contemporary history have been predominantly men, which means that the product of their designs was dictated by their interpretation of the needs of society, and not living on their own skin the problems that women encountered in their social roles, they did not seek solutions to these problems because they could not see them.

In the design of contemporary urban centers, the woman's body is still anchored within the invisible, domestic space.

In more recent history our western cities are the result of a Fordist spatial organization, they are functionalist cities: to each building a function separate from the others, often even entire neighborhoods have a homogeneous functional vocation, and then to connect the places of the different functions, there are the large infrastructures for mobility, sometimes roads that also contemplate other activities - such as commerce in the city avenues with stores on the ground floor - or leisure - cultivation of health - along sports avenues that provide sports activities or entertainment services - but most are arteries for the sole displacement, especially of motor vehicles to allow the saving of travel time.

So, the activities of the individual person, and of different people according to their specialized profession, take place in different places depending on the activity. While the residence is the site of several purposes all related to four main functions: basic needs, family interactions/growth, self-expression, and individual location - the residence has the important function of assigning a precise

location with geographic coordinates to the individual. The first three related specifically to the concept of privacy.

In any case, the work of the Thesis conducted has allowed us to highlight how the structure of functionalist matrix of our cities of the Western world has been designed by giving priority to the needs of a standard citizen, which corresponds, however, to the category of men who enjoy white privilege, the standard citizen for urban planning is the adult man, white, heterosexual, able-bodied, worker.

Although gender relations have changed and are increasingly equal in terms of rights, the functionalist structure of the city has remained and we have seen how women are, to a much greater extent, relegated to the depoliticized, home-private environment where they do not have access to economic control of their lives and perform the unpaid labor of caring.

In addition, we have seen how transportation systems are often ineffective for the typical movement patterns of large numbers of women, the problem of safety and fear of the public place that affects the female gender, also found in the La Duchère case study, the problem of the difficulty of politicizing domestic violence, the problem of male social control and the calls to gender order implemented at the level of public space, the problem of architectural barriers for the disabled, the invisibility of the female world in public space due to place names and monuments assigned to male characters, the appropriation of public sports facilities by a strongly male public.

And again, the problem of a top-down planning, adopted by tradition, which casts the urban design from above, instead of taking into consideration the plural uses of space, the meanings given to it by different people and the dynamics of the social networks of the urban fabric, which involve multiple categories of people.

A top down approach to planning that sees the planner as the subject of the action to be implemented on an object: the territory. Without leaving more space for a form of communication with the territory, or rather with the inhabitants who are the souls of the territory.

In this sense, a desirable gender mainstreaming approach would insert the sense of "care" - as an action typically pertaining to the female world - understood as "respect" in the action of urban and architectural design. A care that actively questions the inhabitants, who all have different identities, about their specific needs in the conformation and use of space, and tries to respond ad hoc. Valuing the value of diversity, in an inclusive and democratic way, always taking into account the right to the city of individuals, respecting people and things.

An urban analysis and urban design that takes into account Adrienne Rich's concept of "Geography closest in" helps us question everything we take for granted in cities. It allows us to remember that the bodies that use cities are all different and based on their diversity may encounter privileges or discrimination in urban conformation. And that the body brings with it specific limits in using space according to its characteristics.

In this sense, it is crucial to lead us back to the consideration of the body and then open ourselves to communication with different citizens, who inhabit different bodies, to help us imagine democratic urban alternatives. Urban feminist activists like Brenda Parker recognize the fact that the body is a site where gender, class, race, and sexualized power relations and urban politics take place.

Being in the city means learning a set of embodied habits, mostly unconsciously. Over time and through repetition or by iteration, as Judith Butler says, that condense and shape the body, and habits and attitudes, in turn, boomerang effect. Your posture, expression, clothes, movements, eye contact conform to the expectations of your social role.

The ways in which bodies inhabit and move through space tell us a lot about who belongs. Gesture movements, eye contact, and so on are social and cultural markers of belonging and exclusion.

Eye contact is the primary form of communication, the starting point for any kind of relationship.



Bodies that do not conform because of age, illness, disability, class, sexuality, addiction, etc., are marked as "out of place" and are "targeted" for displacement. Sometimes gentrification can be imposed by technology: the apps Nextdoor, Citizen, Amazon Ring's Neighbors, for example are responsible for stoking fear and distrust of diversity. They allow users to report something that seems suspicious to them and target people and businesses. So, it will be critical to understand how to develop apps that help give us safety, and that help for example participatory planning, but in an inclusive and anti-discriminatory way.

Furthermore, women's perceived fear in public space because of their gender, thus their diversity, does not help break down barriers. Because fear makes us wary of welcoming new encounters, or helping someone who is "different," of entering or hanging out in a racially diverse neighborhood, and so on. We don't feel as free to seek out different kinds of contact, to be open to experiencing new kinds of environments. As Sylvie Tissot stated, "Feminism has become one of the metaphors for racism" to emphasize how a culture of fear has fueled intolerance for diversity. That social control over women through fear is part of a system that has imposed other forms of exclusion, segregation and fear of difference.

And this is not the risk that an inclusive city wants to run.

Therefore, it will be desirable to promote an urban conformation that welcomes diversity and promotes encounters, that fosters that sense of security of eyes in the street, and trust among citizens, with no time limits. That planning approach that actively accompanies inhabitants to social responsibility and a sense of belonging that architect Soulier speaks of.

In the study it emerged how it is possible to think of some actions to counter the case of domestic gender violence.

Affordable housing, free childcare, health care and affordable education are key ingredients for most pro-women urban visions here. But this is not a complete approach: once these economic issues have been worked on, it is still necessary to open up other areas of inquiry to ensure that the private spaces of the home do not become sites of potential violence invisible from the domestic walls. Condominiums and other types of multi-unit dwellings are often places where people live for a short time, as they are not designed with the needs of different types of family shapes and sizes in mind. For these reasons and because of the high price of housing, women can be trapped in uncomfortable relationships when they cannot afford to leave the housing they are sharing with a partner. So it is necessary to think about alternative systems of living, for example co-housing or co-ownership, even if it is unusual today to share a home, and even buy a home, with a friend rather than traditional family forms.

Challenges in these terms constitute the fact that planning systems and ownership schemes that realize different types of ownership are slow to change. In addition, many cities have private real estate programs that dictate what kind of space to build, what functions and amenities. Given these situations, it will be necessary to launch new ideas that can make the design of housing systems more flexible.

With regard to the issue of meeting diversity, one idea that planning that is mindful of the inclusion of the multiple identities of the inhabitants can adopt is to work on places at the margins.

The change that occurred in Times Square between the 1980s and 1990s, from a space of queer interaction to a space of consumption for tourists and the middle class, was a transformation, according to science fiction writer Samuel Delany, from a place free, not only for the queer population but also for the coexistence of diverse cultural and ethnic groups, to a place at the mercy of cheap dining and entertainment speculation. Latching onto this, feminist geographer and filmmaker Brett Story, advances the possibility of making contact with outsiders and "diversity" in places "on the margins" of the city. Pushing oneself to seek out "contact at the margins" can help create contact

across difference to enhance social networks, thereby evading a capitalist system that aims rather at land speculation. A contact that could be transformative for social relations in the city.

In sum, there are several strategic possibilities for gender mainstreaming planning, many of which still need to be investigated and tested in order to achieve effectiveness.

This work concludes with the hope that this inclusive approach to intersectional gender differences and participatory urban planning can develop further and increasingly affect urban policies and planners, as far as the city of Lyon contextually to the work of this Thesis, but also embracing all territories, through whose experiences each city or nation can learn lessons and terms of comparison.

With respect to this wish for an increasing presence of gender mainstreaming in urban planning, it might be useful to advance the invitation of contemporary Belgian feminist philosopher Luce Irigaray to give a new value to the concept of duality, in her essay *Être deux*. Luce Irigaray affirms that gender difference is that difference between people, the most visible, manifest and immediately recognizable, for the different bodily characteristics of man and woman, a difference with respect to the duality of man and woman.

The philosopher invites to respect the existence of duality, from which we can understand the existence of all the other countless forms of diversity that all have equal dignity and value. And it helps to depart from the traditional anthropocentric vision of a hierarchical order that contemplates the singularity, in order not to forget the importance of the Other, and not to actually subordinate the Other in a hierarchically secondary position. But, on the contrary, to take into account the diversity of individuals and their needs, in this case I would add the different needs they have in the use of urban space, and place them on the same plane of importance.





## APPENDIX 1

### **URBAN SEGREGATION IN FRANCE AND THE USA**



## A.1 ANALOGIES BETWEEN US AND FRENCH SPATIAL SEGREGATION

### A.1.1 WHY ADVANCE AN ANALOGY FRANCE - UNITED STATES OF AMERICA ON THE SPATIAL SEGREGATION?

Within this work it has been chosen to make a comparison with the case of segregation problems that occur in the United States' suburbs and the related institutional treatment and design solutions. This is because in the United States there are indeed strong inequalities in the population that also spill over to the spatial division and the debate on this issue has been particularly rich in recent decades, especially with respect to racial segregation, which has undergone strong transformations and improvements in the recent past, but is nevertheless a persistent problem that the country is trying to solve. Moreover, it is interesting to make a comparison with the United States because as a western country, it has a culture very similar to the European culture, whose roots it has, and therefore to the French culture, and it is based on a capitalist economic system, like France. - Although the United States has a market-oriented system while France has a relationship-oriented system, where the presence of the state in the economy has always been strong, and in fact public intervention for the welfare state is lower in the United States, while it becomes prevalent in France -. It has been chosen to make a comparison between two relatively similar states in order to obtain reciprocal learning and to understand if certain strategies for solving the segregation problem can be taken as an example by one country and applied successfully on the other country, mutually. Making a comparison between two relatively similar states that have a political and commercial exchange between them can help to understand what solutions to adopt, keeping in mind that it is possible to adopt strategies that are similar because the economic and social context is relatively alike. Or conversely, it is easier to question certain planning strategies in the event that other strategies have worked better elsewhere, on the basis that they have operated on a similar context. Thus, it has been decided to analyze how these two countries face, from the planning and administrative point of view, a problem that afflicts them both, and what contributions they can make to each other in their approach to this problem.

In particular, the focus is on observing these specific topics: ethnic enclaves, American ghetto, American suburb, French banlieues, and French vulnerable neighbourhoods; and the methodology of measuring spatial segregation for these specific sites.

Although the discussion on the possibility of comparing the crisis of the French peripheries with the American ones was already debated in the past, we have seen how it has resurfaced after the autumn of 2005.

In addition to the debate within France, the international press, particularly the Anglo-Saxon press, also saw in the 2005 riots the need for a readjustment of the French model of integration and parallels were opened with the race riots that afflicted American ghettos or certain ethnic neighbourhoods in England.

In the 2000s, there was statistically more segregation of French peripheral neighbourhoods. Although in the specific debate over the SRU law the racial component was elided for political strategies, it was evidently the subject of attention elsewhere in the French debate. Given the emergence of segregation, politicians and scholars wanted to compare themselves to the dynamics of the American ghetto, to understand if there are similarities and to find possible solutions also by looking at American practices used to counter spatial and/or racial segregation.

For example, in December 2005, an international symposium on urban geopolitics was held by the University of Cergy-Pontoise, in collaboration with French organizations and the University of California at Berkeley, on the theme "France-United States, Urban Territories Facing the Challenges of Segregation", with the common thread being the idea of a necessary comparison between the French and American processes of urban segregation, their respective realities, but also the approaches adopted to measure these phenomena and to respond to them with appropriate public policies. Among other things, the difficulty of calculations to measure segregation and its evolution developed by American researchers was discussed.

The questions posed by France in this period concerned the possibility of using "positive discrimination", centered on individuals, on the model of *affirmative action* implemented in the United States since the 1960s, as opposed to maneuvers centered on territories; or the need to address the problem by reflecting on race relations and therefore using statistics that calculate the distribution of inhabitants according to their "racial" or ethnic affiliation, which was not allowed then nor currently by the French system. Concerning this last issue, concerns arise that an open approach to ethnic calculation could have unfavorable consequences on geopolitical representations of the idea of the French Nation as it was defined through the French Revolution, which is founded on the postulate of equality among its inhabitants, regardless of ethnic group, banishing in fact notions of *minority* and *race*.

So, among the issues raised, researchers wonder how to name those they count in the phenomenon of discrimination and spatial segregation.

Even the Americans and the British respectively use different terms to talk about segregated populations, voluntarily or not.

## A.1.2 RESIDENZIAL SEGREGATION

To a greater extent, spatial segregation occurs in the form of residential segregation. The term "residential segregation" also has a slightly different meaning when used in France or the United States.

In France, the term "residential segregation" has a more negative meaning, it concerns populations who suffer the situation of confinement in one place and are unable to move to more mixed neighbourhoods due to lack of financial means or discrimination.

In the United States, it has a more generic meaning, referring to the unequal geographical distribution of the population, so the term also extends to wealthy or non-discriminated (White) populations, and who choose to isolate themselves in a neighbourhood.

In any case, scholars tend to be more interested in the segregation of groups considered disadvantaged with respect to a dominant, privileged group.

In particular, it is measured how, and why, different population groups live in distinct neighbourhoods. The reasons for residential segregation relate to socioeconomic characteristics of the isolated groups, such as age, income, race and ethnicity.

Racial segregation has long been a legally admitted phenomenon in the United States, permitted by multiple government actors, most often to isolate blacks but also, depending on the era, Indians, Chinese, Japanese, Jews and others.

After decades in which segregation at the expense of Blacks was studied, which still remains a concern, research has begun to look at how segregation operates on other minorities, what the dynamics of spatial integration are, on American soil.

Residential segregation, when caused by discrimination, has several repercussions on different minority groups.



One example is the form of "downward" assimilation, in the huge barrios of Los Angeles, which pushes many young people into ghetto culture, into the hidden economy of drugs and gangs, and bring them away from school.

Residential segregation can therefore, as in the French case, operate as a vicious circle, conditioning residential choices, limiting employment and educational opportunities, and thus contributing to social exclusion and alienation. Finally, residential segregation reduces contacts between different social groups.

The United States has instruments to measure segregation, which France does not have.

In France, there are no racial or ethnic categories and citizenship origins are not recorded at a metropolitan level and for different generations. Therefore, in France, it is difficult to assess the phenomenon of discrimination and spatial segregation.

Since the 1890s, the USA has made residential segregation an object of study, in particular by focusing on the development of Black ghettos, their comparison with Jewish ghettos in Europe and the new immigrant ghettos of the XIX and early XX centuries. These immigrants are described by American scholars as predominantly poor, settling initially in ghettos and then, after a rise in economic status, moving to more affluent neighbourhoods and the ghetto places being taken by new immigrants again. In contrast, this process of residential assimilation was not found for the large waves of migration of Blacks from the south to the north of the United States in the early XX century.

With the mechanization of agriculture and the exacerbation of the injustice of the segregative laws in the South, the Black populations began their transfer to the Northern states, where they found better life and work opportunities - in booming industries -.

The need for manpower became greater following a slowdown in immigration due to the First World War, and subsequent immigration restriction laws of the 1920s.

African Americans migrating to what they hoped to be the Promised Land found several social, economic and residential barriers to overcome, much stronger than those encountered by White immigrants. In the southern states of the United States, segregation was enforced by Whites through the "Jim Crow" laws that governed the system of racial separation. Such laws did not exist in the North, but segregation developed nonetheless, through the housing practices exercised by the Whites, and the violence directed against the Blacks who settled in former White neighbourhoods.

Immigration declined between the 1920s and 1930s. After the Second World War, segregation studies focused on the segregation that Whites exerted on Blacks. The results showed a sharp increase in Black/White urban separation from 1900 to 1960, mainly due to massive racial polarization and the departure of the White population to the suburbs, particularly after Second World War.

The growth of the suburbs often took place at the expense of the city centers, causing the concentration of disadvantaged minorities in huge ghettos and further limiting, by increasing distances, the possibilities of interaction between communities that already had limited possibilities of meeting and exchange.

The city of Detroit has always been an emblem of this phenomenon: going from 83% of Whites in the population in 1950, to 18% of Blacks today - 6% are considered "Other" and the remaining 9% are considered White -. It was a predominantly White-occupied city until 1970, and then underwent a massive "white flight", losing more than half of its original population in 50 years.

Specifically, let's briefly review the case of Detroit to understand the white flight phenomenon that affected this city as well as other U.S. cities. Starting in the 1920s, it can be seen that the expansion of the automotive industry characteristic of this period fueled Detroit's growth, making it the fourth largest city in the United States. In 1950, the population was nearly two million - 84% of Whites - and the vast majority of the male workforce was employed in the automotive sector.

However, as the robotization of the assembly line took place, the number of jobs began to decline, but the substantial immigration of Black people from the Southern states did not.

Yet as industry propaganda continued to send signals of a fruitful economy, politicians and public officials in Michigan and Detroit in particular did not create systems to control or adjust the flow of internal migration, especially to the city of Detroit where newcomers would not find jobs. So, the mass settlements continued and tensions between Whites and Blacks increased dramatically, with a staggering increase in street crime and increasingly violent riots by the Black population, including the most resounding episode of the 1967 Detroit Riot.

As a result, Whites left Detroit in mass, in the so-called white flight phenomenon, a term considered by some to be a misnomer.

If in these years the attention to the processes of residential segregation was focused on the phenomenon of new residential neighbourhoods, which housed the Black population of the United States that was moving through internal migration within the country, neighbourhoods that formed haphazardly in a problematic way always accompanied by discriminatory developments within segregative systems; from the end of the 1960s the attention then shifted also to the residential segregation of other population groups: the new immigrants from foreign countries. At the end of the '60s, in fact, the laws that allowed a greater openness to immigration led to the return of a massive immigration to the United States, this time mainly from Asia and Latin America. So, in this period, part of the national debate was related to the issues of the reception and adaptation capacity of the United States, particularly around the issue of illegal Mexican immigration.

Residential segregation has, therefore, long been a topic of debate and study in the United States, and has affected different types of population, for reasons that differ from one another, such as the segregation of gender minorities or people's sexual orientation, not all of which will be discussed here. In any case, the great ethnic diversity of which the United States is composed, and the relative rapidity of population movements has led to certain tensions and the formation of inequalities in housing opportunities and, in general, in the use of space. And the United States has developed over time a series of methodologies to study this phenomenon.

### A.1.3 THE PROBLEM OF THE US GHETTO AND US SUBURBS

We proceed with the observation on conformation and dynamics of segregation in the United States, in the two realities of ghettos and suburbs. Before proceeding with this presentation, a preliminary remark is necessary on the use of the term "ghetto".

First, to speak of "ghetto" in today's context is indeed inappropriate, or at least its meaning should be re-formulated. The term designating a very ancient phenomenon, the Venetian Jewish ghetto imposed by law on a category of population, is a political reality nowadays unobservable anywhere in democracies. However, there have been new uses of the term in the history following the Middle Ages. As with the term "banlieue" in France, the meanings of "ghetto" changed in the United States during the XX century.

The sociologists of the Chicago School of the 1920s identified the ghetto as the first area of residence for immigrants. As the community proximity in the same neighbourhood should help the inhabitants to adapt to their new living environment. This type of ghetto is not of the same order as the historical European ghetto, so called in Venice since 1516, based on stigma, residential constriction, control, cultural and religious homogeneity, and finally on a micro-society producing its own hierarchies and values.

Rather, American ghettos are temporary “ethnic enclaves” whose inhabitants are enrolled in social transitions, whereas the medieval Jewish ghettos of Europe were “allotment territories” that grouped together populations that were denied mobility to a certain extent.

The United States progressively used the term ghetto to designate immigrant neighbourhoods: initially only for German Jews. For other groups, the neutral word “belt” was initially used: just before the First World War, people spoke of “Black belts” and “little Sicilies” or “little Polonies”.

At the beginning of the XX century, after decades of intense immigration, the nativist movement began to oppose the influx of foreigners of cultural origin other than the Anglo-Protestant culture of the previous wave of immigration. The nativist movement was driven by political ideologies that assumed Americans as the true “natives” of the US territory and therefore those who hold the American identity, began to develop from the middle of the XIX century to the 1920s, and led to the laws of 1921 and 1924 which severely limited immigration until the late 1960s.

The immigrants involved were mainly Eastern and Southern Europeans, Italians, Poles, Jews, Hungarians. Among the arguments supported by the nativist movement, it was preferable to group these immigrants into ethnic and linguistic enclaves in such a way that they would not mix with American culture with the “danger” of transforming it.

Nearly a century later, similar types of discourse have resurfaced around the Hispanic immigration process. And, here too, the importance of ethnic and linguistic enclaves is upheld, but also the processes of spatial assimilation of the different generations of immigrants.

While immigration was relatively well accepted in the United States after 1960s, until the catastrophe of 11 September 2001 triggered greater control in this regard, the discourse of visible minorities, i.e., skin color, continued to cause fractures among the population.

The Black-White distinction is regularly mentioned. In contrast, Hispanics, Chicanos, Cubans or Puerto Ricans do not face such strong discrimination.

Despite countless civil rights laws, White separatism still tends to push Blacks into situations of economic, political and social disadvantage.

Four out of five Whites in the United States live in a single-race neighbourhood, and privatization results in a highly separated public space.

In 2000, the ghettos were home to about 10 million people, 4% of the 290 million Americans. Here prejudice, violence, segregation and discrimination were concentrated, and the figures of the street gang and the single mother emerged.

Black Americans today number about 30 million, a third of them belonging to the working class, a third to the middle class and the other third divided between the small trades and the underclass. In absolute numbers there are more poor Whites than poor Blacks.

However, Skin color remains linked to the image of poverty. The Black ghettos of the 1980s were true “enclaves of urban desolation”, with decaying buildings, abandoned houses, gutted shops and family disorganization. Although immense progress for civil rights has been made since the 1960s, not without numerous violent confrontations and the death of more than one leader, there are still forms of persistent segregation, or the legacy of decades of unequal treatment in the American population, the consequences of which continue to be felt. It was at this time that the famous Jim Crow laws were abolished, enacted between 1877 and 1964, which among other things prohibited mixed marriages, and were established in some US states to create and maintain segregation in all public services, establishing a status defined as “separate but equal”, through the division of schools reserved only for Blacks and those reserved for Whites, the division of buses reserved for Blacks from buses reserved for Whites, the same system applied to restaurant bathrooms and public places.

The successful book *American Apartheid*, 1993, demonstrates the ravages of discrimination carried out through institutional arrangements and exposes the plight of Blacks in ghettos and their degree of

segregation, which no other group has experienced in the past fifty years, in part because white-led voluntary policies have allowed it.

For example, in North Lawndale, a neighbourhood of 50 000 inhabitants belonging to Chicago's West Side ghetto, in 1980 only 8% of the houses were in good condition.

The critiques of the book *American Apartheid* contributed to the national debate of the '90s on multiculturalism, and the historical thickness of segregation by linking to the debate on *affirmative action* policies, developed mainly in favor of Blacks but gradually extended to other minorities, including women.

The declining tax base of these types of neighbourhoods often accelerated their abandonment by public authorities, and they then became *hyperghettos*, a term used to distinguish them from the transient nature of the former ethnic neighbourhoods that temporarily housed poor immigrants.

Even today in many American cities, a neighbourhood perceived as "Black" by Whites - with a certain percentage of Black inhabitants - tends to evolve into a ghetto. To protect themselves from "infiltration", Whites use regulations that prevent Blacks from settling in suburban residential areas: they concern land use, minimum lot size, number of bedrooms and bathrooms.

So, the notion of ghetto is today understood internationally, by extension, in the appellation of a zone of concentration of exclusion, in which an ethnically homogeneous population lives, organized in a micro-society and publicly discredited.

Regarding the suburbs, they are rather a continuation of the movements that affected the American urban development during the XX century, from the migration from central or peri-central neighbourhoods in response to industrial crises to the relocation and expansion of large shopping centers along the highways.

Called edge cities, they extend beyond the previous administrative borders, and today they have such a size that they cannot be considered peripheral belts, but almost new centers bordering the ancient ones, with their own functions and centrality. Perhaps these immense expanses of vacant urbanization, saturated with roads and highways, prefigure the future modality of habitation with their villas surrounded by lawns separated from shopping centers and high-tech industrial parks, groups of restaurants, supermarkets and video stores at the intersection of main roads.

These low-density suburban satellites are the protagonists of the third wave of urbanization in the United States and have annulled the notion of periphery.

Of the multinuclear urban systems of this model, they are rarer in Europe, or at least they are not as extensive for now. And when they do exist, they pose a real challenge for urban management and for the classification between city centers and suburbs.

In fact, in the United States, the adjustment of administrative boundaries is problematic. Here, there is a legal differentiation between the town, which is the largest kind of agglomeration, and the city, which is smaller, with a population of 20 000 inhabitants at least.

The majority of these cities are *incorporated*, that is, integrated, and designated as *corporate cities* represent the basic unit of each urban agglomeration, with limits set by law and an institutional governance - mayor or administrator and representative council -. But there is not always a differentiation between the center and the periphery. This is why the phenomenon of fragmentation often occurs, to which contribute the concern to avoid excessive taxes and levies, considering that the economic system in force is a liberal one based on free enterprise. The problem of urban fragmentation for fiscal reasons is a key issue in the United States. Fragmentation brings with it rapid changes in business areas and numerous residential relocations within usually sparsely populated areas.

In the United States, the democracy that is here mainly embodied in the concept of freedom is exercised at the level of the small local community. The small community elects its representatives, its magistrates, establishes laws and collects its taxes.

Any group of newcomers is not directly admitted into already structured associations, and therefore forms a community of its own on a provisional territorial area. This is the concept of the "ethnic enclave", which manifests itself as a temporary community that marks a specific phase in the integration process of immigrants or newcomers. It is temporary and aims to give its inhabitants a new start by integrating them into the surrounding territorial system through a process of social mobility.

Thus, it can be said that Americans mostly defined themselves by their "social" aspect than by their spatial location, in other words, by their collective identities and their ethnic specificity, as opposed to a spatial position. In fact, American communities move around more frequently than European ones.

American communities take shape in different ways and in different sites: village-type communities, communities of natives, communities of affinity or communities set up by the Federal State and launched in the 1960s to promote the emancipation of Blacks, such as the *model cities*.

These communities, however, act as a mediating body between the private and public spheres, as between the individual and the group. They contribute strongly to social connectedness, especially since the country has a low level of unionization.

Since the 1960s, the *community development corporations* CDCs, launched by President Johnson's policies, were initially used by Blacks to promote their leaders and to establish communities that would be recognized in their own right within the urban conflicts. The CDCs enjoy a privileged partnership with the Federal State, that is, they receive private funds from various companies or foundations to carry out projects set by the inhabitants. In 2005, there were almost 3.000 of these communities in the United States, they are private, non-profit groups with democratic representation system of the inhabitants of their neighbourhoods. Among other things, they create jobs, manage health centers, commercial cooperatives and some social housing. This organization does not contemplate the principle of financial solidarity outside the community.

These communities of affinity are then translated into *private cities* or *gated communities*, which are not simply estate plans, but are the spatial-administrative organization of a population that follows a certain reasoning: it seeks to protect itself by privatizing, at a community level, all its relational space, whether it is effectively private or public.

This mechanism of withdrawal was defined in 1997 by two American scholars, EJ Blakely and MG Snyder, with the term *fortress*. It affects a small part of the American population, about 5%, i.e., 15 million individuals out of a total population of about 290 million, but it could be the initial phase of an extended fragmentation of urban space that may lead to an increase in social separatism, while protecting real estate investments from market fluctuations.

#### A.1.4 DIFFERENCES OF FRENCH BANLIEUES COMPARED TO AMERICAN GHETTOS AND TO AMERICAN SUBURBS

It is deepened here the difference between American ghettos and French banlieues and the difference between American suburb and French banlieue, making it clear that there is a common but improper use of an interchangeability between these latter terms: "banlieue" and "suburb".

##### BANLIEUE versus GHETTO

Beyond the apparent similarities - unemployment, poverty, school failure, segregation, urban violence -, the logic of racial segregation, and the situations of social and economic exclusion, radically differentiate the American Black ghetto from the French peripheries. The ghetto is a racialized spatial category that participates in the blocking of inhabitants in its neighbourhoods and problems.

Many are the differences between the two realities: different population, urban landscape, social impact, scale, legal provisions and institutional interests. Black American neighbourhoods have been affected for decades by violent clashes characterized by a racial and emotional charge of such intensity not found in vulnerable urban areas of France.

Even in terms of research on the phenomenon of spatial segregation, France and the United States use different tools and methods of study: starting from the fact that the historical evolution of the two countries is very different, as are the flows of the populations that have inhabited them. In the United States, mathematical calculations are used to understand the dynamics of the spatial "boundaries" between populations and the ways in which ghettos penetrate the city. Thus, an approach of scientific measurement of segregation. On the other hand, the French researchers sometimes consider incomplete an analysis that represents in the form of an algebraic curve the advancement of ghettos in White neighbourhoods. These methods are difficult to apply in France because the parameters and contexts are profoundly different.

Also, it is important to remember that in France, neighbourhood and skin color are not so directly associated. It is true, however, that the term "visible minorities" is beginning to be used here as well. Indeed, it is particularly useful when it is intended to implement an effective, so-called "positive discrimination", that is, a policy that applies unequal treatment in favor of those who belong to a disadvantaged minority or a weak category.

The driving force behind anti-discrimination practices is also different: in France, it is mainly the State, through centralized policies, that takes charge of the fight against social exclusion and marginalization. In the United States, it is rather the initiatives of local residents and communities that deal with it.

In the USA welfare assistance is not considered particularly effective, it is supposed to lead to passivity and confinement, on the contrary here the principle of community solidarity based on the feeling of belonging is encouraged. In addition, the right to local experimentation - and therefore the possibility of error - is widely approved, to be applied in a given territory and to the satisfaction of specific needs. This gives rise to programs based on effective resident participation and a public-private partnership that is largely open to diverse economic actors, as we see in Boston with the interventions of the Dorchester Bay EDC CDC. Supported by the seven partner associations of residents, this CDC led banks to reinvest the money of the poor in their neighbourhoods. Through it, computer purchases and computer training have been funded.

In some respects, it is possible to claim that American ghettos - which should not be confused with all American slums - and French vulnerable neighbourhoods are similar, but not in the totality of their characteristics. Both show how segregation affects ethnic minorities and the poorer working classes, who suffer from negative prejudice and have little influence in major policy choices.

## BANLIEUE versus SUBURB

Regarding the second comparison, the terms "suburb" and "banlieue" are often considered equivalent and interchangeable. Translators commonly use them interchangeably. In reality, the two words cover profoundly dissimilar realities. The urbanization patterns, social practices, historical and spatial contexts of the US and France are so different that they cannot be confused.

In France, the word "banlieue" is steeped in historical and ideological values, and is loaded with ambiguity as it covers four notions: a legal notion relating to feudalism and a set of rights and duties exercised in this area; the geographical concept of an urbanized belt dependent on the center; a sociological notion to account for the marginality of a population.

More recently, the banlieue is defined in geography by subtraction: it is the urbanized peripheral belt outside the city center with respect to which there is continuity of settlement, i.e., if the houses are no more than 200 m apart.

The American notion of suburb refers to the immense spaces surrounding cities and has no particular historical or ideological significance. Americans most often congregate there out of affinity, according to their income, family identity or ethnicity. In 2000, American suburbs were home to more than half the population, or some 145 million people, compared to just 21 million in French banlieues in 1999.

Another difference between the US suburbs and French banlieues is that the geographical location of poverty is distributed according to other patterns. Whereas in France, it is generally concentrated in the banlieues, the US poor neighbourhood, especially the Black ghettos, are mainly clustered in the centers of the first urban settlements. Thus, in a pericentral position with respect to the city, even if a return to the center of the wealthiest inhabitants in some metropolises is being registered recently. The peripheral sectors, on the other hand, are made up of the middle-class residences that have developed in the last century, especially since the Second World War.

In France, spatial segregation and discrimination with regard to access to residence are considered inadmissible, but they do exist and are implemented indirectly.

Spatial segregation may seem more present in the United States: there are practices that differentiate housing standards according to area, such as the number of bathrooms, surface area of green spaces, etc. In addition, racial discrimination has long been present and is spoken of by name.

The American city tends to favor the discourse of freedom of individuals' choice. Unlike France, any residential constraint imposed by the state in the name of a necessary social mix could be less well welcomed in the United States.

This is reflected in the figures: in France, since 2005, it has been decreed that municipalities of over 1,500 inhabitants must include between 20% and 25% social housing, while in the United States, this constraint is lowered to a threshold of 3% social housing - in Seattle, 5% in 2021 -.

The loss of trust between young people and institutions is nevertheless paradoxical in France, since the so-called vulnerable neighbourhoods are not abandoned. On the contrary, there are numerous public and private institutions in the neighbourhoods, supported by social and urban policies.

The system of social assistance and monetary redistribution provides families and their children with an important part, if not all, of their income.

Similarly, "vulnerable urban areas" do not appear to be under-equipped and are sometimes even better equipped than other neighbourhoods in terms of public facilities.

Community life is often included in the "priority educational areas" and is supported by social actions and various measures to prevent delinquency, professional integration measures, social and cultural activities.

In addition, the January 2005 law on social cohesion program (*LOI n° 2005-32 du 18 janvier 2005 de programmation pour la cohésion sociale*) makes a significant effort and mobilizes unprecedented resources: urban renewal, acceleration of free zones, reform of the urban solidarity subsidy, significant increase in allocated credits, relaunch of contractual policy with the creation of the new Urban Social Cohesion Contracts (CUCS), new "Plan banlieue".

In view of the substantial commitment of public action, it is therefore not possible to speak of the "forgotten people of France" in the same way as it has been spoken of the "forgotten people of America". The French republican and interventionist tradition, unlike the United States in particular, can hardly lead to the emergence of an under-proletariat deprived of social and political rights.

All these policies, however, have their limits. Despite a profusion of initiatives, the problem of employment persists, and public initiatives are experienced by the inhabitants not so much as a steppingstone to citizenship and support for integration, but as an adjustment to poverty and exclusion. In fact, a feeling of dependence on social services persists because, while offering strategies for finding work and unemployment benefit, the manoeuvres of public bodies do not fulfil the development of real contracts between individuals and the community.

Social policies use the principle of individualization to direct the paths of individuals, and some sociologists argue that this approach can contribute to sending individuals back to their problems and paradoxically leaving them alone in the face of themselves.

Individuals may feel all the more reduced to addiction by being in a society where everyone defines themselves as the author of their own life. This is why people may feel abandoned despite being accompanied towards a better life path. Hence resentment, and anti-institutional behavior.

It is possible to state that in France, the main value of the Republic is perhaps equality, while the concept of freedom takes precedence over all other values in the United States where it is considered the very foundation of democracy.

A survey in the early 1990s reported that only one in six Americans thought it was the responsibility of the state to reduce social inequality, while more than three quarters of French respondents took it for granted.

However, the way in which groups are named also depends on the researcher's representation of the situation being studied. In the case of the United States, there is talk of majorities and minorities, Whites being the majority and all other populations being referred to as "minorities." So, there are Whites, Blacks, and "others," meaning Hispanics, Asians, or others.

In France, these same terms seem to refer to populations in very specific neighbourhoods.

Since the urban unrest in Los Angeles in the 1960s, urban segregation has been the subject of permanent study by American sociologists and political scientists, not only to measure it, but also to analyze the effectiveness of the policies put in place to reduce it. Various difficulties emerged in defining the tools and parameters of this study. Among these, the need to use indices that are useful over time, considering that territorial situations change, even rapidly, and the need to make the results of the studies quickly available to the managers of urban projects.



## A.1.5 US TOOLS TO MEASURE RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION

Residential segregation has been studied with a variety of assessment tools. The main methodological issue for the researchers revolves around the definition of racial and ethnic categories, geographical boundaries and instruments to measure segregation.

Today, to measure residential segregation, Americans use precise parameters.

The first is spatial delimitation.

The geographic area chosen for the study and the subsets that constitute it are defined.

Generally, the study is inscribed in a series of predetermined geographical units: the largest unit encompassing the others is the "metropolitan area" - comprising at least 50.000 people in the United States -, which is considered a consistent size for studying the distribution of population within a given housing market.

The concept of a housing market assumes that a person, or family, working in a certain area can choose their home in any community within the same housing market. In 2000, there were 331 metropolitan areas in USA.

Instead, the smallest unit is the so-called "census area," or neighbourhood. "Census areas" contain between 1.500 and 8.000 people. Some researchers have used smaller units as "blocks" or "block groups."

The use of these smaller units tends to produce higher segregation scores, because the smaller the units, the more racially homogeneous they tend to be.

Having defined the spatial range of the study, specific metrics to measure segregation will be used.

The most common tools are dissimilarity and isolation indices.

The dissimilarity index measures the uniformity of a metropolis, ranging from 0 (complete integration) to 1 (complete segregation). It involves calculating what proportion of a group's population would have to shift for every neighbourhood in a metropolis to have exactly the same ethnic and racial composition as the metropolis as a whole. In other words, if a metropolis is 10 percent Black, every neighbourhood must be 10 percent Black to achieve full integration.

The isolation index measures the degree to which an individual is exposed to his or her own group.

It indicates, in fact, the average percentage of members of the minority group studied in the neighbourhood where the typical individual of that minority group lives. It therefore allows an assessment of potential contact between groups. It always varies from 0 to 1, where 1 indicates the highest level of isolation.

There are also many other measurement indices, including the parameters of: uniformity, exposure, concentration, centralization, and clustering.

Uniformity, describes the differential distribution of subgroups of a population in residential neighbourhoods. Exposure measures the potential contact between groups.

Concentration refers to the relative amount of physical space occupied by a minority subgroup. In high-immigrant neighbourhoods, immigrants often cluster in multiple households per dwelling. Thus, population density is high, leading to high rates of concentration.

Centralization indicates the degree to which a group is located relative to the center of an urban area. It is of particular interest in the context of suburban development, which has pushed Whites to the periphery of cities and led to the concentration of minorities in central cities.

Clustering measures the degree to which members of a minority group live in contiguous census areas. For example, there may be three or four highly segregated Asian neighborhoods scattered in different parts of a metropolis. On the other hand, there could be huge Black ghettos scattered continuously over dozens of census areas. These different measures allow us to understand segregation in its different dimensions, keeping in mind that not all minorities necessarily experience the same forms of segregation and that these may vary by geographic context.

However, there are limitations to these indices, which is why the tools have continued to evolve.

One major limitation is the lack of consideration of spatial relationships. Therefore, there is now a growing interest in multidimensional and complementary measures. The most commonly used indices—dissimilarity and isolation—are in fact "aspatial": dissimilarity and isolation measure the distribution of a population across census areas - or blocks -, but do not exploit data on whether certain census areas are located in close proximity to each other.

One of the disadvantages of measuring spatial segregation relationships is that it is difficult to calculate. However, with new technology available and advances in GIS - geographic information system - software, it is probable that calculating spatial segregation will become easier in the future. In a GIS, each piece of data has precise geographic coordinates, which can make it possible to locate or even map the results.

Another important methodological issue is the use of "reference group" in the segregation calculation. The dissimilarity and isolation indices compare only the residential patterns of two groups at a time. They essentially measure the segregation of each minority group from the White, dominant, non-Hispanic population. Sometimes researchers also examine the segregation of two minority groups from each other - such as the segregation of African Americans from Hispanics, but they are still always calculated one pair of groups at a time.

As a result, other tools, multi-group, have been developed that allow researchers to consider multiple ethnic groups, multiple geographic scales, or multiple characteristics - ethnicity, class, age - simultaneously. The resulting data can be cross-referenced with socioeconomic and time data to see changes in segregation status over time.

In addition, researchers have a growing interest in residential patterns for multiracial individuals - people who identify as belonging to more than one "race", word that is currently used in USA to define population's categories -. While the 2000 Census counted only 2,4% of the US population as belonging to more than one race, this proportion is likely to increase in the coming years.

Finally, there is also a growing interest in tools for measuring "integration" or "diversity" that are calculated at the neighbourhood and/or metropolitan level. While segregation parameters generally consider the distribution of a group in a neighbourhood within a metropolitan area, diversity parameters focus on the composition of smaller units, such as census areas, and eventually compile this information at the metropolitan level.

In one respect, the results of segregation calculations tend to be less reliable for small minority groups than for large groups. Casual factors and geographic coding errors have a greater effect on segregation calculations when groups are small.

In any case, residential segregation is a dynamic, ever-changing process. Understanding its social and spatial processes is essential to developing effective public policies that can stem the rise of social tensions and apply the ideals of democratic societies.





## APPENDIX 2

### **RACIALIZATION AND URBAN PLANNING'S RELATION**



## A.2 URBAN PLANNING, RACIALIZATION, RACE AND ETHNICITY

### A.2.1 THE TABOO OF ETHNICITY AND THE RELEVANCE OF RACIALIZED CATEGORIES IN URBAN PLANNING

It is necessary to deepen how the social category of race is an important factor to evaluate and take into account in planning, precisely because, as is known, it is an instrument that determines discrimination and spatial segregation and is mutually nourished by them. As we have seen, the use of space and the construction of urban space is neither asexualized nor a-racialized.

First of all, let's clarify the terms "race, ethnicity, racialization and racism" and in particular the definition of race as a social category.

The term "race" in fact remains an ambiguous concept today, due to the many transformations of meaning and interpretation given to it in recent history.

There are many reasons why the word race is a fervent topic of debate today. One of the main reasons is that while we commonly use the term as an arbitrary classification, - more or less frequently depending on the country - to refer to the color of a person's skin, the idea of defining people in this way is a social construct.

Since the 70s scientists have shown that the human race is unique, genetic differences between people are negligible, can be at most 0,1%, so it is commonly agreed today that race is a social construct, not a biological reality, the race from the biological point of view, does not exist.

The concept of race, used historically represented a group of human beings belonging to the same species, having in common typical peculiar characteristics, mainly morphological, genetic, ecological or physiological characteristics dissimilar from those of other groups of another species, it referred in particular to the color of the skin, the shape of the face or the shape of the eyes.

However, the concept of race applied to the human species is still accepted by some populations and contexts and is institutionalized in some countries. And it is still used to identify the membership of people in certain groupings based on their physical traits, ancestry, genetics, or the relationships between these characteristics; although it is commonly accepted that racial categories are social constructs in common use even if they are not conceptually correct.

In fact, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights makes use of it in Article 2 states: *"Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. [...]"* Many national legislations report similar considerations. In the Constitution of the Italian Republic, although some have called for its abolition, the term "race" is still present in Article 3: *"Tutti i cittadini hanno pari dignità sociale e sono eguali davanti alla legge, senza distinzione di sesso, di razza, di lingua, di religione, di opinioni politiche, di condizioni personali e sociali".*

Referring to the two countries we compared above, we find that in France, the term is used in common language but tends to be avoided because of its strong biological connotations and for constitutional reasons. In the United States, on the other hand, it is more easily used, it is commonly used by researchers and the general public.

Specifically with regard to the Constitutions of the two states, in France, the amendment to the draft revision of Article 1 of the Constitution was adopted in 2018, from which the term "race" was abolished and added that any "distinction of sex" is prohibited.

The words of Article 1 have been changed and state that France will *"ensure the equality of all citizens under the law without distinction of sex, origin, or religion,"* instead of *"without distinction of origin,*

*race, or religion.*" While the XV Amendment to the USA Constitution uses the term in Section 1: *"The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude".*

Because of the repercussions that the word race has caused through racism, colonialism, and mass genocide, the word "race" is frowned upon and preferred to be replaced with other less ambiguous terms such as population, people, ethnicity, or community.

The term "ethnicity" is sometimes used as a euphemistic substitute for race, as it is considered an appropriate concept to designate the different characteristics of different populations.

"Ethnicity," in fact, is the term used to refer to the culture of people from a particular geographic region or people who are descended from natives of that region. This includes their culture, language, nationality, religion, clothing and customs.

It is easy, though, to confuse race and ethnicity. Both words are sometimes, but not always, used to describe a person's heritage as related to his or her ancestry or place of origin. Ethnicity, however, is generally used in reference to a person's cultural markers, not their physical appearance.

Like race, the meaning and use of the word ethnicity has changed in recent centuries.

In short, there is a difference between race and ethnicity but the use of the words overlaps, and is often interpreted differently by individuals.

Social science researchers speak of "racialized groups", as a reminder that designating people by skin color is always a representation, but also that this social assignment is far from without consequences in the daily lives of the people concerned.

Racialization is the very complex and contradictory process by which groups are designated as belonging to a particular "race" and on that basis subjected to differential and/or unequal treatment. The concept of racialization is most commonly used when the category of race is assigned to a person or population in a devaluative manner. Racialization is then the process of production and use of the notion of race applied by a dominant group that attributes racial, and in particular devaluative - interiorizing, characteristics to a dominated group, through forms of direct and/or institutional violence that produce a condition of material and symbolic exploitation and exclusion to people.

The adjective racialized applied to a person or population, enables us to see how race, which does not exist biologically, serves to maintain power relations.

The expression "racialized person" defines a "person affected by racism."

It is recalled here flawed idea that the human species can be subdivided into biologically distinct races characterized by different intellectual, value, ethical, and/or moral capacities, resulting in the belief that it is possible to determine a hierarchy according to which an established particular, hypothetical, racially group of people can be defined as superior or inferior to another.

Moreover, racism involves a group that has the power to enact systematic discrimination through the institutional policies and practices of society and by shaping the cultural beliefs and values that support such racist policies and practices.



## A.2.2 THE CONCEPT OF RACE AND ITS HISTORY IN EUROPE, FRANCE AND USA

As has been seen, the social concept of racial groups has varied over time, even involving a form of popular taxonomy that defines essential types of individuals based on perceivable traits.

In the discussion of this historical excursus, particular reference is made to the evolution of the concept of race that has occurred in France, as a case study on French territory will be treated and the aim is to understand how France today studies and responds to the issue of racial segregation.

The social category of race, as it is understood today, appeared in the XV century, as an instrument of the great colonial trade based on the enslavement of Africans, as a result of the domination policies of Europeans over the new territories with which they came into contact.

Racialization, in other words, the emergence of a social organization based on a racial hierarchy, gradually manifested itself, purely for the purposes of economic exploitation combining African slaves and European capital, in the new sugar plantations on the Atlantic islands, from the Azores to Madeira, the Canary Islands, Cape Verde and São Tomé and Príncipe. With the consequent beginning of the transatlantic slave trade.

It was in this way that the association of slavery - Black skin color population developed, and the consequent rise of modern racism.

In contrast, prior to the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, most slaves in the Mediterranean world were European. Slaves in the Cyprus market were Turkish, Bulgarian, Russian, Greek, and African.

In ancient and medieval times being Black was not an advantage in Greek and Roman societies, but slavery was not associated as such with Blacks. The ancient Greeks and Romans called African Blacks "Ethiopians," and their descriptions were made without particular antipathy.

Among the Greeks, barbarians were those who did not speak the language of politics, not those who had a different skin color. Other descriptions of foreign peoples were also discussed, such as the distinction between freemen and slaves.

While it is true that the racial stereotypes weighing on Blacks in Africa existed before slavery, it is also true that the latter, colonial-era slavery, reinforced and legitimized them. Perhaps Europe has always wanted to build an identity of itself, based on a criterion of civilization and Christianity, which needed Africa as a counter-argument, or out of a mere difficulty in relating to diversity, starting from the anthropocentric culture to which it belongs that historically sees man, male, White and heterosexual, at the center of the universe. In any case, we find racist theories inspired by ancient authors such as Herodotus or Pliny, who described Africans negatively, an assertion that authors of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance took up in their favor.

The judgment of the French on Africa was similar to that of the English, Portuguese and Spanish, producing negative stereotypes shared throughout Europe.

And in the XV century, Europeans used countless tools to justify the economic exploitation of the African population. The justification for the transatlantic slave trade, which deported some 11 million Africans to the Americas between the early XVI century and 1860, essentially consisted of a series of religious, philosophical, anthropological, and scientific arguments that explained that the Black race was by nature condemned to slavery, served as the biological foundation of slavery.

For example, the reading of Aristotle's writings on species and genus were reinterpreted in the XVIII century, by early race theorists, who more or less consciously instrumentalized Aristotle's theories to ground race doctrines. But this reading was a contradiction, as Hannah Arendt has shown. For Aristotle, there was nothing in the appearance or character of men that could exclude them from being political animals, including Slavs and Barbarians. Everyone can speak the language of politics; one is not born a citizen, but one becomes one.

In fact, although African slavery existed long before the XV century, in Africa itself and in the Middle East, it was not based on any particular racial theory.

The word "race" entered the French vocabulary in the late fifteenth century, probably from Italy. "Race" was then a term with a broad meaning, applied to any group of individuals believed to share a common characteristic. For example, to nobles, or to Capetians. But "race", unlike "home" or "family", added a more essential dimension, related to the natural qualities of the group in question. The best known theorist of the 'noble race', Henri de Boulainvilliers (1658-1722), defined noble primarily by its inscription in a genealogical line of men of glory and honor.

Later, in 1775, anthropologist Johann Friedrich Blumenbach divided men into five races, identified by five skin colors - American/red, Caucasian/white, Ethiopian/black, Malay/brown, Mongolian/yellow - and hierarchized among them.

By the end of the Enlightenment, race had thus entered the scientific vocabulary as a category for analyzing differences among humans. It was generally accepted that Blacks were at the bottom of the classification.

Nonetheless, the racial stigma persisted regardless of its connection to slavery. The skin color-social hierarchy association began to be a concept in itself and implicitly assumed, independent of the economic function that had initially generated and nurtured it.

The end of slavery demanded by philosophers, for example, did not necessarily mean that they considered Blacks and Whites equal. Those who denounced slavery sometimes still considered Blacks as inferior beings. And contrary to what is often thought, the most racist writers could oppose any form of slavery - in the case of XIX century Gobineau -, since their opposition to slavery was not necessarily based on a principle of racial equality but on other principles, such as liberal - "slavery is contrary to freedom of trade" - or humanitarian - "we pity this inferior race" -.

Subsequently, the XIX century was marked by the gradual emergence of biological racism.

Unlike the environmental racism of the previous century, mixed with anthropological considerations based on an evolutionary principle, scientific racism and phrenology were based on a biological and immutable definition of human races. Beginning in the 1850s, polygenism, a doctrine that assumes that races come from different human species - in contrast to monogenism, the official doctrine of the Church -, also became widely accepted in French scientific circles.

Thus, the myth of racial categories continued to be invented and elaborated, because it was useful in maintaining power structures and socioeconomic systems generally based on the exploitation of labor power, specifically slavery; a myth that was now masked in the European and American colonial tendency of thought by assumptions of generalized superiority.

At the center of racial distinctions was the "Black race", the object of all theorists' attention, far more insistently than the "White race" or the "Yellow race," which was defined as bordering on humanity and as the "standard" by which to measure other races, to assess their possible degeneration - by racial contamination, Gobineau's obsession -, and because this race was defined as servile.

In 1945, the end of the Third Reich seemed to mark a turning point in international consciousness towards the condemnation of racism. It was especially in the aftermath of the Second World War that the concept of "race" began to be questioned.

Even in the South of the United States, marked by segregation and anti-Black racism, the policy of apartheid and exclusion of Blacks from political life began to be opposed by the revolts of the people of color.

In the French Empire, the bonds between the colonies and the metropolis had to be rethought and a new status granted to the natives, whom it was no longer legitimate to consider inferior by nature.

Even the foundation of UNESCO in 1945 with the aim of maintaining peace and universal respect for human rights, making explicit the absence of distinctions of race was another step to put an end to this dark juncture of the European intellectual heritage, which led to Nazism and its genocidal policy and

massive injustices on Africans, African Americans, the populations of the European colonies and others.

The notion of race began to disappear from the social sciences, particularly in France. On the contrary, in Great Britain and in the United States, race was used as an explanatory category and as a basis for policies to correct discrimination, since until the 1950s, racial distinctions were used to regulate the relationships of domination exercised by human groups over other human groups, therefore they were intrinsically linked to, and produced social hierarchies.

### A.2.3 THE CONCEPT OF RACE IS CURRENTLY USED IN THE USA

In the United States, the term race and racial category is now used in population censuses, as it is believed to be an important data for precisely mapping and understanding the dynamics of discrimination given by racism and its intersection with other population characteristics.

Through the census a person can self-identify with one or more racial and therefore social groups. Indices of residential segregation in the United States are made using data obtained from the census conducted every ten years by the government, which officially registers racial and ethnic groups in the territory.

The census counts the population at the block level, and simultaneously calculates the status of segregation that take place here.

The first decennial census of the population of the United States was in 1790, and ethnically distinguished the population into Blacks and Whites only.

Subsequently, other ethnic groups were added, and this has paralleled the evolution of the notion of race in society.

Currently, the typology is chosen at the discretion of the individual, who is free to tick the box he or she considers appropriate: White or Black or other. It is therefore partly a self-definition influenced by government criteria. Since 2000, it has been possible to declare membership of several races instead of one, within a large number of categories and subcategories, most of which did not exist decades ago. However, this makes it more difficult for researchers to study.

The 2000 census basically counts five racial categories: Whites, Blacks, Native Americans, Alaska Natives, Asians and Native Hawaiians or other Pacific Islanders. Hispanic origin is considered an 'ethnic group' that falls into the 'White' category.

The most studied minority groups in the United States today are African Americans, Hispanics and Asians. While the study of Native Americans is more difficult, due to their low population density and variations in self-identification over time.

American sociologist William Julius Wilson comprehensively explains the efficacy of officially tracking the racial categories to which citizens feel they belong, in order to measure racism and be able to counter it. In the 1980s, Wilson argues that showing that race is an imaginary category rather than a product of nature does not mean that it is an illusion. In fact, races exist in the collective imagination and produce inequalities among the population. He argues that it is therefore very important to distinguish the object from the category: as an object, race has no meaning; as a category, it exists.

The notion of "race" is a valid category of social analysis, like other social categories such as "nation" or "gender." Thomas Holt, professor of American and African American history at the University of Chicago and author of numerous works on the African diaspora, points out that these are also historically and politically constructed notions, sustained by power relations that have changed over time. Races do not exist in and of themselves, but as historically constructed imaginary categories. Socio-political circumstances give meaning to racial boundaries.

The melanistic factor is a fact of nature, but its interpretation has been a fact of culture. Racial categories have varied in different times and places, according to different political and social needs. Skin color can be a social marker, as a product of particular and reversible historical circumstances.

However, even in the United States there has existed and exists the debate about whether or not racial categories should be removed from any consideration, and even from the census, because of the dangerous historical significance they have had.

In particular, some policymakers and scholars have seized upon the difficulty of establishing consistent racial categories as a reason to call for the abolition of all racial classifications and collection of such data in registries. Such a move, they argue, would minimize racial/ethnic distinctions, and the dynamics of division. In 1997, the American Anthropological Association advised the federal government to gradually phase out the use of the term "race" in data collection because the concept has no scientific justification in human biology.

But the problem still remains that social concepts of race are still linked to forms of discrimination. Abolishing data collection efforts that use racial categories would make it more difficult to track specific forms of discrimination with respect to spatial segregation, financial lending practices, health care delivery, and prison sentencing models, among other issues.

In any case, some demographers and social scientists, wishing to preserve racial and ethnic data, argue for the need to formulate categories that are more precise, conceptually sound, exclusive, comprehensive, measurable, and reliable over time.

The issues surrounding the legitimacy of the use of the concept of "race", its usefulness, and the need to create a different, more comprehensive definition, is, in short, constantly evolving, internationally, although in the United States, the term is used more frequently.

#### A.2.4 THE PROBLEM OF INVISIBILITY OF RACE IN FRANCE

In France, it is different to calculate segregation starting from the fact that Blacks and other ethnic minorities here are invisible as a social group and as an object of study for academics. First, as a social group, they should not exist, since the French Republic does not officially recognize minorities, nor does it count them. While this equality before the law is more than fair, not counting the Black population (or other populations) is a problem since, at the moment one recognizes that forms of discrimination exist to its detriment and decides to act to counter them, one does not have the material data to do so. So this invisibility becomes a wrong.

The concept of ethnic groups in French law has no juridical existence. Its scientific, historical, anthropological, social or political relevance is often disputed, and the French civil status does not mention any ethnic characteristics. But its usefulness as a concept, for empirical use, is officially recognized. And for use in the public interest, ethnic categorization for people residing in New Caledonia has been authorized since 2009.

The population census in Hexagone France is mandatory, but does not allow for the collection of information on religion or ethnic origin. There is, however, the possibility of doing a non-mandatory survey for collecting this data through a survey submitted to the population. This survey is justified because it states its usefulness as a descriptor of an affiliation, particularly one claimed voluntarily by the subject. It is permissible to ask "sensitive" questions, even in an official statistical survey, which is nevertheless anonymous and authorized in written form by the respondents. The survey "*Trajectoires et Origines : Enquête sur la diversité des populations en France*, (TeO), (Trajectories and Origins: Survey on the diversity of populations in France)", for example, carried out by the collaboration of INED and INSEE in 2008 collected information on countries of origin and languages spoken by inhabitants in

France, and also "on declared ethnic affiliations as well as on the main perceptible qualities that can serve as a basis for discrimination in society: skin color, hairstyle, dress, accent and other signs visibly or hypothetically related to religious or ethnic affiliation - dietary practices, observance of a non-Christian holiday calendar, funeral practices, etc. -.

At this point it is necessary to clarify that a visible minority is a national minority whose members are easily recognizable by the majority group. While invisible minorities have members who are not physically recognizable, even to each other. In a European country, Asians can be considered a "visible" minority, while homosexuals are an "invisible" minority.

The concept of minority, which has been used in France for several years, designates, according to INED, non-European immigrants, people born in overseas departments (DOM) and people who are their sons/daughters. The press describes as "visible minorities": Blacks, Arab-Berbers, Metics, Asians, Indo-Pakistani. The use of this concept appeared only after protests from people belonging to minorities, who denounced a shortage of people of "non-European" origin in certain sectors of French society - media, advertising, political representation, and so on -. A study conducted in 2004 by Yazid Sabeg and Laurence Maillart-Méhaignerie identified that visible minorities number between 8 and 9 million individuals - 5 to 6 million North Africans, 2 million Blacks and 1 million people from the Asian world -, that is, almost 15% of the metropolitan population.

If the minorities of the population are not traced today on the territory, there are also no exhaustive historical studies of the presence of ethnic minorities in France, particularly of Blacks.

From the point of view of academic research, it is found that there are more books published in France on Black Americans than on French Blacks. The history of African Americans is a classic and popular field of French Americanism, and many students of American civilization and history take an interest in it every year. There are certainly good studies on the Black populations of France, on African immigrants, African students, West Indian civil servants, Senegalese skirmishers, etc., but no mention is made of the fact that they are *Black*, as if this characteristic of skin color had no relevance to be described in the contemporary situation. However, there are studies on Blacks in earlier historical periods: including in-depth studies on Blacks in the XVIII century France, but the treatment of the subject has gradually disappeared in more recent times.

Very few exceptions in fact exist, such as *Paris Noir*, 1996, by Tyler Stovall, on Black Americans in Paris in the XX century or *Paris Noir*, 2002, by Pascal Blanchard, Éric Deroo and Gilles Manceron, on the previous three centuries of Black presence in France, work that reflects rather on representations than on social history.

Anyway, the current and historical presence of Black populations in France is worthy of attention, and would need a historical study. The presence in history of Black populations is not only linked to labor immigration, evident since the 1960s, but to other phenomena, sometimes ancient, always connected in particular to slavery and colonization in West Africa and the Caribbean. It is important to understand this long-term presence, which was accompanied by the parallel construction by the French of racial prejudices against Blacks, which the historian William B. Cohen, in his *The French Encounter with Africans. White Response to Blacks, 1530-1880*, analyzes with precision.

And it is added here, it is important to trace this history to understand their position in the city, in public and private space, and in residential systems.

In the XVIII century there were several thousand Blacks in France, most often from the West Indies, brought there by a captain or shipowner for domestic purposes or craft work. They were thus preferably found in colonial ports such as Nantes or Bordeaux.

In continental France, the official principle prohibited Black slaves from staying because French law required their emancipation. But there were many exceptions. A 1716 edict allowed slaves to be brought

to France only for the purpose of giving them religious instruction or teaching them a trade, subject to an official request for permission from the master, and the length of stay was not limited.

Therefore, in 1738 a law was enacted authorizing the stay of slaves only for a maximum period of three years, in order not to "cause the mixing of blood in the kingdom". Slaves were not allowed to marry. Approximately 5 000 Black men lived in France in the XVIII century, for a French population of about 20 million, in contrast to Britain where there were twice as many Blacks for a total population half as large.

In any case, their presence was frowned upon by the West Indies colonists who feared the emergence of egalitarian ideas and for those who worried about the proliferation of "mixed bloods." As a result, in 1764 slaves were returned to the West Indies and the borders closed to people of color.

In any case, their presence was frowned upon by the West Indies colonists who feared the emergence of egalitarian ideas and for those who worried about the proliferation of "mixed bloods." As a result, in 1764 slaves were returned to the West Indies and the borders closed to people of color.

Still, it is clear that relations between French Whites, Blacks, West Indies, and Africans were already strong, and France was already something other than a country composed exclusively of White people of European descent.

But in general, the history of Blacks in France from the perspective of a community of shared experience of harm or exposure to specific and irreducible harm - political, legal, and social phenomena whereby Blacks, understood as such, were subject to specific disparate treatment - is clearly absent from history and the social sciences.

In particular, it would be necessary to trace this history in order to understand how discriminatory practices, and spatial segregation, have evolved to date, so that they can be better eradicated.

Discriminatory experiences, in fact, are different for each different population that experiences them. The stigma that weighed on the Black populations of France is different from that which weighed on Jews, North Africans, Asians, because it is based, as we have seen, on the constitution of the "Black race", linked to slavery, with the particularities and developments of this discrimination. This does not imply in any way a hierarchy of discriminations, all morally unjustifiable, but each one deserves to be understood in its history and its particular forms.

For example, immigration cannot be confused with skin color - and the discrimination done to these two categories respectively -. The study of immigration cannot, by itself, explain the social experiences of populations that do not necessarily belong to the phenomenon of migration. Not all Black people are immigrants. While it seems that historians of migration as a whole have paid more attention to European and now North African migrants, who have been the subject of considerable work, than to Black, African, or West Indies migrants.

To understand this absence of historical studies on the Blacks of France, some considerations can be made. The first lies in the very definition of this population group: to speak of "Blacks", besides coming close to and being able to be confused with discourses that contemplate distinctions of "race", which does not exist biologically and is a potentially dangerous or at least incorrect concept as has already been amply argued above; it would mean constructing a falsely homogeneous group. In other words, the question arises as to what are the criteria for defining an ethnic group and what are the limits of such a group.

It is true that the Black group is infinitely diverse socially and culturally, and putting all Blacks in the same category is problematic.

The second problem is that of the cultural diversity of the Black group in France. But this diversity does not prohibit talking about Blacks in general, as sociologist Tommie Shelby invites us to think.

He distinguishes a thick Black identity - thick blackness - from a thin Black identity - thin blackness -

By thick identity, he means an identity based on a culture, a history, common values - or supposedly so - that marks a clear difference between those who carry it and others. Thick identity, then, refers to an ethnic, rather than racial, definition of the group in question.

Regarding thin identity, it delimits a group that has in common only an experience of discrimination, inequality and the awareness of sharing this experience. This notion of thin identity allows us to avoid the endless debate about Black cultural identity so as to study phenomena of solidarity among Blacks around pragmatic common interests related to struggles against discrimination.

A related observation can be made about the social heterogeneity of Blacks. This involves considering that shared experience of discrimination is a sufficient foundation for delimiting the group in question in the perspective described above. Thus, with respect to the falsely homogeneous group of Blacks, it can be argued that talking about Blacks would be an abuse of language since the differences between Black people or people reputed to be Black are so great that it would be necessary to pragmatically forego talking about Blacks in general.

A further problem is that of skin color itself.

There is in fact an immense variety of skin colors in the world, which was also the subject of a precise taxonomy in history.

The question "who is Black?" is therefore to be answered neither by arguments of nature, nor by arguments of culture - which would refer to the infinite variety of cultural differences between people - but by socio-political arguments: in societies where they are a minority, those who are considered Black are at least that population of men and women whose shared social experience is that of discrimination suffered because of the color of their skin. It is impossible to answer with objective elements, pertaining to the intrinsic nature of those concerned. It is not up to nature to decide on a social issue. In the most general case, a Black person is someone who is considered as such or who considers himself as such. Skin color is generally non-negotiable - only very rarely, when the melanistic factor proves ambiguous - and it is rare that a person can freely choose to pass for Black or White. So, we see how this obvious physical characteristic has been used to divide the population in sociopolitical terms.

The big difference with Whites is that being White is not a concern - except in Black majority societies -, but something obvious that you don't think about. Privilege of the majority group to be blind to their own color, since it is considered universal.

#### A.2.5 NECESSITY IN FRANCE TO PRONOUNCE THE SOCIAL CATEGORY OF RACE IN ORDER TO CONTRAST SPATIAL DISCRIMINATION AND SEGREGATION

The last census of the Black population of France was in 1777.

American Blacks are relatively more than Blacks in France - 12% versus 1% - 2% as a rough estimate for mainland France -, but this is in no way an explanatory factor: American Indians represent only 1% of the US population, but they have been the object of study by historians and anthropologists more than French Blacks. It is not the objects of study that inherently determine the interest of historians, but it is the historians who choose whether or not to consider and construct them.

A much sounder argument is that Black Americans built broad political movements in the XX century, which made them visible to the state, civil society, and researchers. One need only measure the development of African American studies in the wake of the civil rights movement. However, in France, if associations against discrimination struggle to organize themselves, it is precisely because they have difficulty in gaining recognition for issues that are not assumed due to the lack of adequate statistical equipment. This statistical absence is a serious obstacle to the public recognition of Blacks

as such, or of other ethnic minorities, who cannot highlight the difficulties affecting them in this representation.

Nonetheless, after the war, in a text received by UNESCO, Claude Lévi-Strauss attempted to promote the diversity of humankind. Fully committed to its universalistic program of exalting an indivisible humanity, UNESCO turned a deaf ear to the differences Lévi-Strauss spoke of. Contextually to this attitude found generally after the Second World War, the anthropologist Wiktor Stoczkowski writes that *"the study of differences among humankind has become suspect."*

In any case, obscuring the notion of race on the basis that it refers to the dark pages of history, that races have no biological existence, and that the uniqueness of the human race should be promoted is a moral position that prevents us from thinking about the history of discrimination precisely about it, about race. Moreover, the rejection of the category of race has not eradicated racism: as Wiktor Stoczkowski notes, *"lexical and conceptual purification has not brought the expected results."*

The study of class relations obviously remains essential for historians and sociologists, but it is now necessary to install the ethno-racial factor as an essential variable for the study of French social situations as well.

These difficulties are solvable. As we have seen, there is a growing openness to the study of ethnic components, which is well established in other countries, especially Britain and the United States, where instruments are used to measure segregation. These precedents contribute to the progressive interest in subjects of study that did not exist in France until recently. These include that of ethnic and social minorities in France, to better understand the social phenomena for which population groups have been discriminated against, and to reduce them. It is necessary to develop tools to measure ethnic and racialized categories in order to counteract phenomena of spatial discrimination and to design a space coherent with democracy. Historians, sociologists, and geographers would, in this way, participate in a civic effort for real equality.







## APPENDIX 3

### **CONTEXT OF URBAN POLICY IN FRANCE**



## A.3 CONTEXT OF INSTITUTIONAL PROGRAMS ON LA DUCHÈRE PROJECT

### A.3.1 THE PRIORITY NEIGHBOURHOOD OF THE POLITIQUE DE LA VILLE

In France, priority neighbourhoods have been designated as places in the urban fabric that require targeted intervention by the state and public administration to revitalize the economy and reduce the problems of the socially disadvantaged network.

The *quartiers prioritaires*, priority neighbourhoods of the *politique de la ville* (QPPV), were defined by the City Planning and Urban Cohesion Act of February 21, 2014, and went into effect in 2015.

The *politique de la ville* consists of a set of actions by the State aimed at upgrading some so-called "vulnerable" urban districts and reducing social inequalities between territories, is a body born in the 80s, and has governed several systems of intervention that have succeeded and diversified over the years.

Today's priority neighborhoods have been classified as such based on a single criterion: income. The boundaries are reviewed every six years. Incomes are compared with the average incomes of the agglomeration in which the district is located and with those of France.

The income level is recorded by INSEE (*Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques*, National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies) and IRIS (*îlots regroupés pour l'information statistique*, grouped islands for statistical information).

This method has made it possible to identify 1 300 neighborhoods in mainland France and 200 in overseas France, in 2022 the priority neighborhoods have about 5.5 million inhabitants.

However, in conjunction with the problem of low income, priority neighbourhoods also have a certain concentration of social problems, problems of job insecurity or unemployment, and spatial segregation.

This 2015 designation was established to replace the previous designation *zones urbaines sensibles*, vulnerable urban areas (ZUS) and *zones de redynamisation urbaine*, areas of urban revitalization (ZRU). Neighborhoods are today located in 702 municipalities, of which a hundred were not within the perimeters established by the *politique de la ville* for the previous provisions.

Priority neighbourhoods benefit from tax advantages, provided for businesses located here until December 31, 2023. These neighbourhoods are located in many different types of urban environments: banlieues, mid-sized cities, blighted historic centers, suburban communities, former mining towns, etc.

The *conseils citoyens*, citizens' councils are established in each neighbourhood, composed of volunteers, associations and inhabitants chosen by lot and must have equal representation of women and men. The councils must be associated with projects carried out by the city in complete independence.

The measures taken in these districts are mainly focused on social cohesion - education, integration and security -, the living environment and urban renewal, economic development and employment.

The QPPV population is much younger than the average for mainland France: four out of ten inhabitants here are under 25 years old, compared to three out of ten in the rest of the state. But since the 1990s, the elderly population has also increased greatly: now more than a quarter of the inhabitants are over 60 years old.

This aging phenomenon shifts the focus of city policies that are primarily and historically focused on young people.

### A.3.2 LA POLITIQUE DE LA VILLE

As we have seen, the politique de la ville consists of a set of state actions aimed at redeveloping certain so-called "vulnerable" urban districts and reducing social inequalities between territories. The two main thematic strands of urban policy are urban renewal and social cohesion. As a whole, it deals with various problems: precariousness, unemployment, integration, immigration, discrimination, diversity, quality of the environment and housing and more.

It was born at the end of the 1970s in response to a series of urban riots, including that of Vénissieux. Its institutional birth dates back to 1990, but its modes of intervention have been shaped over time, and appear long before this date. The date 1977 is generally identified as the first moment of action of a general system then called politique de la ville. In 1977, the first suburban plan "*Habitat et vie sociale*, Habitat and Social Life" was launched under the direction of Jacques Barrot, Secretary of State for Housing. This plan consisted of rehabilitating the HLMs, i.e. large low-rent public housing complexes, with financial assistance from the State in order to counteract the physical and social degradation that was occurring there at the time. The politique de la ville interventions are in fact always linked to the history of French post-war urban planning and, in particular, to the creation of large social housing complexes.

#### HLM ORGANIZATIONS

It is necessary to clarify the evolution of French social housing. The term HLM subsidized rental housing (*Habitations à loyer modéré*) was established by the law of July 21, 1950 to designate low-cost housing, replacing the HMB, low-priced, subsidized housing (*Habitations à Bon Marché*) established by the Siegfried law of November 30, 1894, which was the legislative basis for the development of a social housing policy in France.

This law in fact provided in particular the possibility for the *Caisse des dépôts et consignations* (CDC) and the *Caisses d'épargne*, which are Deposits of public financial funds, to lend public funds to private organizations that built HBMs. At that time, the HBMs construction was therefore in the hands of private initiative with some state subsidies.

Following the International Workers' Housing Congress organized as part of the 1889 Universal Exhibition, the Société française des Habitations à Bon Marché was founded, which was both an information center and an action group, also aimed at helping employers invest in the construction of workers' housing. From 1895 to 1903, 3 000 low-cost housing units were built by 109 companies. From 1903, a series of laws initiated the participation of municipalities and departments to finance the construction of HBMs by donating land, loans, and underwriting bonds and stocks, and other laws to create HBM management bodies.

The history of social housing in France is closely linked to that of the industrial revolution, due to the rapid growth of the urban population, which rose from 12 to 18 million between 1875 and 1914, causing heavy overcrowding and unhealthy housing conditions, a vehicle for disease and malaise for psycho-physical and social health, such as the spread of tuberculosis.

In addition, the public institution wanted to raise the birth rate, in fact since 1890, a decline in fertility was recorded, and infant mortality was high. A willingness to improve the housing situation also aimed to regain the consensus of the population, regaining control of the crowds to counter the emerging socialism.

The right to housing began to be discussed in 1910 when social renting became a new social achievement, with the establishment of the *Union syndicale des locataires ouvriers et employés*. Subsequently, the law of December 23, 1912, established HBM's municipal and departmental public offices. By 1914 nearly 40 000 HBM housing units were built.

After the First World War, there was another housing crisis, especially due to overcrowding, cramped spaces, and sharply rising prices for building materials. It was then that social housing became more of a public policy.

By 1939, France had 300 000 HBMs, half of them for access to small properties. 900,000 people, that is, 2% of the French population, had benefited from HBM provisions.

After the Second Conflict, the problem of overcrowding and inadequate housing reappeared, in addition to the baby boom of the 1950s and the repatriation of French people settled in Indochina, Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria as a result of decolonization. 45% of housing is overcrowded and 10% of the population lives in totally unhealthy premises, half of the population has no running water in their homes, 80% of citizens do not have indoor toilets and 90% of citizens have neither bath nor shower.

In 1945, the state built 100 000 temporary refugee shelters and instituted requisition rights for the homeless. However, reconstruction was slow and affected the working and middle classes.

With the law of September 1, 1948, the State focused on three priorities: the redevelopment of rents and the improvement of the old heritage, the resumption of private initiative in the construction sector - through subsidies and loans from the *Crédit foncier* - and the industrialization of construction techniques. This law established the housing allowance, reorganized the housing market, and created the National Fund for the Improvement of Housing. While the law of July 21, 1950 accelerated the construction of housing, particularly for access to property, thanks to grants and long-term loans from *Crédit Foncier*.

The same law transformed HBMs into *Habitations à loyer modéré*, HLMs. In line with the program to accelerate the implementation of HLM, the Courant plan of 1953 mandated the construction of 240,000 housing units per year for 5 years. And in the same year the right of the public authorities to expropriation was extended, so all companies with more than fifty employees - ten employees in 1963 - had to pay 1% of the employees' payroll to the companies building the subsidized social housing.

There was a phase of very rapid construction, from 113 000 housing units built in 1953 to 336 000 units ten years later, in particular the HLMs were built in the form of large long-bar and tower condominium complexes.

1958 is the time of the creation of the ZUP, *Zones à urbaniser en priorité*, (Zones to be urbanized with priority), in the following 15 years 220 ZUP were built, offering 2.2 million housing units.

The demographic growth and economic prosperity of the decade 1965-75 marked a turning point: France reached 50 million inhabitants and increased the purchasing power of families, who began to have more and more access to home ownership. It went from 12 million housing units in 1946 to 21 million in 1975, most with running water and indoor sanitation.

During this period, known as the "*Trente Glorieuses*", the French economy and most Western economies experienced exceptional and steady growth. In France, this was a thirty-year period marked above all by the omnipresence and strong power of the State: it was the main financial engine of reconstruction and building construction, the main employer and producer. However, the housing system for poor populations, especially foreigners, is still inadequate, many still settled in shantytowns. The Debré law of December 14, 1964, allows municipalities to expropriate land on which slums are located in order to develop it for housing, and so from the nearly 400 slums still existing in 1970, in 5 years it was possible to replace almost all of them with regular standard housing.

HLM low-income housing organizations build, purchase, renovate and manage housing that is rented to families of "modest means" - according to HLM allocation criteria, more than 65% of the population could qualify for an allocation today.

These organizations are both public and private. The public HLM organizations were: the OPHLM offices, heirs to the HBM housing organizations created by the Bonnevey Act in 1912, and the OPAC offices. The public offices of planning and construction, (*offices publics d'aménagement et de construction*) OPAC and the public low-rent housing offices (*offices publics d'habitations à loyer modéré*) OPHLM, differed in their status and in the mission assigned to them by the law, carried out very similar activities, and often an OPHLM became an OPAC.

Thus, in 2007 the OPACs and OPHLMs were unified in the single body of the public housing office (*office public de l'habitat*) OPH, an industrial and commercial public entity attached to a local authority or a public entity for inter-municipal cooperation EPCI. Since the Bonnevey legislation of 1912, the Board of Directors of the public HLMs must have a tripartite composition, between representatives of the State, local authorities and qualified persons - representatives of tenants' associations, etc. -. In fact, the

state has always wanted to have strong oversight over public HLM organizations. Private HLM organizations were of two types. The *Sociétés anonymes d'habitations à loyer modéré* SAHLM, created in 1927, which changed its name in 2002 to social housing enterprises ESH, *Entreprise sociale pour l'habitat*, which are private but non-profit enterprises whose capital can be held by private, public, or legal persons. The new name highlights the connotation of social enterprise. The second type are the production cooperative corporations, created by the law of July 16, 1971.

### A.3.3 THE FOUR MAJOR PHASES OF THE POLITIQUE DE LA VILLE - HISTORICAL EXCURSUS

Four major periods of the politique de la ville can be summarily distinguished: the awareness of the HLM complexes' degradation, in the 1970s; the social development of neighbourhoods in the 1980s; the mobilization of common law through city contracts in the 1990s; and the urban renewal of the 2000s.

City policy enforces laws and regulations in social action and urban planning, in partnership, often on a contractual basis, with local authorities and their partners, including social owners, economic circles, associations. This body has implemented ever-evolving strategies, including through experimental and original interventions. At present, it uses a global, integral approach to problems, addressing urban, economic and social aspects simultaneously within its programs.

Due to the complex range of topics covered, the politique de la ville includes several separate interventions conducted by various ministries, such as measures in favor of housing, policies in favor of employment and economic development of the districts, security and delinquency prevention, school education and promotion of equal opportunities. In addition to the various ministries that deal with individual actions, there is the ministry properly dedicated to the politique de la ville, namely the ministère de la Ville, Ministry of the City established in 1990 following a growing awareness in France of the need for a comprehensive approach in solving the problems of sensitive urban territories.

The politique de la ville provides for cooperation between the various ministerial departments and a partnership between the State and the local authorities concerned. The State intervenes in the conclusion of contracts with municipalities and other local actors: city contracts and urban contracts for social cohesion.

#### THE 1970s - UNDERSTANDING OF HLM COMPLEX DEGRADATION

1955: Construction of large housing estates begins

1973: Guichard Circular on the end of large housing developments

1974: First petroleum shock

1977 : Actions of Habitat et Vie Sociale

The origins of large housing developments or HLMs (*habitations à loyer modéré*, low-cost housing) date back to the post-war period. Most have been built since 1955.

In the '50s it was necessary, in fact, rehabilitate the housing stock that was in unfavorable conditions for the health of the inhabitants, there was strong overcrowding of the population and housing below the hygienic standards. This period also saw the baby boom, which increased demand for housing, to which migratory movements and the return of returnees from North Africa contributed. This situation forced public authorities to build a large number of homes in a short time and at low cost, as happened in the rest of Europe.

In the '60s there was therefore a particular concentration of residential construction in the modern collective housing's mass production, in the form of imposing towers and slat-shaped condos clearly



visible in the landscape and city skyline. These residential complexes became part of the urban planning scene at the time of the success of modern, functional and rational architecture, which broke partly with the previous urban planning tradition, and were built in previously unoccupied suburban areas. The neighborhoods and buildings represented a real progress for the time, and allowed many families and citizens to live in better housing than the previous housing conditions - slums or unhealthy housing -, offering a new comfort and were a symbol of the main political actions to which the State devoted itself during the *Trente Glorieuses*.

However, the grands ensembles were built very hastily, sometimes haphazardly, using cheap materials that were not intended to last.

By the end of the 1960s, these large housing developments began to manifest a series of growing economic, social and demographic difficulties. In addition, 75% of the French aspired to a single-family home, and this desire grew successively. However, single-family home production accounted for 30% of all housing production in 1965 and 57% in 1977.

In 1968 Olivier Guichard, Minister of Housing, organized the first major political debate in the National Assembly on the urban question on the theme of the "right to the city" proposing the development of communal responsibility and the fight against all social segregation. Consequently, in March 1973, the Guichard circular decreed the end of the method of large housing complexes' construction.

The year 1974, of the first oil crisis, proved to be a turning point and three phenomena developed: the advent of high mass unemployment, especially for the working classes; the change in migration policy; and the abandonment of the middle classes of HLM housing.

At the time of this first oil shock, there were still 16 million people in France with inadequate housing making up 39% of the residences. Another policy of improving the existing heritage and reducing the number of dwellings that did not meet hygienic standards was then launched, turning towards a reuse of the old centers.

In 1975, the permanent coordination group Housing and Social Life, *Habitat et Vie Sociale* HVS, was created, whose purpose was to start stopping the process of physical degradation and marginalization of the population in large housing complexes. Thus, the analysis and search for solutions to these problems are initiated.

This is the period identified as the beginning of the politique de la ville.

In 1976, the creation of ZUPs was definitively prohibited. In 1977, the government undertook a profound reform of housing financing that aimed to promote access to homeownership for families; this led to the creation of personalized housing assistance, *Aide Personnalisée au Logement* APL, and the assisted rental loan, *Prêt Locatif Aidé* PLA, which allowed families to pay their rent in installments. The same rationale for the adherence to social ownership with the creation of the assisted loan for adherence to ownership, *Prêt Aidé pour l'Accession à la Propriété* PAP.

Indeed, the middle classes, in this period enjoying housing subsidies and access to home ownership, were facilitated in their residential mobility. This is why many middle-class families residing in the HLM complexes moved elsewhere, and in the HLM complexes the concentration of poverty developed. With regard to immigration, after 1974 there was a strong decrease in immigration, immigration concerned mainly families, in a logic of family reunification. The immigrants were looking for large housing units, consequently they grouped in this period in large residential complexes, which began to be abandoned by those populations, benefiting from residential mobility. Gradually, the working-class neighborhoods concentrated inhabitants with a combination of economic and/or social difficulties and found themselves "outside" the city, since they were on the outskirts, and outside of society. Thus, we witnessed the transformation of the large post-war residential complexes into territories of exclusion, and the consequent development of public interventions to counter exclusion and support urban social development. Therefore, the reforms of the early 1970s constituted an important moment in the transition of the problem but not a definitive solution.

In fact, what was brought by the debate of the 70s, was above all the awareness that housing and the living environment in large housing complexes soon began to degrade and the urban planning method and functional logic used were questioned, the debate led to the creation of the practical operations of the Habitat et Vie Sociale HVS program, in 1977. This program subsidized social housing owners to fund building rehabilitation and equipment construction. Initially, grants were allocated to sixteen sites, which quickly became twenty-two. But these building rehabilitations faced social difficulties.

## THE 1980s - NEIGHBORHOOD SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

1981 : Urban violence in Minguettes

- first device " anti été-chaud "

- creation of Zones d'Education Prioritaire ZEP

1982 : First laws of decentralization

1983 : Beginning of the action Ensemble refaire la ville

1984-1994 : Implementation of the conventions of Développement Social des Quartiers

Since the 1980s, a more sensitive approach to social solidarity in housing policies has developed. Previously little considered in housing policies, the housing of disadvantaged persons has become the central axis of public authorities' intervention in the field of social housing.

In response to the violent incidents in the Minguettes neighborhood in Vénissieux, on the outskirts of Lyon, the "*Opérations anti Eté chaud*, Operations anti hot summer" scheme was set up in the summer of 1981 in parallel with a political climate intended to develop "new" responses.

It was then renamed "*Opérations Prévention Eté, Summer Prevention Operations*" and then "*Ville-Vie-Vacances, City-Life-Holiday*". At the same time, *zones d'éducation prioritaires*, Priority Education Zones (ZEP), were created to reinforce educational action in areas and social environments where the rate of school failure is highest.

It was during this period that the government commissioned three reports that would become the basis of the politique de la ville. The Schwartz Report - Professional and Social Integration of Young People, 1981, for young people in difficulty; the Bonnemaison Report - Tackling Delinquency: Prevention, Repression, Solidarity, 1982, which would see the implementation of inherent actions in 18 voluntary pilot cities from 1983; and the Dubedout Report - Rebuilding the City Together, 1983, on blighted neighborhoods, which led to the implementation of *Développement Social des Quartiers*, social development of DSQ neighborhoods. The Dubedout report recommended a territorial and inter-ministerial approach to the problems to be addressed.

Subsequent to these reports, other programs were created including, in 1983, the *Banlieues 89* mission to implement projects for the rehabilitation, development and opening up of the suburbs, over a period of 5 years.

The first State-Region Plan Contracts are stipulated for the period 1984-1988 include DSU operations and provide for 148 Neighborhood Social Development Agreements concerning approximately 170 neighborhoods. They constitute an experimental procedure and are the first form of contractualization of the politique de la ville. The main objective is to pay attention to social issues in sensitive neighborhoods, to integrate them with the rest of the city and to de-stigmatize the inhabitants by reformulating their social status.

This contractualization was extended to new districts through 296 contracts, in the period 1989-1994, foreseeing a further global vision and range of action of the problems of individual areas and then acting through a partnership and the involvement of the inhabitants.

Other procedures were also implemented: the 136 neighborhood agreements, or city-housing agreements (130), as well as 13 experimental city contracts.

In the 1980s, key principles of urban policy emerged: interministeriality, contractualization and partnership. As far as the new decentralization laws were concerned, this was an important moment in conferring room for maneuver to local institutions and enhancing local experiences.

Nevertheless, other types of difficulties persisted, and new riots broke out in 1990 in Vaulx-en-Velin, also near Lyon. The State adopted additional resources, including legislation, and began to consider the issue of "vulnerable neighbourhoods" as a national priority.

#### THE 1990s - MOBILIZATION OF COMMON LAW THROUGH "CITY CONTRACTS"

1988 : Creation of Comité Interministériel des Villes (CIV), Conseil National des Villes (CNV) and Délégation Interministérielle à la Ville (DIV)

1990 : Creation of the office Ministre de la ville

1991 : Creation of the positions of Sub-Prefect in charge of la politique de la ville

1995 : Creation of Fonds Interministériel à la Ville (FIV)

1996 : Pacte de Relance pour la Ville

The decade of the 1990s is the period of greater institutionalization of the politique de la ville.

Starting with the advances made in June 1982, by the Quilliot Law that defined the rights and duties of tenants and owners and enunciated, for the first time, the "fundamental right to housing," it was above all the law of May 31, 1990, supported by Louis Besson, Minister of Housing, that sought to implement the right to housing. It created departmental plans for the housing of disadvantaged persons and Housing Solidarity Funds and assigned a prominent role to social landlords.

In 1990, the creation of the *Ministre de la ville*, Ministry of Urban Affairs, was announced. At the head of the Ministry of Urban Affairs, the Minister of the City thus completed the bodies and administrations established two years earlier. The Interministerial Committee for Cities (CIV) ensured the direction and implementation of urban policy for the various ministries, under the authority of the Prime Minister. Other emerging bodies were the National Council of Cities (CNV), an advisory body composed of professionals, elected officials, and qualified individuals, and the Inter-Ministerial Delegation for Cities (DIV), which prepared the deliberations of the CIV and directed field teams.

The state continued to institutionalize urban policy at the local level, creating the positions of "city subprefects."

The Municipality Orientation Act of July 13, 1991 obliges municipalities located in agglomerations of over 200 000 inhabitants to have 20% social housing on their territory. Also in 1991, the law of financial solidarity led to the creation of the urban solidarity subsidy, *Dotation de Solidarité Urbaine*, DSU, i.e., a system of inter-municipal solidarity in which wealthy municipalities pay a subsidy to municipalities with numerous low-income housing units.

In July 1991, the Law of Orientation for the City, *Loi d'orientation pour la ville* LOV, was passed in the form of a framework law, establishing principles and means of urban policy, proposing general guidelines for the implementation of planning and housing law. The LOV aims to combat the concentration of social housing solely in specific areas, aiming to enhance the social mix. In 2000, the Law for Solidarity and Urban Renewal, La *loi pour la Solidarité et le Renouveau Urbain* SRU will complete the measures instituted in the LOV.

In 1995, the Interministerial Fund for the City (IVF) was created to give more flexibility to the contractual management of urban policy by improving the use of devolved credits. This Fund provides prefects with a usable endowment to subsidize all urban social development actions deemed necessary, an endowment to be drawn upon according to a unique schedule and utilization guide. The *Loi d'Orientation pour l'Aménagement et le Développement des Territoires* (1995) and the *Pacte de Relance pour la Ville* (1996) reinforce intervention in certain territories considered to be in greater difficulty by providing

them with a legislative basis. This has led to the creation of sensitive urban zones (ZUS), zones of urban redevelopment or revitalization (ZRU) and urban free zones (ZFU).

Thus, sensitive urban ZUSs areas were distressed neighborhoods characterized by large housing developments or blighted housing districts and a pronounced imbalance between housing and employment. They include both ZRUs and ZFUs. The State counted 751 ZUSs in France There were 751 of them, including 718 in mainland France, and they covered nearly 7% of the French population, or 4.5 million people.

The urban revitalization zones ZRUs correspond to sensitive urban ZUSs that face particular difficulties due to their high unemployment rate, large proportion of unskilled people, and low municipal tax potential. This situation is evaluated according to their situation in the agglomeration, economic and commercial characteristics and a synthetic index. ZRUs benefit from specific tax measures and exemptions from social security contributions, were 416 areas with about 3.2 million inhabitants.

The urban free zones ZFUs are areas with more than 8 500 inhabitants that require even more support than the ZRUs, and are defined with respect to the criteria considered in determining the ZRUs. These areas, 100 in number, had 1.4 million residents. ZFUs also benefit from various specific fiscal measures and companies that establish themselves there receive incentive aid, hence the name free zone.

In the logic of inter-municipal management of urban policy, the government has also established, the approach of Large Urban Projects, *Grands Projets Urbains GPU*, the ancestor of Large City Projects, *Grands Projets de Ville GPV*.

The latter are part of the city contract and allow the strengthening of certain neighborhoods through operations on the building, thus expanding the social project supported by the City Contract. DSQ contracts were abandoned in 1993 in favor of *Contrats de ville*, City Contracts, which were intended to be more comprehensive and allow for a real link between the urban and social dimensions of city policy. The City Contract was the instrument through which the State, local authorities and their partners committed to the concrete implementation of territorial policies. The urban policy of the 1990s, which saw the State use various legislative and administrative tools to implement it within an increasingly organized framework, became a fully-fledged neighborhood policy in this period.

## THE 2000s - URBAN RENEWAL

In the 2000s, in addition to a commitment to urban renewal, there was also an "agencyification" of urban policy, which led to a change in the way public action was conceived both in terms of the objectives assigned and the methods of intervention through the creation of agencies.

2003 : Law of orientation and programming for the city and urban renewal and creation of ANRU

2005 : Plan de Cohésion sociale

2006 : Law for equal opportunities and creation of ACSé

2007 : Implementation of the CUCS

2008 : Dynamique Espoir Banlieue

This evolution towards agencies is part of an overall transformation of public action and new forms of management and evaluation - *Loi d'Orientation pour la Loi de Finances, Révision Générale des Politiques Publiques*, etc. -.

The 2003 law *loi d'orientation et de programmation pour la Ville et la rénovation urbaine*, on the orientation and planning of the city and urban renewal - known as the Borloo law - marks a turning point in a number of ways, as already seen in Chapter 2: it gives quantitative objectives to urban policy, which now becomes a policy of reducing the gaps between rich and poor territories, no longer a policy of recovery of poor territories alone. It makes local observation of the ZUS mandatory for municipalities and establishes the National Observatory of Sensitive Urban Areas, charged with

producing an annual report on the evolution of the territories. It launches the *Programme National de Rénovation Urbaine*, National Urban Renewal Program (PNRU) and creates the *Agence Nationale pour la Rénovation Urbaine*, the National Agency for Urban Renewal (ANRU). PNRU has been managed entirely by ANRU. Starting in 2004, ANRU launched calls for tenders addressed to municipalities to finance urban renewal operations. ANRU promotes large-scale interventions, through operations of demolition and reconstruction of buildings, departing from the approach of the *Grands Projets de Ville*. The 2004 Social Cohesion Plan is based on three axes: employment, housing and equal opportunity. Among the new additional resources for the priority areas, it established in particular the *Programme de Réussite Educative* and the *Maisons de l'Emploi*.

It is in this context that, in the fall of 2005, some neighborhoods were shaken by another wave of urban unrest. The lines of public intervention were then rethought until, in March 2006, the Equal Opportunities Act was passed, creating in particular the *Agence nationale pour la cohésion sociale et l'égalité des chances* or ACSé (National Agency for Social Cohesion and Equal Opportunities), obtained from the merger of FASILD and part of the services of the *Délégation Interministérielle à la Ville* (DIV).

In 2007, the city contracts also disappear, to be replaced by the *Contrats urbains de Cohésion sociale*, contracts for urban social cohesion (CUCS). These are contracts between local authorities and the State, based on five macro-themes: access to work and economic development, improvement of the living environment, educational success, citizenship and crime prevention, and health. The issues of integration, anti-discrimination, and equal opportunity each fall under a defined program of action between local authorities and the state, but are addressed across the board. The CUCS is set for three years and renewable once, is co-signed by the mayor of the municipality - or the president of the EPCI - and the prefect.

Later in 2009, the DIV was renamed General Secretariat of the Interministerial Committee for Cities (SGCIV). In October 2012, a national consultation was launched with a view to reforming urban policy around three themes: priority geography, governance, and spatial projects.

Sites affected by urban policy constitute the priority geography. Over time, several neighbourhoods have been identified. In 1996, for the first time, a priority geography was established on a regulatory basis through the LOADDT and the *Pacte de Relance pour la Ville* (PRV), which defined priority territories according to a "funnel geography" through the designation of *Zones Urbaines Sensibles* ZUS, and ZRUs and ZFUs. This subdivision was in addition to pre-existing ones, such as Priority Education Zones. The implementation of the Urban Contracts for Social Cohesion (CUCS) resulted in the increase of priority neighborhoods outside of the ZUS to a total of 2,500. However, the State wanted to prioritize interventions in these areas, and in 2006, classified them into three levels, which determines a differentiated distribution of ACSé intervention credits. Thus, urban policy targets certain areas and not the entire urban territory, a process of positive territorial discrimination that risks reinforcing the stigmatization of these sites.

Despite the 2,500 CUCS neighbourhoods, the reference territory remained the Sensitive Urban Zone (ZUS), in fact INSEE had statistical knowledge of the ZUS and not of all other sensitive neighbourhoods, resulting in partial and fragmentary information on the evolution of these areas and their inhabitants. Between 1990 and 2006, there is an increase in spatial inequalities between different neighbourhoods of the same municipality and the process of territorial specialization, despite the strong residential mobility in urban policy districts. In fact, during this period, each year 7% of the inhabitants left the district, but were replaced by people in an increasingly precarious situation. Residential mobility is high in the priority areas and the data recorded from year to year do not concern the same people.

## ESTABLISHMENT OF PRIORITY DISTRICTS

Thus it was that in 2012 a report by the Court of Auditors highlights governance problems and points out that most of the objectives of urban policy have not been achieved.

In 2013, Marie-Hélène Bacqué and Mohamed Mechmache's Report: "For a Radical Reform of Urban Policy" brings to the fore the notion of empowerment and the idea of further strengthening citizen participation.

On February 21, 2014, the *Loi de programmation pour la ville et la cohésion urbaine*, programming law for the city and urban cohesion, is established.

This provides for the abolition of the ZUS and CUCS, replaced by City Contracts that set 1300 priority neighborhoods, instead of the previous 2500, and the Creation of Citizens' Councils, an institutional offer of participation, which are part of the continuity of the mechanisms of "participatory democracy" established 30 years earlier. With the Urban Planning Law for the City and Urban Cohesion of 2014, the priority geography was redelineated so as to focus resources on the areas most in need. From this date, a single criterion is used to identify priority districts: the share of the population with an income of less than 11 250 euros per year. This choice was made to simplify public interventions and narrow the scope of action.

There are currently 1 514 neighborhoods located in 859 municipalities that benefit from the politique de la ville, with respect to which there are a total of 435 city contracts.

Each city contract is part, for the period 2014-2022, of an integrated approach that takes into account the challenges of economic, urban and social development. At the inter-municipal scale, the contracts have a duration of six years and are based on three objectives: social cohesion (support for social, cultural or sports associations and facilities), urban renewal and living environment - rehabilitation or reconstruction of social housing, support for condominiums and access to property, construction of collective facilities and development of the attractiveness of neighborhoods -, economic development and employment - mobilizing the mechanisms of the public employment service to promote the professional insertion of the inhabitants of priority neighborhoods -.

### A.3.4 THE BREAKTHROUGH INTRODUCED BY ANRU AGENCY

#### ANRU - NATIONAL AGENCY FOR URBAN REDEVELOPMENT

On August 1, 2003, Jean-Louis Borloo, Minister Delegate for the City, approved the Law on Guidance and Programming for the City and Urban Renewal, with which the ANRU *Agence Nationale pour la Rénovation Urbaine* (National Agency for Urban Renewal) was born a few months later. It was responsible for directing and financing the National Urban Renovation Program (PNRU), endowed with over 12 billion euros in grants. Very quickly, hundreds of housing demolition and reconstruction sites were initiated throughout France.

In 2014, as part of the urban planning law for the city and urban cohesion, the government announced the creation of the *Nouveau Programme National de Renouvellement Urbain*, New National Program for Urban Renewal (NPNRU), still piloted by ANRU. 450 districts of the politique de la ville will undergo a comprehensive transformation by 2030.

Today, ANRU finances and supports local authorities and social housing owners in the implementation of extensive renovation projects in priority neighborhoods. These are interventions to transform and promote housing and social diversity.

The PNRU, first and then the NPNRU, have carried out renovations, construction and demolition of buildings according to local needs, also building new non-residential facilities - schools, cultural spaces, sports centers, neighborhood stores, and so on -. Urban spaces are redesigned and plans are implemented to improve accessibility, roads and public transport systems.

In addition to the PNRU and NPNRU, ANRU directs the program for the renewal of old slums PNRQAD. It is also the operator, on behalf of the state, of 6 future investment programs for youth, innovation, and sustainable cities.

#### PNRU AND NPNRU DIFFERENCE

The PNRU launched in 2004 and managed entirely by ANRU, provided for the restructuring of 600 districts for over 12 billion euros in subsidies, this program then ended in 2020.

The public action of city contracts and GPVs turned out to be too ineffective and the Borloo law aimed to ensure through the direction of ANRU the smooth running of the subsidized urban policy. The objective of the PNRU is to show results quickly, through large budgets and consistent national targets: 200 000 homes to be demolished, 200 000 homes to be rehabilitated and 200 000 new social housing units. This urban renewal-reconstruction policy is based on the assumption that by formally modifying neighborhoods, changing their appearance, integrating them with the rest of the city thanks to new physical forms and tools and new communication networks - management of automobile and pedestrian traffic, improvement of public transportation, etc. -, these neighborhoods will benefit from the dynamics of other neighborhoods, as they will be similar to them as a result of restructuring.

As a method, the aim has been to diversify housing by creating a mix of social housing, private housing, access to property, etc.; to create public facilities - schools, parks, media libraries, etc. -, shops, transportation, and so forth; to open up the accessibility of the neighborhood with respect to the rest of the conurbation, respecting overall a local urban management charter. -schools, parks, media libraries, etc., to open up the accessibility of the neighborhood with respect to the rest of the conurbation, respecting a local urban management charter.

Other objectives of the plan are to adequately relocate families whose homes have been demolished and to carry out works that allow the professional insertion of a certain number of inhabitants.

#### CRITIQUES MADE OF PNRU

The main success of PNRU as an urban renewal program is to have initiated a change in the image of priority neighborhoods, modifying the aesthetic perception and representations that were previously made of these areas. The projects have succeeded in connecting the settlements to their surroundings in a more organic and harmonious way than previously existed with large homogeneous residential complexes and bars. This is particularly noticeable at La Duchère where an aesthetically positive change can be appreciated: the buildings have different sizes, surfaces with different materials and colors to create a visible dynamism and a specific identity to each building or block, moreover, the organization of the green that penetrates between the houses, well spaced between them, opening a wide space of breath and view, is particularly favorable to make a 'human scale atmosphere, as well as the different parks, the "interactive" granite sculptures, as they can be used as seats and as playgrounds for children, of the green square Square Compas Raison, as well as the numerous sport installations, definitely increase the opportunities of the public space and declaim a creativity that favors a sense of pleasure and well-being to the passage, and to the rest.

As for the missing aspects of the program, on the other hand, the PNRU was judged aggressive or impetuous on the one hand, because the desire to achieve design efficiency through the simplification of maneuvers and therefore a rapid and unilateral approach of demolition and reconstruction, has led to heavy transformations that have not taken into account in full the needs of the inhabitants of the

neighborhoods and in particular for those who were forced to move. This was also found at Duchère, from some interviews with the inhabitants.

Another criticism levelled at the PNRU was that it focused exclusively on urban problems, the physical construction of facilities and infrastructure, to the exclusion of specific subsidy programs for economic and social development, and therefore the planning did not implement measures and projects sensitive to this macro-field.

In addition, the approach to the imposition of the social mix has been ineffective. This imposition has been applied with the aim of facilitating social and political integration among different citizens and reducing some unfavorable inequalities, and indeed where there is a social mix there is economic and cultural dynamism, but imposing it is not enough to reduce inequality, and often only moves the most precarious citizens to "richer" areas, and rarely moves the middle classes to "poorer" areas.

The NPNRU, launched in 2014, disposes of 12 billion euros in financial assistance in grants and loans to renovate 450 priority neighborhoods where 3 million people live.

There is an online satellite mapping platform of PNRU, NPNRU and PNRQAD affected areas ([www.anru.fr/programmes/carte](http://www.anru.fr/programmes/carte)).

The 480 districts eligible for the program fall into two categories:

- 216 districts of national interest that exhibit the most significant urban dysfunction
- 264 districts of regional interest that have urban dysfunction of regional significance

The goals of the intervention are to increase housing diversity; adapt neighborhood density to its environment and intended urban functions; foster functional mix and consolidate economic development potential; strengthen openness-accessibility and resident mobility; target energy efficiency and ecological sustainability; and implement quality urban development and real estate programs that take into account uses, management and safety, and future changes and mutations.

All goals should be defined according to the priorities of different neighborhoods and should be tailored to the local context by project leaders.

The resources mobilized for the program include 12 billion euros of grant equivalent (or 14 billion euros of financial assistance) allocated by the ANRU. This sum comes from contributions from *Action Logement* (action for housing), which allocates 8.4 billion euros, the *Union sociale pour l'habitat* (social union for housing) with 2.4 billion euros, and the state, which provides 1.2 billion euros.

The work is expected to generate 50 billion euros of investment from all funders - local authorities and social landlords in particular.

The ANRU intervenes in two ways to finance the projects, through grants of 10.7 billion euros and through subsidized loans of 3.3 billion euros. Thus, in total, the NPNRU is endowed with 14 billion euros of financial assistance.

The notion of grant equivalent aims to make the different forms of aid comparable. It is estimated that €3.3 billion of subsidized loans will generate €1.3 billion of equivalent grant. Thus, in total, the NPNRU budget amounts to 12 billion euros in grants - or equivalent - provided by ANRU.

In terms of action methods, the NPNRU aims to: create a new quality and diversified housing supply: social housing, private housing, housing for access to property; promote the creation of businesses and enhance economic development; install equipment and services: schools, kindergartens, gyms, media libraries, etc.; adapt the density of the district to its environment and urban functions; create quality urban settlements with foresight with respect to future developments in the district; strengthen the openness of the district and facilitate the mobility of inhabitants by creating new facilities. ; adapt the density of the neighborhood to its environment and urban functions; create quality urban



settlements with a foresight with respect to the future developments of the district; strengthen the openness of the neighborhood and facilitate the mobility of inhabitants by creating new transportation infrastructure; contribute to neighborhood ecological sustainability and energy efficiency of buildings.

There are essentially three main changes from the PNRU:

- a two-stage contracting process to better define projects (prefiguration protocol then operational agreement);
- carrying out projects at the agglomeration level rather than at the municipality level to encourage a rebalancing of territories;
- co-construction, i.e. the participation of residents in the design and implementation of projects, in particular through the city councils and project centers present in each district, in all project phases: definition, implementation and evaluation. The project center is intended to provide residents with information, and allow them to monitor operations and discuss with project managers or elected officials. This aspect is intended to best meet residents' expectations.

The structure of the NPNRU tries to take into account the criticism and the results of the PNRU evaluation.

Thus, the inhabitants become an essential actor in the transformation of the neighborhood, demolitions are no longer carried out systematically, but are implemented according to the territories and their problems and needs. The NPNRU also places greater emphasis on the consideration of environmental quality. The goal of enhancing and promoting social diversity remains, as in the PNRU, but in the NPNRU is added the commitment to promote new economic activities in order to achieve a greater functional mix of building uses. Finally, there is a shift from a municipal to an inter-municipal approach: redevelopment programs are supported by inter-municipal organizations rather than individual municipalities. Concretely, this allows for a more flexible relocation of residents from demolished housing and a replenishment of the supply of social housing in municipalities that receive less.







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