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## ID 1376 | RENEWED NEIGHBOURHOODS: REQUALIFIED AND DIGNIFIED NEIGHBOURHOODS? EXEMPLES OF DISTRICTS IN REGION AUVERGNE RHÔNE ALPES (FRANCE)

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**ABSTRACT:** In France, for 40 years, a public policy called policy "of the City" has been implemented to act globally on the social and urban exclusion. Since 2003, this policy has known an important change and tries through actions of urban renewal to transform profoundly the neighbourhoods of social housing. By improving social housing, public places, facilities, by demolishing and building housing and by attracting private investments to diversify housing and population and by diversifying the functions of these neighbourhoods, it is a question of making of these stigmatized districts, "banal" districts. After more than ten years of urban renewal, we can wonder about the effects of this policy on these areas in terms of requalification and dignity. Are these neighbourhoods less stigmatized, really requalified? Did they acquire a better image? Are they dignified to be inhabited for the inhabitants of these neighbourhoods and for the inhabitants or the citizens generally? If the first evaluations of the policy of urban renewal show that the living environment was improved, that the inhabitants feel better, and that they consider these neighbourhoods as "banal" neighbourhoods, dignified to living there, they also suggest, with regard to the difficulties met in certain neighbourhoods to attract private investments and actors, and new inhabitants, that these neighbourhoods are still far from being requalified in the public opinion. After having presented the policy of urban renewal, its emergence and its objectives, we shall return on the results of evaluations of the urban transformations led on all the concerned neighbourhoods, and we shall show, by analyses led in renewed neighbourhoods of the region Auvergne-Rhône-Alpes, that it is advisable to be very careful as for the requalification of these neighbourhoods.

### 1 A POLICY OF URBAN RENEWAL IN THE STIGMATIZED DISTRICTS

#### 1.1 A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE POLICY OF URBAN RENEWAL

In France, for 40 years, a policy called "city and urban renewal" was organized. This policy aims at handling the social, economic and urban problems concentrated in the districts of social housing, and at revaluing these districts which suffer from a bad image and which are thus stigmatized in the French public

opinion. If the policy "of city", which claims to act globally on the social and urban exclusion, is an old policy, that of urban renewal, which aims at transforming the space, expanded these last fifteen years.

Four big phases give rhythm to the policy of "city and urban renewal":

- A first phase, said "experimental", from 1973 till 1981. Conceived from experimental way, resting on circulars, and exceptional, contractual and incentive tools and means, this policy allowed an awareness at the various actors (political actors, companies managing the social housing) problems met in districts of social housing, and an improvement of the built and the urban planning in these districts.
- A second phase, called "operational", from 1981 till 1988. This second phase is the one of an operational policy which is equipped with diverse tools to fight against the social and urban exclusions, with more consequent financial means, national and local authorities to govern this policy, and which benefits more and more districts.
- The third phase, that said "of the maturity ", since 1988. This third phase is the one of a reached maturity policy, which is equipped with legislative texts and with a ministry, and which acts on the problems of these districts in a global way and in various territorial scales (district, town and suburbs).
- And the fourth phase which, according to certain researchers, would have begun in the end of 1990s. We see the change of a policy of rehabilitation of the housing into a policy of "urban renewal ", requiring and justifying the appeal to the demolition of social housing.

This development of the policy of "urban renewal" was gradually made through 15 big urban projects, GPU (Grand Projet Urbain) at the beginning of the 90s, then with 50 big city projects, GPV (Grand Projet de Ville) since 1998, and 70 operations of urban renewal, ORU (Opération de Renouvellement Urbain) in 2001. The actors of the social housing refused for a long time that the demolition of social housing is a justifiable way of management of the social housing stock, in particular in the districts where the urban planning had been considered stigmatizing. It will be necessary to wait for 1998<sup>1</sup>, 2001<sup>2</sup> and 2003<sup>3</sup> so that are thrown the bases of an ambitious policy of urban renewal, which the program of the demolition is an "essential element"<sup>4</sup>.

In 2003, Jean-Louis Borloo, Ministerial Delegate for the city and the urban renovation, wishes to intervene massively in the stigmatized districts, to renew them in depth and to simplify the management and the application of the policy of "the city". He implements a national program of urban renewal, PNRU (Programme National de Renouvellement Urbain), over 5 years between 2004 and 2008, having for objectives to realize 530 projects of urban renewal before 2013, in particular to demolish 200 000 social housing<sup>5</sup>, to offer 200 000 social renting housing, by reconstructing housing on their place or by putting back on the market the vacant housing, to rehabilitate 400 000 social housing, and to make blocks with 400 000 social housing. He suggests to centralize the financing State of the policy of the city by creating in 2004 a single window, the national agency of urban renovation, ANRU (Agence Nationale de Rénovation Urbaine)<sup>6</sup>, and allows actors other than the State to finance this policy, in particular by the association "Foncière Logement"<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Particular financing for the demolition and the change of use of social renting housing.

<sup>2</sup> Circular N 2001-77 of November 15th, 2001 relative to the devolution of the decisions of financing for demolition and change of use of social renting housing.

<sup>3</sup> Law of 2003 on the programming of the city and the urban renewal.

<sup>4</sup> Law of 2003 on the programming of the city and the urban renewal.

<sup>5</sup> It is the rule of 1 for 1: for 1 demolished social housing, it is 1 reconstructed social housing, but the latter is partially reconstituted in the district and for another part outside of the district. That allows the construction of private housing in the district.

<sup>6</sup> The ANRU is an industrial and commercial public institution. Within it, there are representatives of the State and the local authorities, representatives of the social housing, and personalities qualified regarding the policy of the city.

<sup>7</sup> The Foncière Logement is an association created in 2002, for districts in urban renewal and the municipalities were submitted to the article 55 of the law of Solidarity and Urban Renewal of 2000. It aims at implementing the social mix. Financed by the "Action Logement" (1 % housing collected by collectors, grouped in the "Union d'Economie Solidaire pour le Logement"), it intervenes as investor. It can acquire of the built or not built land to build of social housing for the municipalities which have to build of the social housing, and housing with free rent in districts in urban renovation which want to diversify their populating.

This policy of urban renewal is inspired by previous policies led in France, the United States and United Kingdom (Le Garrec, 2006). So, it is inspired by French actions of urban renovation led from the end of 1950s in deteriorated old centres of the cities which consisted in demolishing the unhealthy and dilapidated housing and in reconstructing new housing. It also resumes the contents of the policies of "urban renewal", which means urban revival, and which is a policy led in the USA in the 1950s and 1960 to accompany the demographic and economic decline of the dense American city centres and the scattering of the populations in more and more spread "suburbs". This policy consisted at first in leading specific actions of renovation of the built by means of the inhabitants, without moving, then actions of spectacular and expensive demolitions with moving of the inhabitants and the gentrification of these city centres. Finally, it is similar to the policy of urban regeneration of United Kingdom from the end of 1970s which consisted "in making live again" the old industrial cities by demolishing and by reconstructing totally or partially to allow the mixing of the functions and the economic development of these urban spaces.

By actions of urban renovation, or of operations of demolition-reconstruction of housing and morphological transformations of districts, this policy aims at promoting the mixing of the functions by allowing the development of economic activities and the facilities, the social mix, by developing a new offer of housing (social home-buying, renting free), to attract employees, less precarious populations and new inhabitants; and at revaluing the image of districts.

## 1.2 A FIRST EVALUATION OF THE NATIONAL PROGRAM OF URBAN RENEWAL

The national program of urban renewal, which was translated at the end of 2011 by the demolition about 145 000 housing, the reconstruction about 140 000 others, the rehabilitation of 325 000 housing and the making blocks of 236 600 housing, was estimated these last years. These evaluations tried to measure the effects of the urban renovation at the same time on the housing and living conditions of the inhabitants of districts, and on the functioning of districts and their attractiveness.

So, the effects of the urban renovation on the housing conditions and the lives of the residents of districts are rather positive. The local and national political and professional actors questioned by the committee of evaluation and follow-up of the ANRU agree on the fact that the urban renovation restored some dignity to the inhabitants, by bringing them the proof of a reinvestment of public authorities and by offering them a prospect of positive evolution of their housing conditions and life (Regards Croisés sur l'évaluation de la rénovation urbaine, 2014). And the inhabitants tell to be globally satisfied by the urban renovation. Indeed, several studies give evidence of this satisfaction of inhabitant. An investigation of the institute of survey, CSA, realized for the ANRU in January, 2013 shows that 78 % of the questioned households say themselves very satisfied (29 %) or satisfied (49 %) with renovations realized in their district, 59 % declare to have the feeling that life in their district evolved for the better, or still 59 % of them declare to be very optimistic (12 %) or optimistic (47 %) for the future of their district (Dix ans de Programme national de rénovation urbaine : Bilan et perspectives, 2013, p.54). Another study led by the Social Union of the Housing confirms the feeling that the requalification of the living environment is felt in a strongly positive way by the inhabitants. The latter emit the idea according to which they have found a certain dignity. The transformation of their districts restored them the feeling to be a full citizen of their city, and restored their trust in institutions (Idem, p. 55). Also the expressions of the inhabitants collected in actors' exercise books of the national dialogue on the future of the policy of city confirm the feeling of an improvement of their quality of life at the end of the urban renovation. Quality of the new built, the improvement of the living environment, green spaces and public places are so advanced (Idem, p. 55). Finally, a study of the committee of evaluation and the follow-up of the ANRU realized on 8 renewed districts show that 62 % of the questioned inhabitants estimate that their district is " better than before " (Mon Quartier a change, 2014, p. 16).

However, criticisms are formulated towards the housing conditions and towards the life during or after the urban renovation. They concern the length and the succession of the works, which cause nuisances, and also on the weakness of the dialogue around the projects or still on the persistence of the social problems at the end of the urban renovation. Others explain that the urban renovation did not benefit in the same way all the inhabitants. Indeed, as far as to live well in housing represents for the most part of the tenants the priority concern, those who benefited from a rehabilitation or who were able to reach on the spot a new housing appreciate realized improvements. However, the inhabitants less directly concerned by the urban

renovation, because they live in the part of the stock not rehabilitated or not renewed, live that as an injustice (Regards Croisés sur l'évaluation de la rénovation urbaine, 2014, p. 56).

As for the effects of the urban renovation on the functioning of districts and their attractiveness, they are rather mitigated. The urban renovation was not able to favour enough the diversification of the functions of districts and populating, and to revalue the image of districts.

If the urban renovation allowed to rehabilitate facilities, to build a new offer of facilities and amenities, and to re-revitalize the convenience stores, it rarely allowed the implementation of a real economic development project. Few economic activities became established in districts.

The diversification of the statuses of occupation of housing and consequently the populating was low on the renovated districts. It represents between 6 and 7 % of the total initial stock of housing. The ANRU considered that approximately 80 in 85 000 housing except social renting housing had been delivered on the renovated districts, in the term or beyond the duration of the agreements. This volume of housing so decomposed:

- Approximately 50 000 housing dedicated to the entry, among which 15 000 for the social entry and 7 800 beneficiaries of a bonus ANRU, - Approximately 19 000 housing produced by the Foncière Logement, - About 7 500 housing in PLS (Prêt Locatif Social)<sup>1</sup> or intermediate renting, - About 1 800 housing in free renting, - About 2 500 housing from the construction of residences aimed at specific public (students, elderly). In this housing, was added about 2 800 housing put on sale. (Dix ans de Programme national de rénovation urbaine : Bilan et perspectives, p.76).

In the majority of districts, thus the weight of the social housing remains important, of the order of 70 in 80 %, and decreases on average from 5 to 10 points. This low diversification tended to be rather made on zones in limit of the renovated districts, in geographical areas with strong visibility and in joint with the other districts, which contributed to the preservation of the mono-functional characteristics of the district of social housing in their hearts. It is due to the slowness of realization and the uncertain marketing of certain property deals. The new inhabitants are still afraid of settling down in these districts and the promoters hesitate to invest in operations which seem consequently risky.

The renovated districts still suffer from difficulties in terms of image. They are considered as districts of social housing, mono-functional and thus remain still little attractive.

## **2 RENEWED DISTRICTS IN LOOKING FOR REQUALIFICATION**

To illustrate this looking for requalification, let us stop on two districts in region Auvergne-Rhône-Alpes which were the object of urban renewal: the district of La Monnaie of Romans-sur-Isère and the district of Teisseire in Grenoble.

### **2.1 THE DISTRICT OF LA MONNAIE (ROMANS-SUR-ISÈRE)**

The district of la Monnaie was built on the east zone of the city of Romans-sur-Isère, on an off-centred tray, in border of a main road, in two phases, between 1957 and 1974: a first phase which corresponds to the district of Ancienne Monnaie, and the second phase which is the one of Nouvelle Monnaie.

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<sup>1</sup> Prêt Locatif Social means social renting loan.

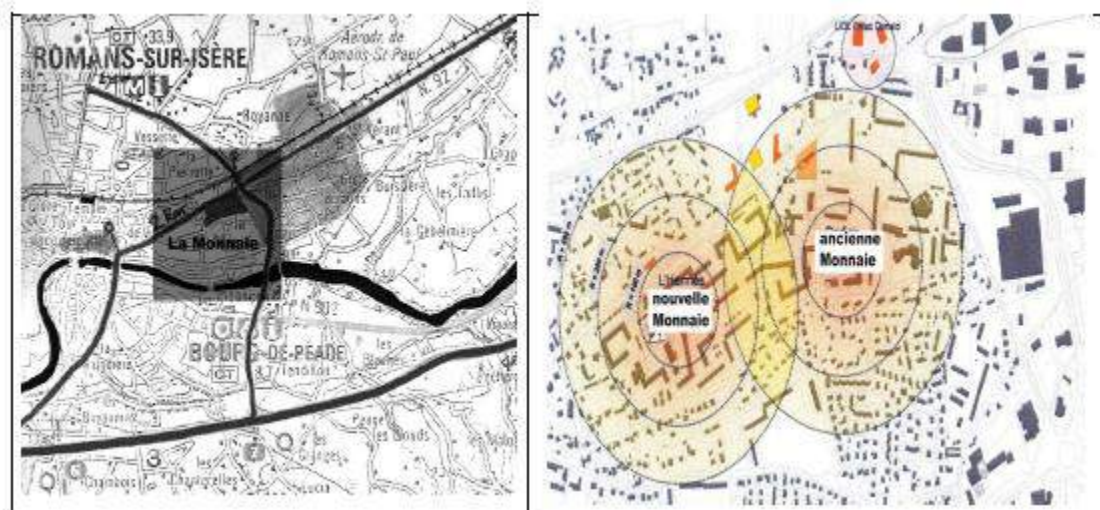


Figure 1- Maps of area  
Source: Town of Romans-sur-Isère

This district is an area of exclusively social housing with 1830 housing all properties of the “Office Public de l’Habitat du Pays Romanais” (OPHPR), and distributed in 47 buildings of type bars and towers, benefiting from wide public places. Very quickly, this district became the most



stigmatized in the department of the Drôme and benefited from the policy of City from the 1980s. After a program “Habitat et Vie Sociale”, the neighbourhoods is the object of a “Plan Local de Développement Social in 1983, then of operation of “Développement Social of Quartier” in 1989; and from 1993, the City of Romans integrate this district in the approach of “Contrat de Ville” (Duarte, 2011). In the early 2000s, the strong specialization of this territory in social housing and the low urban quality (mediocre public places, enclosing) are perceived as partially responsible for the loss of residential attractiveness of the district. In 2000, the recommendations of an urban and social study confided to the cabinet Philippe Panerai serve as base of reference to the implementation of an “Opération de Renouveau Urbain” (ORU). Then, in 2003, a diagnosis of the Workshop Franck Huillard, identifying the urban and social stakes in the district, is used as support to the candidacy of Romans in the registration with the ANRU.

Figure 2- Pictures of La Monnaie  
Source: Town of Romans-sur-Isère

In December, 2004, an agreement of Urban Renovation is signed between the State ( ANRU), the town, the OPHPR and the Association of local authorities of the country of Romans as contracting authorities of the operations, as well as by all the financiers (Rhône-Alpes Regional Council, General Council of the

Drôme, Caisse des Dépôts et Consignations, Association “Foncière Logement”). It has for main objectives to:

- Diversify the functions of the district of La Monnaie by the diversity of the housing and the economic development;
- Guarantee the law and order and support the creative activities of social link;
- Favour the resolution of the social difficulties;
- Favour the opening of the district on the city and the urban area.

It plans in-depth interventions for a 58,4 million euro total amount:

- The demolition of 491 housing essentially in the East of the district;
- The constitution of a district of social housing more reduced after demolitions;
- The reconstitution of 491 social renting housing demolished (among which 85,5 % outside the district);
- The making of blocks and the renovation in the standards " Energy-saving Building " almost exhaustive of the stock of social housing;
- The development of all the public road networks and the public places;
- The requalification of three public gardens;
- The realization of five social / commercial facilities and the strengthening of the attractiveness of the school built heritage in the service of the construction of the social mix;
- The realization of a sustainable district of 300 private renting housing and in property ownership instead of buildings demolished in the East of the district.

The evaluation of the impacts of the urban renovation, between 2010 and 2014, shows mitigated results (Richard, 2013).

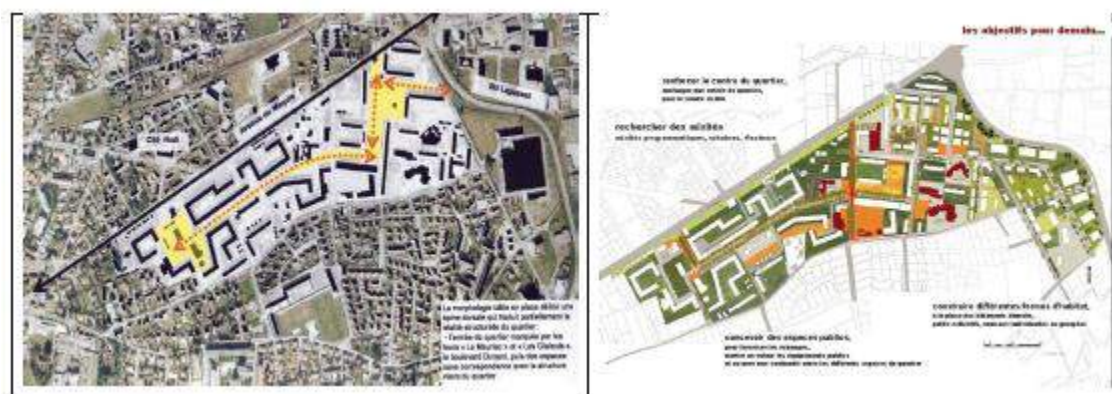


Figure 3 – Maps before and after the urban renewal  
Source: Town of Romans-sur-Isère and Agency Passagers des Villes

So, the effects of the urban renovation on the housing and living conditions of the inhabitants are globally positive. The “résidentialisation” allowed an improvement and an embellishment of the living environment as well as a demarcation specifies various spaces which make up the residential units (car park, children’s games, lawns, tubs with household waste...). The tenants very appreciated the restructuring of feet of buildings, because it allowed a better identification of spaces and their uses and so participated in the reduction of the small conflicts of the everyday life. This “making of blocks” has also pulled a use of the outer spaces, previously little qualified.

As for the effects of the urban renovation on the functioning of districts and their attractiveness, they are more reserved. On one side, there is an undeniable effect of the demolitions-reconstructions. The demolition of the part is the neighbourhood (300 housing) was perceived in a positive way. It allowed, according to the testimonies of the inhabitants, to aerate the district, to avoid the "ghettoization" and "the cramming of the populations" which existed on this sector. The reconstruction of the demolished housing outside the district allowed an important devolution of the social housing on the sector of La Monnaie. It was also translated by an important geographical rebalancing of the heritage of the social lessor on the whole city of Romans. In the same logic, the movement of the businesses on the avenue of Maquis in border the North of La Monnaie participates actively in the opening of the district on its margins and in the strengthening of the commercial activity of the district (the turnovers of the observed businesses knew an increase since their new presence). On the other hand, decade after the signature of the agreement of urban renovation, we have to admit that certain public facilities always have difficulty in attracting a public

outside the district. Except during events with exceptional character (the media library or the game library for examples), the majority of facilities shine in local scale. If they fill perfectly their function of facility of closeness, they seem to have some difficulties opening to the rest of the city. And the construction of 300 deprived housing on the area Rochegude, in periphery of the district, to attract middle-class inhabitants to La Monnaie are not still effective. The property developers are reluctant to invest and the new inhabitants hesitate to settling down in this district which has a negative image too.

## 2.2 THE DISTRICT OF TEISSEIRE (GRENOBLE)

The district of Teisseire, situated in the Southeast of Grenoble, was built between 1958 and 1962. Compound of 31 bars, 7 towers, and 1250 social housing managed by the company ACTIS, this district is connected with the city centre by the avenue Jean Perrot thanks to the public transport network. Surrounded with ill-assorted spaces, it is lined, on the West, by the district Malherbe, in good condition general and essentially lived by middle classes, in the North by the city Jouhaux and its social housing and in the East and in the South, in border of the nearby municipality of Saint-Martin- d'Hères, by multiple industrialists lands and sports facility.

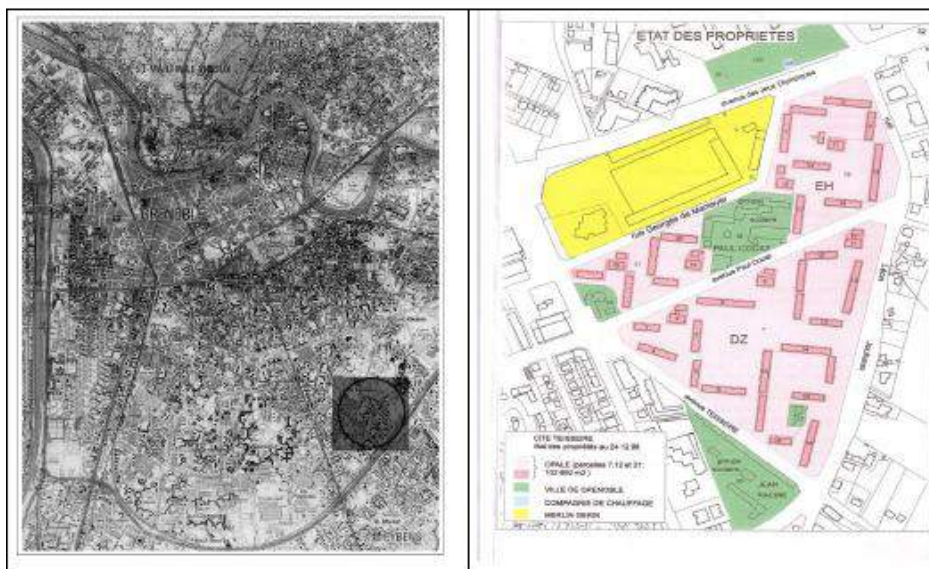


Figure 4 – Maps of Teisseire  
 Source: Town of Grenoble



Figure 5- Photography of Teisseire  
 Source: Town of Grenoble

The municipality of Grenoble, to face the problems of degradation of this neighbourhood, implemented urban policies: a first operation of rehabilitation via the procedure “Habitat et Vie Sociale” between 1979 and 1984, a “Contrat de Ville” of Grenoble between 1994 and 1998, a “Contrat de Ville” of urban area between 2000 and 2006, and a “Grand Projet de Ville” between Saint-Martin-d’Hères and Grenoble, from 1994, which will be afterward inserted into the program of the ANRU.

The Teisseire project is not, strictly speaking, an ANRU "project". The project is widely previous at the same time to the ANRU (on 1994, the district is registered on the “Grand Projet de Ville”) and based on principles taken away enough from the national recommendations (by emphasizing in particular the making blocks or the rehabilitation rather than on the demolitions recommended by the ANRU). The choice of the making blocks was imagined in answer to a diagnosis of district: to thwart a rather negative image, it was a question of transforming "large sets" into "residences"; in the face of a cutting gives a complex of the public / private space, the making blocks aimed at improving the conditions of management of spaces ; in answer to the conflicts of uses put by the presence of young people in foot of tower, the making blocks had to bring more reassurance of the entrances of buildings. Among the surprises of the urban renovation to Teisseire represents the arrangement of the ZAC Teisseire-JO. In the launch of the project of urban renovation, the future of the brownfield Schneider was not decided yet. The planners seized the opportunity of this liberation of space to revitalize the North of the district Teisseire and propose a diversification of its housing.

Before the urban renovation, Teisseire consisted of 1200 social housing. About 250 housing was destroyed, an equivalent number of new constructed housing, 430 housing was rehabilitated and 18 created residential units. In parallel of the operation ANRU, 460 housing was delivered on the ZAC of Teisseire-JO (which  $\frac{3}{4}$  in social entry). In the end, the district knew an important diversification of housing: 75 % in social housing against 100 % before (Duarte, 2011).



Figure 6 – Pictures after urban renewal  
Source: Monographie territoriale du quartier de Teisseire, Grenoble, 2015, p.4 and p. 27

The results of the evaluation<sup>1</sup> realized in 2014 by the team “Trajectoires-Réflexe” on the housing conditions and the living environment of the inhabitants and on the attractiveness and the image of the district are mitigated.

Those concerning the housing conditions and the living environment show that 40 % of the inhabitants of Teisseire consider that their district improved with the urban renovation and more particularly with the rehabilitated buildings, the new constructions, the green spaces, the playgrounds for children, the businesses, and the making blocks, and that the important interventions on parks, green spaces and playgrounds were particularly appreciated for 80 % of the investigated people. However, when we question them more specifically about the housing, a third of them, even 38 % of the tenants of social housing and 42 % of the oldest inhabitants (20 years and more), declare to meet difficulties and to be dissatisfied. Among the motives for dissatisfaction, we find: the cost of the housing considered too expensive, a lack of cleanliness of the common spaces, the dilapidation of the non-rehabilitated housing, the problems of squats near their housing or a size of housing considered unsuitable.

<sup>1</sup> I participated as expert in the methodology of evaluation.

Concerning the functioning and the attractiveness of the district, it seems that the neighbourhood is more mixed socially and that it attracts new inhabitants. The PRU allowed to cross from 100 % of social housing to 75 % (with the construction of the ZAC of Teisseire-JO) and thus to diversify socially the housing. The data which we have on the sociological profile of the inhabitants of the social stock show that the district Teisseire tended to become impoverished less: even if Teisseire remains a district of big precariousness, the part of the most modest fell, including among the recent moved in the social stock. In 2000, 90 % of the recent moved made parties of the poorest of the stock, while this rate comes down to 75 % in 2014. Besides, the inhabitants of the social stock income of which improves leave less systematically the district (75 % of them stay on the district while the average in the other districts from Grenoble is 45 % of moving with equal resources). The origin of the buyers in social entry on the ZAC of Teisseire-JO also confirms this impression that it is possible to go up in the social scale while remaining to live on the district (several owners of the street Bourette in particular, arise from the district). However, the choice of a localization of the new housing for the middle classes in the borders of the district questions the social mix and the attractiveness. On one side, this choice of localization showed itself strategic: among the choices of acquisition on the district, the inhabitants quote in particular the fact that buildings "were not really in the district". Of other one, it emerges from survey than these inhabitants become integrated little into the life of district and look rather towards the outside. Even if they frequent certain facilities (library, shops), they prefer for the greater part to put their children outside the district.

In 2003 and 2007, the Barometers<sup>1</sup> of the neighbourhood Teisseire paint a portrait of the district in "the fragmented and contrasted image", divided between a population of old nostalgic of a golden age of the district (workers stemming from the immigration Italian and from the Maghreb working on the factory Schneider), and for whom the district had stop degrading, and a population settled more recently, and which does not seem to want to stay there. These inhabitants consider that Teisseire is "dangerous" neighbourhood, "where we burn cars ", "gangrened by a gang warfare held by families of the district ". The survey driven with the inhabitants in 2014 allows to draw up an evaluation in halftone on the image of the district. When we question the inhabitants about the image which they had of Teisseire before fitting out there, only 39 % of them had a positive image of it, against 37 % a negative image. In the question: "now that you live in the district, you would say in a general way that it is pleasant to live?": 65 % of them answer positively this question. Thus the point of view of the inhabitants changes when they live to Teisseire but no radical way. In parallel, other data confirm that the reputation of the district improved: the rates of vacancy or rotation in the social stock widely fell (apartments have fewer difficulties in being rent).

Nevertheless, this image remains fragile in and the outside the district. In the district, 54 % of the questioned inhabitants of Teisseire declare to wish to move outside the district in the shorter or longer term. This rate is particularly important for the inhabitants who moved into the district for less than 5 years (60 %) and for the youngest (less than 40 years). This rate is also not insignificant for the present inhabitants in the district for more than 20 years (46 %), for the oldest (36 %) and the owners (48 %) who are nevertheless generally inhabitants more anchored in their housing and their district. Outside the district, the inhabitants interviewed within the framework of Barometers have still a bad image of the district (Duarte and Leard, 2012). Teisseire remains a "dangerous" district, "insecure", which explains the absence of its requalification.

### 3 CONCLUSION

In France, the national and local evaluations of the program of urban renewal show that the effects of this policy on the phenomena of requalification and dignity of the districts of social housing are mitigated. On one side, the results of these evaluations demonstrate that the housing conditions and the living environment of the inhabitants of these districts improved. The urban transformations, in particular the quality of the new housing, the improvement of the green spaces and the public places, had positive effects on the image of districts. The inhabitants consider these places as dignified to be inhabited. On the other side, the urban, often partial renovation, did not diversify completely the functions of these districts,

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<sup>1</sup> The Barometers of districts are surveys led by the laboratory ROMA, then the laboratory Pacte of the University of Grenoble Alps in connection with the Agency of Town planning of Region from Grenoble on various districts of the urban area since 2002. The principle is to go to interview the "silent inhabitants ", those who are not usually heard on their urban way of life.

and did not attract only some private real estate investors and new populations that in the renewed margins of districts. This lack of functional and social diversity and attractiveness explains or is understandable by the image still stigmatized of these districts at certain inhabitants and in the public opinion. With the current implementation of the second national program of urban renewal which has for objective to renovate a little more the "hearts" of districts, shall we attend finally a requalification of these districts?

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