REVIEW ARTICLES AND REPORTS

Paul STOUTEN*, Herman ROSENBOOM**

URBAN REGENERATION IN LYON
CONNECTIVITY AND SOCIAL EXCLUSION

1. INTRODUCTION

C'est pas parce que les gens sont pauvres qu'il faut toléré le fait qu'ils vivent dans les clapies. Il n'y a pas de raison pour que tous les ghetto soient à la Duchère et que tous les beaux appart soient au centre de Lyon ou à l' ouest (Télé Lyon Métropole 20.05.2010).

Urban regeneration in France is characterized by extremes. On the one hand, prestigious projects like La Défense in Paris have garnered much attention but on the other hand there are the images of riots in the peripheral post-war social-housing districts (the *grand ensembles* in the *banlieues*) of big cities. In recent years the approach to urban renewal in Lyon has been the leading urban regeneration approach in France. Here an integral approach has been developed that stretches from the centre of the city to the *banlieues*, constituting the Greater Lyon region. Lyon has promoted a prestigious project, the 'Confluence' development, but also has achieved profound transformations in the public transport network and in the re-design of public spaces, such as squares and river borders, with elaboration on different scale levels. The plans to execute renewal of the post-war neighbourhoods in the agglomeration of Greater Lyon have also been quite ambitious. New laws introduced in 2001 and 2003 stimulated renewal of these neighbourhoods which prior to that time were characterized negatively by their isolated location in relation to the city centre and other important facilities. *Rénovation urbaine*, the

---

* Paul Stouten, Department of Urbanism at the Faculty of Architecture, Delft University of Technology, the Netherlands, e-mail: P.L.M.Stouten@tudelft.nl

** Herman Rosenboom, Faculty of Architecture, Delft University of Technology, the Netherlands, e-mail: H.J.Rosenboom@tudelft.nl

policy motto from the start of the 1950s meant currently the same name referring to new strategies. In this article we discuss the way in which urban regeneration is addressed in two problem neighbourhoods in Lyon; the *Grand Projet de Ville* in La Duchère and in Vaulx-en-Velin (see figure 1). La Duchère, based on a design by Alain Marguerit, is especially exemplary of the current approach. The strategies in both areas are based on solving social exclusion and improving connectivity.
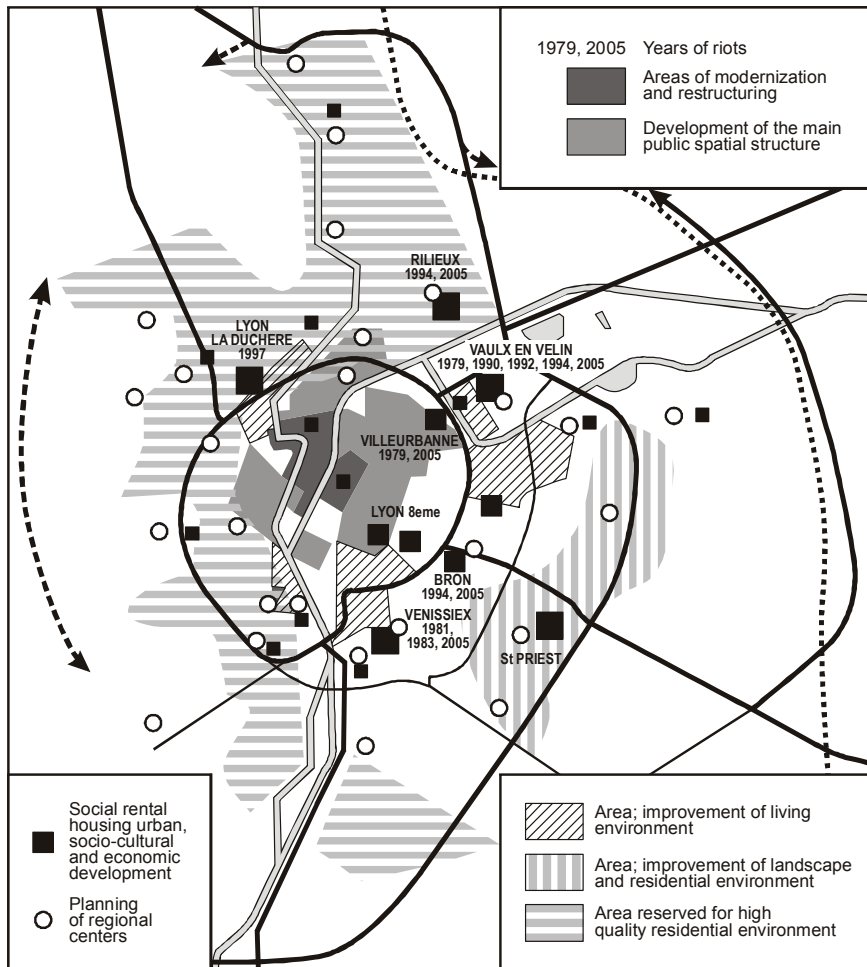

Fig. 1. Greater Lyon and its grand ensembles with the year of the riots
Source: The Lyon Conurbation Master Plan Lyon 2010 by Agence d'Urbanisme de la
Communaute Urbaine de Lyon (1991) (the years of the riots added by the authors)

Vaulx-en-Velin is the location where the first riots started in France in 1979. It is also the place where the first 'enterprise zone' (*Zone Franche Urbaine*) was introduced in 1996. In Vaulx-en-Velin (2006) and La Duchère (2010) housing

blocks constructed in the 1960s were blown up in only 6.5 seconds and 6 seconds respectively. This demolition, on the 2nd of April 2006, marks the biggest implosion ever to occur in Europe.

Urban regeneration is driven by a much wider range of urban and regional issues than modernization of housing in deprived areas. Plans for urban regeneration need to respond to new requirements and conditions caused by changes in the social fabric and more endogenous developments e.g. in the employment structure (Stouten, 2010).

The question taken into consideration in this paper is what can be learnt from the approaches in France, especially in Lyon, where topics like social exclusion and connectivity have made an important contribution to solving problems in metropolitan areas. Lyon, located in the Rhône Alps, belongs to the secondary areas of economic activity and distribution of wealth in France, with Paris representing the primary area. After connecting urban regeneration with theories of the 'network city' and social exclusion, we analyze the changing context of urban regeneration in France and the evolution of policies including programmes under the umbrella of *Politique de la Ville*. The past and current policies are discussed before focusing on the two cases in the Lyon region.

2. URBAN REGENERATION; NETWORK CITY AND SOCIAL EXCLUSION

According to Roberts (2004, p. 17) the essential features of urban regeneration are defined as: 'comprehensive and integrated vision and action aimed at the resolution of urban problems and seeking to bring about a lasting improvement in the economic, physical, social and environmental condition of an area that has been subjected to change'. The 'network city' concept is usually absent in the analyzes of urban renewal areas. In the network city concept social and spatial inequalities are part of the discussion of differentiation of residential environments, in the context of the city and region. In this article we understand the notion of network as nodes and connections between nodes, which structure the functional-spatial organization of districts, cities and regions. Dupuy (1991, p. 119), following Fishman, distinguishes three levels of operators who (re)organize space: the first level considers (technical) networks of roads, gas, water, electricity, public transport, telephone etc.; the second level considers (functional) networks of production and consumption; the third level is the actual network or territory used and experienced by urban households. Added to this, connectivity can be an important issue and an important drive in the network city concept. In the New Charter of Athens 2003 (European Council of Town Planners, 2003) 'connections' and 'connectivity' are also seen as vital elements for a sustainable city and for avoiding or preventing exclusion.

To be clear about what is meant by 'network' in a specific case, the spatial scale is important: location, city, region, country, EU-region, Europe, world. The question is which parts of the city are included in developing the city and which parts of the city and their population are left aside or even excluded. Policy makers tend to get rid of 'problem areas', aiming to 'normalize' these areas by stimulating more 'market-led development' (meaning resident income upgrading). However, when such an area is seen as part of a regional network instead of a stigmatized problem area, the regional aspects become more important for urban policy makers and more prominent for design tasks to improve the area.

The technical networks (roads, water, power, sanitation etc.), once established, are durable and not easy to change. The functional networks (production and consumption) are rather fixed in terms of location, but remain 'footloose' in terms of content, following market forces. The networks of households and other users (including their mental maps) are responsive to (daily) constraints and possibilities. In general, the technical networks in France are considered to be of good or at least reasonable quality in urbanized districts. (figure 2) The functional networks are a different story. In degrading areas and villages functions often disappear and shops closedown. Functions/services also disappear because they lack sufficient clients from outside the area. A neighbourhood needs not only networks within the area, but also needs well provided connections with the other parts of the region. A district and area need to be an integrated and important part of the region, and not a pawn (in achieving municipal ambitions) or solely a 'backyard.' And in the case that the urban function of a district is being an 'urban hotspot ', then this function must be fulfilled in a way that is not neglecting the needs of residents and users.

Fig. 2. Node in the public transport network
Source: Paul Stouten

Social exclusion and deprivation (spatial-functional shortages) are crucial concepts in the study of urban problems, towards gaining insight into the social costs of spatial urban interventions (Hulsbergen 2005, 2007). Most urban problems are related to social inequalities which as such are reflected in the spatial urban configuration. The social significance of space can be made visible when residents themselves – taking the heterogeneity of residents into account – indicate spatial and functional problems and shortcomings related to their interests and concerns as users. The social significance of space forms one of the key issues in urban regeneration strategies.

3. FRENCH CONTEXT

3.1. Urbanization

Urbanization in France, as in the Netherlands, occurred later than in the UK and Germany with significant migration from the countryside towards the cities in the decades following the Second World War. According to Couch *et al*. (2011), the context for urban regeneration in the different national settings is changing constantly. For comparative research the usefulness of the concept of 'path dependence' is explored by Booth (2011) as a way of understanding the temporal dimension in comparison. This concept emphasises the importance of situating comparisons of current contexts within analyzes of the historical development of particular areas, problems and policy responses (Couch *et al.*, 2011).

French urbanization created a pressing need to develop large housing estates in the outskirts to accommodate new urban populations rapidly. These estates were particularly intended to accommodate middle class nuclear families. In France, there has been strong state intervention regarding housing provision since the Second World War. From 1948 to 1984, there were 3,300,000 dwellings built in the social sector. This amount represents one third of the total housing production during the same period of time (Fernandez-Maldonado *et al.*, 2000). Inspired by the ideas of the CIAM, large housing estates with social housing were constructed in a period of economic growth (*Trentes Glorieuses*). The relationship between high rise and social housing is much stronger in the French situation, mostly in suburban municipalities, than in most other Western European countries. During the 1990s the construction of new social housing units increased in contrast with other Western European countries e.g. the UK and the Netherlands that chose privatization by stimulation of the owner-occupied sector.

Most of the French social housing, 89%, is owned by HLM organizations (Habitations à Loyer Modéré). Since 1977, new social rented housing has been financed by loans with a reduced interest rate to these HLM organizations. The

Caisse des Depot et Consignations distributes these loans. This bank of the state is used for financing local governments and other public bodies that collected funds from the state saving banks. An additional source is the so-called '1%', a tax paid by all employers of a company with over at least 10 employees, that makes up 1% of their costs on salary (Kleinman, 1996).

The division of tenures shows, compared to the Netherlands, a different picture. Though the share of the owner-occupied sector is (in 2006) nearly at the same level, the share of the social rented sector in France, with 17%, is the same share compared to England but nearly half of the share of the Dutch housing stock.

3.2. Social Exclusion

According to the European Commission (Eurostat, 2011) housing deprivation is one of the most extreme examples of poverty and social exclusion in current society. People at risk of poverty are more likely to suffer from a lack of living space. In 2009, 17.8% of the EU population lived in overcrowded dwellings, the Netherlands being one of the countries with the lowest instances (3.7%), much lower than France (7.5%). Housing quality is also judged according to the availability of certain basic sanitary facilities (e.g. bath or shower, indoor flushing toilet). When we compare these basic facilities in France with the UK and the Netherlands, only 'darkness' (the respondents who considered their dwelling too dark) shows a worse condition compared to the Netherlands but better than the UK (10.6%). The quality of the wider residential area, such as noise, pollution and crime, shows some interesting differences. All these indicators (Eurostat, 2011) were perceived as a problem in France by less respondents compared to the UK, the Netherlands and Europe. Moreover in France (3.4%) less people had trouble with the cost of housing, which is much lower than in the UK (16.3%), the Netherlands (13.2%) and Europe (12.2%) (that means where the total cost of housing exceeds 40% of their equivalent disposable income). According to Eurostat (2011) housing costs include mortgage or housing loan interest payments for owners and rent payments for tenants, utilities (e.g. water, electricity) and any costs related to regular maintenance and structural insurance are likewise included. Next to deprivation and to poverty, unemployment is also an important indicator of exclusion. The unemployment rate, in 2010, in France was 9.4% (% over labour force) that is much higher than in the Netherlands (4.5%) and the UK (7.8%). That means that the population at risk-of-poverty or social exclusion in 2009 in France was 18.4%, higher than in the Netherlands but lower than in the UK (21.9%). Below we will show the impact of this in developing policies on urban regeneration.

The political organization of the government and the relationship between the state, departments, regions and communities is very distinctive in France. For decades France has had a system of 'top-down' adversarial governance that

is characterized by small communities of state and economic elites overseeing different policy sectors (Nicholls, 2006). In France there are still more than 36,500 (2008) municipalities. That means that the average French municipality has only 1,720 inhabitants. Large metropolitan regions such as Paris and Lyon include a lot of smaller communities. Also the *grands ensembles* are built in these small communities, representing a dominant share of the housing stock in the regional communities. These relatively small communities lack sufficient capacity to develop decisive urban regeneration policies (Wassenberg *et al.*, 2006). The large governmental dispersion of municipalities reinforces problems of 'NIMBYism' (not in my backyard) from the local authorities who do not want any more people in their area. Municipalities are required to give planning permission and in most cases guarantee loans.

3.3. Riots

Since the mid-1970s there has been a shift from *rénovation urbaine* characterized by more physical strategies mostly near the city centres towards social economic and physical approaches in deprived urban areas. The economic crisis at the end of the 1970s impacted the situation in the *grands ensembles* profoundly and was followed by periods of social unrest e.g. in the Lyon region with riots in e.g. in Vaulx-en-Velin in 1981 followed by new riots in 1983. For the first time in history the neighbourhoods of the *banlieue* and the living conditions of their residents were the headlines in newspapers and on television. That meant a big contrast with the 'ideal home' images of middle class people that were intended to be the residents of these *grands ensembles* in the 1960s. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, a series of initiatives and strategies were launched with the aim to improve housing conditions of the *grands ensembles*: *Habitat et vie sociale* in 1977, followed by development *Sociale des quartier* in 1982. At the beginning of the 1990s new laws were signed by the French parliament that proclaimed the right of all citizens solving the urban question in fighting segregation and to encourage social cohesion. At the same time a new series of riots followed in the *banlieues*, e.g. Vaulx-en-Velin, in 1990, was again in the picture. Diversity and social mixing became the new aims in politics along with decreasing social exclusion, in 1993, when plans were meant to connect locally-based interventions with a wider social and urban strategy.

3.4. ZUS

Under the wings of *Politique de la Ville*, urban regeneration received two new stimuli in the mid-1990s. To encourage cooperation between the state, local governments and other partners like housing associations the town contract was

established in which goals and commitments were laid down and the particular goals with respect to urban restructuring in the coming years were determined The second stimulus was the selection of the problem neighbourhoods. At the base of the *Pacte de reliance pour la ville* the state designated certain neighbourhoods, with the aid of 'objective' criteria such as share of unemployment, school drop-outs and average income, as problem neighbourhoods.

These ZUS (*Zone Urbaine Sensibles*) neighbourhoods often coincided with the town contract areas. The ZUS classification is regulated at the central level and hardly changes over time, while the town contract areas vary a lot more. To respond to the objection of possible fragmentation, in 1999 another fifty *Grand Projets de Ville* (GPV) were assigned, all of which are related to ZUS. According to Wassenberg *et al.* (2006) GPV's offer the possibility to tune physical, social and economic measures. Thus a complex mix of policy initiatives and problem neighbourhoods originated. For instance the introduction of ZUS was accompanied by the establishment of urban revitalization zones (*Zones de Revitalisation Urbaine*, ZRU) and economic opportunity zones (*Zones Franches Urbaines*, ZFU). The ZFU were intended to stimulate the economic development of poor neighbourhoods and give tax exemptions of five years to small businesses. In 1996 there were ZFU created in 44 of the most disadvantaged ZUS (Couch *et al.*, 2011).

4. RETHINKING *RÉNOVATION URBAINE* FROM 2002

Since the 1950s there have been strong interventions supported by the French state in urban areas. Sizeable urban renewal operations date as far back as the 1950s marked by the introduction of the *rénovation urbaine* strategy. With this procedure the state created opportunities for expropriation, demolition and replacement of buildings in bad condition in and around historical centres that were considered for urban renewal according to the *rénovation urbaine* strategy. This strategy had a lot of similarities with the slum clearance and reconstruction policies in the Netherlands in the 1960s (Stouten, 2010).

Politique de la Ville has been central in French urban regeneration policies since the 1970s. Though the national level programme has resulted in a mature set of institutions, instruments and practices, the contents changed in the following periods as indicated by Couch *et al.* (2011): from the mid-1970, in the mid-1990s and since 2002. According to Nicholls (2006) this programme shows an evolution from largely experimental to highly institutionalized in the 1990s. Concerning the situation at the beginning of the 21st century the debate persists regarding urban regeneration, how to balance between physical and/or social approaches. At

the end of the 1990s the emphasis was on physical interventions by stimulating demolition. But after the riots in 2005 and 2007, once again policies had to recognize that social issues cannot be ignored.

In 2000 a new law was introduced to achieve a more even distribution of social housing across urban areas and municipalities within a conurbation: Law on urban solidarity and renewal (*Loi relative à la solidarité et au rénouvellement urbains*; *loi SRU*). The 'solidarity' within conurbations and between urban regions required each municipality to have at least 20% social rental housing. It was also intended to counterbalance uneven geographical distribution within France itself due to high shares of social rented housing in formerly industrialized areas, such as North-east of Paris and the Lyon conurbation. It meant a change in the responsibility of the state, fundamentally reorganizing the local power but showing also a strong resistance of local governments to receive poor people from the neighbouring municipalities (Oblet, 2007). It remains questionable how a mix with more middle class inhabitants will contribute to more cohesion and integration with low income households (Oblet, 2007). On the other hand these changes present opportunities for improvement of connectivity with the city and region through an improved public transport network that decreases car traffic and the demolishment of large shopping centres (in the *banlieues*).

According to Oblet (2007) the position of the middle class is at the centre of the debate about segregation. They are often seen as the main actors of gentrification in old popular areas and/or centres where immigrants are living near the *banlieues*. But despite the concerns about the mix of income groups most important is the quality of the human environment and housing conditions, the distance to shops and amenities and access to transport networks. As we will discuss later these are important starting points in the approach in Lyon.

Next to the SRU law a second law for the City and urban renovation (*Loi sur la renovation urbaine*) provides new content to *Politique de la Ville*. This second law, sometimes called *Loi Borloo* (the name of the minister of Urban Affairs who launched this law), emphasises rebuilding after demolition. Both laws are aiming for integration of selected areas with the whole city and conurbation while emphasizing physical interventions. Governments expect that private investors will participate at a later stage in the renewal process and market mechanisms will take over the regeneration; e.g. in Vaulx-en-Velin. At the same time, according to these policies, social approaches should continue on a lower effort. The most important change based on this *Loi Borloo* was the creation of the National Urban Renewal Agency (Agence Nationale pour la Rénovation Urbaine, ANRU) with the responsibility to invest and coordinate urban renewal projects in the most vulnerable neighbourhoods overseeing the National Urban Renewal Programme. The ANRU gets 50% of their money by the '1%' arrangement and the other 50% from the state. The aim of the programme is regeneration of 530 neighbourhoods with almost 4 million inhabitants by 2013 through an investment of 40 billion euros. Concerning

the division of tenure, the final situation, after urban regeneration, is quite different compared to the Netherlands. In France, every demolished social rented dwelling will be replaced by a new dwelling in the same tenure whereas in the Netherlands the replacement related to tenure is 70% owner-occupied and 30% social rented. In France, the replacement can be on the same location but it is preferred to construct (part of) the replacement in another municipality where the share of social rented housing in the housing stock is below 20% (Wassenberg and Verhage 2006). The 'Marshall plan' of Borloo aimed to invest 30 billion euros of which 6 billion will be paid by the state aiming to invest more money in the *banlieue* particularly the ZUS areas instead of investment in city centres as has been done before.

The riots of 2005 in the conurbation of Paris, Lyon and many other towns revealed that serious problems concerning socio-economic aspects were still unsolved. Since 1975, more then thirty years ago, unemployment has been increasing especially in the *grands ensembles*. In 2005 the unemployment rate for people aged 19 to 29 with French-born parents was 20%, for the same age group with parents born outside France it was 30% and the rate for the same age group with Moroccan or Algerian parents was 40% (Graff, 2005). The riots highlighted the living conditions of nearly 5 million inhabitants (representing about 8% of the French population) of 752 ZUS areas in 490 French towns. Next to unemployment rates of 21% in 2004 (two times more than the national average in metropolitan France as a whole), numbers of drop-outs and crime in these areas are between two to four times higher than the national average. About 25% of the residents in these areas are foreign or French by naturalization (more than 2.5 times the national average). In 2001 the average household income was 19,000 euros in ZUS against an average of 29,500 euros in metropolitan France as a whole.

There is a growing division between the generation that entered the labour market in the period of economic growth and the generations after that, for instance those born during the growth period. The socio-economic deprivation in the *banlieue* or more precisely the *grands ensembles* (which are after all a part of the *banlieue*) constitute a breeding ground in which long-term, recurring outbursts are made possible. In addition the issue extends beyond addressing the poor human environment of living between high-rise concrete blocks that often are poorly connected with city centres, there have also been proposals by the government to create more flexible labour conditions by enlargement of the probationary period to two years.

The riots of 2007 initiated a debate that focused on the same issues that characterized the end of the previous debate in 2005. Moreover the financial crisis in 2008 prompted the central government to invest 1,4 billion extra in housing and 100,000 extra new housing units were planned most of them in the subsidised housing sectors. In the past, the housing production in the social rental sector has varied in a counter-cyclical way. In other words when private construction shows decline, housing associations are supposed to increase their construction efforts to keep the overall number of housing production at an acceptable level

that is brought into action only very occasionally (Pollard, 2010). The measures taken by the French state have been a response to the property crisis in which the social-housing crisis was treated as secondary. That meant support for market-led housing provision with subsidisation of private landlords by tax reduction on income, rather than investment in the social rented sector. This scheme appears to be effective in stimulating the number of completed housing in the private rented sector but the rent levels will not meet the demand for affordable housing (Pollard, 2010). Another element of the current recovery plan is the decision to double the amount of the interest-free loan for first-time home buyers to purchase new-build houses.

In 2008, a new strategy called *Espoirs Banlieue* was initiated. The topics of this new strategy are:

– partnership, governance and solidarity with the poorest communities;
– dis-enclaving, to address connectivity and accessibility of poor communities;
– housing and physical quality of neighbourhoods;
– security and crime;
– employment and education;

This approach claims to link poor people to a network in a broad sense and reveals similarities with the network city concept.

5. MODERNIZATION OF POST-WAR HOUSING ESTATES IN THE LYON REGION

Lyon is a city located in the east of France, where the rivers Rhône and Saône flow together, and is the administrative centre of the region Rhône-Alpes and of the department Rhône. Greater Lyon has 1.3 million inhabitants while the Lyon Metropolis has 2.9 million inhabitants (Agence d'Urbanisme pour le Développement de l'Agglomeration Lyonaisse, September 2010).

The population of Lyon has grown in the period 1990–2007 by a rate of almost 14%, whereas in the previous period starting in 1975 there was a decline of 9%. About 95% of the population has been housed in apartments. The growth of the population has been accompanied by growth of the active workforce (population of 15–64 years) between 1999 and 2007 from 68.2 % to 71% while unemployment declined from 12.6% to 10.9% (Insee, 2010).

The economy in Lyon is dominated by trade, transport and services (in total 56% of the active workforce) with an important bank sector as well as chemical, pharmaceutical and biotech industries. In the Lyon region there are 1.2 million jobs (Agence d'Urbanisme pour le Développement de l'Agglomeration Lyonaisse, March 2010). To stimulate economic development, in the last twenty years there have been large investments in public transport. Lyon is the second railway node

in France and was already linked in 1981 by the TGV with Paris. At both the regional and urban scale there are also train, tram and metro systems. Lyon has two TGV-stations in the city and one near the international airport. This airport is linked to the city of Lyon with the fast tram connection Rhône-express.

5.1. Urban Problems

Lyon is characterized by significant physical, social and economic problems. The approach to these problems in Lyon is driven by the idea that an area, even a district in the suburbs, is an indispensable part of the whole region. Comparable with inequalities between areas in the regional network, there are inequalities between households which hinder progress. In Lyon a number of areas belong to the national restructuring policies. There are 24 neighbourhoods belonging to the scheme of the ZUS neighbourhoods that are located in the east side of the city (see figure 1).

Lyon has four projects that belong to the category *Grands Projets de Villes* (GPV) and has, in addition, four ZFU areas. On the first of January 2009 these four ZFU areas included 3,310 companies, that means 60% more than in 2000. The sectors of construction, business services, finance and real estate represent 58% of this growth. In 2007 33% of these new companies located in the ZFU areas of the four ZFU municipalities (Agence d'Urbanisme pour le Développement de l'Agglomeration Lyonaisse, September 2009).

The approach to the deprived areas is focused on introducing new dynamics in the neighbourhoods and on making these areas less spatially isolated, through demolition and new development. This new dynamic is being facilitated by the development of new programmes besides the housing programme. These plans provide for shopping streets, parks, sport facilities, education facilities and other facilities.

These problem neighbourhoods are often located in municipalities far away from the city centre. Much attention is being given to the accessibility by public transport. Another important aim is to involve private investors in the development.

The focus in Lyon is on the restructuring of two problem neighbourhoods: Vaulx-en-Velin, which belongs to the first generation ZFU areas (from 1996), and La Duchère that has been part of this programme since 2006. Vaulx-en-Velin belongs to all three regimes that are related to problem neighbourhoods. This means that this neighbourhood belongs to the most problematic neighbourhoods in the region if not all of France. La Duchère, which belongs to two of the three regimes, holds a place on the same list. The emphasis in both neighbourhoods is on the integral approach which addresses both physical interventions such as demolition and new construction, as well as social and economic problems. It is mainly the government that takes care of the financial means for restructuring. To attract more private investment, investors receive certain benefits that make it more attractive to invest in these types of neighbourhoods.

5.2. Vaulx-en-Velin

Vaulx-en-Velin was originally its own small municipality, located in the north-east part of the agglomeration. In the 1960s, the municipality commissioned the construction of a *grand ensembles* (figure 3).

Fig. 3. New development of center Vaulx-en-Velin
Source: Paul Stouten

Vaulx-en-Velin has around 42,000 inhabitants, the density is 2,000 inhabitants per km^2 (Lyon: 8,680 inhabitants/km^2). The number of companies is 1,600 with 16,000 employees. Between 1999 and 2006 the unemployment rate was reduced from 23.3% to 20.6%, but is 9% higher than in Lyon. Between 2008 and 2009 the unemployment rate rose by 16% in the ZFU area and that is 4% lower than in the four ZFU areas in Lyon in total. The share of unemployed young people (under age 26) is 22%. The ZFU was especially responsible for the number of business sectors, that rose between 2000 and 2006 by 22% to 1,440 (with 6,000 jobs), one third of the total of the municipality. The building sector followed by the financial sector delivered the biggest contribution to this growth (Agence d'Urbanisme pour le Développement de l'Agglomeration Lyonaisse, September 2009).

The population is relatively young, with 33% of the population younger than 20 and 11% older than 65. The number of houses is 15,153, of which 68% is in the social rental sector. 40% of the population above fifteen years old has no diploma (Greater Lyon: 19%) (ANRU, ASCÉ 2010).

The municipality of Vaulx-en-Velin consists of a number of neighbourhoods and houses two important national schools (including École Nationale d'Architecture

and École Nationale des Travaux Public de l'État). About 80% of the municipality belongs to the *Grand Projet de Ville*, that means 30,000 of the total 40.000 inhabitants. The shopping centre, built in the 1970s, was looted and set on fire in 1998.

Besides the street market every Thursday, the Sunday morning Supermarché aux Puces attracts visitors from within and outside the region and makes an important contribution to social cohesion.

In the past decades, important interventions have taken place in Centre Ville, the neighbourhoods Ecoin-sous-la-Combe and Pré de L'Herpe. In Centre Ville the commercial centre from the 1970s and a number of large scale housing complexes were demolished (*Grand Projet de Ville*, March 2010). The aim was to develop a new centre, intended to be the heart of the area. High rise housing estates in the green environment will be replaced by ordinary streets and squares. These new developments will be made up of apartments of maximum 5 to 6 floors in both private and social rental housing. Besides houses there will be space for enterprises, services, trade and public space including a number of parks, and a street market (figure 4).

Fig. 4. New development of allotments in Vaulx-en-Velin
Source: Paul Stouten

The new programme for the neighbourhood includes (*Grand Projet de Ville*, March 2010):
– a health centre;
– a centre for astronomy and science culture;
– an aqua centre;
– a community centre.

In the neighbourhood Ecoin-sous-la-Combe profound changes have taken place. In the original urban fabric of the neighbourhood there was a sharp division between the different functions like green spaces, parking, living and play grounds and poorly structured public space.

Through demolishing strategic parts of the existing high rise building (about 144 houses were demolished) and the construction of a new street pattern a more recognisable spatial-functional structure has emerged (*Grand Projet de Ville*, September 2010).

This means that the internal connections in the neighbourhood are better organized. The approach in the neighbourhood Pré de L'Herpe started with urban renewal near the city centre through demolition. After demolishing the social rental housing, 370 dwellings were rebuilt, of which 30% is social rental housing. Around 58% of the 490 households moved to another house in the neighbourhood. For 59% of the households the housing expenditures remained the same or decreased. For most of the other households there has been a small increase that remains below 30% of the household income. For 9% of the households the housing expenditures, after moving houses, are more than 30% of the income.

Multiple actors have been involved in the development of Vaulx-en-Velin. Among the main actors are the municipality, the inhabitants, the owners, the investors, Greater Lyon, and the *Grand Projet de Ville* with a project office in the new centre.

The whole process is divided into a number of phases. A number of parties will contribute to the costs with the largest contribution delivered by ANRU and Greater Lyon.

5.3. La Duchère

La Duchère was built according to the model of the 'Cité Radieuse'. In the 1960s 5,000 dwellings were built of which 80% were social rental housing (HLM). In 1968 the population had already grown to 20,000. Between 1999 and 2006 in the ZFU area the population was reduced by 18% to 10,214. Since the 1980s and 1990s the neighbourhood has been confronted with a lot of problems, not unlike the other *grands ensembles* (*Mission Lyon La Duchère*, May 2007).

Between 1999 and 2006 the unemployment rate in the ZUS area decreased from 21.5% to 13.6% and is 2.2% higher than for Lyon as a whole but 6% lower than in Vaulx-en-Velin. Between 2008 and 2009 the number of jobseekers increased by 7% but that is still 13% lower than in in all ZFU areas taken together.

The share of young people (under 26), 21%, is more or less the same as in Vaulx-en-Velin and as in the total of the 4 ZFU areas. If we compare the growth in ZFU Vaulx-en-Velin with the growth in ZFU La Duchère then we can see that the growth in ZFU Vaulx-en-Velin both in the period 2000–2004 and in the period 2004–2006 exceeded the ZFU La Duchère. However in the period 2006–2009

the growth in La Duchère was higher. La Duchère is a third generation ZFU area, designated in 2006. In the period 2000–2006 the growth in the number of enterprises was about 20%. Between 2006–2009, after being selected as a ZFU area, there was growth of about 50% (figures 5, 6, 7 and 8).
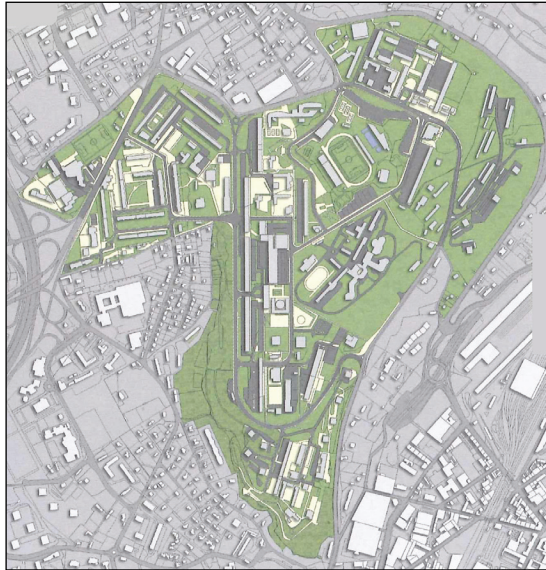

Fig. 5. The original urban fabric of La Duchère
Source: *Mission Lyon La Ducherre* (2007)

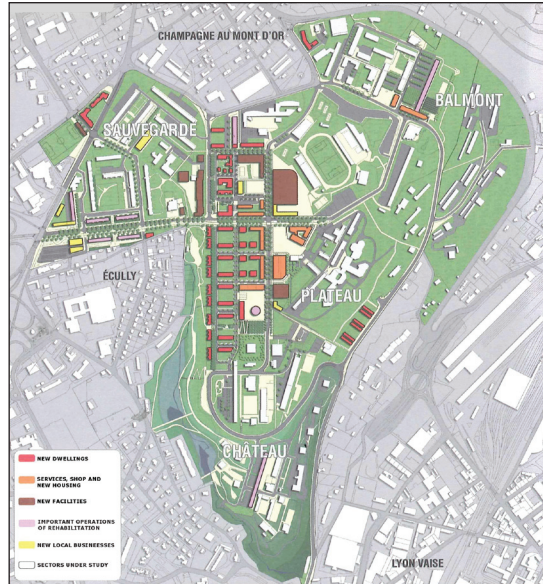Fig. 6. Image of the original buildings of La Duchère
Source: Paul Stouten

Fig. 7. The new developed urban fabric of La Duchère
Source: *Mission Lyon La Ducherre* (2007)

Fig. 8. Image of the new developed buildings of La Duchère
Source: Paul Stouten

In the four municipalities which belonged to the ZFU scheme in 2007 almost 2000 enterprises were established. Of those almost 600 were created in the ZFU areas. In the ZFU La Duchère in 2007, 63 new enterprises were established of which almost 50% were in the category of financial services and real estate (Agence d'Urbanisme pour le Développement de l'Agglomeration Lyonaisse September 2009).

In total 16 institutions, including ANRU, CDC and a number of housing associations, have participated in this project (*Mission Lyon La Duchère*, May 2007). In 2001 representatives of the National government, the region, the Communauté Urbaine and the city of Lyon signed the contract for the *Grand Projet de Ville* of La Duchère. For the period 2003–2012 in total 500 million euros were reserved, half coming from private institutions.

Related to connectivity and avoiding social exclusion there are the following urban regeneration issues:

– differentiation of housing types and living environment. Demolition and new construction of 1,600 dwellings on a higher level to reduce the share of the social housing from 80% to 60%;

– the construction of a real neighbourhood centre, including a school;

– improvement of the living environment of the inhabitants. Refurbishment of the buildings and the public space, creation of neighbourhood facilities. Improvement of the accessibility of the neighbourhood and the connections with surrounding neighbourhoods in the region and the city including access to a new designed landscape in the adjacent valley;

– stimulating a successful dynamic in La Duchère by improving the quality of the education system and the re-integration system;

– developing new building blocks: building strips have been replaced by (half) closed building blocks; sometimes with parts of the high rise buildings; new street profiles with more attention to pedestrians and cyclists.

Fig. 9. New developed playgrounds and park in La Duchère
Source: Paul Stouten

6. CONCLUSION

An important drive of the French approach is the attention to exclusion and improving connectivity between neighbourhoods and the rest of the agglomeration. The French approach of urban-region regeneration fits within the theoretical concept of the network city, in which an urban area is considered according to three different networks: a technical network, a functional network and a network of households. Exclusion of households can be reduced when the connections with technical and functional networks are improved. This is an indication of the interaction between the concerned area and the rest of the agglomeration.

In France as in other Western European countries, urban regeneration strategies show that initiatives must go beyond physical approaches. Despite long time launching of *Politique de la Ville* and, more recently, *rénovation urbaine* within changing policies through the years, it is still questionable whether policies against social exclusion produce a significant improvement in the concerned areas. The path dependency in France is dominated by addressing the complex question of social exclusion e.g. in the peripheral social housing estates.

The *grands ensembles* have been the seeding beds for riots for decades. According to Paugam (2007) in France, as in other countries, new urban questions are arising about unemployment, unstable employment and intensification of work that have put issues of social equality on the agenda again. Social protection has become very unequally divided over income groups and the less qualified for the work force are less protected today.

During the last decade there has been a constitutional shift away from a centralized unitary state including much power in the field of urban policy, towards more decentralized authority transferred to the regions and cities. But the state still plays a big role in implementation through state supported institutions and state-owned companies (see also Couch *et al*., 2010). General developments of the economy have a profound impact on the urban regeneration strategies. The persistent problems of unemployment and social exclusion that have particularly affected residents of the *grands ensembles* in the last thirty years and the various policies to solve them are a clear example of this. Important lessons from the Lyon case are referring to the balance between neighbourhood- and area-based initiatives and strategies aiming to secure the renaissance of a wider city-region perspective with the ambition to re-connect excluded areas and households. In Lyon, connectivity, e.g. for sustainable renewal, is defined by being part of the networks and having the ability to link up to the modernized public transport and infrastructure as well as a vast programme of modernization of the urban fabric of post-war areas. But policy and institutional innovation still hinder bottom up planning including participation of local people.

The second feature of the Lyon approach is the ability to link up socio-economic networks that have been supported by the ZUS and ZFU programmes. Although the unemployment rate has been reduced, the overall share of unemployed inhabitants remains high in relation to the city. This situation hits young people especially hard. The development of an area-based economy is an important condition for realizing vital and lively neighbourhoods. Strengthening existing educational institutions and introducing new ones including high schools and universities) can help contribute to solving social and economic problems in the youth community. But investments will be necessary. Certainly, as the market parties step aside the counter-cyclical French policy will be an important condition.

REFERENCES

AGENCE D'URBANISME POUR LE DÉVELOPPEMENT DE L'AGGLOMERATION LYONAISSE (September 2009), *Opale. Tableau de bord. Les Zones Franches Urbaine de l'agglomération lyonnais*e.

AGENCE D'URBANISME POUR LE DÉVELOPPEMENT DE L'AGGLOMERATION LYONAISSE (March 2010), *The Inter-Scot of the Lyon metropolis*, http://www.inter-scot.org

ANRU, ACSÉ (Agence Nationale pour la Rénovation Urbaine, Agence Nationale pour la Cohesion Sociale et l'Égalité des Chances) (2010), *Forum inter-régional des acteurs de la rénovation urbaine* (30.04.2010).

BOOTH, P. (2011), 'Culture, Planning and Path Dependence: Some Reflections on the Problems of Comparison', *Town Planning Review*, 82 (1), pp. 13–29.

COUCH, C., SYKES, O. and BŐRSTINGHAUS, W. (2011), 'Thirty Years of Urban Regeneration in Britain, Germany and France: The Importance of Context and Path Dependency', *Progress in Planning*, 75, pp. 1–52, www.elsevier.com/locate/pplann

DUPUY, G. (1991), *L'urbanisme des réseaux*, Paris: Colin.

EUROPEAN COUNCIL OF TOWN PLANNERS (2003), *The New Charter of Athens. The European Council of Town Planners' Vision for Cities in the 21st Century*, Lisbon, http://www.ceu-ectp.org/e/athens

EUROSTAT (2011), 'Population and Social Conditions', authors RYBKOWSKA, A. and SCHNEIDER, M., *Statistics in focus*, 4, European Commission.

FERNANDEZ-MALDONADO, A. M., HULSBERGEN, E. D. and STOUTEN, P. L. M. (2000), *Transforming Neighbourhoods, The Architectural Intervention*, Delft: Faculty of Architecture, University of Technology.

GRAFF, J. (2005), 'Streets of Fire', *Time*, 14 November.

GRAND PROJET DE VILLE (March 2010), *Le coeur de ville grandit*, Vaulx-en-Velin.

GRAND PROJET DE VILLE (September 2010), *Les projects par quartiers*, Ecoin-sous-la-Combe, Vaulx-en-Velin.

HULSBERGEN, E. (2005), 'Vulnerability and Deprivation', [in:] HULSBERGEN, E. D., KLAASEN, I. T. and KRIENS, I. (eds.), *Shifting Sense in Spatial Planning*, Amsterdam: Techne Press, pp. 45–56.

HULSBERGEN, E. (2007), 'Don't forget to measure Down Town', [in:] ROSEMANN, J. (ed.), *Permacity*, TU Delft, pp. 59–65.

INSEE, RP 2007 EXPLOITATION PRINCIPALE (July 2010), *Évolution et structure de la population*, http://www.insee.fr/fr/bases-de-donneess/default.asp?page=statistiques-locales.htm

KLEINMAN, M. (1996), *Housing, Welfare and the State in Europe. A Comparative Analysis of Britain*, *France and Germany*, Cheltenham: Elgar Publishing.

MISSION LYON LA DUCHÈRE (May 2007), *Projet Lyon La Duchère: Un quartier, un projet, un nouvel avenir*, Lyon.

NICHOLLS, W. J. (2006), 'Associationalism from Above: Explaining Failure through France's Politique de la Ville', *Urban Studies*, 43 (10), pp. 1779–1802.

OBLET, T. (2007), 'La ville solidaire au pouvoir des mairies', [in:] PAUGAM, P. (ed.), *Repenser la solidarité*, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, pp. 653–669.

POLLARD, J. (2010), 'How the State is Handling the Property Crisis in France: A Perspective on Recent Government Measures', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 34 (3), pp. 686–692.

ROBERTS, P. (2004), 'The Evolution, Definition and Purpose of Urban Regeneration', [in:] ROBERTS, P and SYKES, H. (eds.), *Urban Regeneration: A Handbook*, London–Thousand –Oaks–New Delhi: Sage, pp. 9–37.

STOUTEN, P. (2010), *Changing Contexts in Urban Regeneration. 30 Years of Modernisation in Rotterdam*, Amsterdam: Techne Press.

WASSENBERG, F. and VERHAGE, R. (2006), 'Herstructurering in Frankrijk', *Tijdschrift voor de volkshuisvesting*, 4, pp. 27–31.

WASSENBERG, F., VERHAGE, R. and REINDERS, L. (2006), *Stedelijke Vernieuwing in Frankrijk*, TU Delft, OTB.