From Urban Security to Residentialization: Historical Milestones and Evolution

Sidi Salah Zehour[1], Aiche Messaoud[2]

[1]University of Constantine 3, Faculty of Architecture and Urban Planning.
[2]University of Constantine 3, Faculty of Architecture and Urbanism.

Abstract

Securing and better controlling the residential space in the vicinity, reestablishing the social link and promoting inclusion are the primary objectives of the reclamation of large housing estates, their requalification and their protection as real estate. These parameters, so essential in the function of living, have been obscured by functionalist urbanism, which obeyed the progressive approach, whose tendency to simplism and rationalization of forms was the order of the day and where the idea of modernity was central. This consideration of the question of security and well-being in the external arrangements, the clarification of the status of spaces, was translated in the different urban policies by operations of residentialization inspired by situational prevention and pioneer reflections on the link between urban environment and security which emerged in the Anglo-Saxon theories of Jane Jacobs and Oscar Newman.

Key words: Large housing estates, residentialization, situational prevention, status of spaces.

INTRODUCTION

Preventing urban insecurity has become an important challenge in cities and particularly in residential areas. The quality of urban spaces is undeniably added to their safety. All current research attempts to bring out urban projects that deal with these issues where safety and well-being are integrated into studies from the global scale of the city to the design and development of precision at the neighborhood level. The problem of urban security has been appropriated by all approaches, whether they are urbanistic, architectural, sociological, anthropological or political. Approaching this issue in large housing estates opens up a wide range of questions on the ways to adopt to reclaim them and get them out of the daily stagnation they undergo. All disciplinary fields are involved in this issue and even confronted. If the familistères of Godin, the corons, the garden cities, have constituted new forms of living to the proletarian social classes to fight the afflictions and the consequences of the successive industrial revolutions, the big ensembles of Le Corbusier and the modern movement, have in their turn come to bring thanks to the modern techniques, comfort and social well being and to answer the crisis of housing installed after the second world war characterized by the scale and the extent of the destructions in the European cities especially in France, and in Germany . However, the small footprint of this type of housing has allowed for the release of outdoor spaces with confused uses and the paradox is that these free outdoor spaces without any particular status are today problematic, pose the question of urban security and focus the attention of housing and urban sociology professionals .

In this article, we will try to understand how the security approach based on situational prevention, whose theory was developed in the 1960s, could provide answers to the urban malaise from which the large housing estate suffers. The insertion of security as a dimension in urban policies has become imperative, and this will be reflected in the residentialization operations which, before evolving into their current mode of use, expanded to include several actions, began with security operations based on the principle that the physical and social environment is likely to increase the risk of crime and that the appropriate development of the space could limit the opportunities for delinquents or criminals to act out.

Would residentialization be a response to the debate between the supporters of the security ideology, who in the name of this ideology encroach on people's private lives, and those who denounce the impact of control, surveillance and avoidance devices in the design of the city?

Would residentialization be a new way of applying security urbanism which is part of a defensive approach as much as the situational prevention theorized in Anglo-Saxon countries and adopted following the work of the Chicago school?

METHODOLOGY

In this work we adopt a qualitative approach. The data that were analyzed are in the form of text documents in addition to information collected in interviews with professionals[1] in the context of short internships that we conducted in 2013 and 2015 in Paris.

We will try through the parts developed below to bring some answers to the questions raised.

1. A state of the art: Statement of the problematic elements in the G.E,

Why is this form of housing decried today and what are the parameters obscured by functionalist urbanism that the various interventions, including residentialization, are trying to correct, and how has the HLM world appropriated the concept? (Fouquet H 2006), and to understand how the large-scale housing complex went from glory to decline

2. Towards the reconquest of the Large housing estates via the approach of safe urbanism

How was carried out the reconquest and the assumption of responsibility of the GE, to make a state on the safe urbanism advocated in the years 1990 inspired by the theories of the Anglo-Saxon urban sociology of Jane Jacobs and Oscar Newman and to understand how this approach was taken again a few years later in the French urbanism and rocked towards the residentialization, how this tool arrived at correcting the afflictions of the functionalist urbanism founded on the gigantism and the spatial liberalism.

3. Results and discussion

From the achievements of the residentialization as an intervention aiming at securing and reclaiming the large ensemble, we will draw up a chart that traces the process of residentialization, a table where the different concepts deduced from the fields identified in the process of residentialization will be categorized.

State of the Art: Statement of the Problematic Elements in the G.E

The Large Ensemble Accused of Being «criminogenic»?

The large complex developed especially in the suburbs in urban isolation has become a symbol of bad living, nuisance, violence and urban insecurity (drugs, narcotics, weapons, riots ...) Its spatial configuration has generated confused outdoor spaces, without identity and status, labyrinthine spaces and dead-end roads that are often under the control of groups of young delinquents or socially disadvantaged.As soon as there is an eruption of violence in the suburbs, it is often the urban planning and the architecture of the large housing estates that are accused, putting the defenders and the opponents of these operations in continual confrontation. *Architects are often cited in the trial of the large housing estates ......, the chief charge: To have given birth to a living environment today rejected and degraded, without one always knowing if the object of the crime resides in the material (the «criminogenic concrete») or the form («the inhuman bars and towers»)*(Allix 2005)..

The Problem of Outdoor Spaces: Places of Conflict, Rubbing Shoulders, Friction and Insecurity

The problem of the living environment and the intermediate spaces in the large housing estates focuses the attention of the professionals of the habitat and the urban sociology. While denouncing the urban and residential quality, they condemn the rationalist ideology of the modern movement and the urbanism of the thirty glorious years today in trial.

 Yet Le Corbusier defended, during the CIAM[2] in 1946, the idea of the extension of the dwelling, that is to say, the external arrangements favoring collective life (Leroux 2008). These outside spaces constitute a field of multiple confrontations of the specialists of the human sciences questioned by what is played there in term of construction of the social link and

1. Interviews conducted in March 2013 with Pr Christine Lelevrier at IUP and in 2015with Michel Bonetti ,Jean Didier Laforgue and with Chantal Talland at the school of urban renewal in Aubervilliers .

2. CIAM . The international congresses of modern architecture or CIAM, were born from the need to promote a functional architecture and urbanism. The first meeting took place in 1928, in La Sarraz, Switzerland. The last «official» congress of the CIAM, the 10the of the name, took place in Dubrovnic in 1956, but it is in 1959 in Otterlo in the Netherlands, that some members decided to put an end to these congresses.

expression of the cultural identities and what occurs there because they constitute at the same time places of passage, and theater where are put in scene and confront the various cultures of the dwelling (Haumont, Morel 2005).

The Security Urbanism Approach to Reclaiming the Large Housing Estates

The Emergence of Security Urbanism

The conceptions generated by functionalist urbanism have released between the street and the dwelling outdoor spaces whose complex, ambiguous and conflictual character constitutes for many professionals a condition that promotes insecurity and conflicts of use (Lebois 2014). In addition, the various theories developed in Anglo-Saxon countries by Oscar Newman[3] and Jane Jacobs[4] and adopted in Europe and in France a few years later, put forward an approach that considers that spatial forms considerably influence the behavior of individuals, and accuse the urban form of being partly responsible for the problems of urban insecurity! (Desage 2014).

Jane Jacobs' Theories

These theories defend the idea that there would be a direct causal link between the urban form and various forms of delinquency. They advocate a sensitive architecture that favors small blocks and pedestrian traffic where the human dimension is taken into account, thus refuting functionalism.

CPTED theories[5] and the Emergence of Oscar Newman's Defensible Space

In the wake of the same ideas, in the early 1970s, C. Ray Jeffery,[6] developed a thesis whose main lines conceive that the physical and social environment

The CPTED approach to crime prevention through environmental design, which sees the design of environments as more appropriate to the human scale and which advocates the strengthening of the human dimension with the objective of combining spatial arrangements and social development actions around the creation of public meeting places by encouraging the participation of inhabitants. CPTED theories quickly spread in Europe and played a major role in securing places by advocating strategies that combined spatial arrangements and social development actions. the emergence in the same period of the principle of «defensible space» enunciated by the American architect Oscar Newman, which transformed Jacobs' vision of security in the city into practical tools for the design of spaces and for urban planning, where defensible space would be an appropriate space,sacred and inviolable. Oscar Newman was the promoter of territoriality, he joined Jane Jacobs in confirming that all urban planning must result in the production of neighborhoods whose inhabitants can exercise surveillance.

From these two hypotheses develop the reflections in urban planning and architecture studies towards the creation of spaces that encourage the feeling of territoriality and take into account the physical characteristics (open or closed space, visible or hidden, light or dark, accessible or inaccessible, public or private). What is qualified as «defensible» a space whose configuration aims to facilitate the protection, no longer against accidents or natural calamities, but against

3. Oscar Newman, Professor of Architecture at Columbia University. In 1972, he published the book «Defensible Space: Crime Prevention through Urban Design» in which he made a direct link between crime prevention, security and spatial planning. Based on observations of housing projects, he argues that the increase in delinquency is linked to the depersonalization of neighborhoods and to forms of housing that prevent community and individual control over their living environment. He thus came up with the idea that crime and delinquency can be controlled and reduced through urban planning and architectural forms

4. Jane Jacobs : activist, author and philosopher of the urban, she proposes at the beginning of the 1960s, a criticism of the modern conceptions of the architecture and the urbanism having course in the United States. Her questioning of the majority urbanistic rationality of the time is also part of the search for an urban sociability, allowing the reduction of deviant behaviors, the phenomena of delinquency and the development of urban insecurity. His work invites to take into consideration the natural surveillance of spaces by the inhabitants, delinquency not resulting, in his mind, from a failure of the forces of order, but from an abandonment or from a deficit of neighborhood solidarity. These are all thoughts that she published in 1961, in a first study on the relationship between the urban environment and security in her famous book «Decline and survival of large American cities.

5. This new approach to crime prevention, known as CPTED and later experimented with as CPTED (Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design) was the subject of several experiments in the United States during the 1980s and 1990s and was widely supported by institutions such as the Department of Justice and the Department of Housing and Urban Development

6. C. Ray Jeffery, American Criminologist, author of the book "Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design".

the social scourge represented by the «urban delinquency» and new category, the «incivility» (Garnier, 2012) that is to say, any act or behavior deemed contrary to the rules of conduct specific to urban life.

In order to limit the risks of crime and to avoid its repetition or reproduction, CPTED has focused on the spatial hierarchy. This approach is essentially based on the following principles:

a- Controlling access: Emergence of the idea of a barrier or fence

The control of access means that the spaces are reaffirmed and well delimited in order to keep the foreigners out of the sector especially in the residential districts by the use of walls, alarms of barriers that they are real or symbolic so that the circulation of the people and the vehicles is directed in the delimited zone.

b - Surveillance: is based on good visibility by means of appropriate lighting and the use of outdoor spaces around buildings to better control them.

c - The reaffirmation of space and territoriality: through its appropriation thus promoting interactions and solidarity between residents, the preservation of a well-groomed image supporting that architecture and spatial planning participate in instilling a sense of security through the maintenance of residential spaces, vigilance and mobilization contributing to a better control of places.
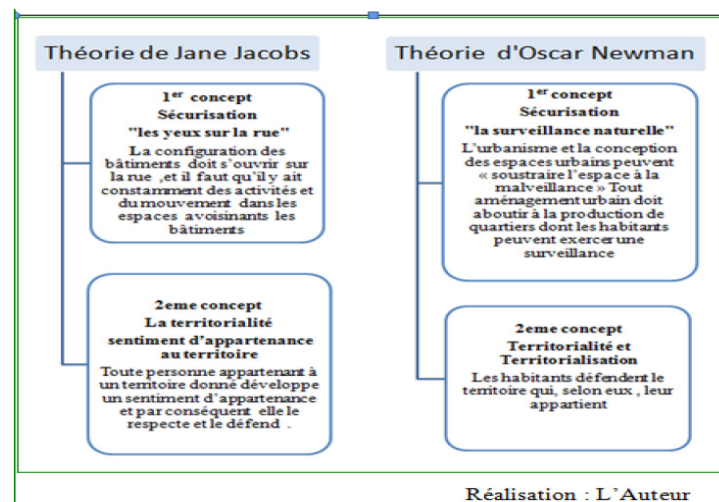

Chart 1. Theories Anglo - saxons de la prevention situationnelle

The Theory of Rational Choice of Ronald V. Clarke

The Anglo-Saxon approach, CPTED (Crime prevention through environmental design) is a methodology applicable to development and construction projects, established in the 1990s. It is an approach resulting from the work done in the 1980s by Ronald V. Clarke[7] who developed the theory of the rational choice according to which the desire of an individual to pass to a malevolent act depends on several factors of which the social, educational, architectural and natural environment. This implies that intervening on this environment allows to better prevent this malice. This spatial crime prevention has been developed throughout the world under various names including «*Designing Out Crime*» which is an Australian university research program on the design of spaces conducive to safety established by a unit of the University of Technology in Sydney in collaboration with the Office of the Attorney General of New South Wales

Defensible Space Theory (DICE)[8] of Alice Coleman in Great Britain

The DICE approach applied in the renovation of the Mozart Estates[9] is a new Anti Corbusier spirit and against dehumanizing functionalist urbanism. Alice Coleman's theory[10] is that urban design can encourage or discourage delinquency, she

---

7   Professor at the School of Criminal Justice at Rutgers University in New Jersey, who developed the theory of rational choic

8   DICE : Design Improvement Contolled Experiment approach

9   The Mozart Estates is a neighborhood of 500 social housing units built in the 1970s in Westminster, United Kingdom, based on the precepts of functionalist urbanism and considered at the time a success because of its design in mid-rise buildings, and its organization in blocks connected by pedestrian walkways by means of footbridges so as to isolate pedestrians from car traffic.

10 Alice Coleman, British theorist of "situational prevention

joins Oscar Newman in this reflection*. From his window, everyone can watch his children playing outside, or the arrival of any stranger to the city*.» (Poirier A.C 2001) .

This is the aspiration carried by most of the inhabitants and it is the object and the objective of the various development works in the residential areas and it is in this spirit that in 1983, Alice Coleman sees herself directing the works of a renovation project of the Mozart Estates through which she puts into practice her ideas with a group of urban planners.

How Did The Contours of Residentialization Begin to Take Shape?

Oscar Newman is often considered as the master builder of the principles corresponding to what is known today as «residentialization» because in his theory of defensible space, he formulated a system of architectural rules, which are based on a principle of hierarchy of residential spaces (private, semi-private, semi-public, public) according to which the status defines the function of use of spaces and facilitates their appropriation by the inhabitants (Gosselin C 2015) [11]

With the rise of security issues in urban approaches and in the implementation of public policies, residentialization was born in a context impregnated with the principles of situational prevention, and in France it is similar to an application of the theory of defensible space (Landauer, 2001), which insists on the fact that architecture and layout are factors influencing deviant behavior, and thus seeks to reduce the vulnerability of spaces and the conditions for malicious acts. The concept of «residentialization» emerged in France in the 1990s[12] .within the framework of the city policy addressed to the priority neighborhoods known as sensitive where the problems of insecurity have strongly increased. It was prescribed to bring answers to the problem of urban security, of the living environment and of the urban deficit and as a new alternative of requalification of the big estates, it was registered within the framework of the PNRU[13] to try to correct the inconsistencies, the setbacks and the insufficiencies which resulted from conceptions of the habitat referring to the doctrines of the functionalist urbanism and the modernist theories. The residentialization also intervenes following the observation of the insufficiency of the classic operations of rehabilitation on the living environment of the inhabitants. It appeared in the texts relating to the works carried out on the operations[14] of residentialization qualified as «flagship operations» [Guigou, Lelévrier, Lemonnier, 2004]. Residential development was institutionalized through the law of orientation and programming for the city and urban renewal of 1er August 2003. It is true that in the discourse on urban renewal and, among other things, on residentialization, the issue of security is not openly targeted and it is rather the search for urban quality and a better living environment in the housing areas that constitute the titles of the different interventions, but in practice, it is the recommendations of situational prevention that guide most urban renewal projects. In France, the residentialization operations were inspired by Jane Jacobs' theories from the Chicago school and the PCAM theories and Osacar Newman's defensible space, considered as the master builder of the principles corresponding to what we call today «residentialization» which drew its foundations from the principles of situational prevention. The rise of security concerns has led some architects and urban planners to appropriate the issue of security in a movement of prevention policy by trying to bring urban measures to the issue of security, responses that combine urbanity and security by developing prevention mechanisms.These mechanisms have been classified into two categories, elements relating to the organization and management of spaces, known as «organizational mechanisms», and elements relating to uses and spatial practices, known as «social mechanisms», such as informal surveillance, social control (Loudier-Malgouyres C, November 2004), or «natural surveillance» (Newman O) or «co-surveillance», which is only a «shared surveillance coupled with reciprocal communication» (Dard Ph 2001).

Residentialization: Definition and Characteristics of the Concept

 The term that appears in the content of the concept is «residence» which in a first definition is none other than «the fact

---

11 According to the collection «The Society of Neighbors: Sharing a Collective Habitat» [Haumont, Morel, 2005], a field study conducted by a team of sociologists and ethnologists.

12 The research report «La résidentialisation, genèse et effets attendus d'une pratique d'aménagement» [Guigou, Lelévrier, Lemonnier, 2004]. Report commissioned by the Ministry of Culture and Communication in 2001

13 PNRU : The National Program for Urban Renewal (PNRU), instituted by the law of August 1, 2003 for cities and urban renewal, provided for an unprecedented national effort to transform neighborhoods in difficulty.

14 Among these operations, Les Merisiers, Aulnay-sous-Bois, 1994, L'Ousse des Bois, Pau, 1994-1995 Les Hauts de Belleville, Paris, 1995, Teisseire, Grenoble, 1997, La Thibaude, Vaulx-en-Velin, 1998-2000.

of remaining usually in a determined place Larousse[15] « or the place where is located the building where a person has chosen to settle privately or a group of dwellings of a certain comfort, (Braudo S)[16]

To «residentialize» means to introduce the values and codes of the «residence» (bourgeois connotation, luxurious, wealthy, reassuring...) in social housing neighborhoods in order to fight against the massive, uniform and anonymous side of large housing projects (Chédiac S 2009). The residence is a place that is easily identifiable by its inhabitants, by the management agents who are responsible for it, by all the inhabitants of the district and by visitors; a place to which and through which the inhabitants can co-identify themselves by belonging to the same group and consequently elaborate collective modes of appropriation; a place that is sufficiently separate from the other spaces of the district so that third parties have no reason to pass through or to stay there apart from visits to the inhabitants or the needs of the service. It is therefore an intermediate place between the neighborhood and the home. (Séchet P 2002) . It is part of a dynamic and in the theoretical advances of the urban thought which asks the question of the «good» scale of use, management and manufacture of the city (Ambrosino 2007).it pleads the return to the community, the return to the street and to the clarified collective space.

The residentialization constitutes «all the development work on private spaces with the aim of establishing a clear distinction between the external public space and the private space of social rental housing buildings and co-ownerships in difficulty, and to improve their residential quality» ANRU[17] .» *Residentialization is a concept that federates a new generation of actions. The ambition is to transform a «housing estate» into a «residence» by restoring an identity and then progressively an economic (increase in property value), symbolic (image, reputation), physical (quality of spaces, architecture) and usage (safety, quality of services and social life) attractiveness*» (Tapie G 2007). It is an intervention that aims to determine the territories on which the inhabitants would be at home, thus an operation of recovery of the common parts and the collective spaces, *«to make sure that the inhabitant is not barricaded any more behind an armored door, but that he recovers the stairwell, the foot of building and especially the parking lot*» (Pannerai P), or as an operation of hierarchization of the statuses by creating a framework favourable to the appropriation of spaces (Tapie G 2007). The term «residentialization» is situated at the association or the meeting of two wills of «gentrification» and «securitization» and appears today in almost all the arguments of the projects to justify a division of the ground in restricted entities (Landauer P 2001). From all these definitions, it emerges that the residentialization is the act of residentializing, therefore to create residences of a certain comfort which will be perceived and appreciated by the inhabitants. It participates in the revalorization of the habitat, creates intermediate spaces, which were originally absent in the design of large housing estates, but also structures the public space, while defining the use and practices[18] . The aim is therefore not only security, but rather an upmarket residential treatment, a qualification of spaces and an optimization of uses (La Forgue J.D 2015) by allowing the lessor an easier and more efficient management of residential units.

The residentialization would be a new way of considering the «ways of living», a response to the rational functionalist and dense urbanism of the sixties and seventies. It is profiled as an operation that allows to clarify the status of spaces, to redefine the modalities of spatial organization, to regulate the flow of users, to better channel the movements and to attenuate the situations of conflicts of use of spaces. Residentialisation therefore consists in *«the transformation of a built and inhabited territory which, by taking stock of the inadequacy of the urban arrangements of the 1960s and 1970s, replaces the fluid and generous space where everyone was supposed to meet with a more conventional urban space»* *(Panerai, 2002).*

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION / ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE RESIDENTIALIZATION

- From urban isolation on the outskirts to opening up neighborhoods and connecting them to the city

- From Gigantism and urban magma where the human dimension is hidden to the division of large complexes into appropriable, mutable, controllable residential units where the image, the urban and residential quality are strongly improved

- From urban planning in Zonning, from the open plan of the big ensembles, from the confused undefined spaces to the

---

15 Larousse dictionary
16 Legal dictionary
17 ANRU : National Agency for Urban Renewal
18 L'union sociale pour l'habitat, "guide de la résidentialisation." december 2012

Reconquest of the territory, to the sectorization, to the reorganization of the land and to the clarification of the status of the spaces which allowed to give them a better legibility, a dignity, an identity, and to adapt them to the uses of the inhabitants by facilitating their appropriation, their control and their management.

• From violence and urban insecurity to the securing of residential cities by enclosure and natural surveillance, the territorialization allowed to reduce crime and fear of crime by reconciling security and urban and architectural forms, this constituted the key piece of the reflections by contributing to offer a residential quality, to consolidate the social functioning of the districts and to allow a better use and a better control of the external spaces.

Residential development is an approach that has helped to make large housing estates safer, to restructure and requalify these neighborhoods, by also improving their management, to modify their «urban social functioning» resulting from the interaction between the different social processes that take place in an urban space, by promoting new social practices, by reducing the sources of tension and by developing the «identity potential» that these spaces contain (Bonetti M, Allen B, Laforgue JD 2008).

The security approach to residentialization has been achieved through the trivialization[19] of the large housing estate, which has consisted of restructuring the urban fabric and cutting up these urban magmas inherited from functionalist urbanism into residential units. For the inhabitant, too, the expectation regarding the space in the immediate vicinity of his dwelling would be twofold: does he want a space that would promote social ties or one that would keep others at a distance while affirming his domain? In this respect, the pavilion, surrounded by its garden, extended by its external annexes, provided with a threshold, a stoop and a fence, can be questioned as an ideal reference for collective housing in search of intermediate spaces that instrumentalize withdrawal and territorialization, according to what we would call today «residentialization» (Moley C 2003).

The principles of residentialization are in line with the criticism made by the Postmodern movement, including the architectural conceptions of Potzampark, which takes up from «Haussmannism» the hierarchy between public, semi-public and private spaces imposed by residentialization and that the urbanism of the big complexes composed of towers and bars on slabs has obscured and in which the buildings are not oriented in relation to the streets.In the residentialization, the search of the mix is required and the functional specialization of the spaces is abandoned to leave place to a flexible and moving complexity of the spaces which can be controllable, recomposable and polyfunctional.
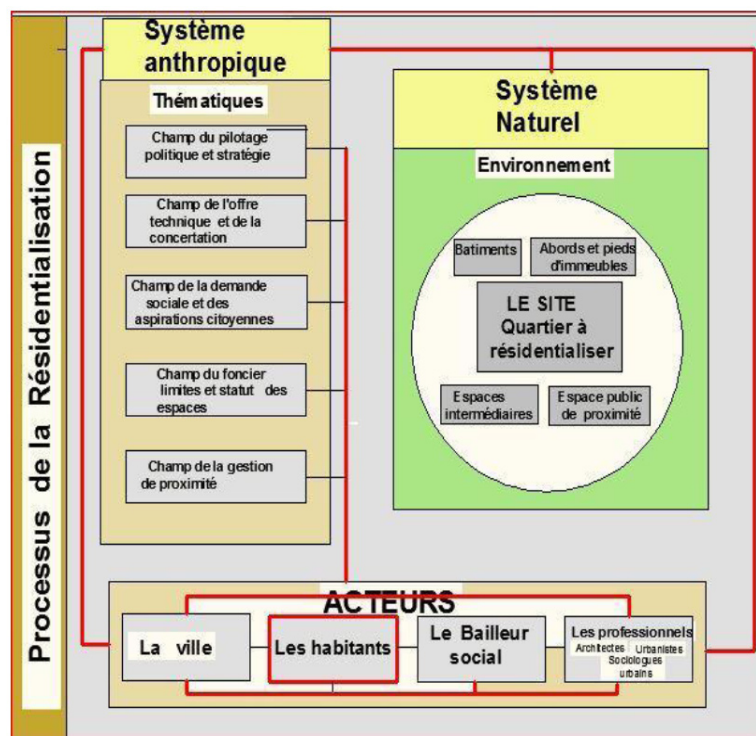

Chart 2. Residentialization process: Realization : The Author

19. Urban banalization is a term that has emerged as a main perspective of a new approach directed towards large-scale projects

Table 1. Conceptual categorization of the residentialization process via the safe

Thematic fields	Initial state	Actions	Improved Condition	Induced effects
Environment of the neighborhood	Gigantism Monolithic Design Standardization Urban Magma Urban insulation Urbanism in Zoning Marginalization Stigma Exclusion	Opening up the EGs Fight against territorial inequalities Connecting GEs to the city	Small residences Appropriable Mutable Change of image and better urban quality	Valuation Attractiveness Integration Banalization Socialization
Land limits and status spaces	Open spaces No marker Indifferentiation of ground spaces Confused uses Maintenance problem Deficit of urbanity	Re-membering the land Clarify the domanialities Recompose Reorganize Reconquering the territories Prioritize Cut out Sectorize Identify the limits	Fenced residential units Statutes of the Clarified areas Uses of defined spaces	Identity and legibility of spaces Enclosure Ownership and interest in the collective thing Accountability Better management Good neighborly relations Limitation of conflicts of use and renewal of urbanity
Social demand Citizen aspirations	Extraterritoriality Degradation of the building Urban insecurity Acts of incivility Malice Outdoor areas degraded, oversized, Non-prioritized access paths	Secure Valorize Requalify Hierarchize Beautify	Improved living environment Rehabilitated building Secure fenced residences, supervised and maintained, Defined outdoor spaces Well-treated pathways	Territoriality Territorialization Natural surveillance Eyes on the street Better control of residential spaces Urban atmospheres

Realization : The Author

CONCLUSION

The residentialization via the security approach turns out to be a project of urbanity, it constitutes a tool of requalification of the Large housing estates. It allows architects and urban planners to transform, to redesign local spaces, making them controllable and contributing to the development of sociability, helping to give a framework to social interactions. It works for the redistribution of land responsibilities with the clarification of the status of the spaces and their protection by developing territoriality, territorialization, the sense of responsibility among the inhabitants and natural surveillance

The residentialisation has been able to provide answers to several challenges, including the challenge of requalification with the enhancement of the living environment, the improvement of the urban and landscape environment, the

challenge of management by improving the legibility of the spaces and the relationship with the lessors,the security issue through the development and spatial devices ensuring protection, limiting malicious acts and the intrusion of people from outside the residence and finally the issue of social cohesion, neighborhood relations and sociability, and the appropriation of local spaces while reducing conflicts of use. Nevertheless, any residential project must be adapted to a precise urban and social context because the configuration and the location of the buildings and their environment condition the project and deserve appropriate reflections.

REFERENCES

1. AGIS, Manual of recommendations for the prevention of malevolence through urban planning, - Action SAFEPOLIS 2006 - 2007, Urban planning design and management of spaces to prevent malevolence, 66pages

2. Allen B , Bonetti M, Paris 2013 « Des quartiers comme les autres ,la banalisation urbaine des grands ensembles en question « édition la documentation française ,170 pages

3. Chédiac S , May 2009, in « A la maison dans mon HLM ...La résidentialisation comme dispositif de rénovation urbaine « revue métropoles

4. Dard Ph 2001, « Contrôler ou communiquer ? Débat sur la co-veillance et ses usages , Entretien In Les cahiers de la sécurité intérieure « Urbanisme et sécurité « , p 31-47

5. Desage F , 2015 « Pas de quartier(s) pour les « grands ensembles « ?, banlieues populaires, ségrégation résidentielle et reformulation de la question sociale dans la France contemporaine, « , inCahiers français, n°388, p. 22-28

6. Fouquet H, August 2005 «The residentialization of social housing, from discourse to applications, what reality for the HLM world? Master's thesis,

7. GarnierJ.P ,May 2012 ,Un espace indéfendable - L'aménagement urbain à l'heure sécuritaire, ,Edition « le monde à l'envers « 48 pages

8. Gosselin C ,April 2015 «Urban renewal and the 'defensible space' model: the rise of security issues in planning.» in metro policies .eu

9. Guigou B , Lelévrier C , 2004 , « La résidentialisation, genèse, références et attendus d'une pratique d'aménagement « ? final report, tome I

10. Haumont B and MorelA, Paris 2005 « La société des voisins - Partager un habitat collectif « , éditions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme, , 334 pages.

11. Landauer P , Delhome D 2001 , « La sécurisation des grands ensembles : incertitudes et contradictions des opérations de requalification «, In Les cahiers de la sécurité intérieure « Urbanisme et sécurité « p 49- 62

12. Lebois V , April 2014, «Between housing and the street, ambiguous spaces open to a plural production process.» , inLes lieux de la ville, processus de fabrication de la ville et pratiques habitantes ,revue Géographique de l'Est vol 54 / n°3

13. Lelevrier Ch June 2004, « La résidentialisation ,résidences et appropriation : des modèles aux pratiques ,le quartier des cerisiers à Lognans « Tome 2 - Monographie 1

14. Leroux N, 2008 « Qu'est-ce qu'habiter ? Les enjeux de l'habiter pour la réinsertion» p. 14-25. VST - Vie sociale et traitements, 1 (n° 97

15. Moley Ch , May 2003 « Between city and housing, in search of intermediate spaces «, research report, ministry of culture, 172 pages.

16. Poirier A.C. May 2001 in «Les précurseurs anglais» Libération newspaper

17. Tapie G, June 2007 « Résidentialiser les ensembles de logements sociaux «, PAVE laboratory, ENSAP Bordeaux. 26 pages