



Extremism, Radicalisation, Citizenship

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Local Analysis Report – 1

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Author(s): Name and Institution	Romain BERTRAND (TM) Nedžad MECEVIC (FHS)	
Collaborator (s): Name and Institution	Markus PAUSCH (FHS) Heiko BERNER (FHS) Vagia POUTOUROUDI (KEMEA)	
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— Territories and methodology

This first local analysis report aims at accounting for the achievements in terms of local analysis methodology while object definition and general methodology are presented in D3.3.-1. This report will also provide a first presentation of the territories to be explored.

Methodology

The analysis provided in the local reports will be structured by territories and their characteristics. As specified in the grant agreement:

The experimental area will be Toulouse Métropole, and more specifically targeted sub-metropolitan areas with various profiles: priority urban policy areas, watch areas (previously priority areas), areas without specific ‘unidentified’ problems, peri-urban areas and rural areas.

In this first local analysis report, we will present all 15 territories and their main characteristics in order to evaluate and let this classification evolve. We will also propose a comparative view aiming at orienting our sight toward the most relevant indicators.

For each territory, following the methodology defined in D3.3.-1., D3.6. will present the results of general statistics analysis and focus groups sessions, eventually of case studies.

General statistics

As presented in D3.3.-1., different sets of indicators will help us grasp the reality of the territories. Socio-demographic, housing and economic situation will be helpful to draw life conditions and standards on each territory, already pointing at some possible vulnerabilities in terms of unemployment, overpopulation etc. Security and political situation indicators will allow us to have a first insight into violence and polarisation issues. Then, institutional and association activity on the territory will indicate how potential issues are addressed and how resources are distributed. These data will be the main basis for rethinking territories classification.

Qualitative indicators

Life satisfaction, trust in institutions or local solidarity networks are trusted to be great indicators of one’s ability to live on a given environment. At the same time, main political values and projection in the future through self-identification shape the relations individuals build with this environment. These sets of indicators cannot be defined through general statistics and, since every survey on these topics are held nationally, we will integrate these indicators into the focus groups and individual interviews.

Focus groups

These working groups aim at compiling and confronting direct experiences of the territory with inhabitants, associative actors, social workers, security professionals etc. As these actors partly

already know each other and as their relations depend a lot on the specific history of each area, the focus group will be built in four steps.

First, we will meet institutional and associative representatives in order to ensure the access to frontline practitioners. These encounters will be taken as opportunities to first evoke the characteristics of the areas and the specific views of the different actors and services.

Then, actual thematic focus groups will be held. The first thematic will be “socio-educative professionals and radical violence”. In fact, frontline social workers and professionals of primary and secondary schools work in precious observation positions and quite often they have not the possibility to elaborate or interpret what they are confronted to. Gathering these actors will be a unique opportunity to have access to their experience and their knowledge. The second thematic will be “security”. As Rad2Citizen chose to focus mainly on violence as a horizon, security professionals will help us grasp the actual trends and dynamics of violence. In this group, both national and local law enforcement professionals will be invited as well as security services of social housing holders. The last thematic group will be composed of associations and inhabitants. Depending on the most relevant actors on the territory, these groups will be composed of local violence prevention associations, cult representatives, sport associations etc.

The third step will be to gather cross-territories and cross-thematic working groups in function of the needs and issues brought by all the participants. Among some of the actors there are not protocols of cooperation and communication t or their relations may not allow open discussions in other institutional spaces. These working groups will focus on fostering connections between them.

The last step will be to go back to a more institutional level to confront institutions’ views with grass-rooted analysis. It will aim at detailing the analysis and at identifying potential changes or needs to be addressed at an institutional level (training, documentation, need of a referent in the institution...).

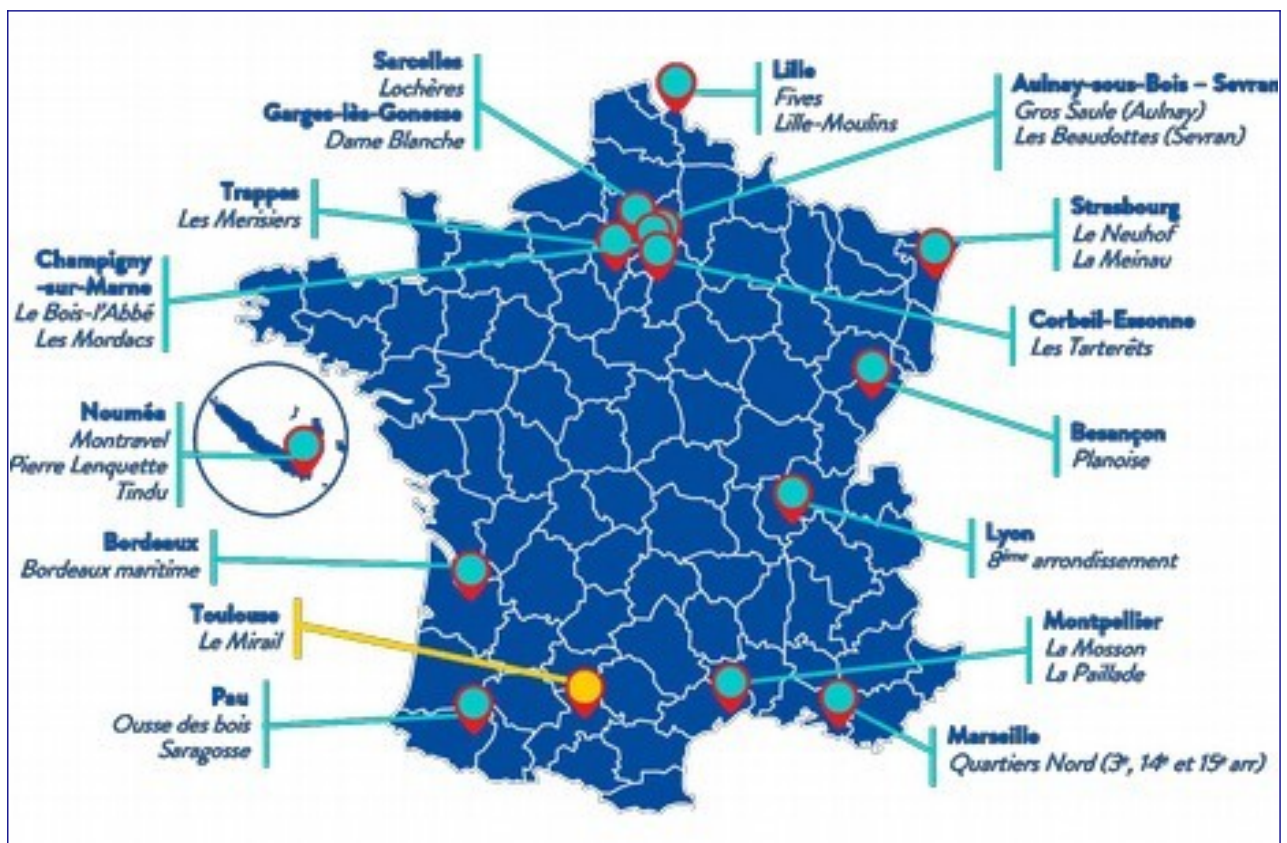
Territories

Here follows the description of the main categories used to structure the WP3 methodology. This classification was done on the basis of generic considerations. Deeper analysis should help deconstruct it and to build a new evidence-based classification.

QRR:

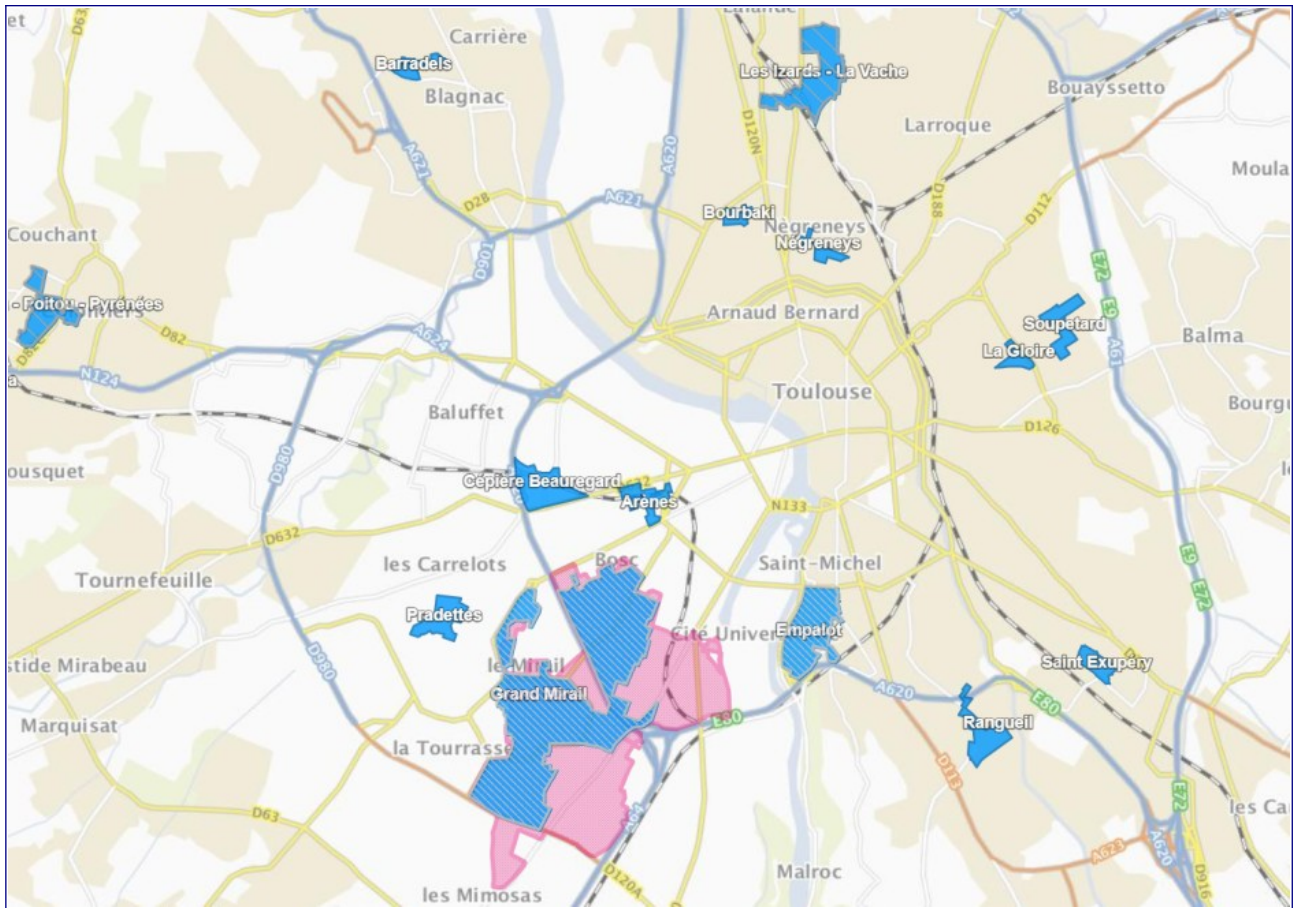
The QRR (Republican Reconquest Area) is a national category created in 2018 by the Ministry of the Interior in order to tackle specific urban disorders: burnt cars, street violence, urban “rodeos” etc.). Fifteen districts in France experimented investments in equipment and law enforcement agents, including a “police-population” referent. The QRR, however, are not defined by objective criterion but their implantation remains highly political. Grand Mirail district, in south Toulouse, was selected in 2018 to be a QRR. At the time of the elaboration of Rad2Citizen project, it was the only QRR in Toulouse. In December 2020, Les Izards, in north Toulouse, also joined the QRR program. Both territories are part of Rad2Citizen project.

Grand Mirail has also a pecificity: it is a very extended and heterogeneous QRR and will here be analysed at a lower level, considering four of its subareas: Reynerie, Bellefontaine, Bagatelle and Faourette.



QPV:

Since the 1980's, urban policies focus on specific urban districts characterised by high levels of poverty, exclusion and security issues (Tissot, 2007). These areas benefit from special funding for police, social action, urbanism etc. Unlike QRR, QPV are defined on an objective basis. Until 2014, a set of indicators was compiled to define which territories would be eligible. Since 2014, two criteria define the QPVs: 1° a minimum number of inhabitants; 2° a gap in economic and social development assessed by a criterion of income of the inhabitants. This gap is defined in relation, on the one hand, to the national territory and, on the other hand, to the urban unit in which each of these districts is located, according to modalities that may vary according to the size of this urban unit.



The WP3 covers 6 on 16 metropolitan QPV. This includes two (on 12) Toulouse QPV: Grand Mirail and Les Izards. In the city of Colommières: EN Jacca and Val d’Aran; in Blagnac: Les Barradels; in Cugneaux: Vivier Maçon.

Watch Areas

Delinquency issues (QRR) and poverty (QPV) had to be central in our approach but the engagement of youngsters originated from middle class and sometimes wealthy neighbourhoods make us realise that radicalisation is not necessarily linked to those problematics (Bouzar, 2014). At the same time the links between poverty and violence are to be further questioned (Franc et al., 2018).

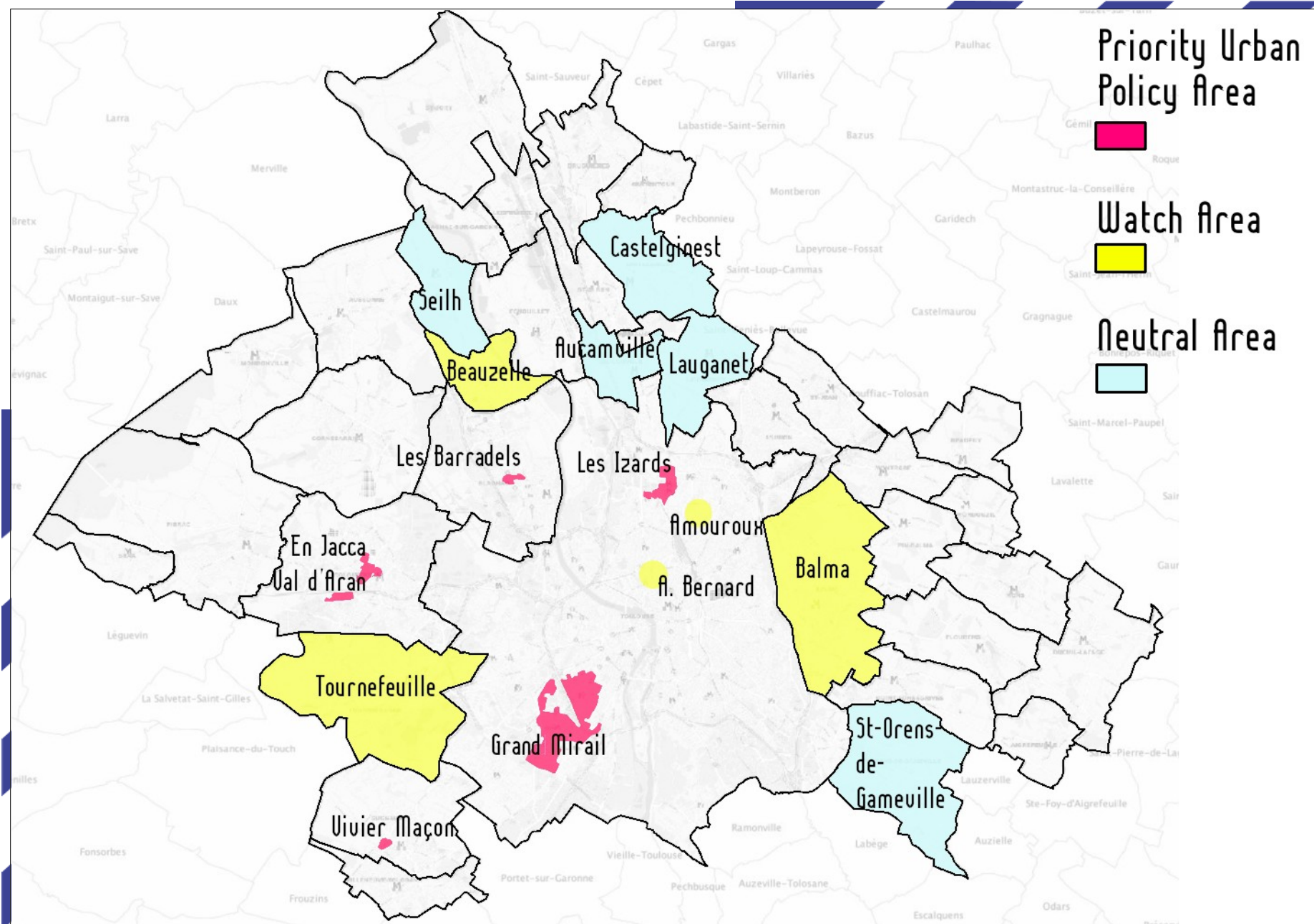
For these reasons, we integrated territories that do not correspond to national criteria but present some forms of vulnerability or interest in terms of analysis. Two districts were selected in Toulouse, and also two cities of the close periphery.

The first aim is to make it possible to analyse territories not only from a « residential » perspective but also from other forms of experiencing it, especially in the city centre. In fact, Arnaud Bernard is characterised by a strong integration to the Centre and an intense non-residential activity. On the other hand, Amouroux (former QPV) has recently experienced violence issues due to population flows. Beazuelle and Balma, two cities of the close periphery of Toulouse, are currently experiencing important change in their demography due to metropolitan migrations. This phenomenon should also draw our attention. Tournefeuille on its turn is a former QPV city which refused the QPV label as trying to avoid stigmatisation in 2014. Then, it will be an interesting comparison point to evaluate the impact of public policies.

“Neutral Areas”

As a Metropolitan observatory, it is important to us to include a large panel of areas in terms of typology of territories. The « neutral areas » do not show any specific vulnerability indicator but it will be useful to compare and analyse at a metropolitan scale the dynamics of radicalization and its « indicators ».

Launaguet and Castelginest are Urban and peri-urban areas corresponding to highly attractive municipalities, especially for people from the Centre-City (Toulouse). They are going through a rapid evolution of their demography and urbanisation and are fully engaged in the metropolitanization process. Aucamville, Seilh and Saint-Orens-de-Gameville are rural areas that recently urbanised, more isolated from the economic activity and metropolis dynamics. Yet, this « second ring » of urbanisation is essential to establish projections on the evolution of the metropolis.

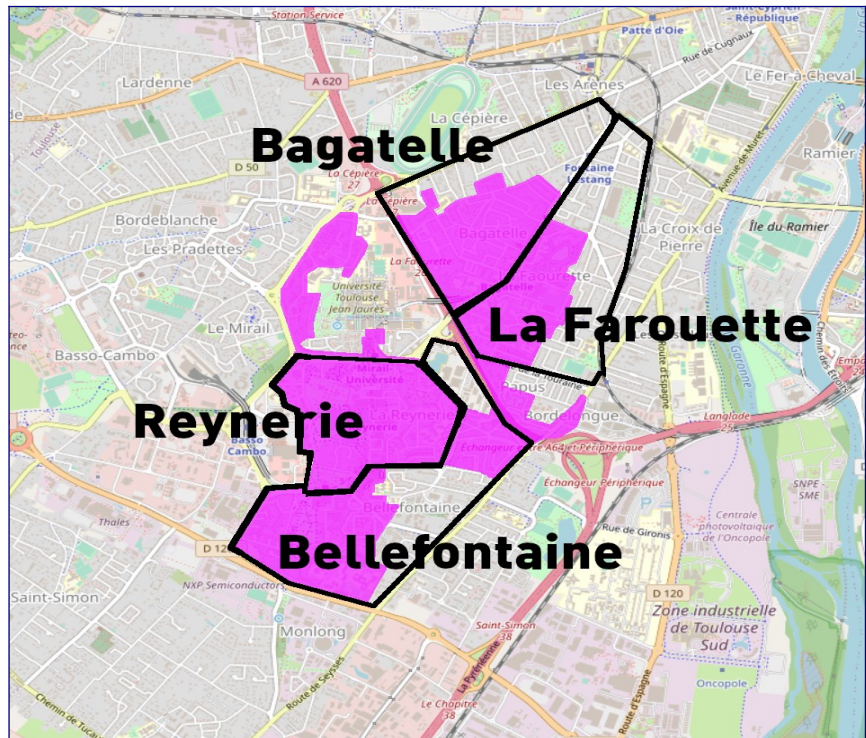


Local Analysis

Grand Mirail

Grand Mirail is the name of a QPV located in the South of Toulouse, as defined by the national urban policies. However, it covers four actual districts that have to be analysed separately due to very distinctive histories and characteristics.

Despite its heterogeneity, it has to be underlined that Grand Mirail has been an important field for urban policies for a long time. As a QPV, it benefits from urbanisation programs and specific funds (social workers, public services...). The median income is the lowest in



Toulouse Metropole (12512€/year) and 48,5% of its population live with less than 60% of it. As a QRR, its police have been reinforced in 2018 explicitly against drug trafficking.

It is a highly stigmatised district which concentrates a great part of “urbanisation” efforts.

Bagatelle is the area of construction of the first “cité ouvrière” in Toulouse. These houses built in the 1950’s marked the landscape and the memory of the district but this memory is now being partly erased. Then, in the 1960’s, tenements were built in Bagatelle and La Faourette to house «returnees» from Algeria and later immigration, critically increasing the population and urbanisation of both districts. Since the 1990’s, important efforts have been made in order to “open” the district and connect it to the rest of the city. Its population, especially the elders, show a special attachment to the district, but it is also a quite attractive place for younger people.

Reynerie and Bellefontaine emerged as an ambitious urbanism program in the late 1960’s. With the “University” district, they form the Mirail. First conceived as a mixed district, mixing low income and free market housing, it has lost its social diversity. Since the early 1990’s, they entered a process of “re-qualification” which implies the destruction of the huge “bars” of buildings.

Both territories have an intense associative activity, including religious activity of different confessions: Islam, Catholicism, Evangelist etc. They are also structured by strong solidarity networks which are notably active during the COVID-19 crisis, providing food to the poorest populations.

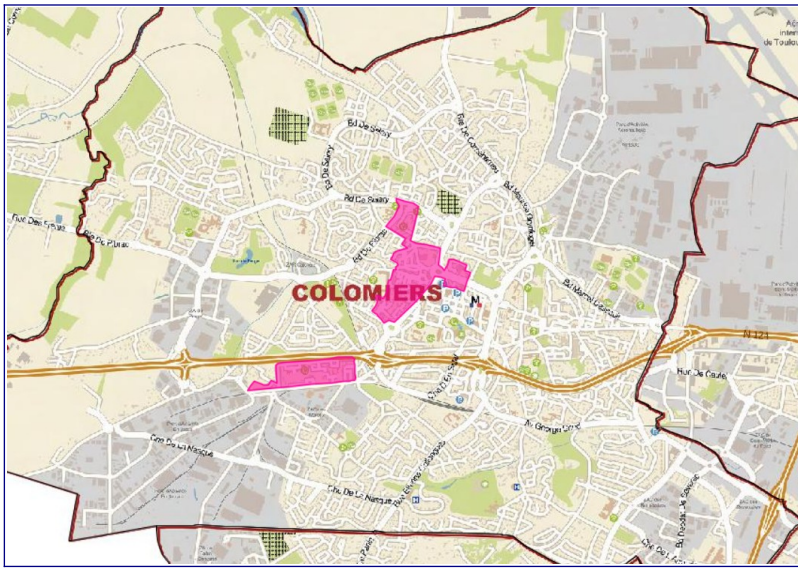
- Bagatelle: 5500 hab. - aprox. 60% Social Housing
- La Faourette: 6000 hab – aprox. 60% social housing
- Reynerie: 10600 hab. - 60% Social Housing
- Bellefontaine: 9000 hab. - 53,2% Social Housing

Les Izards is a district situated in the North of Toulouse. It was first urbanised in the 1930's but it is still marked by its rural background. Its population began a process of pauperisation in the 1960's. Drug issues and trafficking emerged since the 1980's. In the 2000's, its strong integration to the city centre (Metro in 2007, urban metamorphosis...) modified the dynamics of the district. The median income is slightly higher than in Grand Mirail with a lower poverty rate (41,3%), which indicates that direct correlations between drug problematics, poverty and violence are to be put into perspective.

- Les Izards: 2747 hab.



En Jacca – Val d'Aran



Val d'Aran, Fenassiers, Bel Air and Poitou emerged during the urban development of Colomiers in the 1950's. They constituted a “New City” built in beehives along great avenues. At the end, the avenues enclosed the districts instead of opening them and they began to concentrate issues: desertion, unemployment... Recent efforts tend to foster the links between the very near centre of Colomiers and Val d'Aran.

En Jacca is a later built district (1970-80). It was built apart from the city centre, linked to an industrial area which still provides employment, but the district lacks services and is socially very homogeneous.

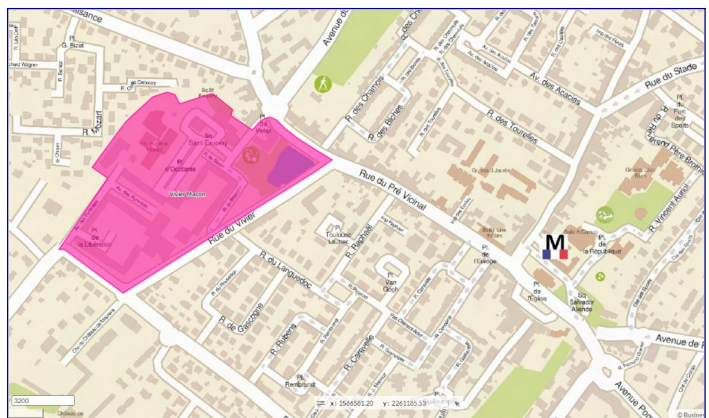
Both districts were classified as urban priority areas since 2015. Grand Val d'Aran, declared of national interest, began a process of urban re-qualification. En Jacca seems less invested but benefits from specific social policies. Colomiers' city council is a very dynamic actor in radicalisation prevention with specific local initiatives. A growth of criminality, including armed criminality is noted by local team but the global environment is described as a “big town” to emphasize its difference from Toulouse districts.

- Val d'Aran: 3011 hab. - 71% Social Housing
- En Jacca: 1168 hab. - 87,4% Social Housing

Vivier Maçon

Vivier-maçon is not isolated from the city-centre. However, its construction gives the impression of an auto-centric district. The huge buildings built in squares are enclosing the neighbourhood which comes along with a strong identification sense.

Despite its integration to Cugneaux and a good offer of services, it suffers sub-areas of under- or over-occupation of the housing. Poverty rate is progressing due to the lack of attractiveness of the area, caused by a negative image for outsiders. Associative activity seems to be poor or poorly visible.



- 1100 hab. - 78,7% Social Housing

Les Barradels



Built progressively during the 1970' to 1990's, Les Barradels is connected to the second most important employment pool in the metropolis. Recet rehabilitations and transformations, in particular the installation of a tramway in 2010 participated in the opening and attractivity of the district at a metropolitan scale.

Les Barradels concentrates social housing, but the district is surrounded by private individual housing.

The district is experiencing an important incoming flow of residents from

Toulouse. These new residents modify the balance of long-term residents holding a strong district identity.

- 1505 hab. - 84,2% Social Housing

Arnaud Bernard

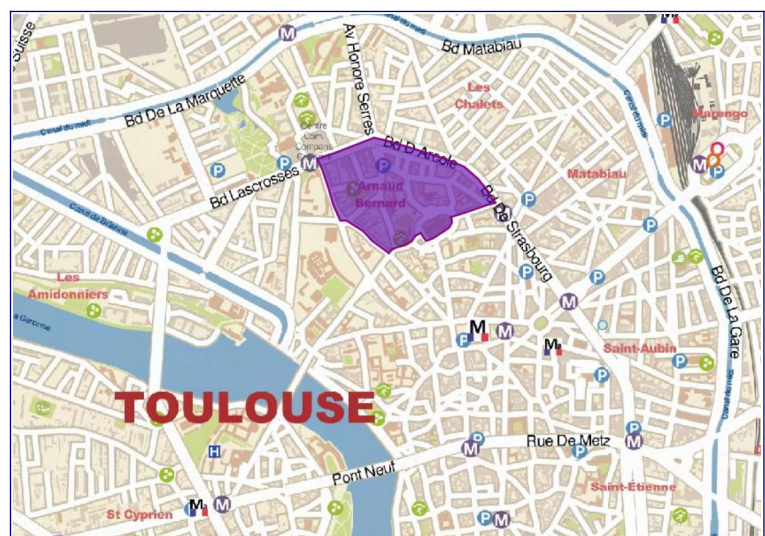
Contrary to most districts we presented until now, Arnaud Bernard is located in the very centre of Toulouse. It is still a popular district with a great dynamism both in terms of stores, bars, restaurants...

It has always been an area receiving new migrants since the Italian populations in the 1930's until nowadays. It is, thus, a very multicultural area.

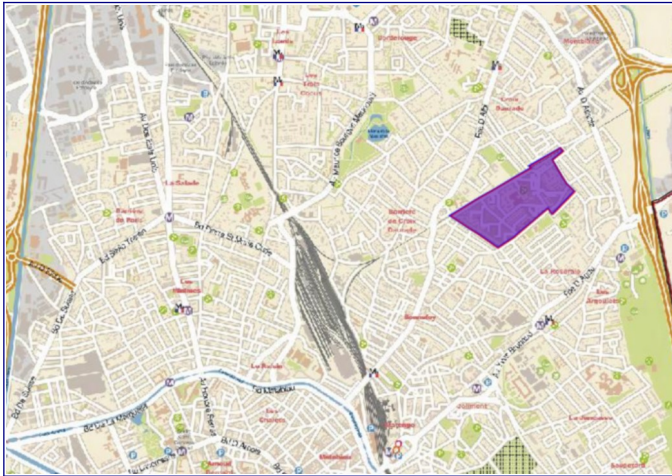
Due to its central position, Arnaud Bernard is highly exposed to drug trafficking.

Its culture of welcoming newcomers also drew TM's attention, especially when it comes to minors, who transit in bad conditions in this area.

- 3400 hab.



Amouroux



Amouroux began its development in 1925 with the implantation of an industry fleeing the city centre. Most residences are condominiums.

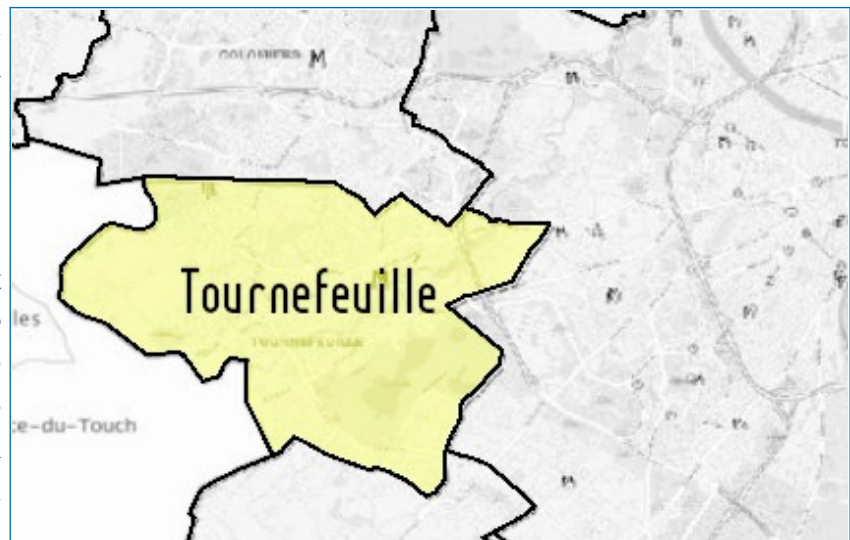
Amouroux has been invested by drug traffics, essentially after police operations this summer in Les Izards. After a period of tensions, it seems that violence associated have decreased. Nonetheless, some local actors are afraid that drug trafficking invested private spaces and is being less visible but still has a potential of violence.

Some local associations are very well integrated to the life of the neighbourhood and act for preventing violence, notably mothers' associations. A relative synergy exists between law enforcement agencies, the municipality and property management companies that covers most of the housing.

- 4177 hab.

Tournefeuille

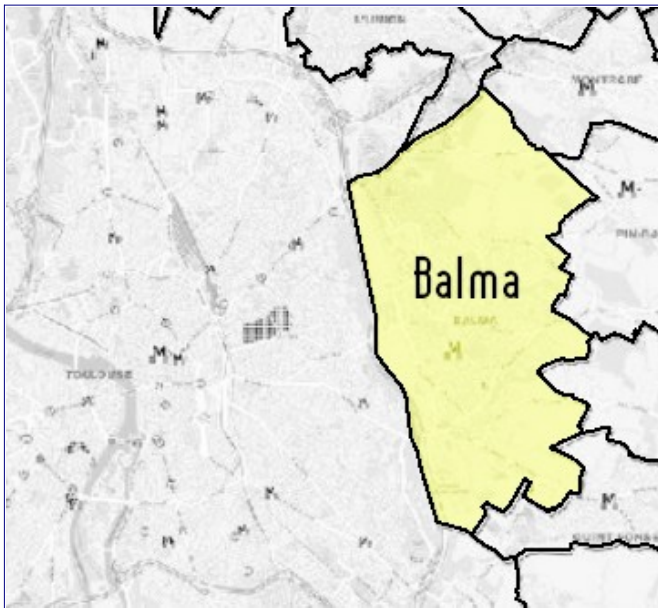
Tournefeuille was a village until the 1960's, before its population grew and exploded in the 1990's (1962 : 2209 ; 1990 : 16669 ; 2006 : 25444). It seems stabilised but the relations between new and ancient populations could still be conflitual. Today, Tournefeuille is the third city in Haute-Garonne (after Toulouse and Colomiers) and it is known as a quiet suburb.



Despite a relatively low unemployment rate (9%) and a good quality of life, the unbalanced repartition of median income led us to focus on its centre that shows the lower incomes. Moreover, local actors noticed criminality issues in connection with Colomiers' inhabitants.

- 26962 hab. - median income: 1103€-1820€ (depending on the district)

Balma



Balma is a bordering city of Toulouse, at the East.

Quite well linked to the Centre-city (a metro station, multiple buses...) its population is growing exponentially due to flows from Toulouse. These flows of new residents are socially heterogeneous: workers, employees, executives etc. Despite a stable age pyramid, Balma's retired population is growing as well as workers population.

As Tournefeuille, there are important inequalities between districts.

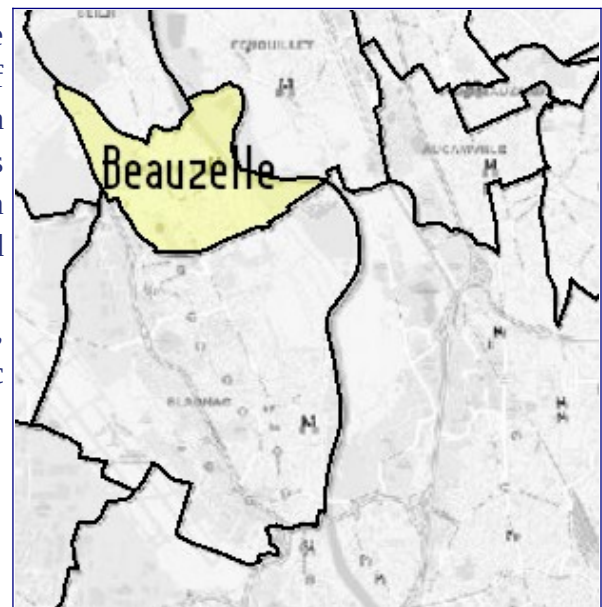
- 16568 hab. - Median income: 1585€ - 2898€

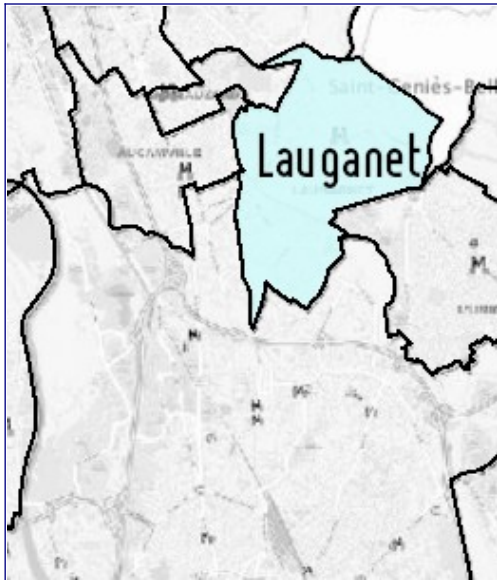
Beauzelle

Beauzelle is a little dynamic and attractive city in the close periphery of Toulouse both in terms of employment and quality of life. It began its growth in the 1970's at a gentle rhythm. Its population is now growing more intensively, mostly with migrations of employees, executives and independents from Toulouse.

Due to its attractivity and proximity to Toulouse, Beauzelle is experiencing an important demographic change which brings uncertainty on urbanisation.

- 6387 hab.





Launaguet

Launaguet, as Beauzelle and Balma, is attracting residents from Toulouse.

Its urbanisation is still moderate but it could explode in the next years.

Between 2018 and 2019, there has been a sensible growth of criminality indicators which is still difficult to analyse.

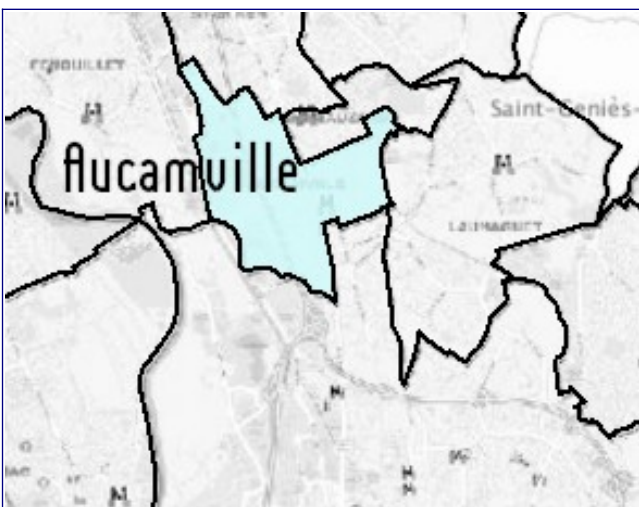
- 8800 hab.

Castelginest

Castelginest began to grow quickly in the late 1968 and stabilised its growth in the 2000's.

Farer to the centre-city and slightly off-centre of the activity areas, it looks less attractive but it is still being developed mainly on the basis of migration flows in its less urbanised area.

- 10467 hab.



Aucamville

Aucamville is a recent city which was a rural area known for its culture of violets. Its population's growth begins in the 1980-90's.

Its growth, since the early 2010's, is mainly due to its elevated natural balance (5,1 % pop. growth for 2014-18).

Aucamville's population and structure (ages pyramid, socio-professional categories) is merely stable despite the loss of its farming activity which disappeared between 2014 and

2017.

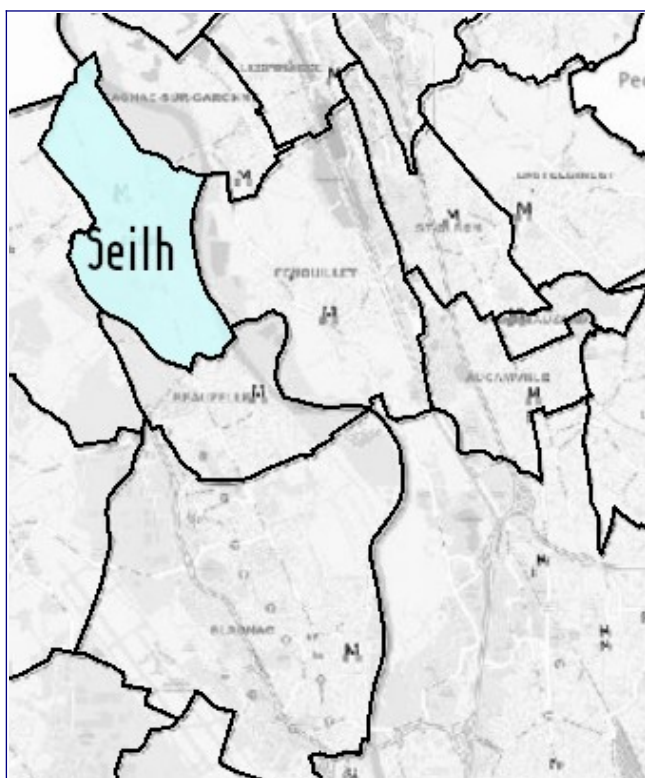
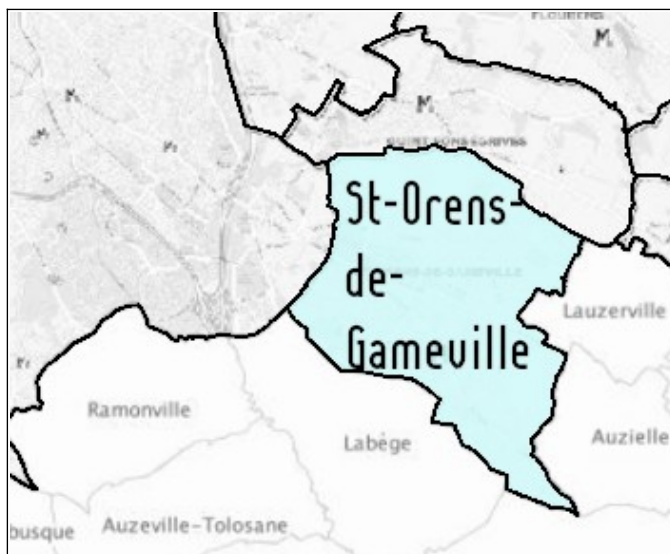
- 8408 hab.

Saint-Orens de Gameville

Still a village of less than 700 inhabitants until the 1970s, Saint-Orens experienced a demographic explosion from 1980 onwards, with the population rising from 2,000 to 10,000 in less than 20 years. This process has now stabilised.

During the last 10 years, its population has been ageing and its proportion of retired growing (34,4 % of the +15 years old pop.). Nonetheless, Saint-Orens displays an important offer of public and private services and has a lower-than-average unemployment rate: it is still attractive.

- 11830 hab.



Seilh

Seilh went through a rapid growth of population in the 1990's (816 – 2086 hab.) and then stabilised its growth.

Its density of population is lower than most cities in TM (530 inh./km²)

In spite of its distance to the centre and relative isolation, its population's structure is quite balanced and its unemployment rate is lower than national and metropolitan average (8,1 % – 13,9 % – 15,3%).

- 3268 hab.

Territories Compared

In the following, the territories described in the last chapter will be analysed by using statistical data. Most of the data is from INSEE, parts of it from Toulouse Métropole.

The purpose of this data collection is to compare the territories in order to get information about social cohesion (see also “Theoretical approaches” in Deliverable 3.3.-1.). This analysis of statistical data is the first step in a series. It concerns the socio-economic situation of the inhabitants of the territories. Other data to be included in a following step will be about spatial issues and the perception of stakeholders and inhabitants of the territories. The overall aim is to get a complex picture of the territories in order to come to estimations in terms of social cohesion.

Challenges

Since the territories vary a lot in terms of their political boundaries – some of them are communities, others IRIS-districts or Priority Areas – it is not possible to receive data that is comparable in a strict statistical sense. In some cases, data from different sources has to be compared. The solution is to use the data for a more general comparison. Social cohesion is a relatively vague concept, so we consider that the data applied here serves for a comparison in an interpretative sense. The goal is to come to statements about positive and negative factors which have an influence on social cohesion in the territories.

The second challenge concerns the multitude of factors that might serve for the evaluation of social cohesion. Since the goal of the data analysis is to construct a tool, that may be applied in other municipalities or regions in the future, it should be as complex as necessary but in the same time as easy to handle as possible. That means that the number of indicators must be limited.

Comparison

The indicators, collected in table 1 and 2, are:

- Inhabitants, total number
- Inhabitants by sex
- Area
- Density, inhabitants per ha
- Foreigners, total number and percentage
- Age
- Education
- Income
- Employment status
- Abstention

The size between the territories – by number of inhabitants and by ha – differs quite a lot (table 1). Due to their definition, most of the Priority Areas have a number of inhabitants around 1.000 to 2.500. The only exception is Grand Mirail with over 31.000 inhabitants, which consists of various

smaller districts. The other territories differ a lot. Some of the municipalities are smaller by inhabitants, like for example Seilh with around 3.200 inhabitants or Beauzelle with around 6.400. Others are home of over 10.000 up to 27.000 inhabitants (Tournefeuille). The difference is even more pronounced where it comes to density. While most of the Priority Areas have more than 100 inhabitants per ha – up to 177 (Barradels) – most of the Neutral respective the Watch Areas have numbers between 10 and 20 inhabitants per ha. The only exception is Arnaud Bernard, that is located in the midst of the city with 140 inhabitants per ha. For that reason, Arnaud Bernard is especially interesting for further comparisons with the Priority Areas.

		inh. tot.	male	female	area in ha	inhab per ha
QP	Barradels	1.613	750	863	9,1 ha	177 hab/ha
QP	En Jacca	1.168	569	599	12,1 ha	97 hab/ha
QP	Grand Mirail	31.691	15.339	16.352	295,3 ha	107 hab/ha
QP	Les Izards	2.747	1.428	1.319	46,4 ha	59 hab/ha
QP	Val d'Aran	3.011	1.433	1.578	26,1 ha	115 hab/ha
QP	Vivier Maçon	1.059	454	605	6,9 ha	153 hab/ha
Neutral	Aucamville	8.408	4.055	4.353	396 ha	21 hab/ha
Neutral	Balma	16.568	7.986	8.582	1659	10 hab/ha
Neutral	Castelginest	10.467	5.025	5.442	811	13 hab/ha
Neutral	Launaguet	8.880	4.344	4.536	702	13 hab/ha
Neutral	Seilh	3.268	1.627	1.641	616	5 hab/ha
Neutral	St. Orens de Gameville	11.830	5.547	6.283	1306	9 hab/ha
Watch Area	Arnaud Bernard	8.691	1.843	2.056	62	140 hab/ha
Watch Area	Amouroux	4.170	2.071	2.099	n.data	
Watch Area	Tournefeuille	26.962	13.088	1.3874	1817	15 hab/ha
Watch Area	Beauzelle	6.387	3.092	3.295	442	14 hab/ha

1. Table: Inhabitants, area, density, 2017, sources: Toulouse Métropole, *Présentation de quartier*; Municipalité de Toulouse, *Les indicateurs de quartier*; INSEE; own presentation.

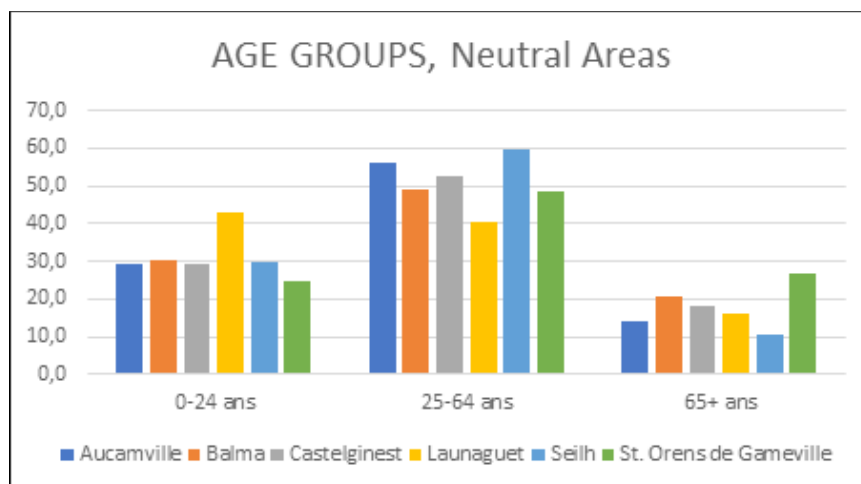
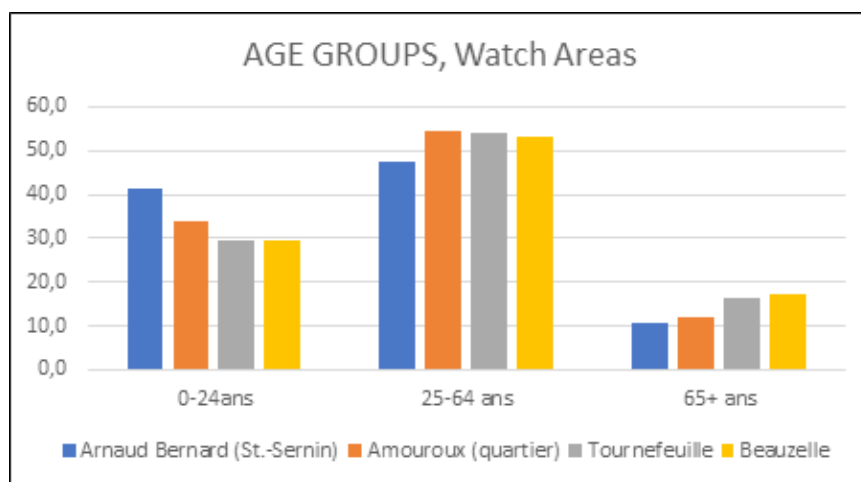
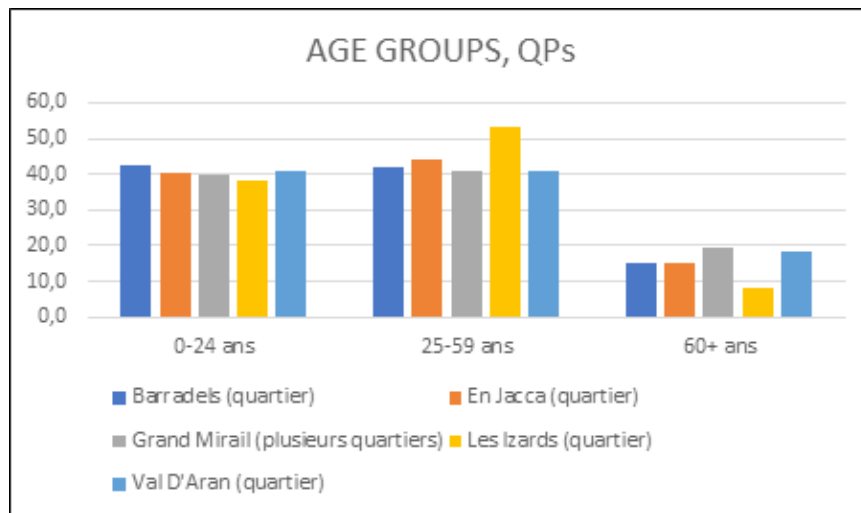
Between Priority Areas and Watch/Neutral Areas there is also a huge difference in terms of the number of foreign inhabitants (table 2). While in the Priority Areas the percentage lies between 18% and 27%, in the other territories it is much lower: between 3 and 7%. Again, Arnaud Bernard, but also Amouroux are exceptions with 10,5% respective 11,9% for the latter.

		foreigners	Foreigners in %
QP	Barradels	316	19,6
QP	En Jacca	256	21,9
QP	Grand Mirail	8.461	26,7
QP	Les Izards	679	24,7
QP	Val d'Aran	551	18,3
QP	Vivier Maçon	219	20,7
Neutral	Aucamville	344	4,1
Neutral	Balma	668	4,0
Neutral	Castelginest	396	3,8
Neutral	Launaguët	474	5,3
Neutral	Seilh	123	3,8
Neutral	St. Orens de Gameville	352	3,0
Watch Area	Arnaud Bernard	409	10,5
Watch Area	Amouroux	495	11,9
Watch Area	Tournefeuille	1.188	4,4
Watch Area	Beauzelle	435	6,8

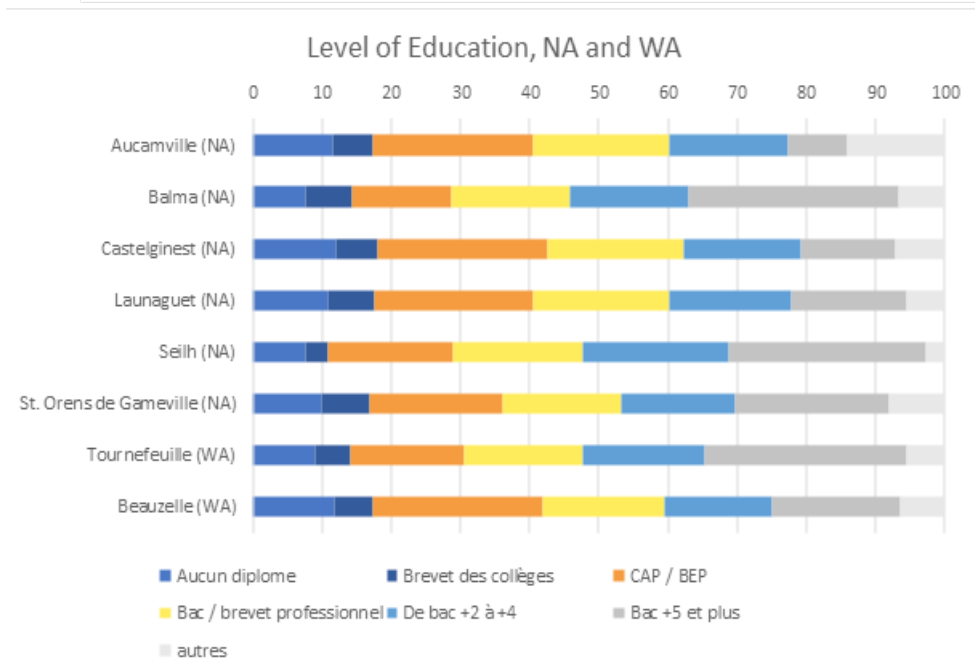
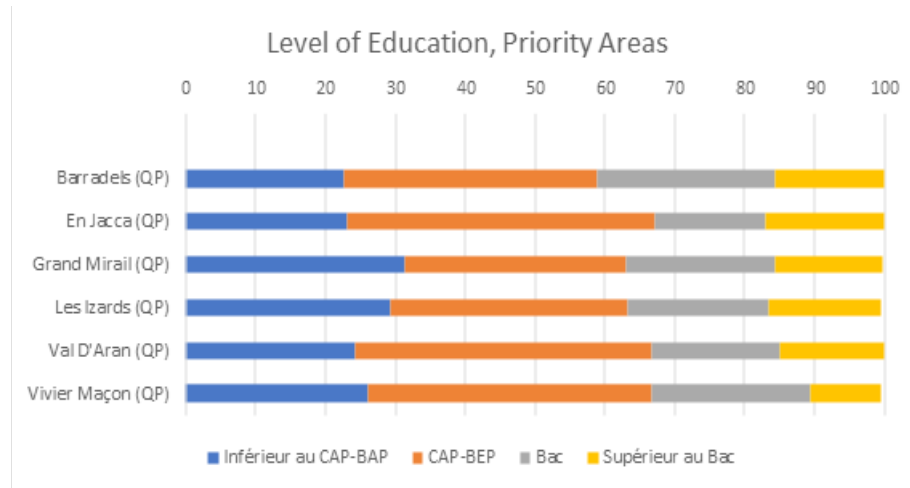
2. Table: Foreigner's tot. numb. and percentage, source: INSEE, own presentation

Another indicator, that shows the differences between Priority Areas and Neutral/Watch Areas is the age of the inhabitants (figure 1).

While in the Priority Areas in 2017 between 38,5 and 42,6% of the inhabitants were younger than 24 years, in the Watch/Neutral Areas it was between 24 and 33%. Again, Arnaud Bernard – with 41,6% – lies closer the Priority Areas. Another exception here is the Neutral Area Launaguët with 43,1% younger than 24 years old.



1. Figure: Age groups by type of territory, sources: Indicateurs QPV, S. 4 f./CAF, base allocataires des quartiers 2017 (QP), INSEE pop IRIS 2017 (NA and WA); own presentation.



2. Figure: Level of education; sources: Insertion professionnelle INSEE; INSEE in: www.linternaute.com/. No data for Arnaud Bernard and Amouroux; own presentation.

Where it comes to education (figure 2) we again can see a difference between Priority Areas and Neutral/Watch Areas.

The number of inhabitants with lower education (aucun diplome or inférieur au CAP-BAP) in the first ones is in all cases above 20%, in the latter lower than 20%.

In contrary, in the Priority Areas around 20% of the inhabitants have a higher educational qualification (supérieur au Bac). In the Neutral and Watch Areas numbers differ quite a lot. While in most of the more than 20% have a higher education (De bac +2 à +4 or Bac +5 et plus) Aucamville and Castelginest (both Neutral Areas) are visibly below.

	median income, household in €
Barradels (QP)*	13.350
En Jacca (QP)*	13.780
Grand Mirail (QP) *	12.790
Les Izards (QP) *	14.050
Val D'Aran (QP)*	15.100
Vivier Maçon (QP)*	13.660
Aucamville (NA)***	21.920
Balma (NA)***	26.830
Castelginest (NA)***	22.780
Launaguet (NA)**	22.560
Seilh (NA)***	28.800
St. Orens de Gameville (NA)**	29.670
Arnaud Bernard (St.-Sernin) (WA)**	18.900
Amouroux (WA)**	16.760
Tournefeuille (WA)***	28.210
Beauzelle (WA)***	24.650

3. Table: Median income per household

Sources:

* <https://sig.ville.gouv.fr/>

** INSEE, IRIS 2017

*** INSEE, Dossiers complet 2017: <https://www.insee.fr>

It is the indicator that is used to define Priority Areas, so it is not surprising, that incomes there are clearly lower than in the other territories (between € 12.800 and € 15.100 per year). In the Neutral Areas the lie between € 22.000 (Aucamville, Launaguet and Castelginest) and € over 29.000 (St. Orens de Gameville). In the Watch Areas again Amouroux (€ 16.760) and Arnaud Bernard (€ 18.900) are closer to the Priority Areas than the other territories. But still people earn more than in the Priority Areas.

For further comparisons Aucamville and Launaguet (as NA) and Amouroux and Arnaud Bernard (as WA) will be interesting cases.

The lowest crime rate (table 4) in 2018 show Castelginest (19,5 promille) and Launaguet (29,3 promille). This is interesting, because there the median incomes are comparably low. The community Colomiers that includes the Priority Area En Jacca has a comparably high crime rate of 52 promille. On the middle part of the spectrum are some Neutral Areas and the Watch Area Beauzelle.

From 2018 to 2019 the crime rate in every territory – but two: Seilh and Beauzelle – increased.

For further comparisons it will be interesting to know more about the subjective perception of the population, especially in the territories with high crime rates (Tournefeuille and Colomiers/En Jacca), compared to the ones with lower or declining rates (Castelginest, Seilh, Beauzelle)

	Crime rate 2018 promille	Crime rate 2019 promille	tendency
Aucamville (NA)	46,95	49,8	up
Balma (NA)	42,45	49,77	up
Castelginest (NA)	19,51	26,57	up
Launaguet (NA)	29,31	42,27	up
Seilh (NA)	30,64	27,07	down
St-Orens (NA)	32,47	49,31	up
Tournefeuille (WA)	52,13	67,67	up
Beauzelle (WA)	41,94	38,77	down
Colomiers (com. En Jacca, PA)	52,64	54,14	up
Cugnaux (com. Vivier Macon, PA)	31,51	48,45	up

4. Table: Crime rate, 2018 and 2019, source: Ministère de l'Intérieur: Insécurité et délinquance, own presentation.

	Inhabitants, 2017 (INSEE)	Non-mortal violence 2018 Total numbers	Non-mortal violence 2019 Total numbers	tendency
Aucamville (NA)	8.408	30	28	down
Balma (NA)	16.568	26	39	up
Castelginest (NA)	10.467	20	24	up
Launaguet (NA)	8.880	21	26	up
Seilh (NA)	3.269	6	4	down
St-Orens (NA)	11.830	10	31	up
Tournefeuille (WA)	26.962	51	73	up
Beauzelle (WA)	6.387	12	9	down
Colomiers (com. En Jacca, PA)	38.951	140	136	down
Cugnaux (com. Vivier Macon, PA)	17.974	33	64	up

5. Table: Delinquency, non-mortal violence 2018 and 2019, source: Ministère de l'Intérieur, own presentation.

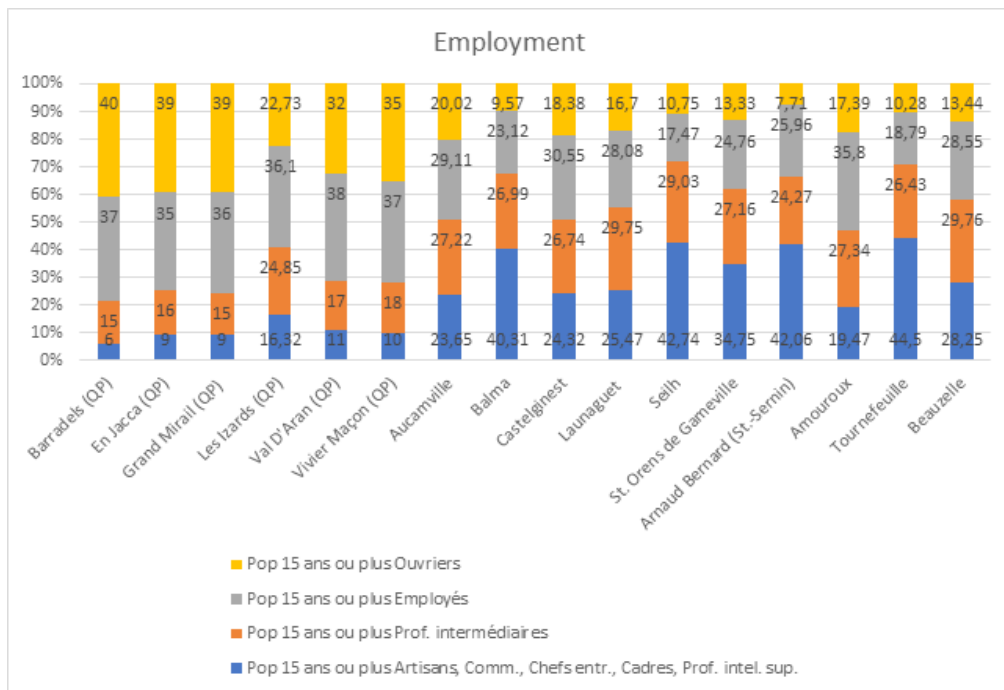
It is difficult to come to a clear valuation of non-mortal violence (table 5) that shows relatively low numbers in general by comparing only two years (2018 and 2019). But we can say that there is quite a difference between various territories.

Again, Seilh and Beauzelle have visibly lower numbers, here: of non-mortal violence. Both numbers decline from 2018 to 2019.

The number of committed cases of non-mortal violence in Colomiers (which includes En Jacca) is 136. Anyway, this number appears lower, in the context of the number of inhabitants, e.g. compared to Seilh:

- Seilh: 4 cases / 3.269 inhab. in 2017 = 1,22 per 1.000 inhab.
- Colomiers: 136 cases / 38.951 inhab. in 2017 = 3,49 per 1.000 inhab.

It is obvious that in the percentage of workers in the Priority Areas is much higher (between 32% and 40%) compared to the other territories. The only exception is Les Izards with around 23% workers. The highest number of workers among the Neutral and Watch Areas has Aucamville with 20%. On the other side, higher professions are especially numerous in Balma (40%), Seilh (43%), Arnaud Bernard (42%) and Tournefeuille (44,5%). In the rest of the territories middle class professions (employees and profs. intermédiaires) dominate.

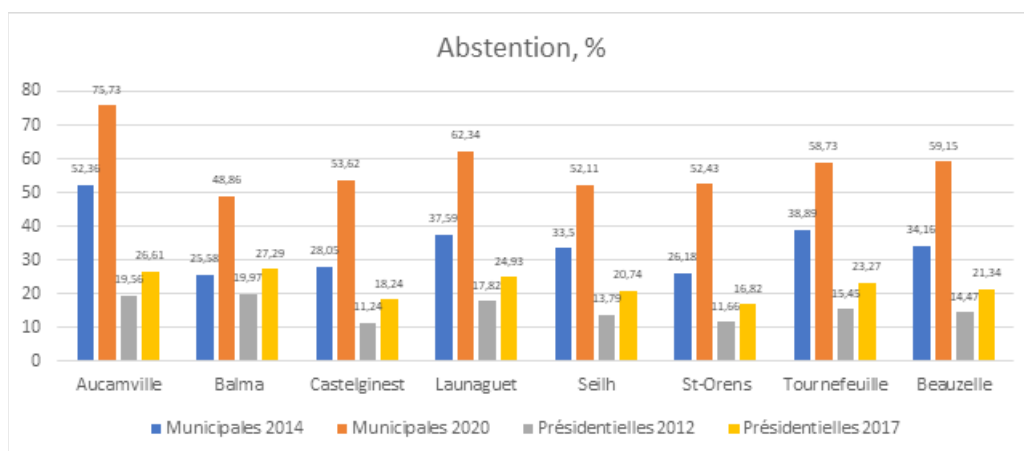


3. Figure: Employment status, differed by four groups: workers, employees, “prof intermédiaires” and “Artisans, Comm., Chefs entr., Cadres, Prof. intel. sup.”

Abstention (figure 4) in political elections is a big problem in France in general and in the analysed areas in concrete. The graph shows that the abstention was especially high in the municipal elections 2020, which partly has to do with the COVID-19 crisis. It is difficult to know in which way and to what extent the crisis distorts the turnout and the political participation.

However, a comparison of abstention in presidential elections and other indicators (like the decline of trust in institutions) show that there is a general trend towards less conventional political participation.

We see very high abstention in the municipal elections 2020 in Aucamville with more than 75 % and high abstention rates in Launaguët, Tournefeuille and Beauzelle with around 60 %.



4. Figure: Abstention rate, source: Ministère de l'Intérieur, own presentation.

Conclusion

With the seven Priority Areas as a basis, we showed the differences to so-called Watch Areas and Neutral Areas.

Many indicators create an expectable picture. Income for example, is much lower in the Priority Areas than in the rest of the territories – income is the factor that defines Priority Areas in France. But other indicators also show the relatively lower social and economic situation of the Priority Areas. In terms of density (inhab. per ha), level of education or employment status they all are visibly weaker than the Watch/Neutral Areas.

They also have a higher number of young people (0-24 years) and foreigners.

Nevertheless, there are some exceptions that should be regarded more in detail:

- Launaguet has a high number of young people;
- the Neutral Areas Aucamville and Balma have a comparatively high crime rate;
- the Watch Areas Arnaud Bernard and Amouroux show relatively low median incomes
- while in Arnaud Bernard live much more workers as in Amouroux and its density is quite high.

Next steps

As a next step the analysis of the statistical data will be completed. Missing data are:

- risk at poverty
- social housing,

The following step builds on qualitative data from the territories. They include perceptions of inhabitants in terms of:

- satisfaction with life
- trust in institutions
- spatial issues, neighbourhoods

Conclusion

The presentation of the territories at such a scale is a first step to understand, from objective data, the trends in general population. In order to build an observatory on radicalisation, what have we learnt that could be relevant?

First of all, it was necessary to bring these elements to re-think our categorisation. QPV should be kept as a specific category as it constitutes a public policy category that shows common indicators and may be strongly impacted by specific policies (urban renewing, innovations in education, etc.). Although the differences between them, QPVs are relevant to be thought together, especially when it comes to an analysis of the relations between life standards and violence or radicalisation trends.

QRR also constitute a public policy-based category, but its definition is not evidence-based and can be considered as somehow arbitrary. Some of the features developed in these territories (police-population relations, radicalisation prevention, etc.) should help us in the realisation of the studies, they cannot be kept as an analytically relevant category.

As shown in the comparison, watch areas and Neutral areas are not relevant as they do not imply any homogeneity. Although watch areas were generally more urbanised and linked to Toulouse, this does not constitute a characteristic of the areas for themselves. Moreover, some indicators may be more present in one or the other of these categories.

Consequently, we decided to stop using the categories elaborated for structuring the project. Due to the great diversity of the territories, we also cannot use other categorisations at that point. Including QPV, each area will be studied in its singularity. Common problematics or indicators may emerge during the project, then we will gather the areas following these evidence-based elements.

All along this report, we tried to show both objective elements and historical or social considerations on the territories. Doing so, we hope that we managed to depict the areas in a way that will make easier the understanding of radicalisation trends in the next reports.

D3.6.-2, 3 and 4 will be structured differently, focusing on less territories at a time while developing specific aspects on the basis of the work groups put in relation to objective data both at a demographical, political and socio-cultural level. These focuses should let us grasp with more efficiency the specific object of the project.

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Extremism, Radicalisation, Citizenship

Project N°:871092

Local Analysis Report – 2

Deliverable N°: 3.6.-2.



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Object and Methodology

As the project goes, our capacity to analyse and produce data at a local level clarifies. The quantitative data available will continue to be used as the production of qualitative data should begin in the next months. For that purpose, this first part develops two methodologies to be applied in the local territories. The general intention and theoretical backgrounds for these methodologies have been partly exposed in D3.3.-1 and D3.3.-2. However, it is necessary to develop its very concrete application possibilities here as it will be deployed at a local level.

The first methodology is the most complete and aims at providing fine qualitative data about the territories and its inhabitants by cross-analysing and confronting different perspectives from social workers, security professionals and inhabitants. The second methodology was developed to overcome time issues as the number of territories to be explored does not allow a complete development for all of them.

Workgroups: an approach

WP3 aims at setting up an observatory on radicalisation issues. This observatory works from various sources: quantitative data, interviews with the professionals and managers most concerned, analysis of the territory, etc. Its operation and relevance are largely based on the composition of a set of working groups at the local level.

These working groups must bring together professionals from the socio-educational field, residents and residents' groups and security professionals. They aim at the mutual recognition of concerns, worries but also life experiences and definitions of "radicalities".

Once the participants have been identified, a meeting date will be set, if possible in person. The basis of a half-day per working session will be retained in order to take time for the presentation of the people present, a time for reflection on the terms, and a time to address the specificities of the territory.

The first thirty minutes will be dedicated to the presentation of the participants. This may appear obvious or a too long time, but the presence of different actors that may know or may not know each others requires a specific attention. This time will be a first step in the acknowledgement of the roles and perceptions of each actor by all the others. They will be asked to present themselves (persons), their service or institution and its objectives on the territory. At that time, no discussion will be fostered.

Working method addressing the issues of violence and "radicalisation" also involves a discussion of what we want to identify through these terms. The relevance of the terms may itself be discussed. The definition chosen by the project Rad2Citizen project will be the subject of a short development to which the participants will be asked to react, which they can rework, reject, replace etc. based on their own experience. Participants will be asked to identify "radical violence" issues on the territory and to associate these phenomena with other terms and definitions. From these discussions, we should be able to draw lexical fields representations that will help to grasp the possible associations and the lexical borders that can exist in terms of violence, radicalities, extremism, etc. This whole process should not exceed one hour.

After that, a couple of the phenomenon evoked will be developed and the analysis of each actor will be reported, compared and discussed. Each participant will be able to present one or more situations or phenomena (1h). In the third stage, the group will aim to examine in greater depth the causes and effects of the the causes and effects of the situations or phenomena mentioned in order to integrate the discussion into the overall work of the of the observatory project. A series of vulnerability factors and potential resources resources will be proposed from the project (the guidelines) while leaving the possibility of emerging new lines of analysis.

For each session, a report will be elaborated, which will be transmitted to all the participants. After validation and possible modifications, these minutes will be archived in the in the observatory files and will be used to feed future groups and the overall analysis of the territory. If necessary, a second or even a third session can be organised.

The data produced will be used to complete indicators tables and to interpret it. Some elements may also be useful for formulating recommendations.

In some territories, the high number of actors and the incompatibility between the views of some of them brought us to think of a splitting of the working groups in three: security actors; socio-educational actors; inhabitants and local associations. In that case, the questions will be adapted to the kind of actors present.

On the basis of the reports of the thematic and local groups, a series of cross-references will be made and the and the observatory will propose to the participants of each group to meet with other groups on common themes. This may involve cross-analysis between territories or between types of actors. The whole process will be analysed and the results presented as much as possible to the The results of the process will be presented as far as possible during the project and at key events organised during 2022.

Lighter methodology

The methodology presented above aims at furnishing the most complete image of the local areas observed. However, the time constraints of the project does not allow us to develop such working groups in all 18 territories involved. As not to abandon the analysis of these territories, it was necessary to adapt a lighter methodology and select the territories (cf. New map D3.3.-2.).

This method will consist in encountering major stakeholders of these territories and keeping attentive of spontaneous solicitations of the local actors (college, educational teams...).

It will not be possible to elaborate precise portraits of these territories due to the lack of cross-discourses but the guidelines will be used to systematise as much as possible the exchanges with the local actors. As for the workgroups, the interviews will rise rise to a report, transmitted to the actors for corrections before it integrates the analysis' material.

Compared analysis

Framework and preliminary remarks

In the following chapter, the data analysis – part of deliverable 3.6-1 – will be continued. The goal of the data analysis is to construct an observatory tool that allows estimations about social cohesion in various territories in Toulouse Métropole. The statistical data compared here is a part of a wider data collection, that will be structured by six main categories:

1. Socio-demographic factors
2. Education
3. Housing & neighbourhood
4. Spatial factors
5. Perception (trust, perspectives, identification)
6. Political factors (political values)

Each category includes sub-categories (factors). The final decision which factors will describe the main categories has to be taken after finalizing the data collection. The collection of statistical data in the project is mostly done. Qualitative data will be collected by means of focus group discussions in the territories (an interview guideline is presented in deliverable 3.3-2).

In a final step, each factor will be assessed and evaluated with a number in order to come to the detailed evaluation of social cohesion in the territories.

The observatory will be visualized by means of a spider chart (figure 1).

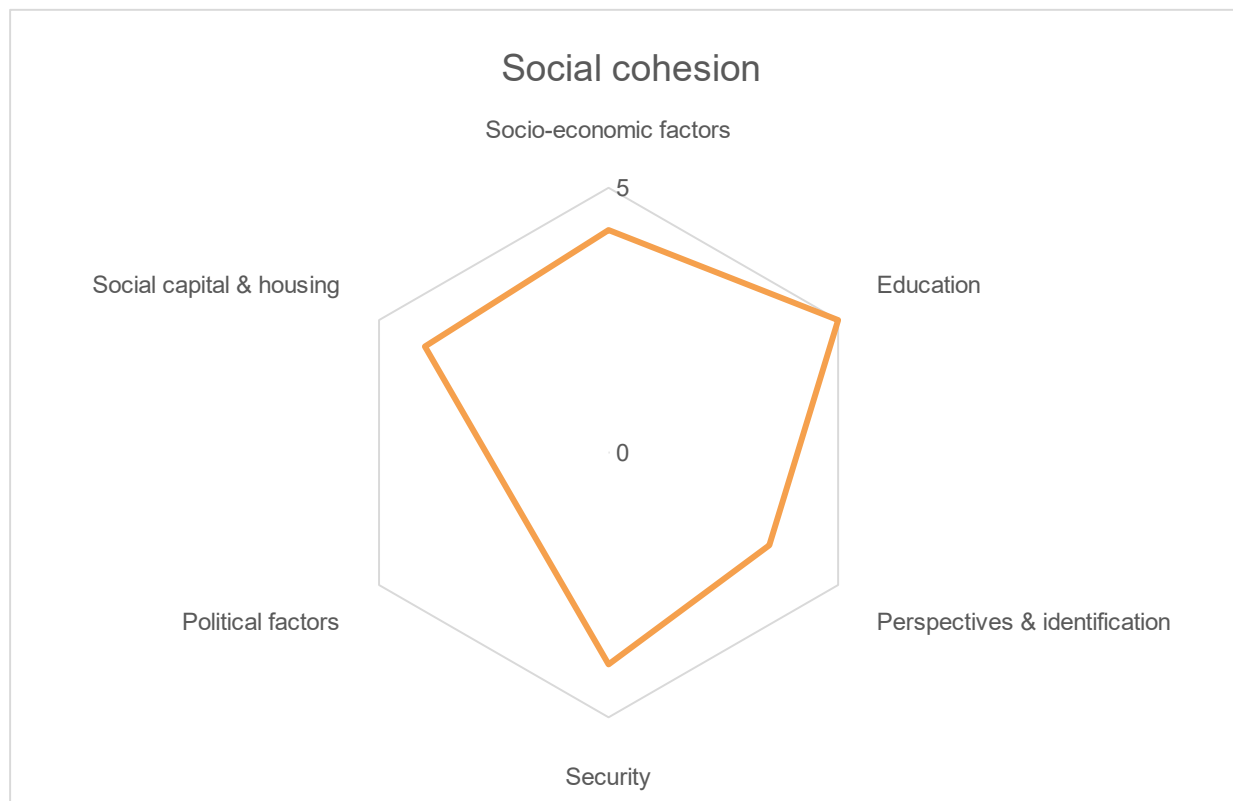


Figure 2: Example for the "social cohesion chart".

Factors, collected so far – and presented in deliverable 3.6-1 – are:

- Inhabitants, total number
- Inhabitants by sex
- Area
- Density, inhabitants per ha
- Foreigners, total number and percentage
- Age
- Education
- Income
- Abstention

After the presentation of the remaining statistical data, some first thoughts about social cohesion that result from the interpretation of statistical data will be presented.

Completion of data collection

The following chapter gives an overview of the remaining factors:

- Population development
- Social housing
- Number of single parents
- Risk of poverty (less than 60% of median income)
- Unemployment rate
- Employment rate (working population, 15-64 years)
- Vocational status

3.

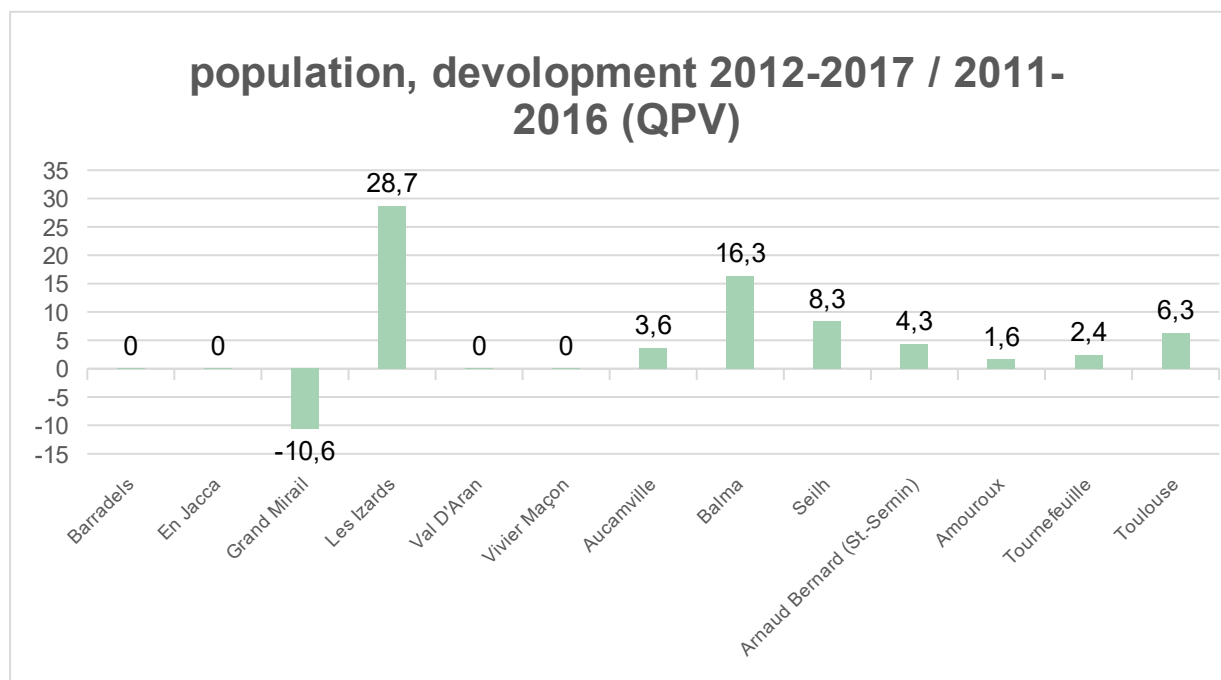


Figure 4: Population development, 2012-2017 (communities, IRIS), 2011-2016 (QPV), own presentation

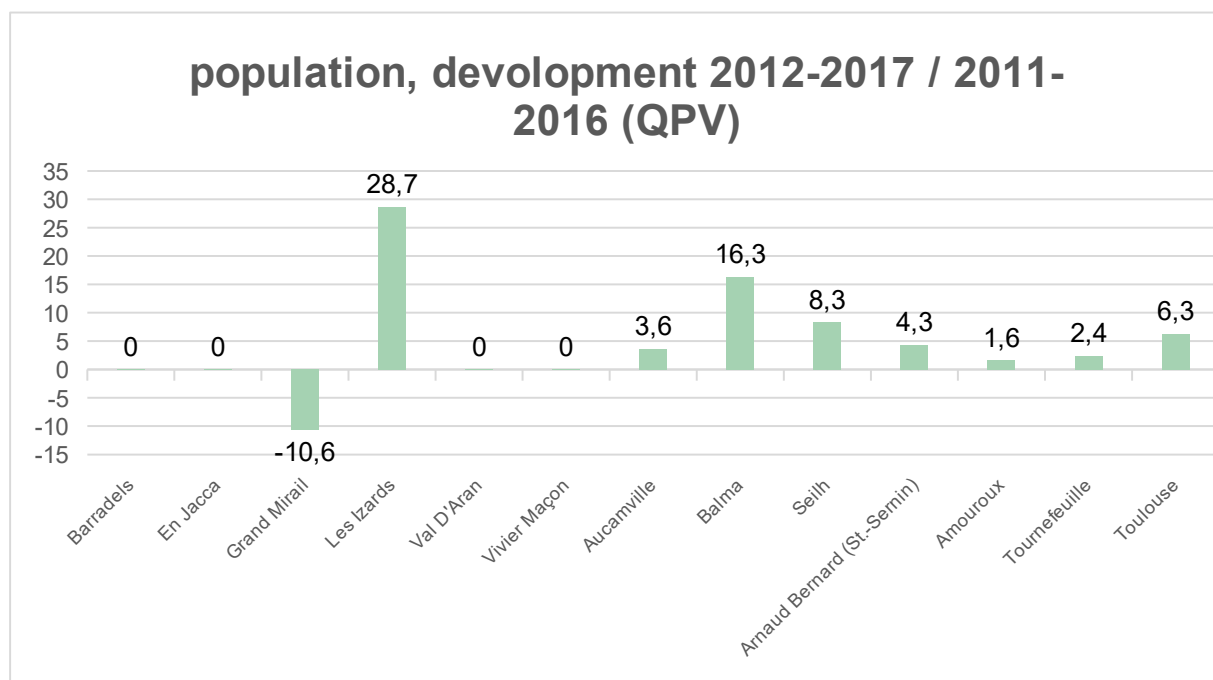


Figure 5: Population development, 2012-2017 (communities, IRIS), 2011-2016 (QPV), own presentation

Figure 2 shows the population development in the territories in the years 2012-2017 (communities, IRIS) respectively 2011-2016 (QPV). In most of the communities there can be shown a slight increase of population during these years, that differs between 1,6% and 8,3%. Exceptions are Balma with over 16% and Les Izards with an increase of nearly 30%. Only the population of Grand Mirail decreased by 10,6% due to urban policies that began in 2018.

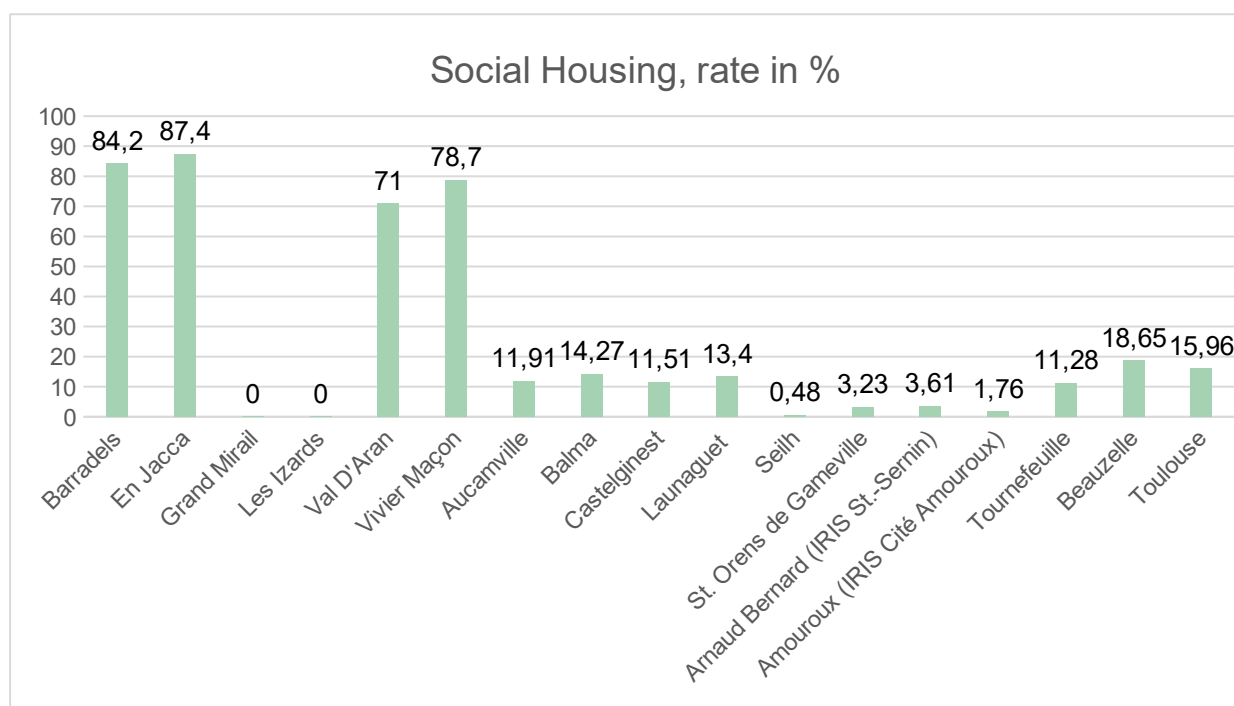


Figure 6: Social housing (sources : QPV SIG Ville Toulouse, Portrait de quartier, pdf. ; IRIS, communiques INSEE housing 2017, taux HLM loué vide), our presentation

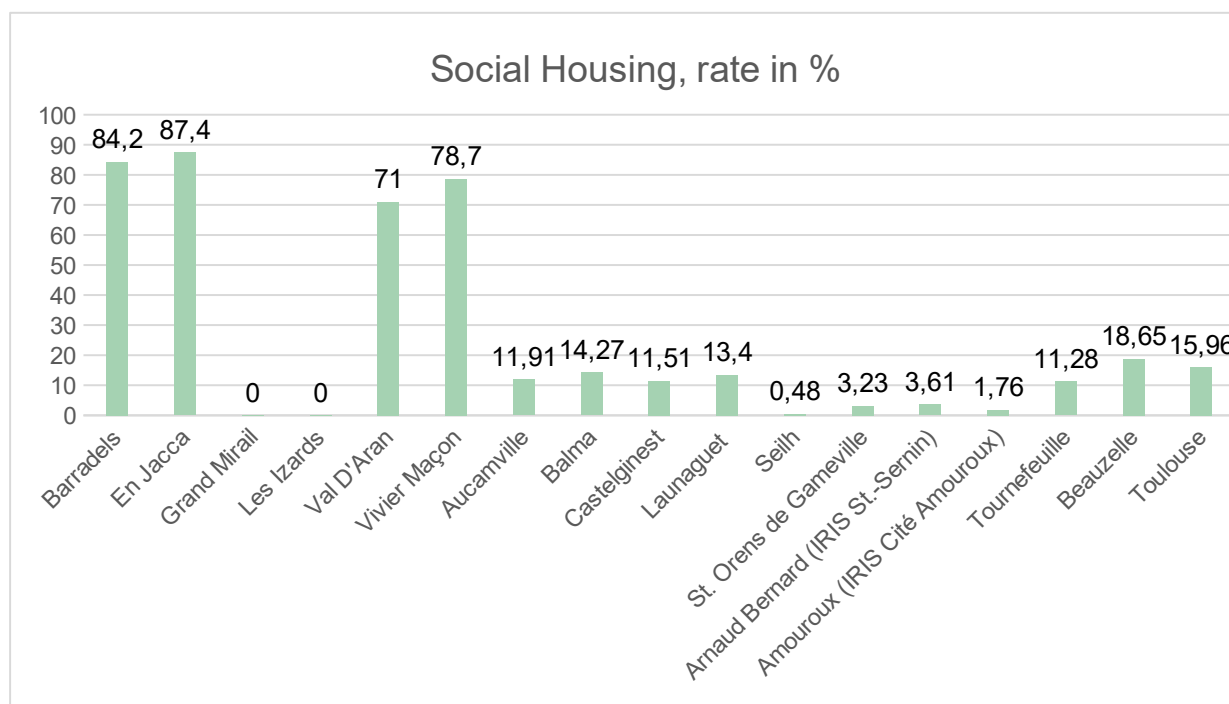


Figure 7: Social housing (sources : QPV SIG Ville Toulouse, Portrait de quartier, pdf. ; IRIS, communities INSEE housing 2017 - taux HLM loué vide) own presentation

Not very surprisingly, the rate of social housing (figure 3) in the Urban Priority Areas (QPV) is much higher than in the rest of the territories. In the QPV it differs between 71% (Val d'Aran) and 87,4% (En Jacca). In the communities respectively the (IRIS-)districts there are territories with very low numbers – namely Seilh, St. Orens, Arnaud Bernard, Amouroux – and others with rates between 11% and 19% - Aucamville, Balma, Castelnest, Launaguet, Tournefeuille and Beauzelle. The average of the City of Toulouse is 15,96%.

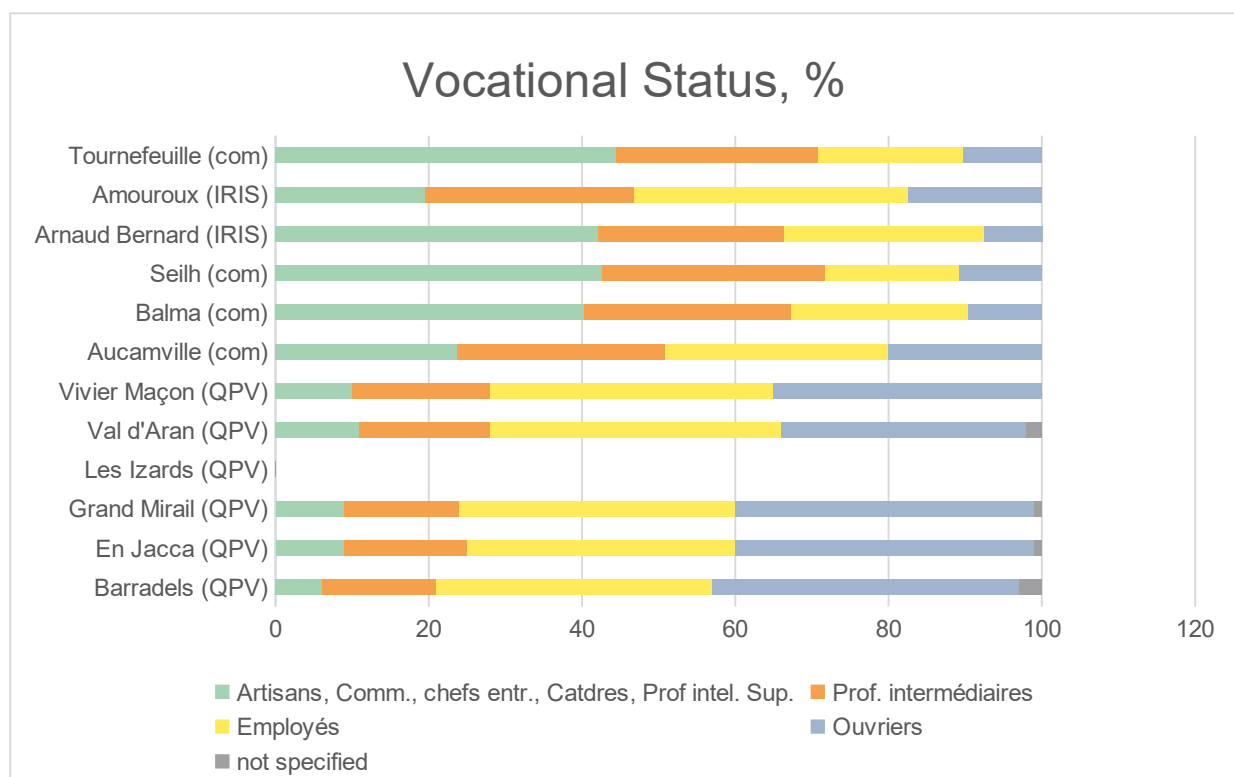


Figure 8: Vocational status (source QPV : City of Toulouse, source IRIS/communities : INSEE)
own presentation

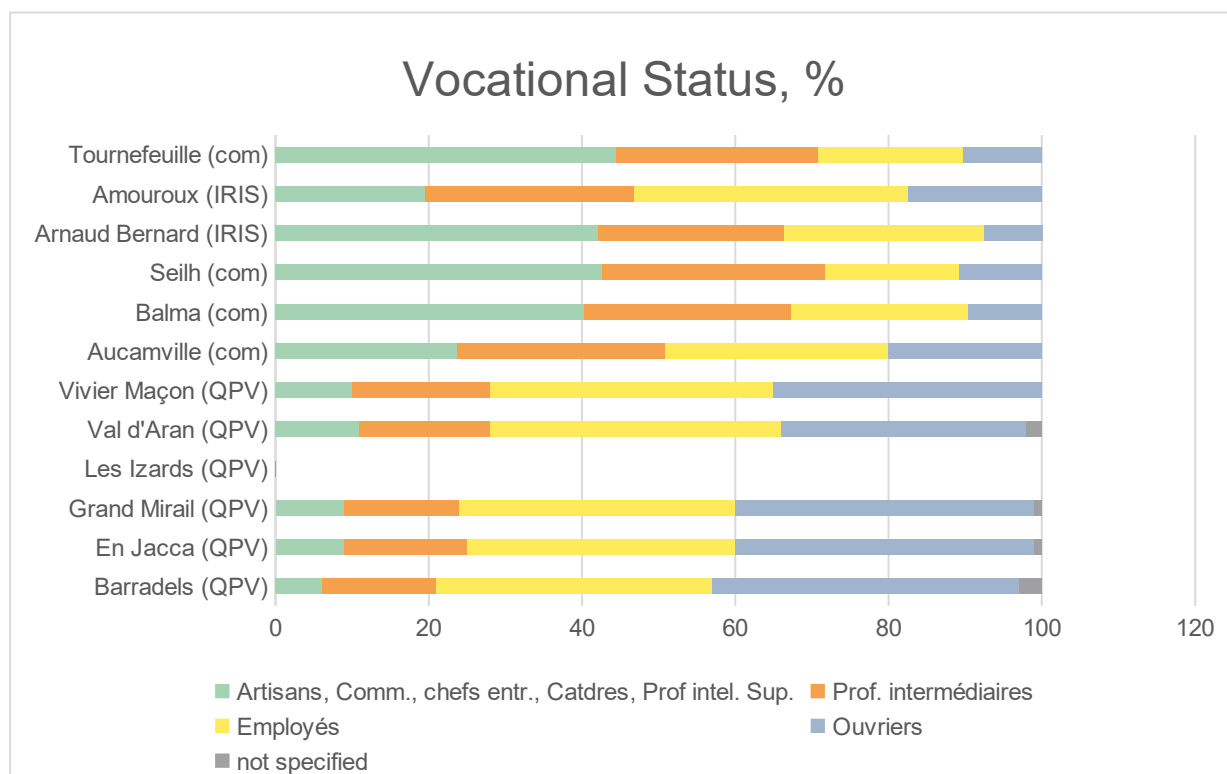


Figure 9: Vocational status (source QPV : City of Toulouse, source IRIS/communities : INSEE)
own presentation

Also, in terms of the vocational status of the inhabitants of the territories there is quite a difference between QPV and communities/districts (figure 4). In the Priority Areas the number of workers is much higher than in the communities, while in the latter there live much more businesspeople and higher professionals. We can describe the district Amouroux (numbers from the IRIS Cité Amouroux) as an exception, since the rate of higher professions there is lower than in the communities, although the rate of workers is not as high as in the QPV. It is the “professions intermédiaires” and the employees, that dominate.

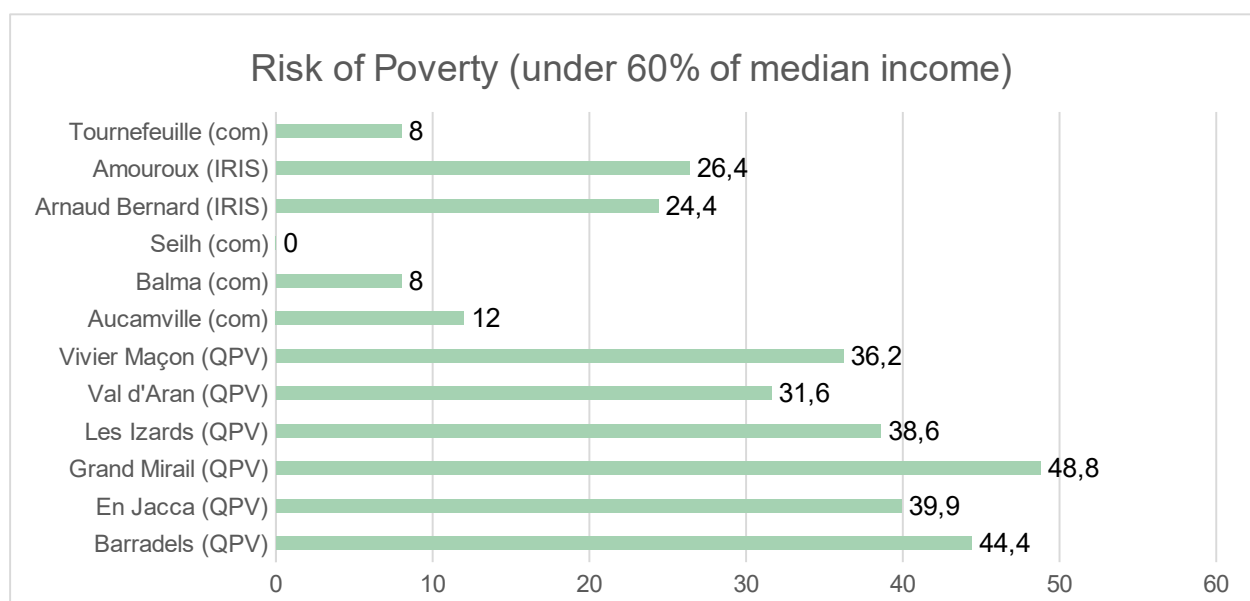


Figure 10: Risk of poverty (source QPV : City of Toulouse ; source IRIS/com. : dossier complet/INSEE) own presentation

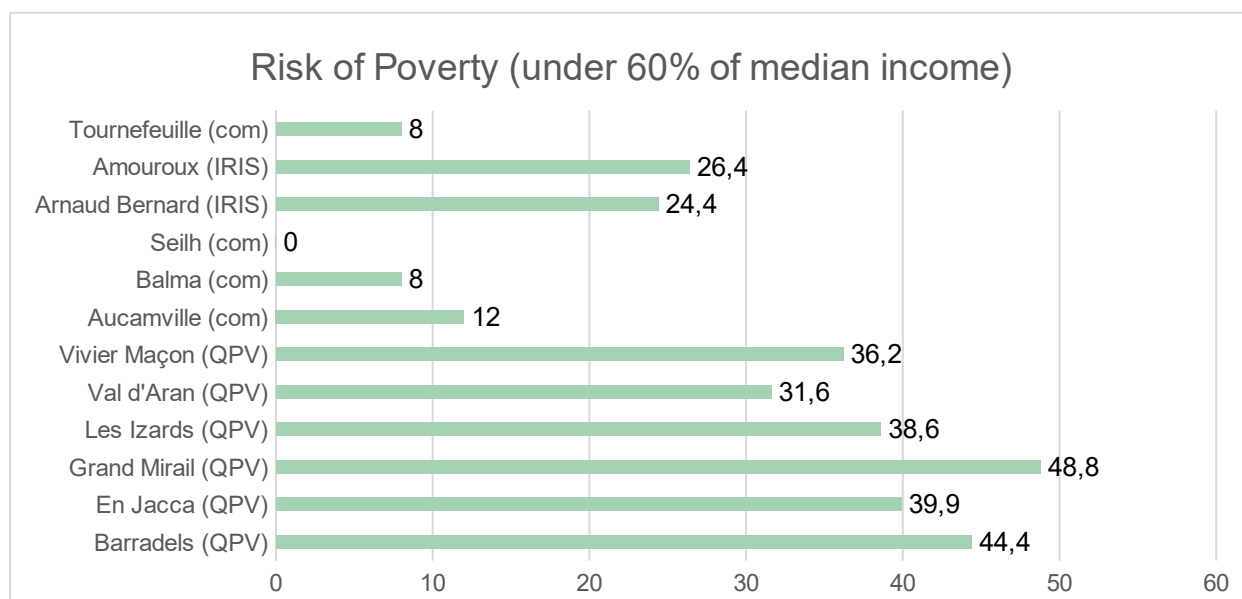


Figure 11: Risk of poverty (source QPV : City of Toulouse ; source IRIS/com. : dossier complet/INSEE) own presentation

The Urban Priority Areas suffer most in terms of “risk of poverty” (figure 5). Especially Grand Mirail and Barradels with rates of more than 40% of the inhabitants are concerned. Among the other territories, the two districts in the city centre of Toulouse – Arnaud Bernard and Amouroux – show visibly higher rates than the communities in the periphery. This correlates to the relatively low yearly median incomes of 18.900 Euro (Arnaud Bernard) and 16.760 Euro (Amouroux) per household (see deliverable 3.6-1). Anyway, Arnaud Bernard has a population with higher vocational status than many other territories which might mean that here the distribution of incomes is an issue.

Comparisons

In the following, two first interpretations that result from the comparison of statistical data will be drafted.

Comparison of factors : income vs. crime rate

Table 1 shows the median incomes and the crime rates of several territories.

	median income, household in €	Crime rate, 2018, promille
En Jacca (QPV)	13.780	52,64
Tournefeuille (community)	28.210	52,13
Vivier Maçon (QPV)	13.660	31,51
Seilh (community)	28.800	30,64

1. Table: Median income and crime rates compared

Sources income: <https://sig.ville.gouv.fr/>; ** INSEE, Dossiers complet 2017: <https://www.insee.fr>

Sources crime rate : Observatoire de la délinquance, GIP ressources et Territoire, 2020

En Jacca and Tournefeuille are highlighted in orange, Vivier Maçon and Seilh in green. The median incomes of En Jacca and of Tournefeuille differ a lot with only 13.780 Euro per household in En Jacca and 28.210 Euro in Tournefeuille. Nevertheless, crime rates are comparable with around 50 per mil in both territories. The other way around, the phenomena shows up in Vivier Maçon with a median income of 13.660 Euros and Seilh with 28.800 Euros. Anyway, both have relatively low crime rates of around 30 per mil.

This short comparison allows to demonstrate, that it would be too easy to take social cohesion as a result of income or poverty situation in a territory: single factors cannot represent the complexity of the situation in different territories.

Comparison of territories : Arnaud Bernard vs. Vivier Maçon

Even more complex is the comparison between two territories. In the following examples statistical data of Arnaud Bernard and Vivier Maçon are going to be contrasted.

The districts are significantly different in terms of the number of inhabitants, size, density and the rate of foreign population (table 2).

		Vivier Maçon	Arnaud Bernard
inhabitants	total number	1059	3899
area	ha	6,9	62
density	inhab/ha	153	63
foreigners	total number	219	409
foreigners	%	20,7	10,5

2. Table: General description of Vivier Maçon and Arnaud Bernard

Although Arnaud Bernard is situated right in the centre of the City of Toulouse, density is quite lower than in Vivier Maçon. This is the case, because Vivier Maçon includes only a small number of buildings (figure 6). It might be described as a couple of blocks, with a huge number of inhabitants.



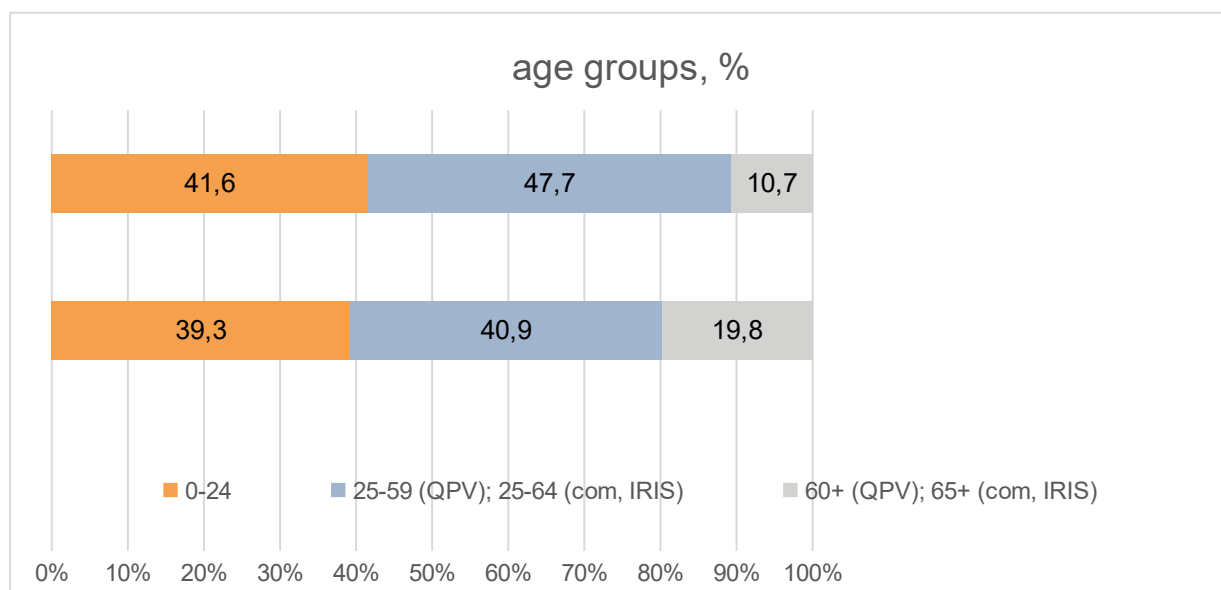


Figure 13: Arnaud Bernard (above) and Vivier-Magon (below), age groups compared

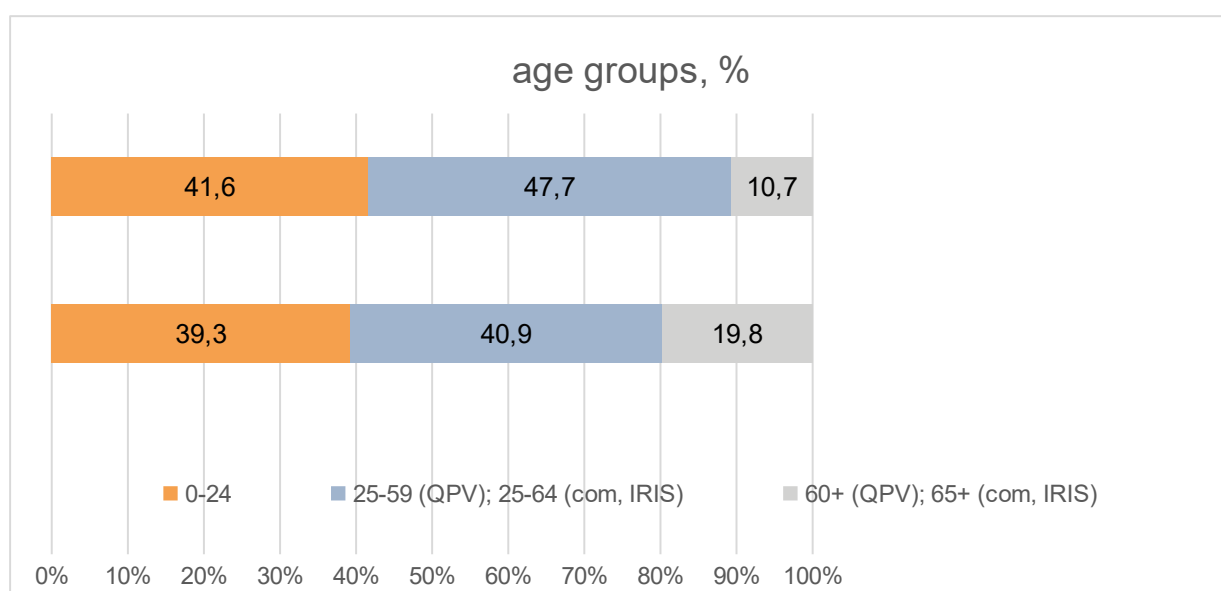


Figure 14: Arnaud Bernard (above) and Vivier-Magon (below), age groups compared

In terms of age groups, both districts show similar rates of young people between 0 and 24 years. Elder inhabitants differ a bit, but this might result from the different age groups compared here (60+ in QPV vs. 65+ in IRIS), which also has an effect on the working population, i.e. persons from 25 to 59 resp. 64 years. So, all in all, age groups seem to be quite similar in both territories.

The opposite is the case where it comes to the economic situation of the inhabitants (table 3). Here, Arnaud Bernard has the higher median income and the lower risk of poverty, which is, by the way, still higher than the average of the City of Toulouse.

economic situation		Vivier Maçon	Arnaud Bernard	City of Toulouse
Median income per household	€	13.660	18.900	
risk of poverty (less then 60% of median	%	36,2	24,4	21,6

Table 3 : Arnaud Bernard and Vivier Maçon, economic situation of inhabitants compared

The vocational situation in Arnaud Bernard shows a huge number of businesspeople and higher professions (> 40%), while in Vivier Maçon the number of employees (37%) and workers (35%) dominate.

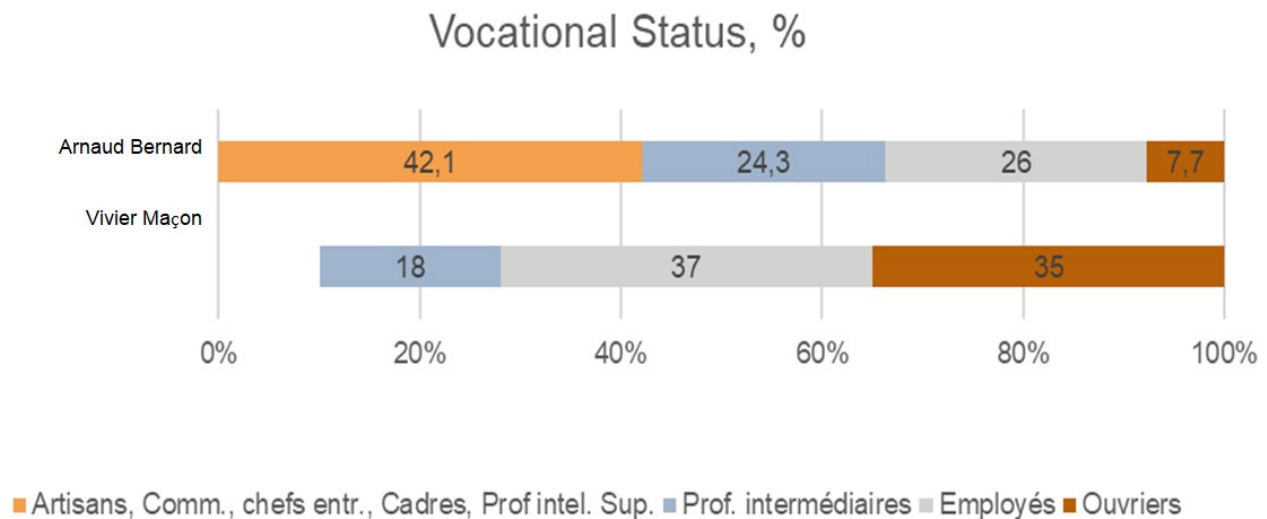


Figure 15: Arnaud Bernard and Vivier Maçon, vocational status compared.

In summary, compared to Vivier Maçon, Arnaud Bernard

- is situated more central,
- is richer,
- is better educated,
- has a lower number of foreigners,
- has a higher average vocational status (less workers, more business people and higher professions),
- doesn't have the stigma of a QPV.

Also, the social problems differ. In Arnaud Bernard they refer mostly to young immigrants or unaccompanied minor refugees (see deliverable 3.6-1 Analysis of the areas), while in Vivier Maçon problems are rather rooted in the social structure of the quarter, as could be shown here.

These findings have consequences on social or pedagogical interventions. In Arnaud Bernard they should address the young refugees directly, by means of measures that offer them recognition and support, e.g. in terms of housing and education. In Vivier Maçon, measures might address the whole population and might be organized by means of a spatial approach – just to give some drafted suggestions.

Another question concerns the perception of the specific situation in these districts. How are they perceived within the districts? How are they perceived in the wider public of Toulouse? These questions are important since perception might differ depending on the social milieus of the population, depending on the economic and cultural capital of the dominating groups. These

questions have to be clarified with group interviews, that complete the data set (see deliverable 3.3-2).

Next steps

The next steps of the process are:

- collection of qualitative data (see guideline in deliverable 3.3-2);
- decision of factors related to main categories;
- assessment of factors and detailed description of specific state of social cohesion in the territories.

Conclusion

This short report aimed at specifying the methodology that we are elaborating in function of the available data and actors possibilities. It was also the opportunity to test the spider chart and the set of indicators associated through territory comparison. However, it seems difficult to present further analysis without a direct and formalised access to qualitative data. These data should be produced and analyse for next local analysis reports.

Next report should then contain a further presentation of the territories on the basis of part of the indicators developed so far. It will also provide some comparison but will mainly focus on local dynamics considering the access to public services and professionals' points of view.

The fieldwork held in Toulouse Métropole is a long term engagement to tackle radical violence and social cohesion issues. Local actors, however, are living in different temporalities and the effort deployed for gathering them should *per se* be an object for investigation. Next report, then, should include elements on the way some actors are mobilised or reluctant to our approach. Thus, a reflexive approach will be put in place to understand the territories, how they constitute local environments for inhabitants' and professionals' experience. This additional layer of analysis will also be articulated to the others in order to furnish the most complete image.



Extremism, Radicalisation, Citizenship

Project N°:871092

Local Analysis Report – 2

Deliverable N°: 3.6.-2.



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Object and Methodology

Before beginning the proper analysis of the territories on the basis of the chosen indicators, this part will allow us to recapitulate what is at stake for this analysis at a local level. We will precise what led us to choose these 2 specific territories and re-precise the indicators. Also, we will begin by the results of the analysis of both territories, providing some more general considerations and insight.

Choice of the territories

Since the beginning of the project, priority urban areas (Quartiers prioritaires de la politique de la ville, QPV) are included in the analysis. However, the Grand Mirail which gathers more than 30 000 inhabitants appeared too populated for our analysis. In fact, as we will see, even Reynerie, which represent only one of the five districts composing Grand Mirail, already presents a certain heterogeneity. Reynerie is a highly stigmatised district for the important presence of a religious moral order cohabitating with a strong influence of criminal organisations. The presence of a “republican reconquest” dispositive is also of great interest for us though we have to highlight, already at this point, that Reynerie is not a territory with little institutional presence, on the contrary.

Andromède was initially not part of the realm of the Rad2Citizen analysis. However, while we were talking about another district with agents of the municipality of Blagnac, they asked if we could focus on Andromède because they felt worried about the demographic development of this new district, that was built on former farmland in the end of the 2000’s. The characteristics of this emerging area and what we thought could emerge in terms of identification and balance between needs and services pushed us to accept their demand.

Indicators’ reminder

- Socio-historical description and delimitation choice
- Socio-economic factors and narratives about social diversity
- Social Capital, access to services
- Perspectives and identification
- Security and crime
- Political factors

Reynerie: Violence and Stigma

Definition of the area and data production

As mentioned above, Reynerie is part of a QPV and gathers around 7 900 inhabitants. As only a part of a QPV, it was not possible to use the specific data produced for these areas by ANCT (<https://sig.ville.gouv.fr/Cartographie/QP031007>), these data would include the characteristics of very different districts as Bagatelle or Mirail Université. We preferred, for quantitative data, to use the INSEE production at an IRIS scale. In this case, we could use three IRIS that, together, almost correspond to the lived territory of Reynerie: Auriacombe, Poulenc and Edouard Bouilleres. Most data were extracted from INSEE files. Some other data were produced directly by Toulouse Metropole or Mairie de Toulouse services, such as some local indicators or vote and abstention data. In the latter case, the data was an aggregation of 4 voting stations.

The production of qualitative data implies long term relations with local institutions and actors. It was produced on the basis of:

- 2 interviews with a local representative;
- Multiple interviews with 4 professionals of the local social centre, including a guided walk in the area;
- An interview with the local coordination team from the municipality;
- An interview with educators of the Rep+ program from national education;
- 2 interviews with a former municipal agent now working in another district;
- An interview with a sociologist who participated in the realisation of a study for evaluating the “Projet Mixité” for secondary schools;
- A focus group gathering professionals from the social centre and 2 associations represented by 7 inhabitants;
- Participation to laicity initiatives gathering many local actors
- Direct observations;
- A restitution of the produced data during a workshop with metropolitan actors during the final conference.

These data are not representative, and will have to be contextualised anytime they are used in order to maintain their relevance and significance. In the first line this means that statements of interviewees have to be interpreted according to their different perspectives, which are partly related to their different social roles. It is worth noting that our position as a project on radicalisation led by

Toulouse Metropole was not neutral and had a great influence on the type of testimony, claims and concerns raised.

Socio-historical description

La Reynerie is located in the south-western part of Toulouse, on the left bank of the Garonne and to the west of the A620 motorway. The motorway is actually an important territorial mark as it separates more “central” districts from marginalised areas, as in a great number of cities in France.

The district is marked by a "New town" architecture typical of the 1960s-70s. The architect responsible for the original project, Candilis¹, is often cited by amateurs of the memory of the district (mainly oldest inhabitants, and usually in a nostalgic tone) and professionals from the urban development area. The “New City” was originally thought to foster social diversity (owners, rent, social housing) but it gradually lost most of its upper-class inhabitants despite great efforts to renovate, requalify, renew the area and make it less stigmatised and more attractive. In fact, successive urban renewal projects and the large amount of turnover of the inhabitants have made it an area in perpetual transformation since at least the end of the 2000s. Thus, if the rich memory of the district is shared among the most engaged actors on the territory and seems to provide a common framing narrative, this has to be tempered as many inhabitants do not know this history and cannot identify to it.

The heart of the district has important assets despite a strong stigma, particularly around the problems of urban violence and drug trafficking.

Socio-economic factors and narratives about social diversity

The median income in Reynerie goes from **11 390€ to 17 900€** depending on the IRIS, which is lower than the national median (19 344€), and much lower than the median of Toulouse Metropole (23 090€). **Poverty rates, at IRIS level, go from 37% to 60%.** In both cases, the most concerning data regard the IRIS of Auriacombe. It is interesting to note that the GINI index is actually much lower in Auriacombe (0,191) than in the other two IRIS (0,269 for the most different). This has to get our attention. Although inequalities are usually considered a negative indicator, at this scale, the high rate of equality in Auriacombe means **a high rate of equally shared poverty**, which can contrast with the next IRIS and districts.

As the income, unemployment rate is unevenly distributed on the district. Again, Auriacombe is the IRIS with the most precarious indicators: 50% of unemployment, while the next IRIS is at a rate of 23% (8,4% at a metropolitan level).

These indicators also correspond to the socio-professional categories of people who live in these territories. Auriacombe is composed at **44% of labourers, and only 4% of executives**. However, these numbers are less contrasted in the other IRIS of Reynerie (34% - 13% for Edouard Bouillere).

1 <https://patrimoines.laregion.fr/rechercher/catalogue-des-publications/les-itineraires-et-parcours-du-patrimoine/le-mirail-le-projet-candilis/index.html>

Objective indicators show that social diversity is limited but however exists², especially between the different parts of the districts. One IRIS, which is also recognised in local culture as the worst place in the district, Auriacombe³, concentrates most of the problematics in terms of low income, little social diversity, high unemployment and employments low on social and income scale (labourers).

Social diversity is actually an important topic for local and national actors, and generates **different kinds of narratives**. The more spread one is that Reynerie, and the Mirail in particular, are “ghettos”, areas of only social marginalisation. If the indicators show that the life conditions are worse in Reynerie than in most places in Toulouse Metropole, this seems to correspond more to **pockets of poverty** precisely located than to a generalised situation.

These indicators raise concerns beyond economic considerations. Local actors, who manage social funds, told us that they felt that there was **a decrease in the use of social benefits** on the district. They mentioned that **digitalisation**, the **suppression of proximity counters** and the **COVID-19** crisis were making more and more difficult the access to rights, in particular for the most precarious public. This, for our analysis, is especially relevant **as reliance on social institutions constitute a form of trust** that participates to build social cohesion in a democratic context. In fact, for some actors, this kind of phenomena are reinforcing the dependence of the population to illegal contributions to households’ economy, which implies a reconfiguration of identification processes to parallel systems and tend to weaken trust in acts into institutions. In that sense, deducing from the concerns raised by these professionals, the social state is guaranteeing not only democracy by equal access to means of subsistence, but more practically, by linking the most vulnerable population to the social contract.

Housing

Following our analysis, housing data seems to match with socio-economic data: **the rate of social housing is extremely high** in Auriacombe (90%) and high in other IRIS (down to 30,9%). With 1,69% of principal residences occupied by their owner, Auriacombe has a reduced offer of rental housing. Again, the other IRIS of Reynerie does not show indicators that are that much concentrated.

The high rate of social housing in Reynerie have an important **impact on the experience of the district**. It defines how the persons arrived, i.e., through a demand of social housing that was analysed by the lessor who can decide where to set people. In the case of Reynerie, the area is appreciated because even if the flats are old, they are said to be larger than in other places. It also impacts the daily life of the inhabitants, because **they depend on the lessor** for many issues from trash organisation to security and hygiene. Two main social lessors are present in Reynerie: Patrimoine SA and Toulouse Metropole Habitat. Both work with different security private providers who can only intervene on the realm of the buildings owned by their respective lessor. Their work

2 https://francestrategie.shinyapps.io/app_seg/

3 This topic appeared in informal discussions with local actors and also is part of the local rap culture: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=i3wwe8BIVEA>

completes the work of the police but their methods, especially those of the society hired by Toulouse Metropole Habitat, have been criticised and are still controversial. However, inhabitants different from owners or co-owners, cannot have a direct impact on these security choices. The social lessors, because of their position of direct communication with the inhabitants, **are usually held responsible for security issues** when they happen in the buildings. Their management of empty buildings and their strategies for attributing the housing is also object of many criticisms.

If their action can legitimately be questioned in some cases, it is important to highlight that their structural position, the nature of the relation they are engaged in with the public are helpful to understand these critics: **inhabitants do not have the legitimate capacity** to act on fundamental aspects of their daily life and safety and the lessors are the institutions which hold this responsibility and capacity.

One example that was given by an inhabitant during a focus group: She was exposing important security issues caused by drug users occupying the hall of her building, and the fact that her and her 8 years old son witnessed gunshots (the boy was unable to go to school during 1 month after that):

I have applied for a relocation, but they decided that we weren't high priority. Meanwhile in [another building], some people wanted to stay and they relocated them, from T5 to T3 [to smaller flats].

In this testimony, it is clear that the lessor's decision is not understood, and means **objective and subjective insecurity** for this family.

Finally, one of the strategic issues brought by inhabitants was the occupation of almost entire building by criminal organisations that are called "dormitories". These buildings are mostly old buildings, from the initial Candilis project that are being partly or totally emptied by the lessors in the frame of an important rehabilitation project. Most of these will be destroyed. This project implies the relocation of numerous inhabitants in other areas, **putting pressure on the lessors** who already have to absorb the constant demographic dynamic of the metropolis and the resistance of both local inhabitants who do not want to leave the area they sometimes have been living in since their childhood, and some municipalities that are not willing to welcome important amount of social housing, and precarious population.

Social Capital, access to services and right to the city

As a QPV, and a highly stigmatised area, Reynerie benefits from many specific funds and services that boost an already dense local life. At least two associations are focused on inhabitants' concerns, some other are more thematic, treating gender-based issues, youth inclusion, etc. Many of these associations provide support to families, children and youngsters and are in good relation with the institutions, which make them **interesting bridging actors**.

Many cults are also active: a Christian church, evangelists, several Muslim cult places, etc. However, the important **Muslim population largely exceeds the capacity of these places**, including the nearby new Basso Combo Mosque, which leads to open-air cult. These prayers

occasionally generate tensions. First of all, some stakeholders and frontline practitioners thought that it was illegal to pray in the street, because of the many discourses that have been saturating the public space about erroneous visions of laicity. But **direct observation with local actors also revealed that the active presence of a moral reference on the public space have effects on its occupation by other users**. As we were near the place of the prayer, a person with a beer can turned back and went the other way, the local actor then told us: “see, he preferred not to go there because of the prayer.” In fact, the impact of rigorous religious values on the environment is an important point that has been difficult to investigate, as we will show in the next part.

In terms of social service, many public services have their **office on the territory**, including family allowance fund, support in access to right services, street educators, youth animators, department solidarity services, etc. However, as noted above, some of these actors observe **an important rate of non-use of these rights** and are concerned about how families are getting sufficient resources.

A lot of shops are also present, and show a functional diversity, but some actors point out that most of the shops are marked by a Muslim identity and point out potential pressures put by religious actors, especially on alcohol selling. There is, in fact, no bar in Reynerie or Bellefontaine. However, alcohol consumption in restraint public spaces (some specific parts of a park) is notorious.

Reynerie is very well connected to the city centre, through a metro line and a couple of buses, which provide access to other leisure services and shops, and also guarantees a better access to employment or educational offers outside of the area.

Regarding schooling, there are 5 primary schools, and a quiet important school rate: 96% of the corresponding population (6-11 years old). Secondary school in Reynerie (as Bellefontaine), were destroyed as part of the project mixite (social diversity project) led by the department. The project is distributing the pupils among 5 secondary schools including one in the city centre and two out of Toulouse. This project is very complex and complete and most of its process is publicly accessible⁴. It was associated to a research process which provide some interesting indicators. First of all, one of the indicators used in the evaluation of the project is the respect of sectoring, which is the official repartition of the pupils in function of their address (also called scholar map). Although not respecting the scholar map is a very common practice in Toulouse (almost 50% of the families do not respect it), **the rate of respect for the former college of Reynerie, Raymond Badiou, was higher** than the average in Toulouse (64%). Many interpretations can explain this difference, particularly the amount of resources necessary in order to avoid the sectoring, but **it still could be an interesting trust indicator**.

Perspectives and identification

At this point, we already treated many data that provide insight on perspectives and identification. It is clear, in Reynerie, that strong influences are shaping the experiences of inhabitants and their environment. These influences are not to be labelled as negative or positive, some may even be ambiguous, but the main trait of Reynerie would actually be the strong investment by multiple

4 <https://www.haute-garonne.fr/service/la-mixite-sociale>

actors in terms of solidarity, identification, family support, legal and illegal economy, etc. and the historical aspects of these investments⁵.

Less than 2 years:	15.82 %
Between 2 and 4 years:	18.64 %
Between 5 and 9 years:	19.39 %
More than 10 years:	46.14 %

A discussion about the living time on the territory may give some elements to better understand the dynamics of the district. These data were presented and discussed during final meeting's workshops. Our intuition, comparing these data with other districts, was that 46% of the population living in the district for more than 10 years and 34,46% for less than 4 years meant that the territory is very dynamic, with a lot of turn over. This would correspond to **a function of hosting new arrivals** from other cities and countries. However, a social worker during the workshop stated that this data meant a lot of historical inhabitants. Both interpretations should be held together and may help to understand **both the great attachment expressed by a part of the population, mainly historically installed there, and some issues and some specific issues that can be linked to the short-term living** of many others, as the low rate of political participation. Here, the **number of demands for relocations to social lessors** could be an interesting data as an objective measure of the pressure to get out of the district.

Perspectives and identifications, thus, have to be thought in a double meaning. At a district level and at a biographical level. At a district level, identification is highly impacted by a paradox visible in Reynerie and highlighted both by inhabitants and professionals: **the district is highly stigmatised** (especially regarding security issues) and, at the same time, seems to generate strong attachments. Part of this paradox can be resolved considering the heterogeneous population with a part of it strongly identified to the district, and another part using it as a transition area. The stigma has multiple forms and impacts. It makes the district unattractive and reinforces its transition function. It penalises inhabitants when they seek resources (employment, housing...) outside, especially for those who cumulate vulnerabilities (susceptible to be racialised, gender-based discrimination...). These living conditions have an impact on self-construction and collective identification. It also generates defensive or negative positions toward the **institutions which are often associated to vertical entities that only reject the responsibility on the inhabitants**. A clear example of that appeared during the focus group. While we were talking about education of the youngsters and the parents' role in it, a mother expressed that she felt morally judged by institution implicitly or explicitly suggesting that families abandoned or did not take care of their children.

5 As we will see, it is not the case of Andromède.

The stigma-attachement paradox also affects individuals in their own relation to the ~~the~~ district. Regarding violent experiences and the perspective of moving or not, two inhabitants in the focus group stated:

“It is difficult because it is great”

This means that the local solidarity networks, the quality of the flats, the access to many services make their lives great, which makes violence even more difficult to cope with.

At a biographical level, the stigma affects people in a negative way but the evaluation of the “Projet Mixité” shows that the stigma, at least at the level of secondary schools, **can quickly be overcome**. On the other hand, testimonies from other territories where the population of Reynerie (and the Mirail in general) is progressively moving for several reasons (relocation due to urban renovation, social ascension, etc.) showed that this stigma can be an obstacle to social inclusion and even a trigger for polarisation outside of the district.

To sum up this part, it is important to highlight that social cohesion, on Reynerie, seems to be very strong because of its history and the social circumstances of the district. Solidarity networks and communities (by country of origin, by religion, by common experience...) are strong and numerous, providing an important bonding system. However, the specific vulnerabilities and some negative experiences and representations of the institutions **can be a limit to the identification to linking to the broader society and its mechanisms, which can be experienced as a threat**.

Security and crime

Security data are especially difficult to get and to analyse. There is no victimization survey or general study on crime in Toulouse. However, as Toulouse Metropole, we do have access through the Observatoire de la Delinquance, to the police and gendarmerie data which count facts by nature when police activity is involved.

General data shows that even after the covid-19 crisis, most indicators are slightly or substantially lowering including violence against individuals (not counting homicides), destruction or degradation of public or private goods, etc. One exception, however, have to draw our attention: infraction linked to illegal drugs are constantly increasing (+40,3% between 2020 and 2021).

Compared to other territories, most infractions are also counted in higher numbers.

Our definition of radical violence includes the social impact of violent acts and their social genesis. Organised crime, especially drug trafficking are of high impact on the social life and experience in Reynerie. Understanding these organisations is thus a must to prevent and limit their impact. One of the common narratives spread by both inhabitants and professionals includes the fact that these organisations are passing through important mutations these last 10 years. Two of these mutations are important to have in mind. The first one regards the recruiting process and social regulation.

Many actors pointed out that, formerly, drug dealers were recruited on the territory and thus knew the social networks, were bonded to families and friends, which is supposed to provide some kind of soft regulation. Nowadays, actors report that at least part of the dealers are coming from other cities, sometimes in great numbers, to manage the dealing points. This is pointed out as a loss of regulation as these “strangers” would feel more free and uncontrolled.

The other great change is what we could call “uberisation”, which take two different forms: dealing points can disappear because delivery is more and more frequent and was boosted by the pandemic and lockdowns. At the same time, digital social and communication networks as telegram or snapchat are being used to indicate the product’s location. This was the case of the witness quoted earlier: the reason why the hall of her building was being used as a consumption space was because the drug was hidden there, but the absence of the dealer also caused a lack of regulation of the users who began to consume there and cause permanent trouble.

Beyond objective security, these incidents generate subjective insecurity, which is summarised by this lady by the phrase:



“I don't feel home”

Linking objective violence to a generalised feeling and “not feeling home” in the district has to be considered a major indicator of radical violence and a major vulnerability to social cohesion. The adapted resources to respond this specific vulnerability however are not easy to find. Focusing on positive aspects of the local life may be one of them. The law enforcement activities should also be considered as such. However, we observed that it was generally not the case.

In fact, some kind of activities, especially important interventions related to drug trafficking mobilising important number of policemen and vehicles and ostensible policing are considered causing anxiety or even violence. These tensions, between the police and the organised crime groups are thus directly affecting the life of inhabitants, including their trust to law enforcement agencies. This distrust is reinforced by cases of harassment or even physical violence reported by some youngsters.

Objective and subjective insecurity are thus endemic in Reynerie essentially as consequences of drug trafficking and its relations to the police, to the citizens, to the youngsters at risk of engaging on that alternative path providing important resources as money, group recognition and virility.

Subjective insecurity is all the more pronounced for women in a public space eminently dominated by groups of men whose looks and remarks constitute violence in themselves and strongly affect the neighbourhood atmosphere.

Political Factors

Abstention (municipales, 2020) :

1^{er} tour: 83,25 %

2nd tour: 81,25 %

Abstention (présidentielles, 2022)

1^{er} tour: 39,54%

2nd tour: 53,06%

The abstention rates are the highest observed in the frame of the project. Different interpretations can help understanding this data and its consequences. The classical way would be to correlate the abstention rate to a disinterest to democratic institutions and politics in general. However, this frame has been criticised in recent literature⁶ that opens new perspectives for analysis.

We thus have to look at more direct participation or criticism to institutions.

There are still a lot of requests to the institutions, but they seem to be characterised by a certain weariness. The spaces aimed at generating a collective dialogue remain little frequented and are often seen as not being sufficiently attentive to the demands of the inhabitants themselves.

Conclusion and recommendation

To sum up, the Reynerie is a neighbourhood marked by its memory, carried by its oldest inhabitants. It is also, and above all, a very lively neighbourhood with numerous solidarity networks, which have notably shown their resilience at the time of the health crisis.

It is a neighbourhood that is very much involved with the public authorities, both from the point of view of security and access to rights and social assistance, and the entertainment and education sectors. It is therefore a neighbourhood full of resources, some of which may appear ambiguous and compete with public institutions and the democratic system they represent.

Social vulnerabilities are important, numerous and structural, which implies responses beyond the question of citizen projects or partial rehabilitation. From this point of view, it is the very nature of the neighbourhood that is in question, between symbolic enclosure, due to the stigma, and particular attachments to the strong human experiences that take place there.

Social cohesion seems to take the form of multiple communities that coexist and sometimes intersect. It is rich but undermined by the strong presence of criminal organisations that impact the territory, generate a feeling of "not being at home" and a fear of recruitment for the youngest who can easily identify with those of their elders who are the most visible in the public space.

In such a neighbourhood, it does not seem necessary to stimulate "citizens' participation" in its most institutional forms (citizen councils, participatory budgets, etc.), because it is already strong in the form of solidarity networks. It seems more appropriate to rely on existing networks, including

6 Parvin, P. « Democracy Without Participation: A New Politics for a Disengaged Era », *Res Publica* 24, 31–52 (2018). <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11158-017-9382-1>
<https://www.jean-jaures.org/publication/dans-la-tete-des-abstentionnistes-a-lecoute-de-ceux-qui-se-taient/>

religious ones, especially those that deal with the most fundamental demands (food, education, health, etc.). These networks saturate the public arena and their historical nature makes the idea of "coordination" hardly relevant since their links are already well established in the territory. On the other hand, resources can be provided at their request: support and links with resources that are better adapted to certain needs (France Victime 31 for victims of violence, for example; Izards attitude or Clémence Isaure for families affected by the involvement of their young people in trafficking, etc.), facilitation of relations with the institutions responsible for the main aspects of their daily life (social landlords, municipal police, CAF, etc.).

On the issue of drug trafficking and its impact, the main conclusion would be that our knowledge of the functioning of these criminal organisations remains very limited. It would therefore seem appropriate to set up a specific analysis approach, if possible, in conjunction with the national police (for the purely criminal aspects), but also and above all with the families concerned, or even the young people themselves, who are often caught up (or even harassed) by these organisations in various ways.

Finally, the issue of stigma needs to be addressed. Although institutional actors often talk about "getting the inhabitants out of the district", it was mentioned during the focus group that it was also (above all?) desirable to bring inhabitants from other areas to Reynerie in order to minimise the effects of distortion and exaggeration. The example of the heritage days was taken, but exchanges on various issues could be envisaged (discovery of places of worship by schoolchildren, exchanges between classes, leisure events, etc.).

Andromède: emerging urban area, emerging concerns

Definition of the area and data production

Andromède is a district located on two municipalities: Beauzelle and Blagnac. Most part of it is on Blagnac and this is the part we are going to analyse. Andromède is not a priority area, we thus do not have access to INSEE data at a district level. However, the IRIS *Pinot* includes Blagnac's part of Andromède and mainly farmland with a low number of inhabitants, which justifies its use for analysing population related data (income, households, etc.). Most statistical data are based on INSEE indicators at IRIS level. Some quantitative data have been extracted from an internal diagnostic made by Blagnac municipality's services, most of them re-using INSEE data. This source, however, only includes data until 2018, it was therefore impossible to analyse the last developments of the district from a quantitative point of view.

Qualitative data were extracted from the promotion website of the Ecoquartier: <http://ecoquartier-Andromède.fr>. Three meetings with municipal agents were organised in April and October 2021, then in June 2022 with actors from education services, prevention services and security and crime prevention services.

During the workshop organised for the final events, local actors from neighbour municipalities insisted on the quick development of more vulnerable population these 5 last years which is partially not represented in our data mostly from 2018 census.

Socio-historical description

Andromède is a district that is developing in the north-west of Toulouse, in the municipalities of Blagnac and Beauzelle, in the heart of an employment area driven by the dynamic aeronautical sector and the airport.

The first residents arrived in Andromède in 2008, and the first office occupants in 2010. The district's population is growing rapidly. The facilities and services are functioning but are under-calibrated in relation to the population and unsuited to a predominantly young population (51% are under 30 years old, 21% of whom are under 14 years old).

We will focus here on the part located in Blagnac.

3 663 inhabitants in 2017
+53,3 % between 2012 et 2018

Socio-economic factors and narratives about social diversity

Socio-economic data at a district level show a **decent median income of 21 950€**, which is higher than the national median (19 344€), but slightly lower than Toulouse Metropole's one (23 090€). Both unemployment (11,54%) and risk of poverty (13%) are lower than even Toulouse Metropole indicators.

Based on these indicators, it is difficult to evaluate the specificities of the population. As the municipal agents had told us that the district was built for aeronautics' employees, with an implicit statement that it would be high income professions as engineers and executives, we brought the composition of the population in function of their socio-professional background:

Labourers:	12 %
Employees :	23 %
Artisans / shopkeepers :	4 %
Executives / Intellectuelles professions :	29 %
Mid-level occupations:	31 %

As we can see, the targeted public actually composes the majority of the population. However, there is an important diversity, also reflected by the Gini index at 0,263.

On the basis of these data and the narratives collected, our hypothesis would be that this diversity was not planned as the function of the emergent district was to only host superior professions and high incomes. But the population growth at a metropolitan level put pressure on that plan and imposed diversity without preparation. As we will see in next chapter, the concerns expressed by the municipality regarding this unexpected population, poorer and younger than planned, are mainly function of a lack of resources for these specific populations.

In this context, 15% of social housing means that the whole urban area should adapt to provide more social services although 32% of the residents own their apartment.

Social Capital and access to services

The largest increase in population is among young people, particularly those under 25 years of age. Looking at youth-oriented resources, it appears that schooling offer is sufficient to cover most needs at the moment (100% school enrolment rate for elementary and high school). However, schooling is not the only need of the youth and the offer of either social, educational or cultural activities seems to be lacking on the territory.

To mitigate this, let us highlight that a high frequency public transport, a tramway ensures a good connexion with the city centre which can provide part of these services, especially regarding paying leisure.

But this situation seems to still worry the municipality for two reasons: if the tramway is a good way to get to the centre, it is also a way for population from the centre to come to Andromède, this was pointed out as problematic in the case of youth groups from other areas. More important, the functional role of Andromède in its connexion to the centre and to the employment pools seems, for now, to be limited that of a “dormitory suburb”, with little local activity and thus little social cohesion. This is reinforced by the recent emergence of the district that cannot rely on its history or on specific attachment.

1 nursery
0 pre-school
school. rate : 66,8 %
2 elementary schools (1 is private)
school. rate : 100 %
1 secondary school :
school. rate : 95,7 %
1 high school
school. rate 15 – 18 : 100 %
school. rate 18 – 24 : 51,4 %

Perspectives, identification and political factors

The municipal services point out that it is difficult to stimulate neighbourhood life.

Our dataset is too limited to provide relevant analysis to that issue but efforts may be concentrated around what appears as the only social bonding institution on the territory: schools.

Without data relating to the elections, the weak structuring of commitments in the district makes it difficult to deal with political factors in this area.

Security and crime

Again, crime statistics are not available at the scale of this territory. Fostering the subject with local authorities, it appears that there is no direct criminality issue but localised and punctual nuisances by some youngsters groups that may appear, to some inhabitants, as inconvenient.

One spot did emerge as a vulnerable spot: the high school. Identified by the local actors as a potential market for drug trafficking, some concerns exist around it. At this point, this issue may be

possible to resolve with prevention on consumption and awareness raising among parents and school teams.

Conclusion and recommendation

Most concerns of the local authority appear to be linked to the actual state of the district. Identification processes usually take time and common experience in order to let attachment and engagement emerge.

The quick development of the district, however, calls for a quick development of private and public services, including social ones in order to adapt offer to the actual demand, independent from the type of population that was planned to be living in Andromède. In fact, the informal narrative built around this neighbourhood may exclude the most vulnerable population and make their inclusion difficult.

Urban planning could also be a subject to tackle identification: the design of a central square and its animation could make the local life more attractive and help the different populations to meet and know each other.

Last but not least, Andromède is fully included in the metropolitan dynamics. Its actual function may not be to generate strong attachment and local dynamics. In that sense, a high degree of cooperation with border municipalities and with the metropolis on the needs of a very mobile population may help to anticipate further risks.



Extremism, Radicalisation, Citizenship

Project N°:871092

Local analysis Report – 2

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Collaborator (s): Name and Institution	Markus PAUSCH (FHS) Heiko BERNER (FHS)	
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Object and Methodology

Before beginning the proper analysis of the territories on the basis of the chosen indicators, this part will allow us to recapitulate what is at stake for this analysis at a local level. We will precise what led us to choose these 2 specific territories and re-precise the indicators. Also, we will begin by the results of the analysis of both territories, providing some more general considerations and insight.

Choice of the territories

From the beginning of the project, Vivier Maçon and Arnaud Bernard have been at the centre of discussions. Vivier Maçon made it possible to report on the situation of a QPV located outside the city centre and to compare it with other urban areas of the Metropole. Its low crime rate and the fact that it is very close to the city centre of Cugnaux were also of particular interest to us. A good dynamic of exchange with local actors allowed us to carry out an analysis, always partial but nevertheless relevant.

Arnaud Bernard has other characteristics. As a watchdog district located in the centre of Toulouse, we were most interested in the dynamics of its use. Its strong associative dynamism and the history of the tradition of welcome that it represents appealed to us in its current manifestations. Finally, its contiguity with Saint-Sernin, a much more socially advantaged district, and the strong dissonance between the qualitative and quantitative data challenged us. We therefore sought to understand these discrepancies through open interpretations that are still under discussion.

Indicators' reminder

- Socio-historical description and delimitation choice
- Socio-economic factors and narratives about mixity
- Social Capital, access to services
- Perspectives and identification
- Security and crime
- Political factors

— Vivier Maçon: Stigma and local life

Definition of the area and data production

The collection of quantitative data was particularly complex. Indeed, although there are many indicators specific to the QPVs, these often have no equivalent in the INSEE data at the IRIS level and therefore pose a problem of comparability. At the same time, the IRIS corresponding to the Vivier district, named Maurens, exceeds the population of the district by more than double. Consequently, the IRIS data do not correspond to the reality of the neighbourhood.

If not specified, the data provided correspond to the QPV. Some data at the IRIS level will be used.

In terms of qualitative data, we were able to conduct various interviews with an elected official and, repeatedly, with the prevention and city policy services of Cugnaux, often in the heart of the district, a meeting of professionals and an interview with a resident and a municipal agent.

General description

The Vivier Maçon is an old district, whose construction began in the mid-1940's. **Around 1 000 inhabitants live** next to the city centre of Cugnaux. It benefits from large green spaces, services and leisure activities both inside the district and because of its proximity to the centre. The rehabilitation projects carried out since the 2000s have made it possible to maintain the apartments in good condition.

The **closed architecture** of the neighbourhood and a negative perception by other inhabitants of the city and the Metropole constitute **a stigma**, that Vivier Maçon shares with many other QPVs, and which can be a real burden, especially for youngsters.

Despite its integration to Cugnaux and a good offer of services, it suffers sub-areas of under- or over-occupation of the housing. Poverty rate is progressing due to the lack of attractiveness of the area, partly caused by a negative image for outsiders.

Socio-economic factors and narratives about social diversity

The **median income in Vivier Maçon is around 13 660€**, with a poverty rate of 39,7%. The Gini index at the IRIS level (Maurens) is 0,287 which suggests that there is **an important gap of income between inhabitants of the Vivier and their direct neighbours**. In fact, despite proximity, inhabitants and professionals regret that there is a social barrier between these inhabitants. When inhabitants of the Vivier mention this fact, they usually refer to an undefined “them” as to design foreigners from the district who disseminate negative narratives about the district.

Employment rate on the QPV is 58%, and unemployment rate at the IRIS level 13,94%, which again suggests an important concentration of poverty and vulnerability on a little though strictly identified territory. It also implies an effect of contrast that can reinforce the social segregation phenomenon.

The district hosts **82,9% of social housing among which 96,9% was built between 1949 and 1975**. As stated above, urban renovation makes these old apartments still appreciated and around 10,2% of the residences are over-crowded. In fact, the district is marked by an imbalance between the typology of housing, particularly social rental housing and the composition of the families living there, which also generate under-occupation situations.

Social Capital and access to services

Most basic services can be found on the district or in its direct periphery (city-centre), but the bad connexion of Cugnaux in general to the metropolis makes it difficult to access some specific service. Hospitals, for example, are difficult to access without a car.

A nursery school and an elementary school are located in the Vivier Maçon. They both **welcome kids from the district and from neighbour districts**. These establishments are interesting linking points, as suggests an inhabitant during a focus a meeting:

“They don’t want to put their children here at the beginning and then they realise it’s the best school!”

Secondary and high schools, on the contrary, are not located on the district. The nearby secondary school is also particularly interesting to study. According to its director, it welcomes a third of people from privileged social classes, one third of middle-class and a third of disadvantaged social classes. With regards to a group for prevention of school dropout including a teacher, the principal quotes:

“We often forget, out of these features, their life conditions, because we are focused on the curriculum”

In addition to the educational facilities, the Vivier has sports and cultural facilities, but it also relies on the offer provided in the city-centre. There are few shops in the district, a tobacconist's shop particularly draw the attention during two discussions because it is located at the margin of the district and thus works for Vivier Maçon and other districts. It was brought to the discussion that **some shops have closed because of forms of harassment** from groups of young men, supposedly pertaining to drug trafficking organisations.

In terms of social provision, the municipality runs a social centre which offers both leisure activities and support to families in the neighbourhood. Until 2021, the youth service did not have educators

on site, but a recent team of specialised prevention workers has taken over, led by Toulouse Métropole.

The district benefits from a relatively dynamic community life which has resumed its activities after the health crisis. For example, an association of users of the social centre has been formed.

The citizens' council is also particularly pro-active and attentive to the issues of representation of all the inhabitants. However, an elected official and several residents emphasise that **neighbourhood life is not "what it used to be"** in terms of solidarity and conviviality. However, it is not so much a 'community' withdrawal that is being addressed as a withdrawal of individuals into their own lives.

In terms of cult, there is a important Muslim population living in the district. However, no cult place has been built, which leads the people to go to mosques out of the district, with a limited accessibility, or to arrange local facilities. Same as in Reynerie, the number of persons often exceeds the capacity of these arranged facilities. Same as in Reynerie, the presence of people, Muslim, praying in the public space usually generate questions or even criticism. However, the support of the municipality in mediating these situations helps clarifying them.

Perspectives and identification

The **dual perception** between the negative value attributed by outsiders and the positive value attributed by inhabitants is an important dynamic to understand the position of the latter. As we were discussing the project's aims and violence in general, several conversations ended up by a comparison:

"Its not Chicago here, it's not Le Mirail"

This relativism on questions of violence does indeed correspond to the reality of measures of violence, but more than that, it corresponds to the construction of repulsive figures that allow the rehabilitation of the image of the neighbourhood by default.

Security and crime

Almost no data is available to measure objectively infractions in Vivier Maçon. Observing at the scale of Cugnaux, we already highlighted in other deliverables that this city is great example of absence of direct correlation between crime and median income, as both are here low.

	Median income by household in €	Crime rate, 2018, per thousand inhabitants
En Jacca (QPV)	13.780	52,64
Tournefeuille (Ville)	28.210	52,13
Vivier Maçon (QPV)	13.660	31,51
Seilh (Ville)	28.800	30,64

When evoked with inhabitants, violence is mostly associated to punctual presence of groups of young men on the district, supposedly drug dealers, causing nuisances. These are qualified by inhabitants and professionals as “epiphenomenon”.

Two elements are worth noting. First, again, these young men are identified as foreigners, especially coming from the Mirail, may this information be true or not. Secondly and more interesting for our analysis, two cases are compared by an inhabitant: One occurred in the centre of the Vivier, the second under a proch. In the first case, the occupation of public space seemed not to be problematic, people could interact and everybody saw the group. On the contrary, under the porchoise, the group was generating more subjective insecurity and even “blocking the access”. Beyond situational prevention, the place they could occupy or not have thus a direct impact on the impact on subjective insecurity and thus perceived social cohesion.

Political factors

We do not have access to quantitative data regarding elections at a district level. However, other forms of political involvements drew our attention. The citizens’ council¹ brings together 10 to 25 inhabitants with a certain diversity, and seems to be well identified by the population:

“Before, we used to go looking for people, today **they come spontaneously**”

1 Citizen’s Councils are specific features of the national urban policy, they are implemented by the municipalities in all the QPV. Their objective is to foster local democracy by gathering a group of citizen who are included in a small part of the decision processes and are asked to act for boost the local life with more or less resources and more or less independence.

This citizens' council seems to be on the way to succeeding in the challenge of collecting the different voices that make up the district, through an outreach approach.

Conclusion and recommendation

Le Vivier Maçon is a small suburban neighbourhood. Its closed square shape, sometimes pointed out as favouring a certain enclosure, also seems to favour conviviality and internal solidarity.

The distance and the relative connection to Toulouse limit the opportunities for the poorest people who do not have a car, for example, but at the same time limit the transfer of populations and problems from the city centre.

The voluntarist policy of the municipality seems to remain attentive to the needs of a population that is heterogeneous from various points of view. The adaptation of premises to compensate for the lack of space in places of worship or the organisation of a particularly popular and frequented neighbourhood festival seems to limit the breaks and mistrust between inhabitants and institutions.

Nevertheless, the socio-economic indicators remain worrying and if the services seem to be adapted, the series of past and forecasted health and energy crises should lead us to pay attention to the maintenance, or even a more dynamic approach to the logic of solidarity and democratic participation.

— Arnaud Bernard: How to build inclusive democracy?

Definition of the area and data production

The name Arnaud Bernard may have ambiguous meanings. On some of the maps of Toulouse Métropole and Toulouse City Council, this name includes a large area from the banks of the Garonne to the Boulevard de Strasbourg. However, in the collective unconscious, this term refers to the Place Arnaud Bernard and the related alleys, up to the neighbouring Saint-Sernin district, which marks an architectural and socio-economic discontinuity.

Most of the quantitative data correspond to the IRIS Saint-Sernin, which is smaller than the Arnaud Bernard district in the sense of the municipal maps, but larger than the Arnaud Bernard of the collective unconscious. Only the election data are slightly more accurate due to their availability at the polling station level.

The qualitative data are of several kinds: frequent discussions with the district mayor, but also with the teams dedicated to the city centre of the local security and delinquency prevention committee.

In addition to this data, there were numerous direct observations and some testimonies from residents. Finally, the workshop organised during the final conference allowed new actors to contribute important elements for the understanding of the neighbourhood.

Socio-historical description

Contrary to most districts we presented until now, Arnaud Bernard lies in the very centre of Toulouse. It remains relatively popular and is very dynamic in terms of shops, bars, restaurants, associations and services.

According to various testimonies, Arnaud Bernard is a reception point for people arriving in Toulouse from abroad and retains a very cosmopolitan character in its neighbourhood identity.

Insofar as certain concerns crystallise around the Place Arnaud Bernard.

Socio-economic factors and narratives about diversity

The median income of the residents of the IRIS Saint-Sernin is 21 950€ per year. This figure may seem high in view of the district's reputation, and one might be tempted to think of a statistical bias due to the presence of the Saint-Sernin district in the IRIS. However, this factor can be qualified insofar as the Gini index is 0.263, i.e. relatively low compared to other IRISs which have the same

characteristics of bringing together neighbourhoods with very different identities (Maurens, in Cugnaux in particular). The same comment applies to the ownership and social housing on the IRIS. Only 6% of the housing is social housing. 21% of the housing is occupied by proprietaries. Even with Saint-Sernin included, this means that there exist an equilibrium between rental, owners and social housing, which is the lowest.

The poverty rate is significant, at 13%, but remains relatively limited, as does the unemployment rate at 11.54%. This last figure can, however, be explained by the size of the student population, which is greater than the working population in this district.

Pupils, students, unpaid trainees 15 to 64 years old :

33 %

Percentage of the active population aged 15 - 64:

At first, these data seemed surprising to us because they contrast with the discourse collected here and there from professional and associative actors. All of these actors, for various reasons, emphasise the reception function of this district, supported by specific networks of actors. This functional approach does not seem to be erroneous, but it needs to be completed: Arnaud Bernard also has a residential function for students, and an important function as a meeting point for part of Toulouse's militancy.

The complementarity of these approaches will allow us to remain attentive to points of vulnerability of different natures. Indeed, the recent work commissioned by Toulouse Métropole from the Toulouse Urban Planning and Development Agency points to the importance of students' vulnerabilities, particularly in terms of access to healthcare and food. At the same time, newcomers and unaccompanied minors are the subject of particular attention from the socio-educational services of the city, particularly with regard to slum landlords.

Social Capital, access to services and right to the city

Schooling services are quite important, especially compared to the low proportion of families with children on the district.

1 nursery and 1 nursery school

2 elementary schools (including 1 private one)

1 secondary school

2 high schools

It is to be noted that, from elementary to high school Arnaud Bernard is the only district of our study that present a 100% of schooling. As expected, schooling between 18 and 24 years old is very high, with 88%.

In addition to the many services and shops present and adapted to this district (a metropolitan service for young people wandering, special prevention, MDS, etc.), citizen initiatives have emerged to take care of specific needs, particularly in terms of health.

During the workshop of the final conference, discussions were held about the “diversity” of the shops. Some highlighted that most shops are fast foods with a culturally Arab background (kebab), but this affirmation has to be mitigated. First, there is historically a great diversity of restaurants and bars, including restaurants with Italian, French, Mexican, Japanese, Senegalese food, etc. Secondly, an effort is being done by the municipality to promote even more diversity, which includes support to new shops.

Political factors, perspectives and identification

During a process of revitalising of the district supported by the municipality, residents expressed the feeling that they had been the “forgotten” district of the city-centre. Discussions and forums, particularly among shopkeepers, have been set up to respond to some of these requests and a neat improvement seems to be in progress.

On another dimension Arnaud Bernard is a district strongly identified for its left-wing political activities. This has a double implication: a stronger implication in the democratic system, as shown by the comparatively low abstention, considering that the municipal rate was 63,34%.

<u>Abstention (municipales, 2020)</u>		<u>Votes (municipales, 2020)</u>
1 st round:	58,3 %	Archipel Citoyen
2 nd round:	51 %	57,87% - 64,76% (depending on the polling station)

The inhabitants of Arnaud Bernard are therefore quicker to play the game of representative democracy and have voted in the majority for what has become the opposition in the Toulouse city council.

This fact is all the more important as the visibility of left-wing activists is strong in this area, with several meeting places and regularly organised demonstrations.

The approach of the political bodies that are the metropolis and the town hall must take this factor into account to ensure a good articulation between citizens and institutions, regardless of the opinions of each. Some of the tensions between institutions and local associations are based on political issues.

Security and crime

We were unable to access safety data at the neighbourhood or IRIS level. Nevertheless, direct testimonies and observations attest to the presence of significant drug and cigarette trafficking. Beyond the illegal aspect of these activities, it is appropriate to question the impact they may have on the experience of the area.

The trafficking in Arnaud Bernard is organised in a completely different way than in more peripheral neighbourhoods: more discreet and less violent a priori. However, nuisance cannot be avoided and particularly affects women, for whom groups of men, whether or not selling illicit products, can be anxiety-provoking. A female resident testifies:

One evening I was going home and some young men started to make remarks to me. After a few seconds, one of them identified me as a resident of the neighbourhood and asked the others to stop: "we don't bother the inhabitants of the neighbourhood"

Despite nuisance and factors of insecurity, the cohabitation of heterogeneous activities and populations, in addition to the central position of the district and to the ostensible presence of law enforcement, a certain regulation exists, which limits the violence occurrences and their impact on the social cohesion on this district.

Conclusion and recommendation

As we have seen, Arnaud Bernard is characterised by the heterogeneity of its uses as well as by dissonances between representations of the district due to some of these uses and the objective characteristics of the population living there.

The interconnection between the different people using the Arnaud Bernard square seems to go beyond simple tolerant cohabitation, suggesting possible bridges, and therefore no strong rupture or phenomena of polarisation, between networks strongly marked by their militant political identity, status (students) or functional identity (networks of reception or trafficking of various products).

In such a context, it seems important to take into account the specific dynamics of the district, as Toulouse Métropole has done by setting up specific educational services there, but also to rely on all the networks present in order to avoid building one against the other. If law enforcement has to be mobilised in situations of violence or illegality, Arnaud Bernard is a particularly suitable neighbourhood for primary prevention and community policing.