At home in the City - Towards an Urban Periphery of the Future

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1.   Introduction

Residential areas are waking up from the social weightlessness to which they had been relegated by architects and urban planners since the war. Today, the poor standard of living in the suburbs has pierced the collective conscience, as did the urban shanty towns which they were meant to absorb. The social visibility given to the decline of the suburbs, however, risks masking a more specific questioning of segregative urban organisation, that which separates daily life from life at work, places of consumption from places of production. All areas exclusively devoted to housing are being rethought: dormitory towns and peri-urban areas of detached houses. For decades, the care lavished on the internal arrangement of the dwelling to the detriment of public spaces has been a normative urban framework hostile to the modernisation of current society.

The functional specialisation of urban territory, too quickly attributed to those sole functionalist arguments defended by protagonists of the Athens Charter, is, firstly, the expression of a logic of unequal distribution of locational advantages. Secondly, it is the consequence of the levelling out of lifestyles and living conditions which has occurred in Western Europe in the space of a few decades (Scardigli, 1988). Individual transportation has enabled the disadvantages of that segregation to be overcome, encouraging the belief that distances can be covered with minimum effort and at a cost which seemed to match the increase of the spending power of families.

With the decline offered by the current growth crisis and the collapse of the planned economy, this unequivocal "zoning" of urban space shows its close dependence on economic models and models of social integration linked to the outmoded "Fordist" stage of industrial society.

The break between the workplace and the dwelling place has been reinforced by developmental models of the market economy and the planned economy which cannot now claim the secularity and universality which the two sides of conquering modernity conferred on them. In the countries of central Europe, like the countries of Western Europe, this "zoning" has left a heavy inheritance of segregation of functions, consequently impoverishing the urban fabric. The peripheries of Prague or Paris show the same lack of urbanity.

The development of these models was, in fact, based on three assumptions which are today reeling from economic progress: the ability to organise social regulation on a national scale, full employment and the extension of paid employment to all social and professional categories; with the globalisation of the economy, structural unemployment and the precariousness of jobs, this urban framework, inherited from the modern era, today turns out to be so rigid that it amplifies social exclusion. However, less explicitly, that rigidity creates, for both households and companies, a web of "urban frictions" of which the social cost and ecological incidence of mobility engendered by this compartmentalisation of social life is only one symptom.

The dissociation of professional life and life outside work was in fact based on unilateral social integration through work and its corollary, the denigration of social skills acquired in the "social quagmire" of daily life. The primacy given to "the ideology of work" (Anthony, 1977, 8) has led to a form of unsound integration declaring domestic and private life a "place of deterioration of the social element" (Lefebvre, 1981, 59). The forms of habitation would be anchored in tradition, consisting of unchanging practices and rituals compartmentalised by social conventions. "The domestic withdrawal" shown by our contemporaries takes over from the tenacious references to a nostalgic vision of village life and domestic practices reproducing archaic "cultural models".

That organisation of space carried out under the aegis of conquering modernity has durably changed patterns of consumption and ways of life. By transforming social environments into a number of units of consumption and, furthermore, qualifying homes as households, this social and spatial compartmentalisation deserves to be described as a process of "urban Fordism" rather than characterised by the euphemism of architectural or urban functionalism. The inconsistency of the notion of household associated with one form of cohabitation is exemplary in this respect (Bassinel & Perrinjaquet, 1991). By returning to the social norm of the nuclear family (represented ideally by the symmetrical image of two parents and two children sharing one home), it was, in fact, trying to make a fictitious equation: an equation which had the obvious advantage of designating one unit of account for economists, investors and statisticians (Le Bras, 1988).

This typical household, the basic unit of modern town planning, anonymous category of architectural design, had as its reference in Western Europe the middle-class family with its unvoiced comments: allocating women and children to the sphere outside work and confining family life within domestic intimacy; a model initially with a single contributor as its mainspring for ensuring the family group's spending power. In central Europe, that allocation of families to the periphery of the urban system was, under the cover of the industrialisation of forms of construction, the guarantor of a form of socialisation breaking with the market economy and middle-class individualism. The constitution of a sphere outside work, clearly dissociated spatially, had the advantage of shattering all desires of bringing back together the "domus" of families of craftsmen, tradesmen and the liberal professions.

What could be perceived as a technical and operational procedure, a sole resource of the planners and managers of the urban area, retroactively reveals itself to be one of the conditions of the economic expansion of the 30 years after the war and the planned economy. Functional separation and specialisation, the relationship

between professional life and life outside work must thus be seen as "the relationship component" of industrial societies at an advanced stage of their development. The home/work separation established with the advent of the industrial society thus reached its peak in the '70s.

Since then, this urban and social break has not ceased unravelling itself under the pressure of an incessant recomposition of daily life. It is contradicted by a network of innovative practices, complex residential strategies and by the transformation of the structure of households. This change in Western Europe was accelerated and confirmed by technical changes, transformations in the world of work. There has been no lack of signs announcing this change but they have been falsely attributed to cultural changes or to the advent of a post-modern society.

Contrary to the sociological currents which have dominated research for the past 20 years, we consider that the central factors which have transformed the use of the city must be analysed in the long term. The change is in the questioning of the "relationship component" of private life/professional life as it was established after the war and set in the built environment. The massive arrival of married women onto the employment market and the dissolution of the "unity of time and place" (Perret & Roustang, 1993, 60) within the sphere of work enable that approach to be illustrated, which is of obvious significance for the future of urban planning.

2.   The Position of Women Reveals a Major Conflict of Modernity

The evolution of our industrial society towards an "industrial society of services", following a profound recomposition of the sectors of activity in the sense of an increased development of the services sector of the economy, has helped the integration of women into working life. This massive influx of women follows a structural fact to which the necessary increase of spending power and desire for emancipation have made their contribution. In France, in absolute terms, between 1975 and 1985 the number of working women increased by more than 1.6 million (from 8.3 to nearly 10 million) whilst the number of men in work stagnated and regressed slightly during the same period (from 13.4 to 13.3 million). Today, nearly 70% of married women have a dual occupation. This fact triggers a groundswell of social change which is at the intersection of a conversion of social relationships into reality, and an affirmation of the status of women, which does not fail to transform the use of the dwelling and its relationship with the city.

For women, access to paid employment is obviously at the heart of the movement which has questioned traditional rôles and relationships between the sexes since the '60s. It makes its original mark on the terms of women's entry into working life and comes to guarantee its long term survival faced, for example, with the fear of widespread unemployment.

This aspect of the transformation of social morphology, studied in relation to the long-term trends of the economy and of society, is not limited to making a contribution to the newly developing womens' studies. The forms of the integration of women show themselves to be of heuristic value for the whole of sociology. "Women's work ... acts as a sort of revealer of the processes of reciprocal adjustments between family structures, ways of organising the domestic sphere and the system of production". "Because the social division of work cannot be dealt with

here independently from the division of the sexes, because the specificities of salaried professional work of the woman can only be understood when linked to the functions assigned to the woman in the domestic sphere, it is the normal categories of work and non-work which are being questioned" (Commaille, 1993, 13).

Within the framework of this article, it is the consequences of this social fact on urban organisation which holds the attention. These effects are, however, of two empirical and theoretical orders. In what does that social change question the "Fordist" urban organisation described previously and what lessons can the planners learn from that way of breaking down frontiers between work and non-work? From the methodological and theoretical points of view, it is a question of accepting the conflicts of modernity which stand out against that change and the weight which has to be given to this major social fact in reviewing the attention given to individuation and cultural dynamics.

Evidently, the urban "Fordism" component of the functional specialisation of space is denied by a questioning of its normative social precepts. It turns out that the distance which separates the workplace and place of residence amplifies the desire to leave the social weightlessness which reigns in residential areas devoid of enriching social interaction. The dominant form of integration of married women into the sphere of work is that of part-time work, which exacerbates the urban friction represented by the relegation of residential areas to the periphery of the urban system.

Part-time work sets certain limits on commuting and, therefore, on the search for a job in a wider geographical area. The residential strategies of moving and locating the home are directed towards that constraint so that, in a two worker household, priority will be given to the less precarious job. The level of effort devoted to the dwelling thus appears in its true depth. The proportion of the household budget allocated to rent and charges must also include the time and money spent on transport, in particular for travel between home and work.

It has to be stated that maternal duties trap women within a restricted geographical sector of the employment market. That restriction of the spatial horizon to a perimeter close to the family home represents an obstacle to the equality of opportunities of women in the world of work. Mothers living in peripheral areas are doubly confronted with low spatial, social and economic density and to a very limited employment market.

The current state of research unequivocally shows that a woman who has a professional job places importance on the proximity of her place of work to her home, and resigns herself to accepting a low profile job in her search for one close by (Fagnani, 1992). With the constraint of juggling hours in order to reconcile domestic and professional responsibilities, she tries at any price to reduce time spent on the journey between home and work. In the Paris region, a considerable proportion of women with children under the age of 18, a third of mothers with two children and more than half of mothers with four children work less than one kilometre away from their home.

Taking account of the heterogeneous distribution of households in space, which globally contrasts childless households living in the centre of the city with the large families who live on the periphery (Manusy & Marpsat, 1991), this says a lot

about the accumulation of the effects of segregation which means a gradual restriction of professional mobility according to the number of children.

Urban friction in this perspective takes a high profile even if, according to position in the social scale, it is both endured and chosen. The social facts relating to the future illustrated by women's work are of increasing interest in the hypothesis of job sharing as a solution to unemployment and an answer to increasing productivity. This sharing will not fail to put a break on a modernisation of society.

This is because social exclusion combines with choice criteria, based on factors of "environmental" location (Geiger, 1985). The eviction of underprivileged social classes from the urban area is coupled with the exodus from the urban area of privileged families. The very rapid development of the peri-urban space thus supports the idea that the segregation of functions also conveys the practices and aspirations of our contemporaries. However, these residential strategies are developed from the structural fact of family division of work, which means that families of managers with one person in employment remain particularly attached to the traditional model of the conjugal and nuclear family (Barrere-Maurisson, 1992, 207). In the above model, this social category appears conservative because, with the distancing of residential areas from the workplace, the head of the family can make a specific division of work between the marriage partners "natural", where the husband is responsible for the professional work and the long journeys which this implies, while the mother stays at home to ensure domestic harmony.

That convergence between a geographical place of residence on the periphery of the social and urban system and a family form provides information about the interest in associating residential strategy with job sharing procedures. This is because, conversely, intra-family control by the majority, aimed at sharing all the work in the family (housework, paid work), leads to an encouragement to bring the place of residence closer to urban areas. In a very pronounced way, families organised on the basis of two part-time jobs or a "false" full-time job develop similar strategies of location which, moreover, are closer to those of single person households. The two opposite strategies of location nevertheless lead to the home being a stable area in the home/work dialectical argument and strengthen the dual identity of the city.

3. The Family Division of Work and Space

The dual activity of women presupposes a shift in the division of housework between the sexes, a rationalisation of tasks and an externalisation of services: a process of change largely involving off-the-peg clothes, take-away food, a change in purchasing patterns (weekly "consumption work") and the internalisation of services in the form of goods (household machines, televisions, disk storage, PCs, etc.). This domestic equipment and these services cannot be considered as prostheses guaranteeing the survival of a core of atavistic practices; they contribute towards widening the intellectual horizon, reducing the time budgets, enabling activities to be deferred, distances to be covered, in short, to an increase in social interaction just as private means of transportation increase one's scope of action.

In this context, greater attention must be given to sharing professional work and housework, called the "family division of work", which, in a simplified manner, oscillates between two extremes: "either all or nothing is shared".

According to the author of exploratory research on this aspect of social and economic transformation, the forms of that division cannot be dissociated from the integration of the two marriage partners into work. This scheme leads Barrere-Maurisson to formulate the following axiom: "When housework is shared, the two marriage partners work, but careers progress slowly; when housework is not shared, there is much promotion in the career: this can either be a single woman or a couple where prominence is given to one career to the detriment of the other or where the woman does not work." It is a question of tackling "the whole of work: that is to say, professional work and housework which is shared in the family. ... And it is on that basis that the investments of each person are shared." (*op. cit.*, 43).

Table 1. Evolution of families and evolution of sectors of activity
(Barrere-Maurisson, 1992, p 207)

Sectors of activity	1. Agriculture	2. Manufacturing	3. Services		
Economic nature of work		Manufacturing	Service	Administration
Dominant type of work	Several workers	A single worker	Two contributors one career favoured	Two equivalent contributors
Corresponding type of family	Patriarchal family	Functional conjugal family	Family with two contributors	

By relating the type of professional career of the individuals and the forms of sharing work in the family, one can similarly draw a link which has, as its innermost depth, the differentiation of the world of work. This is because the development of the industrial service society offers more and more varied forms of integration according to the economic nature of the work carried out and the sectors of activities in co-presence. The author in a table that we may qualify as inspired by Spengler suggests that the "dominant types of relationship" combine with the corresponding "family model" and that, at a certain stage of industrial development, there is a specific obligation to work and a "form of family". In fact, families described as uncertain by the demographer, bring to light risk management in the threat of unemployment, the effect of the emancipation of different members of the family and a loss of identity correlative to the multiplicity of integration into work offered by society.

On condition of being considered as an expression of the conflicts of modernity, an expression of the coexistence of several family forms and on condition of being detailed and questioned on the psycho-sociological factors of its origin, this diagram is a useful tool for analysing social dynamics. It appears from this that the family form, which is the expression of a mode of the interaction, of conditions of life and social practices, is as significant as the sphere of work. Reference social

spaces come back to the dual belonging of men and women. The exploration of the cross-interdependence of work and family gains from admitting the reciprocal influence of the environments of autonomous socialisation, of which the significant bridges seem to us to be in the technique and recording of practices in space (Perrinjaquet *et al.*, 1993).

To bring this approach to its conclusion, let us now ask ourselves about the middle class strategies which for two decades have invested in the defence of the living environment and innovative forms of living conditions. This desire must not be analysed as a search for meaning, as the ultimate attempt to reconstruct a uniqueness of life. "That image, which corresponds better to the idea of a person, is more dangerous than useful because it reintroduces the dream of a link between the actor and the system, between individuals and history, of which it is essential to rid oneself. From this it emerges that the subject is not the unit of a life, the construction of self, but the exceeding of constraints, the call for liberty, the movement for linking together, through an individual life, the shattered fragments of modernity" (Touraine, 1992, 341).

The dual investment in life at work and outside work is not the result of individual choices, because "the more complex the social system, the more peripheral the worlds being experienced become. Having said that, it is certainly not necessary to give a causal meaning as if the structures of the world being experienced were transformed depending on the increased complexity of the system. This is the opposite of what is true, the increased complexities are dependent on the differentiations of the world being experienced" (Habermas, 1987, 189).

Currently, "the upsurge of individualisation" of an exaggerated social visibility is not foreign to that situation. Norbert Elias insists precisely on the relationship which a previous upsurge has with what he calls "a specific recomposition in the structure of human relationships". "These upsurges of individualisation, for example in the Renaissance era, are not the consequences of a sudden transformation brought about by remarkable men (...) On the contrary, they are the fruit of social happenings (*gesellschaftlich*), for example, consequent on the disintegration of ancient corporations or transformations of the social position of the artist-artisan, in short, consequent on a specific recomposition of the structure of human relationships" (Elias, 1987, 43). He states: "The possibility and necessity of increased individualisation is one aspect of a social transformation which is way outside the control of the private individual" (Elias, 1987, 167).

The questioning of occupations and professions in the current recomposition of work, in part due to the flexible adaptation of productive capacities, reveals a psycho-sociological factor which has definite significance for the future. It enables the so-called "reconquest of self" of our contemporaries to be understood like a recourse to the dynamics of decelerating professional identities. The evolution of sectors of activities, for decades the unsuspected agent responsible for social and inter-generational mobility, arrives at saturation point and transforms into structural saturation. From generation to generation, professional career paths will hence-forward have a tendency to be similar. A high proportion of young adults will, like their parents, work in the tertiary sector and have a humdrum urban lifestyle, their children in turn, in greater numbers, will have jobs, qualifications and lifestyles of

this type. The professional mobility of individuals and concomitantly ascendant family paths become more and more exceptional.

Today the overflow of salaried workers from one sector of activity into another "is less a carrier of the dynamics of identity than it was in the past. New jobs no longer appear like places where enhancing professional and social identities are formed which are likely to replace inherited identities" (Perret & Roustang, 1993, 135). On the contrary, the flagging dynamics of the identity of skills and abilities required to do a certain type of work call for "social qualifications" partly drawn from the extra-professional sphere. "The loss of motivation" (*Motivationsentzug*) (Habermas 1984, 563) linked to the structural deceleration of professional identities puts a greater value on socialisation outside work, just as social integration at work benefits from the application of strategies which come under the actions of communication. "The action that the sphere of production has on itself (Perrinjaquet *et al.*, 1993), the development of the services sector and reduction of the working week are the main factors which stimulate the influence of that aspect of "the reverse of work" on the formation of identities and qualifications in the metamorphosis of work. By contrasting the economy with society, Perret and Roustang formulate it with a hint of regret: "To tell the truth, one can ask oneself whether today it is not society which feeds the economy rather than the reverse" (Perret & Roustang, 1993, 17).

Evidently, this reversal has firstly benefited the integration of women to work. It shows itself today when personnel managers insist on calling for the ability to manage the polyvalency of human relationships and to carry out complicated acts. These skills fulfil the need to encourage polychronous management of information, to reply to interrupted work sequences and the development of the quality of a service which is difficult to discern. That is, in essence, a social skill; it is the product of socialisation, of social construction of the identity which is close to that expected of every woman at home, mother and wife.

The same can be said of "relational expertise" and the ability to carry on several activities at the same time and to give equal attention to all the tasks, whether or not they are important. This profile is diametrically opposed to that required of the "Taylorian" worker of the "Fordist" era and implacable to the ancient idea of a craft. Significantly, that ability does not meet the demand for professionalism and the spirit of careerism, competitivity, in short, the values established in the masculine system of self-evaluation. "The little untiring worker" is no longer. Placed in a skilled service job which no longer gives the normal reference points of a good invoice, measurable output, self-affirmation and work satisfaction, he finds himself trapped by his unilateral participation in the world of work.

In conclusion, the actual modernisation of our society is not measured either on a "geography of values" in the choice of home or on shattered lifestyles. Daily life at street level of social life and life at work are the melting pot for an incessant adaptation of individual and collective behaviours, profoundly changing individual/ group/society relationships and recording customs in the space. These mainly invisible adjustments rest on a changing urban organisation and are conveyed, firstly, in the differentiated ways of appropriating housing.

4.   The New Alliance between Living Conditions and Work

On the subject of architecture and town planning, a tendency to abolish the frontiers between the world of work and domestic life affects the most fundamental precepts of urban planning and organisation. The decompartmentalisation of these two spheres contradicts the specialisation of the land and the functional segregation which structure and determine the rhythm of contemporary life. In that, it is not surprising that the potential relocation of workplaces, outlined by the merger between office automation and telecommunications has not stopped fuelling the debates of experts on urban and rural development, the urban planners and sociologists, since the advent of telematics (Ettighoffer, 1992).

That potential destructuring seemed limited to certain professions in the tertiary sector (sales force, brokers, secretaries, etc.), intellectual professions or as a result of specific social divisions of work, including those practised by the self-employed and liberal professions. The speed and scope with which electronic working methods have emerged on the communications landscape and the world of work, however, show that the demand for portable and hybrid personal computers addresses all segments of the employment market or sectors of activities and does not depend upon the emergence of new skilled jobs linked to computers.

The organisation of work has not, however, waited for the "technology push"; work lost its "unity of time and place" a decade ago. The first representative survey on the work market and the different forms of paid activity carried out in Switzerland in 1991 (OFS, 1992) supplied surprising data on this subject. Less than half the people in work (47%) work fixed hours. The rest have flexible working hours which they can adjust around obligatory core hours (27%) or organise freely (21%). One-third of non-managerial salaried workers and managers have flexible working hours (27% and 38% respectively) and approximately 15% have a free timetable.

As regards the place where that activity is carried out, 23% of men say they have several places of work or that their work is nomadic. These figures already show a progressive break with the norm, but still say nothing about the practices of presence simply via the computer screen and tolerated absenteeism. Conversely, it is normal for salaried staff to work overtime, with half of employees in all sectors of activity working, on average, six hours overtime a week, with an official working week of between 41 and 45 hours. Of the managers, the proportion of those working overtime rises to 61% and to 40% for non-managerial staff; 22% of the hours being worked without remuneration.

Travel during working hours, overtime, work at home but also unexplained absences or even moonlighting: in short, all of these unaccounted for margins are the true indicators of distance work which, by means of technological assistance, is very likely to develop.

The close link theoretically and historically reinforced between private life and professional life has already been demolished (Perrinjaquet, 1993). In the eyes of economists, the gulf between work which produces a value of exchange and work carried out for its sole usage value are the cornerstones of that conceptual edifice which is widely shared. The keystone of that edifice would be in the ability or willingness of individuals to manage the divorce between professional culture and everyday culture.

However, in the light of other less recent data, this divorce, which is presumed to be more and more complete, would deserve to be sensitively qualified. On reading a survey on the use of housing carried out in 1987 by INSEE on 12,521 households, it turns out that the social reality and everyday practices have been able to anticipate future scenarios. The survey, carried out on a representative sample of the French population, shows that 41.9% of senior executives and 24.6% of middle managers and employees say they regularly work at home and that 31% and 23% respectively, work there occasionally (Bernard, 1992). When questioned about the place where they do the work, nearly half of senior executives and nearly 20% of the households of employees and middle managers say they have a room set aside for that purpose.

This use of the home turns out to be as frequent and widespread in the case of middle managers and employees as with farmers; as frequent with senior executives as with the liberal professions. The rooms allocated for that use, moreover, indicate the significance which that activity has within the household and the rôle, up until now unsuspected, that it is appropriate to attribute to that practice, for example, in the constant reduction of the occupation level of housing.

These results of the survey do not, unfortunately, supply any information on the time devoted to that activity and do not enable any exact evaluation to be made of the character of that work. Nevertheless, they corroborate the results of research on the use of the telephone which show that between 8% and 10% of domestic calls are home/workplace: telephone calls which exclusively include communications of a professional nature (Claisse & Vergnaud, 1985, 37). Given that this level is calculated on the whole sample, whilst it can only cover employed people, it should be considerably increased.

The success of portable telephones, lap-top computers, and the whole generation of hybrid means of communication which are constantly evolving, creates not only a bridge between professional and private use, but also between formal and informal work, sedentary work and migratory work, uses which will contribute to the decompartmentalisation of the sphere of work in all its aspects. "The discordance of work time" also affects the public space - the streets, public places, collective and private means of transport - in short, it transforms the use of the city and acts on the centre/periphery opposition. Being present at a place of work is replaced by presence via the computer screen.

The immediate environment of the home - the spaces left out of architectural thinking - and residential areas are thus predestined to experience a renewal, revealing current social and economic transformations.

5.   Investigation into the Future of Contemporary Social Facts

The areas at the periphery of the city and functionalist dwellings have, in vain, been structurally hostile to mixed uses and the decompartmentalisation of the family universe and have been requalified by the inhabitants. These uses are nothing more than the rediscovery of the periphery, short-term evasionary and diversionary practices. They bring to light a profound maladjustment of the physical framework in the evolution of society. This is at the price of considerable mobility to which the public authorities try to respond by "internalising external costs", in other words by setting up tariff barriers to mobility, through taxes on energy and increasing the price

of collective means of transport. That logic will have the consequence of accelerating urban recomposition, a logic of aggregation and polarisation from which privileged households have already taken support. It only ends up in a more subtle social segregation of urban space, henceforward marked by its intensive growth (Perrinjaquet, 1991).

It seems preferable to us to analyse contemporary social facts which emerge from the current use of the city, which would encourage planning other than reactive, relating more to the flows than the stocks, to mobility rather than the housing stock and existing equipment. To do this, it is appropriate to detect the beginnings of the "traditions of the future", which in our view show themselves in the conflicts of modernity generated by collective experiences and representations drawn both from life at work and from life outside work. In the current state of knowledge, it is essential to stress the influence of the effects the system of production has on itself, and to discern the rôle of social transformations in that change. Urban and social thought have become orphans of that type of perspective, even when the normative temporal social framework of the industrial era and the "Fordist" era have founded and fashioned urban ways of life and the organisation of space.

The future of the urban area, which has the long-term as its horizon, should thus rest on processes of economic and technical transformation analysed in relation to the social facts which bear witness to modernisation in the long term. The impetuous advent of an industrial society of services and competitive de-industrialisation transforms the nature of work and causes the "unity of time and place" component of modern town planning to disintegrate. However, that modification does not tire of the new strategies of temporary location or scattering of activities which would question the assumptions of physical or social contiguity, nor in the emergence of new social or economic actors; it bases itself on a profound social dynamic, deeply rooted in a constantly evolving daily life; social dynamics, which rest on psycho-sociological, economic and technical processes of transformation.

The modification of the nature of work thus turns out to be of certain significance for the future, definitely facilitating the integration of women and the recognition of social skills, but also destabilising professional identities and the ability to integrate socially through work, thus putting to the test ordinary areas of socialisation and the recognised and latent instances of socialisation (Perrinjaquet, 1979). The built environment and the web of social interactions of areas exclusively given over to dwellings scarcely show any assets for acting as a bearing for this type of reconversion. The areas designed at that time, within a strict logic of equipment and under the banner of triumphant motorisation, are distinguished by a cruel lack of welcoming structures likely to accommodate services in the areas surrounding houses. There is also a lack of do-it-yourself and do-it-for-me services.

To create, in this context, a factual density solely by means of architecture and landscaping, is no guarantor of urbanity. The intensity of the exchanges and social interaction form the mould of urbanity, consisting of clashes and convergences of uses and interests. In a given context, that assumes either the integration of new functions or the exploitation of potentialities offered by ways of living at the turning point of these two fields of interaction between working and everyday life.

The programmes of the EUROPAN 3 competition, which provides for an actualisation or diversification of dwellings in existing residential areas, thus call for

a capacity to differentiate. It is, therefore, appropriate to question the elements of the programme, the kinds and ways of life in gestation, the emergence of social, technical and economic transformations likely to fulfil the citizen's aspiration of being "at home in the city".

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