

Living in the Torino 2006 Olympic Villages A case study

by Federica Ballor and Giulia Maria Cavaletto

Abstract

Now that two years have passed since the Torino 2006 Winter Olympic Games, the conversion of the two Olympic Villages that hosted athletes and journalists during the event into subsidized and social housing can be seen as an emblematic case of applying second-generation policies.

Starting from the goals for social mix and for individual and family empowerment, the case study presented here is an exercise in assessing a public policy that was designed as a tool for promoting social quality, but is associated with certain critical issues regarding the governance system and the milieu's response.

The project's outcomes were analyzed through a survey of recipients of public housing and a control group, as well as interviews with residents and other people familiar of the two areas.

Key words: social housing, housing policy, social mix, governance, local development, urban regeneration, empowerment, social integration.

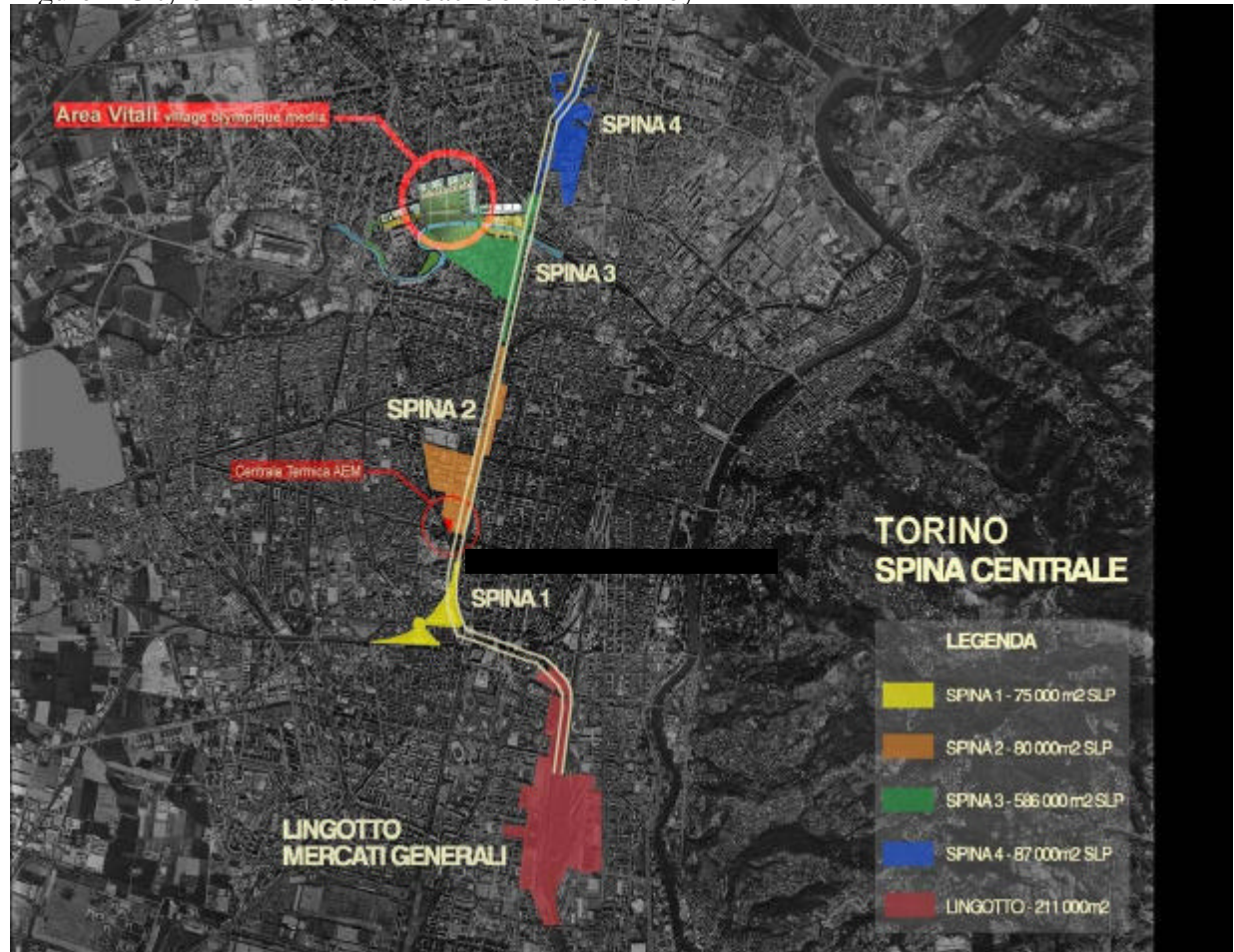
Introduction

In 2003, the City of Torino embarked on the "Olympic Village Project", a housing policy initiative that focused on converting the major real estate complexes that were originally intended to host journalists and athletes during the Torino 2006 Winter Olympic Games (Municipal Council Resolution of May 13, 2003, City of Torino, 2005, 2007). This initiative was linked to the changes in the master plan that transformed Torino by covering the railway line (called the "Spina") that once cut the city in two. The Winter Olympic Games provided a further opportunity for urban renewal, and for integrating social, housing and local development policies (Bobbio, Guala, 2002; Segre, Scamuzzi, 2004). The initiative targeted two areas: the first is the Media Village (located along the so-called "Spina 3", the Backbone District 3), with over nine hundred public and subsidized housing units, plus a further three thousand residential units built in the surrounding areas, once an industrial zone. The second area involved in the initiative was that of the former wholesale fruit and vegetable markets (the Ex MOI Village), where the repurposing program was intended to increase the availability of controlled-rent housing and public services.

Two years after the new housing units were first occupied, the study presented here investigated how the initiative, based on social mix and individual and family empowerment projects, has contributed to creating social quality (Beck et al., 2001; Barbera, Negri, 2005)¹, bearing in mind that there may be a context effect (Governa, 1997). What, then, are the outcomes, or in other words the effects on conduct, attitudes and, above all, on social ties (Bertin, 1996) that are concretely produced when the inhabitants are put into a context of localized social relations, and on their rapport with the neighborhood and institutions? It can be assumed, in fact, that, despite the policies' general goals of social cohesion, rooted in the integration, social mix and socioeconomic development of the two settings, the reactions of the people involved to the context can proceed in different ways, leading variously to marginalization or integration, exclusion or inclusion, local development or decline.

¹ The study represents some of the findings of the "Housing Work Group" consisting of the authors, Manuela Olagnero (coordinator) and Irene Ponzo, all of the Università di Torino Department of Social Sciences.

Figure 1 City of Torino: central backbone district key



Source: Cittàbella, 2007

To present the mechanisms underlying the initiative, which supported or interfered with the change in the relational and fiduciary dimension for the direct or indirect beneficiaries, an actor-based explanatory model such as that proposed by the realistic interpretation developed by Pawson and Tilley (ref. Olagnero, 2003, 17) was adopted. This theoretical approach sees a program as a series of opportunities that may (or may not) trigger action on the part of the people involved. From this standpoint, we can imagine that the outcomes of a second-generation housing policy will be of two types: place-based and people-based (Fraser e Kick, 2007).

Second-generation policies

Through a forward-looking regulatory framework for urban policies (laws 179/1992, 493/1993 and 431/1998), public decision-makers have gradually moved beyond the differential approach, where projects are planned and implemented simply by distinguishing between the city's strong and weak settings. With the new, so-called second-generation policies, this segmental view has given way to an integrated and multidimensional vision of public intervention. Here, the key concepts are those of social integration, mix, and local development. The idea of integration calls for an approach on multiple levels: recovering buildings, rather than demolishing them and rebuilding from scratch, together with renewing the physical context, the milieu, from the economic and social standpoints. The second key concept is social mix, an effective means of preventing degradation, the exclusion of certain residents and the creation of ghetto neighborhoods. Lastly, the concept of local development provides long-term guarantees for the quality of urban, residential life, by activating local

resources and starting from the idea that the city is not simply a metropolitan area, but is polycentric. The characteristics that set these second-generation policies apart include:

- The local scale of the projects involved, which follow European guidelines in being planned at the regional level and implemented at the urban level.
- Goals that are regulatory as well as distributive, as they involve market-oriented action pursued both through public mediation between the interests of tenants and property owners, agreements between the Municipality and private enterprise, and through financial aid for people with low incomes or who pay high rents (Città di Torino, 2007).
- The integrated nature of the projects (funded by the public, private and third sectors), which are executed by promoting partnerships and play a crucial role in mediating between the various stakeholders involved (Bifulco, 2005, Donolo, 2006), with close ties in to social policies.
- The multi-level character of the initiatives, which include both people- and area-based action - that targets individuals and families as well as the areas where they live by promoting their socioeconomic development.
- The ambitious social quality objectives (Beck et al., 1997), which thus aim not only for legality and affordability (providing), but also for social integration, cohesion and empowerment (enabling).

In this scenario, the Olympic Village initiative fielded a series of building projects and urban renewal/regeneration efforts that strove not only to offer new structures and services, but also to strengthen the capacity of individuals and families in the area for independence and integration. With these goals, and the means used to achieve its ends, the program clearly ranks among second-generation housing policies.

The two sites

Map 1 shows how the two sites addressed by the study relate to the other housing projects initiated in Torino over the last ten years.

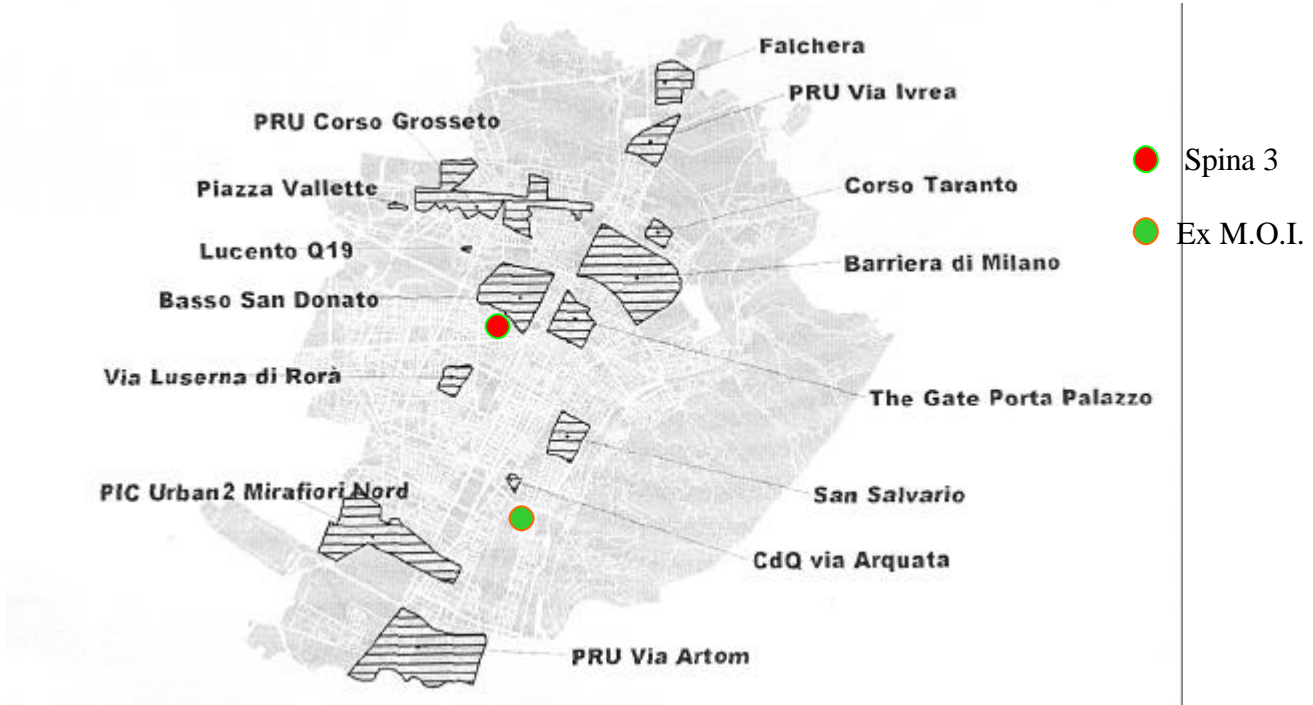
Spina 3 is located between the Madonna di Campagna, Lucento and Falchera areas, in the northern section of the city. From the beginning of the last century, this area was occupied by mechanical and metallurgical industries, which left it with seven disused factory complexes: the Vitali, Valdocco, Valdellatorre, Michelin, Paracchi, Fiat Nole and Savigliano plants. During the Olympic Games, part of the area hosted the Media Village.

Ex M.O.I., on the other hand, is in the south of Torino, in an area affected by the major Community Initiative Program (CIP) for North Mirafiori on the opposite side of the district, and hosts four large public housing projects that provide homes for over 1200 families. The south side of Torino, which was the site of the city's wholesale markets until they were relocated on the outskirts in the early '90s, hosted the Athletes' Village.

The two areas differ in the types of construction that characterize them, as well as from the urbanistic standpoint. Spina 3, residential complexes of various kinds are now being built by private contractors and subsidized cooperatives, as well as by public housing authorities, and are more affordable than most real estate in other parts of Torino. In addition to these residential buildings, plans call for shopping centers, stores and other services (some of which have already been completed) as well as an extensive green area – the Dora Park – on the banks of the Dora river.

The Athletes' Village, by contrast, was sited in a built-up area, though in a position that is to some extent separate from the rest of the district, as it is cut off from it by the railway (the Lingotto station), a school complex, sports facilities and local government offices, including the new headquarters of the ARPA regional environmental protection agency. Recipients of public housing in Ex M.O.I. can thus benefit from the facilities and infrastructures that are already available in the neighborhood. The site also has better connections with the downtown area.

Map 1 – Local of the two sites in relation to other housing projects in the Municipality of Torino:



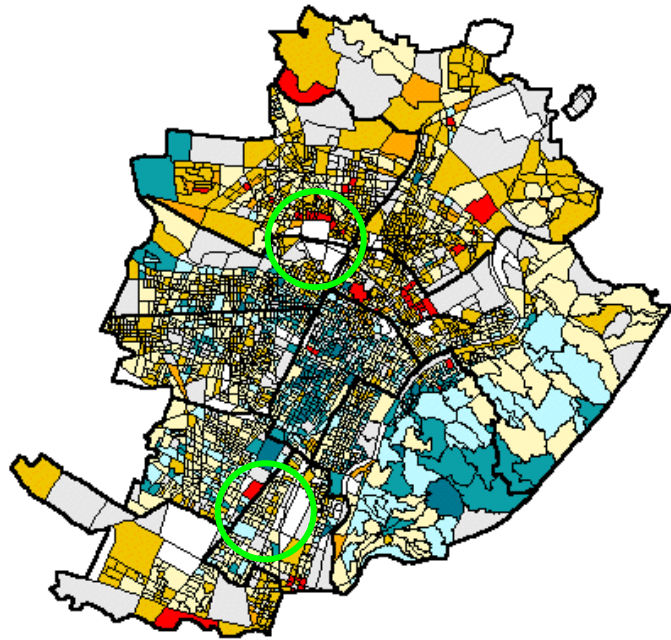
The two areas also differ in the extent to which they are plagued by social problems, measurable through the concentration of such factors as the low level of education, high unemployment in the age group ranging from 15 to 59 years, and the number of unskilled workers, as shown in charts 1, 2 and 3. The data summarized in these charts are taken from a study conducted by the Piedmont section of IRES (2006), the Institute for Economic and Social Research, which cataloged Torino's census districts on the basis of the presence or absence (and extent) of "problematic" factors that can affect their residents' quality of life, participation and social inclusion, and the need for action on the part of institutions at various levels in such areas as safety, transportation, health care facilities, educational services, and so forth.

As the key to the charts indicates, areas where these phenomena are absent or limited are shown in light blue and dark blue, while those impacted by one or more problematic factors are shown in red, yellow and orange.

Chart 1 – Educational qualifications of residents by neighborhood and census district
 (light blue/dark blue > 0 = ninth grade equivalent; red/orange < ninth grade equivalent)

LEGENDA:

- }
Areas in which the phenomenon is absent or limited.
- “Neutral” areas.
- }
Areas in which the phenomenon is problematic
- Data not collected.
- Data not significant



All of these problematic factors, which act together and reinforce each other, have a significant impact on the opportunities for social inclusion, for participation, and for exercising citizens' rights. In addition, they stand in the way of effective local development.

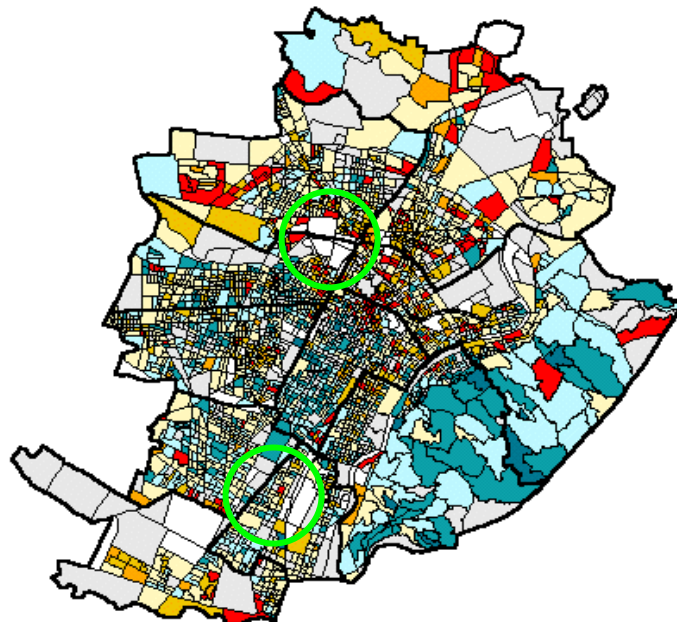


Chart 2 – Unemployment rates by neighborhood and census district
 (light blue/dark blue < 0 = city average; red/orange > city average)

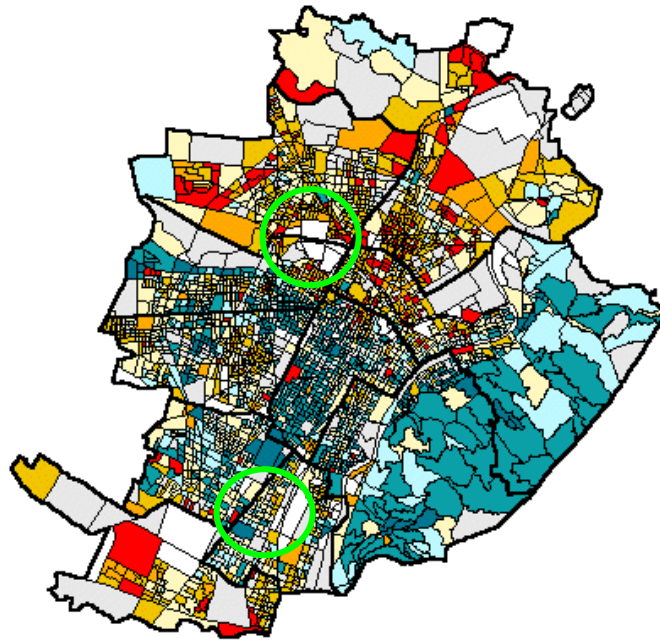


Chart 3 – Number of unskilled workers by neighborhood and census district
 (light blue/dark blue < 0 = city average; red/orange > city average)

Social mix

Social mix is one of the strategic and cultural lynchpins of the new housing policies. Thus, the Olympic Village housing project aims to achieve social mix (though in different forms in the two areas) at two levels:

1. Population mix. The two areas feature different types of construction, including publicly built social housing, subsidized housing, and privately built housing. One of the goals of the initiative, in fact, is to guarantee that different social groups, with different housing needs and experience, will live together in the same district, avoiding excessive concentrations of low-income families and the elderly. An effort was thus made to encourage young people, the elderly, the disabled, and newly-formed families that are not so fragile on the market to move to the site, selecting them on the basis of various parameters: people who have submitted applications for public housing, families in need of emergency housing (normally because of evictions), young couples, adults at social risk, and private purchasers.

2. Construction mix. Some buildings are earmarked for subsidized housing, while other property in the vicinity belongs to people who generally own the apartment they live in. In certain areas, common areas and facilities are shared by different social categories, which should prevent the ghettoization of zones that are chiefly given over to public housing.

The simultaneous presence of the two forms of social mix is evident from Table 1, which illustrates the differences in the categories of people who have been assigned housing at the two sites. In Spina 3, residents also include members of cooperative building associations and private purchasers who bought residential units in the neighborhood’s new buildings on the open market.

Table 1 – Number of housing units assigned at each site by category of recipient *

SUMMARY OF ASSIGNED HOUSING UNITS AND RECIPIENT FAMILIES					
	EX MOI	%	SPINA 3	%	Recipients
	40	19,32	55	15,99	Elderly
	26	12,36	35	10,17	Disabled
	13	6,28	21	6,10	Police personnel
	25	12,08	32	9,30	Housing emergency
	60	28,99	100	29,07	Relocation
	20	9,66	60	17,44	LO.CA.RE. fixed rent initiative
	15	7,25	15	4,36	Young couples
	5	2,42	20	5,81	Applicants with children and income exceeding eligibility limit by up to 80%
	0	0,00	4	1,16	Young adults
Subtotal	204		342		
	3	1,45	2	0,58	Primary health care centers/facilities
TOTAL	207	100	344	100	

Source: Municipality of Torino, 2007

* By law, public housing units are assigned on the basis of the rankings established in a call for applications issued every three years, which takes serious housing emergencies (evictions and cases reported by local social workers) into account, as well as all people who are eligible to submit an application. The call for applications can in turn lead to special rankings extrapolated from the general ranking which include certain specific categories of application, including the elderly, invalids, newly formed couples, people who moved away to find employment and intend to return to their home city, refugees and police personnel (City of Torino, 2007, 9). The residential units in Spina 3 district and Ex M.O.I. district have been divided into units used as social housing, units administered by the LO.CA.Re fixed rent initiative, and units offered for sale to private buyers

Nevertheless, it must be said that field workers and administrators have been aware for some time that the principle of social mix is by no means easy to apply (as it runs the risk of being reduced merely to mixed housing), and a number of theorists have questioned the sustainability of the idea of social mix alone as a means of managing social and functional integration at the urban scale (Tosi, 2006; Donzelot, 2006; Lagrange, Oberti, 2006). According to these critics, the spatial proximity of different social groups of classes does not automatically produce social proximity, and indeed can even increase social distancing and differentiation: encouraging the middle classes to move into an area can on the one hand lead to the subsequent departure of working class residents as part of a process of gentrification, while on the other hand, the middle classes are in a better position to enjoy the benefits of these policies in terms of citizenship, group life and political representation. By contrast, the forms of reciprocity that are particularly important among the working classes would be diluted, reducing spatial concentration. No less importantly, social mix policies can limit access to the public housing market on the part of those who need it most, with the result that this market is no longer effective in providing social aid.

Methods, techniques and sampling

The study applied a method mix, employing multiple observation tools and analysis techniques. The tools consisted of a predominantly closed questionnaire, interviews with subgroups of families, an ethnographic survey of the area, and talks with people familiar with the sites (agency supervisors, social workers, etc.). The analysis techniques applied to the data collected through the questionnaires consisted chiefly of descriptive statistical methods and measures of association using SPSS. Narrative material was analyzed using thematic tracking and a dedicated software program (Alceste).

The telephone survey was conducted in the months of October and November 2008, contacting:

- Tenants of public housing
- Tenants of housing administered by the Lo.C.A.Re initiative
- Members of housing cooperatives
- Police personnel (including Carabinieri, police and fire department personnel).

In-depth interviews were conducted at the tenant’s homes in the period between the two telephone campaigns on the basis of the first, partial findings of the initial part of the survey. The population targeted by the investigation consisted of all recipients of public housing administered by the ATC regional housing authority and Lo.C.A.Re., the members of two cooperatives (San Pancrazio and Di Vittorio) and police personnel (referred to below as PP), divided by site (Spina 3 and Ex M.O.I.). The sample of people contacted consisted of respondents belonging to recipients’ families and the control groups. The telephone survey reached a total of 53% of the recipients of public housing and 38% of cooperative members. Through the respondents, 275 families were reached and data concerning over 760 individuals was collected.

Survey results: beneficiaries of intervention and their sociodemographic characteristics

Residents of the Olympic Villages have now been settled in their homes for two years on average, as most housing assignments date back to the years 2006 and 2007.

Taking into consideration those directly concerned by the policy, i.e recipients of public housing, families involved in the survey differ by household type and number (couples with children, single elderly people, couples without children, single mothers with minor dependent children, etc.) and appear “multiproblematic”, because they combine several risk factors within the family: presence of deviant events in personal biographies, limited number of income earners and financial insecurity, generational transmission of housing deprivation, presence of disabled persons, etc.

From the standpoint of socio-personal variables, most adult residents typically have a middle (junior high) school diploma and a high incidence of separation/divorce. Single elderly people and foreigners are well represented with some important variations between the two sites. A considerable portion of the Spina 3 is inhabited by couples or one-person households composed of persons over 65 years old, compared to Ex M.O.I. Village where, on the other hand, couples with young children and adolescents are present in larger numbers. Irrespective of age, one-person households also prevail in the Spina 3, whereas families varying in number of members between 2 and 4 prevail in Ex M.O.I.. Numerous families with 5 or more members are generally more frequent in the immigrant population in both sites. The share of single-parent families is, on the other hand, similar and equally significant in the two sites.

From an employment standpoint, single-income families are the majority (see Table 2). Most of the occupants are securely integrated in the job market with a permanent contract, even if with average- and low-skilled positions. The share of those who report employment without a contract, i.e. off the books, is also significant (8% in both sites).

Table2 – Number of income earners by site and housing arrangement

Area	Housing arrangement	1 income earner	2 or more income earners	Valid cases
Ex M.O.I.	ATC + Lo.C.A.Re.	85.2	14.8	117
Spina 3	ATC + Lo.C.A.Re.	95.1	5.9	100
Spina 3	Coop. + PP	87.1	12.9	50

Valid cases=267. The 8 Police Force cases in Ex M.O.I. are all single-income.

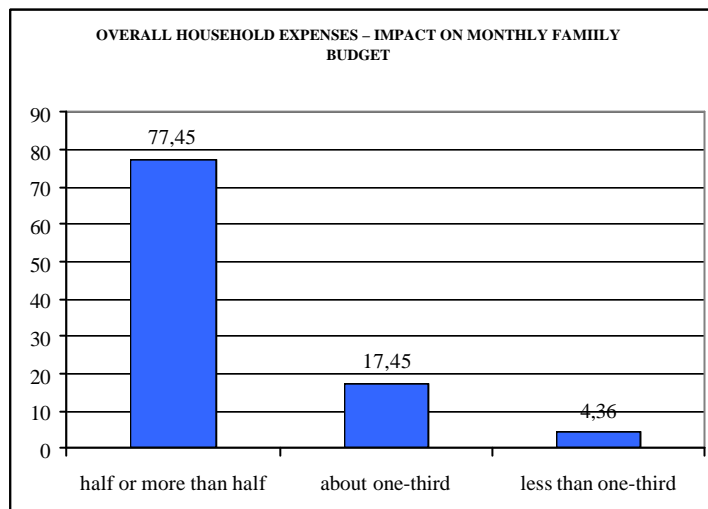
Income appears to be insufficient for household requirements in over one-half of families, both in the Ex M.O.I. district and the Spina 3 District (Table 3), and the impact of household expenses (rent and general expenses) appears to be a significant cost for most families, who see their income eroded by well over fifty percent, and in some cases even by two-thirds, as shown in Chart 1.

Table 3- Degree of adequacy of overall income available in the family by site and housing arrangement

Area	Housing arrangement	Inadequate income	Adequate or sufficient income	Valid cases
Ex M.O.I.	ATC + Lo.C.A.Re.	52.1	47.9	117
Spina 3	ATC + Lo.C.A.Re.	54.0	46.0	100
Spina 3	Coop. + PP	30.0	70.0	50

Valid cases=275. The 8 Police Force cases in Ex M.O.I. are spread evenly between the two envisaged answer modes.

Graph 1 – Impact on income of monthly rent and general household expenses for all residents in both sites



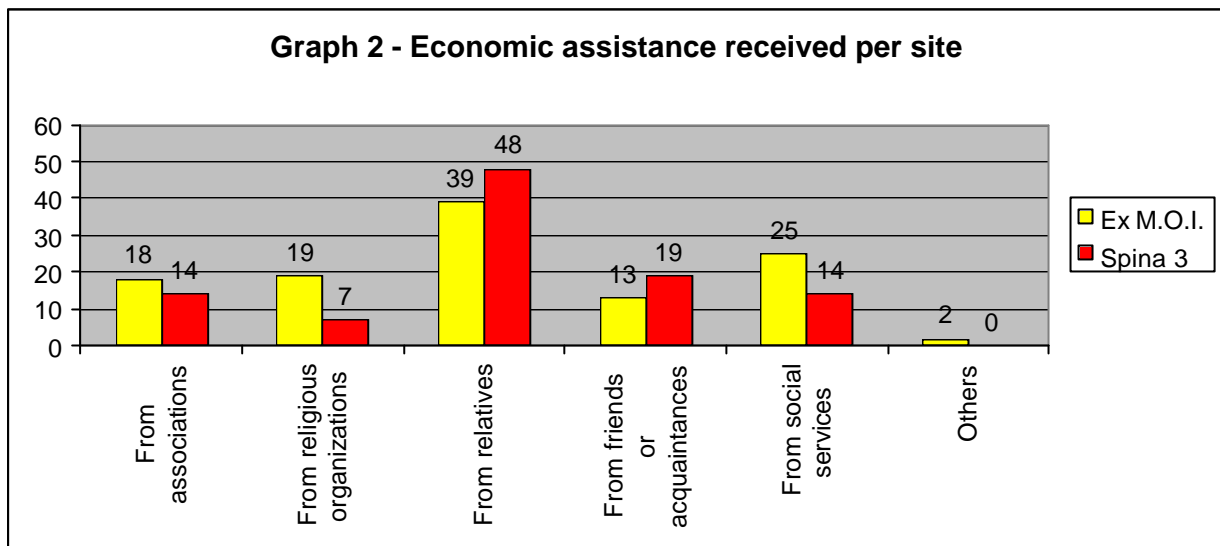
Economic expenses sustained for home maintenance imply a low savings ability and simultaneous request for outside economic assistance from relatives, social services, religious and lay associations (Table 4 and Chart 2).

Consequently, we are faced with a population that remains vulnerable from the standpoint of economic stability and the “home factor” does not appear to be decisive at the time of the survey of this condition.

Tab. 4- Monthly savings ability by site and housing arrangement

Area	Housing arrangement	Unable to save	Able to save	Valid cases
Ex M.O.I.	ATC + Lo.C.A.Re.	88.0	12.0	117
Spina 3	ATC + Lo.C.A.Re.	80.0	20.0	100
Spina 3	Coop. + PP	62.0	38.0	50

Valid cases=275. Of the 8 Police Force cases in Ex M.O.I., 6 do not save and 2 save.



Results: Strong points and shortcomings of public policy



Former MOI Village. View from Via Giordano Bruno

Policy analysis by means of primary and secondary data highlighted several innovative factors that make it an exportable model. They concern both the decision-making process and the project's practical implementation.

With regard to the first aspect, attention is drawn to:

- a) Rapidity of decision making down the vertical chain of command (from state, to region, to city government) and horizontally (among public and private institutions and third sector);
- b) Introduction of social mix in addition to a simple housing mix, through social accompaniment programs;
- c) The policy's far-sightedness that took shape from a major media and sports event, but that already included details of the housing policy;
- d) The brief waiting period (less than one year) between the end of the Games and the assignment of public housing.

Among the policy's innovative aspects during the phases of its implementation, the study also identified:

- a. Visually innovative features in building construction that break sharply with traditional public housing in Italy;
- b. Construction of architecturally innovative buildings (bioarchitecture) with an enhanced symbolic value;
- c. Launch by the city government of a social accompaniment department through work done by an association in Ex M.O.I. and identification of a specific instrument, the "Dora Park Committee", in the Spina 3, to ensure identification of requirements and mediation of conflicts for the numerous new inhabitants;
- d. Financial support of social accompaniment programs for the inhabitants by several private economic promoters.

But, on the other hand, critical issues can also be observed that derive from the gap between the policy's objectives and its practical application.



Ex M.O.I.. The project seen from Via Giordano Bruno



Former MOI Athletes Village.
View of internal areas





Spina 3 District. Media Village.
View from c.so Mortara



These critical issues are the consequence of some of the policy's inherent characteristics.

Firstly, the active but often conflictual or divergent role of the many players involved should be noted: Piedmont Region, Torino City Government, Torino Province Housing Authority (ATC), several major private corporations and building cooperatives, and the organizing bodies of the Torino 2006 Winter Olympic Games.

The different objectives of the players, even though they were all part of the same public policy that provided guidelines for the various initiatives in the sector, had the effect of producing results with different levels of achievement that the policy on the whole had identified.

Place-based outcomes linked to the effects of regeneration of the neighborhoods and functional integration of different urban areas were based on the ability to attract high-income families and private investment to the sites. People-based outcomes, aimed at the development of individual and family empowerment, were based on the community's social capital resources.

Faced with contexts (Spina 3 district and former MOI Village) with different sociodemographic characteristics, economic profile and territorial resources, the strategy chosen by the city government was one of a public-private partnership. Even if it has basically provided positive results, it has suffered at times from critical issues and the failure to achieve some objectives has had a negative impact on the quality and way of life of the residents in the area. The most significant factors were identified in:

1. Failure to coordinate the diverse interests of the stakeholders involved;
2. Poor assessment of the various requirements for the economic and social development of the two areas.

The first negative effect that appeared in the Spina 3 regarded the conflict that broke out between the city government and construction companies. While the city government's objectives were to regenerate and refunctionalize the entire district, which was to be done at the same time as construction of the buildings, private contractors did not comply with required deadlines for the construction of urban infrastructure.

On the other hand, Ex M.O.I. saw the failure to involve players useful for local development and present in the area, as well as the construction of real architectural barriers between the

new site and the rest of the district and services, leading subsequently to ghettoization and segregation.

Objectives and outcomes: resident representation

As far as people-based outcomes are concerned, the three main factors identified to measure entrenchment in the area were the quality of services offered in the district, the network of relationships initiated after settlement in the housing site and confidence in public institutions, in particular local authorities.

The case of the Olympic Villages constitutes a local example of urban policies aimed at the refunctionalization of residential and industrial areas. It also is an opportunity to redesign the city plan, to recuperate resources from the private sector and to help solve the problems of the weak housing demand. Nevertheless, it would be short-sighted to think that all housing problems can be solved by urban regeneration policies. As some authors point out, housing problems are also social problems and stakeholders are not always able to assure results based on people (achievable through the supply of efficient social and community services when needed during implementation of the housing mix project). Most mix projects appear to produce improvements in physical housing quality and urban infrastructure, whereas it is less evident that they also improve life chances and the well-being of low-income families (Smith 2002; Popkin et al. 2004; Longo, 2006; Governa, Rosignolo, Saccomani, 2008).

An interesting relationship between social services and other local players emerged during 2008: social assistants set up a common ground roundtable with all operators involved in the Spina 3 and follow-up projects are being launched by them in Ex M.O.I..

This type of partnership makes policies appear truly integrated. Nonetheless, the incentive for integration is coming from the bottom up at the district level, while action at the municipal level appears more distant and fuzzy.

As for the distribution of services for the inhabitants, the Spina 3 is characterized by their scantiness in the area and by their profile that is considered qualitatively inadequate, also due to the fact that it is, for all practical purposes, a new district still in the process of being defined. In Ex M.O.I., pre-existing services in the surrounding area have favored a more positive showing of most of the services present (Table 5).

Tab. 5 –Ratings of services in the district by site*

		YES	NO	Don't know
Transportation services	Ex M.O.I.	88.8	8.8	2.4
	Spina 3	65.3	22.0	12.7
Supermarkets and megastores	Ex M.O.I.	72.8	22.4	4.8
	Spina 3	90.0	8.7	1.3
Stores	Ex M.O.I.	67.2	23.2	9.6
	Spina 3	43.3	37.3	19.3
Schools	Ex M.O.I.	64.0	4.0	32.0
	Spina 3	28.0	12.7	59.3
Green areas	Ex M.O.I.	84.8	7.2	8.0
	Spina 3	34.0	29.3	36.7
Sports facilities	Ex M.O.I.	80.8	0.8	18.4
	Spina 3	13.3	18.0	68.7
Medical facilities	Ex M.O.I.	88.8	4.8	6.4
	Spina 3	48.0	19.3	32.7
Social services, aid services	Ex M.O.I.	37.6	8.0	54.4
	Spina 3	15.3	9.3	75.3
Youth recreation and socialization facilities	Ex M.O.I.	46.4	8.8	44.8
	Spina 3	30.7	9.3	60.0
Coffee shops, wine bars, ice cream parlors	Ex M.O.I.	79.2	6.4	14.4
	Spina 3	62.0	11.3	26.7
Bowls clubs	Ex M.O.I.	20.0	12.0	68.0
	Spina 3	10.0	9.3	80.7

Valid cases=275 * The question “please tell me if you like the things in this district that I will now list for you...” contemplates the answer: yes = *acceptable overall*; no = *not acceptable overall*.

Shortcomings in the creation of essential services that are readily available for the inhabitants (medical clinics, nursery and elementary schools, libraries, public transportation) and the ensuing difficulties of everyday living in an area without services, along with the shortcomings of urban infrastructures, are factors linked to the “less confidence in public institutions” effect that is found in the Spina 3, as shown in Table 6.

Table 6 – Degree of confidence in local and central government institutions by site and housing arrangement

Area	Housing arrangement	Local government institutions		Central government institutions	
		v.a.	%	v.a.	%
Ex M.O.I.	ATC Torino Housing Authority + Lo.C.A.Re. fixed rent initiative	73	62.4	57	48.7
Spina 3	ATC Torino Housing Authority + Lo.C.A.Re. fixed rent initiative	52	52	45	45
Spina 3	Coop.+ Police Force	17	34	15	30

* The results presented integrate the answers *very and fairly confident* Percentage box values cannot be summed up as they refer to different variables. In order to facilitate reading and comprehension of values, absolute values were left in this case. The questions were addressed to a total of 117 people in Ex M.O.I., 100 recipients of the ATC Torino Housing Authority + Lo.C.A.Re. fixed rent initiative in the Spina 3 and 50 members of cooperatives and members of the Police Force.

The Police Force category in Ex M.O.I., composed of 8 resident families, shows a level of confidence of about 50% in local government and other institutions.

The former MOI Athletes Village is located in a lively and well developed neighborhood. Consequently, public decision-makers underestimated the support needs of the inhabitants involved. Social mix has been achieved only in part, among vulnerable categories, and without adequate social accompaniment. The first unexpected effect that emerged was limited development of social cohesion among neighbors, compared to the Spina 3, where a greater mix of housing arrangements both in buildings and blocks can be found and the inhabitants are located in a central area within the district.

But the greater social and geographic closure to which inhabitants of Ex M.O.I. are subjected also appears to have had a positive effect: the rise of spontaneous committees of residents to solve housing problems. This notwithstanding, the degree of social interaction with regard to relations among neighbors is constantly higher in the Spina 3, as shown in Table 7.

Family and friend networks in the Spina 3 are more present and perceived as effective among the less vulnerable, who have greater social capital resources. Relations with relatives, activated more frequently among members of cooperatives and the Police Force, show the persistence of differences among families that have different housing arrangements, even in an environment subject to social mix programs. Besides, relations with relatives and friends are by and large not affected by the area and vary more according to the degree of vulnerability to which families are subjected. If, on the other hand, we consider social relations and exchanges between neighbors, this difference disappears or is considerably reduced. ATC users and Lo.CA.Re. recipients who live in the Spina 3 appear comparable in every way to members of the cooperatives. So a difference emerges between the two sites: ATC and Lo.C.A.Re. recipients in the Spina 3 seem to have established positive relationships with neighbors more frequently compared to inhabitants of Ex M.O.I..

Table 7 - Contacts with and support from neighbors by site and housing arrangement*

Area	Housing arrangement	Presence of neighbors to chat with		Presence of neighbors to spend free time with		Presence of neighbors for reciprocal exchange of help	
		v.a.	%	v.a.	%	v.a.	%
Ex M.O.I.	ATC+Lo.C.A.Re.	70	59.8%	18	15.4%	47	40.2%
Spina 3	ATC+Lo.C.A.Re.	67	67%	22	22%	46	46%
Spina 3	Coop.+ PP	34	68%	12	24%	20	40%

Valid cases=267

* Percentage box values cannot be summed up as they refer to different variables. In order to facilitate reading and comprehension of values, absolute values have been left in this case.

The Police Force category in Ex M.O.I. shows more positive values with regard to relations with neighbors: of the eight resident families, seven (8.5%) willingly chat with neighbors, 25% also spend their free time with them and five families (62.5%) help each other out .

Conclusions

The Olympic Villages are a case of public policy made possible by an extrinsic event, such as the Winter Olympic Games, for which considerable resources were made available. But besides the availability of economic resources, links at the horizontal and vertical level among local institutions and prior planning of the final intended use of the Olympic Games facilities were decisive for the project's achievement. So, medium-term planning capability, reconversion speed, considerable economic resources and innovative planning of the sites make up the elements of innovation and the policy's positivism. Along with these, the study has also brought to light the presence of secondary and unforeseen effects of the policy. These effects derive from the difficulty to foresee, in two contexts that are, however, very different, all the possible developments at the level of social interaction, integration, empowerment and local development. In particular, the study brought to light the need for a public construction policy, like the one under study, which is more closely linked to other initiatives, especially to social and labor policies. If the difficult condition of the families-recipients of the project is in fact multidimensional, the response and planning of intervention by the authorities should be equally multidimensional.

Many of the critical issues have found a partial solution through local action implemented by local social services and by initiatives of the nonprofit sector. If, on the one hand, this type of partnership makes policies appear to be truly integrated, on the other, it brings to light the limits of intervention typical at the institutional level, which is more distant and less effective with regard to the needs of residents.

Lastly, the need for a link between the district (macrolevel) and individual results (microlevel) appears to remain unanswered for the time being: in this respect, it is deemed necessary to identify with adequate survey techniques such as in-depth interviews with residents, institutional players and privileged observers, mechanisms for mediation between the network of social relations, individual characteristics and context.

References

- Barbera F., Negri N. (2005), L'organizzazione della qualità sociale, in *Scenari per il sistema locale. Valutazioni sul Piano Strategico di Torino*, Associazione Torino Internazionale
- Beck W., Van Der Maesen L.J.G., Thomèse F., Walzer A. (2001), *Social Quality: a Vision for Europe*, Kluwer Law international, CITTA
- Bertin G. (1996), *Valutazione e sapere sociologico. Metodi e tecniche di gestione dei processi decisionali*, Franco Angeli, Milano
- Bifulco L., a cura di (2005), *Le politiche sociali. Temi e prospettive emergenti*, Carocci, Roma.
- Bobbio L., Guala C. (2002), *Olimpiadi e grandi eventi*, Carocci, Roma
- Città di Torino (2007), *Piano casa 2007-2008. Dai piani di edilizia pubblica ai programmi per la casa*
- Città di Torino (2005), *Progetto di insediamento abitativo Villaggi Olimpici*
- Cittàbella (2007), Associazione culturale Cittadella, Architetti di Torino; "Spina 3 è la moderna Torino?", Atti del Convegno
- Donolo C., a cura di (2006), *Il futuro delle politiche pubbliche*, Mondadori, Milano
- Donzelot J. (2006), *Mixité sociale*, in "La Rivista delle Politiche Sociali" n.3
- Fraser J.C., Kick E.L. (2007), *The role of public, private, non-profit and community sectors in shaping mixed-income housing outcomes in the US*, in *Urban Studies*, 44/12, pp. 2357-2377
- Governa F. (1997), *il milieu urbano. L'identità territoriale nei processi di sviluppo*, Franco Angeli, Milano
- Governa F; Rossignolo C; Saccomani S. (2008), *Torino. Le molte periferie della città post-industriale*, in *Periferie*, FREGOLENT L. (a cura di), Aracne Editrice
- IRES Piemonte *La configurazione sociale dei diversi ambiti spaziali della città di Torino*, 2006
- Lagrange H, Obertì M. (2006), *La rivolta delle periferie. Precarietà urbana e protesta giovanile: il caso francese*, Mondadori, Milano
- Longo G. (2006), *Housing policies in Italy: urbanisation and localisation of the housing issue*, ENHR Conference 2006
http://194.249.154.23/c_papers.asp
- Olagnero M. (2003), Riflessioni a margine di una ricerca, in *Discorsi sulla povertà. Operatori sociali e volontari a Torino*, Cardano M., Meo A., Olagnero M., Gruppo di Ricerca Acli-Torino, Franco Angeli, Milano

Popkin S.J., Buron L., Levy L., Cunningham D.K., Cunningham M.K. (2004), *A decade of HOPE VI: research findings and policy challenges*, The Urban Institute and Brookings Institution, Washington DC

Segre A., Scamozzi S. (2004), *Aspettando le Olimpiadi*, Carocci, Roma

Smith A. (2002), *Mixed-income housing developments: promise and reality*, Joint Center for Housing Studies of Harvard University and Neighborhood Reinvestment Corporation, Cambridge

Tosi A. (2006), Povertà e domanda sociale di casa: la nuova questione abitativa e le categorie delle politiche, in "La rivista delle Politiche sociali" n.3