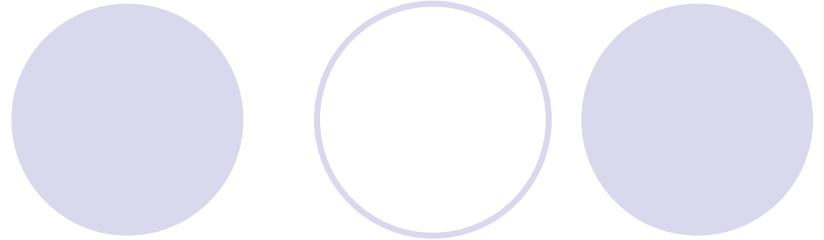
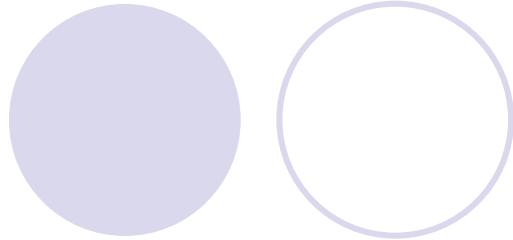


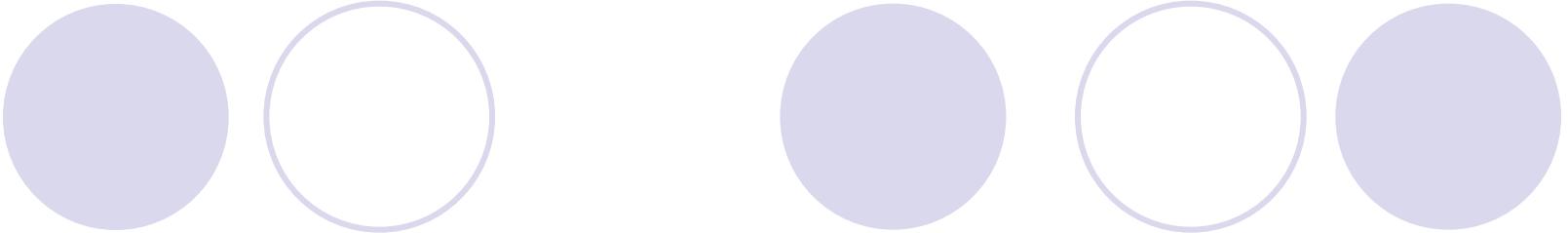
Recherche sur la détresse psychologique à Paris et dans sa banlieue

Serge Paugam

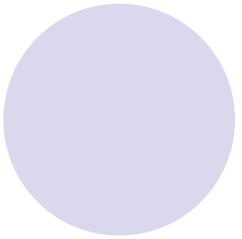
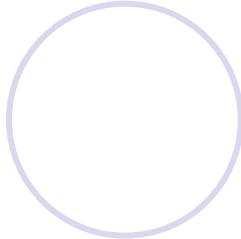
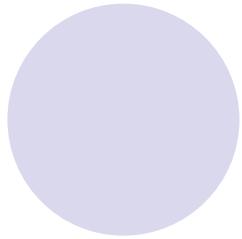
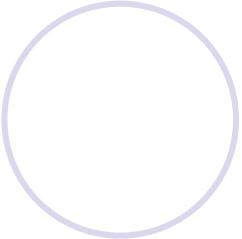
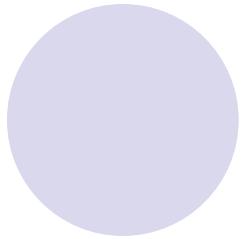
Equipe de recherche sur les inégalités sociales (ERIS)
Centre Maurice Halbwachs



1. Problématique et hypothèses



Un constat sociologique : La polarisation sociale des villes a augmenté au cours des 20 dernières années ainsi que la concentration de la pauvreté dans des quartiers disqualifiés



- Le processus de détresse psychologique est habituellement étudié en combinant plusieurs variables individuelles : pauvreté économique, chômage, isolement social...

Les questions qui restent à étudier :

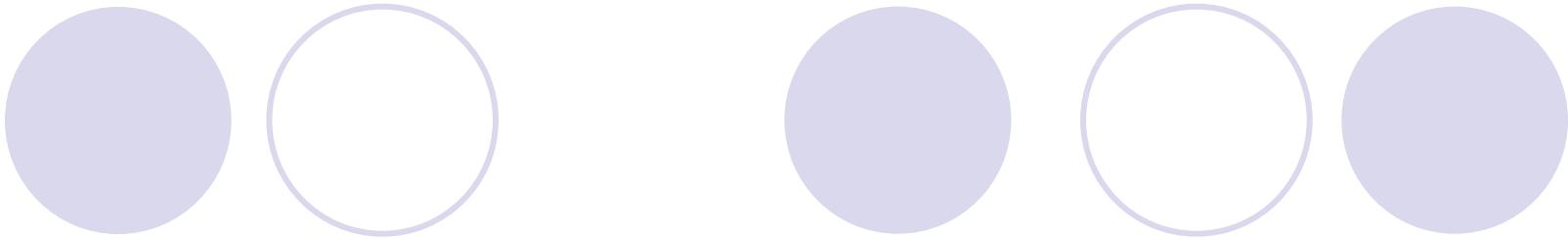
- Quel est l'effet des variables structurelles ?
- Existe-t-il un effet propre du quartier sur la détresse psychologique ?
- Est-ce que certains quartiers pauvres rendent leurs habitants dépressifs ?

Une recherche pionnière :

- Faris, R.E.L., & Dunham, H.W. (1939). *Mental disorders in urban areas*, Chicago: Chicago University Press
- The main conclusion is that the frequency of mental illness decreases from the poor neighborhoods to the rich neighborhoods. There is a higher risk to be depressed for people living in a poor neighborhood.

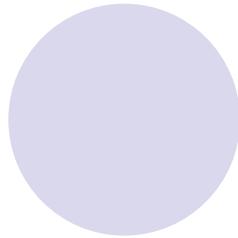
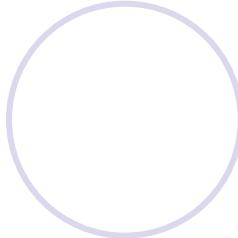
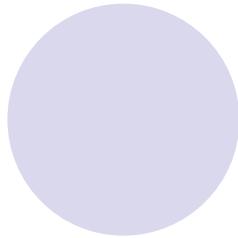
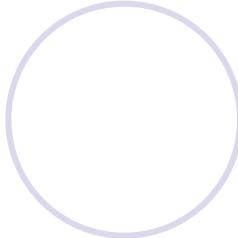
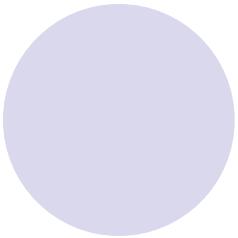
Conclusions de recherches plus récentes

- **Confirmation of the thesis of the link between neighborhood characteristics and the risk of mental illness**
- Ross, C.E. (2000). Neighborhood disadvantage and adult depression. *J Health Soc Behav*, 41, 177-187.
- Ross, C.E., & Mirowsky, J. (2001). Neighborhood disadvantage, disorder, and health. *J Health Soc Behav*, 42(3), 258-276.
- Ross, C.E., Reynolds, J.R., & Geis, K.J. (2000). The contingent meaning of neighborhood stability for resident's psychological well-being. *Amer sociological review*, 65(August), 581-597.
- Silver, E., Mulvey, E.P., & Swanson, J.W. (2002). Neighborhood structural characteristics and mental disorder: Faris and Dunham revisited. *Soc Sci Med*, 55(8), 1457-1470.
- Wainwright, N.W., & Surtees, P.G. (2004). Places, people, and their physical and mental functional health. *J Epidemiol Community Health*, 58(4), 333-339.

- 
- **But also discussion and contestation on the general sociological interpretation of this thesis :**
 - Duncan, C., Jones, K., & Moon, G. (1995). Psychiatric morbidity: a multilevel approach to regional variations in the UK. *J Epidemiol Community Health*, 49(3), 290-295.
 - Reijneveld, S.A., & Schene, A.H. (1998). Higher prevalence of mental disorders in socioeconomically deprived urban areas in The Netherlands: community or personal disadvantage? *J Epidemiol Community Health*, 52(1), 2-7.
 - Weich, S., Twigg, L., Holt, G., Lewis, G., & Jones, K. (2003). Contextual risk factors for the common mental disorders in Britain: a multilevel investigation of the effects of place. *J Epidemiol Community Health*, 57(8), 616-621.

Les éléments du débat

- The question is to know if the geographical variations of the risk of mental illness is due to the characteristics of the neighborhood or to the individual characteristics of people living in it.
- The discussion concerns also the definition of the variables of the mental illness and the delimitation of the urban areas.



- Caractéristiques contextuelles étudiées :
 - 1. la stigmatisation des lieux de résidence ;
 - 2. le processus de disqualification spatiale ;
 - 3. la similitude sociale du quartier telle qu'elle est exprimée et vécue par la population résidente.

2. Définitions

Indicateurs de détresse psychologique

- 1. Une question directe (dépression déclarée) : dans les 12 derniers mois avez-vous souffert de l'un ou l'autre des problèmes de santé suivants (liste dans laquelle figurait « anxiété chronique ou dépression ») ?
- 2. Des questions indirectes (symptômes dépressifs « mesurés ») : elle repose sur une batterie de questions validée[1] permettant de repérer des symptômes de dépression au cours des deux dernières semaines.

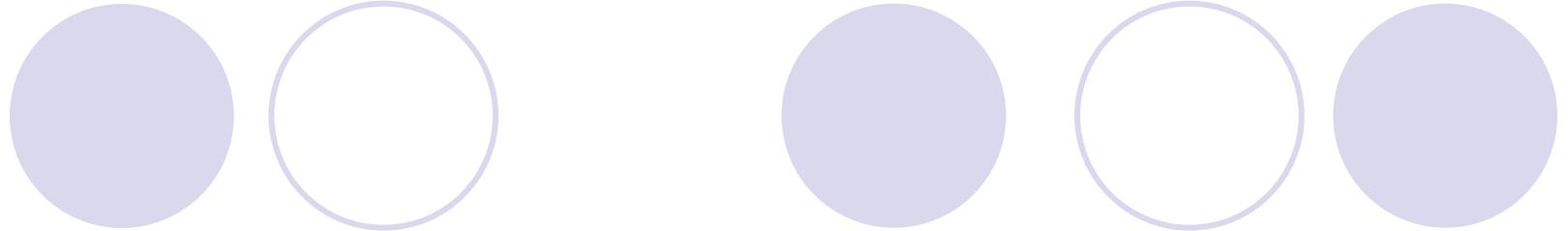
[1] Il s'agit du module « épisodes dépressifs » du Mini version 5.0 basé sur le CIM 10. Cf. Sheehan DV, Lecrubier Y et al. The Mini-International Neuropsychiatric Interview (M.I.N.I.): the development and validation of a structured diagnostic psychiatric interview for DSM-IV and ICD-10. *J Clin Psychiatry*. 1998; 59 Suppl 20:22-33;

Exemples de questions posées

- Au cours des deux dernières semaines :
- 1. Vous êtes-vous senti particulièrement triste, cafardeux, déprimé, la plupart du temps au cours de la journée, et ce, presque tous les jours ?
- 2. Aviez-vous presque tout le temps le sentiment de n'avoir plus goût à rien, d'avoir perdu l'intérêt ou le plaisir pour les choses qui vous plaisent habituellement ?
- 3. Vous sentiez-vous presque tout le temps fatigué sans énergie ?

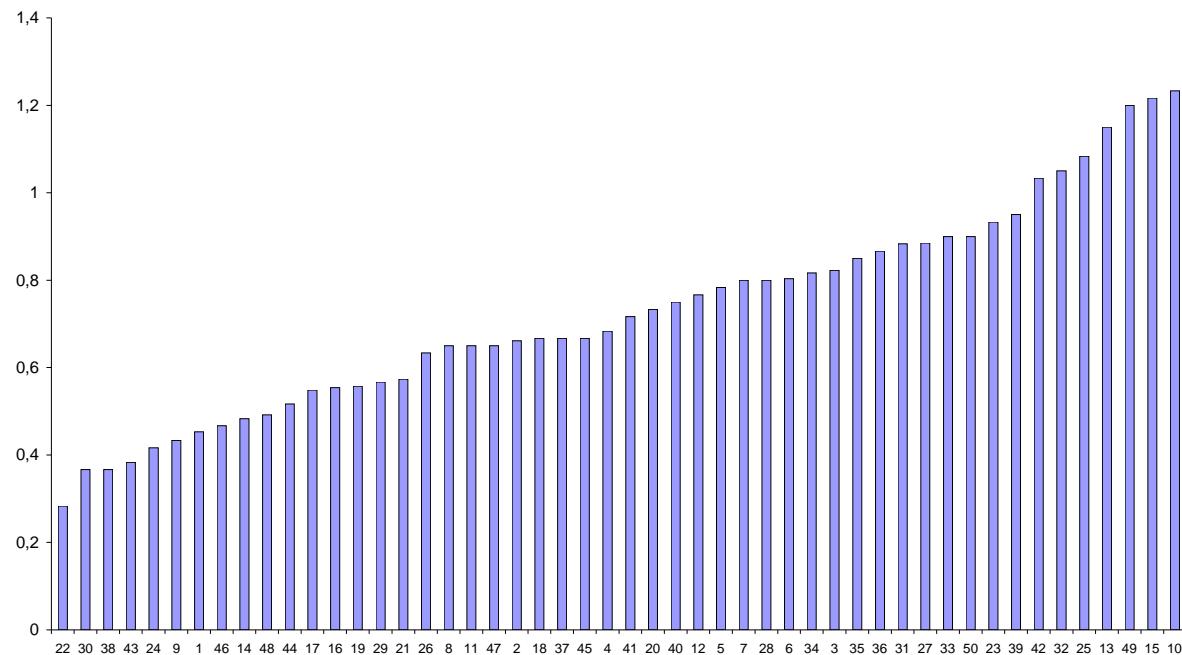
Solutions adoptées :

- Combination des deux approches :
 - « dépression déclarée » (traitée ou non)
 - « Symtômes dépressifs mesurées »
- Définition d'une échelle de dépression combinant les deux types de questions



3. Quelques résultats

Psychological distress score in the 50 neighborhoods the SIRS Cohort



Quartiers dans lesquels le score de détresse psychologique est is > 1

N° IRIS	LIBGEO	Commune	PDS	Stat Zus	Type
10	EPINETTES 16	Paris 17 ^e	1,23	ZUS	03
15		Bagneux	1,22	ZUS	02
49	KENNEDY	Villeneuve-St-Georges	1,20	NON	01
13	CHARONNE 1	Paris 20 ^e	1,15	NON	02
25	LES FRICHES	Bondy	1,17	NON	02
32	CENTRE EQUESTRE	Montfermeil	1,05	ZUS	04
42	REPUBLIQUE	Bonneuil-sur-Marne	1,03	ZUS	03

Quartiers dans lesquels le score de détresse psychologique est < 0.50

N° IRIS	LIBGEO	Commune	PDS	Stat Zus	Type
48	VAUX DE ROME	Villejuif	0,49	NON	O2
14	US METRO	Antony	0,48	NON	S2
46	CENTRE NORD	Ormesson-sur-Marne	0,47	NON	M1
1	VAL DE GRACE 7	Paris 5e	0,45	NON	S1
9	MUETTE 6	Paris 16e	0,43	NON	S1
24	LE MOULIN A VENT	Bondy	0,41	NON	M2
43	IVRY PORT SUD	Ivry-sur-Seine	0,38	NON	M4
38	THIELLEMENT	Le Raincy	0,37	NON	M1
30	SUD	L'Île-Saint-Denis	0,37	NON	O3
22	COTE D'ARGENT-DESVALLIERES-GAMBETTA	Ville-d'Avray	0,28	NON	S1

Multi Level Analysis models

- Individual variables
 - Sex
 - Age
 - Nationality
 - Level of education
 - Marital status
 - Employment status
- Neighbourhood variables
 - Unemployment rate
 - Proportion of immigrants
 - ZUS/Non ZUS
 - Reputation (stigma)
 - Social similarity

Définition des variables contextuelles

- **Taux de chômage** : recensement 1999
- **Proportion d'étrangers** : recensement 1999
- **Réputation** : Indicateur défini à partir de la question : “En général, quelle est la réputation of votre quartier ? ” (Très bonne, bonne, mauvaise, très mauvaise)
- **Similitude sociale** : Indicateur défini à partir de la question : “Vous sentez-vous très semblable, plutôt semblable, plutôt différent ou très différent des personnes qui habitent dans votre quartier ?

Psychological Distress Score

Multi Level Analysis

Table 1

		B.	Sig.
Intercept		.79	**
Individual variables			
<i>Sexe</i>	Male Female	Réf. .33	*****
<i>Age</i>		.00	Ns
<i>Nationality</i>	French Foreigners	Réf. .01	Ns
<i>Level of education</i>	No qualification First Level Secondary level Superior level	.09 .10 .15 Réf.	Ns Ns ****
<i>Matrimonial status</i>	Married Single Widowed Divorced	Réf. .02 .32 .38	Ns. *****
<i>Employment status</i>	Employment Unemployment Inactive	-.04 -.15 Réf.	Ns **
<i>Social Security</i>	Yes No	.00 Réf.	Ns
Contextual variables of the neighbourhood			
<i>Unemployment rate (1)</i>	< 8 8 < 10 10 < 13 13 < 15 15 < 20 20 < 29 > 29	-.57 -.47 -.35 -.29 -.23 -.29 Réf.	** (*) Ns Ns Ns Ns
<i>Foreigners rate (1)</i>		.00	Ns

Source : Cohort SIRS 2005

(*) : P<0.1, **: P<0.05, ***: P < 0.01, **** : P < 0.001, Ns : no significant

(1) Based on census data 1999.

Psychological Distress Score

Multi Level Analysis

Table 2

	Model 1 with the variable : « Zone Urbaine Sensible » (1)		Model 2 with the variable « Réputation » (2)		
	B.	Sig. ****	B.	Sig. ****	
Intercept			.56		
Individual variables					
<i>Sex</i>	Male Female	<i>Ref.</i> .37	****	<i>Ref.</i> .30	****
<i>Age</i>		.00	Ns	.00	Ns
<i>Level of education</i>	No qualification First Level Secondary level Superior level	.11 .13 .16 <i>Ref.</i>	Ns ** ****	.10 .11 .15 <i>Ref.</i>	Ns (*) ****
<i>Matrimonial status</i>	Married Single Widowed Divorced	<i>Ref.</i> .02 .38 .35	Ns ****	<i>Ref.</i> .00 .34 .35	Ns **** ****
<i>Employment status</i>	Employment Unemployment Inactive	-.10 -.15 <i>Ref.</i>	Ns (*)	-.04 -.11 <i>Ref.</i>	Ns Ns
Contextual variables of the neighbourhood					
“Zone urbaine sensible” (1)		.20	***		
<i>Bad reputation</i> (2)			.34	***	

Source : Cohort SIRS 2005

(*) : P<0.1, **: P <0.05, ***: P < 0.01, **** : P < 0.001, Ns : no significant

(1) Poor and stigmatised neighbourhood

(2) Indicator defined from the question : “In general, what is the reputation of the your neighbourhood ?” In the table, reputation means the percentage of the answers « very bad reputation » and « bad reputation » in the neighbourhood.

Psychological Distress Score

Multi Level Analysis

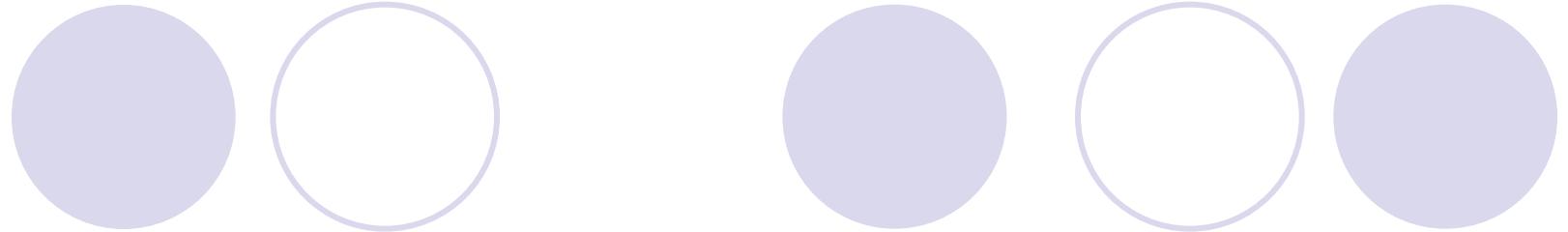
Table 3

		Test of the social similarity	
		B.	Sig.
Intercept		.90	****
Individual variables			
<i>Sex</i>	Male	<i>Ref.</i>	
	Female	.30	****
<i>Age</i>		.00	NS
<i>Level of education</i>	No qualification	.12	NS
	First Level	.13	**
	Secondary level	.17	****
	Superior level	<i>Ref.</i>	
<i>Matrimonial status</i>	Married	<i>Ref.</i>	
	Single person	.00	NS
	Widowed	.34	****
	Divorced	.35	****
<i>Employment status</i>	Employment	-.05	NS
	Unemployment	-.10	NS
	Inactive	<i>Ref.</i>	
Contextual variables of the neighbourhood			
<i>Social similarity (1)</i>		-.84	***

Source: Cohort SIRS 2005

(*) : P<0.1, **: P < 0.05, ***: P < 0.01, ****: P < 0.001, NS: non significant

(1) Indicator defined from the question: "Do you feel very similar, rather similar, rather different or very different from the people who live in your district?". The social similarity corresponds to the rate of answers "very similar" or "rather similar" recorded in the neighbourhood.



- Prolongement de la recherche par deux études monographiques

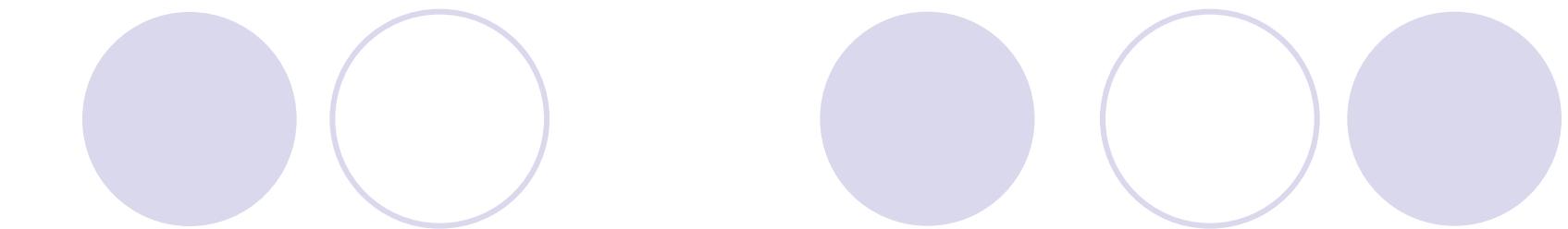
The choice of two opposite districts

- We chose a working class district located in the group of districts whose psychological score of distress is greater than 1, in fact, a district located at the south of the commune of **Bagneux**
- We then selected a working class district among those with scores of psychological distress below 0,50, a city located at the south of the **Ile-Saint-Denis**.
- The district of Bagneux and that of the Island-Saint-Denis are both “disqualified” popular districts with a bad reputation.
- But in the first, a noxious social climate exists, while the second seems saved from this misery in social relations.

Similar appearances

- Distance from Paris





Bagneux



L'Île-Saint-Denis

- Geographic and social enclosing

Indicators of social life and membership in Bagneux and the Island-Saint-Denis

	In %		
	Bagnieux	Island-Saint-Denis	Together of the sample
Feeling to be similar to the people of the district	58,8	85,0	69,7
With members of his family in the same district	20,7	36,6	23,4
With friends in the district	38,8	58,8	46,3
Very good relations with its neighbours	16,7	35,0	28,8
Regular religious practical	11,9	31,7	19,6
Feeling to belong at an ethnic or religious community	20,3	48,3	28,0

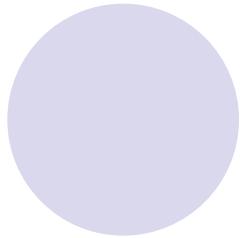
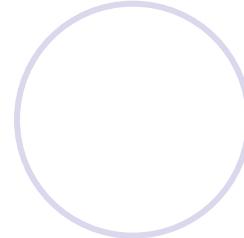
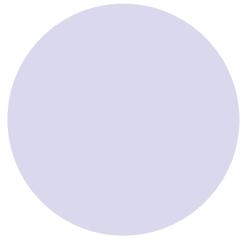
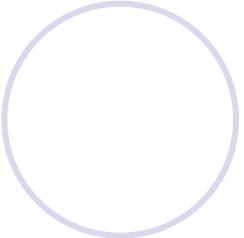
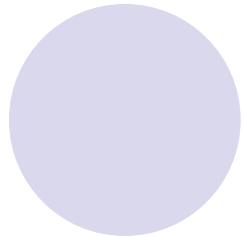
Source: Cohort SIRS 2005

Mémoire collective locale

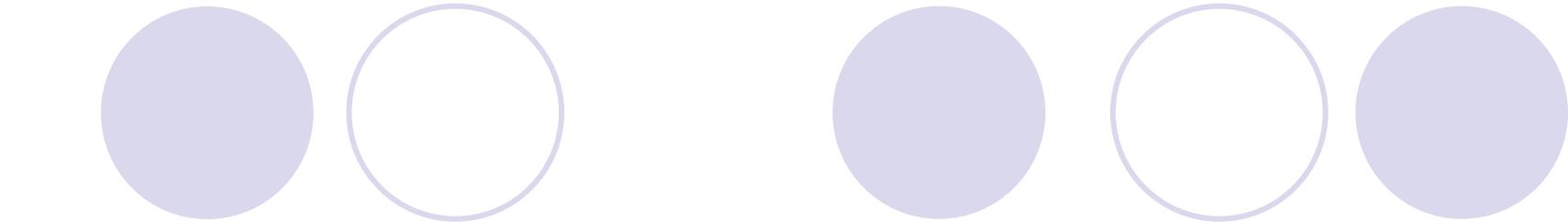
- The neighborhood of Bagneux corresponds to a block which has been built at the end of the 1950s in order to give relatively good living conditions for the qualified working class (working in the Thomson factory). These residents was been called the « affluent workers ». But these workers have progressively left the neighborhood to access to a private house in the 1970s. And the neighborhood is become more and more poor and more stigmatised.
- The neighborhood of the Isle St-Denis is, on the contrary, since its origin, a stigmatised block in which poor people have been placed. Poor peole shared in this place a common destiny which generated solidarity and a strong consciousness of belonging to an excluded population.
- The survey based on qualitative interviews confirmed this importance of the collective memory of these two neighborhoods.

Mechanical solidarity vs individualism

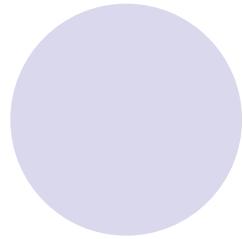
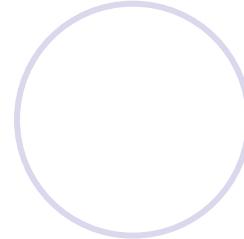
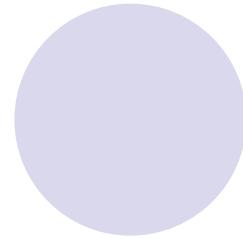
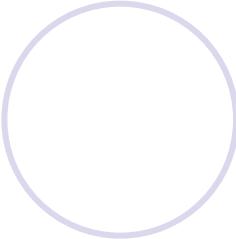
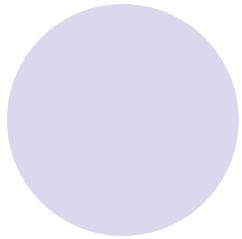
- The survey confirmed also the practices of solidarity inside the neighborhood of the Isle of St-Denis and a very important role the oldest residents to include and to facilitate the integration of the new residents.
- In the neighborhood of Bagneux, the new residents are, on the contrary, stigmatised and excluded from the social relations and exchanges between the oldest residents.



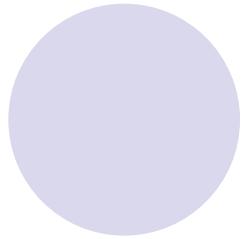
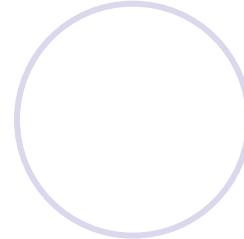
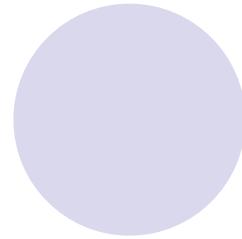
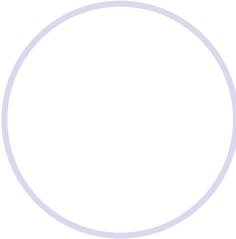
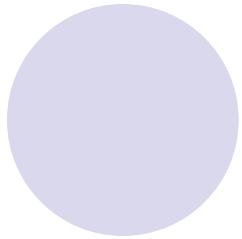
- **Conclusions générales**



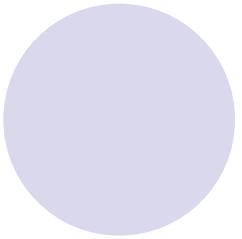
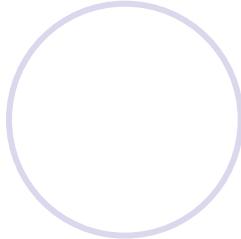
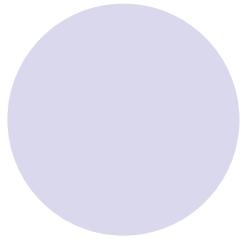
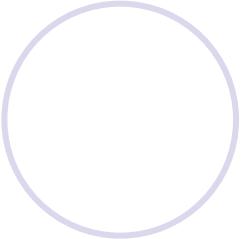
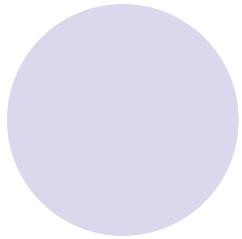
- 1. Confirmation de la thèse générale de Faris and Dunham (1939) sur la prévalence de la détresse psychologique dans les quartiers pauvres.



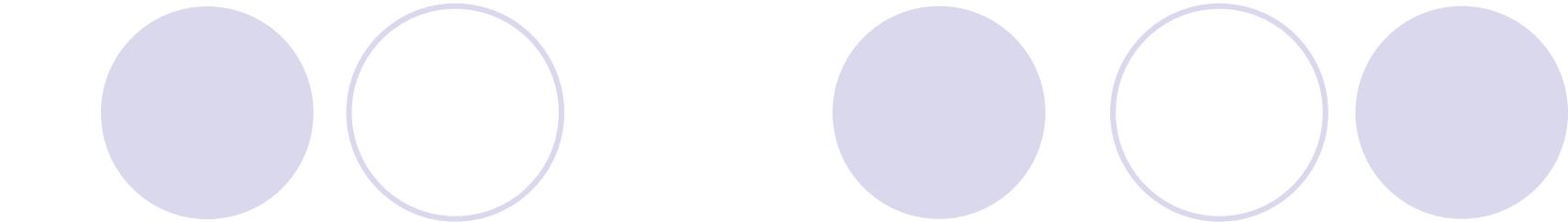
- 2. La recherche confirme l'effet de variables structurelles lourdes : comme le taux de chômage et la réputation du quartier (effet des inégalités sociales et spatiales).



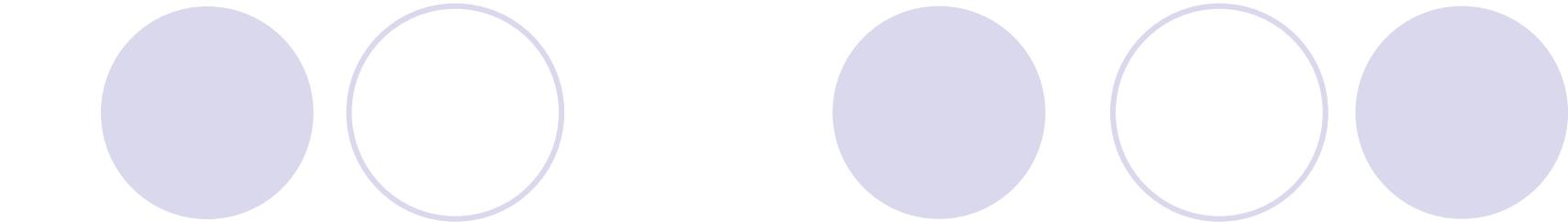
- 3. La recherche confirme aussi l'effet de la similitude sociale ou de la solidarité mécanique comme facteur de préservation.



- 4. La recherche monographique confirme aussi l'importance de la mémoire collective locale.



- 5. Quand les pauvres partagent le même destin et ont conscience de partager un avenir commun, ils ont plus de chances de développer des formes de solidarité au sein de leur groupe d'appartenance. Cf. « Pauvreté intégrée » (Serge Paugam, *Les formes élémentaires de la pauvreté*, PUF, 2005)



- 6. La détresse psychologique s'explique par la violence des rapports sociaux quand les inégalités sociales et spatiales (facteurs externes) entraînent une destruction des formes de solidarité et d'appartenance sociale dans les quartiers pauvres. C'est-à-dire lorsque la violence des rapports sociaux est à la fois **externe** et **interne** au quartier.