

PeerThink



National report France

Situation and debate in France on intersectional approaches in peer-violence prevention among youngsters in the age of 12 to 21 years

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Intersectionality and the French society

Intersectionality is defined as a paradigmatic approach to social sciences and social work, advocating the idea that forms of oppression within a society based on race, ethnicity, gender, religion, sexuality, class and other markers of difference can interrelate and expose different types of discrimination and disadvantage. In France, on a theoretical level this approach is in its very beginnings, if not, almost inexistent until today.¹ Hence, the present national report will at firstly examine the specific historical and ideological background of France and discuss the current obstacles to the analytical tool of intersectionality resulting from it. Secondly, we will analyse the existing approaches and concepts in the prevention of peer violence amongst youngsters and finally present the selected project renowned in that field.

Even if practitioners in the field of social work and services are faced with and aware of the multitude of social realities, of the individuals' identities and experiences in the French society, there is no systematic analysis or self-evaluation of the respective institutions trying to respond to this complexity.

One major obstacle to an intersectional approach in the social work in France arises from the fact that the concept of intersectionality, by taking different social categories as possible factors of discrimination into account, recognizes that the members of a given society do not necessarily share *one* national identity and do not experience *one* single reality, but that they *do have* different experiences, needs and claims based on their affiliation or (self-) positioning to certain social groups based on categories such as gender, race/ethnicity, religion, language, disability and so forth. The complexity of the contemporary French society and the precarious socioeconomic situation of big parts of the population, mostly of immigrant origins, are challenging and opposing, in some aspects, the historical republican ideals (see below) that are, until today, crucial for the self-conception of France. The consideration of intersectionality in the field of social work is particularly difficult in France and it will need further efforts to stimulate it.

Nonetheless, research is evolving. Researchers have frequent contacts with colleagues abroad and are embedded in international research networks. The work is more and more connected to the broader knowledge available in the field. As an indicator for what might foster an inner French discussion in the future, we will scribe the current intersectional approaches in other French speaking countries such as in Canada.

The French concept of citizenship and diversity

The self-conception of the French state and society is based on the republican ideals of "liberté, égalité, fraternité" (liberty, equality, brotherhood). A legacy of the Age of Enlightenment, this motto first appeared during the French Revolution. It was written into the Constitution of 1958 and is forms a part of French national heritage today.

¹ See the article of Ben Lmadani (Paris VII, Urmis-CNRS), Diaye (EPEE), Urdanivia (Sorbonne) : "L'intersectionnalité des rapports sociaux de pouvoir en France », March 2007, <http://www.workinglives.org/jist2007/07%20Genre%20et%20Ethnicite/Urdanivia.pdf>

Most important of those three might be “brotherhood” (which includes, although not explicit in this term, the female citizens). This became apparent during the campaign for the French referendum on the European Constitution in 2005 when important political parties had argued and criticised that the text did not mention the word “brotherhood”.

There is a large consensus on these republican principles and all French are supposed to be “brothers” (and sisters) united in the solely existing community which is the community of French citizens.²

Civil rights are considered as being strictly individual rights and collective claims, e.g. of religious or language communities, as being an instrument of oppression of these “minorities” against their individual members (French citizens) by exerting pressure, by subordinating their individual interests to those of the respective community and thereby patronizing the individual. The term “communautarisme” is often used in France to disqualify the minorities’ claims for specific (e.g. linguistic or educational) rights.³ The use of this term aims to substitute the positive idea of *rights for* minorities for a negative term disqualifying the claims of cultural, language, ethnic, religious or others minorities / communities seen as a potential threat for individual liberty and the social cohesion of the society. As to the use of this term the French political scientist Pierre-André Taguieff explains : « *The term ‘communautarisme’ is used [...] to qualify with a critical intention any kind of ethnocentricity or social centrism, and at a larger scale any kind of auto-centrism of groups, implying auto-valorisation which is supposed to lead to closeness on yourself, in a cultural context called «post-modern» where the «openness», and more specifically the «openness towards others» are formally valorised*”.⁴

Thus, the French government's stance towards (regional) languages, cultures and identities within the French society together with the political heritage of the French revolution has led to the idea of a “French identity” that is based on the notion of citizenship more than on cultural, historical or ethnic ties.⁵

However, a serious debate about racist discrimination and the best methods to fight it has been taken place for years, even decades, in France and led, to mention just a few examples, in 1984 to the establishment of the human rights association SOS racism and recently, in 2004, to the national commission HALDE (High Commission for the Fight against discrimination and for Equal Opportunities). Members of nongovernmental organisations (e.g. ENDA Europe, MRAP, Ni Putes Ni Soumises), unions and federations (e.g. FNATH, UNSA, CFTC) and various scientific institutions (CNRS, IEP, HEC) are engaged in this discussion as well.

It is important to mention that the majority of those involved in the field of anti-racism and the promotion of equality and tolerance base/root their ideological concept on the republican ideals and values mentioned above (*liberté, égalité, fraternité*) and are critical, if not opposing, to any form of community oriented claims as a means for defending peoples’ rights. There is an ideological contradiction in admitting, on the

² That is basically the reason why France did not yet ratify the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, ECRML.

³ The French term “communautarisme” should not be confused with the English “communitarianism” denominating a politico-philosophical school of thought of the 1980s opposing radical individualism and shifting the focus of interest toward communities and societies.

⁴ Translations from French to English by Eurocircle.

⁵ See Ait Ben Lmadani et al. p. 2.

one hand, that there exists a serious problem of discrimination based on ethnic, gender and other social categories in France and having intention to fight against it and, on the other hand, denying that identities are complex and diverse and that they exceed the simple reference to the republican French universalism. In this approach, the diversity of the French society is only recognized on an individual level of convictions, cultural, religious or other practices while taking for granted that all these individuals can be united on the basis of common values and national characteristics such as laicism and the French language.

“Our values”, explains SOS racisme about its founding principles, “[are] build on a Cross cultural/Crossbreed Republic (République Métissée) turning its back to the rightist extremism but also to the “communitarist” conception of the anti-racist fight. [...] For us, anti-racism has never been for the sake of defending one population against the other, to be built on the ethnic or religious basis of the “federations” of defence of one community or the other. For us, anti-racism has always been for the sake of everybody living in equal dignity in the society, whatever might be his origins, confession or cultural practices. It is this project of brotherhood and equality that has conducted our total combats.”

While the antagonists of the concept of “communitarism” position themselves in the tradition of “republican universalism” the supporters of this concept accuse their political adversaries of French ethnocentricity, of fostering discrimination by disapproving of any affirmative action towards discriminated social groups, of islamophobia and racism.

An Excurses: Diversity and intersectionality in Canada

In Canada, “multiculturalism” was incorporated into the 1985 Canadian Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms, and the Multicultural Act was passed in 1988. Intersectionality of diversity is predicated on the notion that simultaneous membership in two (or more) social categories can have attendant consequences that are either unique to that combination of memberships, or alternatively, cannot be efficiently inferred from considering diversity markers either in isolation or in seriatim. For the past decade, multiculturalism has been committed to managing diversity through institutions with an eye to enhancing society at large.

Non-governmental organisations and social scientists have argued for years that the fight against all sorts of discrimination has to be based on an integrated approach such as intersectionality. The Canadian delegation to the UN World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance in Durban, South Africa, in 2001 elaborated in its contribution to the UN Declaration and Action Plan that different forms of discrimination “*contribute to the marginalization of people who face discrimination based on gender, age, sexual orientation, disability, and barriers based on social or economic status. [...] Recognizing that racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance can have a differential impact on women and men, girls and boys, we must ensure that the World Conference fully integrates a gender perspective.*”⁶ Furthermore, the proposal emphasizes the need to “acknowledge the crosscutting nature of intolerance” and calls for an innovative, forward-looking, multi-dimensional, holistic and appropriate [...] approach or [a] strategy [that] should take account of the specific and compounded disadvantages

⁶ See http://www.pch.gc.ca/progs/multi/wcar/event-act/geneva-statement_e.cfm

suffered by individuals or communities facing discrimination on the basis of several factors.”

In addition, social research in Canada is focuses, among others, on the intersectional dimension of discrimination in the field of public policy, law and jurisprudence and the labour market. In particular, social categories such as gender, ethnicity and age are objects of field studies and parts of the ongoing debate.

Statistics as an obstacle to an intersectional approach in France

The difficulty to name and examine the multiple markers of difference (which would be the basis for an intersectional approach in social sciences, social work and other social services) becomes evident in another aspect. Under the French law passed after World War II it is forbidden to categorize people according to their ethnic origins. The amendment of August 2004 (*loi informatique et liberté*) prohibits statistics to have any references concerning ethnic origins, religious or political affiliations, the sexual orientation or state of health of citizens.

Considering that French the nationality law is historically based on the principle of *jus soli* (although elements of *jus sanguinis* have been included in the French code especially during the 1992 reform) and therefore, children born on the French territory are mostly naturalised, social research and other relevant professional areas have to base their work on “auxiliary” vague indicator such as first- and surnames or the places of birth of the (non-French) parents to draw their conclusions. Because of this insufficiency of significant statistic data the discussion of certain sociological issues and dynamics even in an academic or statistical framework remains difficult.

An illustrative example for the discussion on this topic and the viewpoints of the different people involved is the petition initiated by Jean-Pierre Amadieu signed by numerous scientists and others published in the newspaper “La Libération” February 23th, 2007 and the reply of Farid Yaker, secretary general of Enda Europe, to it.⁷ The latter argues that *“all these legal obstacles are conducive to the fact that visible minorities are actually statistically invisible. Only very few players (certain enterprises, Institut National des Etudes Démographiques, Observatoire des discriminations) are occasionally in the position to sehd some rare rays of light on that big black box of discriminations.”*

Therefore, the colour of skin, religious affiliations and other possible markers of difference can hardly be taken into account systematically when it comes to analyse *forms of oppression* in the French society and to integrate the highly differentiated approach of intersectionality to practical concepts in the area of social work.

⁷ See <http://www.liberation.fr/actualite/societe/236946.FR.php> and www.forim.fr/forim/content/pdf/743

Diversity “à la Marseillaise”

Marseille is the oldest and nowadays second largest city of France having a population of about 830.000 inhabitants. It is also the largest commercial port of France (and the 4th biggest of Europe) being used since 2.500 years as a gateway to the Mediterranean area. This has attracted many immigrants and made Marseille into a unique cosmopolitan melting pot. Already at the end of the 18th century about half the population originated from elsewhere. The main group of immigrants came from Italy as well as from Spain, Greece and Minor Asia. Economic conditions and political unrest in Europe and the rest of the world brought several further “waves” of immigrants in the 20th century into city. Its current population is of various ethnic, religious and geographic origins: approximately 200.000 Muslims, 15 % of the population having North-African origins, migrants from sub-saharian Africa, about 80.000 Armenians (orthodox Christians) and the second largest Jewish community (also 80.000) of France are living in Marseille. The city was particularly concerned by the mass emigration of French settlers (French: *pieds noirs*) leaving the North-African colonies at the time of their independence from France, especially from Algeria in the beginning of the 1960ies. More than 100.000 of them stayed in Marseille.

Probably due to its historically cosmopolitan character and to its traditional opposition to the centralistic French system the public and political discourse in Marseille is differing from the national one examined above. The term “community” (French: *communauté*) is not used pejoratively and not necessarily associated with an anti-republican attitude or community-live. In the contrary, although the difficult socioeconomic situation of a big part of the population often of immigrant origins the self-conception of Marseille and the peoples “patriotism” is particularly referring to its extraordinary diversity. The city has an extraordinary faculty to integrate newly arrived people and it is often said that its inhabitants feel first and foremost as “Marseillans” and only secondary as member to “their” (migrant) community. Assumedly, it is this strong local identity that – on the other hand – makes it possible to have a more positive approach to the multi-faceted dimension of people’s identity and way of living in Marseille than in other parts of France.

Furthermore, on the level of social institutions organisations such as Marseille Espérance have been founded to create a regular forum for and enhance the dialogue about various topics between the different religious and ethnic communities and the municipal authorities, e.g. the mayor. It also aims to foster tolerance and mutual understanding as well as the fight against racism.⁸

⁸ see www.marseille.fr or www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/de/frankreich_3/label-france_746/label-france_747/label-france-nr.64_1256/gesellschaft_1260/marseille-esperance-alle-verschieden-alle-marseiller_2292.html

Violence prevention en France

In France, it is difficult to find theoretical publications about peer violence prevention among youngsters with this theme as main topic. There are many studies in social science about violence committed by young people but which mostly concern criminal offences towards others but don't specifically treat peer violence amongst others. There is much literature concerning the riots in 2005, but this regards only the insecurity and violence committed by these young people in the suburban areas. Otherwise, concerning the intersectional approach, there is strictly nothing available on a theoretical level, as mentioned above. Recently, "an amendment legalizes the collection of so called 'ethnic' statistical data. These statistics (...) won't give any answers to the question of discrimination. They will not be a tool to counter those discriminations, but, on the contrary, contain the germs of a regress to a radicalized vision of society. (...) Discrimination is born in the glance of those who see the others as black or Indian. By classifying those persons in these categories, we concede a point to this subject. » (Jugnot, 2007)

As a general rule, it is possible to find some convergences. In France, concerned specialists talk more about the concept of individuation, analyzing situations through this angle, which also allows them to "sectionalize" different elements by drawing the individuals closer. Gender studies were formerly underdeveloped, but in the past decade they became more and more numerous. The concept of ethnicity is used on a very large scale, but the conception often has several different meanings, rendering the concept blurred, especially as the mass media appropriates this term more and more. Nevertheless, ethnicity remains an important and pertinent tool to analyze situations even if this concept is very often criticized by some while idolized by others.

Pierre Bourdieu in particular, a very influent sociologist in France, has worked on individuals by sectionalizing their background. He called this approached the concept of *capital* owned by each individual on different levels (social, economic, cultural, etc.) and which can be used by the individual in different ways in order to establish strategies, improve situations etc. The more important the different capitals of young people and their families, the more they have the chance to succeed and avoid the phenomena of exclusion and marginalization. If the different capitals are poor, there are more risks of social *downgrading* and exposition to the phenomenon of violence, but there are not many studies which use this grid in an intersectional way. There is one recent study about young people in "the settlements in the suburban area" (Sauvadet, 2006) which even considers the "bellicose" capital. This proves that this concept is not just a marker, but more a tool to contextualize and to conceptualize. If someone is owner of a *capital*, it is possible to transpose or to convert it, for instance the "bellicose" one allows people to bully others, to abuse them or to exploit abusively common resources...

In France, the geographic areas the most studied related to the topic of violence is "la cite" (the settlements in the suburban areas) also called "banlieue" (outskirts): territories and spaces of socialization on the outskirts of the large cities with low cost social housing, built up in the sixties and without any infrastructure nearby. Today the concept of *ethnicity* is a key concept of the social dimension of these places, like the *working class* was formally. At an institutional level, these spaces are currently divided into multiple areas where a kind of positive action takes place, even if it's not

officially recognized, and where public actions and interventions are considered as a priority because of social problems, poverty, etc. such as the “Zones Franches Urbaines” (urban free trade areas), the “Zones Urbaines Sensibles” (sensible urban areas), “Plan locaux d'action économique” (local plan for economic action”, etc. In schools, it is possible to find the same sectorizations with the “Zone d' Education Prioritaire” (priority education areas) which categorize the schools which had bad school results and problems of violence.

Violence in schools

The violence in schools is slightly better documented, since public institutions, the media and the public opinion are concerned about this topic. But the official statistics remain rare. A piece of software which allows violence to be signalled in schools was implemented by a National Committee to Fight against violence in Schools (Comité National de Lutte contre la Violence à l'école), but it is not used on a large scale, because the schools don't want to get a “bad ranking” which could lead the parents not to send their children there. In general, prevention of violence is largely classified (according to the acts) and is more defined in the framework of the law than in sociological terms. Hence, the semantic field around violence is very wide and it is relatively difficult to find a common sense for the terms used and their conceptual definition: this is basically because of the interdisciplinary approach of these phenomena where the different specialists don't communicate enough with specialists of other disciplines on a theoretical level. Let's compare some data from a sample (Debarbieux, Montoya, 2003): 6,3% of the individuals from a representative sample of 3 265 pupils at the “College” (12-16 years) declare to have been victims of extortion, 73,2% declare to have been victims of injuries, 16,7% say they have been victims of racism and 24,2% say they have been beaten. This data is a far cry from the 0,03% that pupils signalled as victims of extortion or racism by the schools themselves through the software.

The notion of *school bullying*, like the notion of incivility, are good expressions of this prevalence of often repeated micro-violence in the context of schools. A method exists to identify this micro-violence : the so-called (in France) “victimation” poll, is a way to detect the transgressions and the breach of rules based on the point of view of the victims, considered as a privileged informer, rather than research focusing on the aggressors (Zauberman, Robert, 1995). These polls reveal the phenomenon of victimization and show the gap between the official knowledge about this phenomena and the reality of the aggressions carried out. They also show the impact of micro-violence, whose cumulative effects are proven. They also point out in particular that the phenomena of harassment and frequent violence concern an average of one pupil in 12. Hence, it is possible to establish a current state of multi-victimizations, their consequences on the victims' relation with the school and the inequality of the risk encountered by the victims depending on their age, their gender and their school. Since the mid 90s, the perception of insecurity and effective violence increased in frequency and in volume in the schools in disadvantaged areas (especially the areas ZEP). There is a real multiplication of aggressions in groups and an increase of the proportion of aggressors more than of victims. Violence against institutions and schools has also appeared and developed.

« In conclusion, it is possible to argue the development of a kind of delinquency of exclusion towards peers: mainly the “weaker” peers and the representatives of the nearby institutions. Our recent studies don't seem to show a real global boost in

violence, which is more or less stable, but in reality a disparate boost connected to social exclusion.” (Debarbieux, 2004)

Data: The acts of violence concern basically only 6% of the schools in secondary education, mainly located in the “sensitive areas”. 78% of the victims are pupils, 20% are staff members and 0,4% are parents. 86% of the identified or probable perpetrators of violence are pupils, 12% are external persons, 1,3% are staff members and 0,7% are parents. In those so called sensitive areas, 35,6% from the pupils claim to have been victims of one of those forms of violence: extortion (repeated theft with extortion), theft, beatings, injuries or racist injuries.

Violence in the public space - La Cité - The Suburban areas

Second area of study on the theme of violence among young people: the settlement in the outskirts (La cité). Since the 1980, researchers notice deep structural changes which accentuate the vertical social pressure and prompt those so-called sensitive areas towards a logic which oscillates between communitarisme and micro-society, considered brutal by public opinion and by the mass media, who considers those areas as outlaw areas. Despite the feeling of insecurity on the part of the population, young people are the most important group of those concerned by this horizontal violence committed by them. They are the first perpetrators and the main victims. But this peer violence is not hereditary, it is constructed socially. These *tough young people called archons (caïds)* (they have given themselves this name and they are frequently involved in acts of violence and/or delinquency) represent only 10% of the young people from these outskirts. However, the frequency and the permanent nature of this violence coupled with the fact that this violence takes place in public leads renders them very visible (Mucchielli, Sauvadet, Vol). If we could analyze this situation according an intersectional approach, it could certainly be easier to identify more in detail who these youngsters are and what the elements are which make them vulnerable to the phenomena of violence. However, the researchers prefer to work on the group and on its identity, or on individuals in a more psycho-social way.

In those big ensembles, the centre does not only promote social interaction, but is a centre of identity, of social and spatial isolation. The permeability is not an element of the social fabric, of identity and identity becomes frozen. But the main characteristic of identity is in its multiform function, like a panoply where the multiple functions and roles on which the individuals have to play during their social life are inscribed. In these outskirts, certain youngsters are prisoners of a concentric space, void of mobility and as consequence, out of time. In this place, built up with the peer group, the youngster proves his worth in a space he contributed to transform and to limit to a fertile and familiar space; which produces social and cultural cohesion. The external perception presents an agglomeration of youngsters characterized by homogeneity, identical appearance with the same ethnical origin, age group or gender. From a closer perspective, these characteristics fade away and the criteria which seem to govern the constitution of the group remain by the sense of belonging to the same residential space. With the identity of this space established, the identity of the group who inherits from the name of the place they are occupying permanently, distinguish themselves from the neighbour group. A sense of relegation is therefore very ethnized, like the language of those outskirts which « *is the symbol of the hidden recess and of the deletion of the individual, of his personality, in aid of an easy*

submission to defensive standards of a minority group » (Begag, 1997). The youngsters express their identity more and more towards the stigmata they are claiming. This ethnicization of the relations is expressed by the opposition between « them » and « us » in a dichotomic way. You can observe furthermore more and more ethnicized brandings among peers. Therefore, it is not only the individual who is branded but all the people who share this stigma. The youngsters are confronted to a plurality of cultural elements (pupils, families, adolescents, tv), they build their identity « between » these different categories. In schools like in the street, the youngsters who feel like victims of relegation on the basis of a stigma start to become such victims, in opposition to the counter stigma they earmark to themselves and by which they believe to be oppressed. The sense of this domination through ethnicized categories often leads them to « substantialize » this opposition. They conceal the domination as a result of social relations which have been built up historically. Nevertheless, it is important to notice that « the social relations here are really ethnicized relations and not ethnical: it concerns reconstitution of experienced identities in an ethnical way and not the practice of cultural tradition of an original ethnic. » (Bonnerly, 2006) Only the identification with the peer group seems to compensate the negative judgment, because it displaces the humiliation from the individual to the group who feels like a victim of racism. To avoid losing everything, he needs to be accepted by the peer group to prevent being considered a « buffoon », playing a role of protection of self-image.

The practice

In France, you can observe a striking difference between theory and practice. The discussion of the educators, first practitioners confronted to this problematic, confirms this distance between theory and application. All youngsters are considered in the same way globally, the professionals refuse to take into account their ethnic origins in the project developments, analysis is realized case by case individually. Nevertheless, when they are talking about their profession, they talk openly about categories and the associated behaviours associated with the « Comorians », the « Maghrebinians ». The implemented actions and the employees dealing with youngsters arise officially from these categories indirectly, or unofficially, and are taken into account.

It is certain that theory refuses the paradigm of intersectionality, although in practice it is “naturally” used. We decided for this project to make use of a prevention method very specific to France. This specialized prevention action seems the most appropriate and interesting approach concerning peer violence among youngsters in this age group. This discipline allows us to treat the most impalpable phenomena in the field of research up to today: those of peer violence among youngsters in the street, in their environment and out of school. The reality on the ground also guides these practitioners to projects in which they are de facto obliged to conceive different plans according to the types and places, etc.

THE SPECIALIZED PREVENTION

In France, the specialized prevention is an action aiming to allow to young people going through marginalization to make a break with isolation and to restore social cohesion. This action is placed under the authority of the “departments” in the framework of their youth welfare. It is a specific form of social and educative action, close to socio-cultural action, of popular education and of the social development. It is addressed to specific categories of the population, to social groups particularly threatened and not to all of the inhabitants of a delimited geographic area. This action is not characterized by its general aims, but by the intervention method founded on practice ***une pratique de terrain***, called « streetworking », a starting point of the educative accompaniments and adapted action projects. It aims to favour the reconstruction of social relationships, the integration of drop-out youngsters, the fight against exclusion and violence prevention. It is characterized by the non-mandate nominative, free subscription, respect of anonymity, the non institutionalization of the practices, the work in pluridisciplinar teams and networking. The specialized prevention implies therefore an approach of youngsters founded on mutual acceptation of the proposed relation to help them, that the people subject to to these actions are not named; a demand of discretion of the social worker towards the control authorities who insure the efficiency and credibility of social work based on confidence. This leads to global funding which excludes at the same time, the settling of individual solutions in a mandatory way and any kind of diffusion and external communication of projects and data.

Juristic timeline

- **Order of 23th December 1958:** regroup in a single text, all action plans concerning the **under 18 year olds in danger, who are not delinquents**. In the framework of their power of **educative assistance**, children court judges were led to develop an interest in and to sustain the development of clubs and prevention teams.
- **Order of 13th May 1963:** the High Commission of Youth and sports, creates a “National Committee of clubs and prevention teams against the social inadaptation of youngsters”. But finally, the prevention is attached to the ministry of Health and especially to the department for **Social aid for children**.
Order of 4th July 1972 and its application communication material: official recognition of this intervention method, its principles and practices, what it is called in the vocabulary “**Specialized prevention**”. In 1972, there were 98 associations, in 1996 there are around 350.
- **Law of 22th July 1983:** The competence for specialized prevention is transferred to the departments.
- **Law of 6th January 1986:** In the framework of the decentralization laws. The competence and funding of specialized prevention is attached to the “Departements”, like the social aid for children (article 45 of the code of law of family and social action).
- **Charter of July 1992:** The CNLAPS (Comité National de Liaison des Associations de Prévention Spécialisée) defines the action of specialized prevention in national objectives aims.
- **Law of 2nd January 2002:** renewal of the social and medical institutions, transferring the specialized prevention in the field of “aid for children”.
- **Interministerial circular letter from 16th August 2006:** relative to the “prevention and the fight against violence at schools” which aims to bring about concrete responses to facts and situations of insecurity in schools and around them.
- **Law of 7th March 2007** on prevention and delinquency of youngsters. Reinforce the power of the mayor in the field of the fight against insecurity and delinquency. The professionals of social action has to report to the mayor and the president of the Department the worsening social, educative or material difficulties of a person or of a family in order to ask for different professionals to come to intervene and for a coordinator to be assigned.

The projects

Innovative projects on youth violence prevention in France

Le theatre Forum
<http://www.proscenium-asso.com/violence.htm>

Collectif-Passerelle, qui partage s'enrichit
<http://collectif-passerelle.nuxit.net/spip.php?article126>

Je.tu.il...
<http://www.jetuil.asso.fr/index.html>

ACSE Cultivons d'autres possibles
<http://www.acse.info/db/acse.nsf/accueil>

Emergence
<http://www.emergence-asso.fr/>

Parole de jeunes
<http://www.parolesdejeunes.com/index.htm>

Mouvement du nid
<http://www.mouvementdunid.org/>

APSV La Villette
<http://apsv.asso.fr/Accueil.htm#>

Léo Lagrange – Sport / Prévention dans le sport
<http://www.leolagrange-sport.org/>

Enfant Animal Nature – Prévention de la violence
<http://www.enfantanimalnature.fr/>

Graines de citoyen
<http://pagesperso-orange.fr/grainedecitoyen/sommaire.htm>

Information on on violence prevention at schools

Observatoire International de la Violence à l'Ecole
<http://www.ijvs.org/>

EduSCOL
<http://eduscol.education.fr/>

Jeunes Violences Ecoute
<http://www.jeunesviolencesecoute.fr>

ADDAP 13

Association Départementale pour le Développement des Actions de Prévention – 13 (the number represents the territorial unit of the Département of Bouches-du-Rhône, Marseilles area). The action of specialized prevention of the organization ADDAP was born from the distress on the part of the young people with a difficult family history, often living in socially declassified areas, with many children, youngsters and young adults from 13 to 21 years. This public cannot avoid a process of precariousness, exclusion or marginalization, sources of “uneasiness”, of acts of delinquency and violence. The proposed activities represent sometimes a relational and educational support to the mission of specialized prevention, which is to encounter, to go towards the youngster in their environment, to talk with them about often harmless subjects at the beginning but which can be revealed as very deep, in order to be recognized as a “resource person”, who, at the right moment, can listen to them and help them in critical situations, in difficulties at a particular moment or on a long term basis. For ADDAP, the approaches in violence prevention cannot be dissociated from the fact that you need to take the personnel and individual context of the youngster into account, and to treat the social and psychological causes linked to these acts of violence, and, furthermore, to engage the youngster in the construction of a future project for him. The types of violence treated by ADDAP are multiple: violence in families, survival violence, proximity violence, inter-ethnic, inter-generational, etc. the three levels of intervention (creating safe environments, reducing risk, managing crisis situations) are adopted according to the needs and the interventions. The important element is the presence of an educator close to the target group, an individualized work, the prevention of violence is not often an official priority of a project event if it is always integrated at the base.

Selected Project

“Prevention of risky behaviour” is a project of the specialized prevention method developed and implemented by ADDAP 13 in the centre of Marseilles since 2003 and which is constantly in evolution according to the results and the reactions of the participating youngsters: dynamizing the behaviour of youngsters in alarming situations by confronting their day-to-day situation with the structuration of objectives which are able to break up the cycle of violence and the feeling of successive failure; practising a hygienic lifestyle which is compatible with motivated insertion, the individual follow up and with the families when this is necessary. The risky behaviours are various, from violent behaviour and defiance of authority, to acts of delinquency. The prevention of violence implemented in this framework is essentially secondary. The target group concerns youngsters between 16 and 21 years. At the beginning, the projects were mixed with boys and girls, but the girls were not at all interested and could not be reached through this project by the educators. The proposed accompaniment is partly individual and partly collective and educative in the field of sports and culture. Currently, the girls and the boys are separated in the follow up and the proposed activities. The majority of the youngsters come from a migratory background, basically from North Africa and the Comoros Islands. This program implemented over several years has allowed us to analyze the origin and the context of these different risky behaviours. The objectives are the following: to prevent the anchorage of risky behaviours, to develop citizenship by working on the respect of rules and self-control, to make them aware different problems which lead to danger. In order to achieve these objectives, the meeting places, sports and cultural activities are organized. The target group consists of youngsters with different behavior types, violent attitudes or actions (victims or/and others) and have difficulties in social adaptation.

Concretely, the project team proposed to the boys to practice extreme sports (diving under ice, paragliding, etc) with a heavy adrenaline discharge to approach the risk in a different way, to set in motion awareness in order to allow for a motivation for their insertion in substitution to the social violence. These activities are structured and allow them to engage socially in a contrary way to the disstructured risks used by those young people in their day-to-day lives (risk for themselves and others etc.). Afterwards, the youngsters are assisted to carry out their own civic actions in their own place (animation, concerts, demonstration,...)

For the girls, the first years of the program were a failure. In 2005, the implementation of a “café-débat” (debate club) every week has allowed them to integrate by proposing a place of mediation and of discussion of diverse issues to bring them step by step to talk about violence and its prevention. These moments have allowed for the establishment of relations of confidence and the understanding of the problem of suffering, of violence, of the difficulties of establishing social relations, of weak self-esteem and behavior problems. Currently, a project dealing with humanitarian action in Morocco is being developed in order to unite the group, to give them confidence to allow them to develop the notion of citizenship by working on the respect of rules and self-control and physical and psychological stability.

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