What is planned for the next year

- > The next year will be devoted to finalizing the participatory Pop'part book and to preparing the ANR closing seminar.
- In Saint-Denis, we will finalize the action-research study on youth mobility and work on avenues we can pursue with youth professionals.
- Since the fighting between youths is ongoing in Saint-Denis, we would like to propose working and reflecting on youth and public space to the new municipal team.
- > The proceedings of the «Youth and institutions» seminar can serve as a basis for our work.



Coordination centrale TRYSPACES Tryspaces@ucs.inrs.ca Institut national de la recherche scientifique Centre - Urbanisation Culture Société 385, rue Sherbrooke Est Montréal (Québec) H2X 1E3 514 499-4058

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DOWNTOWN NEIGHBORHOOD OF ST-DENIS

Researcher: Alain Vulbeau. Socio-community partner: Christine Bellavoine. Students : Amélie Pariente, Abdoulaye Diaw, Dahes.

TWO FACETS OF THE PROJECT WERE DEVELOPED DURING THIS PERIOD:

Efforts continued to anchor the research into the local context with the conclusion of the Tryspaces seminar in Saint-Denis, followed by the debates organized for the youths from Paul Eluard high school and a neighborhood youth branch. An action-research study has also started that works with children and youth movements in the city's public spaces.

The Saint-Denis team participated in: the analysis of the research material from the Pop'part case; writing a memo characterizing the 110 youths who participated at the heart of the Pop'part fieldwork; writing up the analysis on youth religious practice; and the analysis and writing of an article on the role of gender relations in personal development.

Highlights:

- > This period was defined by the confinement between March 17 and May 11, 2020, which prevented any fieldwork in St-Denis. Between April 2019 to March 2020, young high school students and the youths from the spaces we focused on gave speeches on the subjects that concern them, such as: confrontational relations with the police and a gender perspective on identity constructions. As we worked with the youths, increasingly the work involved less talking about youths, and more the youths organizing time for talking amongst themselves and asking questions to the representatives of the invited institutions.
- > A working group of youth professionals was established in Saint-Denis (animators, educators, teachers) to do action-research on youth mobility in the city. This approach should further embed our reflections into the local context. The workshops in March with groups of youths and children were also cancelled. With the resumption of contact in September, we should be able to take stock on how to follow-up on this work.
- > The objectives of this action-research study were to better understand the regular mobility of children (from 11 years old and up) and youth in the city, and the registers they created to account for how they appreciate / dislike / avoid spaces. This approach looks at the city as an instance of socialization and how young people and children qualify the urban spaces they frequent on their terms.
- In terms of participatory dynamics of POP'Part, the Saint-Denis team actively participated in all collective seminars as well as in collective analysis carried out on all cities.
- Participation was mostly focused on drafting the statistical record on the characteristics of the youths in the poppart group (110 young people) as well as on the collective thematic analysis of religion and girls / boys.

Type of products envisaged in the coming year

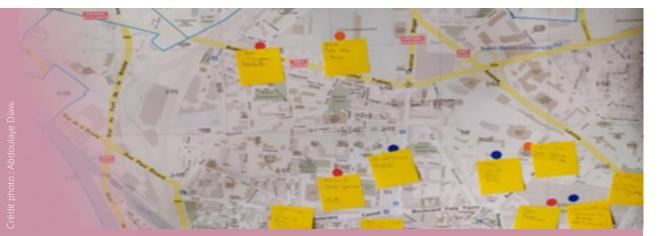
- > Event;
- > Presentation at a conference.

What was done this year

- In April and June 2019, the last two sessions of the Tryspaces seminar in Saint-Denis on young people and institutions were held.
- > On April 2, the sociologist, Fabien Truong and Mathieu Vadepied, the director, attended the seminar to discuss post-baccalaureate education and youth from working-class backgrounds.
- > June 14, Marie-Hélène Bacqué, some associations, and youth from the Pop'part program shared on the theme of youth engagement.
- The seminar proceedings are in the process of being completed (the confinement period disrupted the planned calendar considerably).
- The youth debates were held by the comité de vie lycéenne (student life committee) from the lycée Paul Eluard et de l'antenne jeunesse (youth chapter).
 - January 17th: The 1st debate was on homophobia and questions concerning gender and was attended by youths from the lycée Paul Eluard with the teachers and representatives of an LGBT association.
 - January 31st, 2020: The Sémard youth chapter, made up of 40 or so youths, facilitators, and the public relations spokesperson from the police department participated in a debate on relations between youth and the police
 - March 6th: 2nd debate organized at the lycée Paul Eluard on youth, police relations.
- > The confinement and time off put an end to the activities.
- > Held the first stage of the action-research study on youth mobility involving 6 workshops to produce individual and collective maps of children's and youth's mobility in Saint-Denis. Abdoulaye Diaw produced a thesis called « Géographie invisible des enfants/adolescents de la ville de Saint-Denis » or «The invisible geography of children / adolescents in the city of Saint-Denis» with Tryspaces support.
- > Analyzed the interviews collectively with the Poppart youths. Finished the articles that were in process.

Preliminary results

- > Methodological contributions
- The articulation of the different research methods used by Pop'part (interviews, collective workshops, video) and the follow-up work in Saint-Denis (research / action, seminar, youth debates, etc.) proved to be very rich, as it grounded the analysis, and inspired the emergence and convergence of thematic trends.
- Thus, the research analysis of the large / small axes helped better understand the positions of some of the facilitators within the framework of the action-research on youth mobility. It also made it possible to identify the role of "adults" in children's mobility outside the neighborhood. The work developed in Saint-Denis (like elsewhere) made it possible to consolidate and refine the analysis.
- > Opportunities for theoretical reflection
 - The gendered construction of identities is well represented by intersectional analysis and an iterative approach to fieldwork and theory.
 - The role of gender in self-definition is particularly significant for boys. The neighborhood is the main vector of socialization. It emphasizes the need to be autonomous (to not be dependent) and is experienced within peer groups, sometimes through acts of violence. It intervenes in the relationship between adults and children, in the relationship between girls and boys, and in the appropriation of the neighborhood's public spaces. This construction of boys' identity, essentially based on virility, does not find its counterpart in girls. When girls are deeply aware of the expectations weighing on them, they have a greater range of options to negotiate with and engage more effectively in the process of individuation. They tend to reconcile with and adjust to traditional norms and the search for self-determination. This plurality of standards is both a constraint and resource and builds up a range of individual variations which transform over time. The discussions around wearing the veil



llustrate its moral foundation, the values transmitted hrough family education, and the decision-making atitude left to individuals; decisions that can be deferred indefinitely or made in connection with professional inclinations.

- Starting with this analysis opens up many perspectives for us to understand how family expectations are aimed at girls and boys, how they are marked by religious affiliations, and how trade-offs are negotiated between loyalty to the family and the process of individuation. The observations on virility as an identity value for working class youth are not new. However, their permanence does not seem to us to be part of an archaic specificity on the fringes of modernity and egalitarianism between the sexes, nor of a characteristic of working-class neighborhoods that would position them on the fringes of urban society. Recent controversies and movements (Weinstein affair, me-too, etc.) have shown the permanence of asymmetric gender relations and the real and symbolic violence thus generated in all social circles. These are reminders that virility is a value that remains deeply rooted in our societies whether it is nourished differently through time and place. It is produced with the resources available, and for many youths in workingclass neighborhoods, those are essentially their physical and social capital within the neighborhood.
- The youth debates, particularly on homophobia, shed light on the constraint that this gendered construction

exerts on boys, their clothing, their friendships, their school postures, etc. This constraint appears very little in individual interviews. We see it at work in how they distance homosexuality, which can be hypothesized as a rejection of the effeminate man.

- The mapping work carried out with children from a recreation center allows us to approach the relationship to public space from an early age. In neighborhood practice girls are always more supervised by adults than boys. The boys, more than the girls, spend time with the older youths. This way, boys develop a legitimate presence in public space and among older boys earlier than girls.
- Efforts to prevent fighting between neighborhoods are usually approached from an angle that focuses on belonging to the neighborhood (grouping together of young people from different neighborhoods through sport, or parties) and social exclusion ("disaffiliated" young people, school and family problems). However, the social value of virility passed on by older people in the neighborhood and by a societal context of permanent unequal gender relations is rarely worked on. Recognizing this dimension and working on it with youth professionals can be a line of work for the future.