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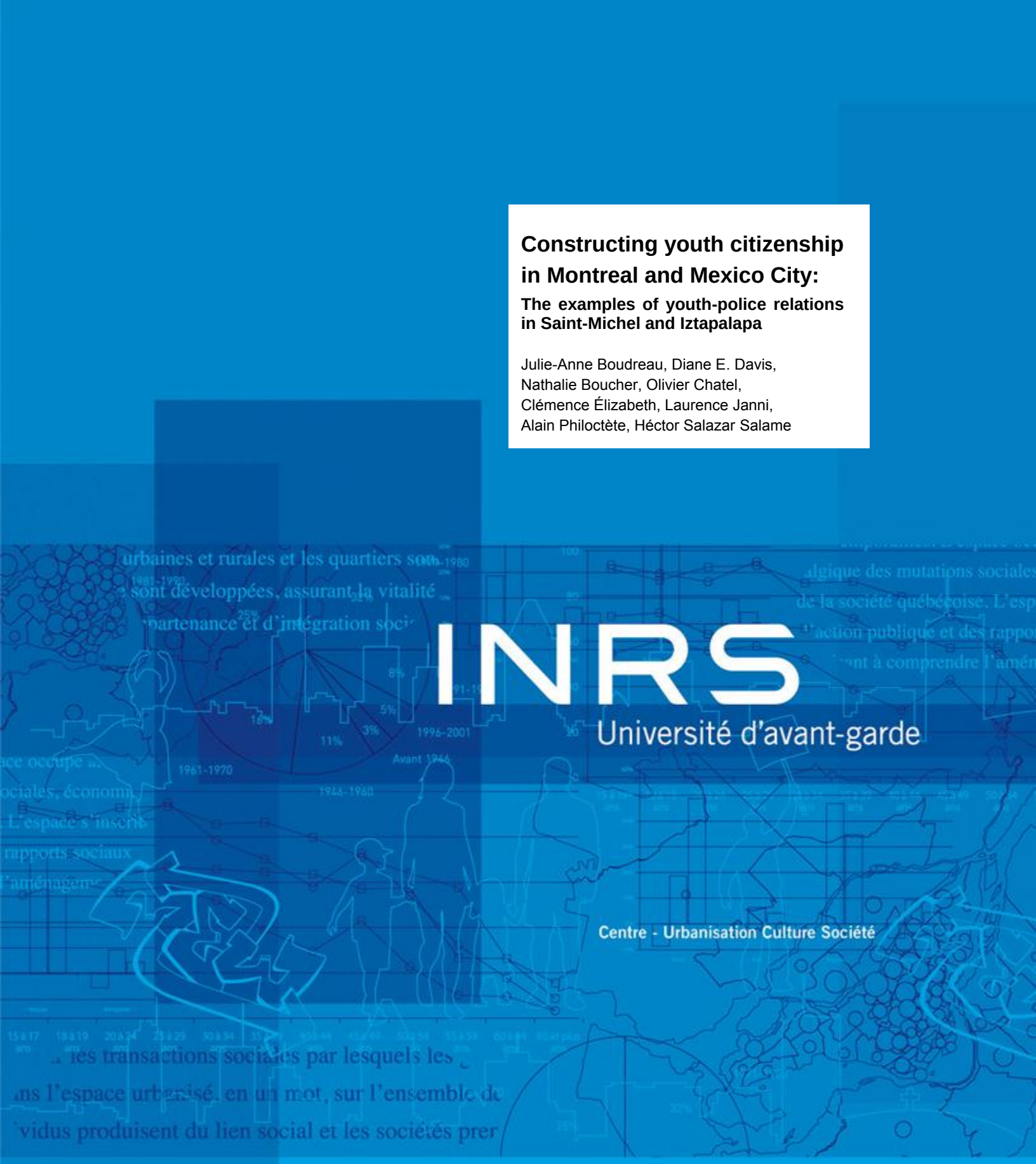

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Avant-propos

Ce rapport est issu d'une courte mais intense recherche comparative mettant en parallèle les quartiers de Saint-Michel à Montréal et les sept *barrios* d'Iztapalapa à Mexico. Ce projet comparatif est né d'une collaboration précédente avec le *Réseau continental de recherche sur l'informalité dans les métropoles* (RECIM). Il a été financé par le *Centre Métropolis Québec* et la *Chaire de recherche du Canada sur l'urbanité, l'insécurité et l'action politique.*

À Montréal, les recherches ont été menées par Clémence Elizabeth et Alain Philoctète sous la supervision de Julie-Anne Boudreau. Au Mexique, elles ont été conduites par Héctor Salazar Salame sous la supervision de Diane E. Davis. Les objectifs de recherche ont été discutés dès le départ avec nos partenaires, le Centre international pour la prévention de la criminalité (CIPC) et le Centre national de prévention du crime (CNPC) au Canada. Suite à la phase de cueillette des données, une rencontre a eu lieu afin de discuter des résultats préliminaires. Nos partenaires ont également fourni des commentaires sur la première ébauche de ce rapport. Nous les remercions pour leur enthousiasme durant tout ce processus, tout particulièrement Rolando Ochoa du CIPC et Mary-Anne Kirvan du CNPC. Bien entendu, toutes inexactitudes qui pourraient subsister dans ce rapport ne sont attribuables qu'aux auteurs.

Plusieurs personnes ont facilité cette recherche, tout particulièrement lorsque nous étions sur le terrain. Nous désirons tout d'abord remercier les jeunes avec qui nous avons parlé. Il n'est pas toujours facile de faire confiance à des chercheurs qui posent parfois des questions sur des sujets sensibles. C'est donc avec grande reconnaissance que nous soulignons leur confiance, leur volonté de nous confier leur histoire et de nous partager leurs idées éclairantes. À Montréal, nous aimerions aussi saluer le support d'Harry Delva et son équipe de jeunes patrouilleurs de la Maison d'Haïti qui nous ont énormément aidés à tisser des liens avec les jeunes. Nous remercions aussi Vincent Richer, qui était alors commandant du poste de police de quartier à St-Michel (PDQ 30) et qui nous a permis de parler avec les policiers. Soulignons également la contribution d'Anie Samson, maire de l'arrondissement, et Nawal Bekhechi, son attaché politique, qui nous ont donné accès à de nombreux documents sur la prévention dans le quartier. Finalement, une reconnaissante toute particulière va aux membres du Laboratoire Ville et ESPAces politiques (VESPA) qui ont contribués parfois dans des délais serrés à rendre ce rapport possible : Nathalie Boucher, Laurence Janni, Alexia Bhéreur-Lagounaris, Antoine Noubouwo, Olivier Chatel et Joana Borrero Luz, merci de votre souplesse, de vos idées inspirantes et de votre enthousiasme.

Au Mexique, nous voudrions remercier chaleureusement Epifanio Margarito Ruiz Urrea (Margarito pour les intimes), sans qui le travail de terrain aurait été impossible. Il nous a généreusement donné accès à ses contacts, ses amis et sa maison. De même, nous aimerions souligner l'apport du coordonnateur général de la sécurité publique d'Iztapalapa, Lic. Rosario Novoa Peniche. Non seulement nous a-t-elle octroyé plusieurs entrevues, mais elle nous a également ouvert la porte pour rencontrer les officiers locaux et métropolitains de sécurité publique. Elle a facilité l'organisation de patrouilles avec les policiers d'Iztapalapa et ceux de la région métropolitaine. Nous tenons finalement à remercier Carlos Salazar pour son soutien au début de cette étude et pour les nombreuses heures qu'il a consacré à transcrire les 30 heures d'entretiens que nous avons faits à Iztapalapa.

Enfin, un mot sur les langues utilisées dans cette recherche : ce rapport, ses documents adjacents et les discussions avec les membres des équipes, les partenaires et les chercheurs de Mexico ont été rédigé en anglais puisque c'était la seule langue commune. Par contre, sur les terrains, nous avons travaillé en espagnol au Mexique et en français à Montréal. Nous espérons trouver le budget nécessaire pour le traduire vers le français. Le sommaire exécutif est cependant disponible dans les deux langues.

Foreward

This report is the result of a short but intense comparative research project that took place in parallel in the neighbourhood of Saint-Michel in Montreal and the seven barrios of Iztapalapa in Mexico City. The idea for this comparison came from previous team member collaborations within the framework of the *Réseau continental de recherche sur l'informalité dans les métropoles* (RECIM). The project was financed by the Quebec Metropolis Center and the Canada Research Chair in Urbanity, Insecurity, and Political Action.

In Montreal, research was conducted by Clémence Élizabeth and Alain Philoctète, under the supervision of Julie-Anne Boudreau. In Mexico, research was conducted by Héctor Salazar Salame, under the supervision of Diane E. Davis. Research objectives and questions were discussed with our partners, the International Centre for the Prevention of Crime (ICPC) and the National Crime Prevention Centre of Canada (NCPC) at the beginning of the project. Following data collection, another meeting was held in order to discuss preliminary results and our partners provided comments on the first draft of this final report. We wish to thank them for their enthusiasm throughout this project, particularly Rolando Ochoa from the ICPC and Mary-Anne Kirvan from the NCPC. Any remaining inaccuracies that may exist are, of course, the sole responsibility of the authors of this report.

There are many people that made this project possible, particularly in the field. We wish to start by thanking the youths with whom we spoke. It is not always easy to trust researchers when they come and ask questions about sometimes sensitive issues. For their trust, their willingness to speak, and their enlightening ideas, we wish to salute these youths. In Montreal, we also wish to acknowledge the support of Harry Delva and his team of youth patrollers from the Maison d'Haïti, who helped us immensely in approaching youths. Thank you as well to Vincent Richer, who was Commandant of the neighbourhood police station (PDQ 30) in Saint-Michel, for letting us speak to his team, and to Anie Samson, Borough Mayor, and her political aide, Nawal Bekhechi, who gave us access to a number of documents on the prevention projects of the neighbourhood. Finally, a special acknowledgement goes to the team at the Laboratoire Ville et ESPAces politiques (VESPA) who all contributed at the last minute to make this report possible, despite very tight deadlines: Nathalie Boucher, Laurence Janni, Alexia Bhéreur-Lagounaris, Antoine Noubouwo, Olivier Chatel and Joana Borrero Luz, merci de votre souplesse, de vos idées inspirantes et de votre enthousiasme.

In Mexico, we wish to warmly thank Epifanio Margarito Ruiz Urrea (Margarito for short), without whom fieldwork would have been impossible. He generously gave us access to his barrio, his friends and his house. Similarly, we wish to acknowledge the help of the Public Security General Coordinator in Iztapalapa, Lic. Rosario Novoa Peniche. She not only granted us numerous interviews, but also gave us access to public security officials at the borough and city level, as well as allowing us to go on a ride-along with police in Iztapalapa, and was the catalyst for getting the ride-along with Metropolitan police officers. Lastly, thanks are due to Carlos Salazar for his support during the early stages of this research and for his invaluable work transcribing the over thirty hours of interviews conducted in Iztapalapa.

Finally, a note on language: this report, as well as all working documents used in our discussion with partners and researchers in Mexico, was written in English as this was the common language of all on the team. However, we worked in Spanish in Mexico and in French in Montreal. Should we find the budget, the final report will also be translated into French. An executive summary is however available in both languages.

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List of abbreviations

Abb.	*French or Spanish*	*English translation*
ASME	Action Saint-Michel Est	Action Saint-Michel East
CLSC	Centre local de services communautaires	Local Community Service Centre
DPJ	Direction de la protection de la jeunesse	Direction of Youth Protection
GAJ	Groupe Action Jeunesse	Youth Action Group
ICPC		International Centre for the Prevention of Crime
MAP	Module d'action par projet	Action Module by Project
NCPC		National Crime Prevention Centre of Canada
PDQ	Poste de quartier	Police Neighbourhood Quarter
PSI	Programme de suivi intensif	Intensive Monitoring Program
RECIM	Réseau continental de recherche sur l'informalité dans les métropoles	Continental research network on informality in cities
SIP		Security Infrastructure Program
SPVM	Service de police de la ville de Montréal	Police Service of the City of Montreal
USE	Unidad de Seguridad Escolar	School Safety Unit
VESPA	Laboratoire Ville et ESPAces politiques	Laboratory City and Political Spaces
VSMS	Vivre Saint-Michel en santé	Living Healthily in Saint-Michel
YGPF		Youth Gang Prevention Fund

Introduction

Montreal has witnessed cyclical concerns about youth violence and street gangs. The threat is often "politically" constructed. Currently, Mexico City is struggling with a pervasive sense of insecurity. While the threat in Canada was largely attributed to mafias and organized crime throughout the 1990s (Sheptycki 2003), fear has crystallised on the figure of the young gang member in Mexico and Canada in the past few years. As Ungar writes,

> *[y]outh thus become objects of collective fear, seen not as individuals but for the anxieties they cause and the jarring cultural changes they are seen to embrace. The particular impulsiveness of youths, wrapped up in their hostility to tradition and authority, only serves to aggravate these tensions. (Ungar 2009: 208)*[1]

As a result, youths become the target of police action in public spaces. New repression measures are implemented, such as zero-tolerance policies or anti-gang operations, combined with a strengthened set of preventive actions ranging from youth brigades, to participatory youth projects, to community policing. In Montreal, preventive programs are generously financed by the Quebec Government and the Government of Canada. The money is channelled in priority boroughs selected on the basis of their scoring on a set of risk factors (such as household socio-economic status, school dropout rates, number of single-parent households, proportion of immigrants, general state of the built environment, the presence of gang activities in the borough, etc.). In Mexico City, particularly under the mayorship of Lopez Obrador (2000-2005), police reforms focused on community-run policing programs. The City of Mexico now has several programs for "at-risk" youths, including community youth brigades. Notably, and as discussed in greater detail in the Mexico section, today the *Policía Sectorial*, which is centrally overseen by the City, manages an outreach program for youth in schools that attempts to connect youth and police in a non-threatening environment. In addition to the citywide effort, Iztapalapa, the only borough in Mexico City with Auxiliary police directly under its command, also has a small team of Auxiliary police officers that implement similar efforts within the *delegación*. These programs are the closest thing to gang prevention efforts conducted by police in this borough.

Such area-based approaches to crime prevention are reflected in the United Nations *Guidelines for the Prevention of Crime* (2002) and the earlier United Nations *Guidelines for the Prevention of Urban Crime* (1995), which call for a *local* approach to

[1] As we will see, it is not always that simple. In Iztapalapa in Mexico City, while youth are indeed hostile towards authority (i.e. police), they do not seem to be rebelling against tradition, which in the barrios seems to reinforce the types of actions they undertake.

problem solving, taking into account the context of vulnerability to being victimized and/or to offending, as well as local resources. Situational approaches build on the "broken windows theory" (Wilson and Kelling 1982) among others, and community crime prevention, which includes consideration of such issues as social capital. The literature on street gangs by criminologists or psychologists (Goldstein 1991; Thornberry et al. 1993; Hawkins 1998) are also relevant. The concern is generally to find causal relationships between background factors (or risk factors) and illegal or violent acts, in order to point towards elements in which to intervene preventively.

Over the course of the 1990s, this came to be known as the "new penology" (Feely and Simon 1992), which positions the criminal as a statistical probability to manage. Crime is not conceptualized as transgression; it is understood as the result of the accumulation of risk factors in a territory or an individual. Following this logic, the prevention system aims more to neutralize danger by regulating risks than by punishing or rehabilitating individuals. The stigmatizing effects of this (such as ghettoizing and/or racial profiling) have been largely documented by urban geographers and sociologists (Davis 1998; Symons 1999; Romero 2006; Wacquant 2006; Dikeç 2007). The work of Philoctète at the Maison d'Haïti in Saint-Michel in Montreal (confirmed by the data presented here) has documented how youths perceive the stigmatizing effects of prevention programs and research on their neighbourhood.

Yet Saint-Michel has been very innovative in its approach to issues of street crime and insecurity in the borough, developing a comprehensive crime prevention approach which encompasses a range of socio-cultural, developmental and structural concerns. The neighbourhood police work on an area-based logic given the administrative structures in place, but recognize Saint-Michel as a community as well. The neighbourhood has seen many projects beyond gang prevention: support services of all types, work with migrant communities, cross-sector partnerships, community mobilization, etc. As Fady Dagher, former Police Commandant in Saint-Michel, said in a presentation at the 12th UN Congress in Salvador, they are trying to explicitly move from "zero tolerance" to "tolerance". Much of this local approach is focused on the neighbourhood and the immediate community. Yet, a previous project has shown how moving around the city is important to youths and contributes greatly to their development (Cissé and Boudreau 2009; Guthrie 2009; Boudreau, Janni, and Chatel, 2011; see also Madzou and Bacqué 2008). This mobile and fluid aspect of youths' everyday life is not always taken into account in prevention projects in Montreal and Mexico City.

The developments in Saint-Michel are encouraging, but the youths to whom we spoke still feel at a distance from these programs and labelled as "vulnerable". The previous research conducted by VESPA has highlighted depoliticization (making delinquency a technical, rather than a publicly debatable problem) as an important effect of these preventive approaches (Boudreau, Janni, and Chatel 2011). It became clear that one of the important effects of preventive measures framed by "at-risk" categorizations is to deny youths any sense of meaningful socio-political agency. As a street worker stated, "it is important to humanize the gang. In it, there are individuals with broken lives" (November 18, 2008, our translation). Viewing gangs as a technical problem of risk management depoliticizes the issue, while stripping youths of individual and group subjectivity. They are seen as vulnerable to gang recruitment rather than as individuals and groups able to act intentionally and autonomously. Parazelli's (2004) work with street youths in Montreal demonstrates how they create their own autonomous space of action in reaction to the effects of this risk management logic of preventive action. Fortunately, some innovative projects on youth participation are seeking to counteract this (ICPC Youth Resource Guide 2010). With this project, we seek to contribute to this search for solutions.

1.1 Research objectives

1.1.1 OBJECTIVE 1: UNDERSTANDING THE RELATION BETWEEN INFORMAL MILIEUS AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF CITIZENSHIP

The two areas compared in this project were selected because they are targeted by gang prevention programs for "at-risk" youths and they are known for their histories of informality.[2] While policies framing prevention programs largely function on a clearly delimited area-based logic, we prefer to speak in terms of informal milieus. This leaves open the question of boundaries. We worked from the definition provided by youths themselves, whether they act on the basis of a clearly defined "turf" or whether they show a more mobile and fluid rapport to space. The milieu is a spatialized, but also a social notion with specific economic, cultural and political characteristics. Davis (2007) has shown that in milieus with histories of informality, there is a concentration of violence caused by competition between mafias controlling illicit activities in this space and formal commercial interests that want to develop the area. This is particularly visible in Mexico's historical center or the Émilie Gamelin Park in Montreal, to give two examples. But even far from the city center in residential neighbourhoods such as Saint-Michel and the seven barrios of Iztapalapa, where informal activities flourish,

[2] We define informality as all activities (that may be unregulated but not necessarily illegal) escaping from state control (Castells and Portes 1989).

inhabitants find themselves in spaces "where networks of obligations and reciprocities are not necessarily coincident with or loyal to the institutions of the nation-state, and where sub-local or transnational networks of reciprocity are more significant for their daily lives" (Davis 2010: 407). Networks of reciprocities and obligations between undocumented immigrants are one example, but we should also consider networks of street vendors that are more visible in Mexico. "At-risk" youths are categorized as vulnerable implicitly, because of their positioning in such social and physical spaces with histories of informality. Does this mean, however, that they are not political and social actors? In order to find elements of the answer, this research seeks to better understand the mechanisms behind youth action that may be influenced by their milieu and other structural factors.

The intuition was that "at-risk" youths do not see themselves as social and political outsiders (Becker 1963), but try to act politically as citizens, even if they may sometimes use illicit means. Indeed, as they construct an "alternative network of commitment" (the gang, criminalized or not), they seek recognition by expressing their identity (tags, dress code, name). Katz (1988) has brilliantly shown how the indifferent attitude adopted by many (being tough), or even their posture of rupture (being alien, being mean), are in fact gestures of relation to others. Even destruction is part of a

> *series of tactics for struggling with what the adolescent experiences as a spatially framed dilemma—a challenge to relate the "here" of his personal world to the phenomenal worlds of others who he experiences as existing at a distance, somewhere over "there". (Katz 1988: 112)*

Given that we are particularly interested in youths' relations with the police (and more broadly the state), this clearly implies differentiated power. But we need to specify what kinds of power relations are developed between youths and police. Domination, authority, seduction, manipulation, coercion and so on do not unfold in the same manner on the ground. The kinds of relations existing between youths and police in the two neighbourhoods studied may vary from conflict to avoidance and all the nuances in-between. It varies between the two neighbourhoods as well, if only because of different political contexts and degrees of distinction between the state, the rule of law, and the police. In the exacerbated context of police corruption in Mexico, for instance, negotiation may be a dominant mode of relation between youths and police (Davis 2006; Castillo Berthier and Jones 2009), but our intuition was that we could also find negotiated relationships in Montreal (albeit on different issues or of a different intensity), and not necessarily illicit. We are used to speaking of negotiated relationships in the context of corruption, but our comparative research demonstrates that negotiated relationships occur on a continuum from the illicit (in the case of

corruption) to the licit (in the case of trust-building actions at the local scale). These licit forms of negotiation on the part of the police may sometimes help legitimize the rule of law and the political system, rather than undermine it as in the case of corruption. Even in strong regulatory contexts, informal negotiation often occurs because of the higher costs of formal interventions. This is most visible when dealing with minor problems.

Through our examination of how youths and police interact, we wished to see whether youths make claims on police officers, whether they act contentiously, and whether they see their acts as being a challenge to power (as political gestures). In return, do police officers see them as vulnerable or as autonomous citizens? If the relationship between them takes on a more negotiated than conflicting form, can we still speak of prevention programs as contributing to forming citizens? If citizenship implies practices of contentious claim-making, would informal negotiating practices (bending the rules or freely interpreting them) contribute to achieving the objective set out by prevention programs: forming future citizens? Our research shows that prevention programs sometimes offer new (and safer) venues for interpersonal negotiation. These negotiating practices link police and youth to each other in an interpersonal relationship that tends to have the indirect effect of also linking youth to the rule of law and the political order. This is turn strengthens or at least acknowledges youth citizenship.

1.1.2 OBJECTIVE 2: UNDERSTANDING WHY URBAN FEARS CONTINUE TO FOCUS ON YOUTH DESPITE THE IMPLEMENTATION OF PREVENTION PROGRAMS[3]

The project further aspires to contribute to the broad literature on urban insecurity (Smith 1996; Body-Gendrot 2001; Pain 2001; Hubbard 2003; Macek 2006; Sorkin 2007; Kern 2010; Boudreau and de Alba, 2011; Boudreau and Woods 2011). Most studies on street gangs assume that they are urban (the city is their scene), but rarely do they reflect on this urban-ness and its impact on their logic of action. This is probably due to the predominance of studies by criminologists or psychologists, who do not reflect systematically on urbanity. Yet unlike certain mafias, in their origins, gangs were born in cities, most often in their geographic and social margins (White 1943). From an Urban Studies perspective, we wonder if this urban milieu affects the way they act. Urban sociology, from Wirth (1938) to Sennett (1970), has sought to qualify the urban way of life and its consequences on individual practices and identities. Others, such as Rémy (1990) or Bourdieu (1979), have insisted on codes that structure relationships in a

[3] One of the difficulties in many neighbourhoods is that there is no comprehensive and systematic response in place for children, youth and families that are at risk within various systems – health, education, housing – that is related to crime prevention. There may be time limited projects at best.

context of interactional density in cities, these codes being more accessible to certain privileged groups than to others (urbanity defined as civility). This is at the core of debates on youth violence in France, focused on the notion of incivility (Roché 2002).

Processes of urbanization bring new sets of economic, social, political, and cultural conditions that affect how people act and interact (Boudreau 2010). Urbanization brings more needs for mobility, changing the area-based logic of action prevailing in the modern state system. It requires being able to act rapidly and swiftly as urban rhythms accelerate. It creates complex situations entangled with one another. This makes evaluating the future consequences of an act more difficult. The complexity, fluidity, and rapidity of urban life pose challenges to how people plan and strategize. As more and more people live in urban settings, these characteristics of social, economic, and cultural life come to define the contemporary period. Pedrazzini (1994) suggests that youth in neighbourhoods marked by histories of informality have understood these transformations more than state actors. They have adopted an urban logic of action more attuned to the contemporary period. His work shows how "at-risk" youths in Caracas construct a "culture of emergency" and ruse. They know how to act not only strategically (preventively), but tactically (reactively). This points to a logic of action very different from what putatively drives state action. When youths in Parisian *banlieues* are said to perpetrate "incivilities" or when youths in street gangs are said to be "a-social", the underlying discourse is that they act in a way that is difficult to understand from a modern rational perspective.[4]

Bauman (2005) argues that urban fluidity and complexity is a source of anxiety because it contrasts with modern rationality. Modern rational action is thought to result from calculating the costs and benefits of anticipated consequences (Darwall 2002). Anticipating consequences presupposes control of the unknown, of the uncertain. Such rationality underlies actuarial calculations and risk management techniques sustaining more traditional prevention programs (Borraz 2008). Similarly, civility and social behaviour is considered to rest on people's ability to self-control and integrate social norms, that is, to minimize uncertainties and act with strategic precaution (Goffman 1959). This type of cautious and socially strategic behaviour was not observed by Pedrazzini in his work with "at-risk" youths in Caracas. **Could the gap between the socially expected logic of action and the way youths act in relation to their urban milieu be a more profound source of discomfort than the violence they may perpetrate?** If this is the case, it would redefine the problems that the more traditional

[4] In the context of Belfast, Hamill (2011) shows that youth continue to engage in petty criminal activity even when they know they will be severely punished by Paramilitaries. This seemingly "irrational" behaviour is understandable only if we go beyond the modern rational logic of action. Hamill suggests that this behaviour could be explained by the fact that it is the only way youth can acquire status as they have no work or educational prospects.

prevention programs are aiming to address and pursue the direction suggested by participatory initiatives. In addition to working on "socializing" "at-risk" youths, trying to inculcate in them "civility" and appropriate behaviour by intervening at early stages of their development (as the influential psycho-education theses of R. Tremblay suggest) would also imply recognizing different logics of action and negotiating with them. This would mean changing the state's ways of acting as much as youth's (designing intervention programs through the incorporation of the uncertainty factor).

There is an emerging literature in the field of risk management that explores how uncertainty makes its way in actuarial calculations and prevention tools (particularly with regards to environmental risks). There are also studies exploring how programs and policies are designed to play on citizens' emotions more than their rationality: the colour-coding terrorist alert system in the U.S. (Massumi 2006), airport security measures and the evaluation of facial expressions of emotions (Adey 2009), and so on (Thrift 2004). Although not applied to youth prevention programs, these initiatives demonstrate that policies and programs can indeed be designed with a logic of action closer to what we can observe from youth. **On the ground, studies have shown how police officers often act with less precaution or less "rationality" than is expected of them (see particularly Brodeur 2003; Klinger 1997). This project seeks to better understand these dynamics interactively with youth. By analyzing how (inter)action unfolds –i.e. the shape it takes, the logics of youth and police, and how they evolve in the course of the interaction (processes of accommodation, adjustments, etc.) in concrete situations, we produced a typology of modalities and logics of action that may inspire how intervention programs can be designed differently. This will lead to novel forms of youth engagement (not merely education or disciplining), which can in turn result in safer cities and greater commitment to the state's envisaged community.**

The project is thus focused on social processes in two different settings: Montreal and Mexico City. By comparing dynamics of interaction in two politically and institutionally different contexts, we are trying to do more than simply compare prevention programs and evaluate their local results. We also seek to generate new analytic insight about what works in what context and why. Describing the programs in place, their rationale and their implementation was merely the first step. By zooming in on everyday interactions (and not on interactions during planned events of social mediation, for instance), we then analysed social relations. This brought a fresh set of ideas about the nature of everyday relations between police and youth and when they seemed to work best, information that will hopefully be reproducible in future program design. In short, the research did not simply produce a comparison of programs (best

practices) but also a typology of how youth and police interact in situations, why they do so, and whether these interactions are constructive or not. By uncovering logics of relational action, we may transform the way we conceptualize preventive intervention and encourage participatory initiatives. This can enhance the police capacity to build on youths' more "grounded" urban knowledge and may be helpful for police practice. It also helps in understanding the milieu in which youths act and the reasons for acting the way they do.

1.2 Research questions

Most socio-anthropological approaches look at gangs from the inside, as a form of social organization (Thrasher 1927; Sanchez-Jankowski 1991; Bourgois 1995; Agier 1999) that is seductive and attractive (Katz 1988; Campbell 2005), and is in search of recognition and legitimacy (Peddrazzini et al. 1994). Yet, not much attention has been given to externally-oriented or relational gestures: how do they enter in contact or interface with the state (most specifically the police)? How do they constitute themselves as actors in their neighbourhood, in the city at large, in society? The micro-unfolding of interactions between youth and police is rarely examined, the assumption being that such interactions are conflicting, repressive, or dominating. Specific attention is given by criminologists to interactions in planned settings of community social mediation or at school (Hamel et al. 2003). If "street-level" or everyday interactions are considered, they tend to be discussed from the point of view of the police (Klinger 1997). In this project, we wish to zoom in on these "fortuitous" interactions in order to better understand:

1) Whether and how "at-risk" youths constitute themselves as individual and collective social and political actors? What image of themselves do they seek to project? What means do they develop to act?

2) Whether and how police officers recognize "at-risk" youths' subjectivity and capacity to act socially and politically (are they seen as vulnerable, dangerous, annoying, lucrative, collaborative, innovative, etc.)? This question is about police perceptions. We have also been concerned with a sub-question: how do police officers enable or constrain youths' subjectivity and capacity to act socially and politically?

3) How and where specifically do youths and police interact in everyday neighbourhood situations? On what modes are these interactions unfolding (conflict, domination, negotiation, accommodation, etc.)?

4) What are, comparatively, the underlying logics of action guiding youths and police? Is there a predominance of strategizing (anticipating consequences, projecting an act into the future) or more insistence on tactical reactive and often unpredictable movements? Is their logic of action motivated by conflict, cooperation, negotiation, etc.? Do they think of their space of action on a territorial (area-based) or fluid and mobile basis? We have sought to be attentive to both motivations and logics of action (how action unfolds). It might be that what one party identifies as domination (youths), another would identify as negotiation (police), for example, owing to the status, power, or territoriality ascribed to the interaction. We paid special attention to theorizing the role of mobilities and youth/police relationships to territory in the construction of citizenship.

5) What other social actors *mediate* these interactions, in what ways (and spaces), how and why? (families, political leaders (formal and informal), merchants, and miscellaneous other adults – with attention paid to gender patterns). It may be that the presence or absence of mediating actors in the police-youth relation is what determines a) the nature of citizenship or b) the extent to which residents still associate youths with fear and crime.

1.3 Methodology

In Montreal and Mexico, we used the following broad criteria for selecting the neighbourhoods in which fieldwork was to be conducted:

- The neighbourhood is targeted for gang prevention and interventions, has active prevention programs

- The neighbourhood has a history of informal activities because this is implicitly why they have been identified as concentrations of risk factors. It is important to better understand street culture/life, where interactions are more likely to take place

- In each neighbourhood, we identified specific sites of observation where there are police-youth encounters (near housing complexes, schools, subway stations, etc.). These encounters are not organized (as in community meetings or social mediation) but are simply daily encounters through police patrols. Our goal is to qualify the types of encounters, not necessarily to measure the intensity of youth-police interactions

In both places, the data collection consisted of:

- More than 30 in-depth interviews with youths, police, and local actors for each case
- Systematic observations in the selected public sites, as well as participation in community activities with the police
- A policy review of youth policing and urban insecurity in each city

The two cases being very different, particular challenges forced us to adapt our methodology to local situations. These circumstances are briefly described below.

1.3.1 MEXICO CITY

Upon receipt of funding for the research project, it remained unclear what geographic area of Mexico City would be studied. Thus, the first methodological step was selecting the geographic location that would serve as the backdrop for the study. Ultimately, the seven neighbourhoods in Iztapalapa were chosen for two reasons. Firstly, Iztapalapa has some of the highest rates of marginalization (e.g. poverty and unemployment) in Mexico City and is generally regarded as one of the city's most violent boroughs and a hotbed for criminal activity. This reality fits the contextual requirements under which the research questions were to be explored. At the same time, it creates a dangerous environment for research of this nature. Specifically, the level of violence and illicit activities in certain neighbourhoods and areas of the borough make them prohibitively dangerous to travel through or within, especially for long periods of time. Nonetheless, while the seven neighbourhoods ultimately selected for the study have a high rate of marginalization and are conflictive, they were sufficiently accessible to Héctor Salazar Salame for the purpose of conducting this research.

It should be noted that even in areas of the borough where a researcher may face lesser eminent danger (including the seven neighbourhoods), it is critical to have local connections that facilitate access to its residents' trust, and in turn, their willingness to be interviewed. In other words, it was important to have a mediating party that served as a social translator/facilitator between residents and the researcher, both for reasons of safety and access. Against this backdrop, through connections Héctor Salazar Salame made during the first two weeks of February 2010, he was introduced to a local resident of one of the seven neighbourhoods selected for the study who agreed to serve this role.

Successfully enlisting the support of Mr. Epifanio Margarito Ruiz Urrea (Margarito for short)[5] is the second reason for our decision to focus on these seven neighbourhoods of Iztapalapa for this research project.

Once the geographic area of study was selected, Héctor Salazar Salame began data collection, including interviews with local government officials, residents, and police officers, as well as first-person observation of social relations in the neighbourhoods. Between February 28 and March 28, he spent approximately 180 hours in the seven neighbourhoods (an average of 9 hours per day). Of the 180 hours, approximately 60 were spent interviewing youths and police, and activities such as eating and setting up meetings. The remaining 120 were active observation hours. Active observation was by and large conducted by traveling with Margarito on a moped through the neighbourhoods at various hours of the day (from as early as 9am to as late as 3am). Ultimately, it is not an exaggeration to state that he traveled through and observed social interactions –or lack thereof –on just about every street, alleyway, and main thoroughfare at least once in the morning, afternoon, evening and late at night. During the active observation periods, he kept a keen eye out for police and youth locations and activities, and interactions between these two actors. Notably, however, he never witnessed a youth-police interaction first hand. In part, he attributes this fact to his active observation model that largely consisted of mobile observation. For safety reasons, he deemed it too risky to spend large amounts of time stationary, particularly at night. He attempted to conduct stationary observations in public places during the day, but as discussed further in this document, youths tend to be the most active once the sun goes down.

Most of the interviews Héctor Salazar Salame conducted with police officers and youths took place on the street when he encountered these actors throughout his active observation activities. Interviews with public officials were pre-arranged and took place in the interviewees' offices. A detailed table of the interviews conducted for this research can be found in the Appendices. Figure 1 below presents a snapshot of these interviews. In total, he conducted 38 semi-structured, recorded interviews representing 54 unique individuals. Note that the total was actually 56, yet he excluded two youth interviews because they were not from the seven barrios studied. In all cases, interviewees were introduced to the research project and presented a verbal dictation of the informed consent form both before recording began and at the beginning of the

[5] Note that the umbrella research project agreed to pay Mr. Margarito a financial support commensurate to his lost wages, given the significant amount of time he spent aiding data collection over the course of a month of full-time fieldwork.

recorded interview. All agreed verbally to be recorded and to participate in the interview. All youths and police and all but two public official interviews were transcribed. Copies of the transcriptions and the recordings are all safely stored electronically.

Figure 1: Snapshot of interviews in Mexico City

	# of Interviews/Individuals		Interviews facilitated By:			
	Interviews	Individuals	No one (Random)	Marg.	Gov.	Other
Youth	21	30	1	11		7
Police	8	17	5	0	3	
Public Officials	9	8	2	1	5	1
TOTAL	38	54	8	12	8	8

As reflected in the table, the vast majority of youth interviews were conducted one-on-one. Five youth interviews were group interviews with two to four participants each. Eleven of the youth interviews were directly facilitated by Margarito; three were facilitated by the director of a Secondary School for Working Adults who was kind enough to allow access to the school and identify students that met the age range and resided in the neighbourhoods; two were facilitated by a taco stand owner who knows Margarito and knows some youths that drop by to eat at her stand; one was facilitated by the father of the interviewee; and one was facilitated by the sister of the interviewee. By the facilitation of an interview, we refer to an introduction to the interviewee. At no time did any of the "facilitators" coach the interviewees or interject during the interviews so as to steer the conversation. On various occasions, Héctor Salazar Salame attempted to introduce himself directly to youth to ask for an interview. Every time he did so, except on one occasion, he was denied. In short, without the support of stated facilitators, particularly Margarito who is well known in the neighbourhoods, this research would not have been possible.

Eight interviews with police were conducted for the research project, five of which were random, meaning that Héctor Salazar Salame approached officers walking or driving the beat to request an interview. Government officials facilitated three interviews: the Borough Government facilitated the first with the special prevention unit of Auxiliary Police of the Iztapalapa. This interview included six officers. The Borough Government also facilitated the second, which consisted of interviewing two Auxiliary police

officers during a ride-along throughout Iztapalapa. The third was facilitated by the Metropolitan Police department's *Unidad de Protección Escolar*, which consisted of a ride-along to various presentations at schools in Iztapalapa with two officers.

Héctor Salazar Salame conducted nine interviews with current and past public officials including: the current General Coordinator for Public Security in Iztapalapa, the trainer of all Auxiliary police officers in the Municipality; the former president of the Municipality; a public outreach government public servant; the youth programs coordinator for the Municipality and one of her district coordinators; the principal at the secondary school for working adults located in the seven neighbourhoods; and the head of the special prevention unit of the borough's Auxiliary Police. He was able to schedule most of these interviews through door knocking, phone calls and referrals thereafter. As an example of the latter, the General Coordinator for Public Security connected and introduced him to the Auxiliary Police trainer.

In addition to the aforementioned formal interviews, Héctor Salazar Salame held scores of informal conversations with local residents during the course of his research. Combined, his active observation, and formal and informal interviews with actors in the seven neighbourhoods allow him to paint a relatively nuanced picture of the spatial and social dynamics of the neighbourhoods, though by no means can he consider himself an expert on the topic, let alone a *nativo* of the area.

1.3.2 MONTREAL

In Montreal, we knew from the beginning that we would focus on Saint-Michel, having conducted research there since 2008. Data collection was primarily conducted by Alain Philoctète, who had conducted an internship at the Maison d'Haïti during the summer of 2008 and wrote his Master's thesis on the neighbourhood (Philoctète 2011), and Clémence Élizabeth, who was doing a five-month internship in Montreal between March and August 2011. Olivier Chatel, who had completed an internship at the Direction de la diversité sociale de la Ville de Montréal in 2010, was also employed by the community organization Tandem Saint-Michel during our fieldwork. Olivier also wrote his Master's thesis on the neighbourhood (Chatel 2011).

We therefore had a good knowledge of the area before starting this research. Given that we began data collection during the winter, street observations were delayed until the weather made it possible. We firstly focused on interviews with youths. In total, we formally interviewed 23 youths, eight of whom were youth patrollers from the Maison

d'Haïti (see Appendices for details). In addition, we conducted nine interviews with other local actors (including six with police officers). Figure 2 shows how interviewees were approached.

Figure 2: Snapshot of interviews in Montreal

	# of Interviews/Individuals		Interviews facilitated By:	
	Interviews	Individuals	No one (Random)	Youth patrollers
Youth	23	23	14	9
Police	4	6	4	0
Public Officials	3	4	3	0
TOTAL	30	33	21	9

It was not easy, as in Mexico City, to approach youths. Youth patrollers played an important role in giving us access, either by arranging interviews directly, or by introducing Clémence Élizabeth and Alain Philoctète informally to youths during our observations periods. We tried to vary in terms of ethnic origins (although we have a majority of Haitians) and between males and females.

In order to observe interactions between youth and police officers, we chose two sites particularly frequented by both groups: the exits of two important public mixed high schools in Saint-Michel, Louis-Joseph Papineau and François-Perrault (Figure 3). In the Quebec school system, high schools (which follow elementary school) admit students from 12 to 17 years old and last five cycles of one year each. When completed, students receive a high school diploma and can, if they wish, go to college for two or three years before heading to university.

Our first site of observation was Louis-Joseph Papineau High School, in the northern part of St-Michel, 3 km north-west of the Saint-Michel subway station. This school, unsightly architecturally speaking, is quite badly positioned in the School Board ranking because of its academic credentials and "student behaviour". Figure 4 illustrates the main entrance of the school. There is another entrance, but it is not commonly used.

Figure 3 : Localization of the two sites of observation

Figure 4 : Louis-Joseph Papineau High School's main entrance

Almost adjacent to the school is the Collège Reine-Marie, a high school for girls, many of whom come from other neighbourhoods. We observed no interactions at all between students from these two schools, despite their proximity. Contrasts between the two populations seemed important to maintain for the young girls. Around this school are two pizzerias along the Saint-Michel Boulevard, the Café Louvain (apparently private), and a convenience store on Louvain Avenue. This street leads to the Champdoré Park, which has soccer fields, American football, basketball courts, and a playground for children. Our observation site included the school and the park. The neighbourhood around the school is highly residential, as shown in the picture below.

Figure 5 : 6th Avenue, in the Louis-Joseph Papineau High School neighbourhood

On Saint-Michel Boulevard, 900 meters further, is the Maison d'Haïti. It is worth mentioning that all students wear a uniform: a dark blue t-shirt (the colour of the neighborhood gangs, see police section on page 51) and black trousers. The girls of the Collège de Reine-Marie have a very different outfit: a white blouse, checked skirt and white tights.

Our second observation site was the François-Perrault High School and its park, located in the southern part of St-Michel. Students of this school do not wear a uniform. It is an area more frequented than the Papineau surroundings, thanks to the Saint-Michel subway station that is 300 metres away.

Figure 6 : François-Perrault High School

Around the park, one can find a few fast food restaurants, highly frequented by the school students. The PDQ 30, the Saint-Michel Police Station, is 700 meters away on Saint-Michel Boulevard. This park is very popular amongst the youths, particularly since its redesign in 2000. It is indeed a very welcoming park, with a free outdoor pool, tennis courts, a soccer field (not very well maintained, unfortunately), a basketball court, and an ice rink (converted into a basketball court during the summer months). There are many tables and with its hexagonal shape, it is easy to cruise around it by car, which is very convenient for police patrols. Adjacent to the park are some of the borough hall offices (as seen on the right hand side of the photo on the right – Figure 7) and a public library.

Figure 7 : François-Perrault Park

We completed around ten periods of observation after class hours in each site, for two hours or more, with a tape recorder (to record notes) a GPS, and a camera on each site. During these periods of observation, Alain Philoctète and Clémence Élizabeth walked around the site, looking for youths (what they were doing, where they were, what they were wearing), for police patrols, and noting reactions of other people passing by. They

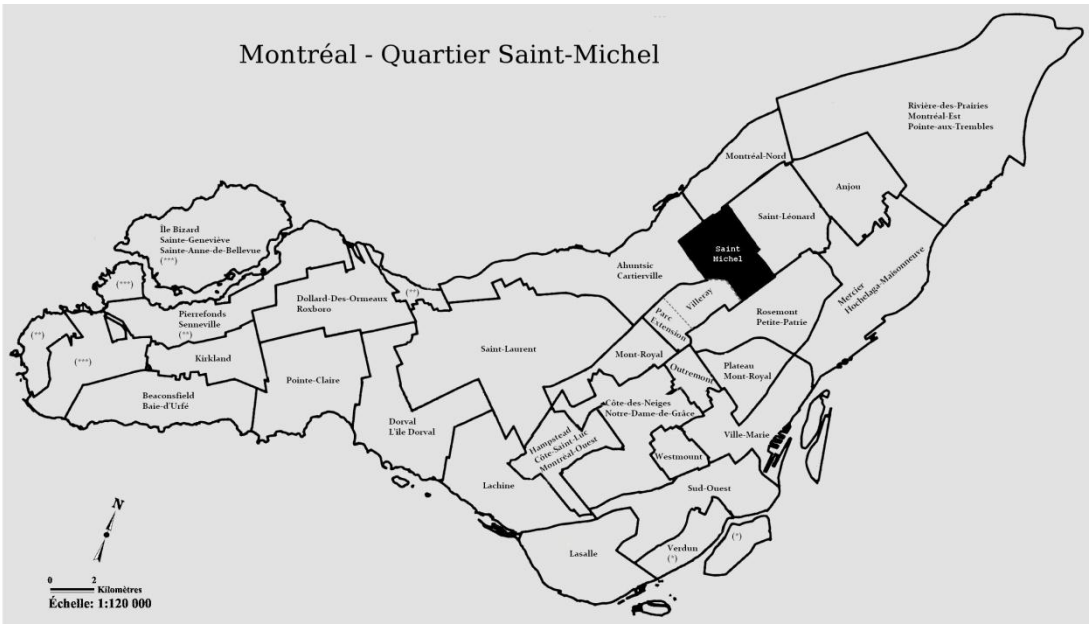
were specifically looking for police-youth interactions, direct or indirect. The GPS enabled us to map where they walked around during the observation period, and thus to exactly locate where an interaction occurred. Notes were recorded with a small microphone attached to their coats. Photos were taken only rarely in order to avoid intimidating people and solely to capture the general landscape. As soon as they came back to the office, recorded notes were transcribed (see Appendices for details).

PART I: THE CASE OF SAINT-MICHEL IN MONTREAL

1. THE SAINT-MICHEL NEIGHBOURHOOD

Saint-Michel is a neighbourhood situated in the northern central part of the Island of Montreal, in the Villeray-Saint-Michel-Parc-Extension borough.

Figure 8: Localization of the Saint-Michel neighbourhood



Source: Laboratoire VESPA

The Saint-Michel neighbourhood is marked by the development of the Francon and Miron quarries, built in 1912 for the extraction of the rock used in the fabrication of cement and that now occupy 40 % of the neighbourhood, and by the absence of urban planning until the 1970s. The neighbourhood is also divided by the Metropolitan Highway. One consequence of this lack of planning is the juxtaposition of both housing and industry in some areas.

1.1 Population

In 2006, the neighbourhood population was quite stable with 55,029 inhabitants. The percentage of persons under 18 years old is 22.8%, a higher rate than the Montreal average, which is 18%. While Saint-Michel saw a rise of 2.5% in its total population between 1996 and 2001, it gained 11% more youths between 10 and 14 years old over the same period (Côté 2009).

1.1.1 HOUSEHOLDS

Saint-Michel is a family neighbourhood. Indeed, 66.5% of the total 22,090 households are families, which is more than the Montreal average (57.1%). Even the number of families with children (48.2%) is higher than the city average (35.7%). What is notable in the neighbourhood is the proportion of single-parent families (19.9%); Saint-Michel occupies the first rank in this category (the Montreal average is 11.4%). Between 1996 and 2001, the number of single-parent families grew by almost 13%. The Police Service of the City of Montreal (SPVM) concludes that "the precarious economic situation in which many of those families live, as well as the more widespread childcare deficiency, is not unrelated to the emergence, among young people, of adaptation problems (emotional, social, academic, etc.) associated to delinquency" (Côté 2009). Indeed, the Local Community Service Centre (CLSC) Saint-Michel is ranked fifth (out of 29) regarding the number of cases reported by the Direction de la Protection de la Jeunesse (DPJ).

1.1.2 EDUCATION

The neighbourhood is poorly educated with 29.9% of the 25 to 64 years old population lacking a high school diploma (13.5% in Montreal), and only 18.4% have a university degree (40.9% in Montreal) (Côté 2009).

1.1.3 DIVERSITY - IMMIGRATION

Since the Second World War, Saint-Michel has been an immigration neighbourhood. After the war, a high number of Italian immigrants settled in the neighbourhood where the land was affordable and the quarries offered work. From the 1970s onwards, a new wave of immigrants arrived, mainly Haitians and Latinos. During the 1990s, the immigration pattern was affected by an important number of Haitians and a higher number of North Africans.

As a result, almost half of the inhabitants are immigrants (46.8%), ranking the neighbourhood fifth in comparison to other neighbourhoods in Montreal (the average is 30%). One inhabitant out of eleven is born outside Canada and immigrated within the last five years into the neighbourhood (Côté 2009). The second generation of immigrants of 15 years old and more represents 13.3% of the total population, while 50% are visible minorities (against an average of 24.4% in Montreal). We noted in the interviews that not only do most of the young Blacks in the neighbourhood speak Creole (in addition to French), but it is also a fashionable trend.

1.1.4 ECONOMY

For the first half of the 20th century, Saint-Michel was a prosperous industrial and mining neighbourhood. The 1960s marked the beginning of the economic decline, which reached its peak in the 1980s with the economic crisis. The neighbourhood is ranked third in Montreal for its unemployment rate (7.6% in 2006). The workers' profile is quite different than the rest of Montreal, with 17.5% unskilled labour (i.e. one worker out of six), against an average of 7.3%. Only one worker out of eight belongs to the category of professionals and managers.

The direct consequences of this lack of employment and of the workers' profile is the inhabitants' low incomes. The proportion of households that declare incomes between $10,000 and $60,000 is higher than the average, and less than one household out of 20 admits incomes higher than $80,000. More importantly, one household out of four reports low income (Côté 2009), that is a household that dedicates 64% or more of its income to food, housing and clothing. Saint-Michel is therefore one of the most underprivileged neighbourhoods in Montreal.

1.2 Building - Housing

1.2.1 HOUSING

Between 2001 and 2006, the number of housing units built was less than 10% of the Montreal average. The proportion of housing that needs major repair is 17% higher than average. Moreover, in Saint-Michel, seven out of ten housing units are occupied by tenants. The households invest a large part of their budget in housing. An important consequence of this family-oriented and warm neighbourhood (where everybody knows everybody) is that the people of Saint-Michel move less frequently than those living elsewhere and there are fewer new residents each year (2.9% compared to 4.8% in Montreal).

1.2.2 BUILT ENVIRONMENT

The neighbourhood is crossed from east to west by the Metropolitan Highway. The main roads north-south are the Pie-IX Boulevard and the Saint-Michel Boulevard. Along these roads, and Jean-Talon Street, are most of the services and shops. The neighbourhood is quite accessible, thanks to the subway (Saint-Michel station) and to the various bus lines.

The Saint-Michel neighbourhood is firstly a residential area, but one can find a high number of industries on the north side of the Metropolitan Highway, and in particular in the eastern part of the Saint-Michel quarry, along the Pie-IX Boulevard where vegetation and houses are both present. The intense urban development without planning that occurred after the Second World War is responsible for much pollution and noise in certain sectors adjacent to industries. Moreover, the conversion of the Miron quarry into a landfill in the 1960s contributed to the degradation of the quality of life in the neighbourhood.

Figure 9: Land use in Saint-Michel

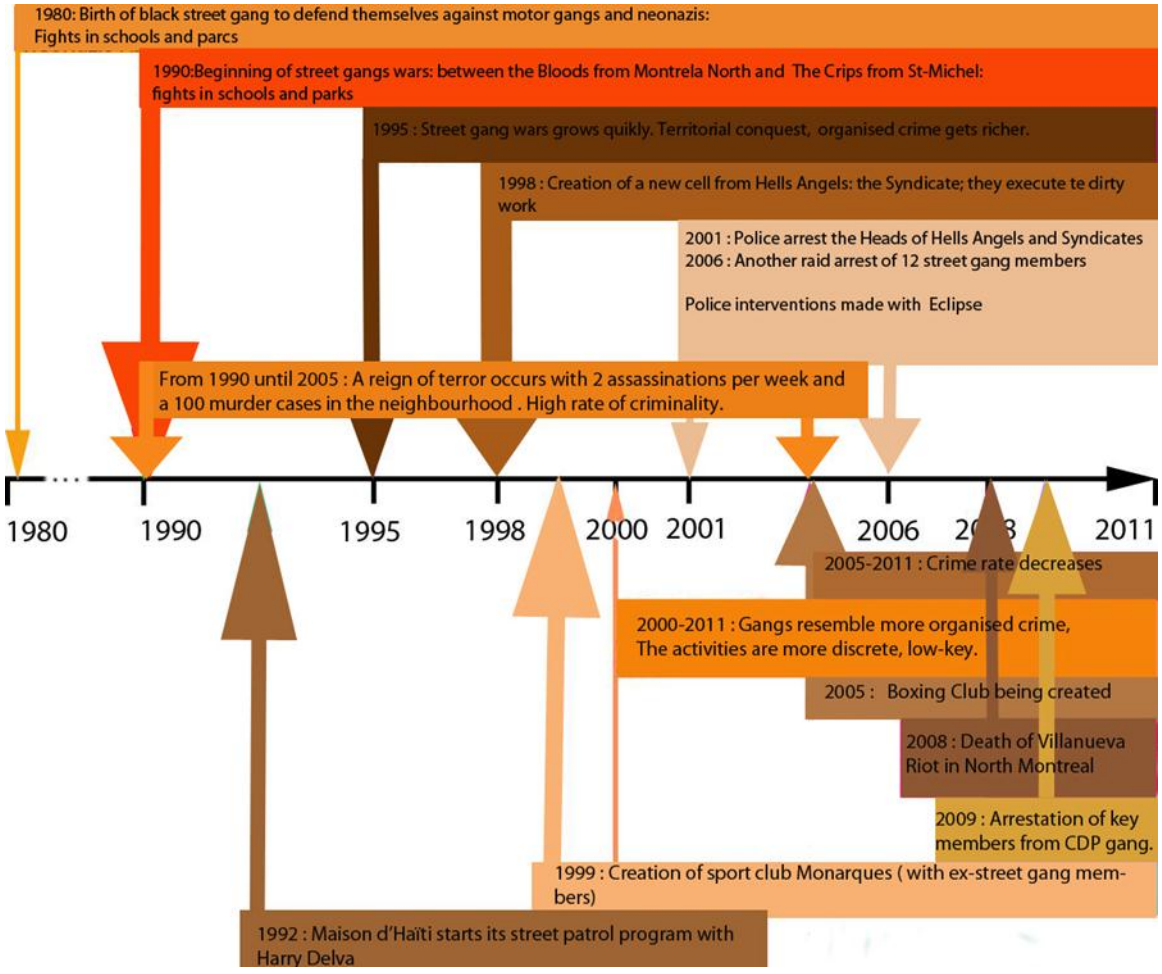
Source: Atlas Villeray Saint-Michel Parc-Extension par la Ville de Montréal 2004

Considering its population weakened by the difficulties of integration, a difficult economic situation for households and a neighbourhood affected by noise, as well as its visual aspects and the lack of infrastructure, it is unsurprising that the area is considered "at-risk".

1.3 Criminality

The neighbourhood also has a history of gang-related criminality.

Figure 10: Chronology of the development of street gangs, 1980-2011



Source : Laboratoire VESPA

Before the 1980s, the only criminalized groups were White gangs, mainly outlaw motorcycle gangs (Hell's Angels) who practiced organized crime. They controlled Montreal. Yet, in the 1980s, the Haitian population grew in Saint-Michel, but soon they become victims of the biker gangs and other groups of young white neo-Nazis. As an example, a politician in the Villeray-Saint-Michel-Parc-Extension, of Haitian origin, told us in an interview that in the early 1990s, his younger brother was beaten up with a chain by bikers at the end of a school day. To defend themselves against these biker gangs and violent racism, young black Haitians formed youth gangs; at the beginning of the 1980s, the predominant gangs were the Bélanger and Master B.

In the 1990s, the situation worsened and serious gang wars began. The first coloured street gangs appeared in the 1990s with the Crips choosing blue, the colour of the powerful gang of Los Angeles (although there is no relation with that group) and controlling Saint-Michel, and the Bloods adopting the red colour from another Californian gang. A real reign of terror developed between 1990 and 2005. Gangs recruited and went to war with each other; a violent war with guns that became lethal to many gang members and innocent people. A police officer who has worked in Saint-Michel since the 1990s related this particular event: at the beginning of the 1990s, the Bloods did a drive-by-shooting into a park that belonged to the Crips, a revenge attack. No Crips were touched, but a pregnant woman and her boyfriend, who were passing by, died. The war was open and visible; it was out there, on the streets. And no one complained for fear of reprisals.

> *Saint-Michel, at the time, was really chaos; there were gun fights everywhere, there was no place in the neighbourhood, except maybe in the south-west, in the area of the (-) and still, the Latinos were there. There was great disturbance; it really was chaos. It was the beginning of the street gangs, so it was more about recognition… it was really… for them, being recognized as a gang meant instigating terror: "this is our territory". You couldn't decide to throw a party in a park without inviting them, you really didn't want to invite them; you really didn't want them around. But if you didn't invite them, they would come and fire off and beat up everybody, it was really this, it was really chaos… at a baptism, if the guys weren't invited, they would turn up, beat up the guys with baseball bats, they made a horrible mess, and at the end, there was two guys stabbed and then after that they left, they ran away, they went away, in short, it was chaos.*

During this period, gangs were responsible for two attempted murders weekly and seven murders annually in Montreal, with an average of four murders per year in Saint-Michel alone. But this rise of violence was also linked to the enrichment and the development of gangs within the criminal world. Gangs in the 1990s evolved and their activities became more and more illegal. At the beginning of the 1990s, their main objective was territorial conquest, either to defend themselves against other gangs, or for the prestige

of the conquest. They survived thanks to bullying, petty thefts, and the sale of drugs at a local scale. But from the mid-1990s, the gangs following the path of the Hell's Angels understood that they could become richer by committing targeted robberies, home invasions, extortions and infiltration in the shops downtown. Their level of organization increased and above all, they forged closer alliances with organized crime. Notably, in the 1998, the Syndicate was formed; a gang of young Blacks in the pay of the Hell's Angels. The Syndicate carried out the bikers' "dirty work", allowing the latter to be less involved in the crimes themselves and for the Syndicate to make more money.

Thus, from the end of 1990s, these veteran youths became adults in the street gangs, involved in organized crime. They have nothing to do with the youths who hang around the school doors after classes and the metro station, they aren't dressed in red or blue from head to toe, and they try not to attract attention. This radicalization of street gangs and the evolution of their activities, notably in the 2000s, was also a consequence of the arrest of the main characters of the Hell's Angels during spring 2001, thus leaving a free space on the fields owned by the street gangs.

Paradoxically, although gangs became more radicalized, richer, and more involved in organized crime, criminality rates dropped from the 2000s and a certain peace began to settle in the neighbourhood, mainly from 2005. This is explained by the fact that "trouble can trouble many transactions" (Gagnon 2008). Between 2005 and 2008, there was a reduction in the infractions to the Criminal Code of 12.5%, while the average for Montreal was a drop of just 4.6%. Crimes against the person dropped by 6%, while they increased for Montreal. Crimes against property dropped by 16.5%; in Montreal, by just 8.5%.

Between 2007 and 2008, the crime rates remained stable in Saint-Michel, whereas they increased by 2.6% for the rest of Montreal, including a 10.7% increase in crimes against the person (6.9% in Saint-Michel). In 2008, the district saw only two homicides (not necessarily related to street gangs; we do not have this information) and three attempted murders. Despite these stable rates, it is clear that Saint-Michel is a still neighbourhood that is more criminalized than the average, particularly in terms of crimes against the person, murders and attempted murders, which illustrates the presence of street gangs in the neighbourhood. Moreover, the crime rate for crimes against the person is currently 15.7% in Saint-Michel compared to 12.9% in Montreal. However, while crime has decreased overall, youth crime rate is still very significant in the area, with a rate of 63.4% compared to 38.6% for all of Montreal (Côté 2009).

This slowing down of the war in the neighbourhood was not only related to the evolution of gang activities, but also due to the important work carried out by all the actors in the area since the 2000s. Indeed, the evolution of gang activities is both a cause and a consequence of the transformation of Saint-Michel into a quieter and less criminalized neighbourhood. Police repression, but also the prevention tools developed by the police and community organizations, eased the war and guided the youths towards other activities. During the 2000s, repression increased. In Saint-Michel, controls of any group on the streets of three youths or more were established. Groups of police officers specialized in the fight against crime, such as Éclipse and Avance, were put in place. This repression led to major arrests of youths, particularly between 2006 and 2009. At the same time, around 2003 to 2005, the police developed a new community-oriented approach in the neighbourhood, and began prevention programs in partnership with various community organizations. In 2005, a police officer created a boxing club for young people, in order to guide the youths towards sports instead of gangs. It was during those years that Fady Dagher, follower of the prevention and community outreach strategies, was appointed commander of the PDQ 30 of Saint-Michel. Close relationships were developed between the police and the community stakeholders. The community network grew in the 2000s, and it is now one of Montreal's neighbourhoods where community work is the most vibrant.

2. INSTITUTIONAL ACTIONS AND PROGRAMS FOR GANG PREVENTION IN SAINT-MICHEL

Since March 1999, crime prevention programs have been financed jointly by the federal government (Ministry of Public Safety) and the provincial government. Indeed, the signing of an agreement (renewed in 2008) between the provincial Ministry of Public Safety and the federal government established joint management through the National Strategy for Crime Prevention, under the responsibility of the NCPC.

The NCPC sets priorities, such as funds and programs (financing programs for infrastructure projects for at-risk communities, equity funds for crime prevention, crime prevention funds in Aboriginal and northern communities…) for which projects to be financed are submitted.

Funding for the prevention of street gangs in Montreal falls, in part, under this agreement by both levels of government, in response to municipal and district programs.

2.1 Federal programs

In the years 2008 to 2009, the federal Government of Canada gave the provincial Government of Quebec a fund of $92.3 M spread over a period of five years. Four priorities were chosen: the fight against street gangs, the war on drugs, cyber-crime and isolated crimes. For our purposes here, $13.6 M was designated to the war on street gangs in Quebec, including $7.5 M for Montreal the first year.

2.1.1 Crime Prevention Action Fund

This federal fund works on two levels: 1) direct crime prevention initiatives based on risk factors for children and youth in local communities; and 2) knowledge mobilization activities built on evidence-based approaches to crime prevention. In both cases, the priority is vulnerable youth and children and problems of street gangs with drug-related activities. The fund also serves for prevention in indigenous communities and to prevent recidivism among high-risk groups. Montreal did not receive youth-gang related money under this program.

2.1.2 Youth Gang Prevention Fund (YGPF)

With the help of a tripartite working group on Community Safety and Crime Prevention (federal-provincial/territorial), at-risk municipalities and groups were identified. The funds were distributed to community groups and municipalities directly from the federal

government in the form of contribution agreements. The NCPC worked with local communities directly, through evaluation processes and the provision of various working tools. They also compiled data on each project in order to facilitate the dissemination of ideas across Canadian local communities. Total funding for this initiative was $33,595,100 from 2006 to 2011. A total of 19 projects were funded across Canada, including two in Montreal: upon approval, the Mini-Poste Project (formerly P'tit Police) was allocated $748,333 from this source, while the Programme de suivi intensif de Montréal - Gangs de rue was allocated $7,498,336 (their total budget is $18,251,486).

2.1.2.1 A project funded under the YGPF in Montreal: the PSI

Deployed in the Saint-Michel-Villeray-Parc-Extension borough and some adjacent streets, the Programme de suivi intensif (PSI) targets individuals from 15 to 25 years old involved in criminal activities related to street gangs or who present a high risk of criminalization through street gangs' activities. It is a program funded by Public Safety Canada (Youth Gang Prevention Fund) and provincial and community partners: Centre jeunesse de Montréal – Institut universitaire, Batshaw Youth and Family Centres, Québec Ministry of Public Safety, Québec Correctional Services, Montréal Police Service, Direction of Public Prosecution Service of Québec, Pact de Rue, Boys and Girls Club of LaSalle, and the City of Montreal. The Centre Jeunesse de Montreal is responsible for the coordination of the project. The PSI is characterized by clinical support, employment assistance and training. For each person, the program requires three to four meetings per week between the concerned individual, stakeholders and occasionally the family, in addition to 20 to 40 hours of weekly participation in activities related to the program (training, volunteer work, job search, leisure activities…). As of October 2011 in Saint-Michel, PSI monitors around twenty individuals.

2.1.3 COMMUNITIES AT RISK: SECURITY INFRASTRUCTURE PROGRAM (SIP)

This program was created in 2007. After three years as a pilot project, it was established as an ongoing program as of 2011, with a budget of $1 M each year. The focus is on supporting the cost and installation of technical infrastructure, such as security cameras, alarm systems, etc. in schools, places of worship, and community centres. As of 2011, 121 projects were funded across Canada, for a total of $3 M. The objective is to prevent hate crimes and to increase awareness of discrimination practices.

2.2 Provincial programs

In addition to federal funds, $34 M was invested by the Government of Quebec for the period of 2008 to 2010 to fight street gangs. The funds were administered by the Ministry of Public Safety. Two areas of action were prioritized: repression and prevention.

In terms of repression, $16.8 M was allocated as follows:

- Criminal and penal prosecutions: $5 M
- Coordination Sécurité du Québec (regional mixed teams): $1.7 M
- Forearms Squads: $4.8 M

The funds devoted to prevention, $17.6 M, were allocated as follows:

- Support for the implementation of preventive measures, support for stakeholders, research and communication: $6.3 M
- Prevention of the recruitment of youths for the purpose of sexual exploitation: $5 M
- Support for parents and cultural communities: $1.8 M
- Intensive surveillance of at-risk delinquents: $4.5 M

The Ministry of Public Safety coordinates the *Quebec Response Plan on Street Gangs 2007-2010*, together with the five following ministries:

- The Ministry of Health and Human Services
- The Ministry of Immigration and Cultural Communities
- The Ministry of Education, Recreation and Sport
- The Ministry of Justice
- The Ministry of Employment and Social Solidarity

This plan is based on a balanced approach, with four axes:

- Prevention
- Repression
- Research and analysis
- Training and communication

Between 2008 and 2011, particular attention was paid to the prevention of recruitment of youths for the purpose of sexual exploitation by street gangs. From 2010 to 2011, 19 projects were funded on this theme (for a total of $1.5 M). Fifteen of these projects took place in Montreal and Quebec City. Seventeen projects were financed for 2009-2010 (for a total of $1.2M, 42% of which were in Montreal):

Figure 11 : Projects funded through the Prevention Program of Recruitment of Youths For The Purpose of Sexual Exploitation by Street Gangs, 2009-2010

Organisation	Project	Funding
Centre des femmes de Montréal-Est/Pointe-aux-Trembles	Ma sexualité m'appartient!	72 480 $
Fondation filles d'action	Travaillons ensemble : pour la prévention de l'exploitation sexuelle des filles	79 917 $
Maison de jeunes de Saint-Léonard Le Zénith	Prévention de la criminalité auprès des jeunes filles (11-14 ans)	38 244 $
Maison des jeunes de Saint-Laurent	Jeunes mais pas à vendre	57 195 $
Maison de transition de Montréal	Formation sur le rôle des filles dans les gangs de rue au Québec	45 000 $
Unité d'intervention mobile l'Anonyme	Basta!	69 049 $
Y des femmes de Montréal / Women's Y of Montréal	S'outiller pour mieux agir	94 156 $
Centre d'aide aux familles latino américaines – CAFLA	L'art d'être une fille !!	66 769 $

Source : www.securitepublique.gouv.qc.ca/police/prevention-criminalite/programmes-financement/exploitation-sexuelle-jeunes/projets-gangs-2009-2010.html

Note that within the Quebec provincial government, the fight against street gangs is part of a "medicalized" discourse. This has been a trend in Quebec since the mid-1990s. Social services are tightly integrated with health services. Thus, the discourse on public health dominates most discussions on social problems. Take for example the introduction to the various measures to "prevent and act on risk behaviour" implemented by the Youth Secretary of the Ministry of the Executive Council of Quebec as part of its Youth Strategy 2009-2014:

> *Some young people are struggling with mental health problems, substance abuse, crime or homelessness. The development of their full potential for their social and professional integration is compromised. To counter the worsening of their problems and promote social integration, intervention must be preventive and mobilize stakeholders. (*www.jeunes.gouv.qc.ca/strategie/defis/sante/prevenir-agir-comportements-a-risque.html*).*

According to the Ministry of the Executive Council of Quebec, the problems related to social and health backgrounds lead to risky behaviour that should be targeted by the same prevention efforts for the purposes of social integration and the fight against delinquency.

The fight against street gangs is part of this perspective, and included in a set of "strategic choices" for which there is an investment totalling $23,025,000 for "health challenges". These actions follow five measures taken by the government, reflecting the focus on problems of child neglect, suicide, and hyper-sexualisation:

- Promote a healthy and responsible sexuality
- Counter the neglect of children between 0 to 12 years old
- Support young people in distress or with mental health problems
- Fight drug abuse
- Counter street gangs

The fight against street gangs includes the fight against child prostitution, which is often related.

The section on street gangs is led by the Ministry of Public Safety, responsible for "the financial support of actions put forward by community organizations in order to prevent youths from joining street gangs" (www.jeunes.gouv.qc.ca/strategie/defis/sante/prevenir-agir-comportements-a-risque.html). This is a partnership approach in which the City and community organizations have an important role to play within the framework established by Quebec. A new action plan was disclosed in December 2010 for the "social rehabilitation of offenders" and "sustainable security". However, there is still no new specific action plan to prevent recruitment in street gangs. In a context of reflection within the SPVM on racial profiling following the riots in Montreal North and the controversial operations of the Eclipse squad, there is debate over the use of the term "street gang" (public consultation by the Commission on Public Security, May 2011).

In the broader context of its Crime Prevention fund, the Quebec Ministry of Public Safety established a funding program redistributing money from seized criminal products. Each year, 1,25M$ are thus redistributed for crime prevention programs. From 2011 to2014, money will be channeled for the "Prevention of youth delinquency". Funded projects will emphasize street work, or proximity work, working in networks and partnerships. For 2011-2012, 26 projects have been financed, of which 51% are in Montreal. Some of the projects financed received funding from the previous *Quebec Response Plan on Street Gangs* (2007-2010), such as a training program for local community and social workers targeted towards the difficulties that girls have in gangs. Another funded program aims to consolidate a community network in Montreal for gang prevention and training again for community and social workers.

Figure 12: Projects funded through the programme for the redistribution money coming from criminal products, 2010-2011

Organisation	Project	Funding
Centre des jeunes Boyce-Viau	C qui ta gang? (phase III)	64 850 $
Centre des jeunes Saint-Sulpice	Programme de développement d'influence positive de milieu (phase II)	43 000 $
Club garçons et filles de LaSalle	Unité d'animation et d'intervention mobile La Van (phase IV)	38 000$
Équipe R.D.P	Intervention communautaire jeunesse à Rivière-des-Prairies (phase II)	81 000 $
Maison de transition de Montréal	Reprendre en main son quartier (phase IV)	50 000 $
Maison d'Haïti	Encadrement des jeunes de Saint-Michel : une prévention contre la violence, une action pour la sécurité de tous (phase III)	74 000 $
Mouvement Jeunesse Montréal-Nord	Gangs de rue et insertion des jeunes marginalisés dans la communauté : une affaire de tous (phase III)	36 000 $
Prévention Sud-Ouest	Ton choix, un gang gagnant! (phase II)	34 000 $
Rue action préventive (RAP) jeunesse	Le travail de rue au cœur de notre quartier (phase II)	34 000 $
Travail de rue / Action communautaire (TRAC)	Travail de rue dans le Sud-Ouest : prévenir et contrer le phénomène des gangs de rue (phase II)	37 000 $
Un itinéraire pour tous	Jeunesse en action Montréal-Nord	34 000 $
Total City of Montreal		**525 850 $**

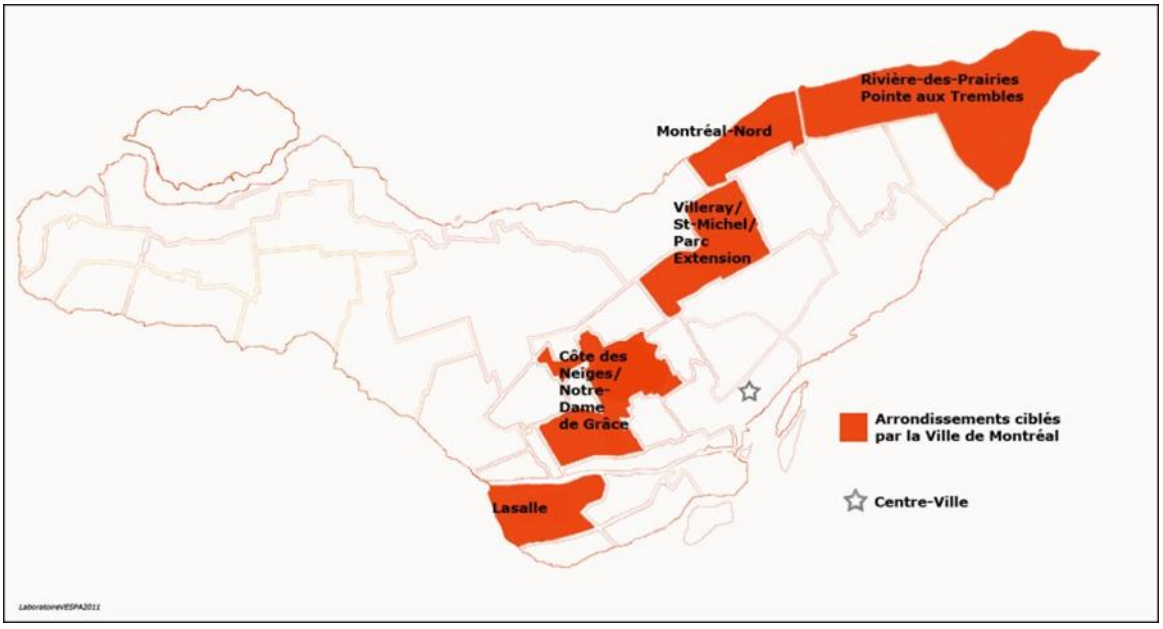
Source : www.securitepublique.gouv.qc.ca/police/prevention-criminalite/programmes-financement/partage-produits-criminalite/projets-2010.html

2.3 Municipal and borough programs

Municipal priorities are responding to government funding. Programs are implemented in the districts by different stakeholders from the community or the institutional level. Neighbourhood posts and local associations are at the heart of the field action.

The City of Montreal initially identified five priority districts to which resources are allocated to prevention (Figure 13), to which three new districts were added in 2009 (a total $244,000 has been allocated for gang prevention in the three additional boroughs: Ahuntsic-Cartierville, Mercier-Hochelaga-Maisonneuve, and South-West). These boroughs show a certain density of risk factors. These factors are the socio-economic status of households, the number of single-parent households, school dropout rates, gang activities in the area, a high proportion of immigrants, a large population turnover, and the overall condition of the built environment.

Figure 13: Boroughs targeted by the City of Montreal's fight against street gangs



Source : Laboratoire VESPA

Of the projects mentioned in Figure 11, three concern St-Michel directly: "Choisis ta vie avec ta gang! » (Maison de jeunes Par la Grand'Porte), « Prévenir l'adhésion aux gangs de rue : travail de rue Rosemont/Saint-Michel » (PACT de rue), and « Encadrement des jeunes de Saint-Michel : Une prévention contre la violence, une action pour la sécurité de tous (phase IV) (Maison d'Haïti) (see section 2.5 for details on these organizations).

2.4 The structure of the municipal police service in Montreal (SPVM)

The Police Service of the City of Montreal, with its 7,197 civilian employees and police officers, serves the whole territory of the island of Montreal. Its mission, under section 48 and 49 of the *Police Law* (RSQ c.P-13.1) is to "protect life and property of citizens to maintain peace and public security; prevent, fight crime and maintain respect to laws and rules in effect". Its action is made in partnership with Montreal citizens, institutions, community group and socio-economical organizations.

At the head of the SPVM is the direction of services under which the authority organizes operations. These operation directions are subdivided into five services to the community and four of these correspond to a geographic delimitation. These comprise the service of specialized surveys, service to the West community region, service to the South community region, service to the North community region and the service to the East community region. A number of neighbourhood quarters are attached to each service (the SPVM works with a total of 33 neighbourhood quarters). The post of district 30 (PDQ 30), serving Saint-Michel, along with nine other PDQs, are under the service of the North community region.

The PDQ 30 has a staff of 68 including two community relations police officers and a *conseiller en concertation*[6]. Each PDQ has specific objectives relative to the needs of the neighbourhood and its residents.

The PDQ 30 has set five general goals:

> ***Our goals***
>
> *The team at PDQ 30 works to maintain security in its territory, in compliance with the SPVM's global priorities. To this end, the team has established these objectives for 2010.*
>
> ***Provide police visibility to foster direct contact with the public***
>
> - *Carry out foot and bicycle patrol in the neighbourhood and in target areas*

[6] The SPVM has not translated this position title into English. It was introduced in 2010 by the former police chief in all eight neighbourhood quarters, including Saint-Michel, of the five districts targeted for gang prevention work. They are civil employees hired to facilitate communication with ethnic communities and community organisations. The project will run until 2013 with a budget of $3.3 M provided by the Ministry of Immigration and Cultural Communities of the Government of Quebec.

Maintain efforts against street gang crime

- *Place patrollers at neighbourhood high schools and other target areas (metros, parks)*
- *Carry out prevention operations in target locations*

Enforce driver compliance with the Highway Safety Code

- *Carry out speed control operations at target locations, including school zones*
- *Carry out impaired driving operations*

Reduce risky pedestrian behaviour

- *Teach school children to obey the instructions of the crossing guards*
- *Carry out prevention and suppression operations at target locations*

Enhance cooperation, strengthen ties and pursue bridge-building activities with the community

- *Take an active part in neighbourhood roundtables*
- *Hold meetings with social support groups and community organizations*
- *Work with local partners to distribute and share information about street gangs*
- *Hold meetings, discussions and presentations in local elementary and high schools* (*source:* www.spvm.qc.ca/en/pdq30/objectifs.asp)

In these five categories of action, prevention occupies a large share. This translates into a police presence near schools, and metro stations, and in parks. It also translates into a desire for dialogue and to gather common information to share with other local actors and associations.

2.5 The neighbourhood: community and local stakeholders

Community life is very active in Saint-Michel. We paid special attention to organizations relating to street gangs and their efforts to alleviate youth idleness.

2.5.1 AN IMPORTANT CONSULTATION GROUP: VSMS

First, community life in the neighbourhood is largely influenced by the consultation group (*table de concertation*) Vivre Saint-Michel en santé (VSMS). This group is funded by the Foundation McConnel as part of its "vibrant communities" program and by a tripartite agreement between Centraide of Greater Montreal, the Public Health division and the Ville-Centre. This roundtable acts as a catalyst for financial resources in order to support the actions included in its action plan for urban and social revitalization. Today, VSMS has a workforce of about a dozen professionals, who are seeking to manage 12 consultative bodies. The organization has a budget of $1.2 M to carry out its activities. This figure contrasts with the year of its first strategic planning in 2004, when the funds mobilized were $180,000. VSMS includes a section on urban social security in its social and urban revitalization plan. This thematic appeared after the diagnosis conducted in 2004 which revealed a strong feeling of insecurity that deviates from the real insecurity. From this observation, it was decided to set up an action plan on urban security in order to reduce this feeling of insecurity, notably by working on the image projected by the neighbourhood to residents and outsiders. Indeed, Saint-Michel suffers from a certain stigma because of the media treatment of the activities of street gangs and other types of crime, which tends to reinforce the feeling of insecurity among residents.

This section of the action plan is concretized through the Safety Club within the consultation group VSMS. Its area of action extends to the whole neighbourhood and involves the following actors:

2.5.2 ACTION SAINT-MICHEL EST (LOCAL COMMITTEE)

The ASME is a group of different organizations working in the East of the Miron quarry. Its mission consists of the improvement of quality of life and it is based on several axes, one of which is formulated as follows: "to improve safety and sense of security" and "to maintain and develop new ways to increase security and a sense of security among the citizens". The presence of the ASME within the Safety Club therefore seems legitimate. The approach is similar is some ways to that of the mandatory organization of the Tandem program (see below). The organizations under the ASME seek both to build relationships of sociability among residents through the organization of events (street festival, art performances and sports) and to provide means of development and occupations for youths (cycling sessions in Montreal and other sports or creative activities).

2.5.3 BOROUGH (INSTITUTION)

Within the prevention activities, the borough positions itself as a funding institution, particularly regarding Tandem, a city-wide program distributing funds to each borough. The borough is also present on the Petit Maghreb committee, especially as the term "Petit Maghreb" was coined during a campaign by the current borough mayor, Anie Sansom (see below for further details on Tandem and Petit Maghreb). The borough is also present on the Safety Club of the VSMS, through its Community Development Advisor, who serves as a liaison in an attempt to highlight borough priorities during consultation meetings.

2.5.4 LES MONARQUES (COMMUNITY SPORTS PROJECT)

Founded in 1999, the project "The Monarchs" initially offered the opportunity to train local youths in basketball. Today, it is still possible to integrate one of the fifteen teams, organized by level and age group. But today, in addition to this, one can find activities such as hockey, athletics, volleyball and soccer. The Monarchs' coaches-cum-social workers provide more than coaching. They are also privileged interlocutors to youths, having themselves been tempted at some point by the world of street gangs. They can help them in their personal journeys by enlightening them on the impact of different life choices. The development of sporting talent is an opportunity for the individual to acquire insurance towards oneself and others, and offers an alternative to self-promotion through gang membership. Some of the Monarchs players can be recruited at the university level, indicating that it is possible to reach a semi-professional level. These individuals set an example for other Monarchs players and neighbourhood youths. A mentoring program between seniors and some players also exists, in order to create intergenerational reconciliations. This can potentially help reduce the feeling of insecurity among seniors through these examples of intergenerational reconciliation.

2.5.5 LA MAISON D'HAÏTI (COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION)

Founded in 1972, the Maison d'Haïti has become a major player in community life in Saint-Michel. Its mission is based on family support, literacy, welcoming new immigrants and directing them to appropriate resources, work integration and youth integration. Regarding safety, the Maison d'Haïti created the "patrol of the Maison d'Haïti". These patrols are conducted by youths who may have been members of a gang or who have been close to the underworld. The mission of the patrol is to ensure the tranquility of the area and prevent antisocial behaviour by positioning themselves as representative-mediators to the youths, thus defusing potential conflicts. Just like youth

workers, they are able to inform about the consequences of being involved in gang activities. Their presence in public places and during events reassures residents who know their mandate.

At first, the instigator of the program was working alone on the streets, as he told us, but youths said: “But you cannot understand us, you’re too old”. This is when he decided to create a team of youths from the neighbourhood in order to get the message across more easily. Youth patrollers, as we will see, play an important intermediary role between youths and police officers, particularly when school ends.

2.5.6 MON RESTO SAINT-MICHEL (FOOD SECURITY AND INSERTION)

The presence of the organization “Mon resto” at the Safety Club is justified firstly by its service of affordable meals. By helping to provide the underprivileged access to healthy food, it is involved in the field of food security. Secondly, the organization counts Security Angels among its members. They are citizen volunteers, whose primary objective is to ensure the safety of youths on the way to school through coaching. It seems that their presence has also helped to reduce fighting in the vicinity of schools and late arrivals in classes. Also, their presence on the streets and around schools may deter intruders from approaching youths, as often occurs in recruitment by street gangs. Finally, Mon resto strives to employ people in the process of employment reintegration, thus helping to provide a means of integration for the marginalized in the labour market. Mon resto is located in the Plan Robert in the eastern district of Saint-Michel, unfortunately known for being the home of some gang members.

2.5.7 PACT DE RUE (YOUTH WORKERS)

PACT de rue is an organization that targets the 12-25 years old “at-risk” group, who are often in marginal situations (drug abuse, violence, poverty, prostitution…) and bases its outreach strategies mainly on street work. This allows regular contact and the establishment of a relationship based on trust with individuals, while informing and guiding them to the resources that can help. PACT de rue works against crime by directing individuals to appropriate resources and opportunities away from the criminal world. PACT de rue thus constitutes a partner of the PSI by carrying out targeted preventive actions and follow up with youths who are likely to join gangs.

2.5.8 TANDEM (A CITY PROGRAM DELEGATED TO A COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION)

Tandem is a program of the City of Montreal implemented by boroughs through a community organization. The execution of the program is entrusted to a mandatory agency of the borough. In the Saint-Michel-Villeray-Parc-Extension borough, the

mandatory organization is the community center Lajeunesse and a prevention advisor is assigned to the Saint-Michel neighbourhood. The objective is to fight against insecurity and reduce feelings of insecurity, on the basis of a situational prevention approach (physical environment) through exploratory walks and by encouraging residents to appropriate and occupy public spaces. Tandem also intervene directly with the public by facilitating prevention workshops, by conducting safe home visits and by providing safety advice to the population. Finally, in Saint-Michel, the presence of Tandem is visible through its participation in VSMS activities, through the leadership and coordination of the Safety Club in order to develop an action plan that can safely mobilize different stakeholders fighting against insecurity.

The organization is also present on various committees whose existence is linked to the emergence of specific problems in specific areas. This is the case of the **Comité Nord-Ouest**, which works to pacify the relations between different groups of people living in a public housing complex (at the intersection of Charland and Sackville streets) and its surroundings. The residents are mostly young immigrant families, elderly people from Quebec, and more affluent owners who live nearby and who are usually attached to the Italian community. This committee acts notably by organizing events that bring people together to create moments of sociability, conducive to breaking down prejudice. The committee brings together different actors (SPVM, citizen mobilization officers, agents from the Office municipal d'habitation de Montreal) to deliberate on the types of activities to put in place and their relevance.

Another committee whose existence is linked to the emergence of insecurity problems is the **Petit Maghreb**. Officially named as such in September 2009, the Little Maghreb is the small street section of Jean-Talon Street extending from Saint-Michel to Pie IX. It is a gathering place for different communities of North Africa, especially during the broadcast of sporting events (such as the African Cup of Nations), although this has not been without the dissatisfaction of some of the residents. Indeed, during the broadcast of sporting events, gatherings and animations on the streets are of such magnitude that the authorities prevent access to vehicles and divert traffic. Also, the increase in traffic in the evening during Ramadan is an irritant to some residents. This serves to increase inter-community tensions and insecurity for some merchants and people living nearby.

2.5.9 SPVM (LAW ENFORCEMENT)

The City of Montreal Police Service is the only stakeholder concerned with issues of insecurity that possesses a means of coercion. This makes it an indispensable interlocutor. In Saint-Michel, the presence of the SPVM is characterized by the PDQ 30. The action of the SPVM in Saint-Michel is part of an approach known as

community policing. The PDQ 30 has two community relations officers and an advisor in civilian actions (*conseiller en concertation)*, who liaise between the actions of the PDQ and the citizens. There is also an Action Module by Project (MAP), with the mission of keeping abreast of emerging issues, in order to stop them before they become too difficult to manage. The MAP actions aim mainly to increase contacts with citizens and to mobilize community partners to whom it disseminates information relating to possible criminal events that may occur in the neighbourhood. The community policing approach is also characterized by the boxing club project "Hope" which, like the Monarchs, offers opportunities for development through sport, with coaches regularly monitoring individuals who are most likely to go to or return to criminal activities.

2.5.10 MAISON DES JEUNES PAR LA GRAND' PORTE (COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION)

This organization offers a wide range of leisure activities for children, teenagers and young adults, in addition to providing tutoring services, assistance with the return to school and with the employment search. The organization carries out some of these activities in partnership with the Monarchs and the SPVM, especially when it comes to tracking individual situations of delinquency or a history of delinquency.

Finally, the consultation group VSMS also includes another party called **Groupe Action Jeunesse** (GAJ). This is a specialized group for youth issues (6-25 years old). Its themes of action touch health, recreation, culture, employability and school dropout, as well as crime prevention and adherence to street gangs. Their action plan thus partly complements that of the Safety Club, with a special emphasis on the 6-25 age group by trying to involve them in their community.

Ultimately, the SPVM and the PSI are the actors that could be considered as working directly with the gangs in the Saint-Michel district. However, it must be taken into account that there is a strong mobilization around issues of insecurity in the wider community. This is demonstrated by the existence of targets for the reduction of insecurity in the action plans of the various committees and groups of community organizations in the area.

The effects of these actions should not be undervalued and the benefits of these initiatives, sometimes indirect, certainly contribute to the fight against the phenomenon of street gangs. Following our analysis, the associative fabric of the Saint-Michel neighbourhood is an amorphous grouping of committees and subcommittees, bringing together workers and community institutions of all kinds. This illustrates all of the twists and turns that characterize Saint-Michel.

3. YOUTHS AS ACTORS IN SAINT-MICHEL

The youths with whom we spoke in Saint-Michel do not have much memory of the violent 1990s, either because they were too young or because they were not yet living in the neighbourhood. However, the 1990s are positioned by most other local actors as a period in opposition to the much pacified current period. A youth worker spoke in these terms:

> *The 1990s are really the years of self-exploration, I call it this way. It was at that moment that youths began to express their despair, to ask themselves questions like: "Who are we? And why are we here? We want our place," and this was how I found Montreal when I came back after five years in Haiti. Youths had a diversity problem: "We are here, we exist and we want our place in Quebec's society.*

The gang phenomenon that emerged in the 1990s was very much a reaction to White racism. This produced anxiety, fuelled by the mediatization of violence in Saint-Michel. The media easily compared the gang phenomenon in Montreal with Los Angeles gangs because they adopted the same symbols (the Bloods versus the Crips). This easy and false amalgamation contributed to the strong stigmatization of the neighbourhood.

As we pursue our study in 2011, youths react strongly against this stigma, arguing that it is no longer relevant. This is *the* main word of all local actors' discourses. For instance, one youth who arrived in Montreal at the end of the 1990s explains:

> *Now, things have calmed down. Police officers did an excellent job in Saint-Michel, an excellent job because before there were many people dealing at McDonald's in Saint-Michel. I remember well that once, I had just arrived here… hmmm, I didn't know and I entered and I had, I had a red cap and a red sweater. I didn't know, and I was wearing them. I arrived at McDonald's and everyone was staring at me. I said to myself: "Why are they looking at me like that?" Two days later, there was a guy coming from Ottawa, an African, and then he came to McDonald's and they shot him. So now, this doesn't happen anymore here. Now, I wear red, I walk and nobody asks any questions. "Nah nah nah" I walk on the street like… without fearing anything…*

Everyone in the neighbourhood is revolted against the stigma the neighbourhood still carries. Youths insist on the fact that it is untrue and that they feel secure. This doesn't mean that everything is nice and beautiful. Most youths affirm that they feel discriminated (by the police, by other Montrealers) because of their skin color. When asked how they think the police see them, they respond: "threatening", "elements of perturbation" or "a Black that smokes dope; that hangs out on the street and does things to drink and smoke." Consider this example:

> *When we are numerous, it is towards us that they will be biased […] They don't like us because we all dress the same, all in black. But it is just that they think we are vagrants. But then, it is that, because they judge us as vagrants, but they don't even try to understand us. Instead of studying, or instead of observing us, they judge us directly. That's all.*

Many youths feel the police do not care about *their* security; they feel they are seen as the problem and that the police work for others, not youths. They have a restricted view of police work. We asked them how they picture a police officer's day, and they had trouble responding: they wake up, go to their office, wait for calls, drink coffee… Some mentioned "they observe" but none used the terms surveillance or harassment. Some had a few comments on police prevention work:

> *For example, youths that are in gang things, or things like that, because Youth Community Spaces are most of the time for, to give them something else to do than hang out on the street at night. It is just to meet friends, just to be active and from time to time, there are police officers (not necessarily in uniform but in civil) that come sometimes to participate in activities.*

The general perception that youths have of police officers is negative, but for many it is an ambiguous negativity. Indeed, it seems that expressing a negative opinion towards police officers is part of a social role (not only in Montreal, but in many places of the world). They evoke the fact that police officers can be mean when they need to meet ticket quotas, that they give more chances to Whites, that the justice system is not equal for all. But some of them speak of rumours heard about negative experiences; many of them did not directly have such experiences. The tone is mostly calm, we did not detect much grudge. In the following example, for instance, the young woman uneasily swings back and forth between this negative image and a more nuanced one:

> *Youths in Saint-Michel think they are discriminated. They are mad against the police. There are youths who as soon as they see the police, they will go and tell their brothers: "Be careful, the police is here. Be careful." But there are also people who are normal, who don't have problems with the police and who go to school without problems. So we should not generalize. If we speak of a minority, I think it is a minority of delinquents who will not like the police.*

Other youths even have empathy for the police: "It's not cool to work and to be looked down upon all the time, that's it." For others, certain police officers represent a model, particularly those who have coloured skin. The case of youth patrollers from the Maison d'Haïti is special, in that they clearly position themselves in alliance with the police, of course because of their job. But this also hides a certain willingness to be seen as "good youths" because they fight criminality. Some of these youths have previously

experienced confrontation with the police; this job serves to reinsert them on the job market. But more intangibly, it also serves to valorize them and project a positive image.

In response to their perception of the police and to the stigmatization of the neighbourhood, youths seek to project various images of themselves. Some insist on conformity, avoiding dressing as "gangsters" (wearing their pants very low):

> *Society likes/you should always have an image that society wants you to have. We don't say we live for society, but we live in society and we need to adapt to society. […] When I lower my jeans, people, the first image they will have of me is a thug, but when I wear my jeans normally, when I put on normal shirts, everyone will say I am someone, I am someone correct. But they will learn to know me, but when they see that I have jeans very low, they will say: "Oh this guy is a bastard and I don't want to know anything about him.*

Young men tend to be more rebellious than young women. A youth patroller told us that certain youths, exasperated by the stigma, decide to behave according to it. "This way they don't speak for nothing". There is usually a difference in the image they project internally within the neighbourhood and externally towards the rest of the city. Some youths take advantage of the negative image of the neighbourhood to present themselves as violent people:

> *Saint-Michel youths are tagged sometimes, so they say "I come from Saint-Michel, don't mess with me". But sometimes/it is just appearances, just the fact that… it is not always true because sometimes perhaps in Saint-Michel they are not really… they don't really have, let's say that their reputation they give outside is not […] they say: "Hey! I come from Saint-Michel, I'm tough" but in the end, most of them, it's more… but we only need to know what to expect with certain people. I imagine it's something normal.*

But most youths seek to project a positive image in order to change the negative image of the neighbourhood. They emphasize their positive acts in order to say that their neighbourhood does not only have difficulties. Some say that using the negative image to "look tough" outside is an "abuse of free expression". All of them do not seem to trust police officers from outside the neighbourhood. Some express real insecurity towards the negative prejudices towards youths from Saint-Michel.

Within the neighbourhood, youths need to deal with the negative reputation of the neighbourhood in their relations with other residents and with police officers. This is why many seek to remain discreet, wishing to inspire respect. Because they grow up in this neighbourhood, one youth patroller told us they know more about "real life". They

know more about prostitution, pimps. She says “If we ask them what they want to speak about these young guys. For example they want to speak about homosexuality, prostitutes, what is the difference between a pimp and a prostitute [laugh]”

Another important characteristic of the image they seek to project is the Haitian character of the neighbourhood. “Language is Haitian-ized,” said a youth patroller. Even if they are not from Haiti, they speak with Creole words.

Many think that in order to succeed, they can only count on themselves and their neighbourhood. They have a very negative image of politicians as corrupted. When asked what he/she thought was the worst social problem in the city, a youth responded in the same breath: “Drugs, prostitution, what else, pimps, serial killers, the mafia, street gangs. How is it called when police officers are/corrupt/corruption. And politicians also sometimes steal money from the government and from the community.” Another underlines the fact that he “doesn’t see any change” in the neighbourhood and in the city. With the recent election of officials of Haitian origins, however, some youth workers hope that youths will become more interested in institutional politics.

We have, however, seen interest in more informal forms of politics, whether in the formulation of critical opinions on social problems or curiosity towards social issues. Their rebellion against their stigmatization and certain police practices is an example of political action. They also express the will to participate in making the laws: “people need to have the impression they are the authors of the laws”. The same youth continues:

> *There is always this type of ambition to say: “We did the thinking for you and we will solve your problems.” But exactly, they need sincerely to enable youths to express themselves so that they realize by themselves what are the real problems, and what is the road we can learn so that in the end we live harmoniously and respect the rules. Because we will have participated in the contract.*

This was a response to our question: “Do you think it is necessary to have rules and laws? Do we always need to respect them?” Youths responded that we need laws to “maintain order,” to “live together,” or to keep a good level of “morality.” Sometimes they would point to unfair laws, such as restrictions on driving for 16-24 year olds between midnight and five in the morning. But they generally equated being a good citizen with respecting laws and staying informed to make sure there are no injustices. A good citizen should know his/her rights: “First he should respect himself, respect other citizens, and then respect authorities and all of that. This makes him a good citizen

to my view." Others would insist more on the place of birth to determine citizenship: you are a citizen if you are born in Canada. It gives you advantages to travel to the US, we were told, and to be insured.

But beyond this institutional understanding of citizenship, many youths equated citizenship with more interactive advantages:

> *Interviewer: Is it important for you to be recognized as a citizen?*
>
> *Youth: Well, it's the framework within which we live. And it is important to be recognized by people and as a good citizen; to be known by people, by neighbours and all of that. This is good.*
>
> *Interviewer: Do you intend to be naturalized?*
>
> *Youth: Yes, in a year perhaps.*

This youth felt "citizenship" without being a Canadian citizen in the legal sense of the term. He describes citizenship in terms of interpersonal recognition. Rarely did youths directly equate citizenship with more possibilities for action (except regarding the possibility to travel), but they often linked it to recognition of their being, of their action. In the following quote from a youth worker, political action is positioned as being conditional to their recognition as actors regardless of their skin color:

> *The Obama and Michaëlle Jean [ex-Governor General of Canada] phenomenon has changed many things in youth milieus, because they understand they can also have a place in society. So, faced with this change, youths begin to be interested in politics and we are encouraging this also. They need to be able to make the decision; they need to be able to accept engagement and participate in the process of change.*

Through the exploration above of the images youths seek to project, a number of hints emerge to help us to understand their logic of action. We sought to find information on how they act (their strategies, tactics), what motivates their action, and the means mobilized to act. The information was gathered through interview questions about what they do in specific situations of interaction, and through field observation.

A strategic action unfolds through a plan; it results from a rational calculation of the costs and benefits of the expected consequences of an act. In order to evaluate consequences, a strategy involves a projection into the future. When, for instance, police officers spoke about how they imposed pacification in Saint-Michel, they spoke with a consequentialist language. They said to hardcore gang leaders: you respect us and we respect you; if you behave well, we respect you and do not intervene; if you respect us, we treat you well. It's a deal.

A tactical logic of action, on the other hand, is more reactive, immediate, unpredictable. It doesn't unfold on a linear temporality (if I do this, the consequence will be that), but on a more experiential register in a specific moment (trial and error, intuitive). In this excerpt, a police officer describes how a specific gang acts:

> *Sometimes it is improvised. I am thinking of a specific gang that comes to mind. For them, it is i-pods, but we can't even follow them. We can't in a day detect/ they may do nothing. It is not structured; it is really improvised. It's like a delinquent gang that do bad things. And hop! We are going to name ourselves and oh! We are giving ourselves signs. From there, they can act more. But at the beginning, it is disorganized.*

Such tactical, experiential logic of action was studied by Katz (1988) in his attempt to understand what he calls the "aesthetic finesse" of the criminal who is able to recognize and elaborate upon the sensual potentialities of a situation. He looks at concrete situations experienced by criminals in order to explore what incites someone to commit a crime. The example provided by the police officer above does not concern long-term criminals like the ones studied by Katz, but in both cases, what is highlighted is the unpredictability of their actions. He writes: "As unattractive morally as crime may be, we must appreciate that there is *genuine experiential creativity* in it as well." (Katz 1988: 8, emphasis is original).

We detected such tactical logic of action among youths in general, not only those involved in gangs (whom we didn't interview, although we have observed them at community events). For instance, a journalist came to the Louis-Joseph Papineau High School once to talk about youths in the neighbourhood. She was writing a series of three pieces but after the first one, she lost the confidence of the youths because she published a very negative picture of the neighbourhood and their school. They reacted promptly, writing letters to her. While narrating this anecdote to us, a police officer concluded:

> *You know, it is a journalist that I respect very much. She had a strategy. I knew her conclusion and she chose her way to denounce a situation: there is a need for more resources in those milieus. This was her conclusion: "Stop thinking that everything is so easy". But the way she chose did more harm [to her relationship with youths]. But at the same time, I was surprised by youths' reactions.*

This anecdote illustrates well the clash of two types of logic: strategic on the one side (the journalist portrays the neighbourhood with pity in order to politically ask for more resources) and a tactical logic (youths feel betrayed by the trust they gave her, insulted at the negative stereotype she conveyed about the neighbourhood). The police officer positioned himself in-between these two logics in this specific anecdote: he understood

what the youths didn't appreciate (the journalist's strategy) and he empathized with their feeling of betrayal, but was surprised by the force of their reaction.

Youths are engaged in local activities: sports, churches, arts. Many complained about the lack of infrastructure because many of them are motivated. An elected official complained about the "lack of articulation between youth living spaces with all these notions of responsibilization." What he meant is that offering sports activities without making connections between these youth worlds and other social worlds is not really giving youths a chance to engage socially. Another street worker said: "Youths do not want to be spectators anymore so that they feel victimized afterwards. They want to be active." This was echoed by youths:

> *Interviewer: What is the biggest problem in the city?*
>
> *Youth: Too many stereotypes. Yes, too many. And there is a lack of closeness to youths, in general. They don't come closer to youths. It would be nice if they tried a little more to understand them and that we put/instead of putting them in a corner and other people facing them on the other side. Because we will never be able to know what happens on the other side if we don't mix.*

They also emphasize fraternity and mutual aid, something that develops more intuitively than strategically. For instance, by showing good actions, or dressing well, youths expressed their willingness to change the image of the neighbourhood. They are acting in search of individual respect, but also with the community in mind. Consider this excerpt:

> *In Saint-Michel, they [youth] are more solidaristic. So, for example, they make noise together. They will be noisy but if they find themselves alone, they won't be like that. They will conform to people who are in other neighbourhoods and they won't try to be noticed on purpose, in my opinion.*

It is a form of action based on multiple movements and small gestures, on the gradual building of trust and horizontal networks rather than formal hierarchies and rules. For example, this youth insists that he doesn't want to have contacts with the police, aside from the one he sees regularly at the barbershop. He rejects the formal hierarchy to insist on trust-based informal relationships:

> *I have seen police officers speaking to youths, bla, bla, bla… they try to ( ), to explain to them how to behave, how not to behave, but me, personally, I never had contacts with police officers. In fact, for me it's only [name of a police officer] to whom I spoke because we were together at the barbershop. But police officers and I are not really friends because I try to make… I try to, to find a way that, a parallel way with others, like we will never cross them in fact.*

This example points to a certain tactic of avoidance in youths' relationship to the police. Youths often adopt an attitude of distancing in order to create – quietly and without attracting attention by illicit means or not – a space for action. We would suggest that this space of action is a type of relation to the state, a way of affirming one's political subjectivity. Youths do not "withdraw", do not remove themselves from socio-political relations, but instead create spaces of action in a relation that is not in confrontation but rather in negotiation with the state. We will come back to this in section 6.

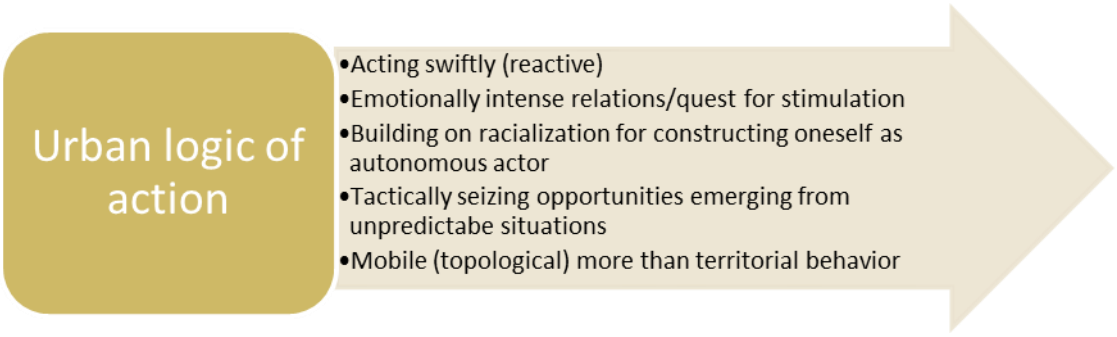
Youths are not only active in their neighbourhood. They all mentioned that they often go to other places (mostly the city centre). They view their space of action as beyond the neighbourhood. While their neighbourhood identity is strong, not everyone wants to be identified with it. In this example, the youth does not understand why we put so much emphasis on where people live:

> *If I see someone who is not from Saint-Michel, I will not ask: "Where do you come from." It's your right, we are not obliged to know where you live. It will bring me what to know where you live? I don't know why people should know where I live and all of that.*

The territorialities that frame police work, prevention programs, and electoral maps do not coincide well with youths' territorial conceptions. For instance, there is a very different identity between the Pie IX sector and the rest of the neighbourhood, which can be traced back to competing gangs in the 1990s. Recognizing these fluctuant territories would help in articulating the institutional logics of the police with the urban reality of the youths we interviewed.

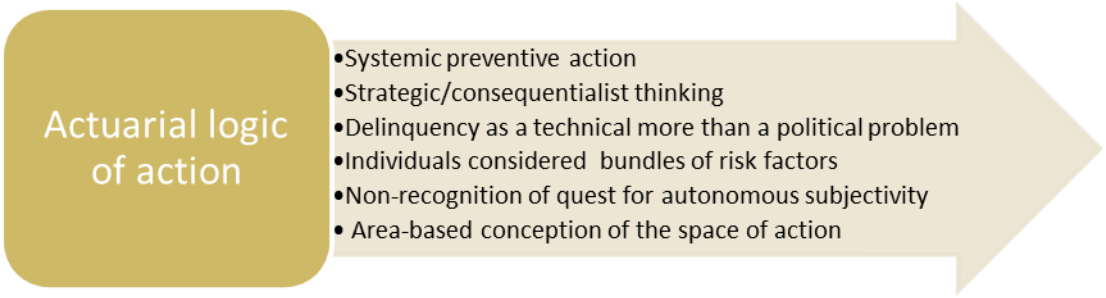
Before turning to the police in the next section, it might be useful to analytically think of two different logics of action at play. The tactical and spatially-fluid logic often mobilised by youths could be named an "urban" logic of action because it is a way of acting that sociologists have associated with life in the city (Simmel, Lefebvre, Bourdieu).

Figure 14: The analytical category of an urban logic of action



On the other hand, the more strategic, calculative, and preventive logic of action present in many youth crime prevention programs could be characterized as an "actuarial" logic of action because of its reliance on statistical probabilistic data to frame intervention. We will see in the following section that these two logics are not necessarily mutually exclusive and may overlap. But in general, youth responses and actions are often more relational than actuarial. They continuously construct their relationships to other youths through their swift actions and mobile behaviours. This stands in contrast to the actuarial logic, which assumes a certain methodological individualism in the ways that prevention programs treat youths.

Figure 15: The analytical category of an actuarial logic of action



4. THE ROLE OF THE POLICE IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF YOUTH CITIZENSHIP IN SAINT-MICHEL

The initial hypothesis guiding this study was that police officers would assimilate the actuarial logic of action that frames prevention schemes based on risk factors. We sought to better understand how police officers recognize youth subjectivity and capacity to act in a targeted "at-risk" neighbourhood such as Saint-Michel. The actuarial logic of action theoretically presumes that youths have very little individual margin of manoeuvre, given that their individuality is not recognized as such. What predominates in the risk factor approach is probabilistic thinking, and thus youths are conceived as statistical aggregates; their behaviour is "predicted" by their concentration of risk factors. This leaves them very little autonomous individuality and capacity to act. We sought to empirically see whether police officers do work with this actuarial logic in mind by asking them whether they see youths as "vulnerable" or "at-risk".

What comes out forcefully from our data is a clear distinction between discourses and practices at various levels. Firstly, as briefly exposed in section 2, the prevention framework in Quebec (and Canada) does clearly speak in terms of risk factors. This is present in all provincial policies, and framing documents at the city-level. Because these framing policies come with money, the "risk factor" actuarial approach poses a real constraint on practices on the ground, because actors receiving the money (from the central city, to the boroughs, and to community organizations) need to justify its use according to this framework. In our interviews, we constantly heard local actors appropriating the risk factor discourse to describe the neighbourhood or their own social work. For instance, a community worker described the neighbourhood according to this list of risk factors, yet she was critical of the pervasive effect it has in creating homogeneous milieus (and she made it clear that this was her personal opinion, not the institution's):

> *Me personally, this is personal and not the service: I find that when you live only with people who are in the same situation of poverty as you, in families – you can have a family that has less money than you, less education, but in the same family, we have a cousin who is professional, we have other models in the family. But when it's all the same people in your milieu, it's all the same model. Hmmm… we cannot, we don't have this complementarity. Often times people don't work, parents don't work, many single-parent families, so we are left with no positive models. It's the milieu, the youth worker, who tries to compensate for the lack of family. People don't work, they are on welfare. Yes, there are resources, if there were no resources people would be left to themselves.*

This ambiguity towards the notion of risk factors was also expressed by a police officer who exposes youth vulnerability, while hesitating to use the actual words:

> *On the other side, it is true that these youths face more challenges than I had in the milieus in which I grew up. They are youths who unfortunately have less means, more challenges. So, they are youths/I don't want to say they are at-risk, but they are youths who weren't unfortunately… spoiled by destiny, I don't know. […] Here it is different, the models on which these youths are relying come from their family milieu. It's a model that I don't know maybe, it's not the best model they can have. [He acknowledges the contrasts between himself and the Saint-Michel milieu but nevertheless uses the policy vocabulary of risk factors to propose an analysis.]*

If we examine what local civil and police actors actually do with youth, or ask them how they perceive them, responses are not always coherent with the risk factor discourse. They speak less in terms of vulnerability and more in terms of empowerment, although this distinction is more or less intense according to who is speaking. For instance, there was a gendered and job distinction between the more maternal discourse of community relations police officers who (in Saint-Michel) are female, and the more respect-driven discourse of police patrollers who are mainly male. Compare these two excerpts, the first by a female community relations police officer, and the second by a male police patroller:

> *It's all true, it's disadvantaged, yes, in comparison to another neighbourhood, but this does not mean there is less potential. We need to give these youngsters confidence [in a maternal tone, she sometimes speaks of "my" youths], the possibility to do other things. This is the opportunity: when they do sports, when they are engaged in projects [being engaged in a project in order to be able to project oneself in the future].*

> *This is the trust relationship. It came about with time. This is why it is important that there is continuity in actors. It weighs a lot. If we change each year, it's all new people landing here with a written strategy; it will give zero results because these individuals will not respect anybody. It is not the strategy. They [youths] will respect the individual; they will respect you. You know them well and you are going to say [to gang youths]: "Me, guys, it's me who organizes this thing, please". The guys will say: "I respect you, no problem, you can do what you want, nothing will happen."*

The contrast here cannot simply be explained by gender, but also by the mandate corresponding to each position. Community relations police officers work exclusively on prevention, mainly in schools (elementary and secondary).[7] They work with "at-risk" youths, and not so much with criminalized youths. Police patrollers have a repressive as well as a preventive mandate. They work with older criminalized youths (many older youths have children, who are now the target for prevention work). These criminalized

[7] A position not to be confused with *conseiller en concertation,* who are civil employees hired especially to link up with ethnic communities.

youths are not really seen as vulnerable. Rather, the relationship developed between police patrollers who have been in the neighbourhood for many years and gang "veterans" is one of equal forces and mutual respect.

In contrast, younger "at-risk" youths are seen by the community relations police officer quoted above as having potential. They need opportunities to develop this potential. She sees her role as developmental: "giving them confidence", providing opportunities to learn how to project yourself in the future through sports or other youth projects. In other words, she seeks to empower youths through self-development. She also points to the need to have "more masculine figures" in schools, because "there are many single-parent families" in the neighbourhood. In fact, she also criticizes youths who use the neighbourhood's vulnerability (described here with risk factors identified in policy documents) as an excuse to stay apathetic:

> *You know… in the end, it's a way to victimize yourself. Well, I think there are youths who will use the [negative neighbourhood] label. Because as I was saying, there are many good youths, and as I was saying, there is poverty everywhere, it's single-parent families, it's really diverse, but nowadays it's like that everywhere in Montreal. Hmmm. You know before we would have said "ghetto, HLM [low-income housing]." You know, to regroup. But now it's like that everywhere, and it's not a question…*

Secondly, the disjunction between the risk factors discourse and actual practices can be explained by institutional factors as well. While the SPVM receives some federal and provincial money for preventive work, and while they are full partners in many local projects in Saint-Michel that need to justify their work according to this risk factor framework, they do not go as far in the actuarial logic of action as other police services in Canada. Their operating budget comes mainly from the City of Montreal, which acts as the employer of all police officers. The city budgeted $617 M for the police in 2011 (Ville de Montréal 2010). The SPVM budgeted $630 M in expenditures for the same year (89% of which in salaries) and projects to receive $58 M in other sources of revenues (from the commercialization of police services and contracts, revenues from the Montreal subway in return for ensuring security there, grants, and other small sources) (SPVM 2010). This operating budget is not attached to the same strings as grants received specifically for community prevention projects. The operative budget is attached to their mandate: "to protect the life and goods of citizens, maintain public peace and security, prevent and fight crime, and make sure laws and bylaws are respected" (Articles 48 and 69 of the *Loi sur la police*, L.R.Q. c. P-13.1, translation is ours). This money is not attached to other municipal, provincial, or federal policies that may impose specific prevention tools. This gives them a certain margin of manoeuvre to make choices in how to fulfill their mandate.

The Police Chief's vision is very important for orienting these choices. In August 2010, Marc Parent was nominated the new SPVM Chief.[8] Five candidates were presented to the Montreal selection committee. The closest opponent to Marc Parent was Jean-Guy Gagnon who was representing continuity with the previous Chief (most importantly for our purposes here, he was involved in various controversial repressive measures against street gangs, measures that ended in a riot in Montreal North following the shooting of Fredy Villanueva by a police officer). In contrast, Marc Parent was previously active in the North District of Montreal (which includes Saint-Michel). He is linked to the left wing of the SPVM and is strongly in favour of community policing. Indeed, immediately after his nomination, he appointed Fady Dagher (who was formerly the Commander, District Chief of District 30 in Saint-Michel) as Chief of Division, Community Relations, Research and Corporate Communications Division in the central police office.

Marc Parent clearly chose community policing over other policing tools such as high-tech-supported surveillance.[9] In contrast, other Canadian municipal police services have gone further on the technological version of the actuarial logic based on performance indicators and criminal risk analysis, such as in Vancouver (Purenne and Aust, 2010; Cailloz and Purenne 2011).

In brief, both in terms of civil and police local actors, there is a disjunction between the risk factor discourse (inspired by an actuarial logic of action) and the practices observed in the neighbourhood. We would suggest two interrelated elements of explanation. Firstly, the neighbourhood scale offers possibilities for informal deal-making that cannot be present at larger scales (the City, the province, or the country). By deal-making, we do not mean illegal, back-door deals. Instead, we mean the possibility of going beyond abstract actuarial thinking based on rational individual behaviour to constantly adjusting, in a relational manner, to the context of concrete local situations. This is possible, we would argue, only if there is a shared sense of the territory in which the "deal" is active.

We have seen previously how youth generally identify strongly with the neighbourhood. A similar feeling of belonging is also present in local police discourse. As we will show below, Saint-Michel is being actively labelled as a model of

[8] In Quebec (as opposed to the United States), the police chief is not elected, but proposed by the municipality and then approved by the Government of Quebec on the recommendation of the Minister of Public Safety. Normally, Quebec respects recommendations made by Montreal.

[9] Community policing is not seen strictly as a choice excluding new technological tools: new technologies for criminal analysis will be implemented shortly and used as problem-resolution tools in neighbourhood quarters (Purenne, personal communication, September 2011).

community policing by the current borough mayor. But beyond this political strategy, police officers in the neighbourhood quarter (PDQ 30) are quite proud of its specific culture:

> *Here at the 30th, I would say, we are a big family. And perhaps we don't work as elsewhere. You know, we have our way and as I was saying earlier, there are partners and the police is not better than the other partners. We are all equal.*

Even if it is sensitive for the central headquarters, Saint-Michel's way is often compared with the situation in Montreal North, where riots exploded in August 2008:

> *It's day and night It's like he says [speaking of a colleague], when we respond to a call [in Montreal North], even five year-olds fuck you up. He is only five and it's: "Fuck you [in English] the police". And when they respond to calls, it's like they [police officers in Montreal North] say they do it quickly: "Guys [gangs leaders] have spotted us, they are starting to gather and they come like this [showing how they come in a threatening manner]. So when we respond to a call, we finish it and leave quickly. We cannot stay there, we will be circled and that's it. It's like this here."*

Police officers' attachment to their neighbourhood quarter mirrors youths' attachment to their neighbourhood. This feeling of membership is juxtaposed, for instance, in the following excerpts where a police officer explains how he sees one of the neighbourhood school's decisions to adopt a blue uniform (blue being the color of the Crips, associated to the neighbourhood):

> *It's a blue territory. So perhaps gangs are a hyper-negative thing, but it may also have a positive side because it makes people really identify with a neighbourhood, at least for youths.*

The gang territory is juxtaposed with neighbourhood youth identity (as it concretizes here in the colour chosen for the school uniform) and to the local police's jurisdictional territory over the neighbourhood. This common space of action does not, however, have fixed boundaries. Its perimeter fluctuates according to specific situations, even for local police officers (who otherwise work on a fixed territory imposed by the organizational structure of the SPVM). Police officers speak in terms of sectors (micro-areas within the neighbourhood). They do not see the neighbourhood as a homogeneous whole. They can easily "start localised prevention [in one sector] while continuing repression elsewhere." They also do not hesitate to approach youths they know are not from the neighbourhood (they reside elsewhere) but spend much time there. They will also intervene outside of their district boundaries if necessary (or at least cooperate closely with their colleagues in the other district). There is thus a certain flexibility in concrete territorial practices that do not otherwise show at higher levels of the police organization where district maps frame strategic thinking (this is an area-based

conception of the space of action). Such flexibility is not as fluid as what we have seen with youths, who despite their local attachment are very mobile and tend to conceptualize their space of action as a collection of significant places (this is a topological conception of the space of action). We mentioned above the reluctance of some youths to be identified according to where they live, saying that this is irrelevant. Yet, because of their institutional embedded-ness, police officers have a very localized vision of youths. When we asked them whether youths were mobile, they all responded no. These responses contrast with youths' responses to our questions about their mobility practices.

Secondly, in conjunction with the potential for deal-making at a smaller scale, a second explaining factor of the disjuncture between the risk factor discourse and actual practices is the relational potential opened by proximity. This longer excerpt from our conversation with a police patroller illustrates this well:

> *Police: You know, it is individuals that they will respect. [The officer's own surname], they will respect him. [His partner's surname]… they will respect because we tell them: "Stop harassing our colleagues". They will respect but it won't be the same respect as the respect for the shirt. They are young, they are human beings firstly…*
>
> *Interviewer: Yes, it is not the uniform.*
>
> *Police: We want, we would like that. But in fact, it will only be indirectly that it will have an effect on the uniform. But youths will respect the human being before respecting the uniform. And it's a good thing because otherwise it would mean we are in a totalitarian state where youths are afraid as soon as they see the uniform. We are not…*[10]

Another police patroller told us how he can sometimes eat with youths at McDonald's and they confide to him about violent acts they plan to do, without remembering "that I am wearing my shirt!", as if they don't see the uniform anymore when they trust the police officer. Or, another anecdote they told us was when a young woman ran away from home and sent an SMS to a police patroller she trusted: "Mme [name of the female officer] I am running away, but don't worry."

The preventive approach at the neighbourhood scale allows police officers to work closely with youths. They constantly speak of human-to-human relations that developed over the long term, by slowly building trust. The PDQ 30 has two police patrollers who are "icons" for youths, as a youth worker told us. Almost every youth with whom we spoke knew their names and insisted that they were not like the others. The first one

[10] This was also echoed by this youth: "I think that we, youths, we don't take them seriously, the police institution as such, because generally I, even I when I walk with my friends and we see a police officer who makes a different face, it is not an element of fear. It shouldn't be like that. […] But most of the time when I am with my friends and we see police officers, whether they are Quebeckers, Latinas, or someone of black race, there is always a : 'What is he doing here'".

arrived over 20 years ago in the district and began to work preventively without specific instructions from above. What motivated his turn towards preventive approaches was moral outrage, not the actuarial logic of action based on risk factors that developed in policy circles. During the violent 1990s, he used repressive measures to try to control gang activities. One day, he told us, a drive-by-shooting killed two innocent victims (including a pregnant woman), and this is when he said: "That's enough". He was morally outraged, sat down and reflected on his work and changed his approach, while maintaining repression when necessary. He began to see youths in their milieu, working with various local partners. Moral outrage (more than any actuarial calculation) is still what drives his action. In this more recent example he speaks of a young woman who was aggressed by gang members and his reaction:

> *And then I went to see the guys [gang members] and I said: "If I see another one trying that, trying to hit a young girl like that for nothing, I will be the first one to come and get you. He [the aggressor] is a big idiot and I don't want that anymore." And the guys, they didn't even say a word. They were about 30 guys there, and they didn't even say: "But why [did you arrest our friend]?" It's the prevention we make, the relations we create that enable us, even when we have to do repression, to get the message through. And the message was clear.*

He gave us another example where one of his colleagues was "saved" from being circled by gang members when he was responding to a call because one youth recognized him and stopped his friends from pushing the police officer in a corner. The youth remembered that he had come once "in his living room" to speak with his mother and estimated that this officer deserved respect because of that. The police officer remains marvelled at the strength of human relations:

> *In the long term, you're a winner all the way. This time, he [the youth] helped us avoid a confrontation because one day we went to sit in his mother's living-room. Special, no? No, no, it makes me flip each time. And it's always anecdotes like that that come back…*

The two well-known police patrollers in the neighbourhood have gained youth trust through their interactive skills with them, but also because they have shown concern for youths outside of their day job. Neither of them grew up nor resides in the neighbourhood, but they are very involved personally beyond police work. One of them founded a boxing club (one of the showcase projects of the gang prevention program run by the borough). Together they also created a non-profit organisation through which they raise money from private sources (foundations, businesses). With this money, they

und youth activities on an ad-hoc basis: sports leagues, athletic shoes for one kid, a barbecue in a low-income area with all residents and gang veterans, etc. This is an extra resource they created for themselves outside the police institution (but with the consent of their superiors) that enables them to be more flexible in their work with youths.

Their logic of action is marked by personalized (rather than institutionalized) relations.[11] This entails more experiential, tactical, affect-driven and sensual action, more so than strategic thinking or statistical calculations and ensuing profiling practices. These experienced patrollers, the district commander told us, know how to read the codes and detect criminals by their behaviour, not their racial characteristics or their family composition. Their logic of action works on a trial-and-error basis (despite the rigid protocols they need to follow) developed over time.

This results in certain tensions. Indeed, the two factors discussed here (small-scale deal-making and police action through interpersonal relations) constitute a fertile ground for the deployment of an "urban" logic of action closer to that observed in youths. Yet, this logic of action comes in tension with the actuarial logic of action that is guiding higher levels of the institution. Indeed, the police organization encourages upward mobility and job promotion, more than continuity on the streets. This police patroller said:

> *It is difficult, it is difficult. There lies the complexity because we have a system that valorizes ascension… if we take the police model: most police officers will not enter the organization to stay at the bottom. We want to become supervisor, commander. And as soon as you follow this ideology, it is difficult to do the work I do because at some point you need to - I'll use, I don't have any other term, it's the best one - sacrifice. But I don't personally think that's what I do, I don't make sacrifices. But it is the most appropriate term: sacrifice your career to obtain results.*

Just like many youths who spoke to us, some neighbourhood police officers prefer "human arrangements" as they were called, some human understanding of specific situations, and thus some flexibility with the rules. That sort of arrangement is only possible locally, at the micro level and could hardly be implemented at the scale of the state, for instance. Consider these words from another police officer:

> *But there is, it's funny to say, it's … there is like a tacit agreement, that is to say: "You don't make any trouble in the street, and we won't hmmm harass you." But this doesn't mean we will not have police operations. It's like there is a tacit agreement concluded respectfully, and everything will go well. And there is a sort of respect between police officers and youths and street gang members. We respect each other. I do my job, you do your job.*

[11] This is echoed by youths: "There are many nuances to make you see, because each police officer, each person, it's different. However, the system as such makes it that heavy trends/and it's also like a group dynamic that police officers live, you see, And there's a real fraternity within the police as such, so many times they will put themselves in a position of strength against us."

> *Don't bother me, I won't bother you. […] As long as we have this mutual respect, I think at the level of social peace, it will be quieter. Calls for incivility, we will see that there are not that many in the neighbourhood. […] But as I was saying, it is always fragile, right. It's not a contract with… it's not a signed contract.*

One could argue that these "informal" acts (based on an "urban" and relational inter-subjectivity more than an actuarial logic of action) may become more and more the norm, somewhat institutionalized. Indeed, as we will see in the following section, many local actors (police officers, community organizers, elected officials) narrated the same anecdotes and examples about the closeness of PDQ 30 police officers (specifically its two most renowned patrollers) with youths. This repertoire of examples is somewhat institutionalized and constitutes the common tropes of local actors. Moreover, the new Commander of the PDQ 30 who arrived a few months before we conducted our study (replacing Fady Dagher who left for the central office) clearly adopted the local ways of doing things, respecting the district's culture. He was presented to us by other police officers and by local actors as continuity, thus legitimating the district's ways, so to say. With the nomination of Fady Dagher as the right arm of the new Police Chief, who is known to be the main instigator of the "Saint-Michel model", based on proximity and interpersonal relations, these "informal" ways are further legitimized and institutionalized (with a clear willingness to reproduce the model elsewhere).

5. OTHER ACTORS IN THE SAINT-MICHEL NEIGHBOURHOOD

There is a strong local political willingness to consolidate this "Saint-Michel model". Indeed, the borough mayor and other local elected officials travel the world and receive international delegations to speak about and show the approach adopted in Saint-Michel. An elected official described the model to us like this:

> *We really work all together and we succeed. Like last year, we realized that there was a problem in one specific sector. A community organizer at the table said: "I don't understand because we have youths crowding, youths we don't know as well. They are more resistant. We don't understand." And as we discussed, another community organizer said: "Well, I didn't have my grant in the end. I couldn't offer this type of activity…" so these youths ended there. We found funds, we found money, everyone. So we really need to listen to the milieu so that it works at the microscopic level, and all together.*

The various local actors work together through regular "tables"[12], the most important being Vivre Saint-Michel en Santé. Actors are bound through different types of relationships (Chatel 2011: 57-59). Partners can either act as:

- *Financers,* transferring resources to another organization to make a specific activity possible. This is the case of the borough and other foundations (such as the McConnel foundation that funds the VSMS under its "vibrant communities" program). In turn, VSMS retransfers some of its funds to other partners

- *Coordinators* (leadership), animating the partnership. The main player here is VSMS as it ensures the coordination of various actions and their complementarity. VSMS produces a concerted action plan which then facilitates the receipt grants from the central city, the Public Health Division, and the United Way under the framework establishing the Tables in Montreal

- *Implementers,* making things happen on the ground. Community organizations receive funds for specific projects

- *Co-operators,* participating in a specific operation of a project

- *Experts*, in possession of unique knowledge or skills who are solicited by other organizations. For example, the organization Tandem is known for producing security diagnostics

[12] There is a formal mechanism in Montreal called "tables de concertation", financed jointly by the central city, the United Way and the Public Health Division. These tables work at the neighbourhood level. They are meetings where partners discuss common strategies.

- *Liaison officers*, ensuring communication between partners and the circulation of information. The PDQ 30 offers their version of a criminal event that is susceptible to come out in the media to local actors

- *Evaluators*, assessing the projects and completing the audit processes

Interviews with police officers and elected officials present a very positive view of the police role in these local partnerships. For instance, a police officer described the local dynamic in these terms:

> *And we are a bunch of partners, we have the guys from the Maison d'Haïti, the schools and their specialized educators, we have the teachers sometimes who will bring the solution, we always have someone. Sometimes it will be the soccer coach, the basket coach. Sometimes it will be [name of a colleague] with the boxing club because it is a privileged relationship. There is someone other than us who has the solution, because the solution can be something other than handcuffs in the back. It's impossible, it cannot be that and thinking that we are in the red completely, it's not the solution. That needs to be the last solution or perhaps only parts of the solution in a strategy. But we need to have a strategy for those youths, involving the parents, the partners, many people. But we have to make the move in a strategy that will have a follow-up. If not, we are losing. This is what we have been doing for years in Saint-Michel, and youths recognize that.*

We have only interviewed one community organizer, although we participated in events where many were present. One of our team members, Olivier Chatel, spent months volunteering for Tandem, observing local partnership dynamics. His analysis highlights however a more nuanced view of the relationship between the police and community organizations:

> *In order not to compromise certain investigative or coercive operations, the SPVM needs to limit the divulgation of certain information. This puts the SPVM in a position of semi-transparency towards its partners. Yet, as we will see, transparency is a condition for the development of a relationship of trust between actors.*
>
> *Then, as we know, the SPVM also does prevention work through its community relations police officers. Some prevention activities take the form of prevention workshops in schools and the deployment of police cadets, mostly during the summer. When many actors do similar prevention activities, it creates some mandate encroachments that are susceptible to produce tensions.*
>
> *Moreover, the SPVM created new civil positions (conseiller en concertation) following the summer 2008 events in Montreal North. This shows the SPVM's willingness to remain autonomous by opening these positions internally rather than getting more deeply involved in the existing community partnership procedures. (Chatel 2011: 53, translation is ours)*

As Chatel recognizes further in his thesis, the new *conseiller en concertation* also responds to police needs. A police officer described her role as such:

> *She goes to see citizens to try to explain why the police acts the way it does, and at the same time she will go see officers and try to explain: "But if the citizen acts this way, this is why." So she will go according to the culture, the religion, a bit of everything. And thus she often demystifies. You know, in the police we say she often "blows off the balloons" [in English]. So she is able to say maybe: "You know, I went in this family, but finally you know, it's mental health." So she is able to refer and she can say: "Well, there is police intervention and the police officers will act in such a way, this is why." This we don't have time, not that we don't want to, but during an intervention, sometimes I don't have time because when I am done on an arrest, well I go to the operation centre or to the prison.*

Other factors highlighted by Chatel to nuance the positive view of local partnerships are the large financial resources controlled by the SPVM relative to community organisations. This reinforces the image that the police can act alone. Further, there are sometimes hesitations on the part of community organizers to be seen as working with the police, most notably youth workers. Such collaboration may endanger the trust relationship established between youths and youth workers.

Despite these tensions, the cohesiveness and effectiveness of local partnerships in Saint-Michel is very strong and this is what is politically "sold" to the rest of the City and to the world. Beyond these community partnerships, other local actors play an important role in mediating youth-police relations. The specific role of youth patrollers will be explored in the next section. Let us focus here on two actors: ethnic business owners and White citizens.

The Little Maghreb sector is a portion of Jean-Talon Street, officially designated as such under the initiative of the current borough mayor. The mayor focused on that sector as it has witnessed a number of new youth-related complaints in the past few years: crowding, hanging out on the street. When there is a soccer match, the cafés become very dynamic social spaces that overflow onto the street. This creates apprehensions. The Maison d'Haïti hired a new youth patroller specifically for that area. During the 2010 World Cup, 7000 people celebrated on the street, and they posted only four police officers, we were told:

> *We went and got people from the community to ensure [security]: "It's your soccer party, and given that you are all here, you will make sure everything goes correctly." Police, well, it was too much. We posted only our most renowned officers [three names] and a couple of others. It went really well. At one point, they picked up [name of one officer]. They were throwing him in the air. He had his gun and everything! We were saying something will*

> *happen… but they finally put him back down and they applauded and they left. You know, it's to show that there is respect. And respect generates respect. These are the values we try to inculcate in our youths.*

We witnessed similar behaviour when we observed how a Morocco-Algeria match unfolded on Jean-Talon Street, on June 4, 2011. Youths were sitting with flags on police cars, chanting, having fun. Police officers and the mayor were walking around, saying hi to everyone, a little like a politician on a campaign (shaking hands, smiling). Things became tenser at the end of the match, when a group of Algerian youths began to throw bottles and rocks at a group of Moroccan youths on the other side of the street. The few police officers there entered the crowd, in-between the two groups, along with a youth patroller, and the head of the youth patroller program. They were simply breaking fights or arguments, trying to calm things down. Business owners of both origins entered the crowd and began to take aside the most problematic youths, screaming at them like parents would: "Why did you do this? We were having fun. And now things are over. What will they think?", etc. We were standing just behind the group of Moroccan youths, in front of a Moroccan bakery. The owner came out, and began to speak to the youths, asking them to call their friends and meet further down the street. Phones began to work and they slowly moved away. In the meantime, the riot police arrived. They stood in line with their full gear, without advancing. They didn't do anything and remained at about 50 metres from where the youths were. In the end, both groups of youths walked hand-in-hand with both flags towards the riot police chanting: "Go Habs Go!"[13] and the party continued calmly.

Such cultural mediation is absent in other instances. We heard many stories of tensions between Black youths and older Italians or Whites generally:

> *Most of the time, it's Quebec women who cause problems. When they see us, they start flipping out. When they see us, they find us like, ok. We're the bandit, squarely the assassin. Even if we are calm, we are not mad, we are not screaming in the street. We are just walking. And as soon as we get close to her, she starts to hold her things. It happened to me once.*

Police officers are also sensitive to citizen racism:

> *Because racial profiling doesn't only come from the police officer. If a citizen sees a group of youths on the other side of the street, they are just on the corner talking to each other, well they think there's a street gang on the street corner: "Come police! They are fighting!" Well no, perhaps kids are pushing each other around, but they are not fighting. But we arrive BLING [showing the attacking attitude] because we received a call.*

[13] *Habs* is the nickname for the Montreal hockey team (the Canadians). By chanting this, Moroccan and Algerian (and Tunisian) youths were attempting to establish connections with the police officers through cultural closeness (thinking that hockey is for police officers the same as soccer is for them).

What comes out of our conversations with various local actors is the need to continuously work on trust relationships with youths and between partners. As quoted in the last section, a police officer pointed clearly to the fragility of the Saint-Michel model (or the pacification it enabled): "But as I was saying, it is always fragile, right. It's not a contract with… it's not a signed contract". A similar assessment was made by an elected official: "We cannot take anything for granted. Youths change, grow older, others replace them. So it's always, always, always, to redo. And so we need to be attuned to these changes." In the latter case, the complaint was linked to financial needs. When crime rates and other risk indicators go down, the interviewee was explaining, money transfers dry up. It is thus politically important to show effectiveness with grant money (using the risk factor framework), but also to show that the neighbourhood still needs to work on certain issues. For instance, this same elected official explained to us how people felt in Saint-Michel after the Montreal North riots:

> *It created a feeling of injustice here when the events happened two years ago. We were waiting for funding like the others and the train passed by and stopped on the other side. There was even a moment when our youths rebelled: "We are going to do one [a riot] as well, we are going to instigate events like in Montreal North, and we will have funding afterwards."*

But beyond this, the local political strategy remains deeply rooted in the actuarial logic of action, because of audit mechanisms linked to gang prevention money, but this is also embedded in the discourse:

> *Interviewer: Is it a term you use, "at-risk youth?"*
>
> *Official: Yes, yes, because you are at risk all the time. Look, you have all the basic criteria: poverty, single-parent, difficulty to find something to eat, of course after that you risk quitting school, you risk doing many things. They are at-risk youths. They seek money with street gangs, rapid consumption, friends around them (what you don't have in your family because your mom is perhaps single with her kids) and so there is all of this together. Thus when it's poor, when it's multicultural, these two factors together, of course these are zones of risk sectors. […] This is the reality and you know, for us we know that the fact we recognize them as being at-risk enables us to organize activities consequently […] We have no choice, the criteria are there. For us this is reality. What we want is that one day we won't have at-risk youths anymore.*

In brief, depending on their institutional context, local actors will show different types of attitudes towards youths. Elected officials have to navigate with pressures from higher levels of government, competition with other boroughs for resources, and electoral imperatives in relation to citizens. Community organizers tend to adopt an empathic discourse tinted with references to empowerment. Business owners (in the Little Maghreb) seek to protect the sector's reputation in the face of citizens from other

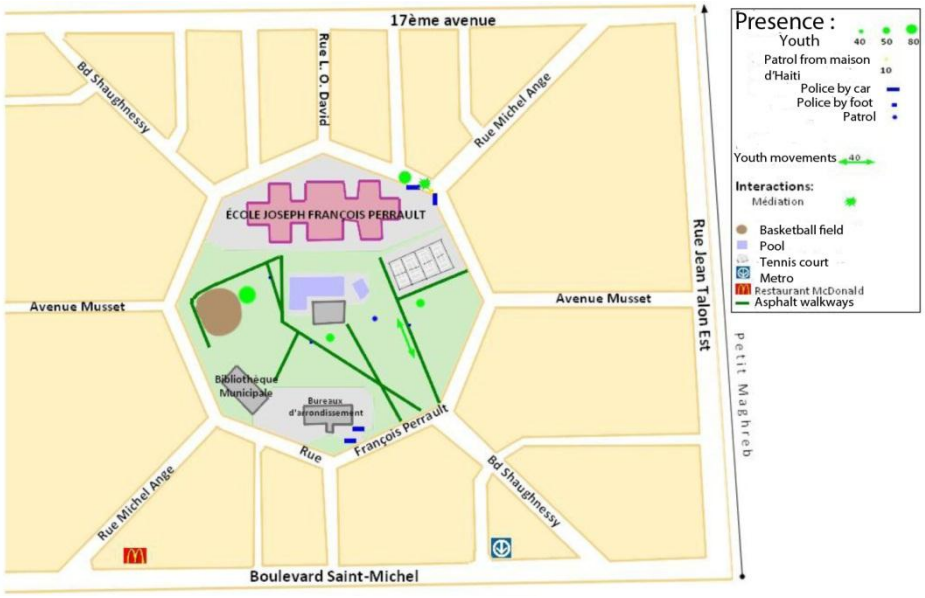
ethnic origins and of elected officials and the police. Police officers speak more in terms of mutual respect, as if they are engaged in a relation between equal forces. We will return to these police-youth interactions in more detail in the following section.

What this brief analysis of other local actors shows is that the absence or presence of mediating actors has an impact on how youths are perceived. For instance, youth patrollers act as mediators between police and youths. But they do not mediate the relationship between the police and veteran gang leaders. The presence or absence of mediators also influences how youths inspire fear or not to local residents. In the case of business owners in the Little Maghreb, their mediation between youths and the police helps smooth some of the building tensions. Such ethnically-marked mediation is not as evident in the case of the tensions described above between older Italians and younger Haitian youth.

6. YOUTH-POLICE INTERACTIONS IN SAINT-MICHEL

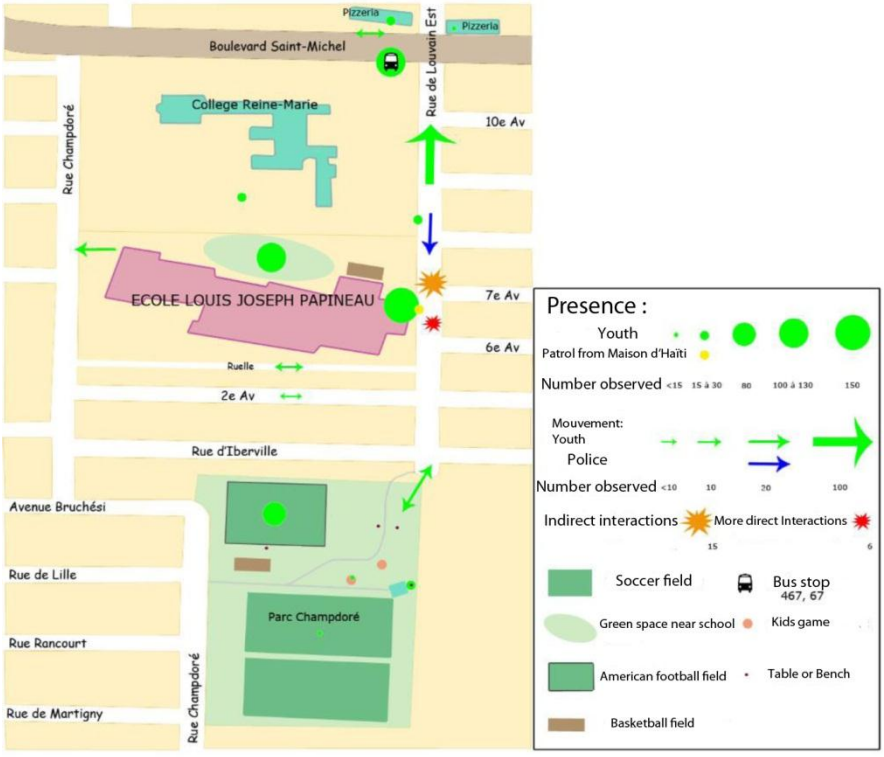
Many of the youths we interviewed said that the police will perceive them as good or bad depending on how they dress. One of them told us that he was called aside by a police officer because he had a *rasta* hairdo. Girls have not insisted as much on such interactions based on their appearance. There is very little evidence in our interviews of direct dominating interactions. But youths do complain about difficulties with the police when they are in group in public spaces. They globally see the police institution as a "pain in the neck". Even if youth-police interactions are not openly in conflict, police officers tend to show that they legitimately control the situation. In this context, youths tend to accommodate. But this does not mean that conflict is inexistent, it tends to be latent and as one youth told us: "a spark could blow up the shed." In our interviews and mostly through our field observations, we sought to highlight how and where youths and police interact in everyday neighbourhood situations. On what modes are these interactions unfolding? We noticed three main modes of interaction (in order of importance): negotiation, avoidance, and confrontation. Before exploring these three modes, let us specify where these interactions were observed.

Figure 16: Synthesis of interactions observed in the François-Perrault Park and its surroundings



Most of the direct contact between youths and police officers that we observed in daily situations was around the two schools at the end of classes. Interactions during the special events which we attended differed greatly, most notably because of the carnivalesque atmosphere. In daily settings, interactions are often indirect (eye contacts, smiles, simply noting the presence of police officers) or mediated by youth patrollers who hang out around the schools at that time. We observed less interaction around the François-Perrault Park, the subway station and the McDonald's than around the Louis-Joseph Papineau High School (Figures 16 and 17). The setting of the former site is more open and diffused, less conducive to interactions, whereas in the latter, most interactions occurred right at the school's exit, along Louvain Street. In both sites, youths created spaces of their own where they could be amongst themselves. This is more the case in the second site because police spend less time in the park adjacent to the school, compared to the first site where many structured activities take place and where police officers either bike or walk around.

Figure 17: Synthesis of interactions observed near the Louis-Joseph Papineau High School



6.1 Negotiation

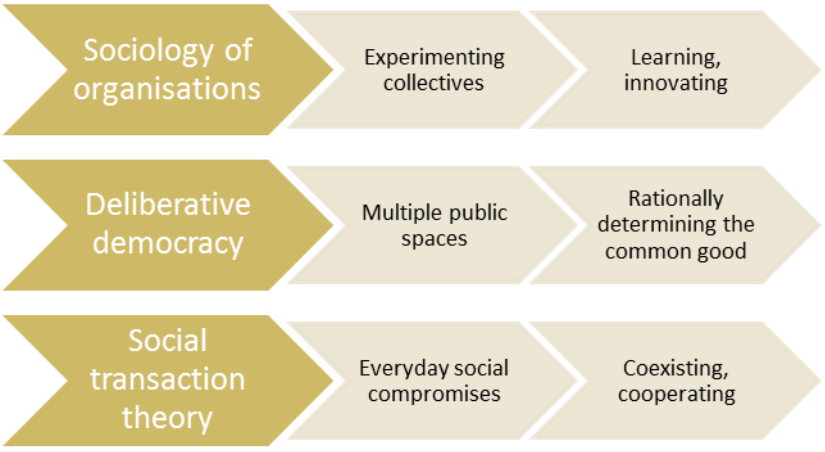
Negotiation does not have a pejorative connotation, nor does it refer to illegal or illicit forms of deal-making. It is a concept central to democratic theory. For the sociology of organizations developed by Callon, Lascoumes, and Barthe, negotiation (used interchangeably with deliberation) requires a framework within which negotiation can occur. That is, we need to first negotiate the fact that we will negotiate, a premise that implies a plan, a strategy, more than a tactical adaptation. Negotiation requires meta-negotiation. It refers to deal-making transactions, but also to the possibility to negotiate the procedure: who can be part of the negotiation, what is to be negotiated. This body of literature calls for shifting the analytical focus from the democratic decision-making process to the experimental and learning process of negotiating:

> *Instead of having constituted individuals or interests that have to cope with one another, we have a work-in-progress fabricated by experimenting collectives that discuss with one another in order to prioritize identities, expectations, demands, resources, etc. (Callon, Lascoumes, and Barthe 2001: 128, translation is ours)*

This conception comes close to Habermasian deliberative democracy in that it focuses on the process of exchange more than the moment of decision. However, it differs from deliberative democracy because it puts the procedural framework up for negotiation. For Habermas, deliberations need to work within a stable framework, guaranteeing equality of all parties in order to reach the most rational argument. The importance of Habermas' work in the 1980s was to challenge representative democracy and to bring deliberation back to the streets. The founding moment of democracy, for him, is not elections but the constitution of public opinion through the multiplications of deliberative public spaces invested by ordinary citizens (Sintomer in Bacqué and Sintomer 2011: 123). Rather than seeing public opinion as the irrationality of the masses, Habermas confers to deliberating the power to produce practical rationality. In this sense, Habermasian deliberations go beyond the mere deal-making often associated with the concept of negotiation. If they take place in a just procedural context, democratic deliberations would lead to the common good and the production of consensus, because the epistemological assumption of the theory is that each citizen is capable of contributing reasonably and usefully to solving collective problems. Habermas was criticized by many for downplaying the difficulties of access to deliberations because of its rational and gendered bias. However, these critiques speak of gender, class, and cultural norms as barriers to deliberation, but what access do "at-risk" youths and illicit actors such as gang veterans have?

Social transaction theory focuses on micro-level instances of negotiation, such as those observed in this study. Their starting proposal is that in order to realize their projects, individuals invent written and unwritten rules and construct "compromises of coexistence" (Blanc 1994: 24). The theory looks at conflicts (latent or exposed) as constitutive of social life. These conflicts are not conceived as being a confrontation of permanently constituted interests (youths against police), but more as permanent efforts to regulate and renegotiate social relations. This constant and dynamic process of social regulation through the negotiation of compromises aims to enable cooperation in spite of conflict. This approach uses negotiation and cooperation interchangeably, with a preference for the latter because it has a more positive connotation. It seeks to understand how society "holds" together despite differences.

Figure 18: Three democratic theories on negotiation



These three bodies of theoretical reflections on negotiation are based on the assumption that conflict can be channelled through negotiation/deliberation/cooperation/ experimentation. If so, it becomes socially productive (learning, innovating, communicatively determining the common good, coexisting). These theories focus on the fluidity of actors and situations of negotiation more than rigid axes of conflict (between youths and police). The very process of negotiating gives meaning to the actors that are constructing themselves as such in situations of negotiation.

These three theories focus on situations of negotiation (the experimenting collectives, the public spaces, or the everyday micro-social compromises) at various scales from the street to the institutional. Yet, they work from two premises that make it difficult to analyse youth practices. Firstly, even if they conceptualize negotiating actors as dynamically shifting allegiances and interests, they nevertheless prioritize rational (and

thus competitive) argumentation between opposing desires. This supposes that actors are facing each other in an initial stand-off, and thus that each actor needs to recognize the opponent. What happens then when some individuals or groups are not recognized as participating in the negotiation? This is expressed in these words from a young man we interviewed:

> *But there are certain forms of negotiation between police – from what I heard, you know I don't have any problems etc. but – between police and certain, and certain, and certain big shots... let's say chiefs, you know what I mean, you know. But it is more informal, you know what I mean, like for example hmmm… […] But it is informal, you see, yes, there is a certain negotiation indeed, yes, a certain negotiation also, you see what I mean, because they recognize each other also, you see what I mean.*

In these words, the young man says that police officers recognize business actors, but not youths. This needs to be nuanced by differentiating between "at-risk" youths and gang veterans in the neighbourhood. The former are indeed in search of recognition. This comes out in many interviews:

> *Interviewer: When you see a police officer in the neighbourhood, how do you feel? What do you do?*
>
> *Youth: I feel disgusted. Yeah.*
>
> *Interviewer: Why?*
>
> *Youth: Because I had problems for nothing, because they accused me. They told me I broke a window and really it's not true. The day I was walking by to go to school, I passed by my father's and he saw that it was only to pick up the garbage. There was no broken window, there was nothing. They didn't even verify. They just accused. They believe the girl, and yeah, I had problems for nothing.*
>
> *Interviewer: Somebody accused you?*
>
> *Youth: Yeah*
>
> *Interviewer: A girl accused you of having broken a window?*
>
> *Youth: Yeah.*

An elected official spoke in terms of dignity to describe the situation *before*: "The youth, in all the drama he is living, whether at school, in the family, etc. And on top of that he doesn't feel respected, he often feels attacked in his personal dignity in his relations with the police." Many youths still feel this way and this is recognized by police officers:

> *They will say: "You are persecuting us" and the police officer will say: "I'm responding to a profile." And if it is not the case, well the youths don't know all of that. This is where I think there is a need to work on both sides to raise awareness, to educate youths and police officers as well. More proximity, it's not only playing sports; it's also learning the other's competencies, learning about his work field. If you know I must do this work, I will do it. And it's not because police officers will play basket that they won't arrest him.*

But such search for recognition is not present in police officers' discourse about gang veterans (we did not interview veterans directly, but we saw them interacting with the police at a barbecue in their housing project). When speaking about gang veterans, police officers emphasize mutual respect and recognition of both parties in the negotiation:

> *It is one of the toughest places in Montreal [the housing project], go around and try to find a tag, just one. It's their living milieu, there is no graffiti. There could be plenty. This is a nice thing that was installed by the City: guys [gang members] respect their living milieu. And this, often youths will tell you, they speak of respect. Go speak to them. Because these are values on which we insisted very much: lack of respect = consequences. It's one of the values on which we can never insist enough, one of the values on which we have been betting for years. And on our side, you will have our respect. This never prevents police investigations or arrests.*

In return for this respect, gang veterans "protect" the police:

> *It was a blue veteran, a Crips leader. He saw that [the police officer being harassed by a young man]. He came and said: "Is there a problem [name of police officer]?" "No, I don't think there is a problem" and he looks at the guy and the guy afterwards was looking there [elsewhere] [laughs].*

The police also strategically use the power of these veterans to make sure the activities they organize for "at-risk" youths unfold without problems. They ask the veterans to pass the word: no problem during that activity. The search for mutual recognition of actors in the negotiation, in brief, is still important for "at-risk" youths, but not really for gang veterans.

A second premise of the democratic theories centred on negotiation reviewed above, is that democratic (or socially-productive) negotiation is conceptualized as bound by specific rules, i.e., as confined within the limits of formal policy or legal frames. This consequently excludes many of the informal forms of negotiation we are concerned with here. We have seen how local practices sometimes differ from the actuarial logic of policy documents, and that Saint-Michel has developed its own locally-specific ways of interacting with youths. For police officers, indeed, negotiation is presented as the channel through which they achieved pacification in the neighbourhood with the help of

all local partners. In their case, negotiation was about building trust in the long-term. It began as a trial-and-error tactic that then transformed itself into a planned strategy, later politically "exported" as a best practice. For (non-gang) youths, however, negotiation is more of a reactive act in a specific situation. It pays on an ad-hoc basis more than in the long-term. Youths do not perceive negotiation as a long-term trust-building process. Instead, they see it as a way to become empowered as an actor in the situations they encounter. A youth explains:

> *They [the police] are not that mean. It all depends on how you are with them, your behaviour. If sometimes I get arrested and all, I know I'm not legal. But the way I talk, I am nice, I don't argue, I'm not arrogant. Suspicion will be suspended, because you were nice today. "I give you a chance" It is solved like that. You don't have to be really arrogant. Police officers act according to you, to the way you come to them. If you are annoying, they will be annoying. If you are nice, they will be nice. There are also really mean police officers. This is life.*

Youth describe how they learned these tactical tips through experience:

> *How I feel? I stay calm, hmmm because with experience, because with the experience of the street, it's it's, I had to learn that you see. It's that when you see a police officer and all, stay calm, you see. If you have nothing, if you have nothing, and mostly if you have something [laughs]. If you see what I mean. Stay calm and continue with your normal things, you see what I mean. And if, for example, they ask you what you are doing there, etc. Respond politely, say: "Well, me, well it's a friend, etc. and I think it doesn't concern us either."*

Youth repeat that their interactions with the police are about discussing in order to "really better relations".[14]

6.2 Avoidance

A second important mode of interaction emerging from our data is avoidance. Youths expressed that police officers invade their space. Consider these two examples:

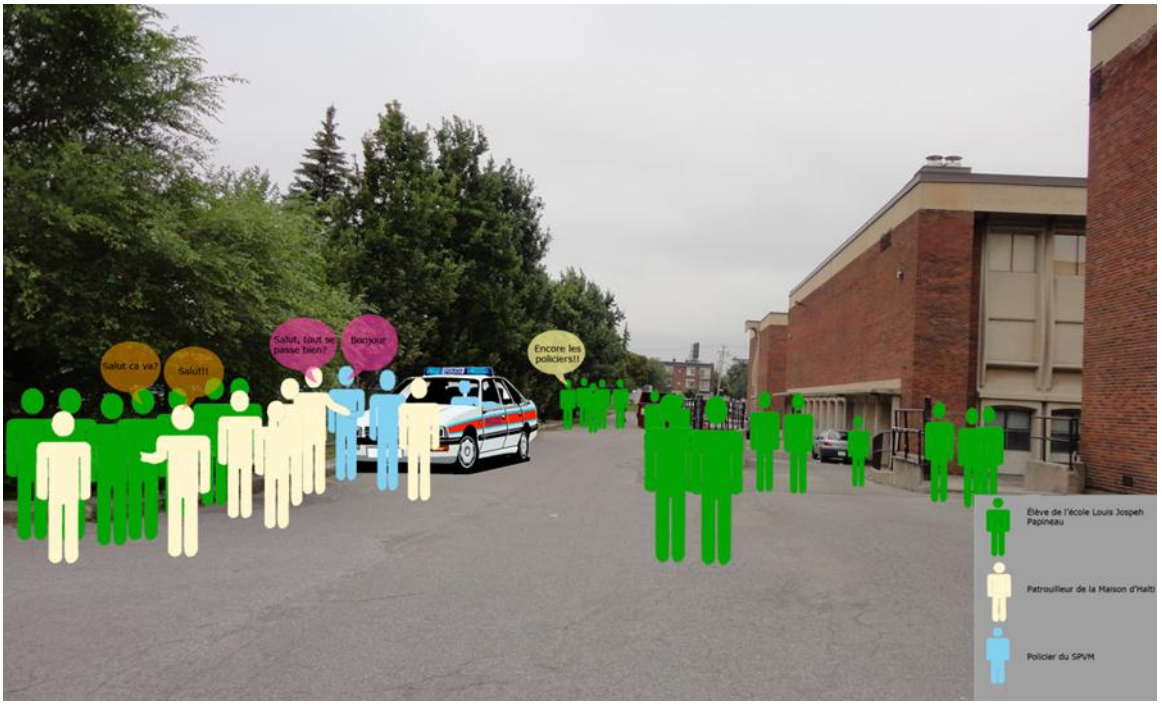
> *Mostly, youths see the police as a bit disturbing, and hmmm. It's like they are really present in their intimacy, like the intimacy of the community is the street.*

[14] A youth worker confirms: "So today we can say that police-youth relations in Saint-Michel are much less tensed than elsewhere, because police officers here in Saint-Michel learned that youths are not numbers, but it's us because we form a community. At the level of police officers, they discussed many times with us [name of two officers], they know youths in Saint-Michel and they don't speak to them the same way as a few years ago. They see them, they meet them, they speak to them. So it's not confrontation anymore. Between youths and police officers, **it's a sort of discussion** and finally a youth who is breaching the law understands that he committed a blunder and they quietly handcuff him. Whereas before, the police was using force and it didn't always work."

> *Because it seems to me that because people have a bad impression of Saint-Michel, this forces police officers to always be vigilant for nothing. And sometimes, they are just arrogant. Just thinking we are hiding something, but really it's nothing. And this is why youths get annoyed and that police officers think we are really savage people. But in the end, I don't think so, because it's like they're always on your back even if you know you don't do anything. One day you will get angry because you know this person is only there to annoy you, no? So I think it is that.*

We observed such annoyance in the field many times. The following figure describes recurrent situations in the François-Perrault Park. The green represents youths, a group of them remaining a little aside and saying: "Oh no! Not the police again!" Youth patrollers (in white) play an important mediating role in these interactions, smoothing annoyance and trying as much as possible to explain the police presence (in blue).

Figure 19: Representation of recurrent situations of interaction in the François-Perrault Park



Source: Laboratoire VESPA

6.3 Confrontation

A third mode of interaction is direct confrontation. Consider these three interview excerpts:

> *Interviewer: When you see a police officer in the neighbourhood, how do you feel?*

Youth: Ready to fight.

Youth: I was walking with my girlfriend, I went to pick her up at work and they arrested me, they came out of the car and they started to hit me with their baton.

Interviewer: They hit you?

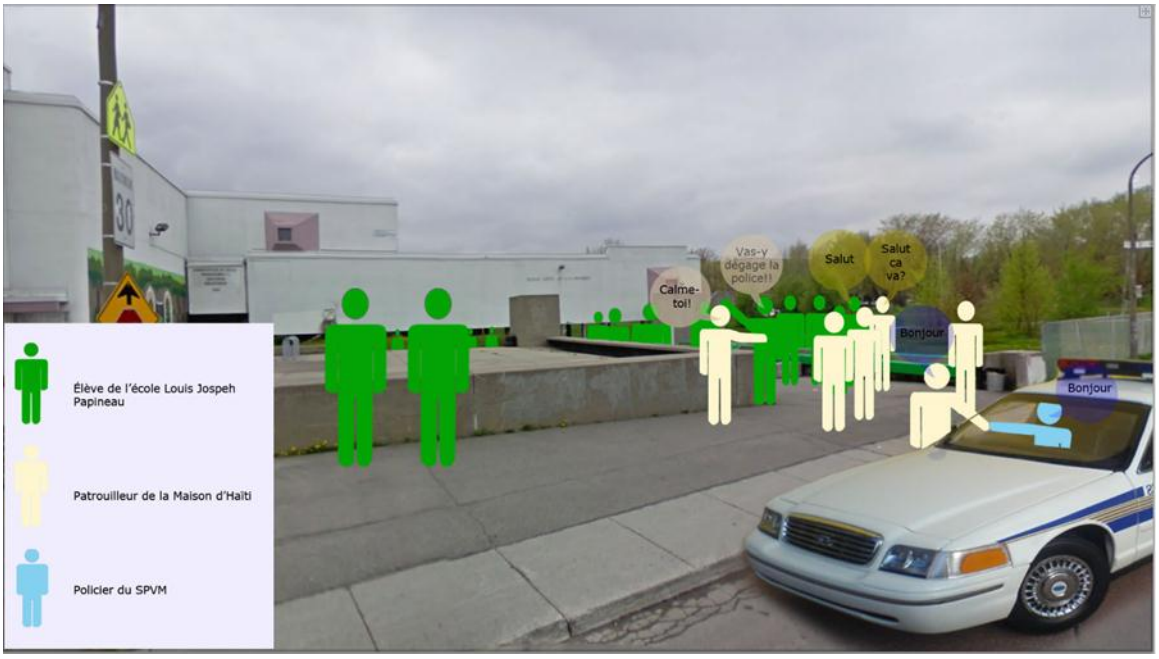
Youth: Yes, they thought I was someone else. They should've asked questions before taking out the baton. They asked questions after.

Interviewer: How do people in the neighbourhood see police officers?

Youth: As enemies. We don't like them the same way they don't like us.

In the following figure of a situation observed near the Louis-Joseph Papineau High School, youth patrollers again play an important buffer role. The police stayed at least 30 minutes in their car across the street, just observing as school ended. When they left, we heard a group of young men saying: "Go away! Fuck off the police."

Figure 20: Representation of a situation of interaction near the Louis-Joseph Papineau High School



Source: Laboratoire VESPA

Confrontation was, however, not the most significant mode of interaction we observed. Further research is needed to better understand the reasons why. Moreover, the motives behind the choice of one mode of interaction over another require further reflection.

PART II: THE CASE OF THE SEVEN BARRIOS IN IZTAPALAPA, MEXICO CITY

7. THE SEVEN BARRIOS OF IZTAPALAPA, MEXICO CITY

Research for this project was conducted in seven adjoining neighbourhoods (as will be discussed in this section, the correct name for these neighbourhoods is actually the term "barrios") in the Mexico City borough of Iztapalapa.[15] This section focuses on the geographic and demographic characteristics of the seven barrios, beginning with a bird's eye perspective of how these barrios fit into the larger puzzle of Iztapalapa geographically and demographically.

7.1 Iztapalapa

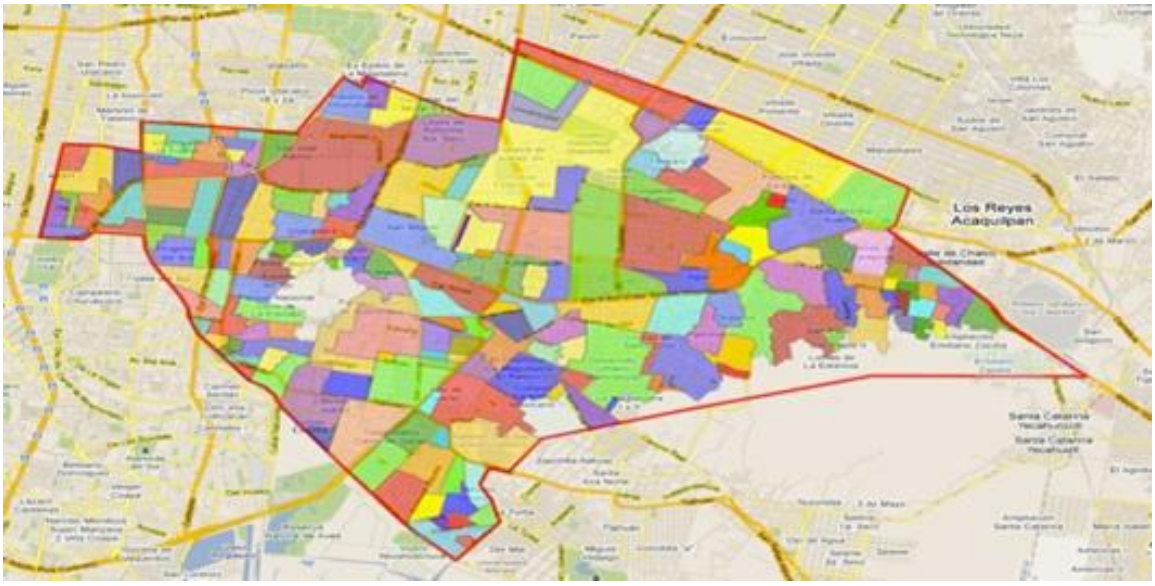
Mexico City is comprised of 16 *delegaciones*, of which Iztapalapa is one (highlighted in green in Figure 21). The population of Iztapalapa is approximately 1.85 million residents, making it the most populous *delegación* in the City with close to 21% of the City's population. With an area of 45.2 square miles, the *delegación* is the Federal District's second largest in size and has the third highest population density. Iztapalapa is also home to the largest population of youth in all of Mexico City, with close to 600,000 individuals between the ages of X and Y.[16]

Figure 21: Map of Mexico City

[15] There are eight barrios in Iztapalapa, but only seven were selected for this research. The barrio of San Miguel (in blue on figure 24) was excluded from the research.

[16] http://www.jornada.unam.mx/2010/09/06/index.php?section=capital&article=037n1cap

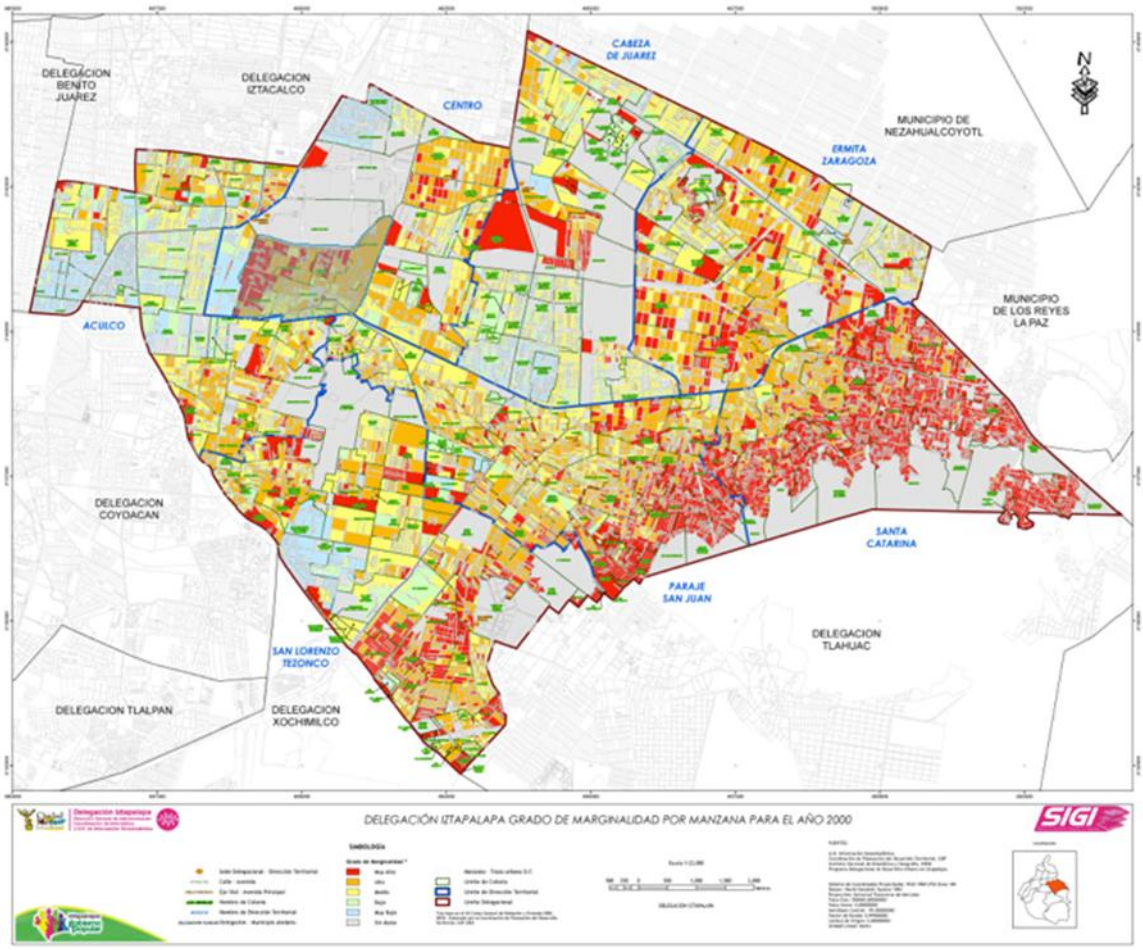
Figure 22: Map of Iztapalapa neighbourhoods



Source: http://data.mapchannels.com

Iztapalapa is infamous for being one of the most violent and criminally inclined *delegaciones* in Mexico City. The most recent data published by the *Procuradoría General de Justicia del Distrito Federal* signals that Iztapalapa topped the list in the number of delinquency investigations per year with 30,083 in 2011 (or 82.4 per day). It is important to highlight, however, that when accounting for the population density of the delegación, its ranking drops significantly to 12th out of 16. Specifically, per 10,000 habitants, 159.7 incidents occurred in Iztapalapa in 2011 compared to 574.5 in the *delegación* Cuauhtémoc and an average of 221.8 in the City as a whole. While this signals that compared to other *delegaciones* crimes committed within Iztapalapa accounting for population size are relatively low, this does not mean that criminality is not highly engrained in the *delegación*.

Figure 23: Marginalization in Iztapalapa



Source: Delegación Iztapalapa at the request of the author.

According to Dr. José Arturo Yáñez Romero (2005), Iztapalapa residents often travel to other *delegaciones* to conduct criminal activity, for example car theft. Yañez also discusses at length the significance of drug trade in Iztapalapa and its growth and prevalence, particularly given the *delegación's* border with municipalities from El Estado de Mexico. Additionally, as Muller (2010) highlights, citing a 2006 article from the newspaper La Jornada: "In 2006, a report from the local Ministry for Social Development identified 63 territorial units, located in 43 neighbourhoods, as the principal generators and receptors of crime in Mexico City. Nineteen of these territorial units were identified in Iztapalapa, placing it at the top of this list." Thus, Iztapalapa, although relatively low on delinquency rankings per 10,000 people, is by no means a quiet or tranquil neighbourhood in terms of criminal activity.

Beyond criminal activity, the *delegación* is also known for having one of the highest rates of marginalization in Mexico City.[17] The "*Atlas Socioeconómico y de Marginación para el D.F.*,"[18] which was produced in 2003 utilizing 2000 census data, highlights that 54.5% of the *delegación's* population lives in a condition of very high or high social marginality. All of the seven barrios selected for this research fall into the category of very high and high marginalization. Figure 23 shows the levels of marginalization in Iztapalapa; the seven barrios are shaded lightly in gray.

7.2 The seven barrios

The seven barrios selected are all part of Iztapalapa's *Territorio Centro* and include: Barrio San Pablo, Barrio San José, Barrio San Pedro, Barrio San Ignacio, Barrio Santa Barbara, Barrio San Lucas, and Barrio La Asunción. Their boundaries and layout are highlighted in greater detail in Figure 24 (disregard blue area east of Eje [route] 6).

Figure 24: Map of the seven barrios

Source: http://data.mapchannels.com/mc3/8470/iztapalapa_8470.htm?v=3&x=-99.060115&y=19.339491&z=13&t=0&f=1

[17] Marginalization contemplates variables ranging from education levels to the quality of housing. See: http://www.siege.df.gob.mx/copladet/index.html. For the atlas, each neighbourhood in Mexico City was graded as having a level of marginalization that is: very low, low, medium, high, or very high.

[18] http://www.siege.df.gob.mx/copladet/index.html.

7.2.1 DEMOGRAPHY AND MARGINALIZATION IN THE SEVEN BARRIOS

Demographic information about each of the barrios is presented in Figure 25. In addition to the population of each barrio, the table also reflects that no more than 23.6% of a barrio's population over the age of 15 in 2000 had completed middle school education.[19] Also, (formal) employment is limited for youth aged 15-29. However, the data also reflects that between the ages of 24 and 29, youth tend to move towards formal employment in significant numbers. Yet, the same data source indicates that of those formally employed, between 50% and 60% per barrio made equal to or less than roughly ten dollars per day.[20]

Figure 25: Demographic information and marginality in the seven barrios

	Pop.	Youth (15-24)	Age 15+ Midl. School Comp.	Age 15-24 Employed	Age 15-29 Employed	Marginality
B. San Pablo	4,976	873	22.0%	17.5%	34.3%	High
B. San José	2,683	458	23.6%	20.1%	35.9%	V. High
B. San Pedro	4,134	845	22.6%	22.4%	39.2%	V. High
B. San Ignacio	6,060	1,237	23.1%	23.6%	40.2%	V. High
B. Santa Bárbara	14,221	2,940	22.8%	25.6%	42.8%	V. High
B. San Lucas	7,374	1,414	23.6%	18.4%	33.7%	High
B. La Asunción	3,884	770	22.6%	22.1%	38.7%	V. High
Total	**43,332**	**8,537**				
		19.70%				

Source: www.sideso.df.gob.mx/index.php?id=35. Based on 2000 census data

7.2.2 PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SEVEN BARRIOS

As reflected in Figure 24, the seven barrios adjoin one another and are encircled by three main Mexico City transportation arteries: Ermita Iztapalapa to the south, Eje 5 to the east, Eje 6 to the north, and the main road Hualquila to the West. The northern borders of San Ignacio, La Asunción, San José and Santa Barbara, and the western border of San Pedro touch the *Central de Abastos*, Mexico City's primary wholesale food market, which is federal land.

[19] Note that this is about average for Mexico City as of the early 2000s (Iztapalapa perfil Sociodemografico, p. 20).

[20] In Mexico, the minimum daily wage allowed by law is approximately five dollars. Therefore, residents make equal to or less than the minimum daily salary in Mexico.

Figure 26: The maze of alleyways in the seven barrios

The layout of the barrios internally consists of few large thoroughfares, with the exception of the 5 de Mayo which is the border between San Lucas and San Ignacio and La Asunción. Within the barrios, secondary streets tend to be narrow. The most important layout characteristic within the barrios is the maze of alleyways and closed streets that stem from secondary streets.

Alleyways can be extremely narrow (some to the point that a moped can barely go through) and cannot be appropriately perceived on general maps of the area such as those presented thus far in this document. Indeed, the official maps that the *delegaciónal* government utilizes, created with GIS, do not capture all alleyways.

The maze of alleyways and closed streets make it difficult for police to patrol neighbourhoods by car. Moreover, without knowledge of how to navigate the maze, it is easy to find oneself travelling deeper into the maze instead of making one's way out, especially at night. It is within this maze that nightlife, especially for youth, takes place, a topic we return to in the discussion of barrio dynamics below. For now it is also important to highlight that infrastructure within the barrios is often in need of repair or improvement. Throughout the barrios, for example, it is rare to see a secondary street with all of its streetlights operational (Figure 27). Potholes and missing sewer caps are also typical. In many cases, streetlights do not function because residents (or outsiders) short-circuit the lights and steal the valuable copper wire. Similarly, many sewer caps are stolen. Trying to keep up with repairs due to vandalism and similar is a daunting challenge for the borough government and often loses priority over other projects.

Figure 27: State of street lights in the seven barrios

Indeed, as Margarito mentioned half-joking early on in the research [paraphrasing]: "Don't think about going into the maze on your own; at least with me if things get really bad, I can tell you which way to run to get out and not get sucked in further." The preferred method to navigate the barrios is on moped or motorbike, both of which proliferate in the area. Travel beyond the boundaries of the seven barrios is facilitated by a vast array of public transportation options including a public bus hub connected to a metro station (pictured below) and two other metro stations within the immediate area.

The most important public space shared by the seven barrios is the central *esplanada*, which is the location of the *delegación's* central government offices. Each barrio also has a plaza, though these are typically small, poorly lit, and controlled by groups of youths at night who are usually drinking and/or taking drugs. There is also a noticeable absence of recreational green space in the seven barrios. In the previous *delegación* administration, an empty lot adjacent to the church in Barrio San Lucas was scheduled to become a playground for children. However, the current administration is utilizing the space as its main propaganda printing location, producing large scale banners, pamphlets, etc.

Figure 28: Iztapalapa metro station

7.2.3 COMMUNITY ACTORS, TRADITION, AND GANGS

As mentioned previously, in Iztapalapa there is a difference between a "colonia" (neighbourhood) and a "barrio." The seven barrios, together with Barrio San Miguel are considered the cultural heart of Iztapalapa. The names of the barrios, which can be traced back to 1898, reflect their Catholic traditions.[22] This point is further reflected by the existence of a church within each barrio that serves to this day as the principal location for local organization, if not spiritual, then certainly political. In 1833, a cholera outbreak led Iztapalapa residents to begin a tradition of re-enacting Christ's walk to the cross during Semana Santa (Easter Holy Week). For over one hundred years this event has been organized, takes place in all the barrios and is visited by over two million people annually. Additionally, each barrio celebrates its saint's day and, in the run-up to Semana Santa, streets throughout each barrio organize *carnavales* where residents dress up in costumes and parade around the streets (pictured below).

[22] Source: http://www.iztapalapa.gob.mx/htm/0101090400_2005.html.

Figure 29: Barrio carnival

It is interesting, and important in regard to this research to point out that those that participate in these festivities are *nativos* (natives) of the barrios. Families can trace their family lineage and residency in the seven barrios at times more than a hundred years back. As many *nativos* in the neighbourhoods expressed on numerous occasions, to this day they can identify themselves simply by surnames. It can be generalized based on interviews and participant observation that non-*nativos* are considered outsiders. *Nativos* highlight that actors, in particular those associated with the government, need to respect their traditions and way of life. Similarly, with the exception of examples when national and international tourists visit the barrios for Semana Santa, anyone who is not recognized by the community is looked upon (literally and figuratively) with suspicion (researchers included – highlighting again the good fortune that Héctor Salazar Salame had to find a *nativo* willing to chaperone him around the barrios, especially at night).

In terms of the gangs in the seven barrios, traditionally there have been ongoing feuds between the different barrios, led by their respective gangs that often lead to violence. According to informal interviews conducted with residents of the barrios, compared to past decades the area has been relatively calmer in terms of inter-barrio violence given that many gang leaders were either killed or put in jail. The topic of gangs is explored in greater detail in the section below regarding youth.

8. INSTITUTIONAL ACTIONS AND PROGRAMS FOR GANG PREVENTION IN IZTAPALAPA

8.1 Structure of policing in Iztapalapa and the seven barrios

There are two types of police actors responsible for security and public safety in the seven barrios: the Metropolitan Police (*Policía Sectorial*) and the Auxiliary Police, or *Auxiliares* (*Policía Auxiliar*) Sector 56. Each is presented in turn, followed by a discussion of their relationship to one another.

8.1.1 POLICÍA SECTORIAL

There are a total of 3,700 Metropolitan police officers serving Iztapalapa. These officers are split into ten sectors that cover the entire metropolitan area. The sector corresponding to the seven barrios is called Reforma. Metropolitan police officers can be identified by the shield on their arm and by their navy blue uniforms and hats. They are recruited, trained, and overseen by the *Secretaría de Seguridad Publica del DF* (SSP or Secretaría of Public Security). Training for a Metropolitan officer consists of an intensive six-month course. In the seven barrios, Metropolitan police are typically seen driving the beat around the perimeter or parked on certain intersections. For example, there is almost always a Reforma cruiser parked at the intersection of 5 de Mayo and Palacios every night with one Metropolitan police officer inside. It is rare to see a Metropolitan police officer walking the beat, particularly within the barrios themselves. This responsibility is left to the second type of police that is present in Iztapalapa: the Auxiliary Police. Indeed, as the General Coordinator for Public Security for Iztapalapa notes:

> *It shouldn't be like that, but the Metropolitan Police is almost gone from the eight neighbourhoods, leaving them to the Auxiliary Police and that's good, when they tried to remove the Auxiliary Police from the eight neighbourhoods, people were angry and asked for more.*

8.1.2 POLICÍA AUXILIAR SECTOR 56

Throughout the City, the Auxiliary police are recruited, contracted and trained by the SSP. Training for *Auxiliares* is 15 days in length. *Delegaciones* and private businesses may contract *Auxiliares* from the SSP, making them a public police force with quasi-private functions. Typically, *Auxiliares* are responsible for protecting government (or private) offices and establishments. In Iztapalapa, however, Auxiliary police contracted by the *delegación*, numbering 1,170, act as fully operational police units charged with protecting the public. This means that they partake in beats, and work in day-to-day and special operations. Moreover, these officers (which together comprise sector 56 of the

Auxiliary Police) are overseen directly by the *delegación* through the General Coordinator for Public Security. In the seven barrios, Auxiliary police both walk and drive cars (typically pick-ups) and Segways. They are identified by the PA 56 shield on their uniforms and a turquoise hat.

During the day, one can spot Auxiliary police walking the beat within neighbourhoods. There is also a special division within PA 56 that utilizes Segways. This group was formed as a means to better cover the alleyways and narrow secondary streets of the neighbourhoods, which are difficult to access with a car (see picture below). Note that the Segways were purchased by the previous *delegación* administration and used to patrol in groups of five. Today they patrol in groups of two. The General Coordinator of Public Security of Iztapalapa notes that this is the case because the maintenance of the Segways has turned out to be quite expensive, and it is hard to keep them on the road. Moreover, she notes that:

> *The Segways is a very good, very attractive program, and one that works pretty very well in the historic centre, but in Iztapalapa it's complicated and dangerous, even on the street, because they are very unstable, because if you go too fast, it's easy to fall, to turn around, so we serve the alleys of downtown and few areas where the incidence of crime is not very high.*

Figure 30: Police officers on Segways in Iztapalapa

Also during the day, Auxiliary police are seen driving around the perimeter and the main thoroughfares of the neighbourhoods in pick-ups. At night, as confirmed by the General Coordinator for Public Security in Iztapalapa, Auxiliary police no longer enter the barrios, limiting their presence to the perimeter. The reason she cites is that it is easier to respond to emergency calls from the perimeter than it is to be stuck in a small street within a neighbourhood to get to other parts of the area. A second reason is related to the safety of officers patrolling the maze of alleyways and dead-end streets in

the dark. Segways cannot be used at night, and walking in these areas as a uniformed officer could easily end badly, as explored further in subsequent sections. At night it is also common to see Auxiliary police parked and blaring their sirens to make their presence known on a handful of main perimeter roads. According to a set of Auxiliary police officers interviewed for this research and who conducted this activity, such actions are simply intended to demonstrate police presence after 7 p.m., not as a means to be obnoxious.

8.1.3 COORDINATION AND TENSIONS AMONG *SECTORIALES* AND *AUXILIARES* IN IZTAPALAPA

The territorial boundaries of Metropolitan and Auxiliary Police across Iztapalapa intersect, and as the General Coordinator for Public Security in Iztapalapa highlights: "There is no other way [the Metropolitan and the Auxiliary Police] have to coordinate their work and collaborate together." In interviews, some *Auxiliares* reflected that collaboration and coordination is indeed effective between the two groups of officers. During a ride-along with two Auxiliary police officers it was possible to witness significant coordination among the groups when a man on a bike was struck by a motorist and required medical attention. However, while the collaboration and coordination was smooth, the Metropolitan police officers were quick to note that they were supervisors of the Auxiliary police, and that they reported directly to the General Coordinator.

Moreover, other interviews with police highlighted that there exists significant tension between the Metropolitan and Auxiliary Police. Auxiliary police officers interviewed highlight that Metropolitan officers look down upon them, as highlighted by the nickname for *Auxiliares*, "pawas."[23] The General Coordinator of Public Security in Iztapalapa concedes that in general there is a lot of prejudice against Auxiliary police: "They are called the *pawas*, and it is said that they are the bottom rung of the police, because they only patrol intramuros*."* She continues by reiterating that in Iztapalapa, however, the role of *Auxiliares* is not just to guard buildings but to do the street work that *Sectoriales* also carry out. Nonetheless, in Iztapalapa, four Auxiliary police officers interviewed felt looked down upon by their Metropolitan peers and lamented that they do not get the same benefits as Metropolitan police, as the following quotes showcase:

> *The disadvantage here is that, unfortunately, when it suits them, we are public safety secretaries but when we are not the "pagüitas" of Auxiliary or supplementary police because as such, we do not have the benefits of a police sector. Why? Because we are providers of services and the sectors, we are service providers and the sectors they belong to the secretary but we*

[23] Note: The correct spelling or idiomatic meaning of this term is unclear.

> *are all preventive police, which is something many colleagues ignored, and because we prevent the incident of theft or assault or situation x, but we are all preventive.*
>
> *Well, there is some discrimination because the Auxiliares are seen as lower, of lower training, but if the goal of all the people that work on the street is not to fight crime, be preventive or […], you might as well be a solo officer.*

On the other hand, one Metropolitan police officer notes that because *Auxiliares* are unhappy due to lower pay and longer working hours, they are sometimes hesitant to help Metropolitan officers out. He notes:

> *Because if you simply aren't supported when you have a problem, what is going to give you the assurance, because there are times when the officers see that they are struggling, but they let you, they act as if they didn't see anything, basically.*

Though Auxiliary police receive only 15 days of training compared to the six months of a Metropolitan police officer, some note that they feel equally or even better trained to deal with situations on the street. As one Auxiliary officer notes:

> *If you work at a computer X, and you can see that the best trained are the Auxiliares because we are able and we go everywhere, when I am in the street, and my colleagues also, we do not let ourselves be intimidated by the criminals and the Metropolitan, they try, they ask for support, and radiate that "support they don't have", etc.*

The General Coordinator for Public Security reinforced and expanded on this point, noting that *Auxiliares* are not tenured and more tied to job performance while also having more experience in tougher neighbourhoods:

> *The contracting system [of the Auxiliary] is much more insecure. They have to work to keep their job, because if they lose their work, they are left without work. It's not like the Metropolitan police, whose job is secured, even if they make errors. So there are more incidence of errors in the Metropolitan than in the Delegacional. And if we decide that we do not want a unit in the street, the Metropolitan trade him, send him elsewhere because they serve the user, so if they are as much involved in the work, like in the case of Iztapalapa, as they are trained on the street, the instruction they give to the officer is local, so they are trained on the street, they are in-the-know, the reality of the neighbourhoods is very complicated.*

Nonetheless, she also highlights that while Auxiliary police officers may have more "street smarts," it is harder to get them up to speed on other topics because it means time off the beat:

> *And the limited training that was given by the delegación, or that was asked of the Police Academy which trains in very specific things, [among this] we have introduced questions of human rights, but regular workflow does not allow in depth training or for more complicated issues, because the police you select to train come from the street, so it's very complicated.*

Overall, Metropolitan and Auxiliary police both have a responsibility to maintain safety in the seven barrios. This said, it can be stated generally that Metropolitan police presence in the seven barrios is very thin; Metropolitan police are hard to come by and typically patrol by cars or are stationary. Meanwhile Auxiliary police, under the direct purview of the *delegación*, walk and drive the beat and enter the barrios themselves. While the formal training of Auxiliary officers that lasts 15 days cannot be compared to the six months of training *Sectoriales* receive, Auxiliary police are considered more "*atrevidos*" (bold and/or willing to take risks). Generally, there also exists significant tension between *Sectoriales* and *Auxiliares*, which may affect coordination and support of one another. However, in the seven barrios, these issues are not as critical given the limited presence of Metropolitan officers. Lastly, it is important to recapitulate that the interiors of the barrios are only covered by police units during the day. At night, police presence is discernable almost exclusively on main perimeter arteries and main thoroughfares within the seven barrios. In essence, once the sun comes down, policing within the heart of the barrios all but ceases.

8.1.4 OTHER POLICE ACTORS

In Iztapalapa the other actors engaged in crime prevention and safety are the *Policía Judicial* (Judicial Police) and the *Policía Federal* (Federal Police). These police actors do not generally coordinate activities with the Metropolitan or Auxiliary Police. The Judicial Police are in charge of criminal investigations (similar to the role of detectives in the United States). Meanwhile, the Federal Police presence in Iztapalapa is typically related to drug trafficking and large scale criminal networks. In the seven barrios, the Federal Police at times sets up certain operations in known drug trafficking locations. In fact, while conducting fieldwork, Margarito and Héctor Salazar Salame were stopped one night at one in the morning by five unmarked Federal Police cars that boxed them in and half a dozen or so officers all but pulled guns on them. After checking the moped registration and the contents of their bags, they were free to go. When Héctor Salazar Salame asked Auxiliary and Metropolitan police if they knew that a covert checkpoint was taking place that night, they were not aware of it and noted that the Federal Police rarely lets them in on their operations. He requested an interview with the Federal Police officers that stopped them, but they all declined.

The last police actor that is worth noting, but that does not have a direct impact on security in the seven barrios, is neighbourhood-specific patrol cars and officers. In 2009 Iztapalapa conducted a participatory budgeting process through which 22 neighbourhoods in the *delegación* requested and secured manned police patrols in cars that are tied specifically to the neighbourhood. In other words, these officers (and patrol cars) cannot leave the neighbourhood. Follow-up work is needed to understand why[24] these patrols were chosen and what their impact has been. None of the seven barrios chosen for this study requested or have barrio-specific police.

8.2 Youth crime prevention programs operating in Iztapalapa

This section discusses two ongoing programs in Iztapalapa, focused specifically on youth crime prevention. The first is conducted by a special unit within the *delegación's* Auxiliary Police and the second by a special unit within the Metropolitan Police, consisting of presentations within schools to youths on topics ranging from inter-family violence to drug addiction. Note that while the programs are similar in their aims and approaches, the two have not successfully collaborated or coordinated efforts. Each program is therefore discussed independently and in turn.

8.2.1 Unidad de Seguridad Escolar (USE)

The USE is a branch of SSP in Mexico City dedicated to crime prevention for youths in school. The USE was created in 2004 and today there are 870 USE police officers that receive special training regarding youth crime prevention. Note that 800 of the 870 are dedicated solely to working in schools in the *delegaciones* Álvaro Obregón and Miguel Hidalgo (approximately 400 officers in each). The remaining 70 officers cover the rest of the City. As can readily be ascertained, 70 officers covering all of the schools in 14 *delegaciones*, including Iztapalapa, leads to an under-supply of USE services.

USE officers visit and conduct talks related to youth violence, inter-family violence, drug addictions and body modifications, among others. The discussions tend to be through the medium of Microsoft PowerPoint, though recently they have begun to add socio-dramas (dramatizations of scenarios related to drug addiction and violence). Additionally, USE offers students special activities including bringing a rappel line to schools and summer field trips. The objective of these efforts is to alert youth to the consequences of violent actions, and to offer them opportunities to experience high adrenaline thrills without the need for violence. Beyond these goals, two USE officers interviewed for this research note that their intent is also:

[24] In addition, our observations of the participatory budgeting process as it unfolded were sadly limited. But, this is the topic of another discussion.

Figure 31: Unidad de Seguridad Escolar

> *To change the perception [of the police] as figures of authority… [although this doesn't happen overnight], well at least we have that approach towards the youths and they do not see us, or we are trying to eliminate their perception of the police as figures of oppresion, and a lot of young people come to us in confidence to talk about their worries, that is a good start.*

Through the two officers highlight that they have not seen an immediate effect on youth due to the USE efforts, they understand that this is a long-term process, "one that could take decades."

> *I have the hope that little by little, through crushing stones as they say, we will reach that day when the perception will be changed, a change of behaviour overall, influenced mostly by adults, because sometimes we can influence a youth a little bit, but when he goes back home where the models of behaviour he sees are what we try to eliminate, it's going to be very difficult until he has enough awareness to make his own decisions*

As related to direct observations of their efforts (through fieldwork during a one day ride-along with two USE officers to schools throughout Iztapalapa and observing four presentations), the presentations at times were flat, and the youths seemed distracted. The use of the socio-drama seemed to garner the largest amount of their attention. It was also somewhat striking that the officers did not have prepared skits for the socio-dramas and that they were quite haphazard (but ultimately successfully implemented). Indeed, one of the critiques of the USE is that there has not been sufficient effort to consolidate training materials for USE officers. In one of the officer's words:

> *There is something new for the City of Mexico, new for the police, it's the activities that take place and this is an initiative of a secretary who had this idea that it could do good, but you definitely have bad habits in the public administration, it was not thorough planning, it was not planning, nothing else, it started with the decision of a secretary, so gradually, materials are created and we helped transmit the information during the talks, there are livelihoods created, guidelines program are created, all this is in process,*

> *and this process will bring us, in the short term, to a place where all those guidelines are established in order to start acting, but we need to start somewhere, even with the mistakes we have now.*

To conclude this subsection, we should note that for over a year Iztapalapa has requested an entire USE unit dedicated solely to the *delegación*, similar to the dedicated units located in two other *delegaciones* previously mentioned. The request has not been approved as of yet; unsurprisingly, funding is a principal roadblock. Were Iztapalapa to get its own USE unit, the *delegación* would utilize it to support and a complement its own efforts to reach youths in school with violence prevention messages. The *delegación's* efforts in this regard are discussed next.

8.2.2 Unidad Especial de Combate al Delito de la PA 56

In 2009 Iztapalapa created a special unit consisting of a handful of Auxiliary police officers to conduct presentations at schools located in Iztapalapa on issues related to violence and drug addiction prevention. The officers volunteered to be part of the special unit (and were chosen through auditions); these prevention activities were part-time efforts, meaning that the officers conducted regular shifts and were sometimes called off-shift to conduct a presentation. This team was originally intended to cover requests by Iztapalapa schools for USE when USE's agenda was full and could not meet this demand.

In July 2010, this special unit was made full-time, meaning that today their day-to-day responsibilities are largely limited to conducting presentations at schools throughout the *delegación*, preparing new material, and being coached by theatre, music, literature and other experts that donate their time to the unit. The team is also engaged in most public events hosted by the *delegación*. For example, at a violence and safety fair held in Iztapalapa attended by our researchers in March 2010, they were on hand to assist attending families with questions and to show attendees how to ride Segways. In this capacity, they are and will say so themselves, "the pretty face of the Auxiliary Police." Lastly, it is important to note that in cases where manpower is needed for certain operations, these officers may be called into regular duty. As an example, the unit assisted in the clearing of an area of informal vendors in March.

Converting the team to full-time was a specific aim of the current General Coordinator of Security for Iztapalapa, who appears to be truly vested in capacity-building for police officers and in finding new ways to engage with citizens. Compared to the USE presentations, this group is quite theatrical and engages youth through lengthy, yet quite powerful, socio-dramas that play out the realities and consequences of issues from bullying to drugs. The socio-dramas are tailored to the age of the group they are being

presented to. They are much more violent and realistic when performed for middle and high-school students. Students seem generally engaged during the socio-dramas and often come to speak to the officers before and after the performance.

Figure 32: Unidad Especial de Combate al Delito de la PA 56

Interestingly, the coordinator of the program notes that when they first started the special unit, it was difficult to gain access to the schools because of negative perceptions of police by youths and parents. In his words:

> *At the beginning, it didn't look good that the police were coming with the kids and the parents to the board because there was a rejection of the police, seen as inappropriate company for the kids*

The members of the special unit remember the same and note that over time, as they have become better known at schools, they have been better received:

> *Well, yes, it has changed a bit. When I was at schools for the first time, it was different: they saw us as enemies, and now they see us as persons who can give them some information on social programs, many people if they approach us will first wonder what are the consequences, then will ask for social programs*

The team members and the coordinator also recall that when they began these activities, the members of the special unit were often the butt of jokes by their other colleagues, especially the males. Yet, over time as they have gained public recognition from police leadership, this has changed and more officers are now asking to be part of the special unit.

Though a rigorous evaluation of the impact of the special unit has not been conducted, it seems evident based on interviews with unit members and their leaders that their perception of youth has changed due to their participation in this effort. For example, one unit member notes:

> *Well now we see [the young] differently because before, well we saw them and well, we didn't know what was going on and now well we understand better because the kids take drugs, they go away from their family. So what we did was that "come – here – look", we reexamine and "go inside", and now that we are more present, well in a way the problems they have and all the kids living on the street, well, there are kids have gone out since they were young kids, this is the form of our prevention, since we are a little more sensitive to the youngest now also.*

This sensitivity towards youth has also extended to the population in general, according to Fernando Lira, who is in charge of training all *Auxiliares* working in the *delegación*. He notes:

> *Yes, definitely [there is a difference in how they treat citizens] because with the training they had, and with dealing closer with the citizen, they have been a little bit more sensitized to them so if somehow they have a different treatment towards people, you will realize that the treatment is different, in a way they are more friendly with people, I don't mean that the other police officers are not friendly but yes they have another treatment with the people in the way that they are more interactive with citizens.*

Overall, then, while the impact on youth of this crime prevention program is not yet known, it seems evident that the training that the members of the special unit have received to become more empathetic and sensitive to the conditions that youth face day-to-day has led them to find new forms of thinking about their interactions with them. The intent of the General Coordinator for Security in Iztapalapa is that this unit can be further developed so that its personnel can serve as trainers to their colleagues and in a sense that they can serve as multipliers of this sensibilization. Furthermore, the increase of requests for their services and their easier access to schools may signal that their work is helping to change people's perspectives of police.

9. YOUTHS AS ACTORS IN THE SEVEN BARRIOS OF IZTAPALAPA

9.1 Youths as actors and perceptions of their environment

9.1.1 THE DAY-TO-DAY LIFE OF YOUTHS IN THE SEVEN BARRIOS

The youth interviewed for this research fall into a handful of generalized groups: youth that work and have returned to school after dropping out; youth that work; and youth that do not do either. First, youth that returned to school typically also work. Thus, their day consists of working during the day and then attending classes, or vice-versa. For the most part, following work and school activities, youths hang out with friends from their neighbourhood within the immediate area of their neighbourhood. Those that are enrolled in high school or universities (there is no high school in the immediate area) signal that they get together with classmates in other parts of the city. As one youth notes: "it depends on the friends I am with. If I'm with friends from school, yes we go out of this area, and if I'm with my home buddies, well it's closer."

As with most youth that study, youth that only work or that neither work nor study spend the majority of their free time in the seven barrios. An important generalized exception to this is when there are organized dances outside of the barrios. Indeed, dances are a central recreational activity for all youth. Over the past half-decade there have been fewer dances organized in the barrios and today they take place in surrounding neighbourhoods.[25] Currently, the most popular dances are those that play reggeton music, which residents of all ages by and large uniformly characterize as being very sexual and promoting the use of drugs, primarily inhalants. Dances that play reggeton are known as "*perreos*" in reference to youth being "in heat" (see Figure 33). Youth that attend dances outside of the barrios will usually take the metro or taxis, or as one youth notes: "We go where the *perreo* is. We go by bus, all the group, sometimes we kidnap buses, if we are 30 and if the driver doesn't say anything because he knows what is going on."[26]

[25] In previous years, there were many dances organized in the barrios by *sonideros* (DJs with sound systems) from the area. Yet, over the past half decade, the *delegación* has stepped up efforts to close down these dances, which take place on the street, empty lots, or houses. The *delegación* achieves this by making it harder to get permits for such dances, and sends police to shut them down when they take place without permits. According to *sonideros* interviewed for this research, the *delegación* makes permits available intermittently and as a favor to specific DJs that have supported leaders' political campaigns. This said, *sonideros* also highlight that they themselves have cut back on organizing dances because "youth are out of control, and now they always end in fights… creating a huge liability for us… this is especially true with reggeton, which is what youth want to listen to now." (Interview with *sonidero*).

[26] Mexico City has a history of this. For example, UNAM football fans (pejoratively called "porros") are known to undertake such activities.

Figure 33: Barrio reggeton dance

Aside from attending dances, a main recreational activity is hanging out with friends. As discussed above, hanging out typically takes place in the barrios. Within the barrios, youth usually spend time with their friends on the street and all of the youth interviewed (minus one who notes that he has no friends) state that they like to talk about normal things, such as the opposite sex, sports, music and common interests. Those that are drug users note that this is a common activity that they do with friends.

9.1.2 DRUG USE AND GANGS IN THE SEVEN BARRIOS

In regard to drug use, youth in the seven barrios for the most part agree that drug use has soared in recent years and that drug users are becoming younger and younger. The newest trend of inhaling PVC arose in tandem with reggeton music. As one youth notes:

> *Yes, sometimes you see mona [PVC], by the reggeton, the famous perreo. This started like two to three years ago. Monas started to call the reggeton, and now there are kids of eight years old .*

Youths also note that drugs used to be more taboo in the sense that people snuck around when using them. Today, they feel that drug use is more open and that users don't care who sees them. "It's everyday, that people take drugs or not even care if people see them, well they enjoy having a public audience." As to why youths engage in drugs, as two members of a group interviewed while getting high on PVC state:

> *Simply in the social circle, sometimes we go out on the street, on a desperate corner, and the first thing we see is an alcoholic or a drug addict… the youths need some drugs for simple problems, not just in the house…*

Another drug user highlights that it is not just about having problems, but that drug use is a social activity with friends:

> *You take drugs, you think it's logical, and you say because it destroys me, but rather because I have, young people, we did it because we had family problems back then, but I do not do it anymore for family problems, I do it for the love of riot, to stay with the gang.*

Overall, then, the reasons for drug use in the barrios vary, with motivations ranging from a desire to escape family problems to using drugs as a means for having a good time with friends. Whatever the reasons, there is a common perception that drug use has increased and that younger kids are partaking more in drug use than before. Most youth cite reggeton as a principal reason for the uptake in inhalant use.

Membership in gangs is a significant form of social organization in the seven barrios. The tradition of gangs "comes from generations ago, back to my grandparents' grandparents." Today, the majority of youths are members of a gang, not the minority according to interviews with them. Moreover, youths signal that today the gangs are recruiting younger and younger members.

> *Most of them are not members of one gang or the other. Well they have the same pattern, or the changes are not in the pattern of lifestyle, but more in the age, each time they are younger, around 11 to13 years old, well before it was not like that, more like 20 years old, and so now they are younger each time than the ones that were in the gangs.*

As one youth who admitted to being in a gang notes in relation to member ages, initiation and inter-gang rivalries:

> *[Members are about] 18 years old, under 20 and above 15. They grab them and corner them and in 20 seconds punch them out. Or you train them, for the chicks, you grab them and you pull out their cheek and smack it with a knife, four for each if they are 20. At least 40 will touch you for real, so the women who want to get in need to heat it up with a guy…*
>
> *No [gang] gets along, all gangs have issues. So if I go there and they see me, it becomes an issue.*

Within gangs, the younger recruits/members are known as "juniors." The strongest and most known gang in the seven barrios (from San Pablo) has traditionally been and continues to be the S.A. Following a fistfight that we witnessed outside of a secondary school, however, we conducted an informal interview with a group of young guys who in a matter of 30 seconds rattled off the names of dozens of active gangs in the barrios, all with bones to pick with one another.

As is typical with gangs, each have proprietary signs and symbols which can be seen throughout the neighbourhoods, particularly in the form of graffiti. Further, during concerts, it is customary for youths to approach the DJ and send greetings "*saludos*" to their gang, or, for that matter, to announce the presence of their gang at an event. As one gang member notes:

> *In other words, you make yourself known, like as if you were at your best, at ease. And, as a kid, you feel that, when you arrive and send out a greeting, you're like the big thing, like, you know, like as if the big heavy band had arrived. And since we're just some motherfucking kids, we get noticed like that.*

9.1.3 THE IMPORTANCE OF BEING RECOGNIZED AND KNOWN

Interestingly, during active participant observation, it was hard to tell one gang member from another based on the way they dressed. Note that only two interviewees admitted to being in a gang, though it is probable that more of them were. In fact, every interviewee noted that the way they dress is not important to them or their group of friends. Nor is their form of dress a way to be recognizable to people on the street. Most note that they dress to be "comfortable," and depending on what they like.

> *It's normal, well we dress normally, some will dress like rockers, others like skaters, others normal, some with a suit, so it's different, there is not a common style like say you decide today that it's the rocker style and we will all wear the same, no it's not like that.*

For example, there are the skater/BMX group that by their admission follow trends internationally for this community (currently the trends include tight pants). Others follow a "dark" or reggae type of dress. Yet, the most discernable form of common dress in the barrios is the "*tepiteño*" or "*reggetonero*" look which consists of short hair and "diamond" jewellery. Typically these groups travel around on motorbikes with speakers and in the barrios are synonymous with the use of inhalants. The difference between *reggetoneros* and *tepiteños* is that the latter use jewellery and shirts with the picture of San Judas. "Every tepiteño, each 28 of each month, will go to St. Jude, because they believe in this saint."[27]

At this point, it is important to note that in the barrios, *tepiteños* and *reggetoneros* are considered by other youths as the "worst of the worst" in terms of their level of aggression, use of drugs, and criminal activity.[28] For example, as groups of youths note:

[27] San Judas is the patron saint of lost causes.

[28] The reference to *Tepitenos* refers to a specific look and not necessarily to youths that come from the neighbourhood of Tepito. The label does, however, speak to the negative perceptions that youths carry of that neighbourhood.

> *It's the meeting of [narco] and vulgar, the most popular, the most aggressive, the worthless, but also with a serious problems of social adaptation, as they need to look like strong and tough and thieves and scourges, so that one way or another they form or belong to a group, even to the Tepiteño, and so there are more and more of them on their scooters, 10, 12, 15 on their scooters with their beanies, known to all, using [PVC], St. Jude is a must, with tattoos.*

> *When we're asked where BMX comes from, we can tell you about the series of movements there were, the changes, etc. But ask one of them [people from Tepito] where their thing comes from, and let's see if they can answer. Ask them, hey, why do you use a motorcycle with megaphones? And the only thing they'll be able to answer is that 'it's fashionable'. That's a hint and another example of why even if you want to, let's say, see some sort of culture there, there is none, it doesn't exist. That's the biggest problem.*

Due to a lack of connections to this group of youths, and for safety reasons, it was impossible to interview any *tepiteños* or *reggetoneros*.

Beyond forms of dress, a majority of interviewees noted that it is not important to them that people know where they are from. In fact, some felt torn as to whether they would want those outside of Iztapalapa to know where they are from, while others would rather not as the following quotes highlight.

> *Well, yes, and, well, no, 'cause people, well, they call us iztapalacra, and say, it's 'cause they steal, 'cause they assault, 'cause, well, they bring up conflict, right?*

> *No, because it's a hot spot of crime.*

> *No, only if people ask me. A lot of people fear the people that are from here, the neighbourhoods.*

Note that one group of youths highlighted that they would rather do something demonstrating that people from Iztapalapa are also good and so that people outside have a better perception of the place.

> *Well, we do not [appreciate that the people know] that much because Iztapalapa doesn't sound good. So, we prefer that the people speak better about us, so, to do something good to make them say that Iztapalapa is good.*

These quotes signal that youth feel that the outside perception of people from Iztapalapa is that they are criminals or dangerous. From our experience, indeed this is the general perception of people from that *delegación*.

9.1.4 YOUTH PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR BARRIOS

Youths highlight that the further one goes into a barrio (into the maze of alleyways and closed streets), the more dangerous they are, especially at night.

> *It's that the streets are much lonelier; sometimes you don't even know where they're coming from. And what I've also noticed, is that when it gets dark, you see little groups of four to six, like maximum ten guys that start getting together, or girls in small groups.*

When asked if they have trouble accessing parts of their neighbourhood at night, youths note that they generally stick to their home areas where they are known to avoid any problems.

> *Well they divided the neighbourhood between themselves, there are places you can go, and places where you can't go and that is because the people know each other.*

> *No thank God no [I do not have problems walking in the streets at night], because my brothers taught me where to go and they know most of the guys, they know I'm their sister, and I don't have any problems with either.*

These quotes highlight the strong cohesion among the residents of the barrios, and more specifically between neighbours. They also highlight that residents do not take well to outsiders. One youth that recently moved to one of the barrios notes:

> *They would say that we were real arrogant, that we thought much of ourselves. And we used to stay at home when we arrived from work, so they rarely saw us, and when they saw us, they thought we were like strange, like as if we weren't from there.*

The youth goes on to note that her cousin was stabbed by a youth from the barrio because her family was new to the area and he "did not fit in."

Youths also note that neighbours protect their own. The following poignant quote highlights this reality:

> *There was a party like the last day of carnival, I think it was for this neighbourhood and that of San Pablo. There was a fight and a kid got shot. They left him lying on the ground and called the ambulance, but the kid was dead already. When the police arrived and wanted to hold up those who were part of the small group that was there, well, the fathers, the uncles got crazy and did not let him [the police officer] do his job, they almost wanted to lynch him.*

Against this backdrop, only a minority of youths interviewed noted that there is nothing that they would change about their neighbourhood. Most youths state that they like their neighbourhood, but that there are things they would like to change. Combined, the majority of youths stated that they would like to increase safety, and decrease violence, drug use, and gangs.

> *I would change the violence. These days the violence is out of control, anyone can carry a gun. Like a 17 or 18 year old kid, even 15, 13 year olds can go off sniffing dope, carrying weapons so it's easy for them to assault whatever person and all that.*

A handful responded to this question stating that they would like to have more recreational areas, and a few responded directly that what they would most like to change is the police. Further, as the following quote highlights, a handful of youths presented very negative perceptions of their neighbourhood and the actors within it.

> *Well, the crime, that's all. You know, it's very difficult in these neighbourhoods, the people are as bad as the police officers themselves, which means that we can't, it's very difficult to change.*

Zooming out to the city level, youths responded with ease to questions regarding the main challenges they perceive the city to have. Most highlighted corruption, violence, and drug use as the most prevalent problems. Some noted lack of water and the environment as main concerns. When asked how these issues could be resolved, as with their answers to similar questions about their neighbourhood, most stated that these problems are very complicated and that it is those in power, i.e. "those on top," that can make changes, not them as individuals.

> *Yes, it is a difficult problem, even impossible. But there could be more regulation. Not eliminate, but regulate. If they [those on top with power] wanted to. But no, there's no will.*

> *Money. I feel that the greatest challenge is money, because we no longer live like we used to. It's the government that controls all of it now, which means that we no longer do… even if you wanted to control a situation, you can't without money.*

9.1.5 GETTING OLDER, LIFE TRANSITIONS, AND HOPES FOR THE FUTURE

The extent to which youths engage in activities such as drug use, sequestering minibuses and other forms of "*desmadre*" (debauchery) seems to relate to their age. As one 21 year-old youth eloquently puts it:

> *Like I said, every person matures, and, well, we start thinking about other things. We no longer think about playing. Now, we think about going out with our girlfriends, about going out to work. Those are our needs. It's not just out of preference, it's because it's just not the same anymore. You don't go out just to brawl around with friends like before, things are totally different now.*

Similarly, as one 22 year old, current drug user notes:

> *Well, until recently, I would've said, so what? There are so many drug addicts and kids. There are even guys that go on stealing, or doing shit instead. Well, now that they've been thrown in [jail], why the fuck would we want them here? Now, I see things like this. Not before, I didn't think like this before. I would have said, drugs, the disco, all of that is life, then.*

Indeed the older the interviewees were, the less tendency there was that they actively used drugs, and/or consumed alcohol in excess. Further, active observation during the research revealed that the groups of youths that congregate in alleyways and streets at night in the seven barrios that are partaking in drug and alcohol use seem to be younger than 20 years of age. Perhaps this observation can help to explain why formal employment rates increase significantly between the ages of 24 and 29 (see section 7).

As for youths' hopes and aspirations for their lives, most of those interviewed that had not finished middle or high school state that it is the one thing they would most like to change. Some note that they would like to change where they live or their dysfunctional families. Of those that admitted being addicted to drugs, about half stated that this is what they would most like to change about their life. Except for one youth, all of the interviewees highlighted that their aspirations for five years in the future were to have one or a combination of the following: a stable job, a career, a house of their own, a car, and, most of all, a family. These are a common set of aspirations to most youths in the city.

9.2 Youth perceptions of police

Invariably, every youth interviewed had a negative perception of the police. Their perceptions are built around personal experiences or the experiences of family members or close friends that have had direct interactions with police. The most common description of police is that they are corrupt, aggressive, discriminative, do nothing to prevent crime, and are often conspirators in crimes. In general, youths are indifferent to seeing police on the street and their sense is that, when not bothering youths, they do not do much more than sit around in their cars, eat and gossip. Yet, when asked what they would do if they were in the shoes of a police officer for a day, some recognize certain challenges to working in the barrios, but nonetheless signal that they would do a better job of keeping the barrios safe. These topics are unpacked in this subsection, using the words of the youths themselves to highlight points.

9.2.1 LA MORDIDA

In regard to corruption, youth often refer to the infamous "*mordida*" or pay-off that officers request in return for not taking them to jail or a civic judge.

> *Well [they see them] like opportunities to make money. 'Cause kids, they just go out in the streets, having a blast with their friends, with their buddies, they may even go out to dance and, well, that's all. But the patrol officer will see that one is not well dressed, only from his appearance. By the way he is dressed, they will say, he is good to take money from.*
>
> *The police are disgusting. At the end of the day, they make up rules they don't even respect. It's always like that, like with extortion [mordida]. And even if you want to be an honest police officer, you can't. What's more, they go into neighbourhoods and don't do anything. And, sometimes, they are the accomplices of the actual criminals.*
>
> *They simply come and abuse their power. It's even worse when they need it for eating a cake or drinking a soda. Or out of hunger, it smells like hunger. They check you even if you have nothing on you. They will say, give me 20 bucks and I'll let you go, or else I'll give you in, and you know how it is.*
>
> *They are very corrupt since, for everyone, the word police means money, 'cause if they catch you for this or for that, well, you have to take out your money.*

Youth feel powerless overall to stop this type of action from police, which in some cases threaten to plant evidence on them and make their problems worse if they do not cooperate with a *mordida*. However, this threat aside, it is important to note that fees for misdemeanours at the civic judge are usually higher than those requested by police, thus making it a rational decision for youths to choose the *mordida* over hours spent and a higher fee than if they go before a judge. For example, one youth notes that for smoking marijuana on the street the fine by the civic judge is 850 pesos, whereas a *mordida* is a couple of hundred. In this regard, youths are complicit in the negotiation that the *mordida* represents. As one youth notes about interacting with police and *mordidas*: "More than anything else, it is about negotiating your liberty."

9.2.2 GOVERNMENT BONUSES AND PLANTING EVIDENCE

In reference to a program that provides bonuses to police in Mexico City for taking a person to jail, a youth notes:

> *These days, I'll tell you what kind of crap they do. Before, we would see, you know, the typical corruption [mordida], but well, now, it's not corruption with us or the citizens. Now, it's corruption with the government, which ends up paying the bill. 'Cause before, they accepted money from us, or figured out a way to fuck us so that they could take money from us, right? And, now, they fuck us so that they can take money from the government.*

Similarly, another youth highlights that:

> *The police accused us of mugging someone and they put some credit cards on us that, for sure, had been written off by then, since they had already been reported lost. On the report there was no mention of theft, only that we were carrying drugs and that of the mugging. We were jailed for about one week. We paid a lawyer, and we paid to get bailed out.*

When asked why he thought the police would do that, he said:

> *Well, for money, because I think that they were given primes in those times for bringing in criminals for robbery. It's what they said and, well, that's why they do it.*

In regard to planting evidence, another youth notes that officers threatened to plant a lot more marijuana on him if they took him to the judge instead of him paying a *mordida*.

> *It's happened to me, they've pulled down my underwear, or my pants, and said, we will put you in [jail] for smoking [marijuana]. They'll say that to you, I'll throw in a kilo and they'll shut you up forever kid, so you're better off putting a price on it right away, 'cause over there they'll find whatever I want them to. They say it just like that. Don't you think it's with subtleties, no, no, no, they call things by their names.*

9.2.3 POLICE AGGRESSION AND DISCRIMINATION

Youths typically share the view that police are overly aggressive, especially towards youths:

> *Well, it's like as if some people lacked a little training and control, overall control of their actions. They have hate and rancour towards everybody.*

> *Notice how they'll pull kids over with aggression. I will intimidate you, see how much I can take from you, 'cause I'm bigger than you, 'cause I'm a police officer, I'm the authority, and you are, at best, a simple mortal, and I can take money from you, I can intimidate you and take from you as much as I can. As a kid, it's the fear that they'll go to my parents, or put me in jail.*

> *It's like they tend more towards aggression. 'Cause honestly, they don't even ask what they really should [be asking], they just ask how much shit you have on you, or they'll just touch you to see if you have any on you. If they would at least bring a couple of women to touch the women, but they don't even do that. We can feel that lack of decency from a police officer.*

As for discrimination, youths feel that police treat them worse than other populations, and that they lump all youths together, thinking that they are all criminals:

> *"Well, sometimes it's just because we're here [in the neighbourhoods]. They say that we are all the same, addicts and drunkards and all of that.*

Moreover, many youths claim that police discriminate among youths in regard to who they search and investigate for crimes. Specifically, youths feel that, mostly for fear or due to a monetary agreement, police do not stop or investigate gang members or the tougher groups of youths. For example, a group of youths that meet to ride BMX bikes note that police often stop to check them and their bikes, yet never say anything to *tepiteños* in the same plaza that are drinking or doing drugs. Other youths state the following in regard to this form of discrimination:

> *[The gangs] have bought the security forces. Well, they haven't actually bought them as such. What I mean is that when there are conflicts or fights, the police don't get involved,' cause if they do, then they know they'll have to confront them, and you know what they say, if you're gonna cry in my home, why not cry in your own…*
>
> *When kids from other parts of Iztapalpa come here to sell drugs, etc. the police take a bite of what they have, and protect them instead of pulling them out.*
>
> *Well, the kids who know them are protected. But if you don't know them, they'll hit you. That's what happened to my brother, they took him and took money from him, but that shouldn't have been allowed. The police told him, "you're going to get in trouble", and that's what normally happens here, you give them money so that they don't take you away.*

In summary, youths feel that police view all youths to be criminals and approach them aggressively. Yet, at the same time, police officers are afraid of certain youth groups and either avoid confrontation or form alliances with them. In essence, many youths feel that officers go after the most vulnerable youths, the ones they can extort, and leave alone the more dangerous ones, who are in fact the ones they should be questioning and detaining.

9.2.4 LACK OF UNDERSTANDING REGARDING THEIR NEEDS

Youths also expressed a desire for police to better understand their needs:

> *Well, they were also once young, and they have kids that are young, so they should understand the youths from the neighbourhood. If you understand your children, you should understand all of us youths. If they started talking to us, they would understand. But instead, they aggress us, so they don't. They have been taught to see and think differently, because if they tried to understand us… because if you see someone that is drugged, I know that it's not easy, but when someone listens to you it's better, but if you aggress them, then it's not going to change.*
>
> *Above all, they're inefficient at the work they do, 'cause if they were efficient they would see the root of the problem. They do not take care of the youth today, they just fuck with them even more. They don't take care of us. Why do you think we say, there go the "pigs"? Because they do their job, and it's dirty.*

In regard to the last quote, the interviewee, who is a drug addict, went on to state that sometimes she wishes police officers would take her inhalants away or take her to rehab instead of just asking her for money and then leaving the drugs with her.

9.2.5 PERCEPTIONS AND INDIFFERENCE REGARDING WHAT POLICE DO

During a normal day, when not extorting people, youths believe that officers spend most of their time sitting in their patrol cars, eating, and gossiping.

> *When I see them, all they do is stay there under the shadow, talking with others, or traveling on their small bikes. That's all I've seen them do, 'cause I pass by and I see those that are drinking on the street corner, and they'll just pass by like it's nothing.*

> *Well, I would say they're not always working. I see them talking, looking for girlfriends, or when they see the opportunity to work, they get together and help the person accordingly. No, that's not right, they'd even bring him in so that they could document him.*

Against the backdrop of the perceptions and beliefs held by youths about police that have been presented thus far, youths typically respond that they are indifferent to seeing police on the street. For example, when asked what they do when they see an officer, some responded:

> *Well, nothing, I'm not interested in what they do, and even if I were, by this time, there's no interest in what they do, 'cause we already know how they are, and when there is a problem, well, they do nothing.*

> *Well, nothing, 'cause I already know that they're gonna catch me, they're gonna take whatever they have to take from me. It's like, they're people we already know, like close buddies.*

> *Nothing, we let them be, right? They know what they're doing. As long as they don't mess with us, there's no problem.*

9.2.6 WHAT WOULD YOUTHS DO IF THEY WERE OFFICERS FOR A DAY?

The discussion thus far highlights the negative perception that youths have of police in the seven barrios. When asked what they would do differently if they were in a police officer's shoes for a day, youths responded with answers specifying actions that they feel are in tune with what police should be doing. At the same time, this question led some youths to consider and talk about the challenges that officers face working in these neighbourhoods. The following quotes reflect both of these points:

> *Be more protective of the neighbourhood. I know that we are disastrous, but all the same. And control us a little more so that we don't get out of line, [and be] more in touch with what we say. So that there's no violence, like zero violence, 'cause I think they let things get out of hand.*

> *Well, look, I know that their job is, well, it's dangerous, right? Because they never know what kind of person they'll have to deal with. But I would, well, try to change, not be so corrupt. And to the gangs that really do deserve to be in prison, well, grab them. If I were a police officer, and my friends were police officers, well, they could get together and go see the groups from Tepito. I bet that if you caught them you could get marijuana or a middleman and his whole lot of associates, and that's how it starts, right? Just by taking on a small group in the streets.*

Similarly, youths discussed the fact that the alleyways and closed streets can be quite dangerous and understand why police do not want to enter them at night (see the previous subsection regarding perceptions of the barrios). Further, a few youths noted that they would not mind having more police around. As one youth notes: "It would be nice to have more police officers, but not like those we have here. [I would like] real police officers."

10. THE ROLE OF THE POLICE IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF YOUTH CITIZENSHIP IN THE SEVEN BARRIOS OF IZTAPALAPA

The police perception of youths in the seven barrios is by and large very negative and is summed up by the following points. First, that youths in the seven barrios are very aggressive, defiant towards authority, and largely view police as the enemy. They believe that these behavioural attributes are more visible in Iztapalapa and the seven barrios, particularly when compared to other parts of the city. Second, police feel that youths are likely to routinely partake in activities such as getting drunk and doing drugs. Third, they also suggest that youths feel entitled, and are allowed to behave this way by their families and community, who protect them from facing the consequences of their actions. Fourth, police are concerned that youths ultimately fall prey to imitating the negative behaviours of community members, most of all those associated with their peers. In regard to the latter point, officers do hold the perception that youths tend to imitate their surroundings, and as such, it can be said that officers also view youths as highly vulnerable.

As with their perceptions of youths, officers all agreed that the seven barrios are very conflictive and especially difficult to work in, principally for reasons related to the community's negative perception of police and their protectiveness of one another. There are also general trends regarding the form in which officers present their roles in the community and the challenges they face, as well as the manner in which they initially approach youths. In regard to the former, the officers view their roles as preventing crime and supporting citizens who need help, and identify challenges ranging from citizen perception of police to the need for more training and better

equipment. All of the officers state that their first interaction with youths is aimed at peacefully reaching a resolution to a situation, for example by, "inviting" youths to go elsewhere or cease from conducting an illegal activity. All officers agree that they have to make judgment calls in regard to whether to engage a group of youths for safety reasons and whether to take them into custody or not. Officers generally seek to avoid doing the latter for minor legal infractions, because of the processing time and because the result is almost always that the youth is released.

10.1 Police officers' perceptions of youth in the seven barrios

10.1.1 An environment that reinforces negative youth behaviour

The majority of the police officers interviewed have worked in various *delegaciones* across Mexico City. Yet, it is important to note that those that have worked in wealthier *delegaciones* highlight that education and culture impact how police are viewed. As one officer notes: "Yeah, in Coyoacan people of a different social level show more respect to police. It's all about culture and education."

Generally, officers agree that the community context in the seven barrios creates a situation that reinforces negative youth behaviours and aggression. Specifically, they see the cohesiveness of the community as being utilized to protect youths from the consequences of their actions. The following quotes emphasize this point:

> *The problem here in the centre of Iztapalapa, in the neighbourhoods, is that people help each other. If we identify a person committing a crime or some Civil Culture Law, the neighbours, friends, will help save them from the things that we do to enforce regulations within the system. This is unlike the other residential areas that have been established in Iztapalapa, and where it is very different…*
>
> *[Youths] are very angry. There is no more respect, not even for their own parents… that's what we notice as police officers. They are very aggressive, the kids in this area [delegación]. They are very aggressive in this area, especially in the neighbourhoods.*
>
> *When people begin to tell us that there are youths that come here to drug themselves, and that they get drunk and bother them, and say they want us to take them away, we tell them: well, no problem, but we only ask you that when we arrive, you do not hide the youths. So a lady says, "take those that are not from here, but not those that are from here."*
>
> *The youths here in the neighbourhoods are more united amongst themselves, but, unfortunately, when one of them has a vice, the others follow and that is when they get organized to do bad things instead of good things.*

> *For me, in my personal experience, it was once with four kids in the residential area of San José Aculco, near the storage centre. It was my turn to patrol the area, and we were asked for help, so a pursuit began against the kids, but when we tried to grab them, they began to whistle and a whole lot of people came out of hiding and began to encircle us, and they pulled out the kids. But they had just assaulted other people, so we knew they were drugged. That's what they are committed to there, that's what they do for a living.*

10.1.2 DRUG AND ALCOHOL CONSUMPTION AND AGGRESSION TOWARDS POLICE

As youths are under the protection of their community, police officers perceive that the rate of youths participating in drug and alcohol use and the level of aggression is very high in the seven barrios, as the following quotes suggest:

> *Each neighbourhood has its own people and their small groups. The problem today is that, while there used to be people consuming alcohol, now you see 12 boys smoking and sniffing illegal drugs… the kids get together and drug themselves, so that the more they get together in their residential areas, the more they get out [of hand].*

> *I see that it's real bad. Those youths are no longer what they should have been some time ago. It's like they're more misguided, they don't have respect, they're very aggressive. They're already in contact with drugs, with situations that are not good for them from the start.*

> *People are very aggressive. Not all, but the kids are very aggressive. They don't have respect. The insecurity has decreased a little, but not the aggressiveness.*

> *There are many people that dedicate their everyday to drugging themselves, and there is nothing else but drinking or taking drugs or simply doing nothing day, after day, after day.*

> *Though respect has been lost, including morals within the family, it is the disunity of families which has caused kids to take drugs and has made it easy for them to find the drugs, because there was more surveillance before.*

10.1.3 YOUTHS MIMICKING THEIR ENVIRONMENT

Police officers hold the view that youths mimic the behaviours that they witness around them. In this regard, officers recognize that youths are vulnerable (or at least impressionable) to their environment. As the following quote exemplifies, police signalled a belief that parents and family members teach youths to see police as enemies:

> *The people from the neighbourhoods protect themselves. So, the problem is that the teenagers and the children that see certain situations grow up with the idea that police officers are not friends, because of their uncle or their*

> *father or their cousin, who are already adults and who are already conscious of which behaviour is wrong. The children that watch us fight with us, and the relationship between security and the citizen is lost.*

Officers also expressed a belief that youths express a great importance for their home neighbourhood because of the power it instils in them and because they have been taught to feel pride and to defend their barrio:

> *With their aggressiveness [they express the importance they give to their neighbourhood] and they say, I am from such and such neighbourhood, and don't get close to my neighbourhood for such and such, and they encourage you to fight. And with us, police officers, they say, if you follow me to my neighbourhood, let's see if you can manage to get out!*

> *I feel that if they give importance [to their neighbourhoods] it's because they feel they have power, the power that their family gives them, and the power that the place [delegación] or the situation gives them. They feel incredible, 'cause nothing can be done against them.*

As related to other forms of mimicry, officers note that youths dress the way they do not so much for individuality, but to fit into a group. In Montreal, youths told us the exact opposite: they seek individuality in the way they dress. But the following perspective in Mexico comes from police officers: that youths themselves have an identified specific style. Thus, it seems that the search for individuality (and mostly expectations towards individuality) differ. Perhaps one of the problems for Mexico is a mismatched set of assumptions of individual versus collective logics of action?

> *The ways of dressing are a little strange, and I don't really get them, the people from Tepito. I don't know how many types of kids there are, but inside we are all the same, we all look for those groups that make us feel good.*

> *Well, if it's not to identify themselves as part of a group, it's to be accepted by the environment in which they are growing up, much like fashion for a type of music or a certain type of clothing. I think that by the age of high school students, 14 or 15 years old, they're not yet in full control over what they want. So, what they want is to be seen fashionably dressed. Or perhaps they don't know what they want for the future. But what they do want is to be accepted then and there, and they end up consuming some drugs, alcohol, and then more serious situations come up.*

10.1.4 A NARROW VIEW OF THE WORLD

Against a backdrop of being raised in an environment that shields them from facing the consequences of their actions, most officers believe that youths do not project much beyond their home community to think about problems in the City, the country, or the world.

> *No, their minds rarely go beyond their daily lives, except for when they go out to play with other kids, with friends in school and when they go to visit their girlfriends. Youths rarely have any perception of what goes on in other cities within the same country, and much less outside the country.*
>
> *I don't think so, there may be one in a thousand, so I wouldn't say that they're all bad.*
>
> *Perhaps those who have access to the Internet. But, you know, I think that would only be about forty percent. For sure, the majority thinks that their sole environment is here.*

Note that one Auxiliary officer disagreed with the above belief, noting that:

> *I do think that the majority, not all, asks why [things are the way they are].*

Interestingly, the Auxiliary police officer who believed that the majority of youths think of issues outside of their community also believed that youths would want to change their educational opportunities and opportunity to have a better life. On the other hand, the Auxiliary police officer that was the most negative in her perception about whether youths think of issues outside of their community also thought that the only thing they would want to change is police presence: "What they would change would be that there no longer be a police force."

10.1.5 POLICE AS ENEMIES

All of the police officers interviewed believe that a common perception among youths is that police are the enemy, and that all they want to do is hassle youths, as the following quotes highlight. Note that the last quote also reiterates the belief that a negative perception of police is something taught to youths by family at a very young age:

> *I think that, unfortunately, most of the time, we are seen as the enemy, those who people should be aware of.*
>
> *They see us as uncultured, uneducated. They see us as enemies, because they are unable to understand that this is our job, and that if we did not do our work, well, the city would be in a much more critical state.*
>
> *Always like the bad guys, like as if we wanted to crush them…*

> *The same guys will say, don't get close to the police 'cause they're thieves. Then, they'll yell at us in the streets, call us pigs. And, why not? We have lost much of the situation.*

10.1.6 USING A HUMAN RIGHTS DISCOURSE TO SKIRT THE LAW

Beyond relying on community members to protect them, officers feel that youths try to find other ways to skirt the law. In particular, as the latter quotes highlight, they utilize a human rights discourse as a means to threaten officers. Officers also perceive that while youths want their human rights respected, they do not recognize that they have a responsibility to respect other peoples' human rights.

> *Unfortunately, because of human rights, they no longer show us the same respect, because they give more credibility to the assailants, to the thugs. And we can no longer take over control, or even touch them, because they bring up human rights and blame us for abusing our authority. So we have to treat them like roses, like flowers.*

> *Look at the human rights they have given them. They have given it to those who are dedicated to things such as theft and drugs. They're even studying the laws, 'cause they'll say, you can't detain me, you can't do this, you can't do that. And why? Why are they studying? For what? Well, because they can protect themselves from anything you manage to take from them… so now, the culprit just happens to be you. Human rights, that's the problem now. There's a misunderstanding as to what people mean with human rights, because you, as a person, you have your rights, but in the same way that you have your rights, you also have your obligations to respect, and you carry that out, don't you?*

10.2 Police officers' logic of action

The previous section demonstrated through police officers' own voices their perceptions of the conditions in the seven barrios and of youth behaviour. This section describes and discusses how officers act within this context. We find that police officers tend to act in a relatively rational manner, given the context in which they work. The context includes a cohesive community that protects youths and a legal system that takes a long time to navigate and typically ends in minors being released or let go with a slap on the wrist. Thus, officers make decisions about when to approach and/or pursue groups of youths and when to take them into custody, accounting for both procedural hurdles and their own safety. Officers perceive that one of the biggest challenges to effectively conducting their work is the negative perception of police, which is reinforced in the home. They suggest government and family interventions that aim to change this perception. Noticeably absent is what they as police could do better to change these perceptions.

10.2.1 THE ROLE OF A POLICE OFFICER

First and foremost, all of the officers interviewed gave similar textbook type answers when asked about their role in the community, as reflected in the following quotes:

> *Well, to serve and protect, make sure that the road is cleared out for cruises, support citizens, and the obvious role of the police officer, to prevent crime.*

> *To protect as much material goods as people, and to patrol to see if there are illegal activities or to see who is asking for help, since we are here to provide help to anyone.*

Notably, a quote from an Auxiliary police officer added that the role of police officers does not include educating youth; this is the role of the government and parents. "I think that our work is to protect, but not to educate. We suppose that when they leave their homes, they leave with an education." The role of family in helping overcome perceived challenges in the neighbourhoods is a trend examined in the previous subsection and one that is reinforced in this one.

10.2.2 APPROACHING YOUTHS PEACEFULLY

Officers generally highlight that they approach youths peacefully and in cases where they are partaking in minor illegal activities (*faltas administrativas* – e.g. drinking publically or using drugs), they "invite" them to disband or find a home to conduct the activity:

> *We try to reach the point at which we're not getting into conflict with them. We talk as much with kids as with grown ups. We invite them to stay at home when drinking so that there's no problem. Our job is not to continuously fight with the people, but rather try to reach an agreement, peacefully.*

> *Well, we first invite them to move their activities to their homes and nothing else. If they become rebellious, we ask for support from some units, but not because of minor offences. If they provoke us verbally, well, we have to keep our calm and try to talk to them, get them to make sense of the situation, so that they understand, and that all ends in holy peace.*

Based on their responses, officers seem interested first and foremost in ensuring that a situation does not escalate to become physical or conflictive.

10.2.3 JUDGMENT CALLS: WHEN AND HOW TO ENGAGE YOUTHS

When it comes to *faltas administrativas,* officers prefer to resolve an issue on the street and not through the legal process that requires them to present a youth to a civil judge. As one officer notes:

> *Because, unfortunately, when you present yourself to the civil judge or to the public ministry, you even have to pay for your photocopies. You need to pay the public ministry so that the services run smoothly for the civil judge. It's a burden for me you know, 'cause all I want is to bring a solution to the problem, not create further problems for myself.*

Officers also note a frustration with the civic justice process, especially because after a long intake process, youths are usually released quickly because they are underage. As the General Coordinator of Public Security in Iztapalapa notes:

> *If you have kids in small gangs, in the street, drinking, etc., it's minor offences with no consequences. In other words, you can bring them to the civil judge, but they're underage, so all they'll do is call their parents, that's all… so, for the police officers, it's a waste of time; it means that they have to spend their time dealing with minor offences. That being the case, it is easier to frighten them and, you know, get them out of there.*

> *We present them [to the courts] and the judge receives them. Since our duty is to present them [to the courts], our job is done then and there. The problem is that the judge receives them, and sometimes the judge says that they may stay the time it takes to let the alcohol or drug wear off, but then they let them go. The doctor and the judge let them get by, and see how many hours they need to get back to normal… a judge is only just that.*

Police officers also make judgement calls about when to engage with groups of youths. As discussed in this document thus far, in their native barrios, youths have the support of their families and community members who protect them. Similarly, large groups of aggressive youths can easily overpower officers:

> *They say, I am from such and such neighbourhood, and don't get close to my neighbourhood for such and such, and they encourage you to fight. And with us, police officers, when it's your turn [to intervene], you ask yourself, what do I do? Do I follow him or do I stay put? Is it worth taking the risk? Well, no, not only for my partners, but also for the kid. When he notices that I am following him, he will speed up and might run over somebody, or he might get hit by a car, and you know… may God be with you and you are gone. They feel very supported by their neighbourhoods, people come together for good things, but also for the bad, for the upheavals.*

10.2.4 ADDITIONAL RESOURCES THAT OFFICERS WOULD LIKE

When officers were asked what resources they would need to more effectively conduct their work, they all noted a need for better equipment. Interestingly, a large majority of the officers highlighted a need for community members to have a better perception of police, as well as for families to be more engaged in helping to change these perceptions.

> *The challenge is for citizens to believe once more in the police, that they believe once more in us.*
>
> *I think there should be more coming from the government, more communication with them, with the youths, to prevent, to tell them what a police officer's job is like. When we get to detain them, many unfortunately say that they hate us, and they blame us for having detained them, when in reality we are only doing our job, following orders.*
>
> *We need more programs that will bring society and the police force closer together, and we need our image to improve within society.*
>
> *It's important to highlight the fact that if the relationship between the police force and society is broken, it's not because of our work or because of the perception people have of us, but rather, what is important is that the values, the principles rooted in family relations has been losing ground. I think that is the most important thing that needs to be saved in our society. For me, it is a pleasure to help improve our social situation, our environment.*
>
> *To help youths, we need programs that focus on their families to help them and youths to recognize that they are not going anywhere with these activities.*

Officers generally agree that police officers cannot change negative perceptions on their own. The following quote exemplifies this further:

> *Honestly, with our activities, it is simply impossible for us to try to change the idea that people have of us, [and have them think] that we are cultured, that we are educated, that are trained, because the majority think that police officers are uncultured and that we do not respect human beings.*

10.2.5 POLICE KNOWLEDGE OF CRIME PREVENTION PROGRAMS

Following the last point, it is interesting to note that none of the police officers were aware of both the USE and *delegación*'s special crime prevention unit. The Metropolitan police interviewed were only aware of the USE program. None of the Auxiliary police, other than the supervisors interviewed for this research, knew about either the USE program or the *delegación's* special unit. Metropolitan police and the Auxiliary supervisors all agreed that such programs could be helpful in so far as they could help change the negative perspectives of youths about police officers. Yet, they also noted that it is critical to engage more directly with families on this issue. "Yes, [the programs are effective] because it's a way to start interacting with youths. But, work needs to be done with families as well."

10.2.6 LOOKING TO THEIR OWN FUTURE

Finally, police officers have two general answers to what they would like to be doing in five years time. Generally, those that are more jaded by the current situation, that entered the force because of economic need, and/or have been in service longer are looking forward to retirement; while those that have wanted to be a police officer since early in life express an interest in remaining involved in crime prevention:

> *I have always been drawn to police work. Since I was a kid, I would observe how they did things. I was first employed in a private business, and then I got all the way up here in the police force and have always liked my job as a police officer… in five years I would like to continue being a police officer.*
>
> *We are police officers because, unfortunately, there are no other opportunities in the country, including us people who are well trained. And, unfortunately, here in Mexico there are no choices, so when we see one [we take it]. Well, since I am aging… [in five years] perhaps I will be retired or working for a more decent wage.*
>
> *With regard to my situation, it was for the police career and for the economic situation. In five years, I would like them to give me my money or give me my retirement. [Officer 2] I would also like that, but we also have to see how much they give us, 'cause the pay is poor, and they don't account for 100%.*
>
> *When I was young, I had a friend that was a police officer. This friend died the year he graduated from the police, but he left me with the reminder that it was something good, something cool. And also, because I wanted to guarantee my financial stability. For me, those are the two main reasons that motivated me to become part of the police force... in five years, I intend to have finished my degree and grow within the structure, have a higher hierarchical position.*

11. YOUTH-POLICE INTERACTIONS IN THE SEVEN BARRIOS OF IZTAPALAPA

This section recapitulates and juxtaposes the research findings discussed in this document, with special attention to those related to how police and youths view one another and interact in the seven barrios. Our expectation (and hope) at the start and during the research was that we would witness police-youth interactions first-hand while conducting observations throughout the neighbourhoods. Yet, as noted in the methodology section of the introduction, this did not occur. In retrospect, this may be a finding in and of itself. Indeed, as discussed in this document, youths are most active (i.e. tend to band together and hang out in groups) at night and in the maze of streets within the barrios, not on the periphery where police patrol at night. In a way, youth and police activity after the sun goes down are two trains passing in the night. Nonetheless, it is clear from the interviews conducted that youth-police interactions do occur, and

that on the whole they are not positive experiences for either actor. Our results suggest that creating opportunities for more youth-police interactions, in the current context of profound mistrust, might not empower youths to feel agency in those interactions. The lack of trust is a barrier to creating sympathy through more interactions. It seems that a double strategy of creating trust and more opportunities to interact are necessary.

Both police and youths feel that the other is overly aggressive, lacks respect, and is generally out to get the other. In regard to the latter, youths feel that police target them specifically and that police see them as cash cows. Meanwhile, police feel that youths not only seek to skirt the law by avoiding officers, but also by utilizing a human rights discourse. It is interesting that youths did not discuss the latter point during the interviews, and instead presented themselves as being at the whim of police officers, who they perceive as being more powerful than themselves. To youths, police are able to use tactics ranging from physical abuse to planting evidence on them in order to get them to pay *mordidas*, or for that matter to get bonuses from the government for sending someone to jail.

For anyone that has ever lived in Mexico, the youths' stories will not seem far-fetched. (In fact, and off the record, two interviewed police officers admitted that at some point they had threatened and or acted on a threat to plant evidence on someone.) On the other hand, with regard to the officers' perspectives of youths in the seven barrios, it may at first glance seem that they exaggerate the aggressiveness of the youths. Yet, basing our assessment on daily fieldwork for the better part of a month in the barrios, one can certainly understand and share their perspective. Moreover, the dangers of the seven barrios and the aggressiveness of certain groups of youths are actually discussed by the youths themselves. Within this context, one should be extremely wary of traveling within the barrios or seeking to engage with even medium-sized groups of youths using drugs or drinking. The fear, as shared by the officers, is not only the immediate repercussions of what the youths may do to anyone who enters their barrio, but also their ability to round up their neighbours and start an all-out attack, often based on no more than a perceived threat to someone from the neighbourhood. Further, it is easy to comprehend officers' feelings that the civil justice system does not support their work by creating lengthy processing procedures (which in some cases require them to pay out of pocket for required photocopies of a detained person's identification card and other paperwork, for instance), which typically result in underage youths being let go.

With all these points taken into consideration, it is possible to analyze the phenomenon of the *mordida* as a negotiated settlement between youths and police. For police it represents a way to subsidize their low wages, as well as to feel that a youth has been

punished in some way for conducting an illegal activity. Meanwhile, for a youth, paying the *mordida* is a way to avoid further interactions with the judiciary, to pay a lesser fine, and to secure their immediate release, usually with their vice in hand. In short, if one tries to understand the rational perspectives of both actors within the context in which they operate, one could conclude that the *mordida* is an equilibrium solution for both. For youths it is more "convenient" and makes more short-term sense to both sides. It is easier to just go with the *mordida* instead of risking, for example, something being planted on their person, or to go through the process of being taken to jail. Meanwhile, for officers, asking for a *mordida* is a often better option compared to taking someone into custody and dealing with the paperwork, out of pocket expenses and lack of judicial system follow-through.

This being said, it is important to take into account that this model of policing is not necessarily applied universally. Specifically, it would be a mistake to ignore youth perceptions that police officers tend to shake down more vulnerable youths and steer away from confronting the more aggressive and dangerous ones. Assuming that this is indeed the case, it can be posited that this situation contributes to youths deciding to form or become part of strong gangs so that they can go ignored by police.

Ultimately, then, what does the *mordida* and its ostensibly uniform application teach youths about the consequences of their actions, a central tenet in the concept of citizenship? Beyond creating or furthering a dislike for police officers, the lesson for youths that break the law is that a few pesos in your pocket can solve and reinforce an activity that arguably will lead to further personal and societal trouble down the road. For example, in the case of drug use, it is no mystery that habitual drug use tends to lead to illicit activities as a means of gaining money to pay for the vice. As for youths that are subject to this treatment, even when not breaking any laws, the lesson may well increase frustration with this form of policing and a decreasing trust in the institutions designed to protect them.

Certainly, evidence of the latter is present in the interviews conducted. To most youths, it seems that the police and their actions constitute just another part of the day-to-day landscape of life in the barrios. With the exception of a few interviewees that noted that they sometimes give the police candy or sodas to keep them on their good side, none of the interviewees interacted with police unless necessary. Youths seem to have relegated themselves to the fact that this is the way police act and what they do, and with a shrug of their shoulders keep moving forward with their own activities and deal with police only when they have to. For example, one interviewee that recently moved into the barrios notes that in her previous *delegación* if she saw someone that needed help, she

would consider calling the police. But, in the highly problematic barrios under study here, that is the last thing she would consider doing both because of what the youth committing a crime against someone else may do to her and also because the police simply don't show up or it turns out that they are in collusive relationships with those perpetrating the crime.

Furthering this point, with a view to outside the barrios, it is important to reiterate that the youths interviewed here tended to easily identify challenges both within their barrios and in the city and country as a whole. Yet, their answers regarding how these external challenges could be overcome are generally vague and highlight a belief that only those with power at the top can create change. A sense of how to engage with this figurative elite so as to change this larger context is not present in their discourse. In other words, they operate in a world that they feel is largely beyond their control, thus perhaps explaining the energy invested in keeping the community and their families as their allies. This could perhaps also be explained by the lack of democratic channels for grievance and dispute resolution (i.e. a working justice system). The barrio itself is the only channel available for informal protection and conflict resolution, which is what gives it its importance.

While the conclusions thus far do not bolster much sense of hope for the bettering of youth and police relations, nor for constructing more solid foundations of youth citizenship in the seven barrios, it is important to revisit the crime prevention programs currently in place in the *delegación*. These include both Metropolitan and Auxiliary Police programs that visit youth in schools with the aim of presenting the consequences of negative actions such as drug use and violence. A second objective of both programs is for youths to view police officers in a more positive light. Might these types of programs serve to change police-youth perceptions and interactions? While it is clear that both programs reach limited numbers of youths, an important finding is that police officers participating in the programs have more favourable views of youths and express a deeper understanding of why they act the way that they do.

A challenge for both programs is not only finding ways to reach more youths, but also to multiply the training they offer to participating officers to police on the beat. It was, for example, surprising that none of the beat Auxiliary police knew about the Auxiliary special crime prevention unit. At the end of the day, even if youths achieve a more positive perspective of the police officers that come to their classrooms, one bad experience they have, or that someone they know has had with an officer outside of the classroom, can easily erase all that may have been gained. Moreover, it is clear that it is not just youths that have negative perceptions of police officers. As highlighted

throughout this document, parents often instil negative views of police officers in their children. This can come through direct forms such as telling them that the police are bad, but also through indirect forms such as protecting guilty youths from facing legitimate consequences that police officers represent. Thus, programs that reach youths in the classroom may well have positive effects; but against an entrenched negative perception between police and youths and their communities, such programs may be but a match lighting up a small portion of a dark room, and under constant threat of being put out by the lightest breeze.

PART III: LESSONS FROM THE COMPARISON OF MONTREAL AND MEXICO CITY

The two cases chosen for this study share more differences than similarities. Firstly, police institutions in both settings have a very different history. In Saint-Michel, the PDQ 30 has a monopoly over its district territory, whereas Iztapalapa is characterized by a fragmentation of police corps, which traces back to a complex institutional history and overlapping jurisdictions resulting from more than 70 years of one-party rule.[29]

Moreover, Mexico is currently living through a period of highly-mediatized insecurity related to drug-trafficking and an unstable political climate as the July 2012 presidential elections are approaching. Such insecurity and instability is far from the current Canadian reality. However, the issue of racial discrimination, which came through forcefully in Montreal, is absent from the reality of Iztapalapa. There is currently an important public debate on racial profiling in Montreal and in Canada in general, and this feeds into what we saw in the field in Saint-Michel.

In socio-economic terms, both case studies are characterized by high marginalization both in absolute terms and relative to their broader environment. They are both suffering stigmatization due to past or present gang violence activities. Both Saint-Michel and the seven barrios are facing the problems of intergenerational gang activities, but this is more pronounced in the Mexican case, whereas in Saint-Michel, the second generation is still too young to be active in criminalized activities (although they are currently the target of prevention work). Drug use is more visible in the seven barrios than in Saint-Michel, where we did not witness any use in public spaces, nor was it identified as a problem by the police, youths, or other local actors.[30]

The seven barrios of Iztapalapa face much higher physical enclosure than Saint-Michel, due to their street and alley layout. However, the northern part of Saint-Michel is less accessible than the southern part of the neighbourhood close to the subway station, and traveling east-west is difficult given the two quarries traversing the neighbourhood. The northern part, according to the borough mayor, has the lowest amount of recreational services in Montreal, despite having the highest youth population. But these physical constraints do not prevent police officers from patrolling all sectors, day and night.

[29] For more on the history of policing in Mexico City, and how historical conflicts within and between local and national authorities over control of policing power led to institutional fragmentation, see Davis (2008).

[30] We tried to find more precise data on drug addiction in the neighbourhood, but were unsuccessful. Police officers spoke of a vague link with prostitution, but insisting that it has greatly diminished compared to five years ago. They speak of occasional prostitution at the end of the month (linked to the need to buy drugs). About 30 persons are listed by the police, four to six occasional. Police do not explicitly relate this prostitution activity to street gangs.

They are therefore not as important in Saint-Michel in terms of youth-police relations. This is not the case in the seven barrios, as described earlier.

The contrast between our two cases makes the comparison difficult, but also highlights a central mechanism facilitating the construction of youth citizenship: building trust, both structural and conjunctural.

12. THE IMPORTANCE OF BUILDING TRUST

A striking element of success in Saint-Michel is the level of trust expressed by all actors towards each other. Trust and reciprocity characterizes the local partnership dynamic in place, but also youth-police relations. Trust is never acquired forever and mistrust is expressed by certain youths. But compared to Mexico City, where the level of mistrust is so high that it seems impossible to find any elements to the contrary, Saint-Michel has developed interesting ways to build trust. The most important characterizing element of this "Saint-Michel model" is that it works on **long temporalities**. Local actors, from police officers to community organizers and social workers have been around for a long time (see list of interviews in appendix). Most of them are not from the neighbourhood, they are not *nativos* as we saw in Iztapalapa, but they have worked there for over ten years at least. The maximum length of stay of police officers in the seven barrios is six years, and this is an exception. In Montreal, local actors develop a stake in the neighbourhood and invest themselves there, which inevitably means (in the case of police officers) sacrificing upward career mobility. How police officers see themselves in the future influences their daily interactions with youths.

A second characteristic of how trust is built in Saint-Michel is that police officers tend to privilege **human-to-human, personalized** relations over institutionalized relations. Police officers invest in the neighbourhood beyond their formal police work, through community activities. As a result, youths trust them more. They call them by their first name and see them as human beings who go to the barbershop like everyone else. Police officers repeated several times that youths tend to forget their uniform. This is not true, however, of police officers outside the neighbourhood. Trust is given to individuals, not the police institution (although such nuance works against a background of generalized trust in the rule of law and functional police institutions in Canada).[31] Given the long history of historical mistrust of the police institution in Mexico City generally and in Iztapalapa particularly, such relations seem impossible. However, police officers participating in the school awareness programs do speak forcefully about how this work has changed both how youths and their families perceive them and how they themselves perceive youths.

[31] In Quebec, the issue of trust in police work is one of the most important articles of the police ethics code (Simard 2006). In 2008 to 2009, 1600 complaints were filed by citizens to the Commission de la déontologie policière. In Montreal, 19 files were investigated the same year. Another study shows that 61% of Canadians consider that local police does a good job (Gannon 2005). When we isolate the responses given by people of colour (visible minorities), the satisfaction rate diminishes (Cao 2011). Another study shows that the police comes fourth (72%) in the ranking of occupations that inspire confidence, after nurses (89%), doctors (79%) and teachers (74%) (Robert 2004).

A third characteristic of trust-building in Saint-Michel has to do with police officers' preferred logic of action. What motivates their work is moral outrage. They show **experiential, affect-driven action** more than detached and calculative, strategic thinking. This does not mean they act irrationally (they do follow strict protocols and make rational judgement calls like any police officer), but it illustrates how they let their experience guide them, how they improvise and believe in small gestures more than grand strategies. In contrast, the Mexican case demonstrates a strictly rational and institutionally-driven logic of action on the part of police officers. Faced with a dysfunctional civic justice system, a dire lack of personal and institutional resources and legitimacy, and real dangers for their personal safety given the cohesiveness of the local community, police officers constantly make rational judgement calls on whether to bring a youth to jail, whether to ask for the *mordida*, or whether to call upon the most dangerous gang members. In this context of structural mistrust between police and society, police officers do not have much margin of manoeuvre for trial-and-error, moral outrage, and empathy-driven action. They do have discretion to warn without taking money or referring the youth to a civic judge for the lesser crimes, but there is not as much space for building trust as there is in Canada. The current highly-mediatized context of drug-trafficking insecurity and police inability to control violence is only exacerbating this historical mistrust. As in any other country, in a context of extreme violence, the focus shifts to institutionally-driven strategic action more than interpersonal trust.

Finally, a fourth characteristic of trust-building in Saint-Michel is that youths and police share a **common space of action**. There is a shared sense of belonging to the neighbourhood. This was quite clear on the part of the youths, who are attached to their neighbourhood. But police officers also feel strongly about the PDQ 30 culture and the "Saint-Michel model". In the seven barrios, we witnessed exactly the opposite. The community, the *nativos*, share a strong sense of belonging and a desire to protect their homes and neighbourhoods against outside "intruders." Police officers, for their part, feel and recognize that this is not their territory; they are not "at home" and are far from welcomed. For precisely these reasons, there is no similar sense of pride in their police district, as we can see in Saint-Michel, although this is to be nuanced because the local PA 56 police is more active locally than the Metropolitan Police. Thus the community has made it difficult for police to generate the same longstanding institutional commitment to positive change in Iztapalapa that has been well cultivated by the authorities in Saint-Michel.

Although concerted organizational efforts and longstanding community engagement of police may be part of the explanation for why greater degrees of trust between youths and police can be achieved, the larger context of such arrangements is also part of the story. That is, there are sometimes structural constraints that get in the way of "conjunctural" changes in the relationships between police and youths. This is particularly evident when one compares the legitimacy of law enforcement institutions in Canada and Mexico, and understands how larger societal perceptions of police authority enable or constrain police's capacities to generate trust vis-a-vis youth. For example, in stark contrast to Montreal, Mexico City's police are saddled with a terrible reputation for corruption, built on decades of political policing associated with one-party rule, and the fact that few citizens have trust in most of the leading institutions of society, ranging from politicians to the courts to the police.[32] This has meant that there is limited trust in the police from all corners of society, not merely from youth. Such views have made it difficult for even the most conscientious of police and their organizational leadership to break through the barrier of mistrust with youths, even when they provide similar programs of engagement as in Montreal. These larger societal attitudes also explain why youths can count on family support – if not encouragement – to maintain their attitudes of police mistrust, despite concerted efforts on the part of the police to counter such views.[33] All of this suggests that any efforts to build youth trust in police would have to be embedded in a much larger political and transformational objective in Mexico City, as compared to Montreal, and that different strategies that work on both the structural and the conjunctural levels simultaneously might be necessary in order for some headway to be achieved.[34] Along these lines, experiments in other countries with similar histories of distrust of police, like Brazil, have shown that programs oriented towards breaking down the clear lines of authority between police and youths by fostering shared activities and interests through arts and music projects have helped generate a new micro-climate of trust that bridges both structural and conjunctural domains.[35]

[32] See S. Morris & J. Klesner (2010) for further discussion of the problem of trust in Mexico, and how it links to histories of corruption and abuse of power. With a focus on the intersections between political/interpersonal trust and corruption in Mexico City, Morris and Klesner argue that perceptions of corruption and institutional trust are tightly intertwined, and create a "vicious cycle wherein corruption breads a climate of distrust and that in turn feeds corruption" (p. 1278).

[33] In future research, it would be interesting to explore whether youth show more support when the police intervene against domestic violence, for instance.

[34] Such an approach, in fact, is implied in the Morris and Klesner (2010) study, whose review of the history of political institutions in Mexico City and the legacies of the corruption that sustained the PRI throughout its 71 years in power compelled them to argue that "if few trust the politicians to do the right thing and expect corruption, then effective anticorruption efforts must be designed to disrupt that equilibrium" (p. 1278).

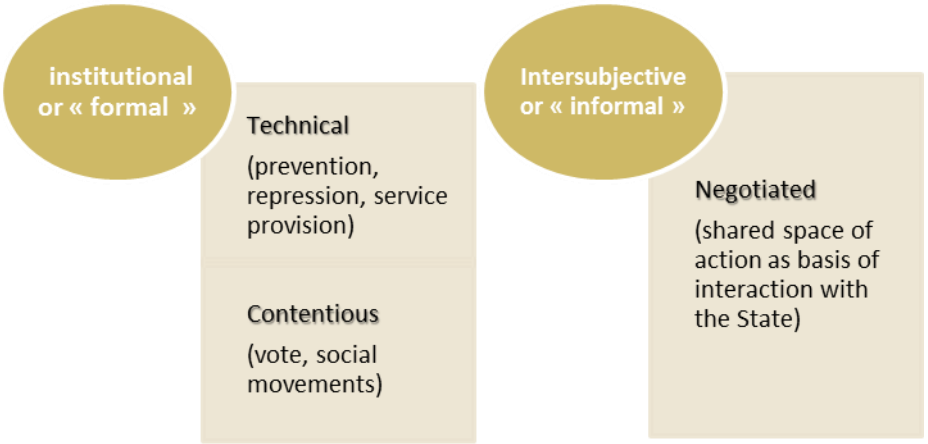
[35] See S. Ramos (2006) for a discussion of the use of music and arts to forge new relations between youth and police in Brazil. For a more theoretical discussion of the problem of trust and police behaviour, see A. Goldsmith (2005).

13. CONSTRUCTING CITIZENSHIP

Citizenship is a concept usually implying two forms of relation to the state: 1) a legal link with the state (a set of rights and responsibilities) and 2) an emotional link with the nation. Let us focus here on the former. In its modern liberal conception, the citizen-state relationship is often seen as technical (the protective state, supplier of services, and risk manager). It is also seen as evolving within a stable framework for the expression of conflicting opinions (vote, participation, contention). This relationship is co-constructed by citizens and the state in order to channel political conflicts and sustain democracy (McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly 2001). As a legal link to the state, citizenship is thus defined as an ensemble of individual rights (technical rapport to the state) and responsibilities such as voting and expressing opinions (contentious rapport to the state). The implicit project of preventive measures in the stable democratic context of Montreal could be described as the use of the state's technical powers to form citizens that will participate in licit public debate and thus contribute to the health of democracy. Experimentation with police in schools talking about or acting out relationships and speaking against violence in various places (including the home) are other examples of this.

In its inter-subjective or informal conceptualization (for lack of a better word), the state-citizen relation is often negotiated (Figure 34). Practices of informal negotiation, those that circumvent the frames and freely interpret them, have always persisted with varying degrees of intensity according to the context (see for example the work on the discretionary margin of frontline bureaucrats by Lipsky, 1980). It seems, however, that these practices have become increasingly visible in Canada, with neoliberal transformations within a similar context of growing visibility of informal practices in the streets of our cities (street vendors, street gangs, squatters, piracy, etc.).

Figure 34: Two types of relation to the state



The youths we interviewed often opted for negotiation or avoidance in their relation to the state (the police officer). Youths often adopt an attitude of distancing themselves in order to create – quietly and without attracting attention (sometimes by illicit means) – a space for action. This was evident in both Montreal and Mexico City and could be seen as an element of a common youth experience provided that there are certain common conditions: youth disenfranchisement and a series of preconceptions and misconceptions that all actors have about each other (e.g. the police are our enemy, youth are out of control, the community tolerates bad behaviour, etc).

We would suggest that this space of action points to another type of relation to the state, a way of affirming one's political subjectivity. At the scale of neighbourhood proximity, inter-subjectivity may be considered a way of relating to the state, a form of citizenship practice. Youths that thrive on illicit activities (gang veterans) do not "withdraw", or remove themselves from socio-political relations, but instead create spaces of action in a relation that is not in confrontation but rather in negotiation with the state. It goes without saying that this relation is marked by unequal forces. Youths in the seven barrios also show the same modalities of interacting with the state: negotiating the *mordida*, or avoidance all together.

Citizenship would thus imply a legal and affective link to the state and the nation, as mentioned earlier, but also and most importantly for this research, an ensemble of **political relationships (claiming, contesting, and negotiating) that are based on daily practices**. Isin (2008) suggests that citizenship practices are composed of citizenship *acts*, that is, a creative moment that breaks from routine actions and, through its unfolding, legitimates the actor. An "act" is not a reaction to a situation, but the creation of an actor who can legitimately be present in the situation s/he participates in creating. Let us take the example of an encounter between a police officer and a group of young men hanging around the subway station in Saint-Michel or Iztapalapa. While the police officer may not recognize these young men as political actors, the men can become political actors by asserting their presence there. Through their act of assertion, the young men create an identifiable situation that takes on a specific political meaning, and in the process become actors of this situation. This is an "act of citizenship." Had the young men not consciously asserted their presence near the subway station, and simply dispersed upon the police officer's request, this would not have been a noticeable situation deviating from daily routine, and the young men would not have constructed themselves as citizen-actors.

Our fieldwork in Saint-Michel shows many instances where youth constructed themselves as citizen-actors, even if they would not name their practices as citizenship acts. They generally do not trust formal politics, but are quite active in terms of inter-subjective citizenship. Just as in Iztapalapa, they are very articulate in formulating critical opinions and staying informed to make sure there is no abuse of power, and they show curiosity for social or city-wide problems beyond their daily routine. In Montreal, they speak of their willingness to be included in public debates and to think for themselves. In Iztapalapa, however, the general sense of overwhelming-ness in the face of drug-related violence and insecurity nationwide affects youth discourse on political action. They tend to defer more to elites, to the government. This discourse, which probably predates the current situation of national insecurity, is also present in our interviews with police officers. In both cities, youths do actively fight the stigma that weighs on their neighbourhood by trying to project a positive image of themselves. Their individual searches for recognition and respect will, they hope, trickle down to a collective recognition and respect for their neighbourhood. In the case of Iztapalapa, this search for individual respect seemingly takes the form of a human rights discourse. Beyond this discourse, youth in Iztapalapa do also see their location within the barrios as an expression of "citizenship." They do not speak of citizenship in the sense of being Mexican or the rights afforded to them by the country's constitution, but instead as "citizens" of their streets. In other words, they perceive the alleyways and their streets to be "their community, their territory." They are citizens of this urban territory, which they defend along with their freedom of action within it from "outsiders," including the state.

These examples illustrate that youths do construct themselves as socio-political actors, much more so than policy frameworks based on vulnerability would have us believe. But in order to detect these forms of citizenship practices, we need to adopt a broader conception of the term, a conception based on inter-subjective relations rather than institutionalized and formal mechanisms to voice claims. Likewise, we need to have a better understanding of the potential discourses *available* for claiming agency and thus constructing citizenship, and of the fact that the same discourses may not be relevant in all contexts. The adoption or reference to human rights discourses by youths in Mexico City is a case in point.[36] In an environment where formal political institutions associated with the state and abusive legacies of one-party rule are generally suspect (as noted earlier), youths have adopted languages that have been introduced by NGOs and other leading institutions of change – perhaps because these allow a potentially powerful, or

[36] It is important to note that the youths themselves did not mention this discourse directly in our interviews. We nevertheless heard about it in our interviews with police who were describing youth actions. Further research would be needed to triangulate this information with youths themselves. It was not a question that we directly asked them.

at least “safe” space for challenging abusive authority and claiming citizenship. In Montreal, youths refer to a language of racial discrimination, in the context of a mediatized public debate on racial profiling. They speak of citizenship rights and the need to be recognized in their difference. This language of cultural diversity provides frames of reference for challenging power inequalities and claiming a space of action. Either way, they point to the importance of understanding differences in the larger politico-institutional and historical contexts of police-youth initiatives, and how they can enable or constrain programmatic efforts to make a difference at the neighbourhood level.

14. NEED FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This final observation suggests that future research might be well-served by constructing comparisons both within and between two urban contexts. In particular, while we have seen that the larger structural context of Canadian or Mexican policing, law enforcement, and democracy have had a bearing on the degrees of success of police-youth interactions through crime prevention programs, we have not examined whether these differences could also be affected by the history and nature of the neighbourhoods under study. For example, would we see the same youth responses in Montreal North as in Saint-Michel? What about Mexico City's historic centre in comparison with Iztapalapa? While it is clear that the attitudes towards police, authorities, and the political system might be somewhat similar in different neighbourhoods of the same city, there are also different spatial, social, cultural, and economic opportunities for conflict or cooperation between youth and police, depending on the history and built environmental character of the places under study. In particular, the question of whether a neighbourhood is isolated in social, spatial, or economic terms, with youths and their families as the main significant actors, and with all groups sharing a common class or social identity, might be worth pursuing further. Likewise, whether an area is residential or commercial might establish conditions that affect relationships between police and youths, including the possibility that local spaces are used by a multiplicity of actors for different purposes in ways that change police priorities and youths' sense of ownership of the streets. Some of these differences may even have a bearing on how and in what ways youths elect to construct citizenship, with the main differences being where they are placed and place themselves in a triangulation between police and other citizens who use those spaces. In future research a two-by-two matrix that allows comparison within and between two neighbourhoods in two cities would enable a more systematic understanding of the relationship between space and the institutional and political context of youth-police interactions.

A second line of thinking that could be explored in a new set of comparisons would relate to the question of critical mediating actors and institutions. In Mexico, we saw that NGOs and other independent organizations who take on advocacy and accountability tasks so as to protect youths from the vagaries associated with an unresponsive and untrustworthy political system seem to influence how youths construct their rights vis-à-vis the police. In addition to determining whether these patterns vary by neighbourhood (and if so, why), we might also look for other relevant organizations or actors that play this mediating role. Moreover, in the case of Montreal, it would be interesting to look at other representatives of the state, such as social workers. The long history of this profession in Quebec, and the close relationship

between the construction of the welfare state and the development of a socially-oriented model of governance, call for a closer look at this profession, with social workers being located on the blurred line between the state and the community. In the context of the increasingly “medicalized” discourse of public health in relation to the treatment of security issues, this is becoming ever more important.

Finally, this small research project enabled us to identify two modes of interaction between youth and police beyond the usually-suspected confrontation: negotiation and avoidance. More research is now needed to better understand why they choose the mechanisms they choose and/or avoid others. The short time allocated for this project prevented us from collecting data that would allow us to better understand the conditions under which a mode is chosen and the motives behind this choice. More observation and deeper interviews would be required. Moreover, we would need to know more about the structural and conjunctural mechanisms that prefigure one or the other mode of interaction. This would really deepen our understanding of how these actors, who are at such odds at times, construct their relationships and also how prevention policy can foster positive relationships.

TOWARDS CONCLUSIONS AND ACTION

The starting point of this research project came from youths themselves, who complain, in their own words, that the place-based prevention framework in Montreal depoliticizes street gang and youth delinquency problems by offering a systemic view of risk management. While many prevention programs work on the basis of a well-defined neighbourhood-based territory, which is the basic unit of operation for community policing and other forms of prevention work, youths live a much more mobile life. The current prevention framework privileges the local scale of the neighbourhood for implementing various programs and outreach activities. The larger orientations of the programs, however, are defined at the federal and provincial level, in accordance with international guidelines and policy norms. Such area-based conception of scales is out of sync with the more relational and topological set of socio-spatial practices favoured by youths.

While emotionally attached to their neighbourhoods, youths seek city-wide recognition by expressing their identity locally. They do not speak of a "retreat from" social dynamics or politics; instead, they aspire for participation and inclusion, albeit on their terms, which sometimes means negotiated and perhaps illicit vectors of action. But just like many youths who spoke to us, police officers prefer "human arrangements," as they were called – some human understanding of specific situations, and thus some flexibility with the policy frameworks. That sort of arrangement is only possible locally, at the micro-level, and could hardly be implemented at the scale of the state, for instance.

We would argue here, however, that these micro-level negotiation practices have an influence on the meso-level of institutional practices. Citizenship, in other words, is at the same time a legal link to the state, an affective link to the nation, and a set of political relationships that unfolds at various scales and through specific situations of claim-making and negotiation. The state was analyzed here through one of its figures interacting directly with citizens: the police officer.

14.1 Youths as actors

The first question we explored in this research aimed to better understand how youths in "at-risk" neighbourhoods constitute themselves as individual and collective social and political actors.[37] What image of themselves do they seek to project? What means do they develop to act? What preoccupies them and motivates their actions? In both

[37] As a reminder, we worked with youths in the neighbourhoods, and not specifically with criminalized youths.

Iztapalapa and Saint-Michel, stigmatization is an important issue for youths. They described to us how they try to counter the stigma attached to their neighbourhood: they act positively, dress well. In their search for individual recognition and respect, their hope is that this individual respect will trickle down to a collective respect for the neighbourhood. In Montreal, these small gestures are accompanied by a discourse on racial discrimination, while in Mexico City the language of human rights is mobilized by youths.

Youths in both cases expressed negative views towards the political system: it doesn't change anything, it is uninteresting, it is not for us, it is corrupted. Yet, they demonstrated interest in more informal forms of political action. They formulated articulated critical opinions, expressed curiosity towards social issues and called for their inclusion in debates and rule-making. They were well informed and insisted on the need to stay informed in order to avoid abuses of power. For them, citizenship had a broader meaning than a simple legal status; it meant being recognized as citizen-actors by their neighbours first, then by authorities and other citizens outside of their neighbourhood. They formulated an inter-subjective understanding of citizenship.

But the context in which this occurred was not identical. Images of the police were overwhelmingly negative in Iztapalapa, and police officers were described as corrupt, aggressive, discriminatory. In Montreal, negative images were also formulated, but more ambiguously. Youths felt the need to conform to a social role (that of not trusting the police as an institution), but also expressed empathy towards them and talked about the challenges they face. In Montreal, they spoke of racial profiling, but not so much of harassment. They felt annoyed by their presence and described it as an "invasion of intimacy." In Mexico, by contrast, police presence in the seven barrios is much less visible and does not penetrate easily inside the residential areas. This "distance" from youths' everyday lives helped sustain negative images of the police.

In both cases, the distinction between the inside and the outside of the neighbourhood was relevant to larger patterns of police-youth interaction. In Iztapalapa, the barrios belong to the *nativos* and youths benefitted from community protection against the police, although this also negatively affected patterns of trust and reinforced youth views about police corruption. In Saint-Michel, the frontiers between the inside and the outside were much less clear, in both the built and social environment. Nevertheless, youths spoke of how they acted differently within the neighbourhood, where they trusted the police more than outside. Youths are more mobile in Montreal than in Mexico City, but given the scale of the two metropolises, this is not surprising.

Overall, in both cases, youths tended to mobilize a more relational, inter-subjective logic of action (what we have called an urban logic). They acted tactically, based on intuition and trial and error. They relied on horizontal networks and mutual aid. They favoured small gestures and multiple movements over grand plans.

14.2 The role of the police in the construction of youth citizenship

How do police officers recognize the subjectivity and capacity of "at-risk" youths to act socially and politically? In Mexico, the level of mistrust expressed by youths towards the police was shared by police officers towards youths. They told us that youths are aggressive and defiant. They are often drunk or doing drugs. They are irresponsible because they are protected by the community (and thus do not face consequences for their behaviour). Yet, the police also portrayed youths as vulnerable because they are subject to the intergenerational influence of illicit behaviour in the barrios. In Montreal, police officers' discourse was more positive and empowering: youths want to be active, they are good people. Vulnerability was always present in the discourse: youths face difficult challenges. Not all officers readily used the policy language of risk factors; many hesitated in portraying youths in these terms. They made a clear distinction between the younger population which was portrayed as being more at-risk, and the gang veterans, for whom they spoke in terms of respect and balance of power.

The initial intuition of this research was that youths' relational urban logic of action would be in contrast to police officers' actuarial logic of action. Such logic of action is based on strategic, calculative, preventive acts as opposed to the tactical, intuitive, and reactive forms of actions detected in youths. The actuarial logic of action is technical and depoliticizes youth issues. Youths are portrayed as vulnerable, where there is a constellation of risk factors which are not sufficiently offset by protective factors, and there is very little margin of manoeuvre to express their individual autonomy. Our results show that, at least in Montreal where the actuarial logic of action is dominant in all policy frameworks and in the public discourse, there is an ambiguous disjuncture between this official policy framing and how it actually unfolds at the neighbourhood scale. Community organizations funded by the municipal, provincial, and federal governments need to use the risk factor language in their auditing reports, and this feeds into the way they portray youths. However, their closeness to youths' daily lives and feelings make them hesitate to portray them as *only* vulnerable. They also speak the language of empowerment. Police officers, on their side, benefit from a large autonomy from policy frameworks, given that their funding is not project-based. In recent years, the SPVM underwent significant shifts towards community policing with the nomination of the new Chief and the formal recognition of the success of the "Saint-

Michel model." As a result, officers on the street often demonstrate a more relational, urban logic of action. They act intuitively and swiftly, motivated by moral outrage more than rational probabilistic calculations. We did not see this flexibility in Iztapalapa.

This can be explained by two factors: 1) the neighbourhood scale of their work and longstanding familiarity with the community enables police to adjust to concrete situations and strike informal deals that would be impossible at larger scales; and 2) there are immense relational potentials opened by proximity. Because they know youths by name, they create personalized, rather than institutionalized relationships. These factors were present in the neighbourhoods we studied in Montreal but not in Mexico City. In the seven barrios, Auxiliary police are the most active and typically work in the neighbourhoods for a short period of time before being transferred elsewhere or ending their careers. Moreover, the strong family (community) cohesion makes it much more difficult for officers to make headway in being viewed as "part of the community".

14.3 Youth-police interactions: a typology of mode of relation

Through field observations and interviews, we focused specifically on situations of interaction between youths and police in everyday neighbourhood situations. We asked: on what modes are these interactions unfolding? Our goal was to understand the nature of everyday relations between police and youths. In Saint-Michel and Iztapalapa, the most important mode of interaction is negotiation, followed by avoidance. We detected very little direct confrontation.

Negotiation has a different connotation in both cases. In Iztapalapa, it was expressed mostly concerning the *mordida*. The negotiated interaction is played out by both youths and police. The former attempt to negotiate the rate, while the latter negotiate with youths on whether they will formally arrest them and bring them to court. In Montreal, negotiation does not have a negative connotation. It was central to the process of pacification in Saint-Michel. It refers to the process through which the police ensure that gangs do not exercise violence in the neighbourhood. It implies a mutual recognition of both parties – the veterans and the police. Police officers offer veterans "respect", and in return veterans ensure that the police can do their preventive work with the youngest (they "protect" them from other veterans, they control their members so that they do not disturb public events, etc.). Negotiation here is about building trust in the long-term. For (non-gang) youths, negotiation takes on a slightly different meaning. It focuses on ad-hoc situations of encounters with the police, and youths see negotiation as a means to become an actor in that situation. They will "be nice" and avoid being arrogant, etc., in order to obtain a second chance.

These results show that negotiation is a mode of interaction that can be deployed on a spectrum from backdoor deal-making to empowering encounters. Indeed, negotiation is not only associated with corruption, but is also a concept central to democratic theory. The premise of these reflections of democratic processes is that if conflict is channelled through negotiation, it becomes socially productive. Through the act of negotiating, both parties are mutually recognized as legitimate actors. In the case of Saint-Michel, negotiation has had very positive impacts in terms of pacification and the empowerment of youths in situations of interaction with police officers. But against the backdrop of historically-entrenched mistrust in Iztapalapa, negotiation remains on the negative end of the spectrum.

14.4 Ideas for action

In this context, it seems that in the case of Iztapalapa, efforts should be concentrated **both on structural and conjunctural trust-building**. Building structural trust necessarily entails institutional reforms, while conjunctural trust can be constructed through the multiplication of situations of negotiated interaction between youths and police officers. In Iztapalapa, beyond engaging with outreach to youths, this also concerns the community as a whole. As actors in the seven barrios, youths cannot be discussed independently from their surrounding community cohesion, tradition and norms, all of which indicate to them that the police (or the state they represent) are bad, corrupt and untrustworthy. This reality is one part of a vicious cycle of mutual distrust among police and the community. Police are afraid to engage with the community in the performance of their responsibilities for fear of reprisal. Coupled with an institutional setting that limits their ability to do their job honestly (bad pay), safely (bad resources), and support (a broken justice system), they rationally opt for taking actions that are of further detriment to community-police relations and the growth of a youth's sense of citizenship through these interactions.

In the Montreal case, the police do not face such historically-entrenched mistrust, but continued debate and transparency is needed to maintain a good level of structural trust. The current dominance of the risk-factor actuarial logic of policy-making has led to well-identified stigmatization and discriminatory effects, particularly through area-based programs targeting stigmatized neighbourhoods and racial profiling practices. If these effects are not addressed, they will continue to undermine the level of structural trust that Montreal enjoys.

This study shows that programs and **policies that are closer to the relational, urban logic of action may be more successful than a constant emphasis on risk factors**. Speaking the language of empowerment rather than vulnerability, seeing youths as

citizen-actors rather than as a bundle of risks, these are the essential ingredients of a successful program. This means keeping existing good programs in sports, arts, and so on, but with a special objective of linking these youth worlds to other social worlds: public debates, the expression of social opinions, civic activities, and so on. It also means not only targeting at-risk youths, but youths in general, with an effort to de-stigmatize these recreational and arts programs. Many youths in Montreal told us they did not want to participate in these programs because they are for “youths with problems”. Isolating youths in separate “vulnerable” groups prevents them from building bridges.

In the case of Iztapalapa, arts and sports programs would not be sufficient; bridges would be needed between the community as whole and the police, not just between various youth worlds. If police serving the barrios saw youth as "citizen-actors" instead of as a bundle of risks, all else being equal, would they really treat them differently on a day-to-day basis? Would they change their practices and avoid relying on the *mordida* and other such methods of policing? Perhaps we can see an emerging answer based on the police officers that are participating in the youth outreach programs at schools. These officers note that they understand the youths better (perhaps more as vulnerable individuals than as citizens, but definitely a mixture of both) and our interviews with them suggest that they would (and do) treat youths and the population as a whole in a different way because of their participation in these programs. Perhaps a starting point would be to deploy more efforts to bring citizens (not just youths) together with officers in neutral settings in which they can get to know each other as people and not just as one another's enemy.

Finally, our results confirm the **importance of the local scale of action**, if it is in a context of structural trust. The local scale of action is a common space of action for youth and police in Saint-Michel. This opens possibilities for relational and conjunctural trust to settle in, supported by the cohesiveness and effectiveness of local partnerships. In Iztapalapa, the Auxiliary Police, which is under the direct supervision of the *delegación*, is more active than the Metropolitan Police. However, recognizing the flexibilities that are possible locally does not mean developing programs with a rigid conception of the territory of action. Youths are mobile, their lives extend beyond the neighbourhood (more so in Montreal than Mexico City), and programs that build on this mobility would probably be more successful (Boudreau, Janni, and Chatel 2011).

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APPENDICES

INTERVIEW GUIDELINES – YOUTHS

Personal background

1. Age, gender, ethnic group
2. Family composition
3. How long have you lived in this neighbourhood? Where did you live before? Immigration status?
4. Do you contribute to the household revenue? If so, how?
5. Do you go to school?

Becoming an actor + mobility practices and territorial identity

Identity and image projection

1. What do you like to do with your friends?
2. How would you describe your friends?
3. What do you like talking about?
4. If you had to describe yourself to someone your age from another country, what would you say?
5. What is the coolest way to dress? Why? Is the way you dress important?
6. How do you make sure people recognize who you are when you walk on the streets?
7. Do you often go to places outside the neighbourhood (how many times a week)? Where, with whom, why?
8. When you go elsewhere, do you go by car? Bus? Subway?
9. Do you like going to... (downtown, this or that place)? Why?
10. Are there any constraints that make it difficult for you to move around? (money, time, fear, etc.)
11. When you go downtown/to other neighbourhoods, do people know you are from here? How?
12. Is it important for you that people know you are from this place? Why or why not?

Acting

13. When you see something happening on the streets (someone needing help), how do you feel? How do you react? (*reacting to a situation and getting involved)*
14. Would you like to change something in your life? What? What would you need to be able to change this? (*acting on your own life, reflecting on it*)

15. Do you like your neighbourhood? Why or why not? What would you change in this place? How? (*acting on your milieu, formulating problems*)
16. In your opinion, what are the major problems with this city? What do you think can be done about this? (*formulating political opinions beyond the immediate milieu*)
17. How do you see yourself in five years from now? How do you want to get there? (*projecting oneself in the future, making plans*)
18. If someone provokes you (teasing, pushing, etc.), what do you do? How do you feel?
19. Do you think youths behave differently in other places? How so and why?
20. Do you think the police behave differently in other places? How so and why?

Perception by the police

1. What do you think of the police?
2. How would you describe the police officers you see regularly in the neighbourhood?
3. How do you think this police officer would describe you and your friends?
4. How do you think a police officer spends a normal day?
5. What is your normal day? How does it unfold?

Interactions with police officers

1. When you see police officers in the neighbourhood, how do you feel? What do you do?
2. How do they treat you?
3. Can you tell me one story/anecdote of an encounter with a police officer?
4. What are the issues that may most likely create conflict with police officers?
5. Can you think of examples when youths and police cooperate? Negotiate?

Community perceptions

1. How do you think community residents see the police? Do they trust them? Do they ask for more officers?
2. How do they see youths?
3. Are there many young people in your neighbourhood?
4. Are there conflicts with adults?
5. Do you participate in community activities (church-based, sports, celebrations)?
6. Do police officers also participate in these activities? Who organizes them?

Expectations about the broader context

1. What do you want to do for a living? (*expectations of social mobility? Personal prosperity*)
2. Do you think things will be easier or more difficult economically in the future for your family and friends? For your city? (*expectations towards general economic prosperity*)
3. What do you think of the legal and justice system? Does it work or not? What are its problems? (*expectations towards the rule of law*)
4. Are rules necessary? Should they always be respected? If they are not, what should happen?
5. What do you think of the political system (elections)? Does it work or not? What are its problems? (*expectations towards citizenship*)
6. What should citizen do? Do you see yourself as a citizen? Why? Is it important for you to be recognized as a citizen?

INTERVIEW GUIDELINES – POLICE OFFICERS

Personal trajectory

1. Age, gender, ethnic group
2. Why did you decide to become a police officer?
3. Have you worked in other neighbourhoods? Where? For how long?
4. How different or similar was it?

The neighbourhood

1. How would you describe this neighbourhood? What are its strengths and its problems?
2. What are the programs in place? Why? Who initiated them?
3. Who is involved in prevention work?
4. Does it produce positive effects? Why or why not?

Police action and autonomy

1. How would you describe your role in the neighbourhood?
2. What do you do on a normal day?
3. What are the main difficulties you encounter?
4. What sorts of things can help you (a colleague, resources, social workers, etc.)?
5. Are there neighbourhood actors and conditions that influence your margin of manoeuvre (pressures by merchants, residents, poverty, etc.)?
6. What happens if an incident occurs just on the border of your "territory"? Can you and would you intervene?
7. Who makes decisions on actions to take in the neighbourhood? Do you respond to higher-ranked officials that do not work in this neighbourhood?
8. Can you describe the hierarchy of the police, the role of the legal system and the politicians?

Perception of youths by the police

Youth identity and image projection

1. How would you describe youths you see regularly in the neighbourhood?
2. How do you think youths would describe you and your colleagues?
3. How do you think these youths spend a normal day?
4. What do they talk about?
5. How do they dress and why?
6. How do they express their identity?

7. Do they often go to places outside the neighbourhood (how many times a week)? Where, with whom, why?
8. How do they get there? Car? Bus? Subway?
9. Are there any constraints that make it difficult for them to move around? (money, time, fear, etc.)
10. Is the neighbourhood important for youth identity? How do they show this?
11. Do you think youths behave differently in other places? How so and why?
12. Do you think the police behave differently in other places? How so and why?

Youths acting

13. Do youths you see here react when something happens on the streets (someone needing help)?
14. Do you think they would like to change something in their life? What? What would they need to be able to change this?
15. Would they want to change something in this place? How?
16. Do you think they formulate opinions about the city, the country, the world?

Police logic of action

17. How do you see yourself in five years from now? How do you want to get there?
18. If someone provokes you (teasing, pushing, etc.), what do you do? How do you feel?

Interactions between youths and police officers

1. When you see youths in the neighbourhood, what do you do?
2. How do they treat you?
3. What are the sorts of issues you need to negotiate with them? When do you need to intervene and why?
4. How do you normally approach them?
5. Can you tell me one story/anecdote of an encounter with youths?
   What are the issues that may most likely create conflict with police officers?
6. Can you think of examples when youths and police cooperate? Negotiate?

Community perceptions

1. How do you think community residents see the police? Do they trust them? Do they ask for more officers?
2. How do they see youths?
3. Are there many young people in the neighbourhood?
4. Are there conflicts with adults?
5. Do youths participate in community activities (church-based, sports, celebrations)?
6. Do police officers also participate in these activities? Who organises them?

Expectations about the broader context

1. Are there opportunities for you to go up the career ladder? (*expectations of social mobility? Personal prosperity*)
2. Do you think things will be easier or more difficult economically in the future for your family and friends? For your city? (*expectations towards general economic prosperity*)
3. What do you think of the legal and justice system? Does it work or not? What are its problems? (*expectations towards the rule of law*)
4. Are rules necessary? Should they always be respected? If they are not, what should happen?
5. What do you think of the political system (elections)? Does it work or not? What are its problems? (*expectations towards citizenship*)
6. What should citizen do? Do you see yourself as a citizen? Why? Is it important for you to be recognized as a citizen?

INTERVIEW PROFILES – YOUTHS IN MONTREAL

Date	Name	Age	Sex	Household (parents)	Household (siblings)	Country of origin	Since when in Canada	Since when in Saint-Michel	Extent of mobility practices	How often	Means of transportation	Why
19-02-2011	SM 1	19	F	Mother only	With siblings	Haïti	More than 10 years	Ten years or less	Downtown	Many times per month	Public transit	Leisure
19-02-2011	SM 2	17	F	Extended family	With cousins	Haïti	Less than a year	Less than a year	Downtown	Many times per week	Public transit	Leisure
03-04-2011	SM 3	22	M	Mother only	With siblings	Haïti	More than 10 years	Ten years or less	Other neighbourhoods of Mtl	Many times per week	Public transit	Leisure
06-04-2011	SM 4	24	M	Without parents	Without siblings	Haïti	Five years or less	Five years or less	Montreal North	Many times per week	Car and public transit	Leisure
07-04-2011	SM 5	-	M									
08-04-2011	SM 6	-	M									
08-04-2011	SM 7	-	F									
13-04-2011	SM 8	18	F	With both parents	With siblings	Haïti	Ten years or less	Ten years or less	Montreal North	Many times per week	Public transit	Leisure
13-04-2011	SM 9	19	M	With both parents	With siblings	Canada	N/A	More than 10 years	Downtown	Many times per month	Public transit	Friends
13-04-2011	SM 10	26	F	With both parents	With siblings	Haïti	Ten years or less	More than 10 years	Downtown	Unassigned	Public transit	Leisure
18-04-2011	SM 11	19	M	With both parents	Unassigned	Haïti	More than 10 years	Ten years or less	Montreal North	Many times per month	Car	Friends
18-04-2011	SM 12	19	M	Without parents	Without siblings	Haïti	Date unknown	N/A	Outside of Quebec	Many times per week	Car	Family
18-04-2011	SM 13	18	M	With both parents	Unassigned	Haïti	Date unknown	N/A	Other neighbourhoods of Mtl	Many times per week	Public transit	Leisure
18-04-2011	SM 14	18	M	Mother only	With siblings	Haïti	More than 10 years	More than 10 years	Unassigned	Unassigned	Car and public transit	Friends
11-05-2011	SM 15	18	M	Without parents	Without siblings	Chili	More than 10 years	Date unknown	Other neighbourhoods of Mtl	Many times per week	Public transit	Friends
11-05-2011	SM 16	20	M	Mother only	Without siblings	Haïti	More than 10 years	More than 10 years	Other neighbourhoods of Mtl	Many times per month	Public transit	Unassigned
29-06-2011	SM 17	15	F	With both parents	With siblings	Haïti	More than 10 years	More than 10 years	Montreal North	Many times per week	Car	Family
29-06-2011	SM 18	15	F	With both parents	With siblings	Canada	N/A	Ten years or less	Other neighbourhoods of Mtl	Many times per month	Car and public transit	Leisure
30-06-2011	SM 19	25	M	With both parents	With siblings	Algeria	Five years or less	Five years or less	Other neighbourhoods of Mtl	Many times per week	Car	Unassigned
07-07-2011	SM 20	19	M	Unassigned	With siblings	Haïti	Date unknown	More than 10 years	Other neighbourhoods of Mtl	Many times per month	Car	Leisure
07-07-2011	SM 21	19	F	With both parents	With siblings	Algeria	Date unknown	Date unknown	Unassigned	Unassigned	Unassigned	Unassigned
07-07-2011	SM 22	19	F	With both parents	With siblings	Morocco	Date unknown	N/A	Downtown	Many times per week	Public transit	Work
07-07=2011	SM 23	21	F	With both parents	With siblings	Morocco	More than 10 years	More than 10 years	Montreal North	Unassigned	Public transit	Family

Colour indicates they are youth patrollers

INTERVIEW PROFILES – POLICE AND LOCAL ACTORS IN MONTREAL

Date		Title	Sex	City of origin	In post since	In the neighbourhood since
25-05-2011	P 1	Police officer	F	North shore	More than ten years	More than ten years
25-05-2011	P 2	Police officer	F	Unassigned	More than ten years	More than ten years
28-06-2011	P 3	Police officer	M	South shore	More than ten years	More than ten years
02-05-2011	P 4	Police officer	M	Elsewhere in Montreal	More than ten years	Less than ten years
28-06-2011	P 5	Police officer	M	South shore	More than ten years	More than ten years
02-05-2011	P 6	*Conseiller en concertation*	F	Out of country	More than ten years	Less than five years
28-06-2011	P 7	Street worker	M	Out of country	More than ten years	More than ten years
27-05-2011	P 8	Elected official	F	Unassigned	More than ten years	More than ten years
05-05-2011	P 9	Elected official	M	Saint-Michel	Less than ten years	More than ten years

OBSERVATION DETAILS IN MONTREAL

François-Perrault Park

	From	To
2011-05-30	16 h 06	17 h 20
2011-05-31	15 h 30	16 h 55
2011-06-01	15 h23	16 h 37
2011-06-02	15 h 40	16 h 00
2011-06-03	16 h 12	16 h 50
2011-06-06	15 h 36	16 h 30
2011-06-07	14 h 15	16 h 30
2011-06-09	15 h 45	16 h 20
2011-06-14	11 h 52	12 h 25

Louis-Joseph Papineau High School

	From	To
2011-05-10	16 h 40	17 h 20
2011-05-11	16 h 07	18 h 00
2011-05-12	16 h 07	16 h 51
2011-05-17	15 h 48	16 h 17
2011-05-20	16 h 56	17 h 15
2011-05-24	16 h 11	16 h 51
2011-05-25	15 h 22	16 h 50
2011-05-26	11 h 21	12 h 50

LIST OF EVENTS IN WHICH THE TEAM PARTICIPATED IN MONTREAL

- Commission de la sécurité publique, consultation publique, May 4, 2011, Verdun
- Morocco-Algeria soccer match and festivities on Jean-Talon Street, June 4, 2011
- Public conference at the Cegep Edouard Montpetit where a police officer from Saint-Michel participated. Presentation of a documentary film on the boxing club created by the officer, followed by a period of discussion. June 7, 2011
- Barbecue organized by two police officers in a housing project with gang members and youths, June 30, 2011

INTERVIEW PROFILES IN IZTAPALAPA

Month	Day	Type	#	Details	Sex	Form of Contact	Location	How many
March	7	Police	1	Policia Auxiliar	M	Random	Street	1
March	9	Police	2	Policia Auxiliar Segway	M	Random	Street	2
March	11	Police	3	Special Prevention Unit (Aux)	M/F	Connected by Public Security Office	Delegación	6
March	11	Police	4	Sectorial Officer	F	Random	Smayo y Palacios	1
March	14	Police	5	2 USE Police Officers after ride-along	M	Connected by the USE	Police Ride-Along	2
March	16	Police	6	Policia Auxiliar	F	Random	Street	2
March	17	Police	7	Policia Auxiliar Supervisión	M	Connected by Delegación	Police Ride Along	2
March	17	Police	8	Sectorial	M	Random	Street	1
March	4	Youth	1	24 years old	M	Random	Street	1
March	7	Youth	2	18 Years old	F	Margarito Aquaintance connected us to her	Street	1
March	7	Youth	3	Group of four (2m, 2f) 15,16, 19, 19	M/F	Margarito knows them from sight	Street	4
March	8	Youth	4	26 year old had been in reclusorio	M	Margarito Friend	Margarito's House	1
March	8	Youth	5	21 year old	M	Margarito knows them from sight	Street	1
March	9	Youth	6	22 year old sonidero	M	Margarito Aquaintence	Street	1
March	9	Youth	7	Group of four 19, 23, 27, 28	M	Margarito knows them from sight	Street	4
March	10	Youth	8	19 year old philosopher boxer	M	Margarito friend with his dad	Street	1
March	12	Youth	9	22 year old "escuadron de la muerte"	M	Margarito knows them from sight	Margarito's House	1
March	12	Youth	10	Group of 2 (1f, 1m) 20, 19	M/F	Doña Mary connected	Street	2
March	13	Youth	11	Group of 2 24, 30	M	Doña Mary connected	Street	2
March	13	Youth	12	28 year old	F	Margarito's sibling	Margarito's House	1
March	13	Youth	13	18 year old breakdancer (not from 8 barrios)	M	Margarito knows them from sight	Street	1
March	15	Youth	14	18 year old pollo worker	M	Margarito Aquaintence	Street	1
March	15	Youth	15	22 year old	F	Margarito knows them from sight	Street	1
March	15	Youth	16	28 year old	F	Ang Sister	Street	1
March	22	Youth	17	23 year old	F	Connected by Dir. Of Secundaria	Street	1
March	23	Youth	18	Group of four 22,23,24,26	M	Connected by a youth's dad	Street	4
March	28	Youth	19	20 years old	M	Connected by Dir. Of Secundaria	Secondary School	1
March	28	Youth	20	20 years old (not from 8 barrios)	M	Connected by Dir. Of Secundaria	Secondary School	1
March	28	Youth	21	20 years old	F	Connected by Dir. Of Secundaria	Secondary School	1
March	4	Public Official	1	Program Outreach Servidora		Margarito Friend	Street	1
March	9	Public Official	2	Directora Josefina Rios Secundaria de Trabajadores		Random	Office	1
March	9	Public Official	3	Coord Seg. Pub Rosario Novoa		Random	Office	1
March	12	Public Official	4	Aux Police Trainer on the record		Connected by Sec. Novoa	Office	1
March	16	Public Official	5	Director of Youth programs Magali		Connected by Delegación	Office	1
March	22	Public Official	6	Ex-Jefe Delegacional Horacio Martinez		Connected by vecinos	Office	1
March	22	Public Official	7	Youth Programs Coordinator Zona Centro		Connected by Magali and Random	Office	1
March	23	Public Official	8	JUD Crime Prevention Unit		Connected by Delegación	Office	1
March	28	Public Official	9	Coord Seg. Pub Rosario Novoa		Connected by Delegación	Office	1