



ROYAUME DU MAROC

Université Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah  
Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines  
Saïs - Fès



Deuxième Spring Institute International du 10 au 16 Mai 2010

**le Travail Social à l'épreuve  
des Coopérations Ouvertes et des Coopérations Fermées :  
Enjeu Capital pour le Développement Humain**



# **Travail Social à l'Epreuve des Coopérations Ouvertes et des Coopération Fermées**

**Éditeur :** International Institute of Sociology, Anthropology and Human Development

**Edition :** Presses Universitaires de Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah- Fès, 2010

**Collection** « Développement Humain », n° 2

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**Imprimée au Maroc, Fès, par Saiss Imprimerie**

**ISBN : 9954-8814-9-1**

**N° Dépôt légal : 2010 Mo2745**



Université Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah - FÈS, MAROC.

Route d'Imouzzer - BP 2626 - Fès 30000 - Maroc. Site : [www.usmba.ac.ma](http://www.usmba.ac.ma)

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des coopérations ouvertes et des coopérations  
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Enjeu capital pour le développement humain**

The international Institut of Anthropology, Sociology  
and Human Development

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## **Remerciements**

Nous aimerais tout d'abord remercier le président de l'université Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah Monsieur le Professeur docteur Farissi Esserrhini, et le doyen de la faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines, Sais Fès le Professeur docteur Akdim Brahim, pour leur appui sans lequel cette entreprise n'aurait pas été possible. Leur contribution tant sur le plan scientifique et organisationnel que financier, a joué un rôle central dans la réalisation de ce Spring Institute. Merci également aux conférenciers de supporter les longs trajets du voyage pour participer au Spring Institute international dans sa deuxième édition (Australie, USA, Angleterre, Espagne, France, Belgique, Canada, Jordanie, Algérie et Suède). Sans oublier les étudiantes canadiennes de l'université de Moncton, les étudiants de l'Institut Régional du Travail Social de Bretagne , et les étudiants de la filière d'assistance sociale de la Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines Sais Fès, qui ont contribué d'une façon significative à divers aspects organisationnels du Spring Institute.

## **Acknowledgement**

We would like first to thank the president of Sidi of Mohamed Ben Abdellah University the professor doctor Farissi Esserrhini and the dean of Faculty of Letters and Human Sciences, Sais Fès the Professor doctor Akdim Brahim, whom without their support, this project could not be possible. Their contribution especially at levels of organizational, scientific and financial grounds has played a pivotal role in the fulfilment of this spring institute. Thanks also to participants of the spring for their bearing the burden of travelling to Morocco and contribute to the realization of the Second International Spring Institute (Australia, USA, England, Spain, France, Belgium, Canada, Jordan, Algeria and Sweden). Without forgetting Canadian students from Moncton University, students of Regional Institute of Social Work from Bretagne and students of Social Assistance Branch in Faculty of Letters and Human Sciences Sais Fès, who all contributed in a considerable way to different organizational aspects of the Spring Institute.

## Table des matières

### Contents

Remerciements -----	5
Acknowledgement -----	5
Contents -----	6
Préface -----	9
Preface -----	13
<i>Natalie Bolzan</i>	
Change from the margins of the civic -----	19
<i>Dominic Boyer</i>	
Professionalism between Cooperation and Competition -----	31
<i>Cymene Howe</i>	
Cooperation and Co-optation in Transnational Activism -----	43
<i>Haluk Soydan</i>	
Evidence-based Clearinghouses in Social Work -----	55
<i>Roger Smith</i>	
Childhood, Culture and Social Work-----	79
<i>Roger Smith</i>	
Young People, Crime and Justice-----	99
<i>Hicham Khabbache</i>	
Are You a Mind Reader ? -----	129
<i>Charles Gaucher</i>	
Intervenir en contexte de coopération fermée: quels enjeux pour les travailleurs sociaux œuvrant avec les Sourds? -----	143

<b><i>Isidro Maya Jariego</i></b>	
Webs of compatriots: Relationship networks among immigrants-----	151
<b><i>Ahmed Lemligui</i></b>	
Aide au développement et ingénierie de formation en travail social : un espace d'ajustement interculturel France/Afrique -----	181
<b><i>Faoubar Mohamed</i></b>	
Internats et socialisation scolaire au Maroc -----	201
<b><i>Mohammed Ababou</i></b>	
Etiquetage, stigmate et religion : la représentation du sida chez les jeunes lycéens à Fès. -----	209
<b><i>Najah Mahmi</i></b>	
Moroccan Islamic movements and the politics of Othering -----	229
<b><i>Abdelhak Jebbar</i></b>	
The legitimacy of a religious state or government: explanatory schemas implemented by partisans of religious movements in Morocco -----	239
<b><i>Julien Tardif</i></b>	
La coopération en démarche continue d'amélioration de la qualité dans un service de prévention spécialisée -----	247



## Préface

### La coopération, fait social par excellence

Les humains sont l'unique espèce où l'on peut observer des coopérations fortes, régulières, diverses, risquées<sup>1</sup> étendues et parfois coûteuses<sup>2</sup> entre individus sans relations de parenté<sup>3</sup>. Les formes les plus complexes de la coopération sont rendues possibles par les aptitudes humaines au langage, *Homo sapiens* pouvant ainsi gérer de très larges réseaux de réciprocité<sup>4</sup>. Cette idée n'est pas nouvelle. On la trouve chez Cabanis<sup>5</sup> ou, encore, chez Darwin lorsque, dans *The Descent of Man*<sup>6</sup>, il souligne les qualités sociales d'*Homo sapiens*, « qui l'ont conduit à apporter de l'aide à ses semblables et à en recevoir en retour ». Aussi n'est-il pas déraisonnable de voir dans la coopération le fait social par excellence : elle est une des conditions de l'émergence des « formes du partage », c'est-à-dire des manières collectives d'être, de faire, de penser, de sentir. C'est le don qui s'exprime ici comme condition du lien social<sup>7</sup>.

Plus concrètement, dans le domaine de l'action sociale, la coopération comme forme de partage s'élucide ainsi : le sentiment d'impuissance et d'échec naît et se développe quand le travailleur social sent qu'il est confronté, seul, à des difficultés et des obstacles insurmontables. Il commence donc à sous-estimer ses compétences et ses

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<sup>1</sup>Axelrod, R., 1992, *Donnant donnant. Théorie du comportement coopératif*, Paris, Odile Jacob et Kappeler, P. M., Van Schaik, C. P. (éd.), 2006, *Cooperation in Primates and Humans. Mechanisms and Evolution*, Berlin, Springer.

<sup>2</sup> Le coût de la sanction des non-coopérateurs peut excéder le gain immédiat que représente la coopération.

<sup>3</sup> Richerson, P. J., Boyd, R., 2005, *Not by Genes Alone: How Culture Transformed Human Evolution*, Chicago, Chicago University Press, p. 244.

<sup>4</sup> Boyd, R., Richerson, P. J., 2006, « Solving the Puzzle of Human Cooperation » in Levinson, S. C, Jaisson, P. (éd.), *Evolution and Culture*, Cambridge MA, MIT Press, p. 105-132.

<sup>5</sup> « La sympathie morale consiste dans la faculté de partager les idées et les affections des autres ; dans le désir de leur faire partager ses propres idées et ses affections ». Cabanis, P.J.G., 1980 (éd. de 1844), *Rapports du physique et du moral de l'homme*, Genève, Slatkine Reprints, p. 549.

<sup>6</sup> Darwin, C., 2000 (1871), *La filiation de l'homme et la sélection liée au sexe*, Paris, Éditions Syllepse, 2000, p. 148.

<sup>7</sup> Mauss, M., 1923-1924, « Essai sur le don. Forme et raison de l'échange dans les sociétés archaïques », *Année sociologique*, tome I, 2 : 30-186.

moyens. La coopération ouverte qui s'illustre dans la mise en réseaux de plusieurs intervenants sociaux permet une synergie de compétences optimisant l'action du travailleur social et diminuant son sentiment d'isolement.

Notons bien, à ce propos, que L'INDH invite à une démarche territorialisée reposant sur le concept de synergie qui nécessite de mettre en cohérence les programmes sectoriels et les actions des collectivités locales.

## **Coopération fermée, coopération ouverte et les processus de prise de décision**

Le grand problème humain, selon Auguste Comte<sup>8</sup>, est de « subordonner l'égoïsme à l'altruisme». En fait, définir l'homme par sa nature égoïste est profondément réducteur. En effet, il est probablement impossible qu'un être humain ne s'intéresse qu'à soi, sans être en situation de coopérer à un moment ou à un autre de son existence, au moins avec son entourage immédiat<sup>9</sup>. Cette coopération, toutefois, peut s'exprimer sous deux formes opposées : une coopération « de clocher » ou corporatiste, bornée au groupe d'appartenance (famille, « communauté », « ethnie », nation, etc.) et une coopération qui déborde les limites de ce groupe. On appellera la première forme « coopération fermée » et la seconde « coopération ouverte », en référence, bien évidemment, à la distinction bergsonienne puis popérienne entre sociétés fermées et sociétés ouvertes<sup>10</sup>. Bien que les théories de Popper aient eu peu de répercussions sur les réflexions en travail social, nous espérons ici pouvoir relier ce cadre dialectique à une des préoccupations les plus prégnantes pour cette discipline, la question du comment vivre ensemble.

Les sciences sociales, et notamment l'anthropologie du fait de sa tradition empirique qui l'amène à travailler au plus près des innombrables décisions que les individus sont amenés à prendre dans leur vie quotidienne, doivent se saisir de ces questions qui sont à longue portée théorique, mais aussi politique. Il s'agit de savoir, en définitive, si les stratégies identitaires prévaudront toujours inéluctablement sur les comportements coopératifs, confinant ceux-ci dans le registre de la fermeture, ou bien si les premières,

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<sup>8</sup> Comte, A., 1852, Catéchisme positiviste, Paris, chez l'auteur, p. 82.

<sup>9</sup> Henrich, J., Henrich, N., 2007, Why Humans Cooperate: A Cultural and Evolutionary Explanation, Oxford-New York, Oxford University Press.

<sup>10</sup> Candau, J., 2009, « H<sub>2</sub>s = N<sup>2</sup> » in Sébastien Baud, Nancy Midol (éd.), La conscience dans tous ses états, Paris, Elsevier Masson, p. 15-31.

dans un certain contexte décisionnel, peuvent devenir subalternes des secondes<sup>11</sup>, ouvrant alors la voie à des sociétés toujours plus ouvertes.

Par ailleurs, dans le secteur du travail social, la problématique de la coopération fermée, de la coopération ouverte et du processus de prise de décision se justifie par le fait que le travailleur social, qui a pour enjeu de diminuer les effets négatifs de certaines problématiques d'ordre social, doit prendre des décisions concernant la situation des personnes administrées dans le cadre d'un ensemble de missions définies par l'institution qui l'emploie et qui peuvent aller dans le sens d'une coopération plus ou moins ouverte ou, si l'on veut, plus ou moins fermée (e.g. les limitations existant dans certains pays à l'aide sociale apportée aux non-nationaux : immigrés, sans-papiers, etc.).

La coopération ouverte est un acte engagé qui vise, dans un premier temps, à comprendre de près les différentes composantes de la société, que ce soit en terme d'identité (autochtone, femmes, groupe religieux/ethnique...), en terme de groupe d'âge (enfance, vieillesse, etc.) ou en terme de condition de vulnérabilité (handicap, itinérance, analphabétisme, etc.). Ainsi, avant d'agir, l'acteur social tente d'interpréter les états mentaux, cognitifs et affectifs des individus qu'il côtoie, de connaître leurs attentes, de chercher la source de leurs problèmes. Par ailleurs, le profil de l'acteur social exige une flexibilité permettant le processus sociocognitif nommé « perspective taking » à savoir l'effort de compréhension de la manière dont autrui perçoit le monde qui l'entoure<sup>12</sup>. Ce qui permet, selon le concept de l'INDH, une démarche d'efficacité et de proximité amorçant un processus de planification stratégique, basée sur un diagnostic rigoureux, une définition d'objectifs précis et l'expression des besoins par les populations concernées.

Dans ce sens, au lieu d'imposer des projets préétablis ou de donner des « conseils-recettes », le rôle du travailleur social est d'engager la population à trouver ses propres solutions, à monter ses propres projets, à devenir elle-même acteur de son propre développement humain (Self-

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<sup>11</sup> Candau, J., 1998, Mémoire et identité, Paris, PUF et Candau, J., 2005, Anthropologie de la mémoire, Paris, Armand Colin

<sup>12</sup>Vorauer, J. D., Martens, V., Sasaki S.J. (2009) , When trying to understand detracts from trying to behave: Effects of perspective-taking in intergroup interaction, Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, Volume 96, Issue 4, Pages 811-827

initiative)<sup>13</sup>. C'est, au final, un rôle de médiateur qui se doit de stimuler les formes de coopération ouverte, et ce quel que soit le type de population sur laquelle le travailleur social doit intervenir.

Nous attirons l'attention que l'INDH soutienne les actions fondées sur la participation des bénéficiaires, en encouragent les projets qui initient la population ciblée à être plus autonome, apte pour l'initiative individuelle.

Si, du point de vue théorique, ce rôle semble évident, il pose plusieurs problèmes pratiques. Certes, le travailleur social doit être « ouvert et flexible », mais encore faut-il que les personnes avec lesquelles il intervient acceptent d'entrer en dialogue avec lui. Il s'agit donc pour lui d'établir un lien de confiance avec les personnes qui sont au cœur de ses interventions ; l'ouverture à la coopération se doit donc d'être réciproque. Cette ouverture n'est possible qu'à travers un processus de dialogue, basé, de part et d'autre, sur des ajustements qui sont indispensables à la réussite de l'interaction entre les différents partenaires.

### **Appel à des études de cas**

On peut songer à la présentation de nombreuses études de cas et projets, par exemple dans le domaine du développement humain (INDH) et local (Barlett, 1980), du travail social, du traitement du handicap, de l'écologie, de la micro-économie, la précarité etc., qui pourraient être proposées aussi bien par des praticiens (e.g. travailleurs sociaux, acteurs du développement social) que par des théoriciens des sciences sociales (anthropologie, sociologie, économie). Ces cas permettront d'explorer comment les institutions étatiques et leurs acteurs peuvent s'ouvrir au dialogue, à travers différentes initiatives de coopération, mais aussi d'aborder la capacité et la volonté de certaines populations vulnérables à collaborer à ce dialogue.

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<sup>13</sup> Khabbache, H. (2007). A View over Childhood by Bridging the Gap between Pluralistic Cognition and Education Sciences. Journal of Arab Children (JAC) /Kuwait (Referred Academic Research Journal- Vol. 8- N° 32, Sep).

## Preface

### Cooperation, a social truth for humans

A consensus exists among scientists that cooperation, which consists of several people doing something together while having a common goal in mind<sup>14</sup> is one of the traits that describe the identity of *Homo sapiens*. Seen in certain animals, for example capuchin monkeys<sup>15</sup> or red colobus monkeys and monkeys of Diana<sup>16</sup>, undoubtedly very ancient among ‘hominiens’<sup>17</sup>, this social fact has a particular form among humans. Endowed with a capacity to cooperate which is immensely superior to that of other animals, human beings, notes John Searle<sup>18</sup>, possess a natural ability to engage in collaborative behaviour. Children, as early as only a few months of age, are predisposed to mutual regard<sup>19</sup>, a minimal form of sociality essential to the survival of the species, which then evolves towards more complex forms. Humans are the only species in which we can observe strong, regular, diverse, risky<sup>20</sup>, vast and sometimes costly<sup>21</sup> cooperation between individuals who are not related<sup>22</sup>. The more complex forms of cooperation are made possible by humans’ language abilities among other capabilities, *Homo sapiens* being able to manage very large networks of reciprocity<sup>23</sup>.

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<sup>14</sup> Conein, C., 2005, *Les sens sociaux. Trois essais de sociologie cognitive*, Paris, Economica, p. VIII.

<sup>15</sup> Brosnan, S., de Waal, F., 2003, "Monkeys Reject Unequal Pay", *Nature*, 425 : 297-299.

<sup>16</sup> Boyd, R., Silk, J., 2004, *L'aventure humaine. Des molécules à la culture*, Bruxelles, Éd. De Boeck Université, p. 161.

<sup>17</sup> Lordkipanidze, David & al., 2005, "The earliest toothless hominin skull", *Nature*, 434 : 717-718.

<sup>18</sup> Searle, J., 2000, « L'ontologie de la réalité sociale », *Raisons pratiques*, Paris, EHESS, p. 199.

<sup>19</sup> Conein, C., 2005, *Les sens sociaux. Trois essais de sociologie cognitive*, Paris, Economica.

<sup>20</sup> Axelrod, R., 1992, *Donnant donnant. Théorie du comportement coopératif*, Paris, Odile Jacob; Kappeler, P. M., Van Schaik, C. P. (éd.), 2006, *Cooperation in Primates and Humans. Mechanisms and Evolution*, Berlin, Springer.

<sup>21</sup> The cost of the sanction for lack of cooperation can exceed the immediate gain of cooperation.

<sup>22</sup> Richerson, P. J., Boyd, R., 2005, *Not by Genes Alone: How Culture Transformed Human Evolution*, Chicago, Chicago University Press, p. 244.

<sup>23</sup> Boyd, R., Richerson, P. J., 2006, « Solving the Puzzle of Human Cooperation » in Levinson, S. C, Jaisson, P. (éd.), *Evolution and Culture*, Cambridge MA, MIT Press, p. 105-132.

This idea is not a new one. It is found through the works of Cabanis<sup>24</sup> and even Darwin, who, in The Descent of Man<sup>25</sup>, underlines the social qualities of Homo sapiens, which have led them to help others and to receive help in return. Is it not therefore reasonable to see cooperation as arguably the greatest social truth for humans? It is one of the conditions of emergence of forms of sharing; that is, collective ways of being, of doing, of thinking, of feeling and ultimately of the social bond<sup>26</sup>.

If, in an evolutionary perspective, cooperation can be presented as an enigma – wouldn't the adaptive advantage of an individual be one of being egotistical or a free-rider, especially in a world of otherwise cooperative humans? - this is because another characteristic of Homo sapiens is not sufficiently taken into account: its deeply cultural nature<sup>27</sup>. At each moment of human existence, the intelligibility of the sensitive, the access to rationality, the explanation of what seems unexplainable – for example, the repetition of misfortune<sup>28</sup> or contradictions impossible to overcome<sup>29</sup> – are only made possible through sharing of practices, of information<sup>30</sup>, of representations that will allow members of a group to get answers where an individual could not. Therefore, human cooperation does in fact derive from explanations inextricably evolutionary and cultural in nature<sup>31</sup>.

A more concrete example of this, in the field of social work and social action, is that cooperation as a form of sharing can be presented as follows: the feeling of powerlessness and failure appears and is further developed when the social worker feels that s/he is confronted, alone, by difficulties and obstacles that are insurmountable. S/he may then tend to

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<sup>24</sup> Moral sympathy consists in the ability to share the ideas and affections of others; in the hopes of sharing our own ideas and affections Cabanis, P.J.G., 1980 (éd. de 1844), Rapports du physique et du moral de l'homme, Genève, Slatkine Reprints, p. 549.

<sup>25</sup> Darwin, C., 2000 (1871), La filiation de l'homme et la sélection liée au sexe, Paris, Éditions Syllepse, 2000, p. 148.

<sup>26</sup> Mauss, M., 1923-1924, « Essai sur le don. Forme et raison de l'échange dans les sociétés archaïques », Année sociologique, tome I, 2 : 30-186.

<sup>27</sup> Candau, J., 2009, « H2s = N<sup>2</sup> » in Sébastien Baud, Nancy Midol (éd.), La conscience dans tous ses états, Paris, Elsevier Masson, p. 15-31.

<sup>28</sup> Douglas, M., 1992, De la souillure. Études sur la notion de pollution et de tabou, Paris, La Découverte ; Favret-Saada, J., 1977, Les mots, la mort, les sorts. La sorcellerie dans le Bocage, Paris, Gallimard, 1977.

<sup>29</sup> Lévi-Strauss, C., 1971, Mythologiques \*\*\*\* L'homme nu, Paris, Plon, p. 562.

<sup>30</sup> Danchin, E., Giraldeau, L.-A., Valone, T.J., Wagner, R.H., 2004, « Public Information: From Nosy Neighbors to Cultural Evolution », Science, 305 : 487-491.

<sup>31</sup> Henrich, J., Henrich, N., 2007, Why Humans Cooperate: A Cultural and Evolutionary Explanation, Oxford-New York, Oxford University Press.

underestimate his/her capabilities and means to overcome them. Open cooperation, which can be seen in the networking of several social actors, allows a certain synergy of skills, optimizing social action from the social worker and reducing his feeling of isolation.

## Closed cooperation, open cooperation and decision-making

The biggest human problem, according to Auguste Comte<sup>32</sup>, is to subordinate selfishness to altruism. In fact, characterising humans by their egotistical nature is very reductive. It is probably impossible for a human being to be solely interested in her/himself, without cooperating at one moment or another with at least those immediately around him/her<sup>33</sup>. However, this cooperation can be established under two opposing forms: a corporatist cooperation, restricted towards a particular group (family, community, ethnic group, nation, etc.) and a cooperation that surpasses the limits of this group. We will call the first form “closed cooperation” and the second form “open cooperation”, with reference, of course, to the Bergsonian and Popperian distinction between closed and open societies<sup>34</sup>.

Some may wonder how members of a group will choose one or other form of cooperation. These choices remain, following Lévinas’ writings<sup>35</sup>, in the universe of non intentional<sup>36</sup> consciousness<sup>37</sup>, and remain, in variable proportions, under the hold of a deliberative system and an emotional system<sup>38</sup>, and appear in social environments in which other individuals influence, directly or indirectly<sup>39</sup>, personal decisions<sup>40</sup>.

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<sup>32</sup> Comte, A., 1852, *Catéchisme positiviste*, Paris, chez l'auteur, p. 82.

<sup>33</sup> Henrich, J., Henrich, N., 2007, *Why Humans Cooperate: A Cultural and Evolutionary Explanation*, Oxford-New York, Oxford University Press.

<sup>34</sup> Candau, J., 2009, « H2s = N<sup>2</sup> » in Sébastien Baud, Nancy Midol (éd.), *La conscience dans tous ses états*, Paris, Elsevier Masson, p. 15-31.

<sup>35</sup> Lévinas, E., 1991, *Entre nous. Essai sur le penser-à-l'autre*. Paris, Grasset & Fasquelle.

<sup>36</sup> The choice need only be self-initiated and adaptive. (Heisenberg, M., 2009, « Is free will an illusion? », *Nature*, 459 : 164-165.)

<sup>37</sup> Galdi, S., Arcuri, L., Gawronski, B., 2008, « Automatic Mental Associations Predict Future Choices of Undecided Decision-Makers », *Science*, 321 : 1100-1102. ; Pessiglione, M., Petrovic, P., Daunizeau, J., Palminteri, S., Dolan, R.J., Frith, C.D., 2008, « Subliminal Instrumental Conditioning Demonstrated in the Human Brain », *Neuron*, 59 : 561–567. ; Soon, C.. Brass, M., Heinze, H.J., Haynes, J.D., 2008, « Unconscious determinants of free decisions in the human brain », *Nature Neuroscience*, 11(5) : 543-545. ; Wilson, T.D., Bar-Anan, Y., 2008, « The Unseen Mind », *Science*, 321 : 1046-1047.

<sup>38</sup> Cabanac, M., Bonniot-Cabanac, M.C., 2007, « Decision making: rational or hedonic? », *Behavioral and Brain Functions*, 3 : 45, doi:10.1186/1744-9081-3-45. ; Kepcs, A., Uchida, N., Zariwala, H.A., Mainen, Z.F., 2008, « Neural correlates, computation and behavioural

The social sciences, and anthropology in particular, because of its empirical tradition that leads it to work closely with an unspecified number and type of decisions that individuals are faced with in their daily lives, must understand these theoretical and political questions.

The question is whether we can determine if, with absolute certainty, identity strategies will inevitably prevail over cooperative behaviour, confining it to ‘closedness’, or if the identity strategies, in certain modes of decision making, can become subordinate to cooperative behaviour<sup>41</sup> , therefore paving the way to a more open community of interest.

In the field of social work, the issues of closed cooperation, open cooperation and decision-making can be explained by the fact that the social worker, whose mandate is to reduce negative effects of certain social challenges, must answer to a number of obligations defined by the agency or institution by whom s/he is employed. But can we consider this action *prima facie* as a form of open cooperation even if it is predetermined by the institutional setting in which it takes place?

It is clear that open cooperation is a committed process that is interested in closely understanding the different aspects of society, whether it be in terms of identity (nationality, culture, gender, (dis)ability, religious or ethnic group...), in terms of age (childhood, old age, etc.), or of being part of a vulnerable group (mental health issues, poverty, illiteracy, etc.)

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<sup>39</sup> Denrell, J., 2008, « Indirect Social Influence », *Science*, 321 : 47-48.

<sup>40</sup> Biele, G., Rieskamp, Gonzalez, J.R., 2009, « Computational Models for the Combination of Advice and Individual Learning », *Cognitive Science*, 33 : 206-242. ; Kitayama, S., Snibbe, A.C., Markus, H.R., Suzuki, T., 2004, « Is There Any “Free” Choice? Self and Dissonance in Two Cultures », *Psychological Science*, 15(8) : 527-533. ; Lee, D., 2008, « Game theory and neural basis of social decision making », *Nature Neuroscience*, 11(4) : 404-409.

<sup>41</sup> Candau, J., 2005, *Anthropologie de la mémoire*, Paris, Armand Colin. ; Candau, J., 1998, *Mémoire et identité*, Paris, PUF.

The social worker is therefore invited to observe, prior to action, the mental, emotional, and spiritual state of others; know their expectations; search the source of their problems. This having been said, the social worker's approach demands flexibility in "perspective taking" in order to understand how others see the world around them<sup>42</sup>.

In this view, instead of imposing predetermined projects or giving miracle advice, the social worker's role is to encourage people to discover their own solutions, to mount their own projects, to develop self-initiative<sup>43</sup>. It is finally, a role of mediator that must be performed by the social worker in order to encourage forms of open cooperation, regardless of the population being served.

If theoretically this role seems obvious, it raises many practical issues. Of course the social worker must be "open and flexible", but this only works if the people with whom s/he is working are willing to engage with him/her. Hence, the social worker must create a relationship of trust with the people with whom s/he is intervening; openness to cooperation must therefore be mutual. This openness can only be possible through a "perspective taking" process, dialogue which is based on a series of adjustments that are fundamental to the creation of a therapeutic alliance.

### **Case studies/conference papers**

Many case studies are available, for example, in the field of regional development<sup>44</sup>, of social work, of working with disabilities, of ecology, of micro-economy, of nutrition practices, of comparative cultural analysis, of religious practices<sup>45</sup>, etc., which could just as well be suggested by

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<sup>42</sup> Vorauer, J. D., Martens, V., Sasaki S.J. (2009), Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, Volume 96, Issue 4, Pages 811-827

<sup>43</sup> Khabbache, H. (2007). A View over Childhood by Bridging the Gap between Pluralistic Cognition and Education Sciences. Journal of Arab Children (JAC) /Kuwait (Referred Academic Research Journal- Vol. 8- N° 32, Sep).

<sup>44</sup> A doctoral research is already in the making, under the direction of J. Candau in the industrial district of Biella (Italy, Piemonte), an area that is strongly encrusted in local community, territory and strong traditions, and is now experiencing a decisive turn, forcing it to undergo structural changes with regards to techniques and cooperation. The goal of the research is to understand how organizational innovations appear, by testing the hypothesis that social capital has a role in decision making, through alternatives of closed and open cooperation. Barlett, P. F., 1980, Agricultural decision making, anthropological contributions to rural development, New York, Academic Press

<sup>45</sup> Emphasis could be placed on this topic to converge (in part, for example, in a day or seminars) the Spring Institute program with the Volubilis program. In every religion there exists orthodox, even fundamentalist views, and others that are more liberal. The first seem

practitioners (e.g. social workers, social development activists), than by theorists of social sciences (from anthropology, sociology, human geography or economics). These cases will allow for exploration on how government institutions and their employees can have an open dialogue, through different cooperative initiatives, and also address the capacity and willingness of certain vulnerable populations to collaborate to this dialogue

The second Spring Institute provides an opportunity for a range of examples of research and theory reflecting these interests to be shared amongst academics and students, and to enhance our understanding of modes of cooperation, difference and the forms of action needed to bridge self imposed differences and barriers to dialogue, sharing and transformational practice.

Authors :

Hicham Khabbache  
Charles Gaucher  
Joël Candau  
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to prefer closeness, the second openness. We can ask ourselves what decision process was utilized that lead people to side with one view or the other?

# **Change from the margins of the civic**

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## **Introduction**

I'd like to talk about some recently completed field work we have undertaken with two groups of marginalised young people, a group of indigenous young people and another of homeless young Australians to determine what social resilience might mean for them. In doing this work we have had to develop a specific methodological approach, apply a new emerging framework of community development and be open to receiving some remarkable insights into social resilience. I would like to share some of these discoveries with you.

## **Methodology**

In attempting to conceptualise how we could proceed to explore a concept as nebulous and ill-defined as social resilience with marginalised young people we needed to be aware of the likelihood that this term had no meaning for them. Social resilience is an emerging term and one which we have struggled with, so attempting to explore it with marginalised young people presented something of a dilemma. The approach we developed is one we have called an 'interrupted space'

One of the first points I'd like to make is the remarkable resonance our approach has with the discussion provided in the call for papers for this symposium. Referring to Pr Hicham Khabbache's work this call for papers suggested that social workers 'instead of imposing predetermined projects or giving miracle advice, .... is to encourage people to discover their own solutions, to mount their own projects, to develop self-initiative<sup>1</sup>'. It

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<sup>1</sup> Khabbache, H. (2007). A View over Childhood by Bridging the Gap between Pluralistic Cognition and Education Sciences. Journal of Arab Children (JAC) /Kuwait (Referred Academic Research Journal- Vol. 8- N° 32, Sep).

identified social work intervention as collaborative in nature, based on mutual trust and carried out through dialogue. This is in essence what our interrupted space methodology attempted to do.

“Interrupted spaces” is based on an application of Blaikie’s (2007) abductive research strategy. This interrupted space afforded the young people we were working with the opportunity to experience and then describe their understandings of social resilience as well as enabling the adult researchers to engage with the young people in unpacking and defining what social resilience may be.

An abductive research strategy as described by Blaikie (2007) provides a strategy by which various social phenomena can be understood. This strategy involves constructing theories that are derived from social actor’s language, meaning and accounts in the context of everyday activities. It describes these activities and their meanings and then derives from them categories and concepts that can form the basis of an understanding of the problem. It is based on a depth realist ontology and an epistemology of constructionism (Crotty, 1998).

Because so much of life is routine or acted out in ways which are predominantly unreflexive, the researcher may need to create opportunities in which the participants can be encouraged to be reflective.

Our project funded by an Australian Research Council grant came to consist of three populations of young people. One was predominantly indigenous young men in the rural community; a second was of young people who were homeless in the steel mill city; and the third a group of multicultural young women with mental health issues.

The “interrupted spaces” approach meant that we gave over to the young people as much power as was possible within the constraints of working with a funding authority, demands of ethics committees, rules for academic research and the insidious power imbalances that seem to exist around relationships between adults and young people. We attempted to provide some structure for the project in terms of providing an information sheet very broadly outlining the project; creating a time when a youth worker would be available to work with whichever young people choose to get involved with the project; and providing resources to the project in terms of food and various supplies. It had been our expectation that the youth workers would then work with the young people to attempt to bring about this change and in so doing develop something which may provide some insight into how young people experienced and described social resilience.

## The project

Our project explored how people who were marginalised and so excluded from the civic might get to a point where they could develop the tools or capacities for working to bringing about changes they wanted in their community

Young people in each location were initially asked to identify what they were concerned about in their community (defined as any community, eg school; families; employers) and what they would like to change. Our conceptualisation of social resilience was, in part, about young people being able to negotiate with their communities to have their needs met, or at least to have their needs acknowledged. In our approach we offered young people the resources of a youth worker who would support and resource their project, a small sum of money to provide either food or equipment and a commitment that these two things would continue for 18 months. Our methodology required the youth workers not be prescriptive but rather act as facilitators around how the young people may wish to use the project given that it offered them the services of an adult one day a week and a small pool of resources for an extended period of time to engage in something of interest to them.

The projects which emerged were those which the young people identified as of important to them. A group of young people who were homeless in a poor industrial mining town, decided to develop a magazine for other homeless young people. It included interviews with people who had significant drug habits, an item on discrimination, and another on abortion. It also included puzzles, a quiz on colours and other light-hearted material. The young people had to develop a range of skills and capacities to deliver this product which they did by negotiating with various people, services and contacts in their community. The magazine produced "Phowar" resulted in the young people being acknowledged by the local business chamber and winning a community award, for which they were nominated by a member of the public who had read about the project in the local newspaper.

Throughout the project the young people had very clear ideas of what they wanted to include in the magazine. Whilst the overarching intention of the magazine was to inform young people about issues affecting homeless young people, it was also meant to reflect their interests. It would include interviews with football players as well as the material one might expect to see in a commercially produced magazine.

In doing this project the young people constantly needed to negotiate with adults from the refuge in which they were living. Despite the organisation being very supportive and encouraging of young people it was also very concerned about its reputation and the way in which the activity of these young people might affect this. Even though this project was for young people and about their needs, the power of the organisation to override what the young people were doing was ever present and the research team needed to be constantly vigilant around the degree to which the needs of the organisation overtook those of the young people.

In another site another project involved young mainly indigenous Australian men in a rural community. After several attempts to find an activity which might be the focus of the project, including engaging an Aboriginal elder to share cultural wisdom and learning with the boys, the boys suggested they'd like to teach one of their dogs to do tricks. This quickly developed into training working sheep dogs to jump. In sheep country working dogs need this skill and there is a whole set of activities and events in which dogs are set in competition with each other around who can jump the highest. When the group announced that they would like to train the dogs to jump, the research team were concerned that this would not fit in without own expectations about what the research should look like. We did not see how this would help us explore social resilience. However in order to remain true to the methodology we had developed we needed to step back and allow this process to continue. Thus 'paws up' was born

As a result of the boys training the dogs, we have seen a group of young men who on any indicator of marginality, with lives deeply rooted in disadvantage stemming from the socio-political history of white occupation and neo-colonial treatment; have created connections, pathways and relationships with the mainstream community which are still amazing us. The 'paws up' team currently hold the Australian dog jumping record, and the local community (including the judiciary, the police, the local education system, as well as people on the street) have embraced them and offered opportunities in more ways than we thought possible.

The third project sits in stark relief to the first two. It was set in a multicultural youth centre in a very culturally diverse suburb of Sydney Australia. This project never really evolved as the management of the service continually intervened, engaged in constant battles over ownership of the project, tried to set the agenda over what should be done and treated the young people as 'clients' to be managed, rather than as citizens with

agency. It more closely mirrors the traditional adult/child relations and those projects in which adults attempt to channel the activities of young people to explore issues to meet the adult's needs.

## **Understanding**

After this most remarkable experience we were left wondering 'how do we make sense of this?' The concept of Civic Driven Change may provide some way of framing what we have witnessed.

Civic Driven Change (CDC) is a framework for thinking about how change can come about in communities that is responsive to the civic rather than driven by agendas set by others such as politicians, funders or 'experts'. It has been spearheaded by the work of a group of 8 academics from diverse philosophical and political backgrounds from the Netherlands. This has been developed in response to what this group saw as stagnancy around 'development' and NGOs being divorced from the reality of people's lives, a state which privileged global or international power relations over the needs of its citizens and markets which downgraded citizens to 'economic animals primarily concerned with economic gain (Easterly W.)'. The group has argued that progress in developing countries is seen to be driven by the state or the market, but that these dominant structures were in fact preventing real change from occurring.

The framework they proposed places the citizen, very broadly defined, at the heart of change. They have as an overarching vision, citizens as co creators of a democratic society and government as a catalyst. They conceive of democracy as society promoting action across 'state', 'civil society' and 'markets' and through such engagement, developing deep democracy. In Civic Driven Change (CDC) the fundamental element is 'self-direction' and creating it moves civic engagement from a culture of resistance to one of construction.

CDC argues for social development that is driven from the ground up and which has the power to challenge the established order. A balance needs to be struck between citizens working together to come up with alternatives which they design, whilst not relieving the state of its responsibilities to them. It is premised on the understanding that people are able to negotiate systems and resources that will bring about change and the state is there to support those endeavours.

CDC is normative. It clearly claims to be an inclusive process where inclusiveness means respecting those who are different. It also means concern for the whole of society over time. It argues that any ‘development intervention....will first need to define what it considers an ideal state and then define the exact values and principles that are the key motivators of that ideal state and which make it possible’ (Bullain, 2008 ). To such ‘civic ends, actions may be undertaken which appear un-civic such as ‘civil disobedience, strikes , boycotts, or blockades’ (Fowler and Biekart, 2008). Altering power means conflict and sometimes breaking the law.

Characteristics of CDC: (as outlined by Biekert & Fowler April 2009)

### ***Socio-political relationships***

It challenges assumptions about Western style citizenship and argues that Citizenship is a political relationship between a state and its population, in which a populace can have fully informed and active engagement. Attention must be paid to power and interests hidden within language and discourse employed (and by whom) Recognises that societies are continually evolving as political projects. We saw this in our project:

Power was a pivotal relation that needed to be acknowledged and addressed in our work with these young people. The power hidden in all relations between adults and young people were continually impacting on the project and we needed to bring a power analysis to a range of situations which at first glance did not make sense. We have written of this elsewhere (Bolzan and Gale) but will briefly identify the types of issues that arose.

Young people kept asking for permission despite being told the youth worker was there to support the young people’s own ideas and not acting as teachers or ‘authority’ figures, instances of host organisations, even though set up to meet the needs of young people, intervening to redirect resources and engage in surveillance activities, youth workers taking a role and needing to ensure the appropriate consent had been obtained were all instances of where adult set the agenda determined how meetings would proceed.

Young people were aware that they had limited power and would often not directly oppose or challenge an adult, as they could not expect to win in direct confrontation, but they would subvert, resist or simply disengage if they felt they were not being listened to or taken seriously. We had examples of young people not turning up to meetings where the indigenous elder was expected, materials not being returned because the

young people didn't really want to do that exercise and young people acted out to test whether the youth worker would honour their commitment to not imposing their own rules.

The relations between the adult youth workers and the young people were evolving and new ways of relating developed. There was not one template for how this negotiation of power should occur but what was consistent across the groups was that negotiation was necessary and the manner in which adults and young people worked as colleagues enabled the projects to develop.

This point has particular meaning for the indigenous young people who were battling the racism and stereotyping which constructed them as problematic in the rural town in which they lived as well as the assumptions about the incompetence of youth. The project saw these young people step outside of the position offered them and create a new place from which they were able to negotiate with the community. They were successful dog trainers who demonstrated skill and competencies that were prized by the general community.

Clearly these two groups, homeless and indigenous young people were creating new ways in which they could negotiate with their society in an evolving political project.

#### *Trust in Peoples experience and knowledge*

It challenges the premise that professional's views are best

- Recognises that people have civic agency
- It challenges the right of intuitions to set agendas and civic irresponsibility in any sector.
- It acknowledges many ways of knowing and the right of people to 'self-capacitate' through pursuing their own agenda.

In our Project:

Fundamental to this project was the trust we had in young people to determine how they could best contribute to the community in which they lived. It became apparent very early on that young people had capacities which they were willing to share but which had previously not been recognised or which were not seen as relevant. The adults involved in this project had certain ideas about what might enable this project to produce positive results but it would seem these were all informed by what might be seen as a deficit model. We assumed young people would identify an issue

of concern to them, we would supply them with certain resources, skills and opportunities to address these problems and ‘social resilience’ would be revealed. By trusting the young people capacities emerged which created connections and pathways beyond our expectations

The magazine which the young people developed exceeded the capacity of the youth worker facilitating that group and relied on the capacity and abilities of the young for its production. The contents were those of relevance to young people who were homeless and did not reflect what we as adults might have chosen to included. We relied on the knowledge experience and insights of the young people in guiding this process and were rewarded with the discovery that this was the input which was needed.

Similarly with the ‘paws up’ dog team, the research team would never have identified this as a research activity. Not only was the remarkable capacity these boys had for working with dogs revealed and indeed celebrated by the community, but the care, respect and commitment the boys had to their dogs, each other and the people working with them, which then extended into and was reciprocated by the broader community challenged all assumptions we had about what this community was capable of and the change it could tolerate. The community was capable of finding a new path which was not one which would have been anticipated by ‘professionals’.

#### ***Questions what is seen as valued or success***

It argues that :

- society is normative and is as often conflictual as it is collaborative, there may be no one agreed upon outcome
- Is sensitive to who carries risk, and to assumptions of knowledge transfer when experts bring about change.

In our project : as researchers we would not have thought that a pressing priority for young people living on the street would be a magazine. However for these young people the opportunity to create and connect with each other and the broader community and to challenge some of the stereotypes which they laboured under was of great interest and provided an impetus for learning skills, making contacts and supporting each other.

Similarly we did not immediately see how dog jumping would be linked to social resilience. It did however appear to feed into what the young people felt important. It provided a safe, non-judgmental, fun and legitimate space in which to try out being or doing something different. These young people were interested in things working differently for them in their community, when an opportunity presented itself and they were able to craft it in a way that had meaning for them, they committed to bringing about change. In reflecting on what happened we can see that young people were involved in ‘carrying the risk’. This was another ‘external project’ which, if it failed, would be another example of how ‘nothing worked’ and change was impossible. Our goals did not appear to be in immediate alignment with those of the young people, but by pursing the change that young people sought the change we all aimed for occurred.

### ***Beyond party-political systems***

VCV questions the extent to which party politics is the most appropriate instrument to ensure popular control over those in authority by

- Naming the context-specific historical processes of power accumulation that have marginalised the polity,
- Casting local citizen action as a critical starting point for reform to happen.
- Clarifies the contribution of the media and communication in change.

In our project : one of the very interesting aspects was the degree to which colonialisation and neo-colonial structures served to entrench the powerlessness of these young people and how this imbalance was perpetuated by on going stereotyping and extension of those historical processes which robbed indigenous people of their land, families, history and continuity. Similarly the young people in the mining town were struggling against assumptions of who they were and what could be expected of them. These young people like many others were experiencing exclusion from all political processes and it was only by contesting their social positioning and expectations that they could they begin to engage with any political process.

In both instances their cause was supported by the media coverage they received and which supported their endeavours. This is in stark contrast to media stories of young people which have previously constructed young people as problematic and either as at risk or troublemaking. The media took a very active role in wanting to present young people as successful as

achieving and as innovative. There was a degree of social entrepreneurship which appeared to capture the imagination of the media. Indeed in the ‘paws up’ project there is interest in developing these dog handling expertise into a more commercial project which might see some of the participants moving into using these skills in paid employment.

#### *A perspective on equity*

It challenges the view that empowerment can be understood in terms of expanding people’s choice through economic gains.

- It is a political project pursued by all parts of a society.
- equity of political agency is needed to reduce poverty and marginalisation.

This project has very clearly demonstrated empowerment can be understood as a political project pursued by all parts of a society. Equity of political agency is needed to reduce poverty and marginalisation and is particularly important for those who might not be considered in the mainstream of the civic. It is an essential path for those who are marginalised, disenfranchised, excluded or disadvantaged.

One of the features of some of the earlier writing on CDC was concerned with the role of business in bringing about social change. This has not been as apparent in the most recent writings but it is an aspect we are keen to explore. Businesses certainly played a role in the activities of this project. In the mining town the chamber of commerce were very keen to encourage and engage with the young people to develop ideas and plans they may have had. The young people were invited to a business meeting to explain ideas they had and to be exposed to some of the programs and initiatives that business were proposing. In the rural community the local Credit union (a form of bank) offered to provide a free bank account and to administer any funds submitted to it by donations from the community or research funds the young people received. They also made their media officer available to the ‘paws up’ project to help promote and manage the public face of the project.

This is an aspect we are very keen to pursue as it extends understandings of civil society to include those who may previously have been seen as apart from it, business.

## Conclusion

In attempting to explore with marginalised young people what social resilience might look like we developed a methodological approach which we called an interrupted space. What it did was effectively resource one group in each of three communities in pursuing an activity of relevance or importance to them. Inadvertently we strayed into the realm of community development and may best be able to understand what we have observed from a community development perspective. Civic Driven Change is an emerging framework for understanding community development which challenges a top down approach to aid and encourages local groups or communities to engage in the change they wish to bring about.

In our project with young people who are regularly viewed as marginalised and on the periphery of the civic, we have seen that when adequately resourced, and offered a legitimate space for engaging with civil society those on the margins can bring about change. These young people did not seek to destroy the communities that had marginalised them, they sought creative ways to engage and contribute, ways much more creative and successful than we as ‘professional’ could have devised.

It is possible that one of the outcomes of civic driven change is, as the group of 8 in the Netherlands believed, that it does create a deeper democracy and that this is indeed a stronger civic connection and a more inclusive and resilient community.

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# **Professionalism between Cooperation and Competition**

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## **Introduction**

My goal in this paper is to develop a discussion of the relationship between competitive and cooperative impulses in contemporary professional practice. I argue that despite the exclusionary social character of professionalism that it is a mistake to assume that competitive social action is the necessary ontology of professional life and practice. I agree that competitive social action is, however, an increasingly enhanced feature of professional life in our current era of globalized market-liberalism. In order to achieve a better balance between competitive and cooperative impulses, I argue that we need to develop more deliberately reflexive and ‘open’ modes of professional practice. To this end, I discuss recent experiments in research design and training emerging from the anthropology of experts as one example of how cooperative inter-professional relations and exchanges could be developed and stabilized institutionally.

Whatever we wish to make of professionalism, we must first admit that professionalism is, to a great extent, an exclusionary social practice. To cite the sociologist of professions, Andrew Abbott, the “defining relation” of professionalism is jurisdiction and the work of professionalism is the creation and maintenance of specialized domains of skill and knowledge (1998:3). Jurisdiction is itself, in its legal sense of authority over a subject or space, an exclusionary relationship, a marking of the boundary between the few who hold authority over a given sphere and the many who do not. The principle of jurisdiction constitutes in turn “the expert” as the personification of its exclusionary social authority. The expert is the figure who is imagined to hold a certain monopoly of authority over a specific jurisdictional domain of skill or knowledge. In this respect, expertise emerges as the idealized form of professional life and it is possible to speak therefore of professional “cultures of expertise” (Holmes and Marcus 2004). The idealization and culturing of expertise tends to allow exclusionary

principles to define and to saturate the practices and institutions of professional life. Thus far, these points are quite unremarkable.

What is not as obvious is whether the exclusionary basis of professionalism naturally fosters a situation of competitive social action. This is the assumption of a great many brilliant theories of professionalism and expertise, not least the Marxian theories of Pierre Bourdieu (1988) and Magali Larson (1977). And, indeed, it is very easy to see how one would arrive at the assumption that the jurisdictional character of professionalism would inevitably act to generate competition (1) intra-professionally, in the routine struggles over social reproduction and authority in particular expert fields that Bourdieu has so brilliantly depicted and in such depth (2) interprofessionally, among the cultures of expertise over which one should maintain legitimate authority over given spheres of skill and knowledge (Boyer, 2008), and (3) trans-professionally, in a broader societal struggle of the expert castes to assert authority over the general public (e.g., technocracy).

While I agree we must take the competitive impulses of professionalism very seriously, I suggest that we need to recognize that professionalism has strong cooperative impulses as well. I argue here that we can develop strategies to help foster cooperative impulses, but that doing so will require advocacy for more reflexive and open institutions and practices of professionalism than are typical, especially in our era of globalized market-oriented (neo)liberalism. First, I will discuss the competitive and cooperative impulses of professionalism in more detail and then turn toward recent experimental practice in the anthropology of experts to suggest one concrete model for how professionalism's exclusionary tendencies can be refunctioned to create mutually-beneficial cooperative projects.

### **The competitive impulse**

As I have written elsewhere, there is a “phenomenology of expertise” at work in professional cultures that encourages the experiential centering of core jurisdictions of specialized skill and knowledge in professional lives and worldviews (2005). This phenomenology is generated through the acquisition of specialized skills and knowledge and although the decision to pursue a professional career may well be voluntary or semi-voluntary the acquisition of a phenomenology of expertise is less so, much as Marx and Engels describe how the “fixation of social activity” implied in the division and specialization of labor (1932) produces a certain

enslavement to the specialized forms of that labor. Expertise comes to be, like it or not, the lens through which professionals view the world and the method through which they analyze and evaluate the world's dynamics. Expertise is, in a very real way, the medium and habitus of a professional's life and practice. This shared phenomenology of expertise constitutes a large percentage of what Bourdieu describes as the *esprit de corps* professional cultures demand of their members as the license to participate in a professional field (1988). One could think of the conditioned phenomenological investment in expertise as the *esprit de corps* of professionalism more generally.

At the same time, the phenomenology of expertise enables a plurality of specific jurisdictional ideologies of expertise, with each culture of expertise tending to imagine that its own jurisdictional domain is more important than others. This is particularly true among the “intellectual professions” (professions in which skilled forms of knowing take precedence over skilled forms of doing, for example in academia or law) and we all likely recognize how habitual it is to dismiss entire fields of professional intellectual activity as suffering from a constitutionally inferior or inadequate form of expertise. We should view this tendency as part of the effort to stabilize jurisdictional centers and peripheries in practice, which tends to lead to both the overestimation of the significance of one's own domain and the underestimation of other, particularly neighboring, domains. For, even strong institutionalization (e.g., state legitimization of professional authority) does not preclude recognition of how the fluid, dynamic, plural character of human knowledge consistently threatens the stabilization of jurisdictions. If, for example, the jurisdictional imagination of professional anthropology once was centered on the study of “culture,” the field has become increasingly aware in the past thirty years that forms of cultural expertise inhabit a great many other intellectual professions. This has led to great debates over the adequacy of the culture concept in anthropology (which are very often anxious ruminations on the security of anthropology's jurisdictional expertise) and to a general move to shift our jurisdictional center from theory into method (e.g., fieldwork and ethnography).

Recognition of the vulnerability, or simply contingency, of jurisdictions certainly sets the stage for aggressive and competitive social action, especially in inter-professional relations as noted above. I have written elsewhere of how the practice of “epistemophagy” (the appropriation and refunctioning of epistemic techniques belonging to other expert cultures) becomes a vital method for shoring a profession's ideological center against the oceanic flux of knowledge specialization and

its concomitant jurisdictional rivalries (Boyer, 2008). Cultures of expertise routinely encroach upon one another, invading peripheries, challenging jurisdictions, “borrowing” techniques and then putting them to work for new purposes, clients and audiences. Epistemophagy is utilized for innovation and generational reproduction and but most importantly for sustaining the ideological illusion that one culture of expertise can condense within itself the entirety of human specialized skill and knowledge (and naturally do this better than any other culture could). There is, of course, also a certain entente cordiale among professions and professionals, a certain mutual respect for caste status. But beneath the entente, one can see not only the enormous potential for competition among the cultures of expertise but also the empirical reality of a great deal of energy invested into competitive forms of social action.

Finally, we must take into account the historicity of the contemporary moment. Professionalism in the era of global market-oriented liberalism is perhaps more susceptible to the competitive impulse than ever. That is to say, even though certain modes of competition and rivalry have been endemic to cultures of expertise since the medieval guilds (e.g., the competition of apprentices for the favor of masters), the globalization of market-centered reforms, institutions and discourse since the 1970s has tended to center the significance and validity of competitive (market) performance and success in matters of professional social reproduction. Marketization, it has often been observed, tends to encourage an austere view of social relations focused on the exchange of goods and services rather than on other kinds of human relatedness and mutual obligation (e.g., kin ties or patronage relations). Marketization, in this respect, reinforces a liberal imaginary of sovereign rights-bearing individuality maximally freed of social responsibility beyond the level of the family. Although guild-like corporational and fraternal bonds certainly remain important to contemporary cultures of expertise, in recent decades social reproduction and advancement have been increasingly subjected to abstract criteria of performance or “excellence,” whether through the direct pressure of bureaucratic “audit culture” (Strathern, 2000) or through the indirect pressure of expanding labor markets brought about in turn by the massification of public higher education in the postwar period. In both cases, the re-imagining of the professional culture as a market “field” and the concomitant valorization of market performance, has enhanced intra-professional competitiveness and undermined, to a certain degree, professional solidarity. That is to say, professional solidarity is less the brother/sisterhood of craft, less even the shared guild-like privilege of a jurisdictional elite and more the solidarity of competitive players in the

Bourdieuian illusio, the social game at the heart of marketized professional life (Bourdieu, 1992).

### The cooperative impulse

But there is an important sense in which the illusio is itself an ontological illusion generated by an increasing marketized regime of professionalism. That competitive fields exist within professionalism there can be no doubt. But that competition represents an immanent “logic of practice” for professionalism does not therefore follow. It is very important that we do not ignore the parallel existence of intra-professional, inter-professional, and trans-professional cooperative impulses in cultures of expertise as well. This recognition is already an old one. Some decades after Marx offered his scathing indictment of the division and specialization of labor as the engine of human alienation, Durkheim reimagined the division of labor as driven by the effort, with increasing population density, to minimize conflict through the innovation and specialization of tasks that would less often bring social actors into direct competition with one another. The preface to the second edition of *De la division du travail social* contains a wonderful paean to the professional group as a means of remediating the growing dissociative anomie within European societies, where “an extremely large mass of unorganized individuals” confront “an overgrown state” in the context of increasingly abstract, disconnected and dangerous nationalism (1984:liv). By contrast, Durkheim wrote, “what we particularly see in the professional grouping is a moral force capable of curbing individual egotism, nurturing among workers a more invigorated feeling of their common solidarity, and preventing the law of the strongest from being applied too brutally in industrial and commercial relationships” (xxxix). Durkheim thus reverses the Marxian image of the estranged, competitive profession, emphasizing instead the fundamental forms of solidarity which emerge as a result of common practice and the possibility that these forms and norms may even lead to stronger societal bonds, providing that Society is viewed more as a loose-knit archipelago of professions (“secondary groupings” in Durkheim’s language) rather than as a bounded nation-state containing a mass of sovereign, anomie individuals.

It is not necessary to view society as a *sui generis* phenomenon as Durkheim did to confirm his essential insight that professional solidarity is a very efficacious force and one that shapes social action within cultures of expertise at least as much as individualistic motives. This is perhaps clearest in the case of intra-professional action, where we are doubtless quite aware of how the common experience of training and institutional life, the

common spaces and routines of social activity, the common languages and ways of knowing of professional expertise, the common aspirations and anxieties of professional life all contribute powerfully to senses of shared identity and purpose. Although Bourdieu is right to recognize the importance of competitive motives even in the most seemingly innocent actions and judgments, I believe he is wrong to assume that professional cooperation is motivated by nothing other than situational self-interest and that professional solidarity is simply a orthodox fiction perpetuated by successful players who wish to dominate the expert market/field with their symbolic capital. The labors of social reproduction that concern Bourdieu so greatly are a good case in point. Matters of professional training and apprenticeship are equivalently self-interested and selfless in my view. Self-interested perhaps in the master's hope that his apprentice will eventually help to extend his labor power, his political influence or his fame. But selfless in the sense that apprenticeship is ultimately a transfer of social power across generations, precisely a matter of *reproduction*, that is, a repayment of one's own apprenticeship as much as an extension of one's own social power. It seems clear to me that co-professionals invest a great deal of energy in one another (in forms of talk, free labor, networking, for example) none of which could be interpreted as motivated by pure self-interest (which I reiterate is not to say that self-interest does not adhere). There are genuine affective bonds, caring relations and cooperative sensibilities within professionalism that exist alongside the more frequently depicted relations of individual desires for social power and domination. I feel that the latter depictions amount to the alibi of our market-liberal era that the rising competitiveness we sense within professionalism today amounts to a transhistorical ontologic of professional life. Accepting such ontology is convenient in that it relieves us of any responsibility for our role in the perpetuation of present conditions and it exempts us from the burden of trying to imagine and to institutionalize alternatives to these conditions.

What we need, if I may be blunt, is not ontology but rather reflexive awareness. Since I obviously do not accept that competitive social action is the ontology of professional life, I must thus accept the burden of addressing how things might be different. The real challenge, to my mind, is not the acknowledgement of the cooperative impulse in professional life but rather how to foster this cooperative impulse in specific institutional projects. This is a complicated task especially given the contemporary incentives for and legitimacy of competitive social action. In the final section of this paper I will offer a brief case study of reflexive professionalism drawn from my own culture of expertise, anthropology, and describe how recent experimental research in reflexive anthropology has developed at least one

very intriguing model for fostering inter-professional collaboration between anthropologists and their research partners.

### **Para-ethnographic exchange as a mode of cooperative inter-professionalism**

Anthropology has endured a long phase of reflexive criticism of its methods of research and representation dating back to the late 1960s. One of the key concerns of this criticism has been traditional anthropology's exploitation of unequal relations of power and knowledge in order to accomplish its ethnographic and theoretical objectives. A recent response to this dilemma, emerging not incidentally from anthropological research among cultures of expertise, has been to develop new methods of anthropological training and research design that seek to rebalance anthropological research relations into a more collaborative mode.

Douglas Holmes and George Marcus's work on "para-ethnography" (2004) and "epistemic partnership" (2008) is one of the most extensive examples of this response. "Para-ethnography" is a concept designating the reflexive ethnographic awareness that exists more or less explicitly in other cultures of expertise and bureaucratic-institutional settings. The authors argue that the recognition of para-ethnographic knowledge can set the stage for projects of epistemic partnership to share ethnographic and reflexive insights valuable for both the professional ethnographer and the expert practitioner (for a parallel discussion of the existence and significance of "para-theory" see Boyer, 2010). Holmes and Marcus highlight the danger of ignoring the para-ethnographic, even para-anthropological, modes of knowledge circulating among our research interlocutors as well as the opportunity that such knowledge affords anthropological research in terms of gaining deeper insight into the processes of knowledge-formation in other cultures of expertise. Their position is that there is more to be gained from treating our interlocutors not simply as data-delivering "informants" and more as collaborative "allies" or "partners" in processes of ethnographic exploration, analysis and representation (also Westbrook, 2008).

Holmes and Marcus argue that anthropologists should not underestimate the extent to which experts' (or others') reflexive awareness to their ways of knowing and forms of life could helpfully co-inform our own research process just as the research intervention may offer our partners a much-needed excuse for self-reflection, feedback and experimental reconfigurations of their own. In my own research experience, I have found that the para-ethnographic awareness of journalists both to their own

professional contingencies as well as to the difficulties of social analysis and representation have been immensely instructive, representing a kind of second graduate education for me in ethnography and social theory. At the same time, my ethnographic work of research and social analysis has generally been welcomed by my journalistic partners as a kind of “para-journalism” that operates as a gathering and discussion point for their own reflexive attentions to their professional activity. This dual commitment to temporarily suspending the habitus of everyday professional ideology in order to listen to Lévi-Straussian “other messages” issuing from neighboring cultures of expertise seems to me a much better and indeed more ethical model of anthropological knowledge-making than the aforementioned “epistemophagy” in which one culture of expertise is permitted simply to absorb another’s epistemic techniques without the demand or expectation of reflexive transformation in the process.

Via his Center for Ethnography Initiative at the University of California-Irvine (<http://www.socsci.uci.edu/~ethnog/>), Marcus has worked over the past five years to develop experiments in research design and pedagogy that will convert recognition of the importance of para-ethnographic knowledge into positive projects of anthropological research and training. The most advanced of these experiments has been a modular research and pedagogical intervention that Marcus terms the “para-site.”

The Irvine Center’s online charter for the para-site explains: “In the absence of formal norms of method covering these de facto and intellectually substantive relations of partnership and collaboration in many contemporary projects of fieldwork, we would like to encourage, where feasible, events in the Center that would blur the boundaries between the field site and the academic conference or seminar room. … We are terming this overlapping academic/fieldwork space in contemporary ethnographic projects a para-site. It creates the space outside conventional notions of the field in fieldwork to enact and further certain relations of research essential to the intellectual or conceptual work that goes on inside such projects. It might focus on developing those relationships, which in our experience have always informally existed in many fieldwork projects, whereby the ethnographers finds subjects with whom he or she can test and develop ideas (these subjects have not been the classic key informants as such, but the found and often uncredited mentors or muses who correct mistakes, give advice, and pass on interpretations as they emerge).”

As Marcus has more recently explained, one of the key motivations for developing the para-site was to “find ways of doing theory in continuous

relation to the distinctly non-‘meta’ immersive quality of thinking during fieldwork” (Deeb & Marcus N.d.:40). The para-site is thus a kind of deliberate experimental interruption or “disruption” in the field research process with the intent of staging a reflexive (and potentially collaborative) encounter between research partners: “It embraces the opportunity to deal in unsettled working concepts, analytic strategies, and ethnographic ways of thinking that the fieldworker may appropriate critically for her own eventual individual purposes.” Moreover, “para-sites thus can be seen as precociously enacting collaborative norms in the conduct of fieldwork that still tends to be conceived canonically in professional culture as individually conducted and reported” (9). The para-site thus (ideally) creates a foundation in graduate pedagogy for the early enactment of cooperative norms and practices. Research “subjects” are turned into research “partners” and the process of investigation and anthropological knowledge-making is pushed to become a collaborative partnership in which the para-anthropological knowledge and reflexive awareness of the research partner is allowed to co-inform the process of anthropological research design at the level of articulating research questions, defining methods of data acquisition and analysis, and refining the objects and strategies of ethnographic representation. Although admittedly still in its early stages, the para-site experiment has already generated impressive results, including fascinating studies of the World Trade Organization (Deeb & Marcus N.d.) and European Central Bankers (Holme, 2009) in which the epistemic outcomes have exceeded what either group of partners would have been able to achieve on their own.

The lesson I believe that we can take from this recent turn in the anthropological engagement of cultures of expertise is that it is possible for cultures of expertise to collaboratively identify zones of shared jurisdiction that then can serve as the basis for cooperative partnerships in knowledge-making and communication. The para-site experiment falls short of institutionalizing full-blown jurisdictional partnerships to be sure. Yet, if we are interested in strategies for fostering the cooperative impulse in professionalism, I believe that it points us in the right direction for further initiatives. The reliance of professions upon exclusionary domains of expertise will endure. But so will the existence of zones in which more than one profession will lay claim to the same specialized skills and knowledge. For example, journalism and anthropology do much the same work of translocal social representation and analysis but have generally proven themselves very unwilling to recognize and to positively value each other’s contributions to this domain (Hannerz 1998, 2003). The para-site teaches us that it is nevertheless possible to successfully negotiate collaborative inter-

professional relations even in these sensitive zones in which partners share common specialized skill and knowledge. Instead of following incentives to compete over jurisdictional boundaries, however, they can find ways to amicably and productively cooperate in these zones with the understanding of a flexible and dynamic “epistemic partnership.”

Epistemic partnership suggests a new ethics of inter-professional exchange where the cooperative impulse is allowed to control the competitive impulse rather than vice-versa. These ethics are, to my mind, entirely worth pursuing into projects of institutionalization, especially given the extraordinary pressure of market-liberalism to define professional life as foundationally individualistic and competitive. But, I would emphasize that pursuing such partnerships requires, in the first place, an open and intensive reflexive attitude toward one’s own culture of expertise. One needs to work actively and critically (1) to de-ontologize ideologies and worldviews of expertise in which any one jurisdiction and any one profession is imagined to constitute an “imperial” center of skill and knowledge and (2) to resist the common wisdom among both practitioners and analysts that professional relations will inevitably follow competitive rather than cooperative impulses. I view the sociology and anthropology of knowledge as powerful allies in this project but I do not think that inter-professional cooperation is a narrowly academic problem. If we believe that Durkheim was indeed correct that the professional group has become an essential organ and connective tissue in modern society, then how we should imagine, manage and institutionalize the relations between professional groups should be a matter of general social concern. I believe that the collaborative exploration of zones of shared jurisdiction has been an immensely important if often hidden aspect of the development of modern professionalism. It needs now to be fully surfaced and made a reflexive ethical orientation for present and future professional action. This is, if you will, my manifesto for restoring the cooperative impulse to its proper place in professional life. Good fences, to invert the American proverb, do not always make good neighbours.

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# **Cooperation and Co-optation in Transnational Activism**

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## **Introduction**

Cooperation and co-optation, despite their shared prefixes, seem to suggest very different approaches to establishing coalitions, politics and sociality. Where cooperation suggests prioritizing collective knowledge - shared ways of thinking, being and doing - co-optation is often understood as a kind of political thievery, usurping the politics, ideologies and practices of one collective in order to advance the goals of another. The cooperative impulse to create a synergy of skills, seems to find its reverse when we talk of co-optation; it is instead the appropriation of those synergic skills, or put differently: hitching one's political wagon to another's in order to reap the benefits therein. While co-optation is often invoked in the negative as an inappropriate, or at least uninvited, form of borrowing, I would like to recast the notion of co-optation in a more positive register as that "process of placing one's political goals within a larger rubric of political success." What I would like to elaborate here, based on my anthropological fieldwork among sexual rights activists in Nicaragua, is what I am calling the "strategic co-optation" of lesbian and homosexual identity. While Nicaragua is a country likely still remembered for the Sandinista Revolution, what is less well known is that following the end of the Sandinista regime in 1990, the country instituted Latin America's most repressive anti-sodomy law (Article 204), which mandated that "anyone who induces, promotes, propagandizes or practices in scandalous form sexual intercourse between persons of the same sex commits the crime of sodomy and shall incur 1 to 3 years imprisonment."<sup>1</sup> My research has been an attempt to understand how

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<sup>1</sup> Article 204 went on to declare that if one of the persons engaging in homosexual intercourse—whether between two men or two women—held power or authority over the other party, even if in private, s/he would be punishable with 2 to 4 years of imprisonment for "unlawful seduction." The phrasing of the legislation, in particular the clause "anyone

advocates of sexual rights in Nicaragua, and their cooperantes (often in the form of feminists) have worked—discursively and practically—to overturn their country’s anti-sodomy law. Many activists have indeed wed their struggles to the categories of “homosexual” and “lesbian” subjectivity. However, I will argue that we ought not see this as an example of colonial discursive dispersions where Southern subjects are victims of an assimilationist logic handed down from the North. Rather, I want to suggest that as activists invoke these political terms—ones that certainly have traction in the transnational<sup>2</sup> world of human rights advocacy—they have done so in ways that allow for creative and flexible appropriations of the terms themselves. These categories are, in other words, spacious signs with political teeth that are being strategically co-opted to address locally relevant concerns, both political and cultural. First, let me outline some of the scholarly concerns about transnational gay and lesbian rights and identity before I then turn to the work of Nicaraguan sexual rights advocates.

## A World of Sexualities

The increased global visibility of sexual identities and subjectivities has been a site of critical engagement for sexuality and gender scholars, as well as activists, particularly as discourses and praxis move more easily and rapidly in a digital and globalized age. Much of the debate around the utility and consequences of “identity” has centered upon what Michel Foucault understood as our epoch of “sexual heterogeneities” (1990: 37): a veritable flood of sexual categories and classifications that distinguish, often in medico-legal registers, a knowable personage, or as Foucault famously put it, the transformation of the sodomite into the “species” of “the homosexual” (1990: 43). The specter of this particular subject has haunted the culturally relative imagination. How can one speak of “the” homosexual (as invented in the 17<sup>th</sup> century west) as analogous, or indeed sharing any

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who induces, promotes, propagandizes” potentially threatened organizations, therapists, social workers, media outlets etc., that might be considered to be “promoting” same sex sexuality.

<sup>2</sup> Though my case study focuses on Nicaragua, I have designated these activist practices as “transnational” not only because Nicaragua (as the rest of Latin America) has been influenced by global political practices since the colonial era, but because the country continues to be affected by global discourses (such as sexual rights and feminism) and political strategies (such as human rights). In a longer historical view, beginning in the late 1920s-early 1930s Augusto César Sandino’s appropriation of Eastern European Marxist models in his struggle against U.S. Imperialism, was later re-crafted into the political ideology of Sandinismo (in the early 1960s) that fueled the Sandinista Revolution (1979).

kinship with, the diverse practices of homosociality and same-sex sexual behaviors found in other places and historical periods? For instance in many parts of the Mediterranean region and Latin America (including Nicaragua)<sup>3</sup> sexual acts between two men (or women) does not necessarily render each participant marked as a homosexual (or a lesbian). For many Nicaraguans, a man who has sex with other men as the ‘*activo*’ (as opposed to ‘*pasivo*’) partner is simply a normal man—an hombre hombre—as long as he never lets his masculinity flag. In other words it is gender presentation and one’s sexual role that demarcates one’s place in the sexual scheme of things, not one’s sexual object choice. Given this configuration, it is fair to question how we can even speak of “a” (singular) “homosexual” or “lesbian” subject.

Joseph Massad (2002) has been very dubious of organizations such as ILGA (the International Lesbian and Gay Association) and IGLHRC (the International Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Commission), which he considers to be a part of what he calls “The Gay International.” Massad is critical of what he calls their “missionizing,” assimilationist and orientalist approach that, in a quest to establish human rights for lesbians and homosexuals, works to codify particular identity categories. Massad rightly points out that a “predisursive axiom” underlies these campaigns, one that appears self-evident in the titles of the organizations themselves. The effect of these rights campaigns, for Massad, is the production of “homosexuals and lesbians,” and the transformation of “*practitioners* of same sex contact into *subjects* who identify as lesbian and gay [emphasis mine]” (2002: 362). Or put another way, “The Gay International” implicitly asserts and assumes that a “universal... always already homosexual population” (2002: 363) exists even in places where it does not. Fair enough. Like Massad, I am critical of universalizing moves, including the proposition that there is such a thing as a homogenous (homo)sexual subject in the North or the South, no matter what category one chooses to assume. More specifically, I’d like to interrogate the notion that the use of these terms necessarily indicates assimilation to Northern (or Western) values—tentative as those categories are themselves—nor does it suggest that those employing these terms are politically naïve dupes in a gay “missionary” project.

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<sup>3</sup> Being a cochón (an “effeminate” or “passive” man who has affective and sexual relationships with other, often more masculine, men) or a cochona (a “masculine” woman who has affective and sexual relationships with other, often more feminine, women), has never been an honorable designation in Nicaragua. But neither have these subject positions been wholly vilified or the object of the sort of homophobia found in some other settings. Nicaraguans have held “fags” and “dykes,” especially those who transgress gender norms, in disregard and often ill repute, while still recognizing them as part of a larger gender and sexual system along a continuum of masculinity and femininity (Kulick 1998; Lancaster 1992), rather than simply sexually transgressive (Carrier 1995; Parker 1998; Priuer 1998).

Sexual rights advocacy in Nicaragua, while it does make use of these terms, should not be seen as a sure sign of discursive and political colonization. Rather, I find the work of advocates to be more canny. What I hope to propose here is a more mediated understanding of how sexual rights activists are indeed cooperating with identity paradigms, but in a co-optational fashion. In their struggles against the country's anti-sodomy law, activists have strategically co-opted the subject of "the homosexual" and "the lesbian" as political leverage points in their bids to de-criminalize same sex attraction and practice. However, their use of these terms should not be seen as direct cultural "translations" or "importations" of the presumptions that undergird many Western (or Northern) concepts of lesbianism and homosexuality (namely as "out," identity-bound and "egalitarian" [or non-gender-role based]). In order to advance the rights and legal protections for those who are not part of Nicaragua's normative hetero-mainstream sexual rights advocates<sup>4</sup> have co-opted these putatively universal categories in creative, flexible and locally salient ways

## **Los grupos de lesbianas**

Let me now turn briefly to some of my experiences doing fieldwork with grassroots and NGO-sponsored lesbian discussion groups in Nicaragua; I'll then go into some detail about a "social justice soap opera" that activists produced in the early 2000s. Lesbian discussion groups in Nicaragua emerged in the mid-1990s in response to the anti-sodomy law and have continued in an effort to create what activists call "A Sexuality Free from Prejudice." Sexuality discussion groups are nearly always single gendered, either for men or for women, and they have been relatively clandestine for fear of being prosecuted for "promoting" homosexuality. Group facilitators are also aware of the risks of social stigma. They leave secret messages for participants, for example, never saying "I'm calling from the lesbian group," but rather, "tell her Marta called." In lesbian discussion groups, in both rural and urban settings, much of the focus is upon discussing sexuality, self-esteem and the subject of lesbianismo. The facilitators who lead discussion groups play a pedagogical role that privileges questioning; their purpose, they contend, is to encourage

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<sup>4</sup> I alternate between the terms "advocates" and "activists" throughout this discussion to designate those who are involved in the struggles for sexual rights in Nicaragua. Some of these advocates are NGO professionals and others are "grassroots" activists who engage in street protests, convene discussion groups and organize campaigns to promote sexual rights. I intentionally avoid creating a sharp distinction between paid "advocates" and "activists" for to do so would be to dismiss the deeply-held convictions that professional advocates consistently attribute to their social justice work.

participants to co-construct their sense of “lesbian-ness” as a negotiated identity. The grupos de lesbianas are less about cultivating a singular model of lesbian identity than they are oriented toward encouraging participants to understand and question their sexuality, as such. In this particular “education of desire” (Stoler, 1995), I see activist-facilitators and participants involved in a strategic co-optation of sexual identity categories, one that troubles universalizing assumptions as to what constitutes sexual subjects such as “the lesbian.” This is not “a world where no one questions the identification of gayness” (Massad 2002: 374). Rather, questioning gayness and identification is at the center of these projects.

Amigas Juntas ([female] Friends Together) is a grassroots lesbian discussion group in Managua, founded by Victoria, who described Amigas Juntas as a space “for conversation and reflection...[a space] to grow and create an identity.” In one of our conversations before we began our group discussion, Victoria detailed the ways in which there is latitude in formulating lesbianism as a particular “way of being.”

We say that each person, each woman, needs to have her own way of being...There are many ways to be a lesbian. We cannot say, ‘you must be this and that and follow some rules.’ No....Heterosexuals don’t have rules about how they must be!...It’s not about constructing a model....Really, it is about having a consciousness about one’s rights...that is, that we as lesbians have the right to many things.

Xochiquetzal, a Managuan NGO, has hosted a lesbian discussion group for several years. Groups that have institutional support from an NGO tend to have more longevity than grassroots groups, though there are exceptions. The Xochiquetzal group, based on a year-long series of discussions about lesbianismo, was divided into segments discussing such things as workplace and family issues, jealousy and violence, the “sex/gender” system and the meanings surrounding key terms such as the familiar concept of “orientación sexual” (sexual orientation). Of equal importance, however, was a category they dubbed “*opción sexual*” (sexual choice). For Luz Marina, a participant, *opción sexual* was “having defined your sexuality” and “identifying what you want to be.” For Lelia it was, “a sense, a way of being that one knows about their sexual attraction.” Irma described it as “our own self-definition.” The responses of participants highlighted the ability to choose one’s own “definition,” and “what you want to be.” Though they may predicate their understanding of sexual option on liberal values of (individual) choice, they described sexual option as an agentive process, one in which they saw themselves as co-creating lesbian identity. While sexual “orientation” was described as “an inclination” or “the way you are” by our facilitator, sexual “option,” on the other hand, was designated as the sexual life “you choose to live:” providing

a link between idioms of being and doing, or ontology and praxis, that work to unravel any definitive category of “the” lesbian.

## Screening Sexuality

Let me now turn to a set of activist practices in Nicaragua that I call “televisionary.” In January 2001, a feminist NGO in Managua debuted the television program *Sexto Sentido* (The Sixth Sense), a social justice soap opera<sup>5</sup> that after six months of screening was rated the most popular TV show among Nicaraguan youth, its target audience. The program also claimed extraordinarily high ratings in the national market with approximately 70-80% of the country regularly watching the show. During its 5-year run, *Sexto Sentido* addressed issues of sexuality, reproductive health, intrafamiliar violence, sexism, racism, classism, homophobia, discrimination against disabled people, prejudices against *costeños* (Nicaragua’s Atlantic Coast population who are largely of African-descent) and biases against *campesinos* (“farmers” or “country folk”). The show treated nearly every “ism” imaginable in Nicaragua; but it was also entertaining and often funny. Supported by funds from US AID and other international development programs,<sup>6</sup> the TV show was hailed as a Nicaraguan version of the U.S.-produced comedy “Friends.” However, the show was distinct from most Nicaraguan programming that is imported from Mexico, Colombia, Brazil or the United States. *Sexto Sentido* was the only dramatic series to have ever been produced in Nicaragua. It was shot entirely on location in familiar locales around Managua, with local actors using *dichos* (colloquial expressions) unique to Nicaragua. As many people told me, they loved the show because it was *pura Nicargüense*, that is, “purely” or “really and truly” Nicaraguan.

For the producers of *Sexto Sentido*, the show was meant to provide both a dialogic space of conversation (between producers and viewers), and foment a national dialogue (among viewers) about the issues of discrimination it presented. The show’s creators hoped to make it a reciprocal encounter, one with communicative salience—a utopian

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<sup>5</sup> The Managua based NGO, *Puntos de Encuentro* (Common Ground) began during the early 1990s during Nicaragua’s “boom” in civil society organizing following the electoral demise of the Sandinista administration. The television program was a part of the NGO’s multi-year campaign, “We are Different, We are Equal.” The television show ran for a total of 80 episodes.

<sup>6</sup> The funding agencies and programs which provided financial support for the show are: Novib Agencia Sueca para el Desarrollo Internacíonal, Hivos, Instituto Austriaco Norte Sur, The Summit Foundation, The Moriah Fund, Shaler Adams Foundation, NDC/US AID and The Ford Foundation.

engagement with Habermas's "public sphere." Holding focus groups and asking viewers to send their reactions to the show (via email or post), activist-producers sought answers from their target audience, hoping to "democratize," the narrative content and performative aspects of the show. Actively seeking feedback and audience response, the TV program mirrored many of the progressive values of the sponsoring NGO. *Sexto Sentido*'s director explained to me that the TV characters would undergo "a process of self-discovery" that would then generate conversations among those watching. The self-discoveries she drew my attention to were "identities, the changing roles of men and women, romantic and sexual relationships, and self-esteem." This process of self-discovery, with an eye toward social transformation, is reminiscent of Paolo Freire's *concientización* practices that were integral to Nicaragua's revolutionary project, even as they are here married to a multiculturalist discourse of identity, self-fulfillment and subjectivity. Drawing from a revolutionary patrimony and progressive ideals, the show was certainly a hybrid constellation of political commitments, including questions surrounding sexuality. As *Sexto Sentido*'s director put it, "the issue of homosexuality has always been discussed openly because one of our principle characters is gay." A lesbian character was also introduced early in the show's run. While these characters were prominent, and overwhelmingly positive, they were also mediated by audience participation. During one focus group, I listened as a group of young women commented on how Vicki (the lesbian character) ought to dress—in a typically feminine way, or in a more masculine fashion—conversations that spoke to gender roles and sexuality very specifically. Through this process, these relatively novel identities: a homosexual (or gay) man and lesbian woman were being crafted to meet the expectations of a very specific audience. In this way, internationally circulated identity categories that are part of a larger global erotiscape, are brought "home."

### **Normalidad and Angelic Gay Men**

"Angel" was *Sexto Sentido*'s gay protagonist. The show's producers assured me that Angel's name was purely coincidental; nonetheless, Angel was pretty angelic. He was, as a screenwriter put it, "so damn likeable, it's impossible to hate him for anything. That's the kind of gay character we have to create: one that is beyond reproach." Angel was declarado to most of his friends; almost all of them knew he was attracted to men and Angel had a boyfriend, Christian. He and his boyfriend had an apparently "egalitarian" relationship as opposed to a "gender role-based" homosexual coupling. Neither of them ever behaved particularly "macho"

(hypermasculine) or “loca” (crazy, queer or “queen”-like) and they were clearly, and monogamously, devoted to one another.

Angel was, importantly, extraordinarily successful, accomplishing goals that many Nicaraguans would admire including earning a scholarship to study in Mexico. Angel’s successes, personal and educational, are not the norm for many sexual minorities in Nicaragua who regularly face discrimination at school and at work and who, though they may not encounter overt acts of violence, are often objects of mockery. In addition to his rather angelic demeanor, Angel was performed as an equally perfect national subject: aspiring for and achieving the laudable ability to perform one’s way out of the difficult economic conditions that continue to haunt Nicaragua—the second poorest country in the western hemisphere. In this sense, Angel both “out-performed” the possibilities available to many sexual minorities in Nicaragua, just as he epitomized many of the values of personal success and accomplishment of “regular” Nicaraguans.

Before leaving for his studies further North, however, Angel wanted to declare himself to his parents who are campesinos. He explained to them, “I want you to know so that you understand me...I like men. I am a homosexual.” Angel’s parents reacted negatively at first. His father glared at him and walked away while his mother had a tearful breakdown, asking what they had done wrong. Ultimately, they came to accept their son’s new identity, most pointedly through his father’s comment, “sos mi hijo (you are my son)” and “may God bless you.” Angel has indeed been exceptionally “good” even if his parents are initially concerned about their son’s new, and explicit, sexual identity. Angel, his boyfriend, and his revelatory process represent a particular kind of homosexual subject, one that is no doubt familiar to those making funding decisions at USAID. But this is also an identity that is, at least in the TV world of Angel and his friends, recognizable to Angel’s older campesino parents. His new-found identity was not so foreign as to be unrecognizable, challenging though it may have been. Internationally circulated ideas of homosexuality are then mediated through the television program in order to suit the Nicaraguan context: in the heartland of the campo in a TV serial that trades in familiarity and localized scenes, expressions and sensibilities. This project, and process, can be seen as a co-optational strategy of “normalizing” (Warner, 1999) homosexuality and gay identity with Nicaraguan-ness, or “pura Nicaragüense” in mind.

The formulation of a gay man, as (an) Angel is, I would argue, a media message crafted to evoke a “preferred reading”<sup>7</sup> (Hall 1980)—one that shares a kinship with internationally circulated images of lesbian and gay (or homosexual) subjectivity. Carefully coiffed in a dramatic process of normalizing homosexuality—the TV show’s same-sex attracted characters meet almost Weberian ideal types of monogamy, gender conformity and social success—even when obtaining these sorts of successes may be the exception in Nicaragua, for both straight and gay people. In this sense, Angel’s performance as “a homosexual” is not limited to his sexuality. Embodied in Angel are (at least) two powerful messages. The first is certainly a call for tolerance of same sex sexuality and homosexual identity, but at the same time, and just as importantly, Angel channels another (national) desire: to have access to the freedoms that come with greater financial stability and educational achievement. From this vantage, Angel’s characterization follows the logics that Lila Abu-Lughod has called “development realism.” Studying Egyptian soap operas Abu-Lughod found similar, repeated narrative forms that “idealize[d] education, progress and modernity within the nation” (Abu-Lughod, 2004: 81). The sorts of development desires that Angel evokes, in addition to his sexual identity, play upon many Nicaraguans’s hopes as well as their anxieties. These kinds of performances index more than simply sexuality, or the rights of gays and lesbians. They mediate a whole series of questions about one’s place in the world.

## **Who is watching?**

One afternoon, while talking with the Director of US AID’s Managua office, he shared with me that not only did he watch *Sexto Sentido*, avidly, but that the agency itself considered the show to be “a model” for development in the “developing” world. This statement is of course, a provocation: is the show an example of social engineering on a shoestring budget, or a powerful and popular means of inciting dialogue and critiquing the anti-sodomy law in the public sphere, or all of the above?

*Sexto Sentido*’s programming aesthetics may be shaped with local populations in mind, but clearly they have transnational appeals as well: using internationally recognizable categories of sexual identity function to both “sell” them in Nicaragua and because they are familiar to North American and European funding bodies, they are perhaps more marketable characters in those settings as well. It is not that the categories themselves

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<sup>7</sup> Hall understood that dominant ideology/ies are typically manifest in a text’s “preferred reading,” however this “preferred” reading is not always adopted by readers.

(homosexual, lesbian, gay) are eschewed in these activist projects, but, I would argue, they are strategically co-opted. The “out” sensibility of an angelic gay man, and the proffering of “lesbian” identity in discussion groups follow some of the contours of internationally circulated lesbian and gay paradigms of identity. But they evoke much more, including notions of development, personal aspiration and accomplishment, the opportunity to craft one’s sexual self, and a personal investment in questioning sexuality: at both the level of the individual (as we saw in the lesbian discussion groups) and that of the nation (as in the television program).

Focusing on local conditions, which include a virulent anti-sodomy law, Nicaraguan activists have “borrowed” terms that Massad has associated with “The Gay International.” But the content of these categories—co-constructed and based in local legal and cultural settings—cannot be understood as a mere importation of Northern political values and identities. Instead, these activist moves offer a more situated crafting and, as I see it, a strategic co-optation of these categories in order to challenge Nicaraguan law and offer new ways of envisioning, experiencing and living one’s sexuality. These sexual rights politics are, as Judith Butler (1990) might put it, performing under the sign of homosexual and lesbian. But these are also spacious signs. They can, and do, stand for many things: sexuality to be sure, but one that involves “opción” (or choice) and one that is intimately invested in locality and a larger national narrative of desire and aspiration.<sup>8</sup>

Finally, as an epilogue to this story of sexual rights, it is good to finish with this: in 2008, following 16 years of advocacy on the part of activists, and undoubtedly some horse-trading in the halls of the National Assembly, the anti-sodomy law, Article 204, was overturned. It is no longer criminal to practice same-sex sexuality in Nicaragua, no matter what the terms and categories may be.

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<sup>8</sup> The same could be said of an earlier era, beginning in the late 1920s-early 1930s with Augusto César Sandino’s appropriation of Eastern European Marxist models in his struggle against U.S. Imperialism, which was later re-crafted into the political ideology of *Sandinismo* (in the early 1960s) that fueled the Sandinista Revolution (1979).

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# **Evidence-based Clearinghouses in Social Work**

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## **Introduction**

In his monumental book on science, *Real Science: What It Is and What It Means*, theoretical physicist John Ziman (2000) wrote:

The academic ethos strongly encourages the production of knowledge. But it doesn't seem to care what that knowledge is for—except perhaps the production of more knowledge. Academic research is directed towards, and celebrates, the solution of problems—but primarily problems raised by previous research (p. 156).

Ziman was, of course, referring to a traditional view of the purpose of scientific knowledge production with its emphasis on basic understanding rather than practical problem-solving. Scientists working within this paradigm seek to communicate primarily to other scientists using highly technical language and through mechanisms designed to facilitate communication among scientists, mainly scientific journals and conference papers. As a result, such scientific communication tends to exclude nonscientists, making valuable scientific knowledge neither accessible nor transparent to nonscientists from practitioners to policymakers. In addition to this traditional basic science paradigm, since the early 1800s the scientific community has included a complementary practice-oriented approach known as applied science. This applied science paradigm has grown in importance in all branches of science, including the social and behavioral sciences, resulting in scientific knowledge becoming increasingly relevant to nonscientists seeking to solve practical problems.

This article is about a mechanism that has been developed recently within the applied science framework that serves to facilitate scientific knowledge dissemination and utilization, namely clearinghouses for evidence-based knowledge dissemination. In terms of the process from “knowledge production” to “knowledge utilization,” clearinghouses are designed to bring high-quality knowledge to end users in an easily accessible way. Other components of the chain from knowledge development to utilization include primary knowledge production,

systematic research reviews, and translation of generalized knowledge for contextual implementation.

After a general presentation and a brief history of the idea of clearinghouses, we describe four important clearinghouses which are at various stages of development: the California Evidence-Based Clearinghouse for Child Welfare (San Diego, CA, USA); MetodGuiden (Stockholm, Sweden); Evidence Database on Aging Care (New York, NY, USA); and the Chinese Center for Evidence-Based Practice and Policy (Chengdu, China).

Clearinghouses have been established to provide access to a wide range of scientific information. This article examines only those clearinghouses focused on the outcomes of social work and related interventions. Furthermore, while there are a number of such clearinghouses worldwide, this article's coauthors have directly participated in the development of the four clearinghouses profiled. We think these four are important in their own right and that collectively they illustrate the current state of the art in clearinghouse development. The first three clearinghouses described are freely available, web-based portals where quality-controlled, scientific evidence on what works, what is promising, and what is potentially harmful in professional practice and policy intervention is made available to students, professionals, decision makers, and the general public in accessible and transparent language and format. In addition to the three established clearinghouses, we describe a fourth clearinghouse under development: the Chinese Center for Evidence-Based Practice and Policy (Chengdu, China). This clearinghouse was selected for inclusion because it is being developed in collaboration with the California Evidence-Based Clearinghouse for Child Welfare, and because it provides some insight into the development of a clearinghouse in a non-Western country. It is anticipated that this fourth clearinghouse will launch its free access, Chinese language website in 2010.

As appropriate, for each clearinghouses we provide information on: (a) target population(s), (b) scale(s) or frameworks used for categorization of evidence-based interventions, (c) contents of the clearinghouse, (d) known or estimated impact on practice and decision making, (e) funding source(s) and estimated funding sustainability, and (f) challenges in development and implementation of the clearinghouse.

We conclude with an assessment of the state of the art pertaining to evidence-based clearinghouses as a means of bringing evidence to end users. It is important to note at the outset that we have limited ourselves to a description of four clearinghouses. Future research is needed to determine how these and similar clearinghouses facilitate knowledge use and how they impact practice and policy.

## Clearinghouses Overview

Clearinghouses around the world have been progressing gradually from databases to increasingly sophisticated portals with multiple functions, open to worldwide utilization through the Internet. Thus, it is difficult to point out which was the “first” evidence-based clearinghouse. However, some pioneering work may be noted as a backdrop to modern and sophisticated clearinghouses. These are:

1. Preventing Crime: What Works, What Doesn’t, What Is Promising. A Report to the United States Congress (aka the Maryland Report on Crime Prevention) (Sherman et al., 1996) commissioned by the U.S. National Institute of Justice in 1996 (retrieved from <http://www.ncjrs.gov/works>).
2. Blueprints for Violence Prevention (retrieved from <http://www.colorado.edu/cspv/blueprints>).
3. The Cochrane Library (retrieved from [www.cochrane.org](http://www.cochrane.org)).

Although the Maryland Report did not use the term clearinghouse and was a written report (not a web-based portal), it was an early example of the set of components that later came to provide a backdrop to our understanding of clearinghouses. The report had a defined target group (the U.S. Congress); it developed one of the early scales for the categorization of evidence quality (which included the values: works, doesn’t work, promising, and don’t know); it had well-defined content (crime prevention interventions); and it was written in plain language. One of the merits of this report was its attempt to develop one of the first evidence scales for classification of social, behavioral, and educational effectiveness studies.

Also in 1996, Blueprints for Violence Prevention was launched as a project of the Center for the Study and Prevention of Violence at the University of Colorado. Blueprints developed its own evidence scale employing four criteria: (a) evidence of deterrent effect with a strong research design, (b) sustainable effects, (c) multisite replication, and (d) additional factors such as analysis of mediating factors and cost vs. benefits balance. This clearinghouse defines “model programs” as those that meet all of the first three criteria while “promising programs” must meet the first criterion only. Currently, Blueprints contains descriptions of approximately 800 programs of which only 11 are assessed as model programs.

The Cochrane Library is a collection of databases that contains a huge amount of evidence to inform health care- and mental care-related decision making, policy, and practice. The Cochrane Collaboration does not call the Cochrane Library a clearinghouse, but in practicality it functions as

a high-quality clearinghouse of health and mental health interventions. One of the library's databases, the Cochrane Database of Systematic Reviews (CDSR), currently contains approximately 6,000 entries of completed systematic reviews (4,027) and protocols (1,906).

Cochrane Systematic Reviews are considered a state-of-the-art source of reliable information. The impact factor of the reviews in 2009 was a relatively high 5.187, ranking the database 12th out of 107 in the Institute for Scientific Information (ISI) journal category "Medicine, General and Internal." The impact factor is a tool for ranking, evaluating, and comparing journals. It is calculated and published by ISI (now called Thomson Scientific). The impact factor of CDSR is computed by dividing the number of current-year citations by all new and substantially updated systematic reviews published in CDSR during the previous two years. It is important to note that this factor does not reflect the crucial role Cochrane reviews play in the development of medical guidelines around the world. If there was a mechanism to weigh the "guideline impact," this database's impact would probably far surpass the impact factor of all other outlets. Given that the estimated rate of publication of biomedical research articles is around 5,000 per day, the high-quality, transparent, and systematic information provided for clinicians, researchers, patients, and policymakers by the Cochrane Library is invaluable.

One of the principal differences between CDSR and most other clearinghouses is the high level of scientific standards used in the selection and assessment of studies included in its reviews. CDSR includes only products with the highest possible evidence standards, while approaches used by other clearinghouses vary considerably. Because the number of high-quality efficacy and effectiveness studies is limited in most areas of the social, behavioral, and educational sciences, clearinghouses generally take a pragmatic stand and use less stringent inclusion criteria, although this procedure results in inclusion of studies with lower scientific quality. Nevertheless, the Cochrane Library functions as an inspiration to many sophisticated clearinghouses that have emerged in recent years.

## **Human Services Clearinghouse Characteristics**

### ***Target Groups***

A clearinghouse addresses the information needs of one or several target groups. Clearinghouses tend to serve preidentified professional and decision-maker groups such as social workers, mental health workers, child welfare administrators or workers, and crime and justice professionals.

However they can also target more broadly defined groups such as the general public.

### ***Topic Areas***

A clearinghouse usually covers a primary topic area such as child welfare, crime prevention, primary education, or older adult care. Some clearinghouses address multiple topic areas. Topic areas and target groups of clearinghouses are often intertwined. Furthermore, due to the interdisciplinary nature of most topic areas in the human services, clearinghouses might be useful for multiple professions concurrently.

### ***Rating Scales***

An important component of modern clearinghouses is the rating scales they develop and implement in assessment of scientific evidence associated with an intervention and other aspects, such as the pertinence of an intervention to a specific client group or cultural context. Using scientific criteria associated with the quality and amount of intervention studies, rating scales help categorize interventions on a rating scale running from, for example, *well-supported* to *concerning practice*, with reference to evidence supporting the practice.

Terminology and criteria employed to define rating scales by clearinghouses, vary while commitment to the most fundamental criteria of scientific rigor persists. Other types of scales may also be constructed and implemented, providing guidance to end users in terms of the relevance of interventions in specific contexts, such as older adult care or cultural feasibility in a specific country.

However, not all clearinghouses develop and use rating scales; some classification systems simply describe individual studies pertinent to the subject covered by the clearinghouse.

### ***Transparency***

Related to rating scales and classification systems is the issue of transparency. To be useful and legitimate, clearinghouses are expected to expose to public scrutiny their procedures of data retrieval, inclusion and exclusion criteria for studies, ethical concerns, conflicts of interest, work procedures, and other relevant information. Furthermore, they are expected to provide descriptive information for practicalities necessary to understand and adopt the interventions assessed and posted by the clearinghouse. Those who want to approach a clearinghouse's information critically must be given the tools to do so. In order for the clearinghouse to be effective, the end user must feel comfortable about the transparency provided.

### ***User-Friendliness***

Successful clearinghouses are user-friendly. Language used on the clearinghouse website must be easily accessible to less experienced professionals and decision makers, and to the general public who may be clients, patients, or their families and friends. The website of a clearinghouse must be easily recognizable and easy to find using common sense. Website addresses embedded in some corner of a major institution's homepage are difficult to find and therefore less or not at all user-friendly. Clearinghouse websites must have technically appealing and logical structures to ease navigation for less skilled users.

### ***Cutting-Edge Information***

Clearinghouses have to be state of the art. Scientific knowledge is provisional. What is cutting-edge knowledge today may not be tomorrow. Human behavior and societal systems are dynamic and evolve continuously. Methods, research designs, and theories employed by the scientific community become increasingly sophisticated so as to capture unexplored and new aspects of the social reality. When it comes to evidence of what works, what is promising, and what is potentially harmful in human services practice, we are increasingly able to get answers to ever more complex questions. Consequently, clearinghouses need to keep up with state-of-the-art evidence and revise their contents in a continuous and sustainable fashion.

### ***Sustainability***

Clearinghouses must be sustainable. It takes time to develop and establish a clearinghouse; it takes even longer to establish awareness about a clearinghouse among target populations and other audiences. Therefore, a successful clearinghouse is a sustainable clearinghouse that is able to serve target populations for a long time, and one that can provide confidence among end users that the clearinghouse will be there when they need it.

In the following sections we describe four clearinghouses that illustrate a range of approaches and structures.

## **Four Human Service Clearinghouses**

### ***California Evidence-Based Clearinghouse for Child Welfare***

*Target population and purpose.*

The California Evidence-Based Clearinghouse for Child Welfare (CEBC) was established in 2004 by the Chadwick Center for Children and

Families at Rady Children's Hospital, San Diego, in collaboration with the Child and Adolescent Services Research Center ([www.casrc.org](http://www.casrc.org)).

The CEBC ([www.cebc4cw.org](http://www.cebc4cw.org)) was developed to assist child welfare professionals, the staff of public and private organizations, academic institutions, and others who are committed to serving children and families and need vital information about selected child welfare-related programs. The primary purpose of the CEBC is to inform child welfare professionals about the research evidence that exists for selected programs. The CEBC website was designed in a simple and straightforward format, eliminating the need for consumers to conduct literature searches or review extensive literature, or to understand and critique research methodology. The website features brief and detailed summaries that provide information on each reviewed program.

The CEBC website went live in June 2006 and has thus far been viewed by more than 125,000 professionals and others from 178 different countries. Although the CEBC is funded by the California Department of Social Services and designed to meet the needs of California's public child welfare officials and practitioners, the information on the website is accessible to professionals and other audiences around the world.

*Structure and review process of CEBC.*

The CEBC examines the design and science of discrete "program models" commonly used to serve children and families. These models may be delivered by public child welfare employees or by community service providers. The models are categorized by topic areas, such as Parent Training, and program models, such as the Incredible Years or Parent–Child Interaction Therapy.

The CEBC review process is not intended to be a systematic research review, such as is found in the Cochrane Library, or a meta-analysis of outcome studies associated with a specific intervention that may take years to complete. Each year, the CEBC reviews five topic areas with up to 15 program models per topic. To be considered for review, a program model must have (a) a written manual available, (b) training or informal consultation available to allow replication of the model, or (c) empirical support and/or be in common use in the field child welfare.

*Scientific rating process.*

The research base for many programs relevant to child welfare is still relatively undeveloped, thus a decision was made, in consultation with a panel of scientific experts knowledgeable about child welfare and related fields, to use a numeric rating scale rather than limiting information to one or two categories of evidence-based programs, such as those utilized for violence prevention ([www.colorado.edu/cspv/blueprints](http://www.colorado.edu/cspv/blueprints)). Each program on

the CEBC receives two ratings: a “Scientific Rating” based on the available research evidence and a “Relevance to Child Welfare Rating” based on how relevant the design and research fit the children and families served by child welfare. The Scientific Rating Scale was developed by the CEBC with guidance from its Scientific Panel and was initially modeled after the Office for Victims of Crime’s (OVC) Guidelines for the Psychosocial Treatment of Intra-familial Child Physical and Sexual Abuse (Saunders et al., 2004). The Scientific Rating Scale evaluates only research published in a peer-reviewed journal. Each model is provided a rating ranging from the highest category, 1 (represents a practice with well-supported research evidence) to a low of 5 (represents a concerning practice that appears to pose substantial risk to children and families). Many models reviewed by the CEBC do not currently have enough peer-reviewed, published research to be rated on the Scientific Rating Scale and are classified on the website as not able to be rated.

*Contents of the CEBC*

The CEBC has reviewed and posted 20 topic areas with 126 programs and 14 assessment tools. Thirteen programs are rated 1 (well-supported by research evidence), 14 are rated 2 (supported by research evidence), and 41 are rated 3 (promising research evidence.) Many of the programs on the website are scientifically rated in more than one topic area. The CEBC has reviewed 57 programs that were not able to be rated due to a lack of peer-reviewed, published research, shedding light on the need for additional research on many commonly utilized child welfare programs.

*Known or estimated impact on practice and policy*

On average, 37% of the visitors to the CEBC are from California (obtained from statistics maintained by CEBC). Child welfare officials have cited the CEBC as a key component to the growing trend among California county child welfare systems to move toward evidence-based practices (G. Rose, personal communication, May 5, 2009). The spread of programs rated as a 1, 2, or 3 on the CEBC is associated with the shift toward California counties incorporating evidence-based models in their service continuums and Performance Improvement Plans.

*Funding source and estimated funding sustainability*

Based on the reach and success of the CEBC, the California Department of Social Services is committed to ensuring that the CEBC remains a viable resource for public child welfare professionals (California Department of Social Services, 2008).

### ***Challenges Experienced by CEBC***

#### ***Scientific Rating Scale***

The Scientific Rating Scale initially was designed as a six-point rating scale and included a rating for programs for which no research had been conducted. Programs lacking adequate evidence to make a judgment about their efficacy were initially rated a 4. After two years of operation and careful review, the Scientific Panel felt strongly that a 4 rating incorrectly implied that such programs were superior to those rated a 5, which included programs that had been studied and were unable to show a positive effect. The Scientific Panel recommended that programs with research conducted or that did not reach the level of research required be identified on the website in a new not able to be rated category. The change reduced the number of categories on the scientific scale from six to five.

#### ***Marketing by developers.***

As the concept of evidence-based practice has been embraced among policymakers, the CEBC has observed some program developers seeking to market their product using the term “evidence-based practice” even when no peer-reviewed published research supports their claim. Some developers have used the fact that they are even mentioned on the CEBC in their marketing, stating the model is “listed” on the CEBC, implying that such a listing makes them evidence-based and failing to point out that their model may have been listed in the not able to be rated category. Other developers have made the bold claim that the CEBC endorses their program when there has been no research conducted and it has been categorized as not able to be rated.”

Some program developers concerned about their rating declined to complete a questionnaire or requested that they not be identified on the CEBC due to no or little published peer-reviewed research. The Scientific Panel decided that all programs identified by the topic experts that meet the basic CEBC criteria (training and/or written manuals available) would be included on the website, regardless of the program’s willingness to participate. This would reduce potential bias in which programs could opt out of being rated by not participating, causing only a subset of identified programs to be rated. If program developers do not respond to repeated requests to fill out the questionnaire or decline to participate, CEBC staff proceeds without their involvement, relying on the relevant published, peer-reviewed research.

### ***MetodGuiden***

MetodGuiden, a Swedish term for methods guide (MG), (<http://www.socialstyrelsen.se/evidensbaseradpraktik>), was launched in September 2008 by the National Board of Health and Welfare in Stockholm, Sweden. The main objective of MG is to provide professionals and policymakers with transparent and high-quality evidence for making informed decisions about current and planned practice. A second aim, although less explicit, is to stimulate the Swedish research community involved in evaluation (i.e., quality assessment) of social work interventions. The main task of the clearinghouse is to rate the evidence supporting social work interventions.

#### *Structure of the clearinghouse*

The MetodGuiden assesses interventions pertinent to a range of client populations and covers six different topic areas with relevance to social work services in Sweden: (a) substance abuse and addiction treatment, (b) child and family care, (c) mental and physical disability care, (d) elderly care, (e) social assistance/income support, and (f) violence prevention. With reference to these topic areas, both primary and secondary prevention interventions (i.e., targeting specific risk populations) and interventions relevant to indicated problems are evaluated and rated. As a response to challenges of transportability of interventions between countries, cultures, and legislative systems, interventions tested in a Swedish context and found effective are given priority in the evidence-grading process.

#### *Assessment and grading of evidence*

Grading of evidence and estimation of the effect(s) of an intervention is a complex task involving several separate steps. In general, MG applies the Cochrane Collaboration guidelines on conducting systematic research reviews (Higgins & Green, 2008). As an additional guidance, MG employs the recommendations of the PRISMA Statement (Moher et al., 2009) on the methods of producing systematic research reviews. This approach means that each assessment of a specific intervention (or program) in the MG can be viewed as akin to a systematic research review. In the process of evidence evaluation both published and unpublished studies are included, and these studies must have been conducted with a controlled research design (that is, RCTs or quasi-experimental studies with a comparison condition). Also, a prespecified protocol based on the notion of risk of bias estimation (Higgins & Altman,

2008) is used in the quality-assessment process. All included studies and the outcome measures in the respective studies are evaluated for their internal validity (that is, can we trust the validity of inferences made to establish a causal relationship between two variables?) by two independent reviewers. After this evaluative step, which also includes estimation of the size and direction of the effect(s), the grading of the evidence is established. Evidence-based interventions that are originated or tested in Sweden are given higher priority in the evaluation than those originated or tested elsewhere. The evidence scale used by the MG is a modified version of the evidence scale developed and implemented by the California Evidence-Based Clearinghouse for Child Welfare.

Given the interest of decision makers within the National Board of Health and Welfare and key external government agencies, as well as the increasing appetite among social work agencies for evidence of what works in social work practice, MetodGuiden anticipates continuing financial support.

#### *Challenges experienced by MG*

The MG is dedicated to making the clearinghouse as user-friendly as possible. To learn about the experiences of end users, an evaluation of the user-friendliness (e.g., informative capacity, accessibility, and intelligibility) of the clearinghouse and its impact on the quality of social work practice in social work agencies will be studied in the near future.

An additional challenge for the MG is how to cope with issues of transportability. Most interventions are imported and not evaluated in Swedish or Scandinavian real-life contexts. The MG is planning to adopt the GRADE framework in the near future so that transportability can be considered and weighed in the process of grading evidence. The GRADE framework examines the “indirectness of evidence,” which refers to the determination of whether the intervention would have a similar effect irrespective of context or other surrounding factors (e.g., can the effect be extrapolated to an older or more burdened population?) (GRADE Working Group, 2004). In the case of limited or lack of transportability, an intervention is given a lower evidence rating.

Two further challenges, probably not unique to this clearinghouse, are (a) how to develop a sustainable approach to accommodate the changeability of the evidence base, since additional studies are frequently published; and (b) how to maximize the protection of end users, since evidence of potentially harmful effects of interventions tends to remain in obscurity. The latter is a major problem because reporting of potentially harmful effects is generally neglected by the research community.

## Evidence Database on Aging Care

The Social Work Leadership Institute (SWLI) (<http://socialworkleadership.org/nsw>) is a division within the New York Academy of Medicine, an independent organization with a stated mission to advance the health of people living in cities. The Social Work Leadership Institute leads a national program that supports healthy aging, with a goal to “ensure that America's older adults receive the care they need to stay independent and in charge of their lives—and that their caregivers also receive the support they deserve” (Social Work Leadership Institute, 1998). To accomplish this goal, SWLI focuses on improving the quality of health and long-term care for older adults—particularly those with complex chronic conditions—so that these services are better coordinated and easier to access. SWLI also is committed to growing the workforce of professionals trained in aging care, including social workers. In support of locating research to guide policy recommendations for these goals, SWLI developed the Evidence Database on Aging Care (EDAC), accessible at <http://searchEDAC.org>. The funds to build, sustain, and grow the database have been provided by grants from the Atlantic Philanthropies since 2005.

### *Development, topic populations, and users of EDAC*

SWLI began constructing a clearinghouse in 2005. A beta version was launched in 2005, evaluated in 2006, redesigned in 2008, and re-evaluated in 2009, resulting in the current format. The initial efforts to populate the database from a general “clearinghouse...designed to provide access to available evidence on social work practices and interventions” (Rosenfeld, 2008) evolved into a focused, evidence-based database whose topics include social work intervention effectiveness (SWE) across diverse populations and care coordination (CC) for older adult populations. The latter has become the primary focus.

EDAC was originally constructed for SWLI's internal use to capture empirical evidence in support of public health policy projects in aging care. Now it is designed to be useful to external interest groups as well and it is available as a free, online public database whose external users include researchers, students, educators, policy analysts, practitioners, and advocacy groups.

EDAC was created to retrieve core information from published studies that allow a user to readily assess the study for internal validity and reliability and to evaluate whether the results have external validity for other populations. The reviewers extract the descriptive, relational, or causal

questions the researcher is asking in the study, along with the conclusions from their examination of any associations. The nature, pattern, and strength of any reported associations are captured, along with the statistics supporting the relationship. It is not the intent of EDAC to “grade” the evidence presented in the studies by interpreting any threats to validity or determining what bias may exist; the clearinghouse only strives to describe the significant elements that are presented by the authors. It is left to users to determine whether the findings present a convincing causal relationship between the variables and if there are any internal validity threats to those conclusions (such as lack of temporality or sources of noncomparability), or whether there are any threats to external validity (such as effect modification). Although the clearinghouse does not “grade” individual studies, the database supports evidence-based practice by providing a standardized repository of reviewed studies, gathered through a systematic search procedure, and by encapsulating each study in a condensed format, thereby eliminating this labor for the user.

### ***Scales for categorizing evidence-based interventions***

The EDAC does not employ a rating scale system but rather classifies individual studies within its topic areas. The database is restricted to articles reporting the results of empirical research that have been published in peer-reviewed journals, thus assuring at least a minimal level of quality. Initially, a reviewer categorizes each study into one of three groups, according to the overall research design: experimental or quasi-experimental, nonexperimental, or synthesis. Subsequently, the reviewers categorize the study design by secondary design features (such as quasi-experimental and nonequivalent comparison). Then additional categories of information are extracted by the reviewer, aimed at providing the user with sufficient information to make informed assessments about the relevance and quality of the reported outcomes. These additional categories include the following:

1. Citation : as listed in the source database
2. Abstract : as provided in the source database with additions by reviewers when elements are missing
3. Topic : dominant issues in paper
4. Outcomes: individual and/or program
5. Interventions: common interventions for older adults, clinical interventions, and provider
6. Sample characteristics: demographics, size, recruitment strategy, and period

7. Participants: size, number analyzed, method of assignment, settings, and follow-up period
8. Methodological quality: randomization, allocation concealment, attrition, and blinding/masking
9. Findings: effective and ineffective, relevant statistical levels, and effect size
10. Conclusions: author-stated conclusions, as related to primary research question
11. Limitations: author-stated limitations
12. Reviewer comments: reviewer comments considered to be helpful to users to better understand the reported study

The extraction of these elements allows users to quickly determine which studies they may want to explore further and facilitates comparisons among other research studies in the database. Additional relevant categories are also extracted that can be used for synthesis and meta-analytic studies by users (such as search methods and inclusion criteria).

### ***Contents and capabilities***

Two topics, chosen by the EDAC advisory board with internal consideration of areas of interest, are systematically searched in appropriate databases and the relevant studies from these searches are reviewed to populate the database. The first topic developed for the database examined the general effectiveness of social work interventions across diverse populations; the second topic examined care coordination for older adults. Covering both topics, the database is currently populated with 1,256 citations and abstracts and 291 fully reviewed studies. As a supplement to the published research in the database and to offset publication bias the site also contains a searchable database for unpublished manuscripts, dissertations, conference proceedings, and technical reports from the New York Academy of Medicine Library's collection of grey literature.

The search engine for the database includes both basic and advanced features with the capability to print and export search results. A scoping search feature is also available to facilitate quick retrieval of the distribution of the captured content of current evidence in the database. This search feature facilitates a user-chosen comparison of variables that produces a 2x2 table listing the frequency results and a condensed list of the studies that fulfill those requirements (similar to systematic mapping).

The EDAC website also offers several related features, such as links to guide users to domestic and international sources that are relevant to aging and social work outcomes. Additionally, the site contains resources from conferences based on evidence-based practice and reviews of social work effectiveness. The reviewers' manual, review extraction forms, search methods employed (search strings and databases), and additional procedures outlining the operation of the site are all available for review under the methodologies tab. The central reason for providing this documentation is to promote transparency and enhance the credibility of the contents of the database.

*Impact on practice and policy*

Developing the evidence database has allowed the Social Work Leadership Institute an opportunity to systematically investigate issues relating to care coordination for older adults with special attention to social work contributions to care-coordination outcomes. Additionally, the database has enhanced and guided the dialogue among internal staff and external stakeholders when developing policy. The impact of developing the database has also augmented :

two key interrelated objectives that must be achieved for successful implementation of evidence-based health care, namely [the] development of individual skills for performance of evidence-based processes (policymakers, managers, etc.) and [the] development of the culture, systems, and structures within organizations supporting evidence-based process (Mullen, Bellamy, & Bledsoe, 2008, p. 331).

The development of individual skills is supported internally because staff executes the reviews and develops skills that are crucial to appraising and integrating evidence. More specifically, the accessibility of the evidence in the database has impacted internal practice by helping SWLI shape policy papers written for the New York State Department of Health and State Office on Aging, the National Coalition on Care Coordination (N3C), and CSWE's Advanced Gero Social Work Practice for Competency-Based Education (Berenson & Howell, 2009; Brown, 2009; Social Work Leadership Institute, 2009; Council on Social Work Education & Social Work Leadership Institute, 2009).

SWLI is also beginning to develop summary briefs on select interventions/outcomes based on information in the database, which will help develop policy that is based on the best available evidence. Externally, the database adds an important resource for social work evidence-based policy and practice.

### ***Challenges experienced by EDAC***

Some of the challenges in constructing the database have included labor intensity, which can lead to funding and/or resource allocation issues. There was also a considerable amount of “up-front” time required before the operational database was launched. Additionally, SWLI had to meet the competing tasks of maintaining quality while striving to populate the database in a timely fashion. Moreover, reviewers needed a solid methodological background that was then supplemented by additional training, which required development of a manual and protocols.

In addition to these general challenges there have been topic-specific challenges. Within the social work effectiveness topic, it has been problematic to clearly differentiate social work interventions from those of other disciplines and professions. This was resolved by selecting only review articles that were clearly labeled by their authors as reviews of social work effectiveness. A challenge within the care coordination topic has been to clearly and unambiguously identify studies that examine care coordination *in the way that SWLI has defined care coordination*, since this area of practice and research has not yet developed a standard set of definitions and terms. For example, authors may use terms such as “care management” or “transition care management.” This lack of uniformity and standardization has presented challenges in constructing search terms to locate studies as well as challenges to reviewers in terms of deciding which studies to rule in or out under the care coordination topic. This has been resolved by constructing broad search strategies and by tending to use liberal criteria for study inclusion. Such challenges likely will continue to arise as the database is developed and expanded to other areas of aging care, and the challenges will be dealt with by making the database as transparent as possible so that users will be fully informed and will make use of the database information in the context of its limitations.

### **Chinese Clearinghouse for Evidence-Based Practice and Policy**

In this section we describe some of the efforts dedicated to developing China’s first evidence-based clearinghouse in human services. Because the Chinese Clearinghouse for Evidence-Based Practice and Policy (CCE) is currently under construction, we have limited the description of the project to strategies developed for the establishment of the clearinghouse and the challenges experienced so far.

### ***Background***

Based on information from the 2000 national census in China, the country is home to 280 million children aged 0 to 14, making up approximately 15% of the world's population in this age group. With unbalanced economic development, a restrictive family planning policy, local and regional economies in transition, the urbanization process, the financial crisis, and the impact of globalization, Chinese children are increasingly exposed to complex risks, including a deficit of health, education, and safety, as well as psychological, cultural, economic, and social deprivation. Young peoples' risks and problems concern all levels of government agencies in China, as well as communities and individual families. Generally speaking, although there are some successful experiences of dealing with children's well-being, the response of human services and related social sciences to the problems of vulnerable populations and less developed regions of China is strongly lacking. Developing a Chinese evidence-based clearinghouse with a primary focus on children and adolescents is, therefore, an attempt to remedy a longstanding deficit.

The Chinese Clearinghouse for Evidence-Based Practice and Policy is a subsidiary unit of the Chinese Cochrane Center, based in Chengdu, Sichuan Province, People's Republic of China. The clearinghouse is being jointly developed and maintained by the Hamovitch Center for Science in the Human Services, a subsidiary research unit of the University of Southern California's School of Social Work.

### ***Mission of the CCE***

The main objective of the clearinghouse is to provide human services professionals, community organizations, and policymakers with easy access to the latest empirical evidence on social work practice and related human services. Initially, CCE is striving to help inform professionals and decision makers in the field of child welfare and related social work practice to meet the needs of service users and make best use of available resources. For this purpose the clearinghouse is currently in the process of assessing the transportability of some of the interventions evaluated by the California Evidence-Based Clearinghouse for Child Welfare. As CCE develops further, its activities it will expand to other fields of social work. The clearinghouse is committed to working closely with professionals, decision makers, and community organization representatives in China as well as with leading international organizations and networks in

pursuit of its mission (Chinese Clearinghouse for Evidence-Based Practice and Policy, 2009). The clearinghouse is dedicated to:

1. Identifying and understanding the needs of human services professionals, decision makers, and community organization officers in the field of child welfare initially, keeping open the option to cover other social work practice fields, such as services to older adults and mental health, as the clearinghouse advances its activities.
2. Retrieving and assessing the best available scientific evidence on programs and other innovations in health care, social services, and other human services.
3. Providing in-depth coverage of a number of high-priority policy topics of social work practice and other human services.

#### *Challenges experienced by CCE*

Although the Chinese Cochrane Center, home to the clearinghouse, has a strong track record of working with evidence production and utilization in health services and policymaking, it is facing logistical challenges very similar to the challenges of the other clearinghouses presented in this article.

One specific challenge faced by this clearinghouse is the cross-cultural transportability of evidence-based interventions. The issue of whether evidence-based interventions can be transported from one country to another (or from one culture to another) is very complex. In a general sense, the question may be raised as to whether an evidence-based intervention may work in a context in which its effectiveness has not been tested. The only way of obtaining a scientific estimate of the transportability of any evidence-based intervention is to test it in the new context to which it is to be transported. At times this might be a realistic option. However, many times and in many countries, including China, this may not be possible. None of the CEBC evidence-based interventions found well-supported or supported have been tested in a Chinese cultural context. Considering this backdrop, a Scientific Advisory Committee has been appointed to make expert assessments of the feasibility of using CEBC evidence-based interventions in China based on the committee members' experience and expertise in psychosocial interventions adapted for Chinese-American populations and their knowledge of Chinese culture. It is certainly recognized that there are no universal and tested criteria that may operationalize what "expert assessment" might mean in this context. As of this writing, the Scientific Advisory Committee is working on assessing the feasibility of using a number of CEBC interventions in a Chinese cultural context, and results remain to be seen.

## Concluding Remarks

One serious problem that has long been a torment to social, behavioral, and educational fields, including the social work profession, is the gap between theory and policy and practice. Bridging the gap involves several complementary steps, from primary knowledge production, synthesis of accumulated knowledge, dissemination, and translation to implementation in a timely manner. These are very difficult tasks to accomplish, but a light at the end of the tunnel has been visible during the last 10-15 years thanks to a series of concurrent developments, including the science and technology of systematic research reviews by the Cochrane and Campbell ([www.campbellcollaboration.org](http://www.campbellcollaboration.org)) Collaborations, and a global movement of evidence-based policy and practice in health (evidence-based medicine) and human services (evidence-based practice). The idea and phenomenon of evidence-based clearinghouses is a recent innovation in the realm of bridging the gap between knowledge and practice in the human services. These developments have been greatly facilitated by modern technology, including the development of accessible databases and the Internet.

In this article we have described aspects of three recently developed, functional, evidence-based social work clearinghouses, and a fourth clearinghouse under development. The case descriptions show several similarities among the clearinghouses. These similarities pertain to the essential components, as described above, of a high-quality, modern clearinghouse. The differences between and diverse challenges of the clearinghouses perhaps reflect contextual factors such as culture, social conditions, and legislation associated with social work practice, as well as access to evidence-based knowledge with sufficient external validity in each country. An additional constraint that generates challenges for each clearinghouse is the amount of evidence-based knowledge available (or lack thereof) in a given field of social work practice. Although we do not have accurate measures indicating the amount of evidence each social work specialty has access to, we do have a sense that there are major variations. For example, the amount of evidence pertaining to care coordination for mainstream American older adults is more comprehensive (although limited) than what is available regarding this same type of intervention for ethnically and economically diverse older adult populations. In the same vein, as reported by the CEBC, the number of well-supported child welfare interventions is much smaller than those interventions reviewed but found not ratable because of the lack of systematic research published in peer-reviewed literature. In sum, these and other constraints impact the specific trajectories available to each clearinghouse.

The experiences of the CEBC have played an important role in the development of the MetodGuiden and the Chinese Center for Evidence-Based Practice and Policy. Yet, due to contextual factors, both MG and CCE have designed their own developmental trajectories. Again, the experience of the Evidence Database on Aging Care is different. The association of the MG and CCE with the CEBC is not random. The rationale is to avoid too many evidence-rating scales that are too different from one another in the human services clearinghouses nationally as well as internationally. There is no doubt that there will always be some differences between the evidence standards of human services clearinghouses because of factors such as availability of evidence, understanding and preference of scientific criteria, books and balances of scientific shortcoming, as well as differences in cultural and social context. With respect for the need for flexibility and contextual diversity, there is also a need for developing consistency, accuracy, and uniformity among the various clearinghouses. Making human services clearinghouses consistent and scientifically compatible is a noble service to the end users, whose prime interest is to have access to consistent, rigorous, and compatible evidence, and is an important way to avoid confusion that may be caused by inconsistencies among clearinghouses.

At this point, it is important to note that the scientific rating scales that compose the backbone of evidence-based clearinghouses are not without their critics. For instance, Eileen Gambrill (2006), has argued strenuously that the scientific rating scales are too ambiguous and may actually obscure our understanding of the potential harms of interventions, causing, from her perspective, unacceptable ethical issues. Certainly, development of high-quality, sensitive rating scales to detect and control different types of biases embedded in studies of effectiveness of social interventions is of exceptional importance.

It should be, and probably is, the ambition and goal of every respectable clearinghouse to develop and implement rigorous rating scales. This is the experience of the authors of this article. For instance, the initial scientific rating scale considered in 2005-06 for the then new CEBC was strongly criticized (Gambrill, 2006). Since then, the scale has been redesigned and refined several times in a continuing effort to make it clear, fair, and accurate. Even today, the scientific scale is under annual review by a panel of scientific consultants from across the United States. Another example is the case of the MG, which adopted the scientific rating scale of the CEBC, but with an important revision: exclusion of the inclusion criterion “published in a peer-reviewed journal.” Such refinements improve

the scales, but any attempt to summarize, distill, and simplify complex scientific findings for use by non scientific audiences will remain subject to limitations and pitfalls.

The issue of inclusion and exclusion of studies using scientific rating scales was discussed in 1996 by the Maryland Report on Crime Prevention (Sherman et al., 1996). Authors of the report noted the dilemma of including too many or too few studies in the assessment of crime prevention interventions. Inclusion of too many studies would substantially lower the scientific rigor of the assessment and the exclusion of too many studies of effectiveness with biases would lead to an insufficient number or lack of studies to assess an intervention.

Scientific scales are necessary but potentially dangerous tools. Their role is to assess empirical data from multiple sources in order to detect biases that distort the results of the effectiveness studies of social interventions in generating a single value attributed to the effectiveness of a particular social intervention, such as *well-supported* or *harmful*. Most end users, especially those who are not scientifically trained or are clients from disadvantaged groups, need single and simplified results expressed in plain language; scientific intricacies simply don't make sense to most end users. Scientific scales accomplish something very similar to the Weberan concept of "ideal type": they help us eliminate detailed information embedded in a social or behavioral phenomenon in order to generate a simple picture of this phenomenon with only the essential traits (Weber, 1949). Thus, scientific rating scales are necessary tools to make sense of complex knowledge stocks. As such, they are prone to exclude information that might be invaluable in discovering whether a social intervention has no positive impact or is potentially harmful. The authors of this article recognize and appreciate this serious pitfall and therefore advocate a conscientious and explicit use of scientific rating scales and exercise of the highest degree of transparency possible.

We hope that the social work and other human services professions will welcome modern, evidence-based clearinghouses as a useful innovation. We anticipate that in the future we will see more evidence-based clearinghouses emerging around the world to respond to the knowledge needs of specific groups of human services professionals, specific populations, and specific problem or need areas. More importantly, there is a need, and an opportunity, to develop high-quality, evidence-based clearinghouses in diverse languages and for diverse cultures, despite the fact

that English-language clearinghouses are at times consulted by professionals in countries where the national language is not English.,

A final note is the vital need to evaluate the impact of the leading clearinghouses such as those presented in this article. EDAC recently completed a comprehensive evaluation which is now being used to enhance the site's visibility and user-friendliness. The MG's inclusion of an impact evaluation in its agenda is a hopeful sign. In addition, CEBC is currently in the process of designing an evaluation of its clearinghouse.

By reflecting and making transparent the state of knowledge in their respective areas, clearinghouses can serve to bridge knowledge gaps. Perhaps one of the greatest challenges for modern clearinghouses is the need to continuously evaluate their content, processes, structures, and user needs to assure that the evidence provided is timely, high quality, user-relevant, and accessible so as to support real-time decision making by policymakers, practitioners, and citizens.

Of specific interest is the question of whether and how evidence-based clearinghouses fulfill their primary purpose: that is, whether they bring high-quality knowledge to end users in an easily accessible way. Currently, we don't have systematic empirical data that can demonstrate the extent to which information on evidence-based interventions efficiently reaches out to, or is actively retrieved by, different groups of end users. This type of information will probably determine the long-term viability of evidence-based clearinghouses as dependable and efficient sources of supporting evidence-based practice in the human services. Furthermore, and beyond the purpose of efficient information dissemination, is the issue of whether evidence-based clearinghouses make a difference in the quality of human services delivery and service equity, whether they impede use of potentially harmful interventions, and whether they impact positively the lives and predicaments of human service users. The study of these and related aspects may or may not be a primary task for the clearinghouses themselves, but it is definitely a task for the scientific community.

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# **Childhood, Culture and Social Work**

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## **The significance of difference**

This paper will discuss the meaning and importance of cultural difference, the extent to which children's lives can (or cannot) be characterized by patterns of diversity, and the possible implications for applied disciplines such as social work. I will be addressing this issue across geographical, social and cultural divides, rather than historically. The 'place' of children, in their communities, in the class structure, in their economic roles and in the world is inevitably an important dimension of our wider discussion of identity and difference between them. 'Location', in this sense, is not simply a geographical form of representation, but also tries to capture the various ways in which children as a group may be positioned socially :

The fact of belonging to the same class, and that of belonging to the same generation or age group, have this in common, that both endow the individuals sharing in them with a common location in the social and historical process, and thereby limit them to a specific range of potential experience (Mannheim, 1952, p. 291).

At first glance, the array of cultures, contexts and forms of social organization known to us favours the thesis that childhood is predominantly determined by local circumstances, relationships and social structures. Although variations between children's lives, treatment and behaviour are not necessarily grounded in social or cultural diversity – since aspects of these could equally be attributable to genetic or environmental differences – the sheer range and variety of social and cultural forms might be taken as offering *prima facie* support for the view that childhood is essentially a constructed and socially specific phenomenon (for example, James et al., 1998, p. 26).

There is a mass of anthropological, geographical and archaeological material available to us, reflecting different aspects of childhood, such as

their forms of play, art, processes of education and development and the ways in which children themselves are represented in art and other forms of cultural expression. However, the very richness of the material available generates its own challenges. Unlike historical inquiry, contemporary comparative studies of childhood have a much wider range of material on which to draw, and there are additional means available to gather this, such as direct observation and children's accounts of their own lives. While Ariès (1962) seems to present an obvious starting point for a discussion of the relative merits of childhood histories, in relation to the 'spaces' of childhood, the choice of starting point is much less clear-cut. There are an increasing number of studies relating to individual countries or sometimes comparison groups of relatively small numbers, but relatively few larger 'meta' studies of this kind. As James et al. (1998) observe, there is a shortage of such material, perhaps understandably in view of the inherent problems in generating compatible data, and translating accurately linguistic and cultural 'meanings' (p. 124).

Even for those anthropologists 'who have perhaps the longest tradition of comparative research in the cross-cultural study of childhood and child-rearing ... attempts at large-scale cultural comparison are viewed with scepticism or rejected altogether' (p. 124), on methodological grounds. Equally, of course, there are inherent problems in bringing together material from alternative disciplines, and this is an area in which a number of these can claim a legitimate interest, including anthropology, sociology, geography, cultural studies, and even archaeology (Baxter, 2005). All of these, in turn, are open to the criticism of displaying ethnocentric characteristics, something which has been levelled at Western anthropologies, in particular. This raises both methodological and normative questions, for instance, when we come to consider the meanings and interpretations applied to global projects, such as the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, to which virtually all independent states are committed. Nonetheless, collective agreements such as this stand as a valid starting point for evaluating different interpretations and applications of its principles across national boundaries. The ways in which we understand and apply terms such as 'child labour' may well offer instructive comparative lessons, when seeking to relate disparate practices in 'developed' and 'developing' countries, or between 'north', 'south', 'east' and 'west'.

But the challenge of establishing an effective baseline for comparative analysis is further compounded by the possibility of inequalities and diversity *within* nations, between regions, classes, ethnic

groups and genders, for instance. Generalizations at country level may be based more on statements of policy, or aggregated statistics, than on a finer understanding of internal divisions. Detailed policy analysis (Bradshaw, 2002, for example) opens up the issue of children's relative poverty and social inequality for individual societies, which again poses challenges for those investigators seeking to identify possible commonalities or universal features of children's lives. Rapid social change within societies also has an impact on our capacity to make effective comparisons, as recent histories and contemporary studies seem to demonstrate. For instance, children's differential access to and use of 'space' are subject to significant influences in the here and now (Moss and Petrie, 2002).

So, we must approach the question of comparative analysis of childhood on spatial or geographical grounds somewhat cautiously. This exploration will begin with a discussion of anthropological sources which have indicated striking differences in the children's life experiences across geographical and cultural divides, as well as some possible areas of continuity between these. The chapter will move on to discuss important dimensions of difference, based on the 'location' of children in the various senses of the word, particularly as between communities and societies which can be contrasted according to factors such as their level of development or their cultural and religious practices; and following this, similar questions will be posed in terms of divisions within societies, based on geographical and social variations, such as access to resources and material inequality. Poverty and other forms of inequality are important, and sometimes overlooked, barometers of 'difference' as between childhoods. These, though, are crucial dimensions for those concerned with welfare interventions, which predominantly focus on the needs and problems of those in difficult and disadvantaged circumstances.

The paper will then go on to discuss the idea of 'work' and the social and economic contributions made by children – activities such as schooling, caring, and undertaking domestic 'labour'. The contrasting conceptual category of children's play will also be considered as a counterpoint to this discussion. To what extent, might the languages and content of children's unsupervised, imaginative and creative activities offer important understandings of their inherent common characteristics? How far, too, do these sites of inquiry confirm or call into question other differences, such as those determined by gender (see Thorne, 1993, for example)?

## **Anthropology and the significance of ‘culture’**

In recent times, there have been a number of important studies of childhood in different cultures, based on attempts to investigate and understand the practices and behaviours of peoples who are seen as less ‘developed’ (Benedict, 1961, p. 13). This suggests a kind of ethnocentrism which is highly problematic, and may indicate a tendency to impose externally generated models on ‘other’ childhoods more generally. Nonetheless, these are important sources, and their insights are telling (see, for example, Whiting and Child, 1953; Benedict, 1961; Whiting, 1963; Erikson, 1965).

Mead (1973) is seen as a seminal contributor to this field of study, notably through her work on aspects of childhood and adolescence in Samoa in the early part of the twentieth century. This, as she later observed, is now a historical as well as an anthropological record of the ways in which children’s lives were shaped in a particular society. The approach taken in this and other studies of its kind was to spend time with a village community, to participate in, observe and record the detailed patterns of daily life. Thus, the belief systems, norms, customs and experiences of the members of the community could be described, articulated and analysed. This type of approach also offered the opportunity to make comparisons between societies. Mead somewhat untypically spent some time comparing child-rearing and educational practices in the United States with those in Samoa, often unfavourably. The Samoan way of life, as observed in the 1920s, produced ‘stable, well-adjusted, robust individuals’ (p. 154), while America had ‘developed a form of family organization which often cripples the emotional life’ (p. 148).

The contrasting ways in which play and learning are organized in the two societies are one possible reason for such apparent differences in the experiences and consequences of childhood. Echoing Ariès (1962), Mead (1973, p. 156) found that there was little distinction between children’s and adults’ ‘responsibilities’ for carrying out household and other tasks. Children in Samoa appear to have been given age-appropriate responsibilities which would earn them respect and a sense of place in the communal order. By contrast, ‘American children [and adults] make a false set of categories, work, play and school; work for adults, play for children’s pleasure’ (p. 157). The analytical (and wider) dangers here are self-evident; children’s ‘play’ is at risk of being imbued with less significance and under-

valued compared with adult ‘work’, or practices geared towards this such as the delivery of children’s formal education.

Of course, Samoa is not the only source of comparative evidence of this kind, and other societies, and other investigators have suggested different conclusions (Hengst, 2009, p. 206). Some, for example, seek evidence of similarity rather than difference: ‘child training the world over is in certain important respects identical ... in that it is found always to be concerned with certain universal problems of behaviour’ (Whiting and Child, 1953, p. 63). For these authors, influenced by functionalism, the common features of ‘the human infant’ and the common challenges of ‘enforcing conformity’ outweigh the observable differences in approaches to achieve these ends, even though these differences may be quite wide, such as variations in the age of weaning (p. 70).

Benedict, on the other hand, is inclined to minimize the significance of biologically determined ‘universal traits’ (1961, p. 13), which are ‘few’. In this sense, the varying forms of social and cultural organization are more important factors than the supposedly common underlying drivers of ‘maintenance’ and conformity (Whiting and Child, 1953, p. 310).

Erikson (1965, p. 163) likewise observed substantial contrasts between the ‘worlds’ of the Yurok and Sioux peoples. The former society was found to be essentially self-contained and passive, while the latter was more aggressive and ‘vigorously centrifugal’. Erikson argues that these contrasting societal characteristics find their parallels in differing approaches to child-rearing and education. From the very early days of a child’s life, differential patterns of breast-feeding and weaning could be identified which were believed to reflect the expectations and roles to be fulfilled in each culture, with Sioux mothers arousing a ‘hunter’s ferocity’ in their young (p. 124), while self-control and restraint were promoted through the disciplines imposed at mealtimes (p. 160) among the Yurok.

There is a tendency within much anthropological writing to apply deterministic psychological concepts to the processes and outcomes of child-rearing practices, with the implication that much of the child’s character and temperament is shaped by the predominant influences and patterns of behaviour associated with a particular form of social organization. The greater ‘simplicity’ of traditional societies (Benedict, 1961, p. 13) might account in part for the relative ease with which they appear to have been able to socialize children into established patterns of behaviour, in contrast to the more individualized (Erikson, 1965, p. 293),

complex and challenging (Mead, 1973, p. 168) forms of modern (and post-modern?) Western society. This hypothesis echoes Durkheim's (1947) distinction between 'mechanistic' and 'organic' societies.

Although the cultures which are represented in much anthropological study may be consistently 'simple' in this analytical sense, they, and by implication their 'childhoods', are by no means uniform, as Benedict notes (1961, p. 171). In the same way as historical distinctions have been made between 'Apollonian' and 'Dionysian' representations of children (Jenks, 1996), she contrasts entire cultures. Indeed, difference is the prevailing motif :

The cultural pattern of any civilization makes use of a certain segment of the great arc of potential human purposes and motivations ... The great arc along which all the possible human behaviours are distributed is far too immense and too full of contradictions for any one culture to utilize even any considerable portion of it. Selection is the first requirement. (Benedict, 1961, p. 171)

In one sense, then, anthropology steers us towards a view of societies and their constituent members as highly diverse, in which children's lives and experiences can be shown to differ widely, and which lead to measurable differences of personality and attitude (Whiting and Child, 1953). On the other hand, the very fact that these differences reflect reputed uniformities within societies might suggest that there are certain predictable underlying human qualities and processes which give rise to a degree of commonality. In other words, contextual differences and variable social forms are overlaid on, and interact with, patterns of growth and development which demonstrate certain regularities irrespective of the context. Divergent outcomes do not necessarily reflect huge variations in the raw material of childhood, but rather its 'plasticity' and susceptibility to external influences and constraints. Benedict, for example, describes the varying forms of behaviour manifested by different communities which might be taken to indicate the presence of mental health problems according to certain contemporary individualized and pathological behavioural models; however, these 'idiosyncrasies' are generalized in some societies, and reflect the 'behaviour dictated' by specific social norms, which is then manifested in light of these normative expectations (1961, p. 183). Underlying their situated conformity, then, it appears that: 'Most people are shaped to the form of the culture because of the enormous malleability of their original endowment. They are plastic to the moulding force of the society into which they are born' (Benedict, 1961, p. 183).

Does this suggest some essential quality present (or indeed, absent) in all children? It does seem to imply a *tabula rasa* conceptualization of children, who are seen as infinitely susceptible to adult influence and shaping, an assumption which has increasingly been questioned by those who see children as active participants in constructing their own childhoods (Punch, 2000, for example). This rather passive and pliable view of children is not straightforwardly reflected in the anthropological work of Mead (1973) or Erikson (1965) who, in different ways, draw attention to children's distinctive characteristics and active role in making sense of and shaping their own lives. Erikson views this kind of development as culturally specific, but nonetheless does identify a constructive role for children: 'In our country [the USA], probably more than in any other large country, the child is the adult's partner ... wherever childhood provides a status of its own, a sense of identity, fraternal conscience, and tolerance results' (p. 377). This again parallels the Durkheimian distinction between relatively simple and mechanistic cultural forms and those found in modern, complex societies, although it also appears to be based on a politically founded distinction between the USA of the 1950s/1960s and the 'inhumanity of colossal machine organization' associated with the Communist bloc. For Durkheim (1947), of course, the transition from 'mechanical' to 'organic' forms of social solidarity represented a form of evolutionary progress, which has precipitated the emergence of more complex and flexible relationships and structures. In the latter, childhood may be expected to be less predictable and rigidly organized, and more a matter of negotiation, in the way that Erikson (1965) suggests. Once again, the notion of progress and radical distinctions between social forms echoes those historical accounts which tend to distinguish modern childhood from previous eras. While these distinctions can sometimes be pejorative, they also seem to suggest that 'childhoods' are highly specific, and that their common features are of less significance than those cultural and contextual factors which set them apart.

Ironically, this perception has been further strengthened as anthropological accounts themselves have sought to correct earlier ethnocentric tendencies and focus more closely on children's lives in context, where 'children devise ways to counteract adults' power and control over their lives' (Punch, 2000, p. 48). Based on these analytical developments, we could begin to hypothesize a historical trajectory which links the emergence of childhood to a specific (modern) era and social form, and which has also begun to prefigure the 'end' of childhood as post-modern developments begin to erode inter-generational distinctions.

## Cultures and contexts: the importance of ‘place’

While anthropology has largely concentrated on differences between rather than within societies, more recently attention has turned to other potential cross-cutting dividing lines, such as those of geography, class, culture and religion. Interest, too, has shifted to a different set of dynamics, with the focus not being so much on how entire societies organize themselves, but on the ways in which broad global influences and changes interact with children’s lives in their localities (Hengst, 2005, for example). In this sense, the ‘spaces’ occupied by children are necessarily permeated and circumscribed by external influences, which have consequences for the particular experiences of children individually and collectively. Hengst argues, following Erikson (1965), that contemporary influences such as markets and the media transcend boundaries and geographical distance, and that: ‘The predominant experience of everyday life in the modern global world is that locally situated life worlds are penetrated by remote events, relationships and processes’ (2005, p. 24). In this sense, childhood in the present day can be said to be qualitatively different from its historical and distant forms. Children’s worlds appear to be much less ‘closed’, too, in the sense that the influences which impact on them are less likely to be controlled or limited by those around them. Families and communities may act as mediators, but they are increasingly unable to act as censors of messages from outside: ‘Children are confronted with processes of socio-cultural change … that are not filtered in any decisive way by’ parental or other adult controls (p. 25).

Despite the globalization of childhood in this way, local contexts, the people around them and the ways in which external influences are mediated remain important, especially in determining the extent to which children and those around them deal with conflict and ‘mixed messages’. This is made clear for us in concrete form through the experience of Asian children in Britain, for example (Bhatti, 1999). This detailed account of schoolchildren negotiating competing influences and expectations helps to illustrate the tensions inherent in establishing a distinctive identity in a very specific set of circumstances. The children in the study ‘could remember not being able to speak English fluently’ (p. 104), for example, but also recognized that they would need to learn the language to be able to do their school work. As they became competent, they began to speak English at home when conversing with brothers and sisters. But their parents objected to this because they felt it threatened to ‘take them away from their cultural and

linguistic heritage' (p. 105). As a result, the children learned to compromise 'by speaking to their parents in Hindi, Punjabi, Urdu or Malayalam but to their brothers and sisters in English' (p. 105). In fact, the children's sense of identity did not appear to be significantly disrupted by this process, because in other respects they remained clearly committed to their distinctive religious and cultural heritages. Thus, they reported feeling uncomfortable in Christian religious assemblies in school: 'I closed my eyes and said my own prayer words' (Qasim, quoted in Bhatti, 1999, p. 113). The teachings offered by their own religious authorities outside school were thus more, rather than less, significant to them. Nonetheless, there were tensions associated with children's task of finding a place in a world which was clearly different from that of their parents and their traditions. Parents were uncomfortable with their children creating links with peers from other religious or cultural backgrounds (p. 118). In effect, these children were increasingly finding themselves negotiating a complex array of expectations and identities at a number of 'levels' (p. 119). For some these complexities reverberated in a sense of being 'out of place': 'Don't help does it, being Paki around here' (Nazim, quoted in Bhatti, 1999, p. 118). Thus, as the author observes, for this boy and his peers, 'being Pakistani got mixed up with being Muslim which was mixed up with racism' (p. 118). This sense of discontinuity was illustrated graphically in young people's reflections on visits 'back home', where their own sense of disadvantage in relation to their white peers was entirely at odds with family members' pride in their and their parents' achievements (p. 123).

A rather different illustration of the interaction between children in their localities and external (global?) influences is provided by Kong (2000), in her account of children's attitudes to and experience of the increasingly urbanized environment of Singapore. The rapid growth of a city landscape, associated with other social changes, appears to have resulted in a paradoxical destruction of green areas alongside the construction of 'managed' recreational spaces in the city, and this in turn is reflected in children's perceptions and experiences (Kong, 2000, p. 262). For some, the de-naturing of their environment was mirrored in their own words, with expressions of 'dislike for the heat of the sun and fear of water' or a dismissive response to the sensory possibilities of flowers: 'I can't smell anything. I go to the gardens or whatever, but I can't smell anything' ('Robert', quoted in Kong, 2000, p. 262).

For some children, though, the loss of their connections with the natural world was resisted. Despite their wishes, though, some parents were also reluctant to let them loose in unknown territory, where risk and danger

might lurk. These fears appeared to transmit themselves in various ways to children, so that their experiences and attitudes came into alignment. Children living in high-rise settings ‘not only did not express care and love for nature, but feared touching or going near even domestic animals’ (Kong, 2000, p. 266). Despite some contrary views, apparently expressed by those whose backgrounds were not so strongly urbanized, the fear expressed in this case is that socialization works only too well, and ‘that children become predisposed in their older years to adopt the rationality of the state when confronted with situations in which a development priority conflicts with the needs of wildlife and greenery’ (p. 268).

The highly specific nature of the relationship between children, their communities and their ‘places’ is also noted elsewhere (for example, Valentine, 2004). Differences across generations, between classes and in environmental settings are all noted as significant in shaping children’s experiences of the spaces around them, with consequent implications for the way in which ‘children develop physically, mentally and socially’ (p. 80). Class, for example, has implications not only for the quantity of opportunities to participate in a range of activities, but also the *quality* of the experiences gained, although this may not always operate in predictable fashion:

It is the children from lone parent households whose play is more independent and ‘public’ focused, and who therefore may well have the richest environmental experiences ... creating their own rich microcultures and geographies out of stark and harsh landscapes.

(Valentine, 2004, p. 80)

Not only do these differences produce variations in childhoods as they are lived, but they may also have more substantial consequences for the future and for their life trajectories, as the positive benefits of more varied environmental encounters for (lower-income) lone parent families are offset by the ‘enhanced “cultural capital” acquired by “middle class” children when they participate in institutional activities’ (p. 81).

Here we see evidence of the interactive nature of children’s relationship with the world around them; the impact of external influences on them is mirrored by their active role in making sense of these influences and drawing on them to reinvent their worlds, and at the same time to develop their self-perceptions and sense of place within the social order.

## The place of work in shaping children's lives

The issues of children's 'social location' (Mannheim, 1952) are significant, too, when we move on to consider the relationship of children to paid and unpaid work, and how this is played out in different contexts. This is an area of investigation which has received substantial recent attention, often focusing on the exploitation of children (Qvortrup, 2005). Just as Mead (1973) identified productive work as being a communal expectation of children from a very early age, so Zelizer (2005) notes that their productive contributions to households, communities and the economic sphere have been and remain substantial. Importantly, Zelizer questions some of the implicit (common sense?) assumptions which are sometimes made to distinguish between 'work' and other productive activities carried out by children (such as: 'Housework, barter, volunteering, *pro bono* service, unpaid caring, family enterprises', p. 186). As a consequence of the variations observed in practice; 'children's work ... varies systematically and dramatically from one setting to another' (p. 187). Indeed, their contribution might vary significantly within settings, incorporating 'care work' and translation on behalf of their parents as well as assisting with the family business in immigrant communities. Although distinctions may be made between paid and unpaid work from other perspectives, Zelizer (2005, p. 194) notes that the children she observed 'did not remember their business involvement as distinctive training, but rather as a "natural" part of growing up ... they treated the payments they received from their parents not as standard wages but as a perk', although some also 'resisted' some of their families' demands.

In this way, children's 'work' appears to have represented (for them) an extension of their 'natural' roles and responsibilities within the family. Developing this theme further, Zelizer also suggests that recognizing the 'variety' of such activities should also 'alert us' to the differences in the ways in which children's work is understood and experienced, depending rather on the context than the content :

The very same child effort ... qualifies as acceptable or unacceptable depending on whether it produces benefits for participants in the social interactions the effort involves, who it produces those benefits for, and with what consequences for the children themselves (Zelizer, 2005, p. 195).

So, the relationship of the 'child' to 'labour' does vary depending on the time and place. As market forces take an increasing hold over social life in developed countries, the relationship between children and the economic

sphere is changing (Lavalette, 2005), and exploitative and dangerous paid work outside the family is reported to be an increasingly common experience for them (p. 157). In fact, it is part of the rationale for employing children that they should be ‘cheap’ and willing to work in difficult and demanding conditions. While some might argue that there is an offsetting benefit to young people in gaining an adult perspective, a degree of financial autonomy and a sense of responsibility, this does not compensate for the negative consequences of being exploited by ‘unscrupulous employers’ and exposed to the risks arising from ‘inadequate regulation’ (Lavalette, 2005, p. 162). Thus: ‘Working children in Britain … are overwhelmingly the victims of these processes, not their beneficiaries. Work is not an example of ‘liberation’ but of ‘adulterization’ (p. 163).

However, the relationship between children and the economy is subject to substantial geographical variations, and that those who view this simply from a Western perspective may be ‘naïve about the role of work in some children’s lives’ (John, 2003, p. 176). Children’s relationship to paid work in poorer countries, for example, is likely to be complex (Nieuwenhuys, 2005, p. 168), with ‘non-wage labour’ often being the norm in the south. Whether this is exploitative or not, and how it affects children themselves, are not simply a matter of whether or not this is paid work, but depends on an important distinction ‘between what children do (children’s work) and the subjects of’ economic exchange ‘(working children)’ (p. 169). Children are undoubtedly exploited and exposed to harm in the paid work that they do, but ‘they are also active participants if not social agents in their own right’. Listening to their own accounts helps to illustrate how they make sense of and negotiate their own roles and relationships within complex patterns of social responsibilities and economic imperatives: ‘To work is a natural thing to do. Our friends do it. My parents work. My brothers work so why shouldn’t I work? Even schooling is not an excuse not to work’ (Working child in the Philippines quoted in Woodhead and Faulkner, 2008, p. 33).

Young people ‘who had grown up as street children [in Mexico] were emphatic about how essential it had been for them to find ways of earning money’ (John, 2003, p. 177), while children working in the ‘sex industry’ and thereby being exploited in Thailand also account for this in terms of meeting their family obligations (Nieuwenhuys, 2005, p. 168).

In these examples, and in others, it seems that a contradictory process is taking place. According to Nieuwenhuys, children have limited capacity to exercise choice and control, not necessarily on purely economic

grounds, but also because ‘exchange between generations is rarely symmetrical’ (p. 170). This is especially the case for children in poorer settings, whether in the North or South, which leads to another distinction between ‘nurtured’ and ‘nurturing’ childhoods – that is, between those which create economic goods and those which benefit from this output. As already acknowledged, though, unequal relationships and oppressive demands may be experienced across social divisions and in a wider range of settings – young carers, for example, may face huge demands to take adult responsibilities while also ‘being children’ (Becker et al., 1998).

At the same time, children in exploitative circumstances will also be taking an active role, making sense of and attempting to transform their activities, within the network of existing relationships and social structures around them. The notion of intergenerational power imbalances suggests a greater degree of commonality in children’s lives than might be expected, given the great range of contexts and pressures which they will experience. Perhaps we should pay closer attention to and recognize the value of their own engagement with challenging circumstances:

Rather than seeing in them either broken lives or virtuous sons and daughters, working children who have experienced prostitution, drug trafficking, war and violence should be acknowledged for having precious real-life knowledge that will help them face whatever new difficulties come their way later in life (Nieuwenhuys, 2005, p. 181).

At the risk of idealizing damaging experiences for children and young people, this observation draws attention to an important theme which we should remain aware of, and this is their capacity to assimilate, make sense of and respond to external influences and demands.

For some (John, 2003, p. 190), it is the very diversity of children’s ‘present forces’ which means that this active, productive process will in turn lead to such diverse outcomes ‘that a universal view of what childhood and children are about is inappropriate’. It might, of course, be suggested on the contrary that it is the very commonality of children’s capacity for resistance, their sense-making and constructive engagement with their varying circumstances which suggest a degree of uniformity in their social and psychological functioning. How else, for instance would they ‘in troubled times ... develop a sense of morality and some sense of moral order?’ (John, 2003, p. 191)

## Play and creativity: making the world

Children's play has offered another lens through which differences (and similarities) have been observed, not least because their opportunities for self-determination and independent expression are believed to be captured most effectively through analysing the ways in which they occupy their unstructured time and 'free' spaces. This is particularly helpful in light of the preceding discussion because it enables us to reflect on those aspects of childhood which are not shaped by others explicitly or directly, but where children themselves organize and construct their own activities, rules, norms, social structures and realities. Play is sometimes viewed disparagingly, and as somehow less significant than 'work', which may include meeting family and household responsibilities, or formal education. The apparent lack of structure and purpose associated with play may lead to a tendency to devalue it from an adult perspective, and to overlook what it represents in children's lives, of value in its own right, but also a significant site of learning and social development. In Western cultures, this may be reflected in the kind of distinctions sometimes made between children's 'care' in the early years and education which is expected to take place subsequently in structured settings (schools) and according to prescribed learning pathways (curricula). On one level, this may be a matter of socialization and state control, which is exerted 'through schools' (Moss and Petrie, 2002, p. 98), but it also reflects a distinction between aspects of childhood which misrepresents the currents of lived experience: 'we hope we have suggested the inadequacy of our current conceptualization of work with children as either education or care' (p. 99). Children's lives are, according to this analysis, about much more than the contexts and modes by which adults interact with them. Children's 'play' is very often the medium for an active process of exploration, learning and achievement. It is something which they control, and where they determine the rules and content of activities away from adult oversight or interference. As Corsaro (1997) has observed, children themselves distinguish very clearly between 'play' and 'planned activities like soccer and piano practice' (p. 38), which are structured for them and leave little space for them to take the initiative or be independently creative.

In fact, there appear to be some important processes taking place in those settings where children organize and carry out their own 'play' activities. For instance, Corsaro contrasts the formal school settings where 'cross-gender interaction' is promoted, and the informal 'peer-dominated'

places where gender difference is negotiated and addressed. In these peer-initiated ‘activities and routines, girls and boys try to make sense of and deal with ambiguities and concerns related to gender differences and relations. Many of these activities involve conflict, disputes, and teasing’ (p. 182). Chasing games epitomize this kind of process, and also illustrate the importance of children’s ability to control and use their own ‘space’:

Safety zones are more than geographical spaces to which children flee to escape threatening agents. For preadolescents, the areas serve as both physical and psychological havens where the children reflect on and talk about the meaning of their experiences. In this way, the preadolescents have more direct control over the meaning of play and collectively create shared histories of events (p. 183).

Some important observations can be made here about children’s use of their own autonomous environments to carry out some significant ‘work’ of their own. They appear to have been engaged in processes of socialization, relationship-building, gender definition and identity creation, in their own right, through what sometimes might be belittled as mere ‘play’.

Thorne (1993) has identified patterns to such behaviour, whereby gender stereotypes are often developed and supported. ‘Borderwork’ is her term for the sort of activity where girls and boys negotiate and develop understandings and identities in a context of acknowledged ‘gender difference’ (Corsaro, 1997, p. 184). However, these differences are not uniform, and both girls and boys act in ways which are contrary to established stereotypical assumptions. Girls would sometimes invade boys’ space, contrary to the norm, and some boys would be less inclined to act provocatively towards girls than others. In this instance, then, children are not simply seen to be reproducing established norms of behaviour and mutual interaction, but they are actively negotiating and renegotiating these, through the medium of unstructured play. It seems as if there is something significant about the opportunity to interact autonomously with peers in unsupervised settings, which leads to different outcomes than when adults are around and, in all likelihood, setting the rules. Children have been recognized as ‘inventive’ (Bruner et al., 1976), perhaps more so than adults, so having the chance to exercise their own creativity is important to them.

It is unfortunate, then, in Valentine’s view that the opportunities children have for unstructured activities are declining, in what she terms a ‘Retreat from the Street’ (2004, p. 69). Increasing parental concern and

changing contemporary patterns of behaviour (such as greater car use) appear to have resulted in a more restrictive approach to ‘children’s independent use of outdoor space’. The place of disorganized and ‘free’ play has been taken up by a greater reliance on planned and managed ‘adult-led activities’ (p. 70). This restructuring of ‘generational’ relationships might be seen in one sense as a reassertion of adult authority and control, while, at the same time, it is also arguable that it is no more than a legitimate and considered response to new forms of ‘vulnerability’ to which children are now believed to be exposed.

The ‘privatization’ of play also has implications for the use and distribution of public play spaces, and the social distribution of different forms of play among children, echoing our earlier observations on changing patterns of activity among children in Singapore (Kong, 2000).

This loss of independent play opportunities is a particular feature of ‘contemporary western society’ as epitomized by New York (Valentine, 2004, p. 73) and this is believed to run counter both to children’s best interests and their aspirations (p. 75). It is the very ‘flexibility’ of unpredictable and unmanaged environments, for example, that ensures that ‘meanings are open to manipulation, as key qualities of play that shape how the self develops’ (p. 76). Mapping this sort of trend can lead to the sort of polarized view discussed in the previous chapter, whereby it is possible to hark back to a ‘golden age’ of childhood (Poster, 1979) before modernity took hold. But we must be cautious about over-generalizing. We should, too, be careful about idealizing children’s independent play as always being collaborative and constructive, when it may also be the context for bullying, hurt and distress.

What this analysis does suggest is that there is a qualitative difference between children’s experience and use of unstructured space (and time) and that which is organized for them, in or outside the home and at school. Interestingly, Corsaro (1997) associates this with developmental discourses, suggesting that the opportunity to interact in this sort of way is particularly significant for ‘preadolescent children’ (p. 186), precisely because it is a time of ‘struggle’ when identities are emerging and becoming stabilized, and where they need an ‘arena for dealing with uncertainties of an increasingly complex world’ (p. 188). Even though clear differences may be identified across class (Valentine, 2004) and ethnic groups, these experiences still appear to be offering the same sort of facility to children at this age, to test out mutual relationships and perceptions and to establish their own rules of behaviour and interaction. At the same time, of course,

these activities cannot be seen as entirely independent or free of adult influence, and, as in the case of gender roles, children are also likely to be responding to and mediating pre-existing patterns of belief and social organisation through their play ‘work’.

### **Children’s contexts: different places, common experiences and the implications for social work?**

This chapter has highlighted differences in the lives of children’s, dependent on geographical and social ‘location’, including variations of ‘place’ and other differentiating factors, such as class, ethnicity, culture and gender. However, there are a number of other significant issues raised by this brief excursion across a number of disciplinary terrains. Anthropology, for instance, illustrates demonstrable differences in societies’ attitudes and practices towards children; but at the same time, it has tended to imply a degree of uniformity in the ways in which children are socialized in each setting. Implicit in this perspective is embedded an assumption that there are discernible material differences in culture, social structure and environment, but that in essentially ‘mechanistic’ societies (Durkheim, 1947) children are socialized into the appropriate norms and roles to be able to participate and contribute effectively in the specific context in which they find themselves.

While anthropologists have more recently adopted a more critical and child-centred tone, this changing mood is also apparent in other disciplinary accounts of changes in ‘modern’ societies, and the ways in which socialization processes have become more fragmented and contradictory (Valentine, 2004, for example). As attention has turned to the ways in which children make sense of their contexts and the expectations of them, it has also become clear that they are engaged in an active process of interpretation and construction of their own social worlds and sets of meanings (Corsaro, 1997; Moss and Petrie, 2002), epitomized in the lives of street children, who are ‘invisible’ to mainstream society (Ennew, 2002, p. 389).

As I have suggested elsewhere (Smith, 2000a), these observations suggest that we need a processual frame of reference for understanding the processes by which children’s lives take the forms that they do. They must be seen as simultaneously (and interactively) ‘consumers’, or recipients of external influences; interpreters, who analyse and make sense of these messages; and, creative actors who draw on these understandings to construct and engage with their own ‘childhoods’. In this way, something of the dynamic relationship between concrete external influences and

individual characteristics, perceptions and circumstances can be captured. This has significant consequences for the approach taken to welfare intervention by social workers and other practitioners, who need to bring into alignment a contextual and a personal understanding of young people's needs, problems and aspirations.

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# **Young People, Crime and Justice**

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## **Targeting the Young: the Source of All Ills?**

Why are societal concerns about disorder and threat focused largely on the behaviour of young people? Given that the recorded incidence of criminal activity is rather more evenly distributed across the age range, and that young people are as likely to be victims as offenders, why should there be this degree of concern about children as perpetrators of crime? Why, in short, are we afraid of the young?

The highly specific and selective nature of these concerns is encapsulated by the observation that much of what we know and believe about childhood and adolescence is culturally determined. Jenks (1996), for example, has argued that 'adolescence' is a peculiarly Western phenomenon, representing the playing-out of the specific social, cultural and economic determinants that are influential in modern developed societies. Anthropological evidence offers strong support here, with contributors such as Benedict (1961) and Erikson (1995) identifying very wide cultural variations in the ways in which transitions from childhood to adulthood are managed and experienced. Such variations indicate that the nature of adolescence is substantially determined by the context, and by the institutions and beliefs operating in any specific social milieu:

Undoubtedly each culture... creates character types marked by its own mixture of defect and excess; and each culture develops rigidities and illusions which protect it against the insight that no ideal, safe, permanent state can emerge from the blueprint it has gropingly evolved. (Erikson, 1995, p. 168)

Adolescence does not appear to be fixed or constant and this has prompted some authors to suggest that it can only be construed as one of the products of the interplay between broader social forces. Thus, for observers such as Willis (1977) and Davies (1986), the experience of being young and growing up is fundamentally influenced by the requirement to socialize the next generation of wage earners, producers and family members. The cultural patterns and practices of young people themselves, such as

‘working class counter-school culture’ (Willis, 1977, p. 2) make sense primarily as part of a process by which ‘labour power’ is reproduced, and young people are socialized into a particular work ethos, coming to terms, not without struggle, with their place in the socio-economic structure. This is not necessarily a straightforward or exclusively one-way process, in that attempts by the state and other institutions to regulate and reproduce the next generation next generation of producers is both contradictory in itself, and is mediated by the distinctive thoughts, attitudes and experiences of children and young people.

Against this, though, the purposes of the powerful who shape interventions with young people are primarily to secure the creation of a future generation that meets the needs of and sustains existing social relations:

Youth policies were... designed to satisfy some powerful sectional (especially class, gender and racial) interests. As the rawest and least valuable recruits to a given social order, the young had to be socialized, schooled, trained and ultimately contained – if necessary [according to a senior civil servant] ‘in terms more or less unpalatable’ to them. (Davies, 1986, p. 116)

Corrigan (1979), too, in his study of young people ‘doing nothing’ in Sunderland, has linked changes in the experiences of youth to parallel changes in social structures and the shifting demands of living in a ‘capitalist society’. Thus, young people are to be brought up both to accept their place in the order of things, but also to be ready to adapt in response to economic and social transitions. Young people are therefore increasingly educated to be ‘flexible’ in order to adapt to changing jobs and work patterns over the course of their lives in employment. This might be related to the experience of the 1980s and 1990s, whereby they were required first to ‘equip themselves with the abilities sought after in the fast-food industry and then... get on their bikes and... price themselves into work’ (Haines and Drakeford, 1998, p. 8).

One aspect of their ‘educative’ (Gramsci, 1971) experience is provided through their interactions with criminal justice agencies. This may be one of the more explicit aspects of a broader process of socialization, whereby young people learn their proper place, and the limits of what is acceptable. To them this may have no obvious origin or justification:

The power of the police is seen as virtually total by the boys.... The police, like the teachers, are a group of people with power that do some very strange and arbitrary things; their power is massive and has to be coped with, if not obeyed. (Corrigan, 1979, p. 137)

Furthermore, the control that is exercised is not connected in these youths' perceptions to specific instances of wrong doing. It is more the case that specific boundaries are being drawn around their behaviour in order to create a sense of the 'natural order' of things, and to ensure conformity. Indeed, this is part of a broader pattern of institutionalized control (Cohen, 1985). According to Jeffs (1997), these parallel developments are not purely coincidental. A range of centralized and directive education initiatives, such as home-school contracts, citizenship education, and attendance league tables, serve essentially the same purpose as explicit measures of social control, such as 'tagging' and the imposition of strict parental liability:

The role of the police and the role of the education system are parallel here, because they are both attempting to change the styles of living of people who... are seen as threatening.... (Corrigan, 1979, p. 139)

In the UK, the Dispersal Order which gives police the power to remove young people from specific locations can be seen as a concrete contemporary expression of this project. Young people clearly feel that the objective is to limit their freedoms: 'They only go for the kids they don't go after the adults. They think we're easier. We're easier to target aren't we? (Young person quoted in Smithson, 2004, p. 13).

The machinery of criminal justice is one of a series of mechanisms which shape the experiences and expectations of young people, which are collectively geared towards creating a spirit of acceptance and compliance with social norms. However, as Muncie (1999) reminds us, it is important to note, too, that the social roles for which young people are being prepared are also mediated by distinctions of ethnicity and genders, with specific implications for young Black males, for example. Webster (2006, p. 42) discusses the specific processes of racialised 'marginalisation', in this respect.

The preoccupation with controlling and channelling the behaviour of the young is linked to a functionalist concern to ensure that they are effectively socialized to meet the requirements of the dominant social order, it seems. Jeffs (1997) has suggested that there is a 'plethora' of government policies covering education, housing, income maintenance and youth crime which, taken together, indicate 'the resolve on the part of the government to control those identified as the underclass. In particular, they have exhibited a willingness to adopt increasingly authoritarian policies to control and manage the young poor' (Jeffs, 1997, p. 160). The apparent need to provide control and guidance might partly stem from an understanding of young people as 'unfinished', that is, going through a process of 'transition' (Walther, 2006), and thus likely to behave inappropriately, or in ways which

are threatening to the status quo (Davies, 1986). As a result, terms such as ‘youth’ or ‘adolescent’ can easily ‘conjure up a number of emotive and troubling images. These range from notions of uncontrolled freedom, irresponsibility, vulgarity, rebellion and dangerousness to those of deficiency, neglect, deprivation or immaturity’ (Muncie, 1999, p. 3).

However, while concerns about the behaviour and attitudes of the young arise partly because they have not yet been fully prepared for their allotted roles as responsible and productive (or reproductive) members of society, it is also the case that the socialization process itself is inconsistent, leading to tensions and contradictions. As Willis (1977) has observed, the demands placed on young people by social institutions themselves may not always point in the same direction; and there has never been a time (a ‘golden age’) when youth transitions were ‘really smooth and unproblematic’ (Vickerstaff, 2003, p. 269). MacDonald argues that their own emerging personal ‘survival’ strategies compel young people to develop a range of responses to economic pressures and ‘chronic insecurity’. Clearly, their own background and characteristics will also be a factor in this process. ‘Normal’ expectations may fall foul of acute exclusionary processes (Webster, 2006, p. 41).

Young people can thus be expected to behave in differing and conflicting ways in order to comply with a variety of social expectations within their own specific circumstances; for example, they may be encouraged to take relatively passive roles as ‘consumers’, sharing ‘the mainstream aspirations and values of the wider society’ (Webster, 2006, p. 41); whilst they are also encouraged to take an active and entrepreneurial role as ‘producers’ (Smith, R., 2000), but with ‘few bridges or connections’ (Webster, 2006, p. 41) to enable them to achieve this goal.

At the same time, ‘it is, of course, an absolute requirement for the existing social system that the same standards, ideologies and aspirations are not passed on to all’ (Willis, 1977, p. 177). This will, in turn, lead to a series of conflicting dynamics within the processes of transition for young people. For example, the complex expectations of masculinity appear to require young males to be dynamic, competitive and ambitious on the one hand; whilst, on the other, attributes such as being challenging or aggressive are discouraged. In this context, Webster (2006, p. 41) suggests that a ‘racialised ‘exaggerated masculinity’ grows by way of compensation against humiliation and anticipated school ‘failure’....’

Young people on the margins may also be encouraged to aspire to increased spending power, with increasing material aspirations, whilst at the same time confronting the constraints of the labour market, which, as MacDonald (1997, p. 195) puts it, frustrates their hopes ‘for sustainable family lives and respectable futures’. Transitions in such circumstances are

problematic, often resulting in ‘interconnected’ difficulties, extending over a considerable period of time (Webster et al, 2004, p. 35).

Recognising these conflicts and constraints can bring us closer to understanding the relationship between the sources of power and the institutional structures which represent dominant interests on the one hand, and the behaviour of the young in response to the ‘mixed messages’ they receive, on the other.

## Frustrated Ambitions?

In seeking to account for the behaviour of young people, it may be helpful to reflect on the insights offered by a rather older sociological source (Merton, 1957), who constructed a ‘typology’ to make sense of the differing ways in which individuals adapt to social norms, depending on their circumstances, influences and personal attributes.

At the heart of this model is the distinction between ‘goals’ and ‘means’, which Merton then uses to demonstrate that there are a variety of potential combinations of these factors, with differing implications for attitudes and behaviour.

Table 8.1 A Typology of Modes of Individual Adaptation

Mode of Adaptation	Culture Goals	Institutionalized Means
Conformity	+	+
Innovation	+	-
Ritualism	-	+
Retreatism	-	-
Rebellion	±	±

Adapted from: Social theory and Social Structure (Merton, 1957, p. 140)

Thus, for example, if an individual shares the dominant goals of a given society, and possesses and exercises the institutionalized (socially accepted) means to achieve these, then that person is demonstrating social conformity. However, a number of other patterns of adaptation are possible, including ‘innovation’. In this mode, the individual shares the dominant goals but adopts other than institutionalized means to achieve these. Merton (writing in the United States) observed in this respect that ‘contemporary American culture continues to be characterized by a heavy emphasis on wealth as a basic symbol of success, without a corresponding emphasis on the legitimate avenues on which to march towards this goal’ (Merton, 1957, p. 139). The ‘innovative’ response to this contradiction might therefore be demonstrated by way of resorting to some form of acquisitive criminal activity. Merton suggested, too, that there would be a distinctive class bias

to such patterns of behaviour, for obvious reasons, in that the ‘lower strata’ will have fewer opportunities to achieve financial success through the labour market :

specialised areas of vice and crime constitute a ‘normal’ response to a situation where the cultural emphasis upon pecuniary success has been absorbed, but where there is little access to conventional and legitimate means for becoming successful. (Merton, 1957, p. 139)

Although this framework helps to account for acquisitive crimes (such as theft, fraud and shoplifting), it may be somewhat less effective in relation to other forms of criminal activity (see, for example, Soothill et al, 2000). Nevertheless, it remains of considerable use in demonstrating that accepted social norms can, of themselves, act as prompts to rational forms of adaptive behaviour which are, at the same time, socially unacceptable. So, the crimes of the young can, in part, be attributed to rational choices made in a context of social inequality and unattainable aspirations. As we have seen, Webster’s (2006) analysis of ‘race’, youth crime and justice’ indicates that there remains a strong commitment to conventional norms amongst marginalised groups, whilst Craine’s (1997) ethnographic analysis suggests that ‘alternative careers’ in the illicit economy are a response to ‘triple failure’. In this study, young people were found to be constructing viable but unlawful alternatives, where :

They had ‘failed’ educationally, ‘failed’ to secure post-school employment, ‘failed’ to ‘get into’ working-class adulthood through employment, even after participation in a succession of government schemes and special programmes. (Craine, 1997, p. 148)

Indeed, illegal alternatives might prove considerably more lucrative for some (Webster et al, 2004, p. 20). At least some of the behaviour of young people defined as criminal might therefore be a by-product of the social pressures and conflicting expectations they encounter, and the means by which they adapt to these. Merton’s framework can also offer us some insight into other routes into criminality, such as drug use (‘Retreatism’).

Whilst this framework can begin to offer ways to account for specific forms of youth offending, we must also accept that this behaviour can be experienced by others as unpleasant and unacceptable. As MacDonald (1997) points out, it is a matter of concern that crimes committed by young people are likely to have an adverse impact on their own communities: ‘the social and financial costs of acquisitive and more random and violent criminality... cannot b dismissed’ (MacDonald, 1997, p. 184).

## The Reality of Youth Crime

Whilst it has been recognized that both ‘youth’ and ‘crime and disorder’ are socially constructed (Muncie, 1999), it must also be acknowledged that, however defined, some of the behaviour manifested by young people is problematic, anti-social or simply unpleasant. The work of the ‘left realists’ in criminology was instrumental in bringing this challenge to the fore. The problem of youth crime is not just a consequence of ‘labelling’ (Becker, 1963) or the impact of oppressive forms of social control (Lea and Young, 1984). The behaviour of young people can be genuinely damaging, oppressive in its own right, and frightening to individuals and communities which may already be disadvantaged in other ways :

criminologists have come to realise the essentially contradictory nature of crime, economically, socially and politically.... Radical criminology... notes quite urgently that there is a substantial element in street crime which is merely the poor taking up the individualistic, competitive ethos of capitalism itself.... (Lea and Young, 1984, p. 116)

In concurring with Merton, Lea and Young identify young people as a prime source of much of the offensive behaviour that gives rise to fear and hostility within neighbourhoods, and also accounts for the apparent popularity of government antisocial behaviour initiatives.

They have also controversially argued that there may be a racial dimension to this, in that young Black people might be responsible for a disproportionate amount of crime, or at least certain types of crime, in effect ‘compounding the oppression’ of victims (Pitts, 2001b). There is some support for this claim in one self-report study (MORI, 2004, p. 26), but Gilroy (2002, p. 66) argues that this must not be allowed to generate global assumptions that ‘blacks are a high crime group’ or provide any justification for racist practices in dealing with offending behaviour. As Webster (2006) points out, the processes of ‘racialisation’ and ‘criminalisation’ are complex socially-determined dynamics, and should not be taken out of context.

Nevertheless, the recognition of the impact of crime in contributing to the suffering of disadvantaged communities has had much to do with the contemporary refocusing of thinking and policy in this area, with priority being given to tackling directly the behaviour that creates problems in communities. Whilst there has been a tendency to seek simple solutions to these issues at the policy level, there has also been a corresponding move to try to account for the ‘situated’ nature of crime, and in its antecedents. Once

we accept that patterns of behaviour, including criminal activity, are differentially distributed, it then becomes possible to focus on the question of why this should be the case. Structural accounts, by contrast, do not provide localised explanations for diversity of experience or behaviour; nor do they offer much help in achieving specific, deliverable solutions. After all, we are reminded, not all young people who are disadvantaged become criminals:

This more realist approach to the delinquency of young men is a useful antidote to the excessive social constructionism which has pervaded liberal criminology.... It also reiterates the importance of appreciating the way that socially constructed aspects of identity – particularly those informed by gender, class and race – help shape the cultural survival strategies of young people...some young men, sharing apparently similar social attributes [as those who do] do not attempt... delinquent solutions.... (MacDonald, 1997, p. 192)

Subsequent investigation into offending pathways by MacDonald and colleagues (Webster et al, 2004) did, indeed, identify a number of situational variables which appeared to affect ‘persistence’ and desistance’, including ‘sustained employment’, ‘family support’ and family formation. Not only does this refocusing of concern about the crimes of the young help to provide the basis for more nuanced explanations, but it also has substantial pragmatic value. It has paved the way for a shift of thinking on the social democratic left to the effect that it is important to respond directly to public calls to ‘do something’ about crime and disorder; and it also implies that there may be practical and immediate ‘commonsense’ means available to achieve this, through, for example, addressing the source of problems within families, that is ‘poor child-rearing practices and weak parental control’ (Pitts, 2000, p. 10).

### **Explaining Youth Crime ?**

In light of these developments, it is perhaps unsurprising that structural explanations of youth crime have proved less attractive to policy-makers and opinion-formers. Much attention has been given recently to the task of specifying as precisely as possible the factors associated with<sup>1</sup> young people’s criminal behaviour which are rooted in their experiences, circumstances and characteristics.

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<sup>1</sup> Whilst such associations have been found, it is much harder to demonstrate causal connections (Anderson et al, 2001), although these are sometimes assumed with only limited justification.

Farrington's work in this context is recognised as seminal. He has identified a number of specific factors associated with a propensity to offend by young people, including :

- low income and poor housing
- living in 'deteriorated' inner city areas
- a high degree of impulsiveness and hyperactivity
- low intelligence and low school attainment
- poor parental supervision and harsh and erratic discipline
- parental conflict and broken families (Farrington, 1996)

Similarly, Rutter and colleagues have suggested a range of conditions associated with 'antisocial behaviour', including :

- Individual characteristics, such as 'hyperactivity', 'cognitive impairment', 'temperamental features', and a 'distorted style of social information processing'
- Psychosocial factors, such as the nature of parenting, family discord and parental depression
- Population-wide influences, such as the mass media, school ethos and behaviour and 'area differences' (Rutter et al, 1998).

Further work to bring together knowledge about the relationship between youth crime and contingent factors was commissioned by the Youth Justice Board (Anderson et al, 2001), and this broadly supported these findings, suggesting that factors could be grouped under family, community, school and personal headings. These meta-analyses suggest that the relationship between characteristics, circumstances and crime is complex and 'uncertain' (Anderson et al, 2001, p. 24). They also suggest that such factors operate at a number of different levels, so that it is unwise to focus unduly on any one of these, whether individual characteristics at one end of the spectrum or socio-economic factors at the other. Nevertheless, because a number of distinct relationships can be evidenced, it is possible to draw out implications for policy and practice.

Farrington et al (2002), for example, argue for the development of initiatives directed at securing behavioural change at the individual level, school improvement programmes, parental education and 'enriched' services for the early years. They also argue more broadly for 'community-based programmes against crime' following the Communities that Care model (France and Crow, 2001). Rutter and colleagues (1998) also share this enthusiasm for early prevention initiatives such as the Perry Pre-School Project, 'parenting enhancement', school-wide interventions and the 'early treatment' of problem behaviour. They caution, however, that 'focusing on

high-risk samples will miss a substantial number of offenders' (Rutter et al, 1998, p. 24), a conclusion echoed by Anderson and colleagues (2001, p. 25), and raising questions about aspects of the 'preventive' approaches represented by selective strategies such as the Youth Inclusion and Support Programme.

Whilst these analyses are of considerable value, and demonstrate the importance of empirical research in criminal justice (if properly used), they have also been the source of considerable subsequent confusion, notably over the necessary distinctions between 'predictors', 'risk factors', 'antecedents' and 'causes' – identifying a relationship between certain indicators and offending behaviour is not the same as demonstrating that there is a specific uni-directional causal relationship between them: 'even the most elaborate predictors of individual offending devised by criminologists have always over-predicted the incidence of crime alarmingly' (Pitts, 2001b, p. 82). Indeed, proponents of meta-analyses concur with this point :

There are methodological as well as ethical difficulties attached to using current knowledge of risk factors to target individual children 'at risk'. Multi-factor 'prediction' instruments may be relatively accurate but only apply to a small number of children, missing most of those who go on to commit offences. Those that use a narrower range of factors have been apt to identify significant numbers of children as 'high risk' who do not go on to commit offences. (Anderson et al, 2001, p. 25)

However, the necessary degree of caution contingent on these observations is not always apparent in the response of 'politicians, policy wonks, "opinion formers" and some youth justice managers and professionals', who draw simplistic conclusions about the use of predictive instruments to 'target, and then eradicate, youth crime' (Pitts, 2001b, p. 82). Evidence of this elision is apparent in the work of bodies such as the Social Exclusion Unit which has specified a number of factors which are given causal status :

Most juvenile prisoners have experienced a range of social exclusion factors, which may have contributed to their offending behaviour. These include :

- low educational attainment;
- disrupted family backgrounds;
- coming from a black or minority ethnic background;
- behavioural and mental health problems; and
- problems of alcohol and/or drug misuse (Social Exclusion Unit, 2002, para D6).

Attempts to generate a comprehensive empirical account of the factors associated with certain types of behaviour are important, not least because they have formed the basis for much of recent government thinking. However, it appears that this evidence has been drawn upon selectively. Muncie argues, for example, that the government's preoccupation with parenting stems from the association between the nature and quality of family life and the likelihood of offending by young people. As a consequence, policies and intervention strategies are explicitly designed to address these 'presenting' problems:

New Labour's acceptance that crime runs in certain families and that anti-social behaviour in childhood is a predictor of later criminality has opened the door to a range of legislative initiatives which target 'disorderly' as well as criminal behaviour. (Muncie, 2000, p. 23)

Similarly, the justification for the introduction of measures such as ASBOs is provided by the need to tackle behavioural problems such as 'impulsiveness and hyperactivity'. Indeed, this selective approach has been further reinforced by the emphasis on behavioural interventions across the range of youth justice interventions emerging from the Youth Justice Board (2002). However, implementation of a range of projects focused on behavioural change produced little evidence to justify this approach (Feilzer, 2004).

As Muncie notes, a shift of focus, which would be supported by the evidence from meta-analyses, to include 'social' factors, such as poor housing and unemployment, might lead to a rather different emphasis in policy and practice. Despite this, the primary foci of youth justice interventions remain the individual and the family (parents):

Parental training and a range of behavioural and cognitive interventions are considered to be most effective.... In such ways the targets of social crime prevention have invariably become individualised and behavioural. Primary attention is given to responding to the symptoms, rather than the causes of young people's disaffection and dislocation. (Muncie, 2000, p. 26)

The argument here is that New Labour's youth crime strategy relies unduly on a narrow focus on specific 'high risk' groups and the superficial manifestations of social problems with deeper roots; this is reflected in specific measures such as the crusade against street crime in 2002, the antisocial behaviour bandwagon and the promotion of technological measures of control (see also, Foucault, 1979) such as 'tagging' and 'voice recognition' systems.

On the other hand, the evidence from detailed empirical studies suggests both that the range of factors associated with youth crime are connected in various ways, and as a consequence that we should not overlook the part that social and structural factors play, even in (perhaps especially in) the practice setting. Leonard (1984) has demonstrated the links between social forces and individual personalities. The individual is ‘moulded, inculcated or penetrated by the institutions and activities of the social order and the ideologies which inform and legitimate them’ (Leonard, 1984, p. 116), in much the same way as Merton (1957) suggests, as we saw earlier. The deviant behaviour of individuals must therefore be seen as the product of multi-faceted, interactive and dynamic processes. Criminality emerges as the outcome of a complex interplay of social and ideological forces and personal experience: ‘contradictions within and between the economy, the family and the state, connecting to the highly variable experience of specific individuals, provide space for avoidance, resistance and dissent’ (Leonard, 1984, p. 116). Specific antisocial acts, which may be reprehensible in themselves, and which may or may not be defined as ‘criminal’, cannot be understood or dealt with solely in terms of their immediate manifestation. Attempts to deal with the offending (and offensive) behaviour of young people only on the basis of what is immediately known and observed represent, at best, a partial solution. At worst, as we know, they may generate further problems, such as reoffending.

Ironically, as Christie (2000) has commented, forms of ‘individualised’ intervention (which in fact apply ‘generalised’ assumptions) serve at the same time to ‘depersonalise’ explanations of youth crime:

A political decision to eliminate concern for the social background of the defendant involves much more than making those characteristics inappropriate for decisions on pain [punishment]. By the same token, the offender is to a large extent excluded as a person. There is no point in exploring a social background, childhood, dreams, defeats.... (Christie, 2000, p. 163)

For present purposes, this raises further questions about the nature of formal responses to the crimes of the young, and the extent to which these ‘miss the point’. In order to understand the interaction between ‘youth justice’ and young people we must give further consideration to the way in which institutional policies and practices are constituted and how these lead to forms of delivery that decontextualise and problematise the behaviour of young people identified as potential or actual offenders.

## The Locus of Power: Ideologies and Structures

Much attention has been given to the question of power and its relationship to ideologies of crime and disorder. The exercise of social control is a source of continuing academic fascination and debate (see Garland, 2001). Authorities such as Cohen (1985) have made major contributions in this field, and there is widespread acknowledgement that it is an important underpinning of an adequate understanding of youth justice (for example, Goldson, 1997; Scraton and Haydon, 2002; Goldson and Muncie, 2006). The key question here is the relationship between state power, the maintenance of social and moral order and the specific machinery of the justice system itself. Clarke (2002), for example, suggests that the courts and other state institutions are constituted in such a way as to carry out aspects of this mediating function, helping to establish the legitimacy of processes which underpin a particular set of social relations. It is their ascribed status and authority which provides them with the justification for imposing sanctions on individuals and their families, both as a direct means of controlling their behaviour and as a way of reinforcing the legitimacy of the system of norms and rules upon which they are based. The institutions of justice therefore have a kind of self-validating quality.

As we have already observed, the rationale underlying the youth justice system is probably derived from persistent concerns about the uncertainty of youth transitions and the associated threat to the maintenance and reproduction of social order. For Clarke (2002), the fear of disorder and unruly youth is endemic, having been observed in historical accounts of unrest for at least ‘the past three centuries’. Pearson (1985), too, has provided evidence that modern society has been persistently troubled by fear of its young people, who become routinely problematised. Often, he notes, there are racist overtones as well. Cohen’s (1972) Folk Devils and Moral Panics graphically illustrated the way in which fears take hold and are reified, contributing to an almost constant sense of threat amongst the population in general, magnified to the extent that the very social fabric appears to be at risk.

While there are grounds for recognising that the processes of transition might generate a range of challenging behaviour, there is also considerable evidence to support the argument that the perceived threat is amplified. In other words, whatever the nature of young people’s behaviour, additional forces are at play in generating more pervasive fears. The media, for example, have a part to play in shaping such perceptions, and this is inevitable, given their role in creating shared meaning. However, the media are only part of a wider process of creating consensus and shared belief systems:

Social reality is experienced through language, communication and imagery. Social meaning and social difference are irretrievably tied up with representation. (McRobbie and Thornton, 2002, p. 76)

That is to say, there is an intelligible process in place, by means of which images of disorder are combined and utilised to generate a collective perception of ‘threatening youth’ (Davies, 1986).

This proposition leads us to the notion of ‘hegemony’ (Gramsci, 1971). This, in essence, is the mechanism by which dominant assumptions and norms are integrated to create a shared and conventional view of the ‘problem’, how it arises and how it should be tackled. Thus, for example, the administration of the youth justice system does not simply reflect the routine delivery of rational processes based on established and shared social norms; it also acts, in combination with other authoritative sources (like the media) to justify and reinforce prior categorisations of acceptable and unacceptable behaviour. It is not just a matter of distinguishing between fixed and immutable categories of ‘right’ and ‘wrong’, but the exercise of judicial, organisational and professional authority also acts to legitimise this distinction, as it applies in any given social milieu. Behind this process, however, lies the question of which interests are represented in these apparently neutral and objective processes.

Gramsci (1971) observes that the key factor here is the extent to which particular forces can establish the general legitimacy of their own interests and thereby claim the authority to police these. Legitimacy has to be earned, and the exercise of authority has to gain the consent of citizens in order to secure their active engagement in maintaining social control. The smooth and effective running of social institutions essentially depends on a widely-shared commitment to the principles and structures on which they are based (for example, the police need the ‘consent’ of the community in order to be able to carry out their functions effectively; Scarman, 1982).

The authority to govern is gained in two ways, according to Gramsci: by the achievement of the ‘spontaneous’ consent of the population; or by the direct invocation of the ‘apparatus of state coercive power’, in order to ‘legally’ enforce discipline on those who do not conform. The latter option, though, should be seen as a kind of reserve power, only brought to bear when rule by consent has failed. It cannot become the norm because it implies at least a partial breakdown of consensual norms, and becomes increasingly difficult to sustain. The explicit use of state power in this way is in fact much less efficient or effective than the day-to-day project of earning and sustaining the consent and willing compliance of most, if not all, elements in society. In order to achieve this end, the state therefore prefers to adopt an ‘educative and

formative' role (Gramsci, 1971, p. 242). This is a specific characteristic of 'liberal democratic [governments] which make a major attempt to secure public support for state criminalisation and crime control through centralised high profile politics of 'law and order' (Lea, 2002, p. 172). Here, we can see again the significance of the media as a vehicle for conveying information and securing consent, borne out by research into public attitudes (Chapman et al, 2002).

The 'rule of law' aspires to create an externalised, objective, and apparently neutral standard by which behaviour can be judged, and by which the line between the law-abiding and the criminal can be drawn. It is not simply a matter of creating effective machinery for crime control and the administration of official sanctions; it is also the function of 'the law' to carry out an 'educative' role in setting the terms for common standards of acceptable behaviour, and generating the only valid criteria by which compliance (or not) with these can be judged.

Althusser (1977) has developed a similar line of argument, agreeing that it is important to distinguish the ideological function of the law from its practical purposes. His useful, but over-deterministic and monolithic, characterization of the exercise of social control depends on the notion of 'state apparatuses'. These can be subdivided into 'Repressive State Apparatuses' and 'Ideological State Apparatuses', which share the same objectives, but operate rather differently. In the judicial context, some bodies can be thought of as primarily repressive, such as the courts and the prisons, whilst others, including the range of community justice agencies, can be seen to perform a more ideological function depending on their credibility to establish legitimacy for their interventions and gain consent for the administration of justice. In this way, 'the law belongs both to the [Repressive] State Apparatus and to the system of ISAs [Ideological State Apparatuses]' (Althusser, 1977, p. 137).

This distinction helps us to appreciate the way in which legal institutions and judicial processes operate both directly to control certain types of behaviour by coercion, and indirectly by creating the conditions under which certain acts are defined as unlawful, and then dealt with as transgressions. The use of direct means of repression is supported by the ideological project of establishing the limits of what is acceptable.

Althusser also suggests that there is a complementary relationship between the ISAs, which support and reinforce each other in sustaining the position of dominant interests. This network includes the educational ISA, the family ISA, the communications ISA and the religious ISA. Building on this kind of argument, Garland suggests that a similar kind of relationship exists between justice agencies and other systems:

Institutions of crime control and criminal justice have definite conditions of existence. They form part of a network of governance and social ordering that, in modern societies, includes the legal system, the labour market, and welfare state institutions. They refer to, and are supported by, other social institutions and social controls, and are grounded in specific configurations of cultural, political and economic action. (Garland, 2001, p. 5)

In the context of youth justice, the way in which such elements coalesce to establish and maintain an interlocking system of social control was classically illustrated by Hall and colleagues (1978). Their extensive study, based on the emergence of the phenomenon of ‘mugging’ in the 1970s and associated public concern, shows how perceptions of criminal behaviour can be generated and then intensified by a network of social institutions, including the media, political interests and the judiciary, intervening in public debates in such a way as to amplify fears and create an overwhelming sense of lawlessness and threat, about which something had to be done (see also Hearne, 2003). The consequence of this interactive process was, indeed, a heightened level of public sensitivity to a particular form of behaviour, street robbery (or ‘mugging’, in its popularized form) and therefore also a readiness to endorse draconian interventions by the judicial system. Thus, we can see how amplificatory spirals of this kind operate to support and strengthen ideological assumptions about the nature of offending behaviour and its perpetrators, and the way they should be dealt with – compounded in the case of ‘mugging’ by issues of ‘race’ and racism, another recurrent motif, as Garland (2001) confirms.

A more contemporary reflection on the relationship between the repressive and ideological functions of state apparatuses might lead us to consider the example of the Youth Justice Board itself. The YJB, as previously observed, operates in a number of spheres of policy and practice, but is clearly driven by a particular set of assumptions about the offending behaviour of young people, and ‘what works’ in dealing with this. It is also constituted as an, apparently, independent body representing a diverse range of relevant interests. It thereby also lays claim to authority based on its collective credentials of expertise, knowledge and experience, which puts it in a privileged position to lead thinking, innovation and delivery. This standing, in turn, provides the YJB with sufficient credibility and ‘clout’ to be able to determine what counts as ‘good practice’ and what principles should underpin practitioners’ activities. One model of ‘restorative justice’ has thus been privileged, at the expense of alternative approaches in this relatively new and contested field (Haines, 2000; Haines and O’Mahony, 2006).

However, the ‘ideological’ function of the board in shaping our understanding of appropriate forms of intervention is complemented by rather more ‘repressive’ aspects of its operation, such as the introduction of ISSPs, its role in policing Referral Orders and its acquisition of responsibility for placing children in secure facilities. The YJB’s independence and professional standing will, of course, help to provide legitimacy for these activities; for instance, its claims to have made improvements in conditions and services for young people in custody (Youth Justice Board, 2005) might help to make such an option more tolerable to those who might otherwise baulk at the idea of sending a 12-year old to prison (Pitts, 2003).

Cohen (1985) is particularly critical of the ‘humanization’ of apparently oppressive forms of treatment in the name of progress. He argues that this represents no more than the extension of the network of coercion, made possible precisely because of the appearance of reasonableness and solicitude. He also fears that this ‘softly, softly’ approach may pervade the entire criminal process:

At the shallow end, the generation of new treatment criteria and the pervasiveness of the social welfare and preventive structures, often ensure an erosion of traditional rights and liberties. In a system of low visibility and accountability, where a high degree of discretion is given to administrative and professional bodies... there is often less room for such niceties as due process and legal rights. (Cohen, 1985, p.70)

This observation may have predated ASBOs, Acceptable Behaviour Contracts, Final Warnings and Referral Orders by 15 years or so, but his critique is clearly still valid.

On the other hand, Cohen takes issue with the fact that ‘heavy end’ intensive community options (such as ISSP) are justified largely on the grounds that they are not custody. Thus, at both ends of the spectrum increased levels of control and coercion are imported into community disposals, whilst apparently representing liberal alternatives to repressive measures:

Meanwhile, there is no problem in finding criminologists, psychologists, social workers and others who will justify all these community alternatives as humane, kindly and even ‘therapeutic’.... This is the particularly wondrous advantage... of those programmes which use the explicit rationale of behaviourism. (Cohen, 1985, p. 75)

The rationale of humanitarian and personally beneficial behaviour change (anger management, for example) provides strong support for ‘community corrections’: Deviance must be “brought back home”. Parents,

peers, schools, the neighbourhood, even the police should dedicate themselves to keeping the deviant out of the formal system' (Cohen, 1985, p. 77). But of course this does not mean that nothing happens. Instead, 'the primary institutions of society', such as schools, family or neighbourhood groups are expected to take responsibility for scrutinizing and controlling the behaviour of young people who are 'at risk' of getting into trouble. However, this kind of close attention may be counter-productive and lead to unintended consequences:

Thus, if a youth is already under the surveillance of the system – even a preventive program serving a non-offending youth from a 'high risk' neighbourhood, but particularly an offender supervised intensively – he or she is far more likely to be caught offending and sanctioned sooner, and more often. (Kempf-Leonard and Peterson, 2002, p. 438)

As already noted, for example, the ASBO breach rate had reached 42% by 2003, and this may well be explained in part by the increased level of scrutiny associated with the order.

Cohen's vision seems remarkably prescient. The language of being 'tough on crime, tough on the causes of crime', of linking 'rights' with 'responsibilities', of 'targeting' and of promoting 'parental responsibility' – in sum, the New Labour vision – fits well with his articulation of a correctional approach extending the machinery and techniques of the justice system into the community.

Thus, even the family becomes a 'correctional resource' (see also Donzelot, 1979), which has become a 'site for expert invasion and penetration' (Cohen, 1985, p. 79). Clearly, the Parenting Order is one highly explicit manifestation of this, firstly introduced under the Crime and disorder Act 1998, but subsequently extended to become available in tandem with an ASBO, and in truancy cases.

Schools and neighbourhoods are also identified as sites for the development of sophisticated methods of surveillance, supervision and correction – Cohen was perhaps anticipating the development of Pupil Referral Units, mentoring schemes (Tarling et al, 2001). Youth Inclusion Projects (Eccles, 2001) and Summer Splash Schemes (Loxley et al, 2002) were both explicitly targeted at 'at risk' young people in areas identified as crime 'hot spots' – although their reported success in achieving reductions in crime is limited (Loxley et al, 2002; Morgan Harris Burrows, 2003). As well as seeking to improve the efficacy of local social control measures, these schemes also carry out an important ideological function, focusing concern on specific young people in designated areas, and thereby shifting attention away from the wider questions of disadvantage, inequality and

discrimination, and from the structural factors which, as we have seen, are equally viable explanations of the incidence of youth offending (Anderson et al, 2001). Indeed, as Cohen observes, with the move towards a greater emphasis on managerial and technical solutions to the problems of crime, causes become of less importance – the logic being that ‘if we can control crime, we don’t really need to understand the causes’, which epitomises the ‘what works’ philosophy (Cohen, 1985, p. 176). Hence, perhaps, New Labour’s lack of interest in the broader ‘causes of crime’, which have been supplanted by a limited number of ‘indicators’ of social exclusion (Social Exclusion Unit, 2001), justifying interventions targeted at specific ‘at risk’ populations, such as those excluded from school, teenage parents and their children, and drug users.

In concluding this discussion, it may be helpful to recapitulate the means by which this sleight of hand is carried out. A particular and ‘situated’ ideology of crime and disorder is reconstituted as representing the natural order of things, which in turn necessitates a specific intervention strategy based on identifying and targeting those responsible and controlling their behaviour. Other (structural) issues are no longer viewed as relevant. However, this is just a partial view, and in reality what is defined as youth crime derives from both the actions of young people and the ideological process by which their behaviour is defined as criminal. This behaviour may be unacceptable, but whether or not it should be criminalised remains a matter of judgement, not fact. This is perhaps a key point for those who feel trapped in a routinized, irrational and vicious cycle of surveillance, classification and regulation of young people to no beneficial purpose.

## Foucault and the Techniques of Justice

Following this theme, it may also be helpful to consider the extent to which contemporary youth justice practices are, indeed, essentially based on techniques of measurement, management and control, often associated with the work of Foucault. His thesis is that the modern era (late 18<sup>th</sup> century onwards) is characterized by a significant shift from forms of punishment based on ‘spectacle’ and example to an approach to intervention based on measures designed to ensure discipline and compliance. Thus, he suggests that the last 200 years have witnessed a reduction in ‘penal severity’ and a ‘displacement in the very object of the punitive operation’ (Foucault, 1979). Punishment can no longer be seen in terms of a direct physical operation inflicting pain and suffering on the body, but a more insidious activity, acting, in his words, ‘on the soul’. Thus, ideas of correction and treatment have been incorporated into penal discourse, with a focus on controlling and changing behaviour.

Foucault associates these changes with a range of other transformations, such as the development of the legal concept of contract and a ‘new economy’. Crime control was thus driven by a new emphasis on rationality and uniformity of treatment, based on ‘new principles for regularizing, refocusing, universalizing the act of punishment. Humanize its application. Reduce its economic and political cost by increasing its effectiveness and by multiplying its circuits’ (Foucault, 1979, p. 89). The criminal, by breaching the terms of her/his contract with the communal interest, becomes liable to punitive intervention and must accept the rational and calculated consequences that follow. Punishment will therefore be justified, reasonable and proportionate to the offence.

It follows that the machinery of justice and its coercive practices must be clearly and precisely specified and applied, rather in the manner of Weber’s (1957) ‘legal-rational’ organization of administrative procedures. Thus, ‘the new arsenal of penalties... must be as unarbitrary as possible’ (Foucault, 1979, p. 104), and must be clearly calculable as the interventions merited by specific acts. This emphasis on precision and the routinization of judicial processes suggests certain similarities between the ‘scientific’ strategies suggested by Foucault, and the kind of actuarial techniques (Smith, 2006) embedded in youth justice practices:

Actuarial justice presents a theoretical model of criminal justice processing in which the pursuit of efficiency and techniques that streamline case processing and offender supervision replace traditional goals of rehabilitation, punishment, deterrence and incapacitation...’ (Kempf-Leonard, 2002, p. 432)

‘Incapacitation’, however, may sometimes be dictated by scientific calculations of appropriate means of controlling behaviour.

Foucault elaborates two further aspects of the technologization of punishment which are significant: the forms and conduct of disciplinary mechanisms themselves, and the development of professional specialisms for the assessment and management of individual offenders:

Ultimately what one is trying to restore in this technique of correction is not so much the judicial subject... but the obedient subject, the individual subjected to habits, rules, orders, and authority that is exercised continually around him and upon him.... (Foucault, 1979, p. 129)

Standardized procedures (such as ASSET) are applied to young people reported for offences in such a way as to discount many of the factors which are relevant or important to them. Christie comments that in many cases:

The defendant might as well not have been in court... When such attributes are eliminated, a seemingly ‘objective’ and impersonal system is

created... in full accord with normal bureaucratic standards, and at the same time extraordinarily well-suited for power-holders. (Christie, 2000, p. 163) In this way, a standardized process can be applied to produce 'tailored' interventions based on only those characteristics which are deemed relevant (the limited range of pre-determined 'risk' factors already identified; Social Exclusion Unit, 2001: 2002).

The kind of disciplinary techniques to be applied in Foucault's analysis include prescribed regimes for ordering and controlling the individual's day-to-day activities, thereby ensuring conformity ('tagging' is a contemporary example of this). Thus, a 'timetable' is established in order to regulate behaviour and monitor compliance (such as the 25-hour ISSP attendance requirement). The timetable itself is a means of exerting power over the individual concerned, as well as providing a means of micro-managing her/his behaviour on a daily or even hourly basis. Every aspect of the day is structured and planned according to the logic of control.

Christie (2000, p. 127) suggests that such developments are predictable for other reasons, too, given wider trends towards the standardization and commercialization of forms of technological behaviour control and surveillance. Thus, aspects of the overall package can be parcelled up and contracted to the most appropriate provider. He offers the contemporary examples of electronic bracelets and voice verification as means by which this level of technologized coercive scrutiny can be achieved. The development of these means of behaviour management and monitoring has made possible 'the integration of a temporal, unitary, continuous, cumulative dimension in the exercise of controls and the practice of dominations' (Foucault, 1979, p. 160). This process culminates in the emergence of 'disciplinary networks', which involve experts in the fields of 'medicine, psychology, education, public assistance (and) social work'. These will assume quasi-judicial powers of assessment and programme delivery (as with the Referral Order), so that a wide range of professional interventions in the field of welfare will acquire the characteristics of penal and disciplinary power. As Lea (2002, p. 29) puts it, the establishment of a wide-ranging coalition of agencies with a crime control function (such as Youth Offending Teams) is part of a process of securing the widest possible 'collaboration in the task of regulating society.'

Donzelot (1979) takes this an important stage further by linking the development of these disciplinary structures and mechanisms with changes in the way in which intervention in the family is pursued. He suggests that similar processes can be identified in the ways in which families are pathologized and made subject to statutory interventions, especially where one (or more) family member is defined as delinquent. This is of particular relevance when we come to consider the new measures aimed at

“improving” the way in which parents bring up their children and control their behaviour. Donzelot suggests that this represents a shift in the ‘modes’ of social discipline, such that government of the family is replaced by government through the family:

The modern family is not so much an institution as mechanism.... A wonderful mechanism since it enables the social body to deal with marginality through a near-total dispersal of private rights, and to encourage positive integration. (Donzelot, 1979, p. 94)

In other words, parents themselves are to be persuaded or coerced (by means such as the Parenting Order or imprisonment for allowing their children to truant) into accepting and then exercising as private obligations disciplinary techniques to ensure conformity amongst their children. It has been suggested elsewhere that the New Labour reform programme reflects this kind of agenda, targeting young people and their parents:

The ‘new’ professional practices in the form of cognitive-behavioural treatment, reparation and mediation and mentoring all strive to make good these defects in the behaviour, beliefs and attitudes of young offenders and their parents, and to instil in them a new, disciplined, capacity for self-regulation. (Pitts, 2000, p. 10)

## **The Limits of Functionalism**

Foucault’s arguments have been criticised on a number of grounds, not least the functionalism which appears to run through them, incorporating monolithic visions of unified structures and machinery of state power and control. Giddens (1991), for example, suggests that Foucault over-generalises to the extent that he cannot provide a plausible explanation for the variety of state institutions and their inherent contradictions and conflicts; nor is it possible to account for change over time:

Foucault’s conception of the disciplinary world view, the *savoir* as he calls it, effectively forecloses on the possibility that the *savoir* itself was a site of contradiction, argument and conflict’ (Ignatieff, 1985, p.95).

Garland (1990) takes the criticism of Foucault further, suggesting that his thesis is open to challenge both on historical and sociological grounds. He, too, takes issue with Foucault’s ‘functionalism’, which, he states, leads to a narrow view that all aspects of the penal system are determined by the pursuit and exercise of power; and, in ‘this sense, Foucault’s conception of power is strangely apolitical. It appears as a kind of empty structure, stripped of any agents, interests or grounding, reduced to a bare technological scaffolding’ (Garland, 1990, p. 170). This seems to imply that the ostensible purposes of custody and other penal machinery

have been confused with their real and lived impact, which is much more uneven and unpredictable. Conflicts between purposes and practice are commonplace. The problem for Foucault is that the prison and other apparatuses of control do not always perform in the prescribed manner, or achieve the outcomes specified (as we have observed throughout this book). They are actually quite inefficient, and their effectiveness as direct instruments of discipline is quite limited as we are repeatedly reminded (see Lyon et al, 2000; Goldson, 2002).

Foucault himself acknowledges that the relations of power themselves generate opposing currents, distorting the patterns of social order. These ‘resistances’ are:

Distributed in irregular fashion: the points, knots of focuses of resistance are spread over time and space at varying densities, at times mobilizing groups or individuals in a definitive way, inflaming certain points of the body, certain moments in life, certain types of behaviour. (Foucault, 1981, p. 96)

In the context of the penal system, these counter-currents will manifest themselves in specific modifying effects on the machinery of justice:

The orientation of the agents involved, their ideologies, their resources or lack of them, the legal limits placed on their powers, the rights of clients and the resistance that they offer, can all moderate the extent to which the sanction’s power is actualised. (Garland, 1990, p. 168)

On the one hand, Foucault’s analysis provides a thoroughgoing account of the means and mechanisms by which disciplinary power is organised, exercised and legitimized in order to control the behaviour off the young. On the other hand, his critics, in common with Harris and Webb (1987) demonstrate that the complex realities of intervention are much less unilinear and predictable than these frameworks might suggest. Christie notes that legal structures should not be seen purely as rational instruments of ‘utility’. Rather, law-in-practice has to elaborate and resolve competing aims, purposes and values: For example, courts:

Cannot function as instrumental tools for management without sacrificing their greatest strengths in the protection of values: spelling them out, evaluating them against each other, and also seeing to it that single-minded goals in some institutional settings are not given undue weight in the totality. (Christie, 2000, p. 198)

This might, optimistically, be interpreted as a call to the judicial system to act independently to resist either routinized measures of oppression and denial of the rights of children and young people, or populist calls for ever more intense forms of surveillance and control.

Power will be, and should be, modified by practice. This leads to the relatively positive conclusion that it is always possible to modify, resist, or even transform some of the more repressive routinized and intrusive aspects of the contemporary youth justice system.

## Youth Justice: The Value of Theory

This brief and somewhat superficial excursion into the theoretical terrain of youth crime, ideology and the machinery of youth justice has been intended to open up some alternative perspectives on what has become a rather narrowly-conceived contemporary preoccupation with effective system management, which itself is nonetheless infused with ideological assumptions. In bringing together ideas about ‘youth’ and ‘crime’, theories of power and legitimacy, and accounts of the ‘machinery of control’, I have attempted to show that our understandings of these phenomena need to be well-grounded and thorough. The interactions between these conceptual areas need to be addressed clearly and explicitly for us to develop a rounded appreciation of what is both necessary and practical in developing a progressive and responsive approach to the problems associated with youth offending.

As this paper has illustrated, adolescent transitions are a feature of most societies, but their specific nature and the way in which the behaviour of the young is classified are contextually determined. Thus, the particular form taken by contradictory expectations, challenge and conflict (Merton, 1957) depends on the social context within which these are played out. For example, the rapid emergence of mobile phone theft as an aspirational crime is clearly specific to the developed world in the early 21<sup>st</sup> century, but it is also linked to recurrent themes about culturally accepted goals and the availability (or not) of the means to achieve these.

At the same time, conflict of this kind can be reframed in terms of the aim of dominant interests to establish hegemonic forms of control (Gramsci, 1971), which will sustain their dominance whilst legitimizing disciplinary forms of intervention, exercised through the justice system. This strategy is exemplified by the establishment of structures that are able to function repressively, but are still able to secure consent by ideological means (Althusser, 1977; Cohen, 1985). Foucault’s (1979) analysis elaborates this process by illustrating the way in which the state’s control strategies are depoliticized and reconstituted as a managerial and technical question, essentially concerned with efficient delivery (Clarke et al, 2000). Relevant and instructive research findings (Farrington, 1996; Rutter et al, 1998; Anderson et al, 2001) are decontextualised and tentative causal connections are reproduced as ‘soundbite’ explanations such as ‘poor

parenting' (Muncie, 2000). In this way, the highly problematic nature of youth justice and the injustices perpetrated in its name are subsumed by what appears to be a natural, logical and scientifically grounded approach to quantifying and responding to a fixed and readily intelligible phenomenon.

However, this apparent uniformity of purpose and function also contains the seeds of its own destruction, for two reasons. Firstly, as Foucault's critics have observed, in practice the machinery of justice is not actually very good at identifying, quantifying and dealing with youth crime – in fact, it is remarkably inefficient. Secondly, it may simply be unsustainably in resource terms, in light of the consequences of implementing an increasingly costly and 'top heavy' regime for dealing with the infractions of the young, including those which are pre-criminal and trivial matters. By the autumn of 2002, for example, the UK Treasury was expressing real concern about the costs of penal sanctions for young people (the *Guardian*, 9<sup>th</sup> October 2002).

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# **Are You a Mind Reader ?**

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## **Introduction:**

Why are you concerned with what the other is thinking? Is it for understanding, communicating and establishing cooperation with them? Or is it for manipulating them in a Machiavellian way, in order to fulfil personal ambitions and aspirations? What are the mental processes to which we resort in order to reveal what the other conceptualize? What are the limits of those processes? In other words, are we capable of knowing exactly what is hidden in the other's mind, incorporating his/her ideas and perceptions? Or can it be a mere presumptive and conjectural activity resulting only in an approximation? And when are we more willing to find out what's happening in the other's mind? That is to say, what are the specific contexts that motivate us to read others' mental and emotional states?

To answer all these questions, it is recommended that we pause to cast light on one of the major concepts in social cognition: 'theory of mind' by which we mean the aptitude of humans, and only humans, to figure out that the other, like me, undergoes certain mental states such as intention, comprehension, and prediction and emotional states such as love, hatred and jealousy (Kwan & Fiske, 2008).

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This paper was supported by Volubilis Program, comité Mixte interuniversitaire, Franco-Marocain, AI n° : MA/09/220 Code Égide: 20522UF.

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## **What motivate us to read others' mind states?**

### ***Limited capacities in mindreading contexts?***

It is known that the human is aware to a certain extent of his/her intentions, desires, purposes and emotions but not capable of literally going through others' minds to know what are they thinking and feeling, what they like and what they don't like (Epley & Waytz, in press). We are not indeed telepathic beings. Regardless of the amazing inventions accomplished nowadays, humans haven't succeeded yet to discover a cogniscope engine that enables reading other's mental and emotional states (Peterson & Riggs, 1999:80)<sup>1</sup>. Hence, any knowledge of others' insides remains essentially conjectural and hypothetical knowledge that cannot provide definitive answers (Malebranche, 1674). Still, we find the human talks without embarrassment and sometimes presumptuously about others' worries, desires, emotions, attitudes, intentions and purposes.

### ***Longing to read others' mind states?***

Sometimes humans run a risk when subjectively talking about others' anxieties and worries. Thus great cognitive effort is usually made to hunt to uncertainty about mental questions such as: is the other honest or deceptive? Greedy or generous? (Epley & Waytz, in press). Is someone's conduct spontaneous and innocent or intentional, incorporating deliberate intentions? In many social situations we find the human so concerned to know whether the other is similar in his/her beliefs, emotions, desires and intentions. And in the case of being similar, is s/he going to agree with us about our plans and projects? And if it is yes, it becomes easier to trust that other.

From this viewpoint, we understand that the confiscation to which we resort in presuming to know other's mental states leads - since the other resembles us at levels of his/her mental and emotional states and thus close to us - to the fact that we can project on him/her a number of human traits. And if the opposite; that is the other is not like us and thus a strange figure, we find ourselves obliged to deny him/her any human traits and we block any desire to sympathize with him/ her. In this respect, we can say that the human is an eccentric being in that he/she assigns mental and emotional states to non-human entities such as metaphysical entities, machines and animals with which s/he is linked in terms of relations of sympathy and

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<sup>1</sup> Of course, there are some works which have begun regarding knowing mental process with FMIR.

intimacy (anthropomorphism)<sup>2</sup> (Epley, Waytz & Cacioppo, 2007). Back to the human's relationship with his/her counterpart the human, we find that s/he denies those mental states for the sole cause of his/her being different from him/her and sometimes hating him/her, thus viewing him/her as mindless object (Leyens, Cortes et al., 2003, Haslam, 2006; Loughnan & Haslam, 2007).

The question that raises itself, in this regard, is when does the human become more interested in reading others' minds? That is to say, what kind of motivations lead humans to have more interest in what others think?

Undoubtedly, once I am in need of the other, I find myself yearning to know his/her feelings, desires, intentions and plans. For instance, when I want to make a decision that concerns a situation that I will face in the future, I would be more interested in knowing mental and emotional states of a friend who has already experienced the same situation. This means that people who are in need of others have more tendencies to suck to know others' mental states in comparison with those who have more personal independence. For people who are socially powerful their social power provides them with a sort of self-sufficiency in the process of managing their plans, they are less concerned with others' views either in how to manage things or to make decisions in relation to their future business. Of course, by comparison, people who are socially weak are always in need of others to realize their plans and ambitions and hence we find them striving to know others' mental and emotional states so that they can communicate with them and benefit from their identification and support.

Here, I would like to refer to a number of recent studies showing that the individual who is socially powerful pays no attention to others' mind states for the simple reason that he/she can do without it (Fiske, 1993; Galinsky et al., 2006; Goodwin, Gubin, Fiske, & Yzerbyt, 2000; Henley, 1977; Keltner et al., 2003; LaFrance & Henley, 1994). He/she wouldn't, hence, invest his/her cognitive energies to read others' mental states. This makes him/her, consequently, less able to listen to others' pain and sufferings, incapable of knowing their attitudes and recognizing their opinions, and less sympathetic with the underprivileged (e.g. Van Kleef, Oveis, Löwe, LuoKogan, Goetz, & Keltner, in press)

In contrast, s/he is more likely to treat others as mindless objects to achieve his/her personal goals (e.g. Galinsky, Magee, Inesi, & Gruenfeld, 2006; Van Kleef, Oveis, Löwe, LuoKogan, Goetz, & Keltner, in press; Gruenfeld, Inesi, Magee, & Galinsky, 2008)

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<sup>2</sup> To project human traits on animals and gadgets, regarding them as possessing human mind states

It is an undeniable fact that people who have social power enjoy more independence than the others in their planning. This reduces the level of their sensitivity to others' points of view (Galinsky et al., 2006; Keltner et al., 2003; LaFrance & Henley, 1994). Yet, does it mean that we expect a significant correlation between high social power and the inability of individual to read others' mind states to be in evidence? So, some researchers assure us that high-power people are more interpersonally sensitive than low-power people (Hall & Halberstadt, 1994; Hall, Halberstadt, & O'Brien, 1997; Overbeck & Park, 2001). Recent experimental studies showed that high power people show more interpersonal sensitivity than those with low power, because of their being respected and their sense of pride. Empathic power as a personality trait was related to more interpersonal sensitivity, and high-power individuals who adopted an empathic instead of an egoistic leadership style were more interpersonally sensitive (Mast, Jonas & Hall, 2009).

It is noteworthy that the competency of reading others' minds and emotions has not only an association with the factor of high/low social power but also with the type of cultural and social contexts in which individuals grew up. For instance, having siblings, increases a child's need to consider other minds, and children with siblings seem to be better able to reason other minds than do children without siblings (Jenkins & Astington, 1996; Lewis, Freeman, Kyriakidou, Maridakis-Kassotaki, & Berridge, 1996; McAlister & Peterson, 2007; Perner, Ruffman, & Leekham, 1994). Besides, deaf children whose families did develop their sign language are more capable of estimating others' mental states than those who did not have the chance of acquiring sign language (de Villiers, 2005). At the level of ethnic and/or national cultures, we need to distinguish between individual cultures such as those of the United States and Western Europe which emphasize self-independence and individuals' self-reliance in dealing with problems; managing projects or planning for the future, taking into account that asking others' help represents a risk. On the other hand, we find other cultures with a collectivist sense where the self relies highly on the concept of interdependence as it is the case with many cultures of Southeast Asia. Therefore, those collectivist cultures tend to produce individuals who are raised with the idea of interdependence, cooperation, relying on each others, mass participation and favouring common space. Those individuals are supposed to be more likely to consider other minds in social interactions, and they become more interested in others' viewpoints and more responsive to their mental and emotional states, as compared to individualistic societies and cultures where the human being is absorbed in his/her own mind states and his/her personal affairs, uncaring to know the other. (Cohen & Gunz, 2002; Leung & Cohen, 2008). It is noteworthy, here, to bring into focus an

experimental study conducted by Wu & Keysar (2008) in which they have noticed that when interpreting spoken instructions, for instance, members of collectivist cultures tend to consider the speakers' intentions and visual perspective more eagerly than do members of individualist cultures.

## **What is the importance of reasoning about others mental states?**

### *The advantage of mentalizing<sup>3</sup>*

In Sartre's philosophy, the other is regarded as a mirror in which we can see ourselves (Sartre, 1943). It seems that Sartre's point of view is related to what other recent sociocognitive theses have figured out, in that our knowledge of others' mind states permits us to predict our own future mental states. And it is obvious, that people think about themselves at some points in the future as much as they think about others (Pronin & Ross, 2006; Pronin, Olivola, & Kennedy, 2008); using the same psychological processes that enable people to reason about mental states of others (Buckner & Carroll, 2007). People, for instance, marry and divorce, accept one job and resign from another, save some money for retirement partly because of being affected by uncertainty about their future mental and emotional states. They are always guessing what will make their future selves feel happy and contented. Therefore, we understand that predicting our future mental states vis-à-vis an experience we will have, is based largely on the results we come to from reading the mental state of others who had lived this experience (Wilson & Gilbert, 2005). Hence, the other becomes the hypothetical ego that 'I' will live in the future. The exercise of reading other people's minds here can be regarded as a form of indirect learning; that is to say, when people face some situations that I expect to experience in the future, my reasoning about their mental states helps me to plan some anticipatory resolutions to those situations (Firth, 2008).

In addition, the importance of the act of reasoning about others' mind states sustains the communicational act. It permits understanding the unstated. In fact, when people fail to communicate effectively, it is not often a linguistic affair, being able to use a given language or not, or even a word, however, it is a question of being cognitively helpless to read each others'

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<sup>3</sup> Mentalizing refers to our ability to read the mental states of other agents and engages many neural processes. The brain's mirror system allows us to share the emotions of others. Through perspective taking, we can infer what a person currently believes about the world given their point of view (Frith CD & Frith, U. 2006)

mental states, which, subsequently does not allow us to know what is said, what is implied and what to say (Keysar & Barr, 2002).

It is remarkable here that the efficiency of a communicational act is optimised by reasoning about others' minds not only at the level of inter-subjective relationships but also at the level of groups and societies. For instance, knowing "who knows what" enables effective decision-making, by identifying appropriate experts to certain missions. Hence, we are working here with "transactive memory"<sup>4</sup> (Wegner, 1986) which enable groups to make decisions more quickly and efficiently (Ren, Carley, & Argote, 2006; Zhang, Hempel, Han, & Tjosvold, 2007). Besides, knowing others' preferences, especially in negotiations and conflict resolution, would for instance offer more desirable upshots for both parties and economise both time and cognitive effort; and more significantly would protect negotiators from a barren conversation (Elfenbein, Foo, White, Tan, & Aik, 2007; Galinsky, Maddux, Gilin, & White, 2008).

Generally speaking, either at the level of relations between individuals or between groups and if (1) we get to know the other's desires while reading his/her mind, (2) make use of it during our interaction, and (3) recognize his/her personal viewpoint regarding the subject discussed between us (perspective taking), this will lead us to create a sort of bridge and fill in most of the gaps that are supposed to be present in most acts of communication. Yet, it is notable here that understanding the other's view point about a certain topic, taking into account his/her perspective about that topic, optimises the act of negotiation to attain favourable solutions for everybody (e.g., Galinsky et al., 2008; Neale & Bazerman, 1983; Thompson & Hastie, 1990). Conversely, in some contexts, identifying the other' preferences and motives can lead to less desirable upshots (Epley, Caruso, & Bazerman, 2006). And in most interdependent social relationships, where achieving one's own goals depends on others, mind perception is centrally involved in decisions about whether to trust another person and cooperate with them or to distrust and compete with them or to manipulate them (Lee, 2008; McCabe, Lepore, & Smith, 2000; Rilling, Sanfey, Aronson, Nystrom, & Cohen, 2004). This means that such perspective taking, sometimes, can hinder negotiations because it highlights selfish and conflicting motives in others (Epley et al., 2006).

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<sup>4</sup> This capacity for remembering who knows what is the key to *transactive memory* as introduced by Wegner, Giuliano, and Hertel (1985). Transactive memory suggests an analysis not only of how couples and families in close relationships coordinate memory and tasks in the home, but how larger groups and organizations come to develop "group minds," memory systems that are more complex and potentially more effective than those of any of the individuals that comprise them, by storing the information about the person who has more expertise to perform a given mission.

By and large, knowing others' minds provides enough information to settle inter-subjective relations that connect us with the other. Planning to partake a new relation with the other is not a trouble free affair in that it is usually indirect, spontaneous and uneven. It is rather surrounded by a number of complex relational rituals and their non-respect would lead undoubtedly to quarrels and disagreement with that other (Picard, 1995). From this angle, our knowing of others' minds would allow us to get a sense of their ritual systems that we should respect during our communication with them. At this point, we will be able to monitor our communication and to orient it towards certain goals we have already set. Further, we will be able to achieve a sort of communicative economy by means of focusing our conversation on linking points of our ambitions and theirs, without wasting our time in a small talk or irrelevant discussion that have no benefits regarding our intentions for the act of communication (Dortier, 1997).

***What we need to know about others' mind states?***

It is well-known that we aim by the act of communication not only to inform but also to influence and monitor receivers of the act, to defend ourselves and place ourselves in an advantageous position (Dortier, 1997: 6). We understand, hence, beyond certain utopian views, that the purposes which motivate us to find what is happening in others' minds is not always noble and innocent, in that we don't usually intend by looking for others' internal emotional workings to establish a friendly relationship with them or give them psychological comfort. Certainly, some of these goals are common and normal in our psychological system and do not reveal ethical problems. So, for instance, the desire of reading others' minds links with the need to prove ourselves, and impress others by the credibility of our personality (Goffman, 1974). However, we do not overtly declare to the others that this need motivates our mentalizing operations.

Before embarking on any conversation, the human being starts his/her mentalizing processes, on the one hand, to influence agents and to draw their attention to the presence of the self, especially if the other is important to the self, attempting to adapt one's ideas to others' ambitions and wishes. And here we can find a frequent question asked by the self during and after conversation with the other "Did I leave a positive impression on him and did I attract his attention?" In this respect, Goffman confirms that the desires to know others' minds is guided by the need of positioning ourselves in terms of using mentalizing processes in order to know the boundaries of others' space that we have to respect and don't trespass without their permission. On the other hand, the mentalizing process is meant to explain to that other the limits of our mental space that

they have, in their turn, to respect. Therefore, we can, vis-à-vis the specificity of their space reach a perfect manner of how to treat them, by using mentalizing processes which reveal what is acceptable to say to them and what is not and how to say that (decent/indecent). Our objective, in this regard, is to persuade them to appreciate our personality, by means of promoting an idealistic image of the self. In other words, the reason behind reading others' mental states are to maximize the levels of 'income' and minimize the degree of 'loss'. Thus, when I know others' mental and emotional states, I would know what they like and what they do not. So, in this way I would choose my words and expressions to satisfy their expectations. With this demarche, I can impress others by the worthiness of my personality and my ideas as well as I can fulfil other personal needs such as:

1/ to be respected and considered by others. 2/ to be able to maintain a positive image about myself in others' minds; a sort of caring about my reputation. 3/ to be a distinguished person, capable of persuading others that I have a notable personality that they should accept as a prototypic or protocentric<sup>5</sup> model. 4/ to integrate ourselves in others' milieus: so through knowing others' mental states, we can gain their compassion and confidence to become fellow occupants of their 'belonging' space (political party, association...) (Marc, 1992).

In association with what have been said, we would like now to refer to another goal, different from those discussed previously, which entails a real ethical problem. Undoubtedly, the data collected by mentalizing processes enable us to gain, in the context of competition, advantageous positions and, in certain cases, allow us to manipulate others in order to realize our own goals (Paal & Bereczkei, 2007). We find ourselves bringing into focus the Machiavellian intelligence. In his book *The Prince*, Machiavelli tries to answer a question about the manner *to win allies and influence people* (1936/1981), he advised readers to "try honestly to see things from the other person's point of view" (p. 175) and to "talk in terms of the other person's interests" (p. 98). In this respect, we slip into a real dilemma, either to be faithful to ourselves and principles without taking care about others' perspectives or vice versa to satisfy others and ignore ourselves (Synder, 1974). According to Synder, it is important, in this context, to distinguish between two kinds of personality: high self-monitoring personality and low self-monitoring personality. The first includes agents who are able to monitor (observe and control) their self-

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<sup>5</sup> We mean by protocentric model, the self-as-distinct (SAD) model, in which generic representations of prototypic others serve as the default; representations of themselves (Karniol, 2003)

presentation and expressive behavior and can treat others variably. For instance, one can shape his emotional expressive behaviour by observing the behaviours of others as cues for refining his/her emotional states to be appropriate to the situation (Schacter & Signer, 1962). In general, high self-monitor in agents can regulate their behaviour to fit different situations. They often use social comparison information, being highly concerned with the social appropriateness of their actions (Synder, 1979). In our daily life, we find them attempting to adjust their speech with others' desires, preferences and ambitions. In order to succeed in this mission, they tend to use massive cognitive energy and immense efforts to read others' mental states.

The fact that those high self-monitoring agents are so responsive to others and open minded is not a tax free affair for, like actors, they start negotiating their personal values and identity in order to satisfy the 'audience'. As well, they resolve most of their conflicts with others not by means of confronting them but rather through compromises and concessions. Despite the fact that this mode of personality is very agreeable, and usually accepted and respected by friends and enemies, it seems to be pragmatic and expedient, seizing opportunity without regard for principles. It is clear that this kind of character has high mentalizing skills, which means becoming so mindful based on the politics of treating others as malleable objects to achieve their own goals (Greenfield, Inesi, Magee, & Galinsky, 2008). Alternatively, low self-monitoring personality involves people who have not acquired much awareness about the application of self representation techniques to the problematic of social situation.

## **Conclusion and new perspectives**

The paper has been an attempt to provide some answers to a number of social cognitive questions among which: why are you concerned with what the other is thinking of? Is it for understanding, communicating with them or for manipulating them in order to fulfil a number of personal ambitions and aspirations? All these questions and others have formed a useful conceptual and analytical framework to the fulfilment of our project as a team within the context of opening new horizons to investigate the field of mentalizing processes regarding politico-religious movements in Morocco (eg: Mahmi and Jebbar, Work in progress).

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# **Intervenir en contexte de coopération fermée: quels enjeux pour les travailleurs sociaux œuvrant avec les Sourds?**

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## **Introduction**

Sourd ou entendants ? Voici la première question que l'on pose aux intervenants et aux chercheurs désirant proposer ou collaborer dans divers projets avec les membres de la communauté sourde. Cette question, loin d'être banale, révèle de nouvelles formes de socialité basées sur des quêtes identitaires différentialistes (Taylor, 1998). Cette situation polarise souvent les débats concernant la place de la différence au Québec. D'un côté, la différence est un bien « commun » à valoriser et quelque chose que l'on doit protéger. De l'autre, cette différence est devenue une menace à l'intégrité de la société. Une chose est toutefois sûre, on assiste à une communautarisation des identités qui, parce qu'elles transcendent les grands récits unificateurs liés à l'État-nation ou à la classe sociale, interroge le « vivre ensemble ».

L'organisation communautaire comme cadre d'analyse et technique d'intervention en travail social doit se positionner face aux différentes formes de communautarisme qui coexistent dans les différentes sociétés où elle prend forme. Ce qui signifie appuyer les populations vulnérabilisées dans leur désir de participation sociale, mais aussi s'assurer que cet appui contribue à l'enrichissement du dialogue entre les acteurs sociaux. En ce sens, le combat contre l'exclusion prend pour les organisateurs communautaires une autre forme. L'enjeu n'est plus seulement de soutenir les différents groupes d'exclus dans leur quête d'empowerment, mais également de nourrir les points de contact entre un système qui s'efface au fur et à mesure que l'État se désengage. Il ne faudrait évidemment pas que l'exclusion collective d'hier se transforme en une communautarisation de l'exclusion (Gaucher, 2008). Le propos qui suit vise à se pencher sur les possibilités et les impasses que la reconnaissance des différences pose aux intellectuels et aux intervenants œuvrant avec les communautés en prenant

pour exemple le cas des Sourds<sup>1</sup>. L'objectif de cette conférence est de se pencher sur les conditions et les problèmes que pose une production de savoir et une intervention en milieu communautaire respectueuses des différences qui évitent toutefois de tomber dans certains pièges du différentialisme. Cette position mitoyenne défendue dans les prochaines pages tente de présenter un point de vue basé sur un compromis entre les conceptions communautarienne et intégrationniste concernant la place des Sourds au Québec.

## Les Sourds au Québec

L'idée d'une émancipation sourde se déploie au rythme de la Révolution tranquille qui fait entrer le Québec dans un processus de transformation sociale d'envergure. Ces transformations vont engendrer, entre autres, la sécularisation de l'enseignement aux enfants sourds et leur désinstitutionnalisation. En quelques années, l'apparent « consensus » dans le domaine de la surdité, surtout en ce qui a trait à l'éducation des enfants sourds, prend fin. La communauté sourde entre ainsi dans une logique de revendications identitaires de plus en plus culturaliste mettant de l'avant leur spécificité identitaire : la langue des signes québécoise (LSQ) et la culture sourde québécoise. La communauté sourde se mobilise graduellement à la grandeur du territoire québécois comme lieu d'effervescence communautaire. Plusieurs associations sont créées, des locaux sont aménagés pour faciliter la rencontre des membres, des services sont dispensés pour favoriser le contact avec une population qui a perdu en quelque sorte son pays d'origine (Lachance, 2002).

Collectivement, cette restructuration s'inscrit en continuité avec le souci d'autonomisation des Sourds en général et on tente, comme avec plusieurs autres groupes de population considérés comme vulnérables, de soutenir les associations sourdes. S'amorce alors une double résistance

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<sup>1</sup> Les questions identitaires sourdes ne pouvant être abordées, même succinctement, dans le présent article, il est important de préciser que plusieurs personnes sourdes utilisant une langue signée se considèrent elles-mêmes comme « Sourd ». Ceci témoigne d'un effort pour une reconnaissance de leur spécificité non pas comme principalement ancrée dans leur différence biologique, mais comme relative à leur affiliation identitaire à une communauté sourde et à une langue particulière. Dans le présent texte, le terme « Sourd » renvoie donc à ces personnes dont l'expérience est interprétable et significative de par une langue et une affiliation communautaire renvoyant à la figure identitaire du Sourd tel que je l'ai développé dans mes réflexions doctorales et dont un extrait a été publié dans *Anthropologie et Sociétés* (2005). Le terme « Sourd » dans les pages qui suivent se rapporte à l'existence sociale spécifique d'une différence identitaire au même titre que les termes Québécois, Catalans, etc.

donnant à la communauté sourde le rôle de défendre ses membres de l'hégémonique éducation à tendance oraliste, mais aussi de la propension des « institutions audistes » (Lane, 1993 : 176-177) à ne considérer leur spécificité qu'uniquement à partir de leur oreille. L'invention souvent peu nuancée de cette institution audiste comme « ennemi à abattre par le mouvement » se fait principalement à partir d'une dénonciation des pouvoirs biomédicaux commune aux réflexions sur le handicap. Par-dessus tout, la résistance sourde s'alimente d'un sentiment fort d'identité reliée à la LSQ et à une communauté qui donne à la figure du Sourd une place graduellement plus importante sur la scène politique et au sein des débats de société contemporains.

De façon générale, le développement historique de la communauté sourde québécoise est imbriqué dans une prise en compte de leur spécificité par les institutions chargées d'enseigner aux enfants sourds, puis de réadapter le corps sourd. Ce n'est certes pas en tant qu'opresseurs que les acteurs de ces institutions ont contribué au développement d'une identité sourde au Québec, même si c'est cette notion qui est sous-jacente à la plupart des représentations qui articulent les revendications identitaires sourdes (Perreault, 2002 : 156).

### **La communauté identitaire sourde**

Pour résumer et simplifier afin de formuler une définition à partir de la typologie de Vibert (2005 et 2007), on peut dire que la communauté sourde en est une de proximité. La famille sourde est à la fois une métaphore (les Sourds comme membre d'une grande famille – Gaucher, 2007) et une réalité sociologique (l'endogamie sourde n'a pas besoin d'être plus commentée – Delaporte, 2002) très prégnante marquant l'imaginaire communautaire sourd. Cette communauté en est également une d'intérêts et d'identité incluse dans une entité nationale qui génère un rapport de mise à distance qui s'exprime comme une opposition ou une rupture entre la communauté sourde et le reste de la société québécoise. Cette mise en opposition est révélatrice d'un désir de désstigmatisation de la différence sourde, mais pose aussi le problème de la participation sociale de ces personnes et, surtout, de leur inclusion.

### **Faire avec la communauté sourde : un partenariat difficile**

Il n'est pas nécessaire de rappeler qu'intervenir auprès des Sourds signifie maintenant de plus en plus travailler en partenariat avec ceux-ci. Qu'est-ce que cela signifie dans le contexte actuel profondément traversé par l'idée de rupture? Qu'est-ce que cela veut dire que d'entrer en relation

avec la communauté sourde comme acteur spécifique en favorisant la participation sociale de ces membres, tout en ne misant pas sur un differentialisme réifiant les processus excluant ou stigmatisant les personnes qui sont associées à cette communauté? C'est généralement à une communauté organisée que s'adressent les centres de réadaptation, les écoles spécialisées ou les gouvernements, mais c'est à un réseau complexe de liens sociaux auxquels ils sont confrontés. La présupposition faisant de la communauté sourde un lieu de fraternité et de partage jouant le rôle d'acteur collectif surplombant les associations devient problématique dans l'établissement d'un partenariat. La « famille sourde », tel que les Sourds aiment eux-mêmes la nommer, n'est pas toujours un lieu de solidarité avec lequel des liens formels peuvent être tissés. Cette famille, en tant que communauté identitaire, est bien souvent un éclectique arrangement d'associations, de groupe d'intérêts, de réseaux d'amis et de clubs sportifs avec lequel un dialogue n'est possible que si on ne s'adresse qu'à leur champ de compétence respectif.

La communauté sourde comme partenaire d'intervention doit donc être envisagée selon les différents types de communauté<sup>2</sup> interpellés par les actions qu'on veut y organiser. Individuellement, il faut préciser que les personnes qui gravitent autour ou au centre de cette communauté n'envisagent pas leur appartenance de la même façon et ne sont donc pas à même d'y jouer un rôle de la même nature. De plus, elles sont constamment appelées à redéfinir cette relation au groupe et leur sentiment d'affiliation n'est certes pas de façon monolithique mobilisée par l'idée de rupture. Plusieurs Sourds n'entretiennent que des liens ténus avec la communauté sourde.

Une action collective, qu'elle soit stimulée par l'État ou un autre acteur social porteur de projets de société, en partenariat avec la communauté sourde doit tenir compte de l'hétérogénéité au cœur de cette communauté. L'illusion d'un ensemble monolithique, réfléchissement de la volonté sourde de cristalliser leur différence, s'enracine facilement dans les représentations collectives entourant l'identité sourde (la communauté sourde serait une « société à part », un « groupe refermé » ou encore un « petit monde ») et pervertis le ciblage des acteurs à qui il faut s'adresser pour construire tel espace de concertation ou tel partenariat. C'est en ce sens qu'une compréhension des types de communautés (de proximité, associative ou identitaire) est nécessaire. Un lien partenarial avec cette

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<sup>2</sup> En faisant ici référence à la quadripartition de Vibert (2005).

communauté passe donc par une délimitation des interlocuteurs. Sans parler des conflits intestinaux qui rongent souvent les dynamiques associatives sourdes, il est incontestable que les acteurs qui participent à cette communauté jouent un rôle inégal et contribuent de façon qualitativement différente à cet univers de sens. Une intervention en partenariat avec la communauté sourde doit ainsi absolument aborder cet acteur communautaire comme un ensemble hétérogène et non statique de forces en tension ou en collaboration.

L’importance d’identifier le type de dynamiques communautaires interpellé par la toujours plus pressante exigence de partenariat est une chose; il est ensuite également nécessaire de s’assurer que cette collaboration sera porteuse, faut-il le répéter, d’un respect des différences et non pas générateur d’indifférence. En sous-texte, il y a donc ici toute la question de l’universalisme et du différentialisme qui se dessine, mais dont la portée dépasse le propos des quelques pistes de réflexion présentées dans ce texte. Brièvement, il est à mentionner qu’un partenariat qui favorise le dialogue n’est certainement pas celui qui contribue à décharger les responsabilités collectives à l’égard des populations sourdes dans l’espace communautaire. S’alimentant des revendications identitaires sourdes elles-mêmes, l’idée d’une spécificité inaliénable et souvent fermée sur elle-même permet souvent aux mesures de prise en charge de se délester d’une partie de leur rôle de filet social. La famille sourde palliera aux manques du système... Cette tendance dans les transformations du providentialisme québécois est en train de récupérer les logiques différentialistes pour se défaire de ses responsabilités à l’égard des groupes en situation de vulnérabilité. Si certaines questions ne peuvent et ne doivent être réglées que par les Sourds eux-mêmes, d’autres, parce qu’elles concernent le « vivre ensemble », par exemple les revendications concernant la langue des signes québécoise. D’autres même, parce qu’elles soulèvent des enjeux éthiques importants, doivent être abordées comme des enjeux de société devant être mis en débat de façon généralisée auprès de la population québécoise. C’est le cas, par exemple, des questions reliées à l’implant cochléaire<sup>3</sup> ainsi que de celles interpellant les services d’interprétariat

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<sup>3</sup> Harlan Lane explique ce qu’implique cette technologie : « L’implantation cochléaire est une opération chirurgicale qui dure environ 3 h ½ sous anesthésie générale et demande une hospitalisation de deux à quatre jours. Une large incision en forme de croissant est pratiquée derrière l’oreille opérée et la peau soulevée. Un morceau de muscle temporal est coupé. On perce un trou dans le crâne, puis on l’élargit afin d’y loger la bobine électrique interne de l’implant. Une partie de l’apophyse mastoïde est coupée afin d’avoir accès à la cavité de l’oreille moyenne. En perçant encore, on découvre la membrane de la fenêtre ronde qui donne sur l’oreille interne. (...), le chirurgien la perce et introduit dans

## Conclusion

Intervenir auprès de la communauté sourde est parfois facile, parfois complexe, voire compliqué. L'espace communautaire sourd ne se laisse pas aisément circonscrire par le penseur ou l'intervenant. Il est formé, tel que le rappelle Vibert (2005 et 2007) de liens sociaux dont la nature varie. Quand elle est explicitée, cette nature donne une vue d'ensemble permettant de saisir par rapport à quoi les acteurs communautaires se définissent. La communauté sourde exemplifie comment un acteur communautaire se découvre et produit du sens sur lui-même tout en continuant d'être profondément influencé par le monde qui l'entoure. Couper le contact entre les différences n'est certes pas l'option la plus novatrice, ni la plus porteuse de projets de société.

Les intervenants et les chercheurs qui œuvrent auprès des communautés identitaires comme celle des Sourds se doivent donc de réfléchir sur les moyens à mettre en place pour stimuler le dialogue afin d'éviter l'exclusion sous toutes ses formes. Dans un contexte de désengagement de l'État face aux populations vivant des situations de vulnérabilité, il faut définitivement se pencher sur les raisons de cet intérêt envers le communautaire. De même, il faut continuer à réfléchir sur les façons de faire viables à long terme inclusives des acteurs des communautés identitaires comme partenaires impliqués dans la définition de la place de la différence dans un Québec qui se veut pluraliste.

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l'ouverture une fine électrode de 18 mm de long [c'est cet électrode qui stimulera le nerf auditif] (1993 : 173-174).» Cette définition de Lane est relativement fidèle à ce qui se passe à l'heure actuelle au Québec tel que décrit dans la brochure fournie par le programme québécois pour l'implant cochléaire (IRDPQ et CHUQ, 2006).

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# Webs of compatriots: Relationship networks among immigrants

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## Introduction

Studies on migration have used the notion of social network to describe population flows between countries and the incorporation of immigrants into the new receiving context. In this case, the concept of a network tries to identify patterns of interaction between displaced individuals in order to determine, among other aspects, their influence on the following: the decision to emigrate, geographical relocation, family regrouping, the formation of communities of compatriots, the acculturation process, psychological adaptation, and social integration.

The two issues for which a wider body of literature has been produced regarding social networks among immigrant populations are migration chains and psychological adaptation :

1. Migration chains are displacement and relocation processes of networks that involve relatives, friends, and acquaintances. Chains have a bearing on the decisions that are made before undertaking international travel and on the subsequent settlement process. For instance, the location of friends and relatives conditions the choice of a destination, while the ripeness of the migration chain defines, to some extent, the structure of opportunities for interpersonal relationships (both in terms of maintaining contacts and developing new ones).
2. Social support networks provide resources that facilitate the adaptation process. Interpersonal relationships of newly arrived immigrants involve an exchange of information and of instrumental support that is useful for coping with an unfamiliar environment. At the same time, the availability of confidants and emotional support is a necessary condition for subjective psychological well-being. Social

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integration and support relationships promote health and help to cope with stressful circumstances.

As we can see, social support networks are useful for understanding the dynamics of international displacement, both in terms of migration flows and of the integration process in the places of destination. Support networks allow a combination of micro and macro perspectives, and they can be incorporated into the literature of migration chains through research on the psychological adaptation of immigrants.

This paper summarises part of our work concerning social support networks among immigrants. It combines a compilation of some of our most significant findings with the formulation of hypothetical arguments that are based on previous evidence.<sup>2</sup>

We shall develop three main points: first, we shall briefly present the concept of social support; second, we shall review—with immigrant populations—some dimensions of this concept, such as the multiplicity of providers, help exchanges, and the collective context of migration chains; finally, we shall propose a classification of the types of support chains involving immigrants with less than ten years of residence in Spain.

However, before addressing each one of these points, we shall examine three concrete examples of personal networks affecting foreign residents in Spain. These three cases will serve as an illustration of immigrant network variations and an introduction for the object of our analysis in the following sections.

### **Rosa, Estela, and Max. Three cases of immigrants' personal networks**

The description of personal networks tries to identify the structure of personal networks involving relatives, acquaintances, and friends. We shall now analyse briefly the cases of three foreign residents in Andalusia (Spain). The graphics reflect the strong bonds existing between the acquaintances and the providers of support mentioned by the interviewees. We took into account size, structure, composition, and multiplicity. Each graph follows these patterns:<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> The research I refer to in this paper comes from studies conducted for over a decade. However, its content has particularly benefited from my most recent conversations with Neil Armitage, Ainhoa de Federico, Alexis Ferrand, Daniel Holgado, Carlos Lozares, Christopher McCarty, and José Luis Molina. I acknowledge all of them.

<sup>3</sup> A detailed description and justification of the procedure used for the study and representation of personal networks can be found in the literature cited in the bibliography.

1. The interviewee does not appear on the sociogram. What it shows is the relationships existing between the people the interviewee listed as friends, relatives, and acquaintances.
2. The ties between nodes indicate that two people are very well acquainted.
3. Compatriots of each interviewee appear in yellow, and Spanish citizens appear in green.
4. The size of each node reflects the number of different types of assistance provided to the interviewee by a particular tie. Therefore, the bigger nodes are the most important support providers.

We chose foreigners of three different nationalities who present variations regarding their time of residence in Spain and their living conditions. This will allow us to show the diversity of personal networks.

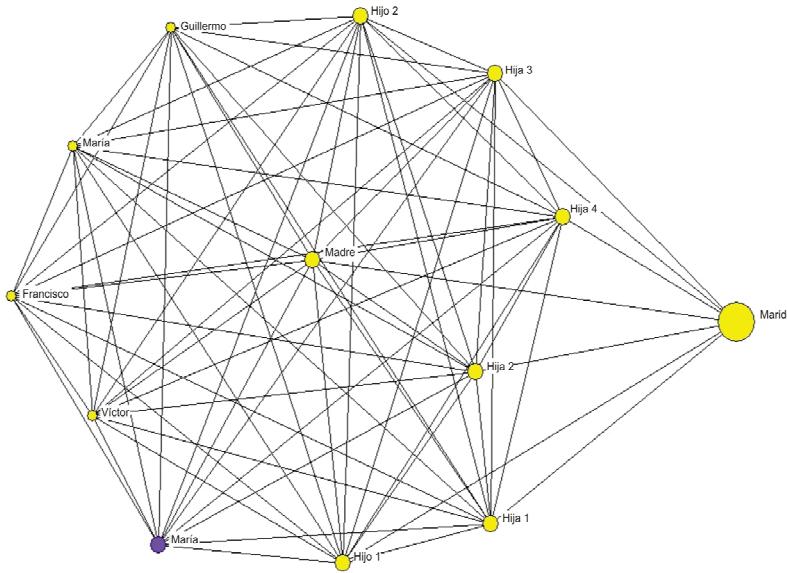
*Case 1. Ecuadorian woman, 33 years old*

Rosa is an Ecuadorian who has been living in Seville for three years. She lives in a flat which she shares with six other recent immigrants: her husband, who immigrated after she did, four compatriots, and a Bolivian woman. Rosa keeps regular contact with her mother and six children, who live in Ecuador, and, as she stated in her interview, she “gets help from her husband for everything.”

Her personal network is minimal, dense, and homogenous. With the exception of María—a Bolivian immigrant who works with her as a housecleaner and is also her flatmate—all the people she mentions are fellow citizens. The only provider of polyvalent support is her husband. More than half of her network consists of relatives who live in Ecuador, with whom she communicates by phone twice a month.

The formation of small groups of compatriots is one of the socialisation strategies followed by recent immigrants in their destination country. Association with other people who are in the same situation comes as a response to the need for human contact and sociability, while it also allows for the sharing of housing expenses.

However, it seems reasonable to think that migrating has had a negative effect on Rosa's access to support, seeing as she is surrounded by a small group of compatriots, and she has been forced to concentrate her requests for help on her husband.



**Case 1.** Rosa, an Ecuadorian who has lived in Seville for three

*Case 2. Argentinean woman, 44 years old*

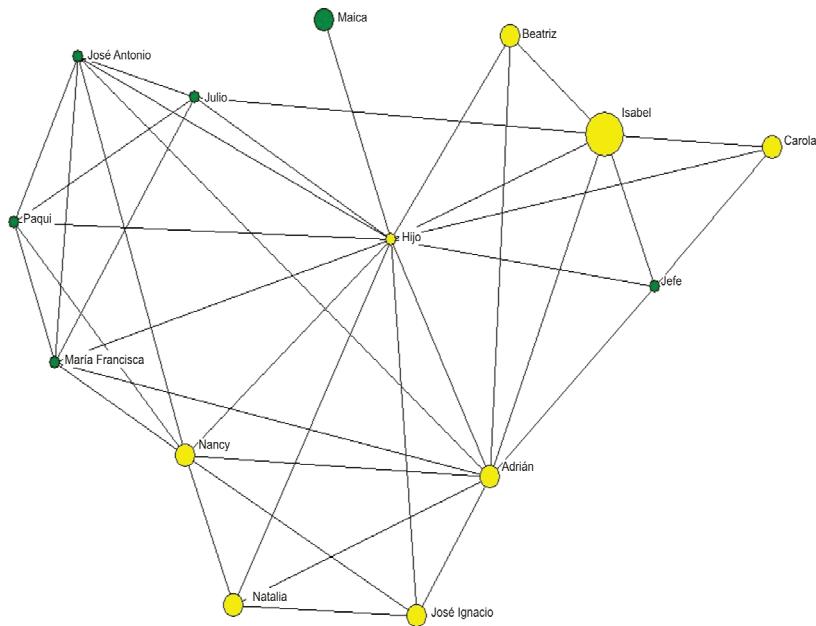
Estela is from Argentina. She has lived in Cadiz for six and a half years. She works as a cook in a restaurant and is active in five community organisations. Almost half of the contacts she mentions are people from Spain: the restaurant's proprietor, four acquaintances from an organisation, and a friend.

The most significant part of her support network consists of three Argentinean female friends—Isabel, Beatriz, and Carola—her brother Adrián, and Maica, a Spanish friend. Estela's son occupies a central position within her personal network because he knows all of its members, although he is not an active support provider. She also stays in touch by phone and E-mail, about twice a month, with two brothers and a female friend, all of whom are Argentinean.

Regarding its composition in terms of nationalities, Estela's personal network is clearly different from Rosa's. Estela has developed relationships with Spaniards at her workplace—namely with her boss—and at a community organisation, where she has three acquaintances. In addition, she mentions a Spanish female friend. The work and associative spheres are environments where socialising with the local community can lead to friendships in the medium-term.

In the second place, Estela's personal network—in comparison with Rosa's—is also characterised by a greater distribution of support sources.

While in Rosa's case the husband played the only important role, Estela has four friends and a brother who are polyvalent help providers in Spain.



**Case 2.** Estela, an Argentinean who has lived four and a half years in Cadiz.

*Case 3. Italian male, 36 years old*

Max is Italian and has been working with a European institution in Seville for five years.<sup>4</sup> He lives with his girlfriend, who is also of Italian origin. His relationships are divided into three distinct groups: a group of Spanish friends from the fitness centre where he exercises, a group of Spanish friends from his workplace, and a group of four people with whom he keeps in touch in Italy.

Max's girlfriend plays a central, hinging role within his network, since she is connected to the three groups that form it and two of its key members. Three of Max's Spanish friends play a role as polyvalent help providers; in other words, they are synergetic ties. In addition, he keeps in

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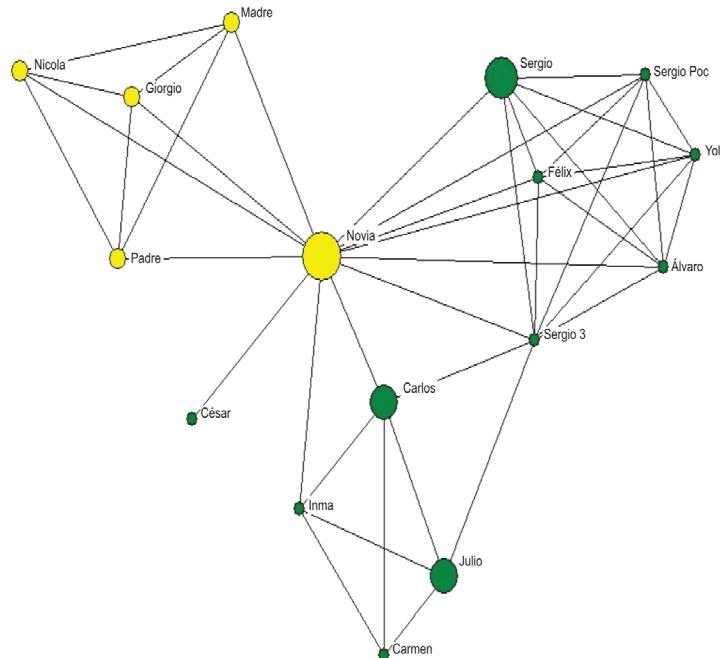
<sup>4</sup> The term “immigrant” does not usually apply to residents from other European Union countries, as is the case here. However, the basic process of international displacement, acculturation, and psychological adaptation is the same. There are differences in the institutional conditions and the attitudes of the receiving population, among other issues, but it is a valid case for the purpose of our study and provides an interesting comparison.

touch with his parents and two Italian friends almost daily, through E-mail and telephone calls.

The composition of his personal network is a combination of Spaniards and Italians. But in this case, the fact that two thirds of the contacts are Spanish stands out. Moreover, the majority of the providers of polyvalent support are also Spanish. Except for his Italian girlfriend, the rest of his synergetic ties are Spanish friends from his fitness centre and workplace.

Max's personal network seems to reflect a well-developed process of social assimilation that shows strong integration in the local community. This can be seen both in the composition of his personal network (where there is a greater presence of Spaniards) and in the multiplicity of the providers (there are more polyvalent providers who are members of the receiving society).

Another interesting aspect is the network's open structure, which is divided into three well-defined areas: the group from work, the friends from the gym, and the parents and friends in Italy. In comparison with Case 1, which is a dense and cohesive personal network, Max's network shows a higher average betweenness.



**Case 3.** Max, an Italian who has lived for five years in Seville.

The three support networks we have presented show variations regarding size, composition, structure, and multiplicity of the support providers. We can summarise the differences as follows:

1. Composition. Rosa's personal network (Case 1) is the most homogenous in terms of composition, while the networks of Estela and Max are composed of compatriots and Spaniards in varying degrees. We can formulate the hypothesis that emigrating increases the opportunities for contact with members of other groups, which, somehow, makes changes in composition more likely, depending on the length of time spent in the new environment.
2. Structure. Rosa's personal network (Case 1) is the most dense and cohesive, while those of Estela and Max include subgroups that are more or less defined, with a greater average betweenness. We can suppose that the acculturation process implies composition changes that are also reflected in the structural properties of the personal network. This means that the indicators of average betweenness can, perhaps, serve as an empirical approach to the process of acculturation.
3. Multiplicity. The three cases present variations in the distribution of sources of support. On the one hand, in Rosa's network (Case 1), the availability of help is more concentrated in one individual (her husband), while in Estela's and Max's networks at least four polyvalent help providers stand out. We can also take into account how multiplicity is distributed between the different nationality groups. In that case, Max (Case 3) is the one with the widest distribution of providers across groups, which shows his greater level of integration in Spanish society. We can formulate the hypothesis that the process of social assimilation within a given population group is reflected in the multiplicity between players from different social groups. Therefore, the proportion of polyvalent ties with Spaniards perhaps can be used as an empirical approach to the process of social assimilation into the local community.
4. Size. There isn't much difference in the size of the three cases studied. The personal networks of Rosa, Estela, and Max contain 13, 14, and 16 players, respectively. However, differences can be observed within the core support providers. The number of ties that provide three or more types of help are 1, 5 and 4, respectively. Despite the diversity of personal circumstances, we can hypothesise that emigration is a process of rebuilding the personal network, whose size is recovered, somehow, depending on the length of time

spent in the new environment (and after a clear initial decrease in the available support resources).

As we have seen, support networks can be examined from different points of view, and they present different dimensions that are susceptible of analysis. Before going into further detail regarding immigrants' social support networks, we shall clarify the concept of social support.

## Social support networks

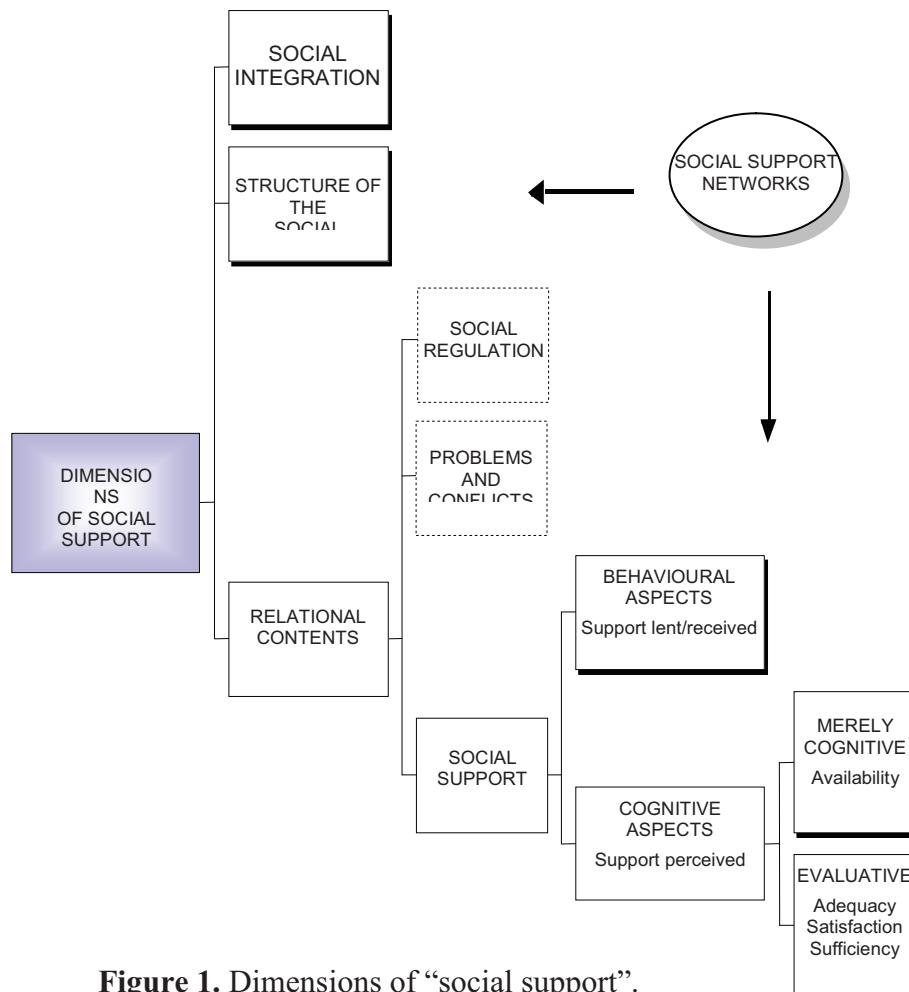
The term social support applies to behaviours, individuals, transactions, and social systems. The concept includes multiple dimensions of social relationships. Therefore, it becomes necessary to define it by separating its specific components, as we shall proceed to do. The conceptual outline we shall follow is shown in Figure 1.

One of the most basic distinctions involves differentiating between social integration, the structure of the social network, and the relational contents:

1. Social integration is connected to the mere existence and quantity of social ties. In other words, this dimension distinguishes solitude and isolation from different levels of integration. It can be assessed by taking into account the size of the network, the number of friends and relatives, the contact frequency, or the number of important roles played by an individual.
2. The structure of the social network refers to the distribution and organisation of the social ties. The overall structure of the relationships can be represented using indicators for the density, centrality, and grouping of players. It can also use indirectly information on the composition, reciprocity, and multiplicity of relationships.
3. Finally, social support is one of the functional contents of social relationships. Social support refers to positive aspects of relationships—namely, instrumental help and the provision of affection or information—which can potentially contribute to promote psychological well-being and ease stress. On the other hand, relationships can also be the source of quarrels, worries, and social control functions.

Integration, structure, and functional contents overlap to some extent. The structural characteristics of the network presuppose social integration. Likewise, support—or any of the other functional contents—presupposes structure and social integration. When we use the concept of

“social support networks,” we generally refer to the subgroup within the individual's personal network that provides information, instrumental help, and emotional support. As a result, the functions, structure, and integration levels are simultaneously involved.



**Figure 1.** Dimensions of “social support”.

There is a second distinction regarding the cognitive and behavioural aspects of support. Perceived support is cognitive in nature and is related to the individual's subjective assessment of the functionality of his close social environment. One way of assessing it is by asking the individual about the people he considers to be available in case he needs help, advice, or information. On the other hand, received support is behavioural and is

related to help behaviours that have actually taken place. For example, we can quantify the material help a person has received during the previous month.

In addition, within perceived support we can differentiate the dimensions that are purely cognitive in nature—such as the perception of availability of support—from those that also include an element of assessment on the individual's part, such as the level of satisfaction, appropriateness, and sufficiency assigned to his immediate interpersonal environment.

In brief, we have identified at least five different concepts that can be addressed separately for analytical purposes: (1) social insertion; (2) the structure of the social network; (3) help exchanges (that is, the support received and the support lent); (4) the perception of the available support, and (5) the assessment of the appropriateness of the support. Obviously, social support involves all five concepts. However, conceptual nuances are necessary to refine and improve the research on this subject.

Let us consider momentarily the case of immigrants. What are the consequences of international displacement? Is there a decrease in the level of social connectivity after relocation? Does migrating have a different effect on the structure and the functions of support? How does the fact of relocating to another country affect the exchanges of help and the perception of available support? Are ties kept with the place of origin? How are social networks reconstructed in the new environment? What changes can be observed in the composition of personal networks?

The different dimensions of social support help us understand the changes experienced by immigrants regarding their interpersonal relationships. Let us now review what we know on this subject.

## **Research on immigrants' support networks**

The reconstruction of international immigrants' social support networks has been described by paying close attention to changes occurring in their size and composition. In some cases, the cultural peculiarities of certain displaced ethnic groups have also been studied. The three most common topics of research are as follows:

1. Assessing the impact of displacement on the amount of available support;
2. Verifying the primarily family-oriented composition of the networks of individuals who come from traditional cultures, and
3. Detailing the changes that the immigrant's personal environment experiences over time in the new receiving context.

In the first place, emigrating seems to affect the size of the support network.<sup>5</sup> Recent immigrants have a lower level of help availability than the local population. Moreover, this fact can be observed within different populations and contexts. Documented examples include Mexican and Central American immigrants in the United States, Asian immigrants in the United Kingdom, Latin American and African immigrants in Spain, and even domestic seasonal migrations within the United States. This is an important finding, seeing as the size of the support network is a fundamental dimension that has important repercussions on the adaptation process and is interconnected with all the other support variables. We shall address this matter later in the essay.

The second line of research reveals the existence of support networks consisting primarily of family members. In many of the immigrants' home societies, an extended family structure is quite common. This is true of the Asians, Latin Americans, and Africans who have taken up residence in the United States and Europe. Support behaviours among immigrants—such as providing housing and helping to find employment—sometimes reflect the reciprocal economic obligation existing between members of an extended family. The comparison between Mexicans and Anglo-Saxons in the United States shows that the former have more relatives and fewer friends in their personal networks, while they also develop a greater contact frequency with relatives. This becomes especially significant if we take into account the great impact that close relatives have on the quality of life of immigrants.

However, networks of kinship partly respond to the structure of opportunities immigrants find within the receiving context. For example, a greater or lesser family composition seems to depend on the time of residence, the degree of family regrouping, the migrating generation, and the size of immigrant communities of compatriots, among other factors. This is why it is necessary to take into account changes that take place over time, which is the third issue that concerns us.

Generally speaking, the support network grows gradually through time. During the first settling stage, the personal environment tends to be small, mostly consisting of relatives and compatriots, and there is a high contact frequency with both groups. Later on, members of the receiving society begin to enter the network. Therefore, it seems that as the support network increases in size, its composition becomes more diverse. Here are some examples that illustrate this process.

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<sup>5</sup> Whereas studies performed on the general population yield on average between 10 and 11 providers, in different immigrant populations the average results vary between 4 and 8 providers of social support.

Within the population of Polish immigrants newly arrived to the United States, a curious phenomenon has been observed involving a segmentation of the instrumental and emotional functions within the personal network. The main source of emotional support consists of other compatriots from the same migratory wave, while instrumental and informative support is provided by Polish immigrants who preceded them. This type of “segmentation” is not common among the general population, where people usually have a close circle of relatives and friends who provide all types of help. During the first stages of relocation, immigrants need more help and have fewer opportunities for receiving it. At that time, relationships with other compatriots are crucial. Immigrants from the same wave provide primarily emotional support, partly because they lack material resources that can be exchanged with their equals. As an alternative, tangible support is obtained from compatriots from previous waves, partly because they have less in common with them and, therefore, are less appropriate sources of emotional support.

Personal situations develop very differently, but after this first stage, in which help requests are concentrated on a small group of compatriots, the usual dynamics involve the expansion and increase of personal contacts. In the case of female immigrants in Canada, three successive stages have been observed. First, contacts are limited to the closest circle of relatives, and there may be some relationships of intimate friendship. In the medium term, this reduced circle becomes insufficient to respond to the women's needs, so relationships expand to include other members of the ethnic and religious community, who share the same values and with whom it is easier to communicate. Finally, relationships with members of the receiving society develop, lessening the immigrant's feelings of segregation and allowing him to have a confidant outside the groups in which he usually participates, thus maintaining his sense of privacy.

The same phenomenon can be verified among Salvadoran refugees in Canada. Since there is not a wide, structured, Salvadoran community, the newcomer's social life is practically limited to the family. Taking part in sports and other leisure activities allows them to then establish contact with other compatriots. Relationships with Canadians begin to develop at the workplace and are easier for those who are fluent in the language.

The personal network is, consequently, a dynamic system: as we have seen, it is transformed by the relocation process, giving rise to a new map of relationships that consists of a mixture of members of the former network, people who have moved together (often the family group), and new members who enter the network when the situation allows it. However, while this new environment is configured, some needs can remain

temporarily unmet. We are thinking, for example, of the case of emigrating families: each one of its members can miss part of the personal network they have left behind and, at the same time, they may feel overwhelmed by the resulting increase in help requests coming from their relatives. Family regrouping and the incorporation of members of the local society are two basic stages in the reconstruction and reorganisation of the personal network.

This representation agrees, in general terms, with our research regarding support networks among African and Latin American immigrants in Spain. Table 1 summarises some of the most relevant data from the studies we have conducted over the past 13 years. Although in most cases they are immigrants who have recently arrived to Spain, some polls conducted in Argentina are also included.

The average size of the support networks varies between 4 and 11 ties, with a theoretical average of 7.7 providers. Compatriots make up approximately two thirds of the total support network, despite fluctuations that are characteristic of specific populations. These support networks show a smaller size than those resulting from polls conducted with the general population, which include approximately 10 members on average. They are also rather homogenous networks, with a predominant presence of other immigrants of the same nationality. However, contact areas with the receiving population are observed, which introduce compositional diversity.

Immigrants' support networks are affected after their journey. In the first place, there is a reduction in the availability of active support providers. The most common scenario is to have a small group of relatives and compatriots, ranging between 4 and 7 individuals. This initial limitation regarding contact opportunities leads immigrants to get the most out of their available resources. For example, small groups of immigrants of the same nationality, who face a similar situation, are formed. In addition, help requests are concentrated in the available ties, which increase their multiplicity. For instance, a close friend, a sibling, or a partner may cover all the needs when other contacts are scarce. As a result, the support structure is often not sufficient. There may be cases in which immigrants have to depend only on one provider to help them with all the problems of everyday life while, in other cases, needs may be left unmet.

The psychological adaptation of immigrants can be described as the reconstruction of their active support networks. Generally speaking, there is a gradual increase that is concomitant with a more balanced distribution of support functions among the available providers. Two of the phenomena that make a decisive contribution to this development are family regrouping and integration into the local community. Both have an affect on the size

and distribution of multiple ties within the immigrant's personal network. In the following sections, we shall try to explain these changes from different points of view. First, we shall focus on the collective level of migration chains.

**Table 1.** Support networks of recent immigrants

Reference	Population	Support networks
Maya Jariego <i>et al.</i> (2005)	Argentineans (n = 67), Ecuadorians (59), Germans (37) and Italians (37) living in Seville and Cadiz.	Size: 10.74. Composition includes two thirds of compatriots. Size varies between 8.5 in the case of Ecuadorians and 14.8 in the case of Germans.
Tonón and Maya Jariego (2006)	Moroccans in Spain (n = 59); Paraguayans (25) and Bolivians (19) in Argentina.	Index of support lent/received: 0.88.
Maya Jariego and de la Vega (2004)	Representative sample of 209 first and second-generation Indians living in Salta and Buenos Aires (Argentina)	Size: 10.64, with less than 25 per cent of compatriots.
Martínez, García and Maya Jariego (2000)	A total of 123 African and Latin American immigrants, participants in the programme Horizon.	Size: 6.85, with 70 per cent of compatriots.
García <i>et al.</i> (2005)	A total of 188 Maghreb and Sub-Saharan participants in the programme Integra.	Size: 2.12 relatives and 4.49 compatriots and Spaniards.
Maya Jariego (2003)	Moroccans (n = 81), Filipinos (69) and Senegalese (23) living in Marbella.	Size: 8.03, with more than two thirds of compatriots.
Maya Jariego, Martínez and García (1999)	Immigrant women, Peruvian (n = 55) and Moroccan (50).	Size: immigrants, 7.54; Moroccans, 4.82. Composition includes more than 95 per cent of compatriots.
Martínez, García, Maya Jariego, Rodríguez and Checa (1996)	Representative sample of 600 African immigrants living in Andalusia.	Size: 3.75, with two thirds of compatriots.

## Migration chains

The changes we have just described regarding personal networks are part of a wider process by which geographical relocation affects populations of individuals. We could say, metaphorically speaking, that social networks “migrate” from one place to another. This phenomenon has important consequences. For example, chains can condition the evolution of personal networks in different ways:

1. Immigrants belong to very dynamic relational communities that are undergoing change, since they are composed of individuals who are reconstructing their personal networks. Therefore, a great level of relational instability within the community can be expected. We can hypothesise that the rate of change in immigrants' personal relationships is higher than that of the communities of origin and destination. This would imply a more unstable relationship system, especially in the first stages of relocation.
2. The size and organisation of the expatriate community determine the structure of opportunities for establishing new contacts. For instance, the situation of a small group of pioneers trying to carve a niche for themselves cannot be compared to the situation of immigrants who are part of mature chains and come into a community that is already established. We can assume that the number of compatriots in the place of destination has an effect on the size and composition of the personal networks of newly arrived immigrants.
3. The level of family regrouping can condition the distribution of support functions. Emigrating generally implies a full or partial separation from the closest circle of family and friends, a group that normally plays a central role in providing social support. Quite frequently, individuals place an important part of their support expectations on the resources that are available to them, as a substitute for their family. However, as family regrouping takes place, these functions can revert to the closest relatives.

As we can see, from the point of view of migration chains, emigrating can be regarded as a process of relocation and incorporation into the social network of the immigrant minority within a wider, more structured, receiving community. This entails changes in the relationships inside and outside the migrating group, which are central for understanding the evolution of individual resettling.

We look into migration chains in order to understand the decision to emigrate, the spreading of emigration within the social structure, the

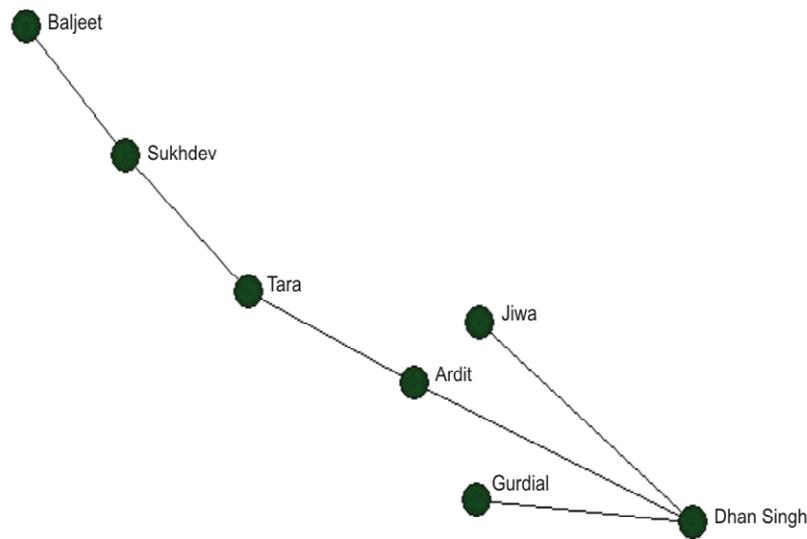
psychological adaptation, the insertion into the minority of compatriots and into the wider receiving community, and the patterns of social segregation. The evolution of an immigrant population is related, to some extent, to the evolution of its migration chains. The Indian Sikh community in Great Britain is a good example. Although this is a very strict community in terms of its religious practices, which include the interdiction of consuming alcohol, during the first settling stages there were many cases of alcoholism. However, as the community grew with the arrival of new compatriots, it recovered its social control patterns, which significantly reduced the number of new cases.

We can also illustrate this issue with our own data. Figure 2 shows an example of chain family regrouping. It comes from a study we conducted regarding Indian immigrants in Argentina.<sup>6</sup> Dhan Singh is the father of one of our key second-generation informants who settled in Salta. Dhan arrived to Argentina by ship in 1937; he disembarked illegally in the port of Buenos Aires and moved to Rosario de la Frontera, in the Salta province. He is the forerunner of six subsequent displacements, which is why Tara, his cousin, refers to him as a kind of “patriarch” who has great influence on the rest of the family. Dhan successively facilitated the migration of a brother (Gurdial), a cousin (Ardit), and a friend (Jiwa). Cousin Ardit also brought a brother (Tara) who, in turn, brought his cousin (Sukhdev). Finally, after the family arranged the wedding, Sukhdev travelled to India to get married and take his wife (Baljeet) to Argentina. The regrouping process spans 37 years from the beginning until Baljeet's arrival.

It is easy to infer differences in the adaptation process, for example, between Dhan and Sukhdev. The former was the pioneer of this family chain. He arrived in Argentina at a time when there were hardly any other established compatriots. Therefore, he had to *create* his own reception environment and probably had many opportunities for social assimilation with Argentineans. On the contrary, Sukhdev was received by a relatively large family group. In addition, he also had access to the indirect relationships his relatives had formed over time, which facilitated his process of social integration. In other words, he joined a group of relatives and compatriots, which in turn was surrounded by the social fabric they had weaved over decades.

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<sup>6</sup> With Lía de la Vega, Universidad del Salvador (Buenos Aires, Argentina).



**Figure 2.** Family regrouping chain in a group of Indian immigrants in Argentina.

The very same dynamics were persuasively summarised by a Haitian informant when we spoke about his personal relationships in Seville: “Making a new network of friends and acquaintances is not enough. The difference is that I don't have access to the networks my grandparents wove. That's being an immigrant.” Indeed, geographical relocation not only alters the closest circle of support; it also changes how the individual fits into the social structure of reference. Individuals are generally aware of the changes in their closest environment. Most of them actively try to retrieve and maintain their contacts, while they develop new ones. However, they are unaware of the changes that are experienced by the social structures of the places of origin and destination through the migration chains. In other words, the social structure has subconscious effects that are not taken into account by the psychology literature on social support. However, these effects provide us the framework to understand the dynamics of personal networks.

### Support exchanges

Instrumental and expressive resources flow through the networks. From their personal relationships, immigrants obtain company, advice, money, and emotional support, along with many other types of support. Each individual is, at the same time, a provider and a receiver of support.

Therefore, social support may be construed as a dynamic of exchange between social players.

The different factors that play a role in support transactions are the availability of resources for the exchange, the appropriateness of the resources for the existing needs, and the dynamics of reciprocity and endogamy in the relationships:

1. Recent immigrants tend to associate in small groups of compatriots. Frequently all the members of the groups find themselves in a similar situation of need. Sometimes they lack resources to share, especially when it comes to material and instrumental aspects. However, these groups are very valuable during the adaptation period. They guarantee a basic level of support at a time when available help has been reduced considerably. They also allow people who are going through a similar situation to share their experiences of acculturation, including the stressful ones.
2. The nature of the exchanges depends on the type of help. Instrumental help is based on the possession of specific, tangible resources, while in the case of psychological support it may often be enough to simply be available. Also, companionship and the expression of personal feelings can be implicit in other forms of support. However, in both cases there often exists an expectation of reciprocity within the relationship, even if it is not specific to the type of resource that is shared.
3. Moreover, exchanges are limited by the homophily of relationships. There is a certain tendency to socialise with people who share common characteristics. For example, groups are formed on the basis of age, gender, ethnic group, and type of work. However, these associates generally also tend to be similar in terms of the type and amount of resources they possess, so they reinforce pre-existing social roles and hinder social mobility.

Let us consider an example of the dynamics of support exchange. It comes from a comparative study of Paraguayan Bolivian immigrants in Argentina and Moroccan immigrants in Spain.<sup>7</sup> Figure 3 shows the levels of support lent and received during the previous month in terms of eight different types of help.

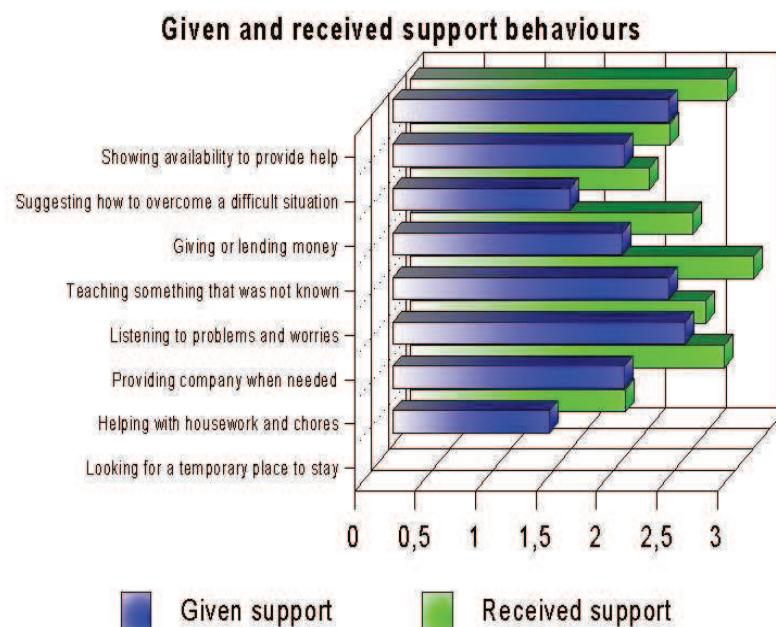
In the first place, we can see that psychological support is exchanged more frequently than instrumental support, and on average it also shows a

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<sup>7</sup> With Graciela Tonón, Universidad de Lomas de Zamora, and Universidad Nacional de La Matanza (Buenos Aires, Argentina).

more balanced outcome between what is contributed and what is received. Giving money or lodging are the least frequent behaviours. In contrast, the most frequent ones consist of sharing concerns and showing willingness to be available when needed.

If we look at the results as a whole, it seems that support exchanges have some connection with level of family regrouping. Both the support lent and the rate of exchange are higher for those whose relatives had immigrated prior to them than for those who acted as pioneers or simply did not have other emigrants in their family.



**Figure 3.** Support exchanges between Paraguayans and Bolivians in Argentina, and Moroccans in Spain

This general description is valid for the three studied groups. However, differences between groups can also be observed. For example, Moroccans declare having received significantly more financial help and more attention to their personal problems than the other two groups. Within this group, the patterns of reciprocity are also different, as is shown in Figure 4. The ratio reflects the relationship between the levels of support lent and received.<sup>8</sup> In all the behaviours, the help provided is greater than the

<sup>8</sup> Ratio = support lent / support received. The ratio is negative when, overall, more is given than received. In this case we are analysing reciprocity by types of support, although the

help received, and the magnitude of the difference between the two is comparable.<sup>9</sup> The lowest reciprocity level occurs in the case of house chores, lending money, and actively listening to problems.

The Moroccan group is the one with the worst ratio of support behaviours. Although the level of support provided is comparable to the other groups, the level of support received is higher. This difference is also confirmed in the levels of instrumental and psychological support received. In any event, the ratio is particularly negative regarding instrumental help. The Moroccans have negative ratios in the two types of support, and the Paraguayans only in what concerns instrumental support. The Bolivians, on the other hand, have positive ratios in both categories.

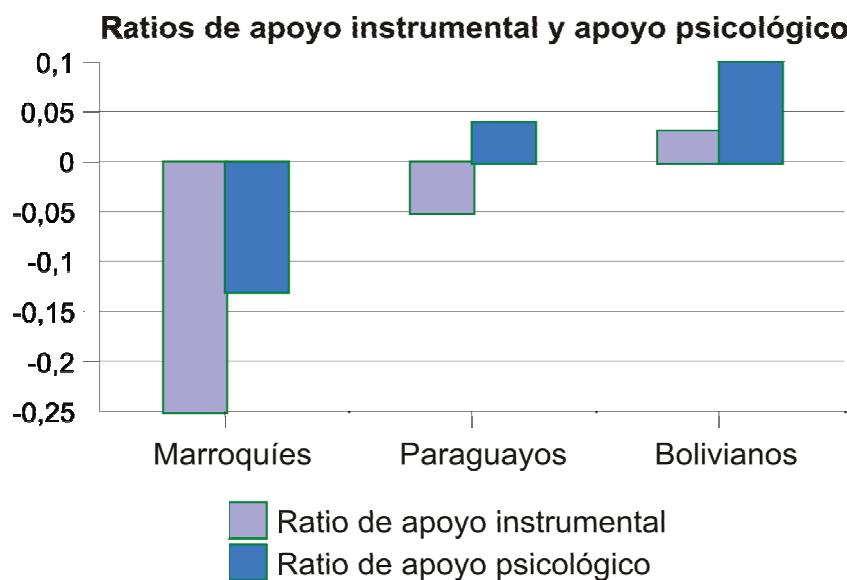


Figure 4. Reciprocity of support exchanges in three groups of immigrants.

Through this example we have shown that the type of resources, expressive and instrumental, is useful in characterising the type of relationship that takes place. Ties vary according to the quantity and type of exchanged resources. Nonetheless, the specific exchange patterns are determined, to a large extent, by the context of the relationship. The structure of opportunities and the availability of resources limit the

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respondents probably do not make this distinction themselves. The perception of exchanges is generally more global than analytical.

<sup>9</sup> Except in the case of companionship, which is, by definition, a reciprocal behaviour.

possibilities of giving and receiving help. As a matter of fact, this is one of the clear phenomena that can be observed among recent immigrants.

### **Multiplicity of support providers**

Multiplicity refers to the amount of types of help lent by each provider. For example, we may seek out certain people only when we need advice. However, others act as confidants, lend money and, at the same time, provide instrumental help. Both cases show different levels of intensity, frequency, or “strength” of the tie, and they reveal the existence of different types of relationships.

The structure of the personal network normally comprises a small core of relatives and intimate friends. These are synergetic relationships, which fulfil different types of needs and give rise to a group that is relatively stable through time. This core is formed by providers with the highest level of multiplicity. Around them there is a wider group of specialised ties, which originate weaker relationships that change more easily.

Is this description valid when applied to immigrant populations? Does displacement affect the distribution of multiplicity within the personal network? In the study mentioned earlier regarding Indian immigrants in Argentina, we drew a typology of the ties that provide help. First, we applied a social support interview that examines 6 different types of help: confidant support, material support, advice, social reinforcement, instrumental help, and companionship.<sup>10</sup> Then, we systematically analysed the various combinations of types of support shown by providers as a whole. We specifically examined the 6 types of combinations in 2,226 providers mentioned by the respondents.

This means that there are up to 64 possible combinations, if we take into account the presence or absence of each one of the categories. For example, one tie provides advice and social reinforcement; another one provides advice, social reinforcement, and company. In principle, we could find up to 64 different types of ties. However, a much smaller number was necessary to have an overall view. As we can see in Table 2, only 11 types of ties cover practically three fourths of the 2,226 providers analysed:

1. More than half provide only one type of specific support (52.2%), company being the more common resource.
2. 12.71% of them reach the status of synergetic tie, showing availability for practically any type of support request.

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<sup>10</sup> The Arizona Social Support Interview Schedule, by Manuel Barrera.

3. Finally, it is of interest to point out that a small group of partners or companions (9.07%), provide different combinations of emotional support, social reinforcement, and company.

In other words, there are three well-defined levels of multiplicity in the relationship, which correspond to the same number of types of relationships, according to the type of help they provide: specialised contacts that provide a specific type of support; companions who share emotional and informative support; and synergetic ties that reflect more intimate, polyvalent relationships.

Leaving other considerations aside, in the hypothetical support network of an Indian immigrant in Argentina, 7 of 10 ties provide specialised support. In addition, the network includes a small core of synergetic ties, whose functions are reinforced by a reduced segment of companions. In this case, we are referring to a group that includes first- and second-generation members with long average times of residence, whose description may be quite similar to what we would find in the general population. Among more recent immigrants we can probably observe, in addition to the reduction of their network, a greater concentration of functions in the available ties.

**Table 2.** The 11 most frequent multiplicity configurations

	A	B	C	D	E	F	Frequency	Percentage	Accumulated percentage
Company provider					X		659	29.60	29.60
Synergetic tie 1	X	X	X	X	X	X	220	9.88	39.48
Physical help provider				X			140	6.29	45.77
Material help provider		X					132	5.93	51.70
Positive feedback provider			X				126	5.66	57.36
Companion 1			X	X			100	4.49	61.85
Synergetic tie 2	X	X	X	X		X	63	2.83	64.68
Companion 2	X		X		X		61	2.74	67.42
Advice provider			X				54	2.43	69.85
Confidante support provider	X						51	2.29	72.14
Companion 3	X				X		41	1.84	73.98

Types of help: A: emotional help or the expression of personal feeling; B: material or tangible help; C: advice or information; D: positive feedback or social reinforcement; E: physical or instrumental help; and F: company or social participation.

Multiplicity gives us an insight into the evolution of interpersonal relationships and the distribution of support functions, both on an individual and on a group level. We can assume that relationships increase their multiplicity through time. In other words, a support provider is a specialised contact before he or she becomes a companion with whom we share company and advice. With time, this companion can also become a polyvalent friend who provides synergetic support. From this point of view, personal relationships develop in successive stages that involve greater depth and scope. The lifespan of a relationship—despite its advancements, stagnations, and set backs—follows a path in which a progressive exchange of new types or resources takes place, going from a specialised relationship framework to the sharing of a variety of social situations. Suppose a workmate becomes a friend. In the transition from one type of relationship to another, the exchange of contents increases, going from work-related conversations to personal advice, or to providing help, for example, in moving to a different house. In addition, the relationship spreads to different contexts: it outgrows the workplace and may lead to pleasurable meetings at home or on a football pitch.

However, we all have a limited sphere of relationships that is connected to specific space-time coordinates. We have a small number of polyvalent ties that responds to a logic of distribution in support functions. When a relationship acquires more depth, another one may possibly lose its relevance. We can formulate this as a hypothesis of competition between all the active multiple relationships. For example, when a teenager starts university, his relationships of friendship change, and new ones appear within his closest, most intimate circle. Some childhood friends may remain latent, outside the core of active exchanges. Although the relationship with the childhood friend may be retrieved at any moment and become active when a crisis arises, it is no longer part of the privileged group of active multiple support providers. Therefore, multiplicity is a good tool to determine the part of the personal network in which exchanges of support are taking place at a specific point in the individual's life.

Finally, we can also address the collective distribution of multiple ties. Just as we spoke of the distribution of support relationships within the personal network, we can also speak of the distribution of multiplicity on a collective level. We can construe multiple relationships as part of a

collective market of social support. Spending time with some individuals implies not spending time with others, unless we think in terms of group friends and acquaintances but, once again, spending time with certain groups implies not spending time with others. Groups or pioneer immigrants can form cohesive groups as a result of the scarcity of resources and the limitation of opportunities. However, as the community of compatriots grows, the development of multiple relationships introduces a disaggregating component, which results in the formation of different groups.

Displacement implies, for immigrants, that many of their relationships change their status or remain latent. During the relocation effort, support functions are concentrated in the (often meagre) available resources. Naturally, it takes time to develop new polyvalent relationships. However, as family regrouping takes place, a new reorganisation of the support functions develops, determining which ties are multiple and which aren't.

### **Types of immigrants' personal networks**

As we have verified in this paper, immigration is a form of ecological transition. Geographical relocation leads to changes in the size, composition, and structure of immigrants' personal relationship systems. The dynamics of personal networks are a reflection of the psychological adaptation to the new environment. Therefore, the systematic analysis of social support constitutes a useful tool for describing an individual's level of acculturation and adaptation. In particular, drawing a typology of networks is an efficient strategy for classifying immigrants according to their progress in the new environment. It allows for the identification of the most frequent constellations of support, which, in turn, reveal the individual's condition of adaptation.

This was the approach we used to examine the situation of African and Latin American immigrants in Spain. Using five different samples, we applied to each one a cluster analysis of their personal networks, then integrated them into a single classification through the hierarchical cluster.<sup>11</sup> Table 3 summarises the resulting typology.

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<sup>11</sup> This typology of support networks refers to immigrants who have lived in Spain less than 10 years (for a detailed description of the procedure, see Maya Jariego, 2003c). It is based on five studies involving immigrants of Latin American and African origin. Classifications were made using the following criterion variables: (1) size; (2) the presence of relatives, and (3) the presence of Spaniards. Finally, the 17 categories from previous classifications were integrated using the *centroids* of the three variables mentioned above.

Support networks vary in size and composition over a continuum that renders them broader and more heterogeneous. Networks grow from the endogroup toward the exogroup, from the family toward friends, and from compatriots toward members of the receiving society. Regrouping and the incorporation of Spaniards are the two basic network development strategies.

The most frequent configurations are made up of relatives and compatriots, and they have a comparatively small or medium size. Insufficient support structures occur more often among women, especially when they are divorced or widowed, in which case they coincide with a significantly higher persistence of depression. Higher levels of social assimilation occur among young, single, Latin American male subjects. Their networks are broader and include more contact with Spaniards.

Table 3. Toward a general typology of immigrants' personal networks

Type of personal network	Size	Profile
Women. Moroccans.		
Minimal network	0-3 Providers	Divorcees and widows. High depression scores.
Small network with a majority of compatriot friends	4-6 Providers. Primarily fellow immigrants	Most prevalent type among recent immigrants.
Medium-size network of relatives and compatriots	7-10 Providers	Second most prevalent type.
Medium-size network with a majority of non-relatives and Spaniards	7-10 Providers	Men. Single. Young. Latin-American.
Wide network resulting from family regrouping	10-15 Providers	Stable in socio-economic terms. Intention of remaining in Spain.
Wide regrouping network integrated in the local community	12-15 Providers	Men. Single. Young.

### Ties that traverse borders

International migrations put in contact population groups from different countries. Immigrants are links between separate social structures, and the exchanges of population flows bring different geographical areas

closer. Therefore, immigration implies in itself a change in relationship patterns that makes the world *smaller*, to the extent that it mediates between different relational communities. From a systemic point of view, countries and population groups become interrelated through such factors as the displacement of individuals, visits, the exchange of goods and services, financial transfers, and communication flows. The same approach can be used regarding personal networks.

The search for support can cross national borders. For example, the family support systems of Caribbean immigrants in the United States have great depth, scope, and frequency, despite international dispersion. In some cases, the phrase “internationalisation of kinship” is even used. This term refers to the geographical dispersion of the members of a family unit, particularly when the closeness of the unit is maintained through constant communication, trips, and exchanges of goods and services.

However, in our research we have found that individuals have a limited ability to maintain active transnational bonds. Particularly during the early stages of relocation, the personal network undergoes significant changes regarding its psychological operation. In addition, ties that remain in the country of origin, with whom contact is kept, change the roles they play within support networks. Namely, the contact frequency and the type of support they provide are affected to such an extent that, occasionally, they may become latent ties. This does not mean that we wish to interpret the transformations experienced by immigrants in terms of a deficit or a lack. Our goal is to show the changes brought about by the transition between different socio-geographical realms, a transition that has far-reaching effects on the subject of our study.

International migration leads to changes in social integration, in the structure of the social network, and in the support functions that result from them. Individuals move into a community where they have a weaker structural integration and greater relational mobility. This change is concomitant with a lower availability of help and a higher concentration of the support functions.

The process of psychological adaptation is reflected in the changes occurring in the personal network. Its size, structure, and functional dynamics are reconstructed through time. Support networks grow gradually through the association with compatriots, family regrouping, and contacts with Spaniards. Acculturation alters the composition of the personal network by increasing its heterogeneity, while it also affects the level of structural cohesion, since well-defined groups of players appear more frequently. All of these changes lead to a reorganisation in the distribution

of support functions, which recovers a greater balance between the providers involved.

However, when individuals emigrate to another country, the relationships that attended to their needs before their departure do not disappear. Their nature is transformed, and this must have some bearing on the structure of their personal network, for life always leaves its mark.

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# **Aide au développement et ingénierie de formation en travail social : un espace d'ajustement interculturel**

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### **Introduction**

Si les initiatives d'aide au développement des pays du Nord au profit des pays du Sud ont pris un essor important depuis les années 1970 dans le secteur économique. Elles ont connu une diversification de leur nature dans les années 1990, notamment par une prise en compte de la dimension sociale comme élément fondateur concourant au développement. Dans cette optique, la promotion de la formation des acteurs locaux du social est devenue prioritaire. Cet axe suscite de plus en plus l'intérêt des formateurs en travail social des pays du Nord qui cherchent à construire des projets de formation auprès des travailleurs sociaux des pays du Sud. Et c'est dans cette perspective que s'inscrivent les deux expériences que nous relatons ici. Les expériences menées marquent le début d'un processus qui demande à être étendu dans le respect d'un ensemble de principes épistémologiques, pédagogiques et philosophiques qui prennent en compte notamment les particularités historiques et culturelles des pays dans lesquels s'envisagent les actions de formation. Notre propos se veut un témoignage et un reflet d'expériences de mise en place de programmes d'aide au développement en matière d'ingénierie pédagogique (Le Boterf et Lessard, 1986) et d'organisation de séquences de formation continue en travail social en Afrique. La première a eu lieu entre 2004 et 2008 auprès d'une trentaine de travailleurs sociaux intervenant pour une dizaine d'ONG marocaines qui oeuvrent dans le cadre de l'inadaptation sociale et, notamment, auprès des enfants des rues. Six sessions d'une semaine ont pu être assurées sur ce laps de temps. La seconde a démarré en octobre 2008 et s'étale sur trois années à raison d'une session de quinze jours par an auprès des travailleurs sociaux de la Direction de l'action sociale de Pointe-Noire et de la région du Kouilou au Congo Brazzaville. Ces expériences reposent sur un souci permanent qui vise l'implication directe des partenaires locaux dans toutes les phases du projet. Il s'agit en l'espèce d'un principe fondateur de notre

démarche. Elles sont le résultat d'un ensemble de constats opérés sur le terrain par les professionnels de l'action sociale et des responsables associatifs ou administratifs. Constats qui ont abouti à formuler une demande de coopération auprès de partenaires français impliqués dans le cadre du travail social et de la formation de travailleurs sociaux. Ce projet n'aurait pas pu réussir sans la prise en compte des besoins exprimés par nos interlocuteurs dans ces deux pays. Ces deux expériences se sont structurées dans un cadre général grâce à un questionnement qui n'a cessé d'évoluer.

## Questions fondatrices

Deux séries de questions ont émergé pour nous. L'une est d'ordre méthodologique, l'autre anthropologique. La première série consistait dans le fait de savoir : comment fixer les objectifs d'une formation pour des professionnels formés ou pas en travail social dans des pays où ce champ professionnel n'est pas structuré comme en France ? Peut-on se passer d'un référentiel de formation tel que nous les envisageons aujourd'hui dans la plupart des pays occidentaux ? Si tel est le cas, comment peut-on recenser les besoins de formation et les agencer ? Comment peut-on évaluer l'atteinte des objectifs pédagogiques ? Quelle place peut-on réservier, dans toutes les phases du processus envisagé, à l'autre et à l'expertise qu'il a non seulement du contexte local, des populations cibles ..., mais aussi aux compétences nécessaires à l'élaboration des programmes concertés de formation ?

D'une manière concomitante, et dans un registre anthropologique, nous avons été amenés à réfléchir aux différences culturelles qui peuvent nous éloigner plus ou moins de nos collègues sur place. D'entrée de jeu, nous sommes partis du postulat que les formateurs doivent rester vigilants à l'émergence des biais entravant leurs actions. Des obstacles qui sont la conséquence de la distance qui sépare les références culturelles des parties engagées dans le processus. Un préalable, à ce propos, s'impose parmi d'autres, il consiste en la pénétration dans le système de référence de l'autre en s'informant sur les caractéristiques de sa propre culture afin de faciliter : « (...) La découverte des lignes de force qui dans (sa) culture s'ordonnent autour de référentiels de base et d'un signifiant fondamental interprétés et intégrés de façon unique par la personne. » (Douyon, 1988, 10). Cette mise en garde préalable s'est accompagnée d'un questionnement sur la manière dont nous pouvons envisager des sessions de formation dans un contexte culturel différent : comment les partenaires doivent se comporter entre eux ? Quels comportements doit-on adopter face aux particularismes culturels ? Comment doit-on procéder afin d'accéder à une connaissance des schémas de fonctionnement propres à nos interlocuteurs ? Comment peut-on

organiser les liens entre le particulier et l'universel ? Comment peut-on préserver le particulier tout en poursuivant le processus de formation ?

Nous avons adopté une posture qui s'inscrit dans l'interculturalité comme orientation qui régit d'une manière dynamique les relations entre les partenaires engagés dans cette expérience. Une démarche qui se préoccupe de garder une vigilance constante dans l'approche des modes de fonctionnement repérés de part et d'autre. Elle permet de faire face aux obstacles culturels qui entravent notamment la mise en place d'action de formation comme celles que nous avons engagées au Maroc et au Congo.

## Méthode de recueil de données

Dès l'émergence de ces deux projets, nous avons pris conscience que nous nous engagions dans un processus riche en enseignement bénéfique pour nous et profitable pour d'autres collègues. Inspirés par la démarche adoptée par Erving Goffman (1998), notamment, lorsqu'il a travaillé sur les rites d'interactions ou sur les « institutions totalitaires », nous avons pris le parti de relever un ensemble d'observations. Partant du postulat que les échanges au quotidien nous fournissaient des données disparates, des éléments d'informations que nous avons eu à cœur de consigner dans un journal de bord. Nous nous sommes rendu compte, avec le recul, que ces données ont une triple fonction :

- Recueillir des faits, des observations, des témoignages, des interrogations. Nous sous-tendions que pour nous, il s'agissait d'un moyen susceptible de nous aider à nous distancer par rapport à nos propres filtres réducteurs.
- Trouver l'opportunité, en relisant ces notes, de réagir en fonction de l'évolution de nos expériences en cours de réalisation.
- Garder des traces qui pourraient servir à la mise en œuvre d'autres expériences dans les pays cibles ou d'autres et de comprendre des phénomènes complexes qui découlent des relations interculturelles.

Pour nous, l'interculturel englobe tous les espaces d'interaction entre des groupes dont les références culturelles sont différentes (entre des groupes ethniquement différents, entre des groupes socialement différents, entre des groupes professionnellement différents, ...). Nous sommes conscients que le focal que nous avons mis sur l'interculturel peut être contesté puisqu'il s'agit d'un angle d'analyse parcellaire. Nous admettons que d'autres modes d'entrée pourraient expliquer les phénomènes observés à partir des réalités économiques, sociales, professionnelles, voire psychologiques vécues par nos interlocuteurs ou orientant nos propres regards. Autant de portes d'entrée qui pourraient permettre d'analyser les

modes de fonctionnement des travailleurs sociaux auprès desquels nous assurons nos formations.

Nous avons partagé les contenus de ces notes avec nos collègues formateurs locaux comme avec les professionnels. Notre objectif visait à nous dégager de l'emprise du regard orienté, de tenter de donner du sens aux phénomènes observés d'une manière croisée et corrélativement ajuster nos interventions en conséquence.

### **Le Maroc, un pays en plein essor du travail social**

Le Maroc a connu depuis les années 1990 la constitution de nombreuses associations qui œuvrent dans les différents champs du travail social. Des besoins manifestes en matière de formation des encadrants de ces associations sont apparus et ont fait l'objet d'initiatives ou d'efforts multiples. De nombreuses sessions ont été envisagées dans ce sens parmi lesquelles celles organisées par le CFPE (Centre français de protection de l'enfance) entre 2004 et 2008, impulsées par Madame Noëlle Courtecuisse vice présidente de cette association, en partenariat avec l'IRTS (Institut régional du travail social) de Bretagne et l'ISLV (Institut Lille-Vauban) de Lille. Un partenariat dans lequel de nombreuses associations marocaines ont pris part avec un investissement particulier de l'AMESIP (Association marocaine d'aide aux enfants en situation précaire) et particulièrement sa présidente Madame Touria Bouabid.

Depuis le lancement au Maroc de l'INDH (Initiative nationale de développement humain) en 2005, des programmes de formation, sous l'égide des universités et des associations nationales ou internationales, peuvent être mis en place financés par des fonds locaux. En œuvrant ainsi, l'INDH, et le gouvernement marocain ambitionnent notamment de renforcer les capacités des acteurs locaux, d'élaborer un schéma national de formation des travailleurs sociaux, de développer l'ingénierie sociale et la consolidation des réformes du système socio éducatif au Maroc.

De nombreuses universités, ont mis en place des Licences professionnelles en travail social (Assistants de service social, Éducateurs spécialisés, Agents de développement social, etc.) ou des DU (Diplômes universitaires). Le projet que nous avons mis en place, et qui a été conçu avant l'engagement de ces programmes, répondait à un besoin exprimé par de nombreuses associations marocaines. Celles-ci avaient manifesté à plusieurs reprises leur envie d'accorder à leurs salariés ou bénévoles une formation en travail social qui faciliterait la réalisation de leurs actions au quotidien.

## **Le Congo : un projet de formation continue comme conjonction de volontés privées et publiques**

Les actions de formation mises en place au Congo démarrent en 2008 et sont projetées sur une période de trois ans à raison d'une session de deux semaines par an. Il s'agit d'un programme de formation destinée aux travailleurs sociaux des villes de Pointe-Noire et du Kouilou. Des professionnels titulaires soit d'un diplôme du domaine social, soit ayant suivi des formations plus générales ou universitaires ont émis le souhait de mettre à jour leurs compétences pour les premiers et pour les seconds s'initier à des techniques d'intervention qui faciliteraient leurs tâches auprès des usagers. Cette formation est novatrice. Aucun programme avec une telle visée et une telle importance n'avait été proposé auparavant.

Un partenariat a donc vu le jour, grâce à l'initiative d'une association française l'APPEL qui œuvre pour la protection des enfants dans le monde. La vice-présidente de l'APPEL en Bretagne, Isabelle Jegou, assistante de service social de formation a été à l'origine de ce projet. Elle est partie du constat que pour mieux aider la population locale notamment dans le cadre de la protection de l'enfance, il fallait proposer aux professionnels de terrain, qui ne bénéficient plus de la formation en travail social depuis les années 90, des sessions qui mettent à jour leurs compétences. La vice-présidente de l'APPEL s'est entourée d'une équipe de formateurs en France afin d'élaborer une stratégie d'action.

Partant de là, l'équipe pédagogique a élaboré un canevas qui recensait les besoins des professionnels de terrain à Pointe-Noire. Un travail d'investigation réalisé avec des appuis locaux et notamment deux professionnels : Delphine Kaya, assistante de service social, vice-présidente de l'APPEL Pointe-Noire et M. Nkounkou travailleur social, chef de service à la DAS (Direction des Affaires sociales). Ces deux professionnels ont par ailleurs pris part à l'animation des séances de formation proposées aux participants. Grâce à un travail de concertation et d'échange permanents avec ces derniers, une programmation a été envisagée. Elle s'est appuyée sur les ressources et les réalités locales du travail social au Congo.

## **Ancrage interculturel des actions entreprises : les raisons d'un choix**

Idéalement, en analysant la formation que l'on met en place, il s'agit d'identifier, à partir des pratiques, les compétences, les capacités, les savoirs, les postures, les attitudes nécessaires ... les axes de travail à construire. Les choses se compliquent lorsque la formation implique un ensemble de professionnels qui s'inscrivent dans un univers socioculturel différent de celui des formateurs. Notre démarche s'inscrit dans une perspective interculturelle dans le sens où elle donne lieu à un ensemble de rencontres entre des partenaires porteurs de cultures différentes avec toutes les dynamiques qui naissent dans de tels contextes.

Notre ancrage théorique s'inscrit dans une perspective dynamique et constructive. Ainsi s'il admet que la culture est le socle de références des pratiques des individus et des groupes sociaux, il considère qu'elle est loin d'être figée. La culture évolue, dans un contexte de plus en plus mondialisé où les échanges entre les Nations et leurs différentes composantes prennent de l'ampleur. De ce fait, la culture représente des réalités marquées à la fois par la stabilité et le dynamisme. Mais ce qui caractérise aujourd'hui la culture, c'est qu'elle est constituée, s'alimente et se modifie en fonction de l'évolution socio-économique ou des contraintes qui pèsent sur les sociétés d'une manière relativement plus prégnante qu'autrefois. Cette évolution se manifeste aussi sous l'effet du rapprochement, des échanges de plus en plus fréquents entre des individus porteurs de cultures différentes.

Le concept d'interculturalité est apparu dans les années 1970 en Europe pour analyser les questions des rapports aux migrants. Il renvoie dans cette optique à l'ensemble des phénomènes qui découlent des relations interculturelles qui supposent une certaine réciprocité dans les échanges. Il correspond à des processus complexes qui permettent d'identifier autrui et de lui accorder, ainsi qu'à sa culture, une place importante. L'interculturalité suppose qu'au-delà des identités individuelles en présence, il y a diversité. Ce genre de situations laisse une place centrale à l'intersubjectivité (Georg Simmel, Erving Goffman, etc.). En tant qu'être humain, à cause des limitations de notre structure cognitive, qui ne peut saisir l'ensemble des situations complexes que nous rencontrons au quotidien, nous construisons des modèles, des cadres mentaux que nous déployons dans toutes nos relations. Des outils qui nous permettent de décoder la réalité en y sélectionnant les éléments qui nous semblent pertinents. Dans les rencontres interculturelles, nous déployons des instruments qui nous permettent de nous adapter et corrélativement interpréter les conduites des autres

différents. Nous procédons de la sorte en recourant à des stéréotypes ou autrement dit à un ensemble de savoirs sociaux ou culturels qui nous définissent et définissent les autres.

Les stéréotypes fonctionnent comme un catalogue de préjugés. Ils fournissent des jugements pré-établis qui donnent sens au monde, qui précèdent les faits et leur survenue. Ils nous évitent ainsi d'avoir à construire un cadre de référence spécifique pour chaque situation vécue. Nous prenons l'habitude, par commodité, de considérer ces stéréotypes comme des jugements de fait, pour reprendre la terminologie de Max Weber (1963). Ils nous donnent l'illusion de reproduire la réalité, et partant, de distinguer, prétendument, la vérité du mensonge. Les stéréotypes ne servent pas uniquement à distinguer les choses, mais aussi à nous fournir une image de qui nous sommes et de ce que doivent être les autres. Il ressort de ceci qu'il existe un conflit entre les stéréotypes et la prise en compte de la diversité en tant que telle. Les premiers contacts avec les autres différents nous amènent à nous adapter, à sauver la face (Goffman, 1988) en rendant nos différences les moins visibles possibles afin de réduire les risques des réactions imprévisibles des autres.

Au-delà de tout cela, ce que nous recherchons en tant qu'être humain est de nous préserver. Notre premier réflexe lors de nos échanges est de chercher à atténuer nos différences sans pour autant les renier complètement. C'est une posture qui demeure difficile à maintenir. Et c'est ce pourquoi, l'approche interculturelle nous aide, dans le cadre des interactions avec l'altérité, à nous distancier par rapport à nos propres stéréotypes et à repenser nos schémas pour en construire d'autres dans lesquels la culture de l'autre est présente. Cette approche a donc le mérite de nous inciter à garder présent à l'esprit que pour que les rencontres entre individus issus de cultures différentes demeurent un espace constructif, de reconnaissance et de respect mutuel, elles doivent prendre en compte les spécificités avec constance comme nous l'avons vécu dans les expériences dont nous faisons état ici.

### **Mise en œuvre des actions de formation comme révélateur de différences culturelles**

Dans le cadre de l'aide au développement en matière de formation en travail social, l'usage de la langue et du langage peut faire apparaître un certain nombre de difficultés qu'il faut savoir considérer avec attention. Les actions de formation entreprises au Maroc et au Congo se sont établies dans des contextes marqués par la tradition orale. Une tradition qui pose les bases sur lesquelles s'établissent les interactions langagières entre les individus.

La communication entre les âges, les sexes, etc. est réglementée comme le rappelle Jacques Philippe Tsala Tsala (1991) professeur à l'Université de Yaoundé :

« La prise de parole est elle-même régie par les droits et devoirs des uns par rapport aux autres. Parler signifie souvent conseiller, ordonner, commander. La parole est un privilège, un droit et un devoir éthique, ceux du mari sur la femme, du parent sur l'enfant, de l'aîné sur le cadet, du chef sur ses sujets. De même, la parole de certaines catégories d'individus est-elle habituellement disqualifiée (enfants, jeunes, esclaves, étrangers) ».

Ce type de fonctionnement a pu être constaté à de nombreuses reprises et notamment au Congo où les responsables de la DAS prenaient part à la formation. Il a eu pour incidence de limiter la communication au début de la session. Les travailleurs sociaux ne se considéraient pas légitimés à prendre la parole et avaient tendance à se restreindre dans leurs analyses ou argumentaires. Si un tel fonctionnement renvoie à des pratiques inscrites dans un cadre culturel structurant dont les acteurs reconnaissent la légitimité, il faut se méfier aussi de la langue en ce qu'elle peut donner lieu à une relation de pouvoir. Ce postulat s'enracine dans l'idée que les relations interculturelles sont forcément des espaces qui génèrent des rapports de force et de domination que notre processus de formation doit réduire pour ne pas dire bannir.

Dans nos actions de formation, nous utilisons le français, langue de l'ancien colonisateur, de l'expert occidental donc de tout ce qui est supposé être un symbole de supériorité. Nous avons pu relever une relative déconsidération des langues maternelles dans certains cas ce qui représentait pour nous un risque de décrochage de certains récipiendaires de la formation. Nos observations viennent rejoindre celles formulées par Ferdinand Ezembé (2009) qui regrette ce discrédit frappant les langues natives :

« Malheureusement, les langues africaines sont sous-estimées. Elles sont considérées comme dialectes, à côté du français, de l'anglais ou du portugais qui ont le statut de langues officielles et sont enseignés à l'école. L'usage de la langue du pays colonisateur devient ainsi, dans certaines situations, un instrument de marginalisation des couches populaires par les élites».

En règle générale, les participants ont mis un certain temps à accepter de se livrer pour faire part de leurs remarques et encore plus de temps à formuler des objections. Des différences peuvent être toutefois relevées. On peut noter une différence entre les professionnels qui sont habitués à utiliser le français dans l'exercice de leur fonction et ceux qui n'y recourraient pas ou peu. Dans le premier cas de figure, les professionnels ont

plus de facilité à intervenir dans les échanges. La cohabitation de deux langues, voire plusieurs langues (l'arabe, le berbère au Maroc, le kituba et lingala au Congo) dans un espace de formation est susceptible de générer des conflits avec des phénomènes que nous avons pu observer :

- Retrait ou passivité de certains participants.
- Tendance parfois à une certaine obstruction.
- Constitution de sous catégories (âge, différence d'approche dans le travail social, adeptes de certaines langues qui ne se sentent pas représentés).

Nous avons observé, lors de nos différents échanges que ce soit au Maroc ou au Congo, des difficultés inhérentes à l'utilisation de la langue. Afin de remédier à cette entrave, nous avons mis en place des principes et des outils.

S'agissant des principes, nous avons admis l'idée qu'il était important de demander parfois des traductions simultanées malgré les difficultés que ce procédé ait pu provoquer (ralentissement de la cadence, mécontentement de certains stagiaires, etc.). Progressivement, nous avons réussi à faire admettre l'idée que la non-maîtrise complète de la langue française n'est pas considérée comme un handicap, mais comme une différence. La demande de traduction, voire d'explicitation n'est pas assimilée à de l'obstruction, mais à l'expression d'un droit.

S'agissant des outils, nous en avons élaboré un certain nombre, en sollicitant activement, à chaque fois que possible, les stagiaires pour nous apporter leur aide, que nous présentons ici d'une manière non exhaustive :

- Lorsqu'il s'agit de mots simples, nous pouvions recourir au dictionnaire d'une manière très brève en essayant d'illustrer le propos en élargissant les exemples à d'autres sphères que celle du travail social.
- Dans les autres cas de figure, nous avons élaboré une banque de données linguistiques (chaque stagiaire note les mots ou les expressions non compris). Il les dépose en fin de séquence dans une boîte et nous procérons à leur explicitation en français ou dans une des langues maîtrisées par le groupe. Nous les consignons dans un répertoire qui est mis à la disposition des stagiaires.
- Le recours à l'illustration, en faisant référence au contexte local et en le comparant avec celui des nos expériences en France, était très systématisé.

Nous avons abouti à la conclusion que si l'utilisation d'une langue étrangère peut affecter la transmission d'informations et la réussite des séquences de formation, elle agit surtout sur la qualité des relations interpersonnelles. Elle demeure conséquemment susceptible d'entraver la

bonne marche d'une entreprise de formation entre des partenaires aux références culturelles plus ou moins différentes.

Le temps est loin d'être une réalité uniforme et universelle. Il renvoie à un concept très complexe à saisir. Nous appréhendons aisément sa part objective, physique, mais sa dimension subjective nous est difficilement accessible. La question du temps a préoccupé depuis longtemps sociologues et anthropologues. E. Durkheim le considérait comme « une catégorie de pensée qui rythme la vie des individus ». La structuration de toute société repose sur une conception particulière du temps, dessine les contours de ses usages autorisant ainsi des modes d'interactions entre les individus dans des cadres interpersonnels ou institutionnalisés, délimite des temporalités et détermine un cadre global qui régit le quotidien. Une conception dont le sens et les visées sont rarement identifiables par ses membres qui en font l'apprentissage dans le cadre des processus de socialisation qu'ils vivent. Ces derniers l'intègrent comme norme et valeur dans leurs comportements sans pour autant en avoir conscience. La part subjective du temps est de nature à faire émerger des difficultés lors des rencontres interculturelles comme celles qui nous ont réunis avec nos interlocuteurs en Afrique.

Dès le départ, nous avons admis l'idée selon laquelle les cultures ont une certaine conception du temps et emploient le temps de certaines manières. En nous appuyant sur la thèse d'E. T. Hall (1992), nous avons été amenés à reconsiderer le présupposé de départ qui approchait la compréhension de ces phénomènes en les justifiant par des contraintes institutionnelles ou socio-économiques (désintérêt pour la formation et le travail, non-reconnaissance du travail réalisé au quotidien et ses conséquences notamment en termes de baisse de l'investissement des salariés, etc.).

La relation particulière au temps de nos interlocuteurs est venue se heurter à celle qui a cours en France notamment dans le champ du travail social. Cet espace professionnel a connu depuis quelques années, et d'une manière progressive, le développement d'exigences liées à l'évaluation des résultats des travailleurs sociaux. Ces contraintes se traduisent par une recherche d'efficacité et par une mise en place d'une organisation du travail qui vise à maîtriser le temps (limitation de la durée des prises en charge, des entretiens avec les usagers, une accélération des procédures, etc.). Elles poussent les professionnels, et ceux qui les emploient, à quantifier le temps et corrélativement à vouloir réduire les coûts. Cette frénétique recherche de gain de temps se répercute par une rationalisation des moyens mis en place pour mener à bien les actions des professionnels et par l'adoption de techniques qui visent à aller dans ce sens.

Imprégnés par ces normes et ces valeurs qui traduisent une conception rationaliste, voire utilitaire du temps, nous, formateurs venus d'Europe, engagés dans des processus de formation auprès de travailleurs sociaux oeuvrant dans des sociétés africaines, à l'ancrage traditionnel, serions enclins à vouloir appliquer nos propres modèles de références en occultant que ces choix soient le résultat d'une idéologie. Nos tendances ethnocentriques nous empêchent de voir que chez nos interlocuteurs l'organisation du travail dans sa globalité est ancrée dans un cadre qui est loin d'être le nôtre. Lorsqu'en France, nous insistons sur la construction de projets d'avenir, nous accordons davantage d'intérêt au présent avec une projection dans un esprit de rationalité qui favorise l'avenir. A contrario, dans les sociétés encore marquées, pour une part importante, par la tradition, les réalités peuvent être toutes autres. L'organisation de la société accorde une importance assez marquée au passé, à la rationalité qui lui est propre et aux règles établies par les ancêtres. De ce fait, dans le premier cas de figure, le temps a tendance à se conjuguer au singulier sur un mode « monochrone » comme l'a analysé Hall. Alors que dans le second est davantage de type « polychrone ».

Pour Hall (1992), le système temporel monochrone consiste à amener les individus à le dédier à une seule activité à la fois. Il est considéré comme linéaire, segmente le temps et fixe des échéances. Il s'agit d'une conception morcelée du temps qui est spécifique à la société occidentale et particulièrement américaine. Il est primordial d'achever un travail commencé et il est tout aussi important de ne jamais reporter au lendemain ce qui est envisagé d'être fait le jour même. La performance, la rapidité et l'efficacité sont des caractéristiques qui le marquent.

Que ce soit au Maroc ou au Congo, le temps est loin de se conjuguer au singulier d'une manière systématique. Il se décline souvent au pluriel : le temps officiel ou de l'administration, le temps des amis, le temps de la famille, etc. Autant d'espaces temporels que les professionnels qui prennent part à la formation savent hiérarchiser. Nous avons pléthore d'exemples qui viennent corroborer cette hypothèse mais nous n'en gardons qu'un seul. Nous avons pu ainsi observer que lors des cérémonies d'ouverture ou de clôture, tous les participants étaient présents à l'heure, voire même bien avant le démarrage des festivités. Ce mode de fonctionnement s'apparente à celui analysé par Hall lorsqu'il évoque le système temporel polychrone ou cyclique. Dans ce système, repéré par cet auteur, dans un certain nombre de cultures, notamment, autour de la Méditerranée, les individus peuvent s'adonner à plusieurs activités en même temps. Et si toutefois un évènement survenait dans la journée, ils n'hésiteraient pas à reporter leur tâche à plus tard. De multiples exemples viennent fonder ce qui n'était à l'origine qu'une

hypothèse de travail (des stagiaires qui quittent la formation parce qu'ils ont été appelés pour une intervention à l'extérieur, d'autres qui arrivent en retard parce qu'ils ont été retenus à la dernière minute par un évènement qu'en France nous aurions pu reporter à plus tard, etc.).

Or, mettre en place des programmes de formation nécessite de respecter des horaires, une programmation, des heures pour aborder les contenus, etc. Des impératifs qui nous sont imposés par nos financeurs essentiellement Français. Très vite nous avons été confrontés à des problèmes à gérer comme conséquence d'une représentation et d'un usage particulier du temps :

- Programmer un travail en atelier et voir la moitié du groupe arriver en retard ou être absente ne pouvaient que générer des difficultés (ambiance à l'intérieur du groupe, décalage entre l'accès aux informations, etc.).
- Tarder à commencer des séquences du fait de la prise d'un temps important pour les salutations, etc.
- Lorsque nous interrogeons nos interlocuteurs sur leurs façons de fonctionner avec les usagers, dans le cadre de la prise en charge, nous relevons encore cette différence dans le rapport au temps : les entretiens peuvent durer plus qu'il n'en faut, l'accompagnement peut se faire en dehors des temps officiels de travail, etc.
- Dans nos échanges préparatoires ou en cours de mise en œuvre des actions, nous pouvons repérer des retards dans la réponse à nos sollicitations (par courrier électronique, par courrier postal, etc.).

Confrontés à ces problèmes dans l'organisation de nos formations, nous avons essayé d'adapter nos programmations en considérant les spécificités propres aux pays tant au niveau anthropologique que matériel. Sur ce dernier point, par exemple, et dans le cadre du cas particulier du Congo, nous avons admis que les rythmes de travail pendant la saison des pluies, période pendant laquelle se mettait en place notre formation, puissent être particuliers. Nous avons conséquemment relevé qu'une préoccupation générale régnait. Elle traduisait l'attente de la saison sèche, moment considéré comme une délivrance d'où le rythme moins soutenu pendant cette période. Nous avons par ailleurs relevé que, dans les échanges, les préoccupations relatives aux dégâts que produisaient les pluies tropicales (inondations, inaccessibilité des routes, etc.) donnaient lieu à transmission d'informations ou de conseils entre les participants. Ces évènements vécus devaient faire l'objet d'échanges entre eux et avaient une incidence sur le démarrage et le déroulement des séquences pédagogiques.

De ce fait, nous avons interrogé notre organisation et nous l'avons adapté aux réalités propres au contexte. Nous avons donc retardé en général le démarrage des séquences, ce qui a permis aux participants de moins

échelonner leurs arrivées tout en consacrant des moments aux palabres indispensables à l'entretien des liens sociaux. Nous avons aussi envisagé des temps de pause beaucoup plus fréquents et moins longs.

D'autres modalités de prise en compte de la conception particulière du temps chez les participants à ces sessions ont été mises en œuvre. Elles ont permis d'interroger nos pratiques et les leurs pour parvenir à travailler autour des notions telles que le projet individualisé ou les actions collectives, l'organisation du travail en institution ou en équipe, etc., et ainsi tenter de les adapter par rapport aux cultures de nos interlocuteurs.

## **Des valeurs sociales et institutionnelles qui déterminent la relation d'aide**

Les formations des travailleurs sociaux en France nous amènent à insister sur l'adoption de postures empathiques, de patience et de distanciation. Nous apprenons à nos étudiants à écouter l'usager et à analyser sa situation afin, qu'en tant que professionnels, ils puissent donner sens à la demande formulée par les usagers et ainsi trouver les réponses appropriées aux problèmes rencontrés. C'est ainsi que peut s'envisager la relation d'aide, entendez une relation qui permettra aux professionnels de concourir à résoudre ces problèmes qu'ils évaluent en fonction des missions qui leur sont attribuées.

En procédant de la sorte, les professionnels répondent à deux objectifs essentiels de la relation d'aide :

- Identifier le problème tel qu'il se présente pour l'individu dans sa vie au quotidien.
- Aider ce même individu à progresser pour s'adapter à la vie dans la société et de devenir acteur.

Les professionnels, en s'engageant dans ce processus, apprennent à maîtriser ou du moins à rester vigilants par rapport à leurs propres opinions, croyances, valeurs. Ces dernières peuvent les faire basculer dans des interprétations et les éloignent des préoccupations que la personne peut vivre.

Or, dans des sociétés en pleine mutation telle que celle du Maroc ou du Congo, l'empathie et la distanciation demandées aux professionnels se conjuguent à des valeurs que les institutions qui les engagent défendent. Des valeurs morales, au sens noble, qui les poussent à agir en cas d'observation d'actes considérés comme immoraux. Ce qui est attendu d'un professionnel est de conseiller les usagers à rejoindre les valeurs collectives, à renoncer à

des comportements qui demeurent attentatoires à l'équilibre de la société. Ceci passe aussi par l'enseignement dans les institutions de l'éducation civique et religieuse, non seulement aux enfants, mais aussi aux adultes. Nous percevons partant de là que les professionnels ne sont pas invités à être neutres, mais à dicter ouvertement des normes et des valeurs qui les incitent à intervenir pour conseiller et orienter l'usager comme l'illustre la situation que nous introduisons ici.

Lors d'une séquence d'analyse des pratiques, un professionnel qui intervient dans le cadre de la protection de l'enfance en danger au Maroc évoque la situation d'un père de famille qui délaisse son épouse et ses enfants. Ce père de famille s'alcoolise énormément, refuse de trouver un emploi avec des répercussions sur l'ensemble de sa famille. Le professionnel explique au groupe qu'il a reçu cet usager pour faire le point avec lui à propos de l'évolution de la situation familiale. Lors de cette entrevue, il lui a fait savoir son mécontentement et l'a incité à « revenir sur le droit chemin ». Au terme de l'exposé de cette situation, j'interroge le professionnel sur les fondements de son discours dans lequel il reprochait à l'usager son comportement et l'invitait à changer dans son intérêt et dans l'intérêt de celui de sa famille. Il me répond immédiatement que ce genre de méfait étant réprimé dans la religion musulmane, et est considéré comme amoral, tout travailleur social ne peut rester indifférent face aux usagers. Il considère n'avoir fait que respecter l'obligation qui lui est faite en tant que musulman. Afin de consolider son argumentaire, il cite et fait référence à un hadith du prophète de l'islam qui incite tout bon musulman à mettre en garde ses coreligionnaires qui s'égareraient en adoptant des comportements amoraux. Ce professionnel nous précise qu'il agit dans un pays musulman et que l'islam est une religion de l'Etat. Il rajoute que les travailleurs sociaux sont payés pour faire respecter les valeurs dominantes. Ses affirmations sont corroborées par les nombreux textes qui incitent le bon musulman, quel qu'il soit, à agir dans le but de préserver l'équilibre et la pérennité de la société. Le Coran rappelle cet impératif lorsqu'il annonce : « Vous êtes la meilleure communauté qui n'ait jamais été donnée comme exemple aux hommes. En effet, vous recommandez le Bien, vous interdisez le Mal et vous croyez en Dieu. » (Hamidullah, 1989).

Les professionnels disent avoir appris, dans le cadre des formations dispensées par des intervenants venus des pays occidentaux, à utiliser des techniques de médiation qui visent à essayer de concilier des points de vue sans pour autant se positionner. Or, les prescriptions religieuses qui ont cours officiellement dans leurs pays les incitent à se positionner, à donner leur point de vue, à intervenir pour dénoncer des comportements licencieux.

Il leur devient parfois difficile de garder la neutralité que les formateurs occidentaux leur demandent d'adopter. Notre travail, en tentant de prendre en compte les différences de conceptions et de mise en œuvre de la relation d'aide, a consisté à inciter les professionnels à ne pas bloquer les situations dans lesquelles ils interviennent. Nous avons conséquemment insisté sur l'adoption de techniques de recueil d'informations, de facilitation de la parole et ainsi pouvoir favoriser l'aide à la prise en compte du contexte spécifique qui fait émerger les difficultés des usagers. Autrement dit, nous avons travaillé avec les professionnels des dispositions qui permettent à leurs usagers d'intégrer les normes sociales en rappelant les valeurs partagées par le plus grand nombre tout en facilitant leur expression.

L'ancre de la culture de nos interlocuteurs dans la religion, qu'elle soit musulmane, catholique ou protestante oriente leurs perceptions de la vie et les comportements qu'ils peuvent adopter jusque dans la sphère du travail. Tout se passe comme s'il y avait une continuité entre les croyances individuelles dans la sphère privée et celles de la sphère publique. Contrairement aux principes du travail social en France et dans les sociétés où l'influence religieuse est, en principe, moindre, les références de bon nombre de nos interlocuteurs travailleurs sociaux au Maroc ou au Congo intègrent les préceptes religieux pour fonder et donner sens à leurs pratiques professionnelles comme le montre l'exemple suivant.

Lors d'un exercice qui porte sur le travail d'équipe, une décision devait être prise à partir de l'étude d'une situation donnée à la réflexion et à l'analyse. Une professionnelle devait commencer à exprimer son point de vue au même moment qu'un collègue homme. Elle s'interrompt et cède la parole à ce dernier en disant c'est normal qu'il s'exprime en premier. Les membres du groupe n'ont aucunement contesté cette initiative.

Au terme de l'exercice, nous revenons avec le groupe sur un certain nombre d'éléments, dont ce que nous avons considéré comme étant un incident. Le collègue m'explique alors qu'au Congo, et en prenant appui sur la religion catholique, l'homme a autorité sur les femmes. Il poursuit en rationalisant son propos et en faisant référence à la Bible (Chouraqui, 2007).

Lors des différents bilans faits avec les travailleurs sociaux des sessions organisées, nous avons été sensibles à des réflexions formulées avec clairvoyance à l'égard des « experts en formation qui viennent des pays du Nord ». De nombreux professionnels considèrent que les référentiels culturels locaux ne sont pas toujours pris en compte et notamment la part importante de la religion dans leur pratique. L'occultation de cette dimension est assimilée parfois à une volonté de nier la spécificité culturelle locale. Il apparaît évident pour certains professionnels que : « Les questions religieuses, pourtant fondamentales pour nous, sont reléguées à un second

plan au profit d'un pseudo humanisme. » Bon nombre de professionnels, bien souvent, considèrent que les apports des formateurs qui viennent d'Europe ou d'Amérique du Nord sont indéniables d'un point de vue technique. Apports qui, selon eux, gagneraient en intérêt s'ils prenaient en compte les cultures locales.

## **De l'aide institutionnelle et de la charité**

Les relations qui naissent dans le cadre de la formation de travailleurs sociaux en Afrique laissent apparaître d'autres formes d'approches de l'action sociale. C'est ainsi que nous avons pu voir comment la question de l'aide apportée, du don et du contre-don peut se configurer de manière différente entre ce qui est demandé en France ou en Afrique. Il est admis depuis M. Mauss (2007) que le don est un fait social total qui engage des systèmes sociaux complexes. Sans donner et recevoir, il ne peut y avoir de communauté de vie. Le travail social, quel que soit l'endroit où il s'exerce à travers le monde, en tant qu'espace d'accompagnement, amène les professionnels à donner et à recevoir dans le cadre des relations qu'ils établissent avec les usagers. Toutefois, les formes de don et de contre-don dans le travail social sont loin de se présenter de manière identique en France et dans les sociétés encore marquées par la tradition, comme en Afrique.

Ainsi en France, l'obligation de situer la relation avec les usagers dans un cadre professionnel oblige les travailleurs sociaux à s'inscrire dans une posture de distanciation et l'adoption de ce qui est considéré comme un positionnement professionnel strict. Ceci revient à dire que le professionnel doit mettre de côté ses affects, ses valeurs et ne pas s'adonner à des actes qui créeraient une quelconque confusion avec les usagers notamment en matière d'aide matérielle. Des procédures sont mises en place pour répondre à la demande des bénéficiaires qui donnent lieu à des prises de décisions collectives sur des bases objectivées. Ce sont les institutions qui, à partir de budgets identifiés, et sur décision de commissions d'experts, donnent les aides notamment financières ou décident de l'accueil de telle ou telle autre personne. Il est ainsi mal vu pour les professionnels, voire interdit, d'échanger une aide matérielle ou financière avec les usagers en dehors de ce qui est permis dans un cadre institutionnel. Un système rationalisé qui est du ressort des compétences de l'Etat ou des collectivités territoriales qui les financent.

A contrario, au Maroc et au Congo, où l'Etat est en cours de structuration et de consolidation de ses politiques sociales sur des modes modernes, il est courant de voir des travailleurs sociaux apporter dans leurs

témoignages des exemples dans lesquels ils font état d'aides matérielles personnelles, apportées d'une manière récurrente, aux usagers des services dans lesquels ils interviennent. Ceci revient à dire que dans ces sociétés cohabitent des formes d'organisation sociale qui relèvent de la tradition et de la modernité. Les professionnels ancrés dans un fonctionnement des sociétés traditionnelles agissent davantage à partir d'un système spontané où l'obligation de donner s'envisage à une échelle interindividuelle ou intergroupe. De ce fait, il s'agit moins de stratégies de compensation des défaillances de l'Etat que de respect des valeurs que véhicule leur culture.

Nous avons même vu lors de nos différentes rencontres dans les établissements, d'anciens usagers revenir demander de l'aide sur tel ou tel autre point. Nous avons pu aussi relever dans les situations évoquées par les professionnels pendant la formation, des exemples d'aides qui peuvent prendre des formes différentes : dons en numéraire sur les propres revenus des professionnels pour aider les usagers à faire face à une situation de détresse (absence prolongée du mari, argent pour payer le retour au domicile après un rendez-vous, aide pour l'achat de fournitures scolaires pour les enfants, etc.). Les systèmes d'échange de dons passent aussi parfois par l'hébergement à domicile de certains usagers mineurs ou majeurs d'une manière temporaire en attendant de résoudre les problèmes qu'ils peuvent rencontrer. Nous avons pu aussi observer que les pratiques de don et de contre-don s'inscrivent dans des logiques de circularité où il n'existe pas d'un côté ceux qui donnent et de l'autre ceux qui reçoivent.

En effet, il arrive parfois que les professionnels se retrouvent, du fait de leur niveau de vie peu élevé, dans des positions où certains usagers leur proposent des dons qu'ils acceptent volontiers et sans réticences. Lorsque nous présentons aux professionnels la manière dont les travailleurs sociaux fonctionnent en France, c'est-à-dire refusant, dans la plupart des cas, les dons qui proviennent des usagers, ils ne se considèrent pas fautifs, ni abusant de leurs fonctions. Ils disent tout simplement respecter des valeurs qu'ils considèrent comme normales.

## Conclusion

Les données analysées ici se proposent de relater ce qui se manifeste, dans un contexte africain, lors de la mise en place de programmes de formation au profit de travailleurs sociaux par des formateurs venus de France. Elles dégagent des constantes qui éclairent les fondements des pratiques qui peuvent représenter autant d'obstacles susceptibles d'entraver la mise en œuvre de projets qui unissent des représentants de cultures différentes.

En effet, la prise de conscience qu'au-delà du langage, de l'utilisation des mots, il existe une symbolique qui sous-tend ces derniers et qui leur donne leur pleine mesure. Parler de liberté, d'autorité, de solidarité, de relation d'aide ou de laïcité peut ne pas avoir la même signification en fonction de l'univers de référence des interlocuteurs. Leur utilisation doit se préoccuper de viser le dépassement, dans le cadre de ce type de formation, du simple exposé phonétique des termes pour aller vers un travail qui permet l'accès aux significations profondes que les personnes, engagées dans des processus d'échanges, leur donnent. Procéder de la sorte évite de transposer des valeurs, des normes, des modèles de pensée, des conceptions de la vie sociale ou professionnelle et favorise la reconnaissance de l'autre et de ses pratiques. Il en va de même de la prise en compte, lors de la réalisation des actions de formation, des questions qui restent fortement influencées par le contexte qui les voit naître et qui sont relatives notamment au rapport au temps et à la définition des relations interpersonnelles dans le cadre des interventions auprès des usagers ou des collègues.

Mais au-delà de ces réflexions, qui invitent à rester précautionneux dès lors que des programmes de formation en travail social unissent des représentants de cultures différentes, nous souhaitons insister sur la richesse que recèlent de telles expériences. En effet, de telles initiatives représentent un ensemble d'expériences bénéfiques au rapprochement entre les cultures et à la reconnaissance mutuelle. Elles concourent à construire un monde, pour reprendre les propos du philosophe malien Amadou Hambâté Bâ, que malgré leurs différences : « Les hommes peuvent atteindre un but commun sans emprunter les mêmes voies. »

Elles doivent se prolonger sous forme d'actions très diversifiées. Celles-ci doivent favoriser en plus de la mobilité des experts du Nord vers le Sud, la circulation des spécialistes du travail social quel que soit leur statut ou leurs pays d'origine. Les échanges peuvent aussi s'opérer entre les experts des pays du Sud, dans le cadre d'expériences diverses, dans une perspective d'enrichissement mutuel. L'invitation à réaliser des stages et des interventions, dans les pays du Nord, pourrait être l'occasion, pour les professionnels des pays du Sud, d'aborder les spécificités des modes d'intervention, dans des contextes culturels différents – et inversement, dans le sens Nord/Sud, pour les professionnels du Nord. Les professionnels du social en tireraient une valorisation des actions entreprises et une reconnaissance sociale, souvent contestée, dans leurs pays respectifs. Plus encore, ces expériences permettraient aux acteurs du Sud et du Nord de revenir dans leurs contextes d'origine avec plus d'égard encore pour les « diversités internes » qui caractérisent ces contextes et qui souvent sont

passées sous silence. Ces initiatives pourraient ainsi permettre aux professionnels du social, en Afrique ou ailleurs, de sélectionner, dans leurs cultures, pour reprendre les préconisations de Roger Bastide (1971), les aspects dynamiques qui leur offrent d'aller de l'avant et de laisser ceux, statiques, qui freinent leur avancée.

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# **Internats et socialisation scolaire au Maroc**

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## **Introduction**

Comment à l'intérieur de la société Marocaine composite et périphérique d'une part, arabo-musulmane d'autre part, fonctionne la socialisation secondaire qui se produit et se structure au sein du système d'enseignement ? Quels sont les mécanismes qui régissent la socialisation scolaire? Comment se déterminent les multiples usages de la socialisation que les élèves s'approprient à l'internat scolaire? Et quelles relations y -a- il entre la socialisation et la sélection ?

Telle sont les principales interrogations qui guident cette contribution sociologique.

## **Socialisation et sélection**

La société Marocaine est une société composite comme à été mentionné ci-dessus selon le concept célèbre du sociologue Paul Pascon, tiraillée entre la tradition et la modernité dans tout les aspects de la vie sociale, culturelle et juridique. D'ailleurs l'Etat émerge au sein de la société une stratégie de combinaison et d'éclectisme cherchant à concilier fidélité à la tradition et aspiration à la modernité, (Faoubar, 2005). Dans ce modèle sociétal l'Etat gère les distorsions culturelles, politiques et sociales et garantit le maintien inégal des intérêts symboliques et matériels en faveur des catégories sociales dominantes.

Dans la société Marocaine, la socialisation se développe d'une façon inégale selon le milieu (urbaine/rural) le sexe, l'appartenance socio-économique des familles et leur capital culturel et social. La socialisation en général- primaire érigée au sein des familles, et secondaire exercée dans les écoles et autres institutions socialisatrices oscille entre des pratiques multiples hétérogènes et complexes- qui n'optent pas vers une référence clairement définie.

L'Elite étatique incombe au système d'enseignement la diffusion d'une socialisation composite qui diffère d'ailleurs avec les objectifs d'une

socialisation individualiste qui règne à l'occident. C'est à dire que «le système éducatif Marocain participe au développement général du pays fondé sur la conciliation positive entre la fidélité à la tradition et l'aspiration à la modernité. Il assure une interaction dynamique entre patrimoine culturel du Maroc, et les grands principes universels des droits de l'homme et le respect de sa dignité ». (La charte Nationale de l'éducation et de formation 1999).

C'est dans cette vision normative, et conciliatrice que se pratique la socialisation secondaire. Or, la socialisation renvoie à un sens précis, c'est-à-dire l'intériorisation de ce qui est objectif et l'externalisation de ce qui subjectif comme disait le philosophe Habermas. Elle correspond à l'ensemble des processus par lesquels la société induit les valeurs, les normes, les rôles, et détermine les comportements des individus.

Elle a pour fonction de favoriser l'intégration sociale des individus à la vie de groupe en produisant chez eux, l'*habitus* qui les adapte aux structures mentales de la société.

En effet, la socialisation engage «des processus affectifs, cognitifs et sociaux à travers lesquels les individus font l'apprentissage des normes et des valeurs et plus largement d'un ensemble relativement cohérent de traits culturels, qui organisent les relations sociales ». (Llored, 2007)

Que l'apprentissage est fondamental dans le processus de socialisation, chose qui ne prête pas à discussion. Il suffit d'observer son rôle dans le système d'enseignement qui l'organise par des structures institutionnelles et des relations interactives en impliquant généralement les professeurs et les élèves, en les inculquant non pas seulement des savoirs, et des savoirs faire mais aussi des valeurs, des normes, des représentations sociales, des modèles de comportement. Bref, la socialisation devenue un acteur fondamental qui prédispose les jeunes à assumer leurs rôles et atteindre leurs statuts que leur assigne la société.

La socialisation scolaire sera plus efficace dans la mesure où la scolarisation aura affirmée son étendue à l'ensemble de la population, surtout les couches sociales défavorisées (rurales, urbaines et périurbaines) la socialisation dite scolaire concourt à l'échec quand la sélection entrave le processus éducatif de l'élève et entraîne le décrochage scolaire. Dans ce cadre précis cherkaoui a démontré que l'école unifie en socialisant et divise en sélectionnant. (Cherkaoui, 1986).

A propos de l'unification, l'école maintient la transmission de la culture aux élèves dont le but est de garantir un degré de cohérence dans la société, et de promouvoir l'homogénéité des traits culturels et identitaires de la personnalité de l'individu.

Pour ce qui est de la division, l'école garde toujours le privilège de mystifier sa fonction de division, elle mène la mécanique de la sélection comme mécanique interne, basée sur les techniques des examens certificatifs, pour classer, reclasser les élèves selon leur rendement scolaire aux examens.

Dans le cas Marocain, on insiste sur le fait que « les pratiques de sélection d'orientation et donc d'élimination des enfants issus des milieux rurales et péri-urbains se trouvent depuis 1987 reportés de la sortie du primaire à celle du collège ». (Boulahecen, 2002).

La sélection qui s'opère au sein du système d'enseignement Marocain touche aussi bien le processus scolaire de l'élève à travers les résultats scolaires de fin d'études que les chances d'obtention de la bourse scolaire qui permet à l'élève rural de poursuivre ses études après le passage du primaire au secondaire en adhérant à l'internat scolaire.

### **Internat Scolaires: de la socialisation à la sélection**

Les internats sont des entités, ou des pensionnats éducatives faisant partie des établissements scolaires collégiaux et secondaires qui garantissent les services d'hébergement et de nourriture des élèves boursiers nécessiteux issus des zones rurales.

Les élèves ruraux poursuivent leur étude dans les collèges ou lycées localisés en milieu rural ou au milieu péri-urbain et urbain. A cet égard, on doit souligner que 40% des élèves du cycle primaire profitent des cantines scolaires (Programme Najah 2008). Or la nécessité des internats et des cantines scolaires dans le réseau scolaire rural Marocain s'avère primordiale vu l'état précaire du milieu rural en ce qui concerne les équipements d'infrastructure, le niveau socio-économique détérioré de la plupart des familles, et le besoin énorme de « modernisation des structures existantes ». (Zouggari, 1997).

Bref, il apparaît que le dysfonctionnement de la dynamique sociale et économique est tributaire des équipements et structures scolaires qui faisaient défaut dans les écoles, collège et lycées du milieu rural et péri-urbaine. Tout cela génère l'inégalité des chances et ne réduit pas les chances de non accès de la population rurale à la socialisation scolaire. C'est pour cela que « la campagne manque d'alimentation électrique de moyens de communication et de transport dispensé dans de pareilles conditions matérielles, l'enseignement ne peut avoir qu'un rendement pédagogique négatif ». (Boulahecen, 2002).

On peut donner une liste exhaustive des principaux fonctions de l'internat scolaire, parmi lesquels se trouvent: 1 'hébergement collectif des élèves, la nourriture, l'encadrement pédagogique, la dynamique de la vie scolaire, les loisirs, les activités sportives et para scolaires, le travail de groupe.

A partir d'une enquête de terrain sur la socialisation des internats scolaires dans un village ( Bni-Tajjit) du Sud/Est Marocain, il s'avère que ces pensionnats ne s'accordent pas de leur fonctions, et ne réalisent pas leur objectif à savoir le maintien d'une socialisation rationnelle équilibrée et pragmatique dont l'objectif est de socialiser, intégrer, surmonter l'handicap socioculturel des élèves, et garantir leur réussite.

Les élèves d'après l'enquête annoncent la médiocrité des conditions de vie, l'hébergement, la nourriture, la sociabilité. C'est pour cela qu'ils demandent d'une façon ininterrompue l'offre de nourriture complémentaire de leur famille. Ils souffrent aussi du stress, de l'absence d'un encadrement pédagogique adéquat, et d'un accompagnement de proximité. C'est-à-dire que les élèves internes ont besoin d'un dispositif de socialisation pratique et opérationnel, qui les aide à mener leur vie scolaire avec succès et efficacité.

L'impuissance de l'école à garantir la fonction de socialisation au sein des internats est compensée par le pouvoir socialisateur du groupe des pairs c'est-à-dire les amis de l'internat unis et solidarisés par des activités communes ; des actions d'entraide pour faire face à des problèmes de la vie scolaire et personnelle et qui jettent les bases d'une amitié solide entre les jeunes d'internats qui dure dans les phases ultérieurs de la vie.

L'intégration d'un dispositif adéquat d' encadrement qui doit être mis en place dans les internats après la mise en application d'un plan de formation des cadres administratifs peut s'avérer efficient. Il est le moyen le plus efficace d'en tirer parti.

En dépit de cette carence socialisatrice, les internats scolaires ne facilitent pas aux élèves la saisie du savoir, d'offrir l'environnement propice à l'apprentissage. Le système d'enseignement mène une politique sélective, Cette politique concerne l'octroi des bourses scolaires aux élèves ruraux nécessiteux. On doit souligner qu'en 1993 10% des élèves ruraux seulement qui ont bénéficié des bourses scolaires. (Faoubar, 1993).

Par ailleurs, la poursuite des études pour les élèves non boursiers dépend des moyens financiers, quand les familles défavorisées sont privées du capital économique favorable. Les élèves qui peuvent changer leurs chances subjectives aux actes objectifs sont dans la plupart des cas des garçons et non des filles. La distinction sociale entre les garçons et les filles, demeure une pratique traditionnelle héritée de la division sexuelle du travail. Tant que les internats ne mèneront pas les projets de socialisation équilibrés

suivant les attentes des élèves, et les possibilités du contexte, les pratiques en vigueur ne pourront jamais dépasser l'inadéquation entre la logique de fonctionnement de l'école et les finalités déclarées.

Le système d'enseignement Marocain en défavorisant la population rurale, maintient une relation inégale entre l'urbain et rural. Ainsi, la présence du collège au milieu rural ne fournit-il qu'une socialisation scolaire restreinte et sélective, ce qui se répercute sur la division inadéquate spatiale et sociale des services éducatifs.

Etant donné que les enquêtes prouvent que les élèves ruraux ne sont pas satisfaits de la vie interne dont ils bénéficient, c'est dire que le budget alloué aux internats ne répond pas aux besoins vitaux des élèves. Autrement dit, l'offre en matière de socialisation ne s'aligne pas avec la forte demande de la population qui souffre de la misère et de la pénurie sociale et culturelle.

## **La réforme d'enseignement et le plan d'urgence 2009/2012**

La charte nationale d'Education et de formation a introduit en 2000, une réforme scolaire importante qui n'a pas été sans conséquences sur le statut de la socialisation scolaire au Maroc. Cette charte a été adoptée définitivement comme texte de référence pour l'ensemble du système d'enseignement. il s'agit de mener des chantiers de réforme qui visent le changement des structures, des apprentissages, des méthodes d'enseignement et les mécanismes de gestion.

La mise en œuvre de la charte pour réussir la réforme et surmonter la crise, s'est traduite par un bilan de réalisation modeste, et mitigé «C'est dans ce cadre que le Ministère a établi un plan d'urgence Najah 2009/2012 ambitieux et innovant» (Programme Najah 2008).

Le plan d'urgence est le prolongement de la charte nationale, toute fois ce plan vise à répondre à quatre objectifs principaux :

- rendre effective l'obligation de la scolarité à l'âge de 15 ans.
- stimuler l'initiative et l'excellence au lycée et à l'université.
- affronter les problématiques transversales du système.
- se donner les moyens de réussir.

A partir de là, on a décliné 27 projets pour accélérer la mise en œuvre de la réforme à travers l'implication du système administratif. À partir de ces objectifs prioritaires qu'en est-il de la socialisation?

En faisant de l'apprenant et de l'enfant en particulier le centre de réflexion et d'action pédagogique, la charte semble créer un tournant décisif dans la nature et le rôle de la socialisation scolaire. Il s'est avéré enfin que l'élite étatique a incorporée tardivement la nécessité de transition vers la

conception moderne de l'éducation. Le changement passe évidemment par l'implication des acteurs à la mise à niveau des apprentissages des élèves et pour l'élargissement de l'offre social. Cependant le plan d'urgence, est ambitieux, il renonce les mesures visant à réduire l'impact des facteurs socioéconomiques qui entravent l'accès et la poursuite de l'enseignement.

Parmi les mesures préconisées on cite:

- l'extension de l'offre d'internats au milieu rural, étant donné que 25% des collèges en 2006 qui disposaient des internats.
- la prise en charge par le ministère de la restauration des élèves dans les cantines et les internats (700dhs par bourse trimestrielle pour chaque élève boursier).
- chaque nouveau collège sera doté d'une internat soit 608 internat qui seront constitués durant la période 2009/2012, notamment l'offre des DAR TALEB gérés par les communes.
- l'optimisation de la capacité d'accueil des cantines scolaires (Programme Najah 2008).

Toutes ces mesures qui seront prises durant la période du plan d'urgence est ce qu'ils contribueront à réadapter et reconstituer la socialisation scolaire ?

Ce que les élèves marocains vont acquérir, c'est la réduction de la sélection en vue de l'obtention des bourses scolaires, et des aides matérielles. L'internat sera un milieu socio-éducatif ouvert pour les élèves ruraux. Mais les risques surgiront en débordant sans doute les échéances du plan sans que le système d'enseignement cesse de sa fonction de sélection et d'exclusion.

Par ailleurs, il apparaît que le plan d'urgence développe la conception selon laquelle l'internat scolaire s'occupe seulement de la fonction d'hébergement et de restauration. Or l'internat contribue aussi à la socialisation des jeunes, c'est à dire, l'encadrement, l'apprentissage, la dynamisation de la vie scolaire. Il faut donc veiller à ce que l'internat scolaire s'acquitte de sa mission de socialisation au même titre de sa fonction de pensionnat afin qu'on puisse vraiment réaliser l'équilibre entre la mission sociale, et la cause éducative.

En définitive le plan envisage le soutien des élèves pour contrecarrer le redoublement, le décrochage scolaire, ce plan de soutien doit faire preuve de la redynamisation des internats en impliquant les cadres administratifs, les espaces, le groupe scolaire dont le but est d'en saisir les avantages d'un soutien et d'un suivi personnalisé des élèves.

## Synthèse

Concernant les processus d'appartenance mis en œuvre par la population rurale étudiée, il s'est avéré que les jeunes s'attachent fidèlement à leur village natal. Toutefois, cet attachement faisait défaut quand les jeunes sont privés de la possibilité de gagner un statut social adéquat, qui correspond à leurs compétences et à leur savoir-faire .Cependant les jeunes marocains diplômés sont prédisposés à abandonner leur nationalité pour sauvegarder leur dignité, et leur identité sociale de toute marginalité et de vulnérabilité.

L'appartenance locale et nationale des jeunes se désorganise quand ils n'arrivent pas à atteindre leur objectif personnel et social. Ce désarroi, constitue le fondement principal de la malaise d'une grande partie des jeunes marocains qui vivent leur rêve à l'endroit des valeurs héritées du territoire local, c'est pour cela que se développe des mouvements sociaux de la jeunesse dans le monde rural contestant l'ordre établi, et revendiquant le droit au travail et à l'intégration sociale.

Les jeunes vivent leur ruralité dans un contexte de dysfonctionnement économique et socioculturel auquel se servent les politiques publiques pour maintenir les valeurs de la pauvreté et de soumission. Ceci dit, les jeunes ressentent que l'accès à la citoyenneté n'est qu'une notion floue sans référent réel, c'est à travers le processus de changement social qu'on doit aboutir à la citoyenneté et affranchir l'identité sociale et culturelle.

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# **Etiquetage, stigmate et religion : la représentation du sida chez les jeunes lycéens à Fès.**

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## **Introduction**

L'approche sociologique basée sur l'étude des représentations et des pratiques liées à l'infection Sida/VIH est capitale pour la prévention et la prise en charge de cette maladie. L'analyse de ce phénomène met plusieurs éléments en jeu notamment social, sexuel, religieux, culturel, politique et idéologique. Ceci montre la complexité de la gestion de cette maladie. Une gestion d'autant plus complexe car la sexualité est considérée comme un tabou socioculturel au Maghreb.

La complexité de la gestion du sida et de sa prévention vient également des stigmates qui entourent les gens atteint du Sida. Si Goffman (1975) affirme que la tâche principale de l'individu discréditable est de gérer l'information qui pourrait conduire au fait d'être discrédiété : « ce phénomène est particulièrement saillant dans le cas du sida où les premiers individus atteints étaient le plus souvent homosexuels ou toxicomanes, dans ce cas, le stigmate attaché à ces groupes sociaux est venu s'ajouter à celui de la maladie » (André Adam, Claudine Herzlich, 2003). Cette double stigmatisation confirment les stratégies que Goffman a identifié pour faire face à la situation du stigmate : « 1) L'individu cache l'attribut dévalué afin d'être accepté comme quelqu'un de normal ; 2) il essaie de réduire la signification de la condition de personne stigmatisée plutôt que de nier son existence ; 3) il décide de se retirer de la vie sociale et de ne pas participer aux activités qui impliquent un contact avec «les gens normaux» » (Goffman, 1975).

La représentation de cette maladie liée à «la déviance», le secret de la séropositivité et le tabou lié à la sexualité peuvent expliquer, en partie, la non visibilité du sida dans l'espace maghrébin ou peu de cas de sida ont été officiellement recensés. Ce qui constitue un grave problème de santé publique et une entrave à la prévention.

Avant d'aborder les représentations et les opinions des jeunes et des adolescents sur le Sida, il important de donner une définition, même sommaire, de la représentation sociale :

### **Qu'est ce qu'une représentation sociale ?**

Les représentations sociales sont une construction sociale issue d'un contexte socioculturel particulier, se nourrissant et s'entretenant par et dans le social. Ces représentations s'imposent donc comme « construction de la réalité commune à un ensemble social » (Jodelet, 1991). Elles font appel à une lecture commune à un ensemble social. Les représentations sociales se présentent comme « une vision fonctionnelle du monde, qui permet à l'individu ou au groupe de donner un sens à ses conduites, et de comprendre la réalité, à travers son propre système de références» (Jean Claude Abric, 1994, p. 13).

Les représentations sociales permettent un « filtrage de l'information disponible sur l'objet de représentation, donnant lieu à des distorsions, des inversions, des réductions, des rajouts de certaines données et/ou à des évaluations, des éliminations, des rétentions et des suppressions d'attributs. Ces altérations, ou biais cognitifs, résultent de l'intervention du mode de pensée, de l'idéologie, du cadre culturel et des systèmes de valeurs de ceux (groupes et/ou individu) qui accueillent un objet ou un phénomène nouveau ou réévaluent un domaine familier (Séca, 2001, p. 63).

Les représentations sociales induisent une gestion du rapport au monde. Selon la place qu'un individu occupe ou souhaite occuper, les représentations ou l'appropriation de représentations peuvent diverger.

La théorie de la représentation sociale se base sur l'interprétation sociale de la maladie. Chaque patient se pose des questions sur l'origine de sa maladie. Il est obligé de donner une explication de l'origine de sa maladie. Cette interprétation n'est jamais seulement une interprétation individuelle mais elle est collective. Selon Claudine Herzlich: «La maladie est soumise donc à une interprétation sociale et collective et parce qu'elle est soumise à une interprétation qu'elle devient un signifiant. Elle tire sa signification de la relation de l'individu au système social. » (Marc Augé, Claudine Herzlich, 1985).

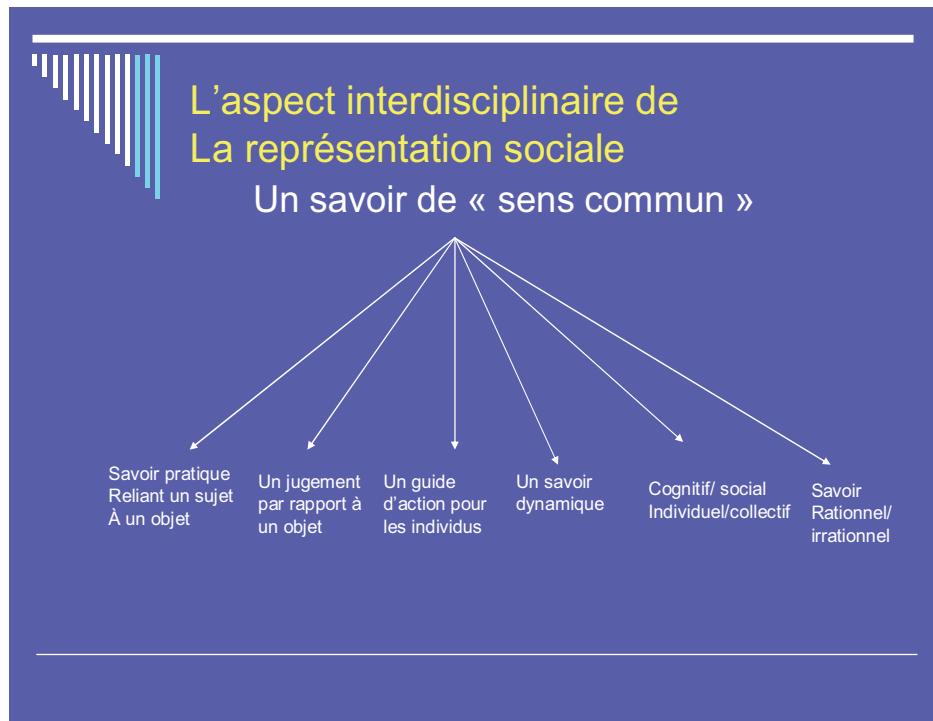
Les sociologues, psychosociologues, historiens ou encore anthropologues ont étudié le phénomène de la représentation sociale. Chaque discipline a sa propre définition du concept de la représentation sociale. On peut néanmoins retrouver un tronc commun à toutes ces définitions que l'on peut résumer en 6 axes principaux :

1. Un savoir pratique reliant un sujet à un objet : exemple l'individu une fois atteint cherche une explication de sa maladie.
2. Une représentation n'est pas seulement une construction d'une image sur un objet ou un savoir produit c'est un jugement ou une évaluation par rapport à cet objet.
3. Une représentation ne se limite pas à la connaissance d'un objet, elle n'est pas simplement un discours sur une réalité c'est un moyen d'action pour les individus. En effet, parmi les vocations de la représentation sociale : « d'instaurer un ordre qui donne aux individus la possibilité de s'orienter dans l'environnement social, matériel et de le dominer. » (Serge Moscovici, préface au livre de Herzlich, 1969)
4. Toute représentation est à la fois cognitive et sociale, selon Pierre Verges (2001): « Toute représentation est cognitive en ce qu'elle suppose une tâche de connaissance pour traiter une information reçue. Mais cet acte de connaissance est activé par une pratique et influencé par le discours circulant dans la société. En ce sens toute représentation est sociale et, par là même, dépendante des cultures, des idéologies et des pratiques ».
5. Dans toute représentation, il existe une part de l'affectif et de l'irrationnel car toute représentation se base sur une image-croyance pour être construite. Contrairement à la théorie qui est une rationalisation de cette image ou de ces images que se fait le malade de sa maladie.
6. Toute représentation, quelle soit individuelle ou collective, est dynamique.
7. Toute représentation sociale est une forme de connaissance. Mais une forme de connaissance distincte des connaissances scientifiques. Cette représentation est désignée souvent comme un savoir de « sens commun » ou savoir profane.

### **L'impossible polarisation entre l'extérieur et l'intérieur, entre individuel et collectif**

Les études anthropologiques classiques sur la représentation se sont basées sur une vision culturaliste de la représentation, une représentation traditionnelle émanant des sociétés « retardées » et une représentation moderne émanant des sociétés occidentales. A cette séparation entre « traditionnelle » et « moderne », il existe une polarisation entre l'extérieur et l'intérieur. Laplantine défend l'idée qu'il existe une représentation extérieure et une représentation intérieure de la maladie. Certains malades expliquent l'étiologie de leur maladie soit par des éléments endogènes

comme l'hérédité, la possession par les Djinns,...d'autres malades l'explique par des éléments exogènes comme la pollution, la volonté divine, la dégradation du milieu naturel. Cependant cette séparation paraît parfois incompatible avec certaines représentations liées aux maladies chroniques notamment le diabète ou les patients expliquent les causes de la maladie en recourant à la fois à l'environnement social ou naturel et à leurs problèmes de dépression ou encore à l'hérédité biologique.



Par ailleurs, Durkheim était le pionnier dans l'élaboration du concept de la représentation sociale. Mais cette élaboration a trop insisté sur la séparation entre représentations collectives ou sociales et représentations individuelles jusqu'à ce qu'on ne peut plus dire que ces dernières puissent avoir un quelconque impact sur les représentations sociales : « Si l'on peut dire, à certains égards, que les représentations collectives sont extérieures aux consciences individuelles, c'est qu'elles ne dérivent pas des individus pris isolément, mais de leur concours ; ce qui est bien différent. Sans doute dans l'élaboration du résultat commun, chacun apporte sa quote-part; mais les sentiments privés ne deviennent sociaux qu'en se combinant sous l'action des forces sui generis que développe l'association; par suite de ces combinaisons et des altérations mutuelles qui en résultent, ils deviennent autre chose.» (Durkheim, 1889)

Or se représenter quelque chose n'est pas le reproduire tel qu'il est conçu par la collectivité mais le remodeler. Lahlou : « Représenter quelque chose, un état n'est, en effet, pas simplement le dédoubler, le répéter ou le reproduire, c'est, le reconstituer, le retoucher, lui en changer le texte [...]. Ces constellations matérielles, une fois fixées, nous font oublier qu'elles sont notre oeuvre.», (Jean Séca, 2004).

Ainsi, ces séparations entre représentations extérieures et intérieures, entre individuelles et collectives sont loin d'être opérationnelles pour l'analyse de certains cas. Elles peuvent même entraver une bonne compréhension des maladies chroniques. Ces dernières dépendent, au contraire, d'une imbrication des dimensions psychosociologiques.

### **Esquisse d'une problématique**

Plusieurs études internationales épidémiologiques et sociologiques ont déjà contribué à la connaissance des représentations et des pratiques liées à l'infection VIH/sida mais aussi à l'étude de sa prévalence et de sa connaissance, notamment en Europe. Danièle Carricaburu et Janine Pierret (1992) ont étudié le vécu quotidien des hommes hémophiles et homosexuels séropositifs. Elles ont montré combien la séropositivité est maintenue secrète : « Cette difficulté à dire la séropositivité repose sur un discours social qui continue à faire du sida une maladie honteuse... ». Ces deux auteurs ajoutent que : « Préserver le secret est une condition nécessaire pour vivre le plus normalement possible... » (Danièle Carricaburu, 1995). Cette représentation du sida et l'attitude des séropositifs constituent ainsi une difficulté de taille pour la prévention de la maladie. Danièle Carricaburu et Janine Pierret (1995) ont, par ailleurs, analysé l'impact de l'infection par le VIH sur l'identité des personnes séropositifs et les stigmates liés à la séropositivité et à la maladie. De même, elles ont étudié les processus de rupture biographique ou au contraire de renforcement biographique chez des hommes contaminés par le VIH.

En Afrique Subsaharienne, l'infection à VIH a été abordée par plusieurs travaux sur la prévention et les représentations (Ebko Fred, Didier Fassin, 2002). Les résultats de ces travaux montrent qu'il existe une prévalence élevée et des logiques multiples derrière les discriminations et les stigmatisations des populations atteintes par cette infection. Pour faire face à celle-ci plusieurs recommandations sont faites en fonction des valeurs et des normes culturelles locales et selon la situation socioéconomique de chaque pays. En Afrique du Nord, peu de travaux ont abordé la maladie du Sida. Sa prévalence reste sous estimée dans cette région. Les données officielles sont peu crédibles à cause des échantillons réduits et les méthodes d'enquêtes utilisées. Le nombre estimé au Maroc est de 2050 cas Sida et

25000 séropositifs selon les chiffres officiels de 2004. Les enquêtes des associations et des organismes non gouvernementaux sont à leur début et ne permettent pas d'apprécier encore la situation de cette maladie. Selon Hakima Himmich (2006) le nombre des cas d'infection est en sensible augmentation dans certaines régions du Sud du Maroc. Dans ce pays, les études épidémiologiques et sociologiques sur la prévention de cette maladie sont restées prisonnières des concepts et des méthodes internationales (Dialmy, Enquêtes ALS) sans pouvoir adopter ceux-ci à l'univers culturel marocain (valeurs et normes culturelles et sexuelles).

La discréption sur le nombre de personnes vivants avec le VIH (PVVIH) par le virus a été longtemps et demeure la politique épidémiologique de l'Etat marocain. Une politique qui s'appuie sur une vision tronquée de la réalité du sida qui veut que dans les pays musulmans les jeunes s'abstiennent encore des rapports sexuels non « légitimes ». Or plusieurs études montrent, au contraire, que les jeunes marocains d'aujourd'hui ont une activité sexuelle hors mariage beaucoup plus importantes que les générations précédentes, ils ont une sexualité discrète et adaptée (pour éviter la perte de la virginité des jeunes filles). Certaines jeunes ont même la possibilité de refaire leur virginité par les médecins. Cette sexualité secrète ne peut que renforcer la non visibilité épidémiologique et sociale du Sida, accentuer la vulnérabilité des jeunes et entraver une bonne prévention de cette maladie.

Le début du débat sur cette maladie sur la scène publique (journaux, télévisions, radio...) et les campagnes de prévention sont nettement plus tardifs par rapport à l'Europe. Pourtant, le premier cas de Sida est déclaré en 1986 au Maroc.

Notre hypothèse principale est que les modèles préventifs ne peuvent être conçus séparément de la représentation que se font les sujets de la maladie et de la sexualité et leurs comportements. Ces modèles doivent être liés à l'ensemble de la vie sociale et culturelle, en un mot au système symbolique auquel appartient l'individu. A partir de cette hypothèse, nous avons étudié les représentations du sida et de la sexualité chez les jeunes lycéens et leurs conséquences sur leurs attitudes et leurs comportements préventifs. Car l'étude des représentations sociales a pour but : « d'édifier « une doctrine » qui facilite la tâche de déceler, de programmer ou d'anticiper actes et conjonctures » (Moscovici, Claudine Herzlich, 1969).

Cependant élaborer un modèle préventif pour le sida pose le problème des rapports entre représentation et action, entre le « dire » et le « faire ». Une enquête réalisée en France montre que : «Les récentes campagnes sur le sida peuvent servir d'exemples : les enquêtes dites KABP (Knowledge, Attitudes, Beliefs and Practices) montrent que, dans

l'ensemble, la population a été en peu d'année remarquablement bien informée et considère le sida comme un grand danger. Pourtant les changements de comportements sexuels sont difficiles à opérer et l'intolérance apparaît plus canalisé que supprimée » (Philippe Adam, Claudine Herzlich, 2003, pp. 72).

D'autres études montrent que l'information sur le sida compte moins, pour l'adoption de conduites préventives, que le sentiment de proximité personnelle de la maladie et le fait de connaître des personnes atteintes (P. Adam, C. Herzlich, 2003, pp. 72).

L'effet du milieu socioculturel sur la conception des individus de la maladie et sur les pratiques préventives. Chaque individu appartient à un schème socioculturel qui a sa conception propre de la maladie, de la santé et de la sexualité ainsi que sa conception propre du modèle préventif : « Si l'on veut comprendre comment savoirs, représentations et discours prennent un sens pour l'action, il convient de toujours les rapporter aux contraintes quotidiennes de la vie des personnes d'une part, aux caractéristiques de leurs relations sociales d'autre part. Les éléments de la structure sociale ainsi que les systèmes de valeur et les références culturelles jouent également un rôle » (P. Adam, C. Herzlich, 2003 p. 73).

L'autre difficulté de la prévention vient de la catégorie jeune. Une catégorie connue pour son rapport complexe à la sexualité. Les adolescents et les jeunes constituent un groupe situé aux premières loges de la vulnérabilité face au VIH/sida car ils sont dans un moment de leur vie instable. A la vulnérabilité socioéconomique, s'ajoute la vulnérabilité sexuelle, les jeunes sont dans une phase du début de maturité sexuelle et souvent au début de la recherche d'information sur les infections sexuellement transmissibles. Or on sait qu'au Maroc, les jeunes âgés entre 15-29 ans constituent plus de 30 % de la population marocaine.

L'histoire de la représentation de l'infection à VIH au Maroc ajoute également à cette difficulté de la mise en place de la prévention. Car l'histoire des maladies n'est pas seulement une histoire d'un combat biomédical mais c'est une histoire de méfiance vis-à-vis des malades. Autrefois ce sont les malades les tuberculeux, les lépreux, aujourd'hui ce sont les personnes vivant avec le VIH (PVVIH) qui sont stigmatisés. Cette méfiance vis-à-vis des malades se traduit par diverses attitudes. L'histoire de la représentation de la maladie du sida au Maroc ressemble à plusieurs égards à cette représentation qu'on se faisait autrefois des maladies contagieuses. Une représentation d'une maladie venant de l'étranger, des africains, des européens mais aussi une représentation depuis le début d'une « maladie honteuse » qui vient des gens qui n'ont pas de « religion » ou qui ne respectent pas les « principes moraux » de l'Islam. Cette représentation

première de la maladie a été souvent relayée par les médias et les hommes de religion. D'où une certaine psychose ou peur collective du Sida. La peur du sida tient également à d'autres facteurs notamment son lien au sang, au sperme et le fait qu'elle a été jusqu'à 1996, date de la découverte de la trithérapie, une maladie mortelle. Or nous savons que la peur structure les représentations sociales des personnes à la maladie et au malade, d'où le sentiment de rejet vis-à-vis des sidéens.

Ces diverses dimensions autour de la sexualité et du sida montrent la complexité d'une mise en place de la prévention. Celle-ci ne peut être conçue qu'à l'échelle de la société et demande une étude profonde des diverses représentations des jeunes.

## Méthode et échantillon

Notre enquête est qualitative sur la base d'un entretien semi directif. 80 entretiens ont été réalisés dans la ville nouvelle et la médina de Fès (40 Femmes et 40 hommes). La population des lycéens concerne les 5ème années, 1ère bac et 2ème bac. Elle appartient à la tranche d'âge entre 15 et 22 ans, autrement dit entre l'adolescence et le début de la jeunesse.

Dix lycées (dont deux de l'enseignement privé, et deux de l'enseignement traditionnel (Attaalim al Assil)) ont été concernés par l'enquête. Certains lycées sont situés dans des quartiers pauvres, d'autres dans des quartiers de classes moyennes, d'autres dans des quartiers riches (Lycées Ibnou Hazm, Ibn Khaldoun, Moulay Slimane,Tayba, Oum Al Kora, Al karaouine, Ben souda, Si Brahim, Zenchfour, Moulay Rchid).

Le choix de l'échantillon s'est fait sur place, il n'est pas représentatif : tout élève volontaire pour participer à l'enquête a fait l'objet de l'enquête à condition qu'il a un niveau d'étude entre la cinquième année et le baccalauréat. La plupart des entretiens ont eu lieu dans une salle isolée dans le lycée avec l'aide de quatre étudiants et deux étudiantes de Master de Sociologie que nous avons formé pour l'occasion.

Une préenquête de 20 entretiens semi directs nous a permis d'ajuster l'entretien final et de le traduire en dialecte marocain.

## Sida, « déviance » et figure de l'étranger

Les représentations sur le sida au Maroc des jeunes marocains se fondent sur deux concepts essentiels à savoir la notion de déviance et la notion du stigmate.

La première notion a été largement développée par Howard Becker dans son livre *Outsiders*. Ce dernier affirme que ce n'est pas l'acte commis par tel ou tel individu qui lui donne l'étiquette de déviant, ce n'est pas non

plus son appartenance à un milieu social particulier. Les groupes sociaux instituent des normes et s'efforcent de les faire appliquer. Quand un individu transgresse ces normes, il est supposé comme étranger au groupe et par conséquent déviant : « Quant un individu est supposé avoir transgressé une norme en vigueur, il peut être perçu comme un type particulier d'individu, auquel on ne peut faire confiance pour vivre selon les normes sur lesquelles s'accorde le groupe. Cet individu est considéré comme étranger au groupe. » (Becker Howard, 1985, p. 25). Cela veut dire que ces sont les groupes sociaux qui créent de la déviance. En partant de ce constat comment expliquer que les groupes de jeunes lycéens marocains, considèrent toute personne atteinte du Sida comme déviant ? Faut-il supposer que ce sont les jeunes qui créent la déviance des malades atteints du Sida ? Si oui de quelle manière la créent-elle ?

Les jeunes recourent souvent à diverses représentations extérieures de l'étiologie de la maladie mais essentiellement à une conception, liant le Sida à la déviance sexuelle. Différentes logiques sous tendent cette conception. On peut citer parmi celles-ci :

#### ***La responsabilité de l'autre, l'étranger et l'immigré***

Elle est toujours mise au premier plan dans la transmission de la maladie. Cet autre auquel on donne une étiquette souvent de déviant sexuel qui enfreint les normes sexuelles.

L'étranger, l'immigré : la maladie serait venue d'un autre pays européen ou occidental, d'un pays africain, d'une autre catégorie sociale (les couches populaires), la figure de l'étranger comporte toujours une image de l'inconnu, le dangereux : « les africains qui sont dans les villes marocaines, les étrangers c'est eux qui importent cette maladie, ce sont aussi les déviants sexuelles, telles les prostituées ». Attribuer la maladie à l'étranger obéit à une logique qui lie la maladie à une personne venant d'ailleurs et à une représentation magnifiée considérant l'altérité comme dangereuse (Alice Desclaux, 2002)

Parfois même les migrants intérieurs aussi : « Les familles qui viennent de la campagne. Comment ? Elles vivent dans la saleté, dans l'insalubrité, ils viennent transmettre la maladie. Les étrangers eux aussi apportent le virus, ils viennent se régaler avec les filles du Maroc, particulièrement les déviants. Maintenant la déviance n'est plus seulement le groupe des drogués mais une autre catégorie, celle des déviants sexuels (les homosexuels) qui deviennent nombreux. ».

### *La responsabilité des prostitués et des homosexuels*

La population la plus ciblée par les représentations des jeunes comme responsable de la transmission du Sida est celle, en premier lieu, des prostituées. Au Maroc, la prostitution n'est pas organisée, ni reconnue officiellement d'où le danger qu'elle présente pour la prévention du sida. Une prostitution devenue de plus en plus importante dans les grandes villes marocaines à cause de la précarisation socioéconomique (le chômage et la pauvreté), (Fouzia Borj, 2004), le développement du tourisme sexuel intérieur et extérieur. De même, l'homosexualité, bien qu'enracinée antérieurement, dans certaines villes impériales, a tendance aussi à l'augmentation à cause des facteurs cités ci-dessus. Le travail sexuel homosexuel et de la prostitution s'effectue dans des endroits loin des regards et dans des conditions instables. Ces populations vulnérables exerçant une sexualité « non orthodoxe » sont citées par la plupart des jeunes comme responsables essentielles du Sida : « D'abord ce sont les déviants sexuels parce qu'ils établissent beaucoup de relations avec plusieurs personnes, ceux qui portent le virus et ceux qui ne le portent pas. Il y a également les prostitués qui ont plusieurs relations chaque jour son lot. Elles ont parfois jusqu'à dix clients par jour si quelqu'un est atteint alors tout le monde est atteint » (Jeune garçons, 19 ans, première bac, lycée Bensouda).

### **Sida et figures des stigmates**

Le déviant sexuel est une personne stigmatisable ou discréditable dans la perception des «normaux». Car il présente « des passions antinaturels ». Selon Goffman (1975) : « Le mot de stigmate servira à désigner un attribut qui jette un discrédit profond, mais il faut voir qu'en réalité c'est en termes de relations et non d'attributs qu'il convient de parler. » (Erving Goffman, 1975, p. 13).

Le discrédit jeté sur les personnes vivant avec le VIH (PVVIH) vient des rumeurs et des représentations qui circulent autour du Sida dans la société: « Le nombre important des maisons closes, des déviants sexuels. En été ce sont les immigrés marocains et les étrangers, les européens, ils apportent avec eux le virus et comme tu sais que tout le monde veut partir en Europe ils sont prêts à tout faire pour les papiers mais les européens partent et avec eux l'été et ils laissent le virus aux marocains ».

Becker a eu raison d'affirmer que « les groupes sociaux, créent la déviance en instituant des normes dont la transgression constitue la déviance, en appliquant ces normes à certains individus et en les étiquetant comme des déviants. De ce point de vue, la déviance n'est pas une qualité

de l'acte commis par une personne, mais plutôt une conséquence de l'application, par les autres, de normes et de sanctions à un transgresseur. Le déviant est celui auquel la collectivité attache cette étiquette » (Becker, 1985, p.32-33).

Quand ce n'est pas les « déviants » c'est l'Etat et les pouvoirs publics qui sont responsables : « En premier lieu, l'Etat et les masses médias qui ne font rien pour sensibiliser les gens sur le danger du sida,... »

Cette conception de la maladie venant de l'autre n'est pas propre aux jeunes lycéens marocains mais elle est une attitude psychique de toute personne se sentant envahie par un danger lié à un inconnu venant de l'extérieur. Cette attitude est souvent défensive visant soit disant à protéger le groupe d'appartenance de toute menace extérieure. Toutefois dans la culture marocaine l'autre ou les autres (le moi collectif) demeure le responsable de tous les maux de la société et l'individu croit fort à son innocence. D'ailleurs la responsabilité de l'individu lui-même n'est que rarement engagée comme dans ce cas : « Toute personne est responsable de lui-même dans l'atteinte par cette maladie. J'espère qu'il y aura plus de campagne de sensibilisation sur cette maladie comme ça les gens prennent conscience de cette maladie ». Sida et acte Zina, un péché capital

Un autre facteur d'explication donnée par les lycéens est que le Sida vient des relations sexuelles « non légitimes », « illégales », avoir ce genre de relation sexuelle est considérée comme un acte zina, c'est-à-dire un péché capital passible d'une sanction divine extrême à avoir l'enfer. Dans l'imaginaire des enquêtés la sanction est due à un enfreint des normes religieuses, les malades atteints du sida sont responsables de ce qu'ils leur arrivent et ils sont coupables par conséquent ils doivent être punis : « C'est une sanction divine, (pourquoi une sanction ?) parce que dans notre religion la sexualité est interdite, l'acte zina est un péché et même c'est la raison principale de l'existence du sida c'est une sanction divine parce qu'on n'est pas soumis à Dieu, il nous dis pour éviter le sida il ne faut pas avoir des relations sexuelles non légitime Dieu a créé le Sida et il a interdit le zina pour que les gens ne soit pas atteints ».

Pour certains lycéens, l'affection par le sida est le résultat d'une longue histoire de relations sexuelles déviantes et qui a eu pour conséquence une maladie non guérissable, d'où l'importance de bannir ce genre de relations : « Tous ceux ou celles qui ont des relations sexuelles non légitimes c'est eux qui transmettent la maladie et les responsables des relations non légitimes plurielles et ça c'est une chose héritée depuis des siècles et des générations et la preuve c'est que le corps ne peut plus se défendre contre cette maladie. ».

Si dans l'imaginaire de certains lycéens, les malades du sida ont été contaminés par le sida parce qu'ils avaient « des attitudes sexuelles déviantes », ils ne peuvent que reproduire ces mêmes attitudes vis-à-vis de nouvelles personnes allant jusqu'à la vengeance : «Les gens responsables sont ceux qui exercent le Zina qui s'en fichent de l'être humain jusqu'à ce q'un jour quelqu'un est atteint et il veut propager le virus, il se dis pourquoi je resterai seul à être atteint par le virus ? ». Cette représentation de la vengeance du patient atteint par le sida nous rappelle le cheminement que fait « un déviant » selon Howard Becker (1985) :

- La première étape d'une carrière déviant consiste la plupart du temps à commettre une transgression. Cette première transgression fait l'objet d'un étiquetage par les proches d'abord, puis par les instances du contrôle social.
- Cette stigmatisation empêche le transgresseur de continuer à agir dans le cadre légal et le constraint petit à petit à s'apprécier lui-même comme déviant en intériorisant l'image de soi que lui renvoie la société. Cet étiquetage pousse l'individu à commettre de nouvelles transgressions. Si nous suivons cette logique des choses nous voyons les conséquences néfastes auxquelles conduit une représentation de la personne vivant avec le VIH comme stigmatisable et du sida comme « déviance » sur la prévention de cette maladie.

Cette stigmatisation a pour conséquence une discrimination des PVVIH et constitue un danger pour la santé publique puisque la discrimination : « s'oppose à la diffusion de l'information sur le risque de transmission, qui doit être le plus large possible pour favoriser la prévention ; elle empêche d'évoquer le risque VIH d'une manière personnalisée, sous peine de susciter la méfiance et la critique, ce qui réduit les possibilités de négocier les mesures préventives ; elle restreint la volonté des personnes de connaître leur statut sérologique et limite le recours au dépistage ; elle favorise le déni de la maladie par les personnes atteintes et restreint le recours au traitement » (Desclaux Alice, 2002, p.2).

## **Relations avec les malades et prévention**

### ***Une relation sous le signe d'une certaine normalité mais avec pitié***

«Je vais me comporter avec lui avec finesse avec tendresse et avec des mots doux, il faut essayer de ne pas l'offusquer ou de le mettre en colère, il faut se comporter avec lui avec une certaine « attention», il ne faut pas rigoler des choses qui concernent la maladie»

### ***Une relation normale mais avec une certaine distance***

« Je vais bien me comporter avec lui c'est normal comme quelqu'un qui n'a pas le virus, je vais lui dire bonjour, je mangerai avec lui, je vais l'aider le problème quoi que je fasse il va sentir qu'il me fait pitié cela va rendre les choses plus complexe, il va sentir un certain handicap.»

« Je vais me comporter avec lui comme d'habitude, je vais lui rendre visite de temps en temps mais il est obligatoire de faire attention et de prendre un peu de distance. Si c'est quelqu'un de proche je vais prendre un peu de distance non parce que je vais avoir peur de lui mais c'est lui qui à l'origine va sentir le handicap.»

### ***Une relation de distance voir de phobie de peur d'être contaminé***

« Qu'est ce que je vais te dire, j'ai jamais connu une personne atteinte du sida, mais si le connais je vais couper mes relations avec lui, je ne vais pas lui tendre la main ni m'asseoir à côté de lui ni me m'approcher de lui, il peut me transmettre la maladie sans que j'en soit conscient c'est pourquoi la meilleure chose est de prendre de la distance parce que la contagion (que Dieu nous préserve) peut facilement se faire avec une simple chose comme sa salive, ses vêtements, en lui tendant la main »

Cette attitude se traduit parfois non seulement par un refus de contact corporel mais également par une certaine méfiance relationnelle.

« Je vais avoir des relations très limité avec elle, je vais m'asseoir à côté d'elle, je ne mettrai pas ses vêtements, j'essayerai de ne pas le lui faire sentir mais elle comprendra, je vais me comporter avec elle avec ruse car comme dit le proverbe « il vaut mieux se comporter avec ruse que du faire du mal », même si je vais lui tendre la main »

### **Sexualité, religion et prévention**

Le registre religieux officiel ou populaire domine largement la culture marocaine. Sa codification des actes sexuels, morales et éthiques sert de guide pour les conduites des croyants (Ababou, 2008). Tout acte sexuel en dehors de mariage est illégitime c'est un acte Zina, c'est un péché capital. Les relations entre personnes de même sexe est interdite religieusement et juridiquement en Islam et par l'Etat marocain. Or il existe plusieurs réseaux d'homosexuels dans les villes impériales au Maroc, réseaux qui se sont développés pendant ces dernières décennies avec le tourisme sexuel. Ceci peut avoir des conséquences considérables sur la non visibilité du sida dans l'espace marocain. Si les représentations sur l'origine du sida et sur sa prise en charge peuvent être teintées du discours religieux, il n'en demeure pas

moins que la pratique sexuelle des jeunes est loin d'être conforme à la juridiction islamique. La limitation des libertés sexuelles par la famille et par l'Etat a poussé les jeunes à développer une sexualité secrète et le renforcement d'une prostitution non contrôlée et à bas prix. Ceci peut avoir de lourdes conséquences sur la prévention.

Selon les données recueillies, la majorité des jeunes déclarent qu'ils n'ont pas eu de relations sexuelles (45/60). Mais cette assertion a été tout à fait attendue étant donné le tabou qui concerne les rapports sexuels entre jeunes. Bon nombre d'entre eux déclarent que c'est un acte interdit Haram, un acte zina. Un extrait d'entretien avec une élève d'un lycée, Al Karaouiyine, connu pour sa tendance religieuse : « Je n'ai jamais eu de rapport sexuel avec quelqu'un, ils disent la prévention mieux que la thérapie pas seulement du Sida. La relation sexuelle est haram dans nos habitudes et la raison profonde est une raison religieuse avant la peur de la maladie. » (Fille, 16 ans, Tronc commun, Al karaouiyine).

Parler de sexualité dans la société marocaine en général demeure un tabou socioculturel (Hchouma). Parler du sida l'est d'autant plus puisqu'elle une maladie transmise par voie sexuelle. Ce tabou ne touche particulièrement la sexualité hors mariage ou la sexualité « haram », « illégitime » extraconjugale : « Hram aalik, que dieu nous préserve, naturellement non, depuis le matin je me dis c'est haram, haram, haram, c'est hchouma, je ne suis pas d'accord avec ses relations est ce que je vais te dire que « c'est permis pour nous et c'est interdit pour vous » donc c'est ce que je t'avais dis depuis le début de l'entretien, moi, je n'ai même pas de copain et encore moins penser au sexe » (Fille, 18 ans, 2ème année bac, sciences humaines).

Cependant, un quart des jeunes (11/60) disent avoir eu des rapports sexuels. Si l'islam stipule que les jeunes filles doivent garder leur virginité jusqu'au mariage, l'écart avec la réalité est aujourd'hui bien grand, plusieurs d'entre elles ont une sexualité avant le mariage. Certaines d'entre elles recourent à des relations dites « protégées » pour éviter de perdre leur virginité bien plus que d'être infecté par le Sida. Etant donné le tabou religieux lié à la virginité, l'importance accordée à celle-ci peut dépasser de loin toute protection des infections sexuellement transmissibles : « Un long soupir, qu'est ce que je vais te dire, on s'embrassait, il me prenait dans ses bras, que Dieu me pardonne ! c'était un médecin il savait ce qu'il faisait, il me donnait de l'assurance. Mais même comme ça, un jour j'ai eu un doute qu'il a fait quelque chose alors je suis allé faire un certificat de virginité pour savoir aussi ce qui s'est passé et j'ai découvert que je suis toujours vierge et mon hymène est du genre élastique même si j'ai une relation sexuelle je ne risque pas de perdre ma virginité et j'étais contente... Ma

deuxième relation, j'étais amoureuse et j'ai eu avec lui une relation sexuelle et je suis toujours avec lui, il a découvert que je suis toujours fille, il n'ose pas, il a peur. Il met rarement le préservatif mais laisse ça entre nous (elle a refusé que l'enquêtrice prenne des notes)» (Fille, 18 ans, 2ème année bac Lettres).

« Franchement, au lycée, j'ai eu deux bonnes relations, je savais le danger du Sida, quand j'ai étudié au collège, la pharmacie était très loin il me fallait beaucoup de temps pour y arriver, je ne prenais pas de préservatif, franchement quand une personne vie ces moments de plaisir il est souvent inconscient, il ne pense ni à ça ni à d'autre chose, il veut seulement atteindre son plaisir et c'est tout » (Jeune homme, 19 ans, 1ère bac, sciences).

« C'est vrai j'ai eu une relation sexuelle, j'étais conscient de tout, je mettais le protexe. Je sortais avec une fille de famille (bint darhoum) pas avec les prostitués, elle me demandait de mettre le préservatif, elle n'avait pas peur du Sida, elle n'était pas vierge, elle emploie aussi un moyen, elle prend un comprimé, pas pour la prévention du Sida mais pour ne pas être enceinte » (Jeune homme, 18 ans, 2ème année Bac).

De même, un cinquième des enquêtés ont eu seulement un flirt, exemple : «Non je n'ai pas de rapport sexuel seulement un flirt dans les zones sensibles, la fille avec qui je sort a peur de tomber enceinte plus que d'attraper le Sida » (Jeune homme 20 ans, 2ème année bac).

«Non je n'ai pas de rapport sexuel, j'ai une relation romantique (elle rigole), depuis le début je m'attendais que tu va poser cette question mais tu as bien fait tu as bien pris le temps de préparer le terrain pour la poser, va s'y parle je vais te répondre franchement, je connais quelqu'un je sors avec lui pour aller dans un café, il me prend dans ses bras et m'embrasse (Fille, 19 ans, 2ème année bac).

## Le registre idéologique

Les données épidémiologiques sur la prévalence du Sida n'ont pas seulement des significations sociologiques ou sanitaires mais aussi des significations politiques. Les chiffres du Sida déclarés par les autorités marocaines révèlent en fait, la volonté par celui-ci de laisser invisible la réalité de cette épidémie et en fait une raison d'Etat (Jean Pierre Dozon, Didier Fassin, 1989).

L'exploitation idéologique et politique de la maladie du Sida ne s'est pas fait attardée par les islamistes et les courants conservateurs de la société marocaine (L'Association des Jeunes Contre le Sida, 2006). Lier la maladie au non au respect des valeurs morales islamiques a un double objectif : d'une part limiter les libertés individuelles et parmi elles la liberté sexuelle qui est déjà compromise par les autorités et prôner le retour aux valeurs

religieuses seule garantie contre l'infection par le sida, d'autre part exploiter le stigmate dominant sur la maladie pour des fins électoralistes. Cette limitation des libertés et encouragé par les mouvements politico religieux qui ont pignon sur rue et qui ont un relais important parmi les jeunes.

Les autorités religieuses (les Ulémas et les prêcheurs des mosquées) font la propagande pour les relations d'abstinence et de « fidélité », les relations sexuelles dans le cadre du mariage pour faire face à l'épidémie du Sida. Certaines refusent explicitement l'emploi du préservatif. D'où l'intérêt de comparer le rôle idéologique des autorités religieuses islamiques officielles en France et celles du Maroc face au Sida et leurs impacts sur l'attitude des jeunes.

Le discours religieux conservateur à tendance à lier la maladie du Sida au non respect des lois islamiques et aux relations sexuelles non légitimes. La maladie est due, selon ce discours, aux « mauvaises filles » qui perdent de plus en plus leur virginité, elles se prêtent à la sexualité en dehors du cadre légal à savoir le mariage. Le sida même serait une maladie des femmes dévergondées et libertines. Le stigmate religieux est présenté comme une déviation sexuelle due à une déviation morale qu'a fait la femme contraire aux règles que stipule le texte coranique et contraire aux lois de la communauté islamique. La meilleure protection contre l'infection par le sida est le respect des valeurs morales et religieuses car la purification morale va de pair avec la purification corporelle : « En résumé, il faut prendre comme base la religion en respectant ses lois et ses principes et tout ce que nous a ordonné dieu et son prophète jusqu'à ce qu'on arrive à l'état de pureté, d'abstinence et de sobriété. Car la pureté du corps vient de la pureté de l'âme » (Jeune femme, 22 ans, 5 année secondaire).

La représentation des maladies sexuellement transmissibles est également liée au facteur religieux et au facteur genre puisque plusieurs individus pensent que se sont des maladies de la femme. Selon certaines interprétations religieuses elle est comparée à l'image de Satan et à l'être impur par opposition à l'homme qui est l'être pur, Elle est l'objet du désir, elle est par conséquent responsable des maladies sexuellement transmissibles. D'ailleurs dans l'imaginaire populaire, c'est la femme qui est porteuse de ces maladies et du Sida. Cette représentation est liée en partie à la domination masculine symbolique (juridique, religieuse et politique et sexuelle) dans le système social marocain.

Face à ces mouvements, les associations de la lutte contre le sida négocient un consensus de prévention moderne, de prise en charge et de normalisation de la maladie dans la société (Danièle Carricaburu, 2004). Leurs actions se résument sur trois niveaux : des campagnes de prévention,

la collecte des fonds aux malades et des actions destinées à la société civile sur la réintégration des patients.

### **En guise de conclusion**

Si les représentations sociales du Sida chez les jeunes lycéens marocains sont largement structurées autour de deux concepts fondamentaux à savoir le concept de stigmatisation et le concept de déviance, ceci n'est une nouveauté car dans plusieurs enquêtes internationales en Europe et particulièrement en Afrique ce résultat est confirmé. Cependant, ces deux concepts ont des implications différentes d'une région du monde à une autre. Le stigmate du sida au Maroc est lié à des dimensions non seulement culturelles, sexuelles mais aussi religieuses. En effet, si les jeunes lient souvent l'étiologie de la maladie à l'étranger (l'european, les immigrés, les personnes venant d'une autre région, des régions rurales,...), chose qu'on retrouve dans les littérature internationales, on constate que plusieurs jeunes citent comme cause de la maladie la sanction divine parce les gens atteint auraient commis un péché capital ou un acte-zina ou ont eu des relations sexuelles non légitimes (hors mariage, avant mariage). L'aspect religieux et le tabou de la sexualité imprègnent fortement les représentations des jeunes autour du Sida, car le religieux codifie non seulement la vie sociale mais aussi les relations sexuelles sur la base de plusieurs interdits. De même, la place de la femme dans la société patriarcale fait d'elle la cible des représentations négatives et par conséquent victime du Stigmate du Sida. La lourdeur du tabou de la virginité renforce cette position de la femme marocaine. Malgré cela, les jeunes marocains ont une sexualité plus développée que leurs aînés mais elle demeure secrète.

Le concept de la déviance a également plusieurs niveaux d'interprétation dans le discours des jeunes. La situation de la déviance est créée par la représentation dominante sur les étrangers, les prostituées, les homosexuels,... Ces populations vulnérables que la société met en marge et exclue sont considérées souvent comme des déviants sexuels et les potentiels «porteurs » du Sida. Les représentations des jeunes reprennent souvent le discours sociétal dominant sur ces populations.

Le stigmate sur la sexualité déviante et sur le sida ont des fonctions parfois sécuritaires pour le groupe ou la communauté et surtout pour les jeunes étant donné qu'ils sont dans une phase de maturité sexuelle et « menacés » par les groupes des déviants sexuels (Howard Becker, 1985, Goffman, 1975).

L'ensemble de ces éléments montre l'ampleur de la tâche à laquelle est confrontée la prévention du Sida au Maroc. Une tâche d'autant plus difficile que les autorités religieuses, au lieu de soutenir les campagnes pour

le préservatif prône un discours de fidélité et d'abstinence sexuelle alors que la sexualité des jeunes, hors mariage, est bien réelle. Enfin, la politique Etatique en matière de prévention n'est pas adaptée à l'évolution de la maladie. Malgré les chiffres alarmants de ces dernières années, les autorités continuent de considérer le Maroc comme non menacé par les ravages du Sida.

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# **Moroccan Islamic movements and the politics of Othering**

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## **Introduction**

This paper is an initial study of my doctoral dissertation entitled “Knowing the ‘Other’ and the protocentric attitudes in religious movements in Morocco”. It scrutinizes the data I have been able to collect so far that consists of 60 interviews with partisans of two politico-religious filiations, one is well known for its opposing attitudes towards the Moroccan political system, while the second seems to support the religious legitimacy of the political system. The study aims at measuring degrees of tolerance and acceptance of the ‘Other’ in the Jammat’s spheres, and noting the sociocognitive strategies used for such knowledge.

## **Representation: a crucial system of othering**

Representation, in its variety of concretizations, stands as one of the most intrinsic issues through which cultural differences get insinuated, dividing the human experience into two main polarities, much defined in terms of ‘X’ and ‘Y’, stressing the factor ≠ as their main congregating yet ironically dissociating agent. Accordingly, the formula “X≠ Y” energizes an intricate othering system vacillating between the two extremes of simulation and stigmatization. Yet, how do X and Y get defined and asserted within the social system?

As an answer, George Devreux (1975) has indicated “A is an X because he is not Y” (p.67). So, this would assume that A can never be identified and noticed as existent without the agent Y, for this latter functions as A’s mirror that reflects her/his personality through actions and reactions. Besides the mirror effect, it’s thanks to the ‘Other’ Y that the

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This paper was supported by Volubilis Program, Comité Mixte interuniversitaire, MA/09/220 Code Franco-Marocain, AI n° : Égide: 20522UF.

‘Self’ A would be able, on the one hand, to use first person statements marking power and existence, and on the other hand experience such a power through interaction with the other.

In addition, A is permanently related to Y through a relation of differentiation, be it social, racial, ideological, geographic, religious, ethnic, etc. This implies a distance between the two agents that varies from the minimum to the maximum, strengthening states of identification and empathy, in some cases, or clichés and prejudices, in other cases, intensified by the denigrating strategy used by A to exclude or even negate Y for self-assertion.

Then, the politics of representation revolve around this dichotomy Self/Other, in its three polarities: 1. how Self represents itself (or projects her/his image to the outer reality that would receive and perceive that image), then 2. how the Other perceives of that Self, and 3. how Self receives the Other; and ideology assumes the monitor of such a Self/Other relationship.

If one assumes that ‘reality’ is an illusive concept referring to something relatively ‘pure’ and ‘true’, then representation would be twofold illusive, being an image of reality (illusiveness) then itself the illusiveness of illusiveness; assuming that an image is a trace of a certain distance between two entities, thus two reality orders. This shows that every act of representation involves a perspective, and then correlates with power and hegemony epitomized through the representation’s affiliations.

This becomes much more delicate when it comes to religion, assuming that it “consists of any set of shared beliefs and actions appealing to supernatural agency” (Harvey Whitehouse, 2004, p.2). So, two key terms are monitoring this definition: ‘belief’ and ‘shared’.

In this context, the first term entails a deep commitment to the validity and truthfulness of a reality order, and in a way or another the disqualification of other orders as non-valid, while the second term implies the notion of group, and any one who doesn’t belong to the group would be conceived of as out of group, which would result automatically in systems of inclusion and exclusion constructing again a firm system of othering so much susceptible to the limitations of representation, with all its losses and taxations, holding degrees of reality that differ from one location to another and vacillate from the maximum to the minimum. This gets much emphasized through the cognitive science definition of religion that defines religion as

Sets of representations, and/ or practices ‘relating to’ those representations, each ‘religion’ as a species of a genus or a token of a type,

you have by implication the question of how much they share and the idea of the basic form of which they are all variant (Laidlaw, 2007, p.228).

In this scope, and as an initial study of my doctoral dissertation entitled “Knowing the ‘Other’ and the protocentric attitudes in religious movements in Morocco”, I would like to share with you my preliminary experience with mainly two Moroccan Islamic religious movements: the first is well known for its opposing attitudes towards the Moroccan political system, while the second seems to support the religious legitimacy of the political system, operating through a network of cultural and social organizations and involved directly in politics through a party .

## **Why Islamic movements?**

The rationale behind the project is to be open to Islamic movements in Morocco and invite dialogue between its partisans and the public for mutual understanding as a step forward towards human progress, by stopping misrepresentations and prejudice thus forms of discrimination, hatred and violence, especially after the events of September 11<sup>th</sup> in the United States of America, and other following event such as in Riad, May 16<sup>th</sup>, 2003 in Casablanca, London, and Madrid which have brought Islam more focus and made the whole world question its beliefs and attitudes, in a way that has changed the image of Islam (in Morocco and elsewhere) from tolerance, moderation, coexistence, and acceptance of the other to an evil image of terrorism and extremism.

## **The Project**

The project argues that the procedures of perceiving the ‘Other’ for Islamic movements vary according to the ideological beliefs of each group (or Jammat), the way it is organized as well as the educational level of the members of the Jammat.

In this regard, two major questions would be asked:

- 1- According to the position of the ‘Other’ towards the religious group (member of the same religious group, member of another group, or member of no religious group), what are the sociocognitive strategies used partisans of this group to know her/him: simulation strategy, protocentric strategy, or pejorative and stigmatizing strategy?
- 2- Can the choice of the strategies mobilized by partisans of religious movements to know the other correlates with their educational levels, and would it vary according to the method of

work and organization adopted by the Islamic Jammat to which these partisans belong?

Thus the main aims of the project are :

- 1- Documenting the types of mental representations and the genre of the sociocognitive strategy mobilized by the Islamic movements in the Moroccan context in an attempt to know the ‘Other’.
- 2- Identifying the cultural, ideological and sociological factors that affect the perception of the ‘Other’ by members of the Islamic movements.
- 3- Proving that the act of knowing the ‘Other’ for religious groups is neither standard nor constant, but variable in function of some cognitive, cultural, ideological and sociological factors.

## **Methodology**

The project is based on both ethnographic work, to be involved directly in the Jammat’s spheres and then allowed participant observation, and interviews and questionnaires as well. Yet, as the very topic of the project seems to be critical, it still faces some problems due to lack of trust on the part of partisans.

In this study, I will analyze the data I have been able to collect so far that consists of 60 interviews with partisans of both political religious filiations.

The aim of the questions asked during the interviews has been to measure degrees of tolerance and the liability to accept the Other, and to notice the sociocognitive strategies used to know that ‘Other’, through facing the interviewee with conventional situations that demand contact and interaction with the Other; implying here members of the same religious group, members of another Islamic group, muslim members of no religious group, and non muslim people.

## **Religious appertaining and protocentric attitudes**

At the beginning, the studied participants of both movements have been asked to imagine a critical situation in which they are required to save the life of people; Muslims and non-Muslims and choose whom they would save the first.

The answers were the following:

- 50%: a Muslim for s/he is my sister/brother, and then I would think of the other.
- 30%: both Muslims and non-Muslims for both are human beings and have souls, and Islam is the religion of love and mercy.

- 20%: A non-Muslim to give her/him some more time to think and convert to Islam to be saved, while the death of the Muslim doesn't matter for s/he would be saved and forgiven and thus go to heaven.

One can notice from these answers the fact that participants' thought is neither standard nor constant, in the way answers and arguments vary and differ. The second notice is the weakness of the argumentative competence of interviewees (though all of them are university students), for only one interviewee has backed up her/his answer by a coranic verse yet not in the appropriate context, using the verse "believers are brothers and sisters", and without any reference to the sora and number of the verse to prove the legitimacy of saving a Muslim rather than a non-Muslim.

The third notice concerns the third category of answers that emphasize saving non-Muslims for Muslims are "already saved"; being Muslims and thus chosen to heaven. Such an answer implies the strong belief in the fact that truth is where the Self is located. This belief would be much more stressed through further answers, the most significant of which is that "only Muslims own religious truth", emphasized by 70% of the interviewees (from both Islamic jammats), as an answer to the question: "in your opinion, who owns religious truth?", while the other interviewees have argued that only partisans of their Jammat own religious truth.

Then, two results can be generated from these answers:

- The tendency of the majority of participants to negate the validity of other religions but Islam, implying here a stigmatizing attitude that tends to exclude the 'Other' from the compelling reality order, assuming a better ability to "reason objectively about the external world" (Epely & Waytz, 2009) and then derogating that 'Other' as incapable of reaching truth due to a "lesser- mind" (Epely & Waytz, 2009) that hold less mentally complex traits (Haslam & Bain, 2007; Haslam, Bain, Douge, Lee, & Bastian, 2005), and motivated by "self- interest" (Epely& Dunning, 2000).
- The negation of the majority of both Jammat's partisans of the validity of other Islamic religious movements but the movement to which they belong, implying here a protocentric attitude. This would refer to the notion of "shared memory" (Candau, 2005) that makes the group's members empathizing with each other, inviting the identification with and the application of a certain model of mores and ethics as a prototype on the basis of which any one who doesn't conform with it would be gazed at as 'Other', then fallacious and less true though belonging to the same religion.

Such a derogatory strategy and religious rigidity might lead to a kind of religious discrimination on both levels:

- Between Muslim and non-Muslim agents.
- Between Muslims of different frameworks and ideologies.

This would inhibit the dynamics of being open to the ‘Other’, and calmly and peacefully apprehend the different religious and Islamic perceptions. In addition, it gives a reason to the governmental mechanisms of controlling and shaping modes of religiosity in Morocco to polish the image of Moroccan Islam and keep its leading roles in regional and international arenas.

### **Islamic Jammats’ tendencies of knowing the Other**

As we have discussed so far the interviewees’ conceptualizations of religious validity and truth, and the unbalanced and non standard ability to accept the ‘Other’ as different yet of the same importance as the ‘Self’, the urgent issue to think about now is the liability to know this Other; implying here the will or non-will to understand her/him, and the space allowed by the Self for such an Other/Self interactive relationship.

One of the most shocking answers marked during the interview is that Islam doesn’t allow asking for mercy for non-Muslims, based again on no coranic verse or Hadith (prophetic saying) thus no argument but emotions and personal prejudice and clichés; though it was only the answer of 30%of the participants, while the rest have been deeply convinced that Islam is the religion of mercy and that only God owns the authority of judging people.

This, on the one hand, implies non judgmental intentions of most Muslim participants towards either non-Muslims or Muslims of another group based on a moderate and flexible frame of mind, while on the other hand the assumptions of other participants- no matter how few they are- that show a total rejection of the Other ( be them a non-Muslim, a partisan of another Muslim group, or a Muslim with no filiations), and a firm system of stereotypes formulated as a result of either a failure of empathizing with this other’s mental states and thus knowing her/him, or simply and more hazardous out of unwillingness to know her/him, showing at this case a high degree of rejection and even exclusion, and at both cases proving a large gap between the ‘Self’ and the ‘Other’, which demands serious consideration.

These two opposing opinions and tendencies towards the other become much more apparent in further parts of the interview. However, some partisans (of both Islamic groups) show tendencies of attraction and

repulsion towards the other, implying a kind of cognitive dissonance that reflects in a way or another:

- 1- Internal conflict and unstable emotions towards the other.
- 2- A lack of a deep understanding of Islam and its beliefs.

This has been incarnated through the answers of 20% of participants who have been unable to set and express a clear and firm position towards the ‘Other’ (Muslim or non-Muslim), oscillating between acceptance and rejection. Such an unsteady position can be clearly noticed through contradicting answers of each one of these participants during the different stages of the interview.

The two tables below give some instances of contradicting answers. The first epitomizes Muslim/ non-Muslim perceptions, while the second deals with assumptions towards members of different filiations.

Question	Answer	Degree of acceptance of the ‘Other’
Imagine a critical situation in which you are required to save the life of people; Muslims and non-Muslims. Who would you save the first: a Muslim or a non-Muslim?	a Muslim	-
If you want to give charity, would you opt for a poor Muslim or a poor non-Muslim?	a poorer non-Muslim	+
If you are in a position to nominate a person for a critical diplomatic position that would allow her/ him making decisions, would you choose a non-Muslim with high qualifications or a Muslim with less qualification?	a Muslim with less qualification?	-

Question	Answer	Degree of acceptance of the 'Other'
There is a Hadith that says that the Muslim nation is divided into 73 sects; all but one would go to hell. Do you think your Islamic group is the chosen one?	yes	-
Do you believe that your group is the only owner of religious truth?	yes	-
If we assume that you have chosen a Muslim person for a critical diplomatic position in the state that would allow her/ him making decisions, would you prefer a member of your group, a person who belongs to another Muslim group or a Muslim with no filiations?	A Muslim with no filiations	+

### Conclusion:

This study has aimed at exploring the Islamic Jamaas' dynamics of othering, and discovering the sociocognitive strategies used. Throughout the study, it has been argued that the notion of group and thus shared memory and practices is omnipresent in the process of receiving and perceiving the Other, creating spheres of attraction and repulsion, inclusion and exclusion, acceptance and rejection through stigmatizing and protocentric attitudes in some cases, and simulation and empathy in other cases. This results in an atmosphere of divisions, lack of unity and discrimination at local as well as international levels, which hinders cooperation and tolerance that seem to be impossible unless a policy of coexistence and mutual understanding is

deeply forged within the philosophy of each religious group, forgetting about any fallacious claim of absolute consistence.

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# **The legitimacy of a religious state or government: explanatory schemas implemented by partisans of religious movements in Morocco**

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## **Introduction**

This paper is a preliminary study of a doctoral thesis that I am embarking on entitled A Socio-cognitive Study of the Politico-religious Beliefs in Morocco. The focus is to be on how partisans of certain politico-religious movements in Morocco perceive of the future Islamic/Muslim state, that is to say, what are the explanatory schemas employed by those partisans to justify the legitimacy and the possibility of a religious state or government. In this regard, I make use of a questionnaire that attempts at providing potential cognitive schemas describing how religious movements' adherents react to a number of supposedly controversial issues regarding the future status of the Islamic/Muslim state or government.

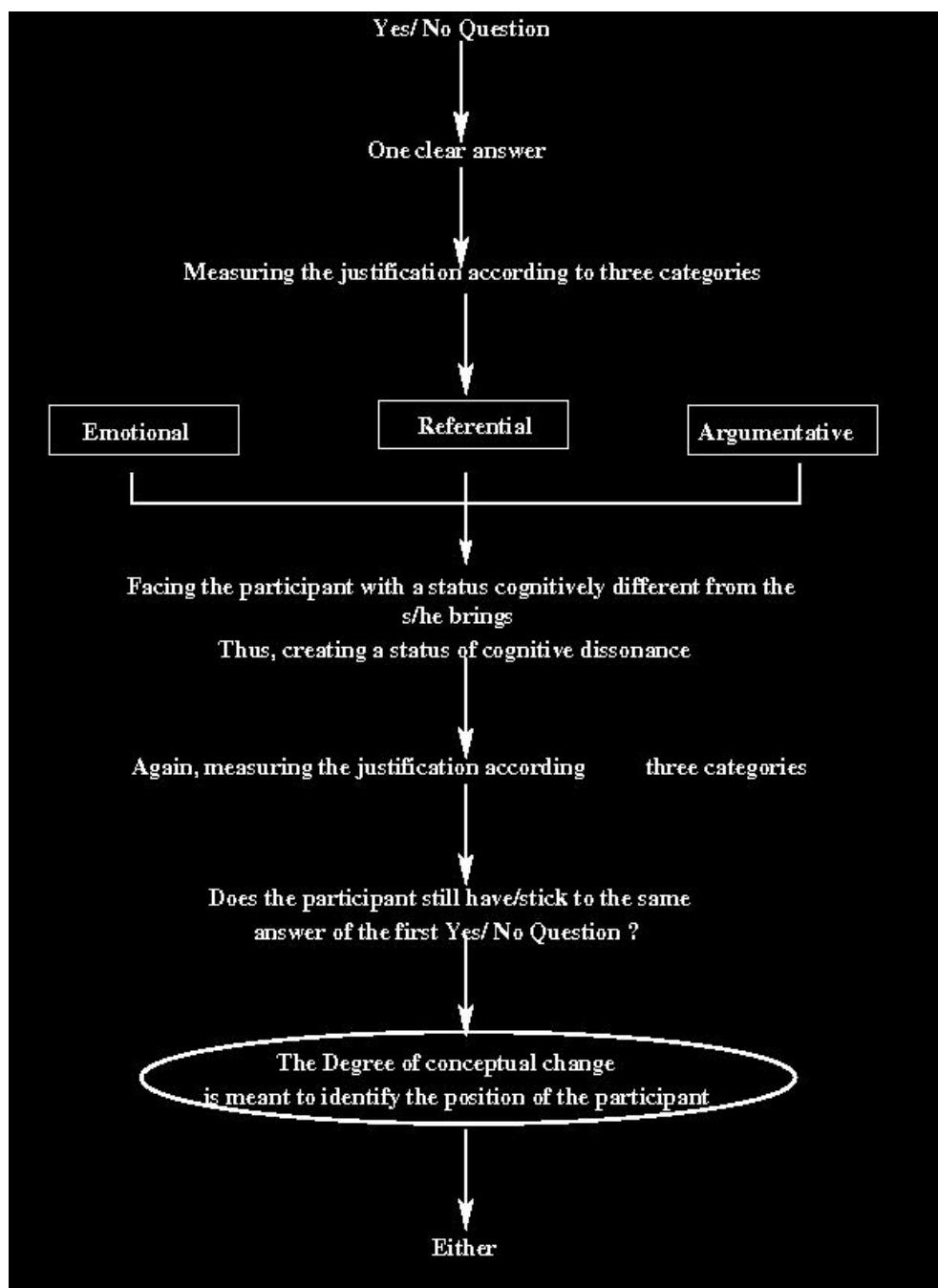
The study is a pilot one for it does not cover the whole presumptive population set by the thesis, which are 300 participants; yet, the collected data, from the chosen population, remains indicative in the sense that it provides in its turn pilot conclusions that would be of use to the fulfilment of the thesis. Hence, 60 participants from two different politico-religious movements were interviewed reciprocally.

The whole activity of questioning participants seeks to investigate the degree of their conceptual change proportionate to how they perceive of the Islamic state before and after facing them with states of conflict or cognitive dissonance. The purpose of measuring the degree of such conceptual change is to cast light on the type of mental representations used by given participants and which might be exclusively different from other mental representations deployed by other participants with different politico-religious affiliations.

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This paper was supported by Volubilis Program, Comité Mixte interuniversitaire, MA/09/220 Code Franco-Marocain, AI n° : Égide: 20522UF.

### The design of the questionnaire



- Regressive: no change from the beginning till the end: unwillingness to change based on the emotional model of “our religion is the best and we ourselves are the best”
- Synthetic: the presence of conflicting ideas between a pre-cognitive status of the participant and post-cognitive status emerging from the creation of cognitive dissonance. The participant would then seek to reduce this dissonance in various ways; s/he may for example try to reconcile the two schemas (his pre-cognitive status and the cognitive status to which s/he is newly exposed) through developing a new theoretical synthetic schema that might different from both his pre and post cognitive states.
- Variable: an extreme conceptual change connotative of, on the one hand, a high willingness to change and, on the other hand, the fact that the emotional model of “our religion is the best and we ourselves are the best” is not rooted within an instituted discourse according to the concepts of Deconchy and Deschamps (2008) and Dan Sperber (2003).

### **The inevitability and absoluteness of the Muslim state**

It is believed that the inevitability and absoluteness of the Muslim state is but a question of time in that a number of quranic verses and prophetic sayings keep emphasizing the fact that the Muslim state is a sort of future reachable and inevitable outcome. The legitimacy of this belief and the possibility of its realization in the future is what this paper tries to investigate by means of measuring modalities of explanation deployed by people who adopt such belief, then try to transmit it. The adoption of certain religious beliefs, in this regard, seems to have its authority from their (I mean religious beliefs) quick mobilization and transmission which vary “between people and places and religions” (James Laidlaw, 2007), and I would add here that mobilization and transmission can vary within the same religion itself as it is the case with the studied participants whom I deliberately chose from two different politico-religious groups to cognitively measure the differences in terms of categories of mental representations deployed by each group to justify their position.

At the beginning, and from an anthropological viewpoint, I would assure that the two studied politico-religious groups share the belief of the absoluteness of the Islamic state in that they provide more or less similar arguments that rationalize their beliefs. So far, the soundness of their beliefs

remains practical and liable to a sort of painless transmission and positive acceptance on the part of the public because it is a belief that is allocated by two different religious groups and thus gets reinforced with no impediments. Yet, such shared belief starts losing its ground once reaching the stage of interpretation which opens the door for a confrontation of conflicting ideas regarding the same issues. For instance, and corresponding to the following question: "Is the inevitability of the Muslim state due to objective reasons, a divine will or because we are the best nation raised up for people?", I would say that about 80 % of the participants from the two politico-religious groups reacted in the same argumentative way, providing me with a very famous prophetic saying:

يقول رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم فيما رواه الإمام أحمد رحمة الله بسنده الصحيح عن النعمان بن بشير رضي الله عنه " تكون النبوة فيكم ما شاء الله أن تكون ثم يرفعها إذا شاء أن يرفعها ثم تكون خلافة على منهاج النبوة ف تكون ما شاء الله أن تكون ثم يرفعها إذا شاء الله أن يرفعها ثم تكون ملكا عاضاً فيكون ما شاء الله أن يكون ثم يرفعها إذا شاء أن يرفعها ثم تكون ملكا جباريا ف تكون ما شاء الله أن تكون ثم يرفعها إذا شاء أن يرفعها ثم تكون خلافة على منهاج النبوة" ثم سكت.

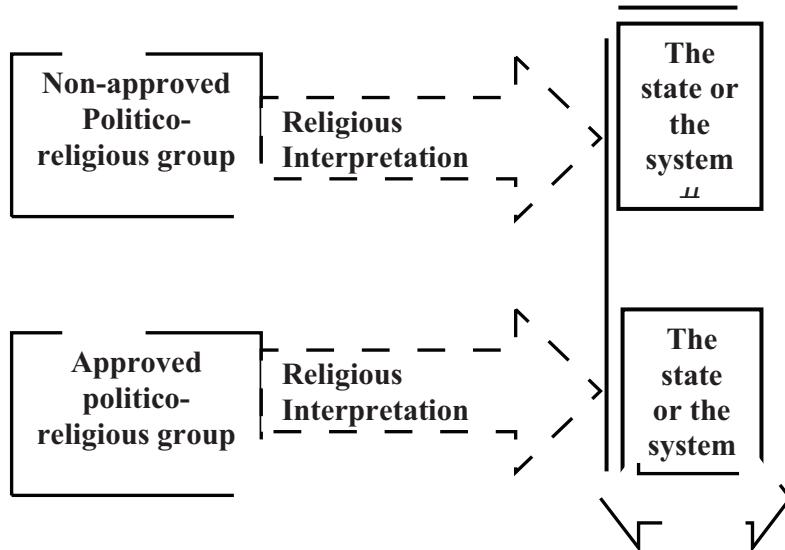
In an attempt to translate this Hadith, prophetic saying, there is a reference to the fact that there are five forms of governance within the history of the Muslim state, organized in an ordinal way as the following:

- 1- Governance during the time of the Prophet Mohamed peace by upon him.
- 2- Governance during the time of the Rightly Guided Caliphates following the prophetic pathway.
- 3- Governance based on inheritance and deep attachment to ruling.
- 4- Governance based on forced and coercive ruling.
- 5- Governance based again on the prophetic pathway (a sort of return to rule by the guiding and instructions of Quran and Sona)

The way partisans of the two politico-religious groups interpret this Hadith seems to be indicative if knowing that one group is approved by the state while the other is not. For reminding purposes, the question addressed to both participants was meant to measure the inevitability and the absoluteness of the Islamic state; nevertheless, while participants from the approved politico-religious party stressed the first and the last forms of governance with no reference to the other mentioned forms, we find participants from the non-approved politico-religious group referring to each form individually with a particular emphasis on the fourth form (Governance based on forced and coercive ruling).

This would lead to the fact that the type of mobilized religious representations can be associated, especially with religious and political membership. That is to say, the fact that partisans of the non-approved politico-religious group stressed the fourth form of governance might be seen as an institutional attitude led by the group in its relation with the state, especially with the emphasis that is put on the current era as be it the fourth form of governance according to those partisans. This interpretation might be understood as a political attitude on the part of the non-approved group for the sole reason that they don't belong to the so-called the system.

In a general sense, it seems that interpretation of religious texts, be them quranic verses or prophetic sayings, are semantically overloaded with socio-politico-religious space appertaining and, thus, mental representations and explanatory schemas deployed by members or adherents of given groups are highly institutionalized within the general framework of those groups. Unsurprisingly, hence, we can have the following equation :



This would largely stress the fact that though they share the same argumentative devices, referring to quranic verse and prophetic sayings, the two groups differ in their manners of explanation and interpretations according to the politics of empathizing and stigmatizing regarding the state or the system.

## **The Islamic state as a future project between reflective and non-reflective representations**

In their yearning to fulfil their ambitions and projects, human beings tend to undergo a number of mental processes that render the mind a sort of workshop full of devices each is useful for a specific occasion (Barrett, 2004). The way these devices operate remains fundamental to the completion and accomplishment of those ambitions and projects. For instance, and regarding the Islamic state as a future project, it seems that each politico-religious group engages itself with certain mental processes for the sake of realizing this project; sometimes those mental processes are reflectively organized and fit within the general order of social thinking; however, in some occasions, the same mental processes can take the form of non-reflective representations and thus might end with transmitting fallacies and erroneous ideas, especially to the masses.

As a matter of instance, and again from an anthropological viewpoint, I have noticed from the interviewed participants, as regards to the Islamic state as a future project, that most of their mental processes offer non-reflective representations for the sole reason that those participants belong to the masses, indeed within the targeted politico-religious groups, whose most representations are taken from their leaders non-reflectively. The shortcomings of this process of give-and-take, where leaders of politico-religious groups play the role of senders while the masses receive, are many and can be summed up partially in a great number of misinterpretations conducted with regard to the perception of the Islamic state as a future project.

Attempting to avoid overgeneralizations, participants from both politico-religious groups have shown different attitudes towards the Islamic state as a future project, mainly due to differences in their educational levels. Thus, participants with university degrees, for instance, from both groups have demonstrated a sense of arguing; providing, hence, arguments and evidence to their positions; nevertheless, participants with less educational levels have been much absorbed with intuitive and empathetic levels of representation (Keyser & Gazzola, 2007), celebrating the emotional model again of “our religious is the best and we ourselves the best”. This emotional type loses its validity with those participants because of its being a direct outcome of non-reflective representations received from leaders who might consciously and deliberately repeat the action of

transmission many times to reach what Harvey Whitehouse names as modes of religiosity and memory. The latter, according to Whitehouse, depends on both remembrance and motivation, that is to say, becoming easy to remember and bring about motivations for continuation.

Sometimes, the transmission of certain politico-religious ideas and beliefs and their consumption on the part of participants, regardless of their educational levels, becomes obvious in relation to questions such as “What are the geographical limits of the future Islamic state?”. In this respect, participants from the non-approved politico-religious group have all agreed on almost the same answer which is: the Islamic state is a regional and local state in the organizational aspect and a universal one in terms of spreading Islam in the world. This, on the one hand, suggests a sense of agreement within the same politico-religious group. On the other hand, this agreement loses its ground when spotting light the inability, especially of participants with less educational levels to justify their answers, failing to provide explanatory schemas to their intuitive representations.

The case is not totally different with some participants from the approved politico-religious group in that they, in their turn, provide unjustified answers full of religious empathizing. Yet, there are other participants who because of their high level of education try to synthesize their mental and emotional states to achieve moderation that would allow their being accepted by their adherents from the masses. This strategy of amalgamating the mental with the emotional is not ideological free in that those participants are highly involved in the political life of the state and their answers should, in a way or another, conform to the general system of the state.

## Conclusion

This paper has attempted at providing some answers to how partisans of certain politico-religious groups perceive of the Islamic state as a future project and the extent of which this project is possible to be realized. In this regard, and after interviewing a number of participants from two politico-religious groups; one is approved by the state while the other is not, it has become obvious that, mental representations, modalities of explanation are highly governed by the politics of religious and political membership and belonging. Besides, the level of education of participants from both groups remains significant proportionate to reflective and non-

reflective representations in that individuals with high level of education have more resistance with regard to non-reflective representations in comparison with individuals with low level who tend to follow intuitively their leader's instructions and guiding.

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# **La coopération en démarche continue d'amélioration de la qualité dans un service de prévention spécialisée**

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## **Introduction**

Nous situerons cette communication dans le débat scientifique qui agite les sciences sociales étudiant le monde du travail, autour des effets de l'introduction des dispositifs de gestion dans le domaine non lucratif. Nous questionnerons la posture « critique » développée par des sociologues, psychologues, qui décrit l'introduction des sciences de gestions comme une colonisation de la rationalité du calcul marchand dans les missions d'intérêt général, ou qui identifie (réduit) les phénomènes juridiques concernant l'acte d'évaluer, au registre de la prescription qui viendrait buter sur la complexité du travail réel et ajouterai nécessairement de la « charge mentale », de la « souffrance psychique » sur le travailleur<sup>1</sup>. « Ces sciences [de gestion] se [protègeraient] de toutes analyses de leurs conditions sociales et économiques de fonctionnement et d'extension, comme de leurs effets concrets »<sup>2</sup>

Nous partirons d'une posture que l'on qualifiera de « descriptive » : une sociologie des sciences de la gestion, décrivant les moyens d'évaluer les pratiques professionnelles, avec la notion de « référentiel d'action ». Nous prendrons pour terrain d'investigation une association de prévention spécialisée (travail de rue), terrain de ma thèse de doctorat où l'expérience

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<sup>1</sup> Christophe Dejours, l'Évaluation du travail à l'épreuve du réel : Critique des fondements de l'évaluation, éditions de l'INRA, 2003.

<sup>2</sup> Michel Chauvière, trop de gestion tue le social, La découverte, 2007.

des directeurs, chefs de services, psychologues, éducateurs, plongés dans l'évaluation de leur service sera l'occasion de tester une voie médiane entre les postures descriptives et critiques. Nous passerons alors de l'usage de la notion de « référentiel », à celle de « dispositif », à l'appui des sociologies pragmatiques et morales (Thevenot, 2006 ; Boltanski, 2009) et de la sociologie des sciences et des techniques (Latour, 2000 ; Callon, 1997).

### **La perspective descriptive de l'évolution des politiques publiques et des modes de gestion dans le secteur non lucratif**

La promotion du changement dans la gestion managériale de l'action administrative ne concerne pas que le travail des professionnels, mais aussi la relation directe à l'usager. Tout un courant de recherche s'intéresse aux questions de la relation entre l'administration et ses usagers depuis les années 80. Pour Jean-Marc Weller ce questionnement qui met au centre des préoccupations l'usager et la relation entretenue avec lui, est pour l'administration une manière "inédite" de se penser<sup>3</sup>. Une réflexion sur la production et la qualité du service offert a produit tout un ensemble d'innovations législatives depuis la fin des années 70 : mention de l'identité des fonctionnaires traitant les dossiers pour plus de transparence, droit d'accès au dossier, lois informatiques et libertés, enquêtes de satisfaction auprès du public... L'analyse de l'effet de ces innovations devient un véritable domaine de recherche pour les sciences humaines que certains chercheurs regroupent sous le terme générique de "modernisation des services publics par l'usager" (Weller, 1998).

Il s'agit donc désormais de penser l'état dans sa relation à l'environnement, à la société civile. La sociologie des organisations avait déjà proposé des macro-systèmes pour penser le lien entre les décideurs d'une organisation et l'ensemble des acteurs du système social. On pense notamment aux travaux de David Easton<sup>4</sup> : qui explique la stabilité des systèmes par un modèle cybernétique de la recherche d'équilibre entre les pressions des acteurs de l'environnement (les demandes ou in put) et les réponses aux demandes (out put) que doivent fournir les décideurs. L'idée qu'il faut penser l'organisation dans un système d'échange avec son environnement, ses usagers et nous allons le voir bien d'autres types d'acteurs, n'est donc pas nouveau. Mais la terminologie avec laquelle les

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<sup>3</sup> Jean-Marc Weller, L'État au guichet, Sociologie cognitive du travail et modernisation administrative des services publics, Sociologie économique, Desclée De Brouwer, 1999

<sup>4</sup> David Easton, A Systems Analysis of Political Life, New York, John Wiley, 1965.

politologues, les sociologues du politique appréhendent désormais le service public a connu un déplacement décisif des modèles fonctionnalistes, où le poids des règles sociales et des cultures professionnelles semblait déterminant car stabilisé. De nouvelles postures de recherches se sont développées d'orientation plus pragmatique, où il s'agit désormais de comprendre, les pouvoirs publics non comme entité sui-generis, mais comme forme de régulation de la société civile dont il faut appréhender au plus près les pratiques institutionnelles. Ce changement de paradigme est évidemment lié à un changement profond de l'Etat en rapport étroit avec les transformations socio-économiques des années 70-80 : la fin des trente glorieuses, l'apparition du chômage de masse, effet que l'on sait aujourd'hui bien structurel qui met en difficulté le modèle redistributif de l'Etat providence ou social. Nous entrons dans un nouveau contexte de l'action publique celui de sa « reterritorialisation », d'une gouvernance « dite locale » fonctionnant par démultiplication des acteurs concernés et donc investit dans le traitement des problèmes sociaux. « De nouvelles techniques de gouvernement sont investies pour combler les brèches ouvertes dans la normativité sociale et politique : promotion de mécanisme plus souples de coordination et d'intégration : l'Etat devenu « modeste » comme les autorités locales privilégient la voie consensuelle : action publique produite de l'interactions d'acteurs multiples dont on cherche à coordonner les stratégies et à harmoniser les intérêts »<sup>5</sup>.

La sociologie des politiques publiques d'inspiration cognitive de Pierre Muller<sup>6</sup>, nous donne des outils pour repenser cette articulation entre la cognition sociale (la description du réel) et la normativité sociale (l'orientation préconisée par différents acteurs plus ou moins concertés pour agir sur le réel) dans une sociologie des politiques publiques attachée à l'analyse du changement social. Il se base sur un type de dispositif technique et social le « référentiel d'action ». Il y a production d'un référentiel quand « des acteurs créent les conditions politiques de la définition d'un nouvel espace d'expression des intérêts sociaux », se positionnant alors comme « médiateurs », à partir d'un cadre de référence à la fois normatif et cognitif, les deux termes sont indissociables. Les transformations qui se jouent au niveau de la « gouvernance locale » sont évidemment en relation avec les transformations du macro-social : la

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<sup>5</sup> Jacques Chevalier, la gouvernabilité, Paris, CURAPP, 1996. Séminaire de formation doctoral (1994-1995)

<sup>6</sup> Pierre Muller, « l'analyse cognitive des politiques publiques : vers une sociologie politique de l'action publique », Revue française de sciences politiques, année 2000, volume 50, n°2, p.189-208

précarisation et l'extension concomitante du public de l'action sociale à prendre en charge, dans une intervention sociale davantage « personnalisée ». Le point important et de nous inviter à ne pas penser les rapports cognition et normativité dans un cadre strictement déterministe et reproductif du global sur le local. Car la normativité devient synonyme de défense d'une vision d'un monde en changement et non de perspectives d'imposition sur la seule modalité du coercitif.

La définition de Pierre Muller se traduit surtout concernant l'introduction de la démarche qualité en travail social par la volonté fortement assumée de l'agence nationale d'évaluation de ne pas imposer un cadrage contraignant pour l'exercice du travail d'évaluation, en laissant une liberté aux associations de faire émerger leur propre contexte d'intervention, les pratiques socio-éducatives et de soins pratiquaient effectivement. Nous postulons que cette démarche d'ouverture à l'action en train de se faire, est caractéristique d'une reconnaissance des savoir-faire de terrains et de l'expertise des praticiens.

### **La construction collaborative du manuel d'évaluation en prévention spécialisée**

Selon le guide de l'évaluation interne paru en septembre 2006<sup>7</sup> du Conseil National de l'Evaluation Sociale et Médico-sociale – CNESMS : « L'évaluation interne des activités et de la qualité des prestations fournies par l'établissement ou le service » se distingue de :

« l'évaluation des besoins en équipements  
l'évaluation clinique de chaque personne,  
l'évaluation des personnes [...] morales, de droit public ou de droit privé, gestionnaire de l'établissement ou du service ».

Elle s'appuie sur la détermination de « RECOMMANDATIONS » dans des « OBJECTIFS QUALITES » pour circonscrire le champ et le territoire de l'évaluation qui « constituent le socle de la validation de la bonne pratique ; elles visent à expliciter les valeurs, à rappeler les grandes orientations. Elles désignent les repères communs, pour aider le professionnel et l'usager à rechercher l'intervention la plus appropriée dans un environnement donné»<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Conseil National de l'Evaluation Sociale et Médico-sociale - CNESMS, Guide de l'évaluation interne, septembre 2006

<sup>8</sup> L'Agence Nationale de l'Evaluation Sociale et Médico-sociale – ANESM (nouvelle appellation du CNESM), Recommandations de bonnes pratiques professionnelles, mise en œuvre de l'évaluation interne dans les établissements et services visés à l'article L-312-1 du code de l'action social et des familles, avril 2008.

L'évaluation s'intéresse aux DYSFONCTIONNEMENTS des agencements matériels et des engagements relationnels empêchant le développement des pratiques professionnelles et s'éloigne ainsi de la recherche des responsabilités des personnes prises individuellement à la différence de la topique de la « faute professionnelle»<sup>9</sup>.

Conformément à la méthodologie retenue par le CNESMS en 2006 (op.cit.), ces recommandations se déclinent en trois niveaux : Des REFERENCES : « ce sont l'ensemble des dispositifs législatifs et réglementaires et recommandations de bonnes pratiques professionnelles »

Des CRITERES : « ils indiquent comment s'appliquent les références, de manière concrète et adaptée [...] ils énoncent les propriétés et le contenu des exigences que l'on se fixe, des réalisations que l'on estime souhaitables » ;

Des INDICATEURS : « pour chacun de critères, on identifie un ou plusieurs indicateurs qui, de la manière la plus concrète possible, permettent de décrire, voir de mesurer, une action, un effet, un impact ».

Le service de prévention spécialisée enquêté s'est doté d'une commission permanente de l'évaluation et de la qualité (GPEQ) composé d'une dizaine de salariés qui ont été formé à la démarche d'évaluation sur deux sessions de deux jours en mai et juin 2007<sup>10</sup>. La direction et l'animation qualité ont ensuite tenu à faire participer l'ensemble des personnels à la démarche de construction du manuel d'évaluation sur une demi-journée toutes les semaines pendant plus d'un an. Notre enquête a porté sur l'étude de ces séquences de travail, nous présenterons ici un critère et le débat autour de la notation de son indicateur : les indicateurs sont notés en 4 niveaux de A à D, notation qui reste évidemment une appréciation subjective du niveau de conformité à l'exigence posée par le critère.

Recommandation : assurer la confidentialité des données concernant les usagers et clarifier une procédure de diffusion de l'information en conformité avec la législation et nos missions.

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<sup>9</sup> Francis Chateaureynaud, La faute professionnelle. Une sociologie des conflits de responsabilité, Paris, Métailié, 1991 et Nicolas Dodier, «Causes et mises en causes. Innovations sociotechniques et jugement moral face aux accidents du travail», Revue française de Sociologie, XXXV, 1994, pp.251-28.

<sup>10</sup> Cabinet Actif Formation, formation dispensée par Ali Boukelal<sup>75</sup>, auteur du cahier de l'actif sur la démarche d'évaluation interne et de la méthode EQUALIS (Evaluation de la QUALité des Interventions et des Services)

Référence : la confidentialité des échanges et du dossier EVA ainsi que l'anonymat des personnes constituent un des fondamentaux de la prévention spécialisée, dans le cadre de la loi.

Critère : le dispositif d'évaluation des actions individuelles et collectives et les écrits du service garantissent l'anonymat et la confidentialité des données sur les usagers.

Indicateur : tout écrit co-partenarial ou évaluation d'action conjointe ne mentionnent aucun nom ou information nominative !

La discussion s'engage :

Educateur 1 : je reviens sur la notion de co-partenariat : quand on prend l'IQS, on est bien obligé d'écrire les noms !

La responsable du service administratif (RSA) : c'est pas un écrit, c'est un contrat ! C'est pas un écrit co-partenarial avec les partenaires sociaux, avec les assistantes sociales... IQS ca n'a rien à voir. [C'est un contrat qu'on fait avec l'usager, ajoute l'éducateur 2].

L'insertion quartier site (IQS) est un dispositif qui permet d'inscrire un jeune suivi par le service dans une activité culturelle ou sportive dont la majeure partie du coût de l'inscription sera pris en charge par les services de la ville... Ils sont utilisés dans le temps de l'accompagnement social en contre partie de l'engagement du jeune dans un acte jugé important pour marquer sa responsabilisation dans la prise en charge de ses difficultés comme de s'engager dans un soutien scolaire, ou pour « récompenser » la mobilisation réussie dans un stage professionnel.

Educateur 1 : généralement on marque bien une raison, pour une autre association, pour décrire pourquoi le gamin il est inscrit sur telle activité, pour un suivi éducatif, pour un ceci, pour un cela. Et on fait signer le partenaire...

RSA : mais attend, le montage du dossier IQS est interne. Il n'est pas diffusé à l'association.

Educatrice 3 : exemple pour l'inscription au stade de foot, l'animateur tu vas aller le voir, tu discutes avec lui mais tu en fais pas trop non plus. Pour moi le contrat il est passé entre le jeune et le service. Le club de foot c'est pas un partenaire, c'est une structure sportive, le co-partenariat ici, ça concerne surtout les CAMS...

CAMS les circonscriptions d'action médico-sociale sont les institutions de proximité pour intervenir dans le domaine de l'aide sociale à l'enfance sous la tutelle des conseils généraux et dont les équipes de prévention spécialisée dépendent directement.

Educateur 1 : je dis ça parce qu'on a eu un souci, on nous demande de préciser pourquoi on monte un IQS sur le document et quand le gamin il est arrivé pour signer, et que l'association sportive devait venir également. Le gamin a dit je veux pas qu'on sache ça de moi ! Et il a abandonné le projet.

RSA : mais tu le mets à part ça ! T'es pas obligé de le montrer à la structure. [Interpellant un autre éducateur], tu me les rends à part ces informations.

Educatrice 2 : Oui d'accord mais tu mets suivi éducatif un truc très vague dans cette partie. Le partenaire dans l'histoire c'est la ville pour cet item !

Chef de service : un exemple par rapport à cela, lorsque je suis allé à l'école des neiges à Auron, [...] la responsable des animateurs disait qu'il était intéressant qu'elle sache s'il y avait un problème particulier. Elle ne savait pas qu'un des enfants venait de perdre son papa et une des veillées à thème portait sur la famille. La gamine a complètement craqué. On aurait pu anticiper ça par la transmission de l'information. Mais je rejoins [Educatrice 2] on ne va pas dire n'importe quoi mais ce qui nous paraît important dans l'intérêt de l'enfant.

Educatrice 3 : ce qui paraît important en accord avec le jeune.

Psychologue : dans les axes d'amélioration revoir peut être le document actuel, les modalités de justifications du contrat IQS et d'indiquer l'utilisation d'une feuille à part pour le détail de la situation éducative. Et Il faudrait ajouter dans l'indicateur pour qu'il soit pertinent : tout écrit transmis à des personnes non soumises au secret professionnel ou de mission. [Position adoptée par le groupe]

### **Les perspectives analytiques ouvertes par le concept de dispositif et l'intérêt pour les considérations morales de l'action**

Ce dispositif Insertion Quartier Site, est bien un document rédigé qui a sa pertinence dans l'action éducative mais pas dans l'action évaluative en cours. Il est distingué par les collègues de l'éducateur d'un « écrit » évaluatif car il n'intervient pas dans le même temps de travail, et pour les mêmes objectifs. Pour que l'action de qualification « écrit » soit ajustée à ce critère, il doit concerner le temps de l'évaluation avec les acteurs habilités à

intervenir dans le champ éducatif ou de soin, c'est-à-dire les acteurs soumis au secret professionnel ou de mission, comme les assistantes sociales.

Le temps de l'accompagnement social lui réfère à d'autres acteurs, comme les associations sportives ou culturelles, qui ne sont pas légitimes à entrer dans le périmètre de partage des informations pour évaluer les situations éducatives. Si des informations sont partagées elles le sont dans l'intérêt de l'usager avec son consentement et dans l'horizon d'un geste de sollicitude (évitons à l'enfant de se voir confronter à nouveau à la mort de son père dans un temps qui se veut festif).

La passation de l'évaluation interne permet aux professionnels de visibiliser collectivement un dysfonctionnement dans la conformité à la recommandation pour garantir l'anonymat et la confidentialité des informations. Vouloir s'entendre sur la meilleure façon de garantir la confidentialité n'a pas pour objectif de rajouter de la prescription face à des pratiques réelles dont « l'ingéniosité » ne serait pas comprise ni reconnue, mais bien au contraire que ces pratiques « ingénieuses » se voient investies, valorisées. Il semble bien comme l'écrit Christophe Dejours (op.cit.) que cette démarche qualité tant qu'elle n'est pas dans la concurrence à la « certification » s'intéresse à la valeur dite « subjective » du travail, reconnaissant l'importance de l'engagement émotionnel dans le lien social.

En conclusion nous défendrons ainsi un concept de coopération proche des théories de la « coordination des acteurs humains et non humains » défendues dans les analyses de sociologie pragmatiste et de sociologie des sciences et des techniques. L'interaction d'acteurs humains dans des institutions définies anthropologiquement comme les intentions visées collectivement non réductibles à la somme des actes individuels, doit intégrer il nous semble, la coopération/coordination avec les acteurs non humains. Le déplacement dans les échelles d'analyses micro méso macro devient alors possible, autrement qu'en mobilisant des concepts holistiques (symbolisme, mythe, rite, socialisation, intérêt de classe...) qui agissent sans trop savoir comment pour faire tenir les interactions (Candau J.). Dans notre perspective d'analyse de la démarche d'évaluation dans le travail social, nous prenons au sérieux le processus d'humanisation progressive du rapport usager des politiques publiques / professionnels de l'accompagnement social, dans le cadre d'une sociologie de la relation de service attentive à l'évolution du cadrage par le droit (la lutte contre la maltraitance, le droit des usagers...). Il s'agit alors de ne pas réduire l'effet du droit concernant l'évaluation des pratiques éducatives à un affrontement binaire entre le droit comme prescription et le réel de la pratique éducative toujours plus riche et

complexe. Le regard pragmatiste nous semble ouvrir de nouvelles perspectives d'analyse pour promouvoir une sociologie de la coopération dans un monde social « équipé » de dispositifs socio-techniques, appuyés et justifiés sur des registres moraux pluriels et en tension.

Il semble opportun d'intégrer le référentiel construit par les politologues avec d'autres instruments de l'action (des écrits évaluatifs, des contrats, des institutions, des structures de loisirs...) dans la notion plus large de dispositif. Le dispositif renvoie à l'ensemble des acteurs non-humains qui viennent définir, autoriser, faciliter, permettre, l'action entre des acteurs humains pour atteindre leurs objectifs. Dans notre cas, un dispositif d'action sociale et médico-social, est très globalement définissable comme un outil institutionnalisé fondé sur les politiques sociales en vigueur pour améliorer la condition sociale, matérielle, de santé psychique et physique, d'un public qui présente une problématique de vulnérabilité sociale et/ou de santé. Penser pouvoir isoler des entités, comme l'usager, le professionnel, l'organisation, l'environnement est alors remis en question, on ne peut plus les définir en dehors des interactions en train de se faire dans la situation observée. "Ce n'est plus strictement les acteurs professionnels ou malades qu'on regarde avant tout, mais le dispositif qui les met en scène et leur permet d'interagir"<sup>11</sup>.

Jean-Marc Weller précise que sans ce tiers, le dispositif, la relation professionnelle serait inexistante. Comment mettre en place une écoute et de l'empathie envers les usagers dans les entretiens individuels, de garantir la confidentialité des échanges si « l'agencement matériel » ne le permet pas ? Si des textes de lois garantissant l'obligation de confidentialité n'existaient pas ? Si les projets d'établissements n'en reprenaient pas les décrets d'application ? Si le lieu de l'entretien est configuré comme une vitrine de grand magasin exposant l'usager au regard du passant de la rue ? Et l'on pourrait continuer longuement la liste de ces dispositifs cadrant l'intervention sociale et de santé.

« L'interaction n'a plus rien, dans ce cas, d'une relation de face-à-face, entre personnes, mais intègre des équipements, des dispositifs, des cadres matériels qui permettent aux participants de se relier à d'autres (voire à eux-mêmes), sur d'autres lieux et d'autres temps. [Ces] technologies réenchantées par l'analyse, [sont appréhendées] non plus [comme des]

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<sup>11</sup> Jean-Marc Weller "pourquoi parler de dispositif ? Le cas d'un centre d'accueil de personnes séropositives", in Du politique dans les organisations. Sociologie des dispositifs de gestion. Paris, L'Harmattan. p .249-262, 2001.

signes d'une fonctionnalité sans chaleur mais bien des constituants à part entière des rapports humains desquels les acteurs tirent leur identité. »<sup>12</sup>

Il faut donc prendre au sérieux la spécificité de l'activité professionnelle du secteur public : l'impossibilité de réduire l'administration au standard productif de l'économie sur le mode gestionnaire de type managérial. Les questions d'efficacité ou de rentabilité si elles se posent également à l'administration, doivent composer selon Jean-Marc Weller, avec la "forte dimension morale de l'action publique, tendue vers des objectifs de justice et de bien commun" <sup>13</sup>. « On peut [alors] étudier simultanément des innovations managériales, des préoccupations gestionnaires et des valeurs morales, des principes de justice et des pratiques professionnelles,» (Weller. 1999).

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<sup>12</sup> Jean-Marc weller, « L'humanité des non-humains. A propos des humains et des non humains de M. Callon et B. Latour », Revue Electronique Espace Temps Le journal, n°64/65, 1997, 94-101 pp.

<sup>13</sup> Jean-Marc weller, "La modernisation des services publics par l'usager une revue de la littérature (1986-1996)", *Sociologie du travail*, XL, 3/98.

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**المعهد الدولي الربيعي الثاني**

**العمل الاجتماعي في مواجهة  
اختبار التعاون المغلق والتعاون  
المفتوح :  
رهان حيوي للتنمية البشرية**

**فاس من 10 إلى 16 ماي 2010**



# المحتويات

2.....	محمد مسلم
	البعد النفسي لاستراتيجي وعلاقة التعاون والتنافر
12.....	أمين محمد فريحات و محمد محسن حسينات .....
	المعسكرات وأهميتها في خدمة الجماعة لتنمية المجتمع المحلي



# **La dimension psychologique de la communication et la relation entraide-discordeance**

## **البعد النفسي لإستراتيجية الاتصال وعلاقة التعاون والتنافر**

*Meslem Mohamed,  
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إن المجموعة البشرية إنما تستمد ثروتها من قوة الاتصال وفعاليته المؤدي إلى التعاون والتضامن الذين بمحبها يتحقق الهدف المشترك الذي يكون ارتقاء الفرد فيه مُصانًا ضمن احترام الآخر وتجنب التنافر والتصادم.

إن هذا الموضوع يندرج في إطار علم النفس الاجتماعي للعمل مع العلم أن هذه المقاربة تأخذ بعين الاعتبار الفرد في إطار علاقاته مع الآخر في وضعية العمل، وبناء على ذلك فإننا سنتعرض إلى العوامل التي تحكم بالضرورة استراتيجيات الاتصال لبناء علاقات التعاون أو علاقات التباين والتنافر والصراع ، ومن بينها على وجه الخصوص البعد النفسي والوجوداني والثقافي، وبمعنى آخر أكثر دقة في التعبير الشعور بالتجانس الداخلي للفرد، والشعور بهويته الاجتماعية والمهنية وشعوره باستمرار ذاتيته ومدى تمكن هذه العوامل من بناء علاقة مع الآخر، سواء كان هذا الآخر من نفس الثقافة والانتماء أو من خارجهما، كما أن الملفت جداً للنظر هو أن بناء هذه العلاقة يقوم أساساً على اعتبارات منطقية خارجية عن الفرد تفرضها عليه ظروف العمل والظروف المحيطة التي قد لا تتماشى بل وقد تتنافى مع اعتبارات منطقية داخلية تخصه.

إن ديناميكية العلاقات في العمل تخضع إلى جملة من العوامل تكون سبباً في التعاون والتآزر أو التنافر والصراع، كما أن هذه الديناميكية تخضع بشكل كبير إلى استراتيجيات الاتصال لأن من وظائف الاتصال في وسط العمل إيجاد معيار مشترك للتفاهم يشكل أبرز عوامل ثقافة المؤسسة و إيجاد علاقة قوية تمكن من التحاور وتتمي التقارب مع الحفاظ على استمرارية هذه العلاقة التي تم بناؤها. كما يعمل الاتصال على تجاوز الخلافات ونبذ الأفكار المسبقة التي عموماً ما تتعكر وتتوتر أجواء العمل، و ذلك ما من شأنه أن يساعد على حسن التقدير المتبادل بين مختلف الفاعلين وتشجيع الجهد المختلف.

وفي خضم تفاعل "الأنما مع الآخر" في وضعيات العمل المختلفة وتحت وطأة جملة من الضغوط الداخلية النفسية والضغوط الخارجية المرتبطة بآليات العمل ومحطيه المادي، التقني والاجتماعي تتشكل مختلف

استراتيجيات الاتصال. إن من بين المؤثرات المباشرة في بناء استراتيجيات الاتصال البعد النفسي بمختلف جوانبه: الأنماط، والذات، والهوية وهي البعد الباطني للفرد والمحرك الأساسي لمختلف استجاباته للحفاظ على الصورة التي يشكلها عن نفسه ويدافع عنها بكيفيات وأساليب متعددة حسب اختلاف الضغوط والمواقف، يضاف إلى هذه العوامل جانب نفسية لا يمكن أن نغض الطرف عنها وهي تلك التي تتمثل في طبيعة الإنسان وتحتل مكانة كبيرة في وجده، ومن بينها الغيرة والأناانية والحدق والحسد والشعور بانعدام العدل في المعاملة بين الأفراد إضافة إلى الإحباط أو النجاح الذي قد يولّد الشعور المفرط، وإدراك فلسفة العمل.

إن من أهم استراتيجيات الاتصال ما يتبنّاه الفرد بل وحتى بعض المجموعات من سلوك حين تكون المنافسة على أشدّها حيث ي يريد كل طرف أن يبرز شخصيته ويعمل حينئذ على تحقيق ذاتيه فيدخل في دائرة التناقض مع الآخر. إن وضعية التعارض أو التناقض هذه تقرّز الحقد ، والاحتقار وكذلك الإحباط ، وهي نظرية سطحية للأشياء قد تنجم عن سوء الإدراك للوضعية أو للمصلحة المشتركة. وقد يجد الفرد نفسه أمام وضعية يغلب فيها منطق اللامبالاة وعدم الاهتمام والهروب من الواقع وعدم القدرة على مواجهته، وفي هذه الوضعية يظل الأمر على حاله، فيعتمد الفرد في هنا إستراتيجية المهاينة السلبية ، فتتقلص علاقاته مع الآخر، فتنعدم روح التعاون. وأما الوجه الثالث لإستراتيجية الاتصال فهي تكمن في التحالف حول "المصلحة العامة " وعندّها فلا يبحث الفرد عن الدفاع أو عن الهروب وإنما يبحث عن مصلحته داخل دائرة المصلحة العامة، وهذا من شأنه أن ينمي روح التعاون والتقارب بدل التناقض والتباعد.

إن من أسباب ومصادر بناء علاقات التعاون أو التناقض كثيرة ومتعددة ، بعضها يرجع إلى جانب الاتصال ونمط التسيير ، وبعضها الآخر قد يعود إلى الجانب النفسي والبعض الآخر قد تكون أسبابه ظروف العمل وبعض الجوانب الاجتماعية ، غير أن أهم هذه الأسباب في وضعية العمل يرتكز أساساً على: الإدراك : إنه يتوجب التركيز على أن الإنسان يمتلك نسقاً فكريّاً مولداً للبنية العقلية المنظمة ذاتياً بحيث أن الكيفية أو الطريقة التي تفك بها الشفرات وتتعرف على الرموز قد تختلف من إنسان إلى آخر وهذه الاختلافات في إدراك الأشياء قد تكون مصدراً من مصادر التناقض أو التعاون في وضعيات العمل المختلفة.

التطلعات : إن تطلعات العاملين أو الفاعلين في المؤسسة تتفاوت نتيجة عدة اعتبارات منها عامل الأمان وعامل التغيير الذي هو الآخر قد يكون سبباً أو مصدراً للقلق والتوتر وما يحمله ذلك من الاختلافات حول فهم طبيعة المرحلة والخوف من الجھول .

الإحباط : إن الإحباط يؤدي بالضرورة إلى إما الروح العدوانية أو الكف « inhibition » وذلك ما من شأنه أن يوثر الأجواء ويزيد من حدة

التبعاد أو يكون مصدرا له . ويكون بناء علاقات التعاون أو التناصر قائما على تداخل و تنافي و تلاقي المصالح وال حاجات والأراء والاتجاهات . وقد نجد عموماً نقصاً في بنيات المؤسسة ونلاحظ بقوه التوجه نحو الأهداف مع فقدان منهجهية الاهتمام بالجانب الإنساني للمؤسسة ، لأن المعاملة غير العادلة هي من أكبر أسباب الصراعات في المنظمات ولكن كيف يحدث ذلك ؟ إن المنافسة بين الأفراد هي ضرورية من جهة ولكنها قد تكون مضررة بمصلحة المؤسسة من جهة أخرى ، ومثلاً على ذلك نجد عاملًا في وضعية منافسة شديدة مع عامل آخر من أجل الحصول على " منصب " أو " سلطة ما "، ففي هذه الحالة فإن المؤسسة يمكنها إثارة المنافسة ولكن عن طريق إحداث " صراع الطاقة " أو ما نسميه بالصراع " القدرات أو الكفاءات " ، ولكن الجانب السلبي في هذه المنافسة يكمن في إمكانية مغادرة العامل خسر المنافسة للمؤسسة ، لذلك فإن المؤسسة حين تدرك جيدا خطورة التبعاد والتناصر فينبغي عليها أن تتصرف بكيفية أخرى كأن تدخل ما يسمى بـ « الذكاء الجماعي ، collective intelligence » وروح التعاون ، حتى يتمكن الجميع من معرفة الفرق بين التعاون والمنافسة الشريفة وبين الندية ، la rivalité.

أما على المستوى الشخصي ، فإن الخطورة قد تكون نفسية - وجذانية كما هو الشأن في حالة دخول الفرد في تناصر مع المجموعة ، فإن ذلك سيضمه حتماً في حالة عدم استقرار وفي حالة فقدان الثقة وقد يسبب ذلك في ارتكاب الأخطاء ، وذلك ينطبق أيضاً على حالة التحرش بشتى أنواعه داخل المؤسسة . وأما على مستوى المؤسسة فإن المخاطر تلاحظ في انخفاض الفعالية وتراجع الأداء ، وأن طقات الأفراد ستوجه نحو الصراع بدل المنافسة المؤدية للأداء . « performance » ولكن مع هذه الأسباب كلها ، فإن أهم بعد نفسي ذي قدرة عالية على تحريك وتفعيل وصياغة استراتيجيات التعاون أو التناصر هو بدون منازع البعد المتعلق بالهوية سواء كانت اجتماعية أو هوية مهنية ، لماذا ؟ لأن هوية الأنما تعطي للإنسان فريديته الخاصة به بحيث يشعر بالتشابه مع ذاته وبالاستمرارية التي تعطيه دلالة بالنسبة للآخرين ، الذين هم الآخرون لهم دلالاتهم في المجتمع ، لأن "الأنما" يمثل "مبدأ التنظيم الذي بواسطته يحافظ الفرد على بقائه كشخصية متماسكة مع ماهيته واستمراريتها في تجربته الذاتية وواقعيته مع الآخر .

إن مهمة الأنما تكمن في رقي وتحسين ومراقبة تجربة وسلوك الفعل وذلك بإيجاد مجموعة العلاقات التي تربط مختلف مظاهر ومراحل التعاون أو التناصر في الحياة العامة وفي الحياة المهنية خاصة . لأن الأنما هو البنية الداخلية التي تصاحب الفرد طيلة الطفولة وتساعده على أنواع التقمص المختلفة التي تسمح له بالإدماج التدريجي لصور الذات ، هذه الصورة التي تعرف على أنها الشعور بالذات أي مختلف تصورات الشعور بالاستمرارية

وبالتشابه وبالوحدة التي تميز هوية الفرد. لأن علاقة الفرد بالأخر تعتبر وسيلة يُعزز بها هويته الذاتية وبيني بواسطتها صورته عن ذاته . كما أنه لا يمكن الفصل بين الهوية الخاصة بالفرد والهوية الموجهة للأخر، لأن الفرد يريد دائماً أن يثبت نفسه ويحقق ذاتيه ويفرض شخصيته أمام الآخر ". مع العلم أن الهوية بحاجة إلى الآخر حتى تتحقق مدلولاً معيناً ، لأن هذا الآخر هو الذي يؤكدها أو ينفي بعض أبعادها ، فهو إذن شريك في وجودها أو في إضعاف قيمتها، إذن بناء على موقف الآخر يبني الفرد إستراتيجيته، إن هذه الجدلية القائمة بين الذات والآخر تكمن في أن الصورة الخاصة للذات هي بمثابة النظر إلى مرآة تعكس نفس النظر فهي بذلك النظر إلى الذات فهي إذن الهوية للذات التي حين يشعر صاحبها بالتهديد يلجأ على مختلف الإستراتيجيات للتمكن من بناء العلاقة، إما علاقة تعاون أو علاقة تناقر.

وأما الصورة الاجتماعية للذات فهي التي تتكون انتلاقاً من مؤشرات حول الذات، يعترف الفرد نفسه بأنها جاءت من الآخر أو ينسبها إلى الآخر فهي إذن الهوية للأخر أي الهوية التي نريد من خلالها إرضاء الآخر ، فنريد أن نعطيه صورة وانطباعاً في غالب العموم لا يكون الفرد نفسه مقتنعاً بها، وهنا قد يتبنى إستراتيجية " الواجهة " أي المهاونة والتكيف مع الموقف. ومن هذا المنطلق يصبح التكامل الموجود بين الذات والآخر يعد أكثر من شرط، فهو يبني الشعور والإحساس بالهوية الشخصية ، لذلك فإن الشعور بالذات هو في نفس الوقت واحد ومثنى أي فهو للذات وللآخر . وينبغي التركيز هنا على وجود علاقة ارتباط ذات دلالة قوية بين الذات والآخر أي بين الصورة الشخصية التي يكونها الإنسان عن ذاته وبين الصورة التي يكونها الآخرون عنه، الأمر الذي يسمح للفرد بإعادة تصحيح ذاتيه مع الإبقاء عليها وهذا ما سيؤدي حتماً إلى اعتماد إستراتيجية مختلفة في بناء نسيج جديد من العلاقات. إن الهوية وبما تحتويه من مفاهيم للذات وللأنا وما تتطوّر عليه هذه الأخيرة من آليات نفسية فإن هوية الهوية السليمة للفرد هي التي لها ديناميكية داخلية وهي التي تبحث عن تحقيق ذاتيتها حسب ما يتطلبه محيطها الخارجي ، فهي توازن بين المحيط الداخلي والمحيط الخارجي للذات.

إنها هوية تعرف كيف تحافظ على وحدتها وقيمتها (من حيث أنها تصور داخلي أو من حيث أنها تصور الآخرين لها ) ، فهي التي لها شعور داخلي قوي وآليات دفاع . إن الهوية بهذا المعنى شيء ينمو ويتطور وتمر بمراحل مختلفة ، فهي إذن شيء ينضج. ولكن عند تعرضها لصراعات أو لاضطرابات وظيفية فإنها قد تأخذ أشكالاً مختلفة إما للدفاع عن ذاتها وإما للهروب من الواقع. وستنعرض لمختلف هذه

الإستراتيجيات التي تتخض عنها استراتيجيات الاتصال في بناء علاقة التعاون أو التناقر.

ومن بين الإستراتيجيات أن يتظاهر الفرد بهوية أخرى وقد يكون نتيجة شعوره الداخلي بسلبية في مواجهة المحيط الخارجي له ، وقد يلجأ إلى ذلك أيضا حين شعوره بالرفض من طرف الآخر الذي يمثل مجموعة من الخصائص والمميزات التي تتعارض مع خصائصه ، أو حين يشعر بعدم تكيفه مع ظروف العمل ومحبيه ومع مختلف ضغوطات العمل، وعندها يحاول إخفاء جملة من صفاته وخصائصه ويتظاهر بجملة من صفات الآخر هروبا من النقد أو من الرفض أو من المعاملات غير اللائقه. إن هوية الواجهة هي هوية قد تكون ظرفية أو مستمرة تعالج موقفا ما أمام خطر معين فهي بذلك هوية اجتماعية لأنها موجهة لآخرين. وقد يضطر الفرد أحيانا إلى استعمال متعدد السلوك لمواجهة الرفض أو العنصرية أو التباهي بشتى أشكاله، و بتبني على إثر ذلك إستراتيجية سلوكية معينة.

إن إستراتيجية الواجهة تتمثل على العموم في جملة من المميزات الإيجابية بالنسبة للآخر لأننا نجد في كثير من الثقافات أن بعض المكانات الاجتماعية أو بعض الأدوار تتطلب " هوية الواجهة " فهي هوية يتطلبهما الموقف وليس الهوية الحقيقة. غير أن الاستمرار على هذه الحالة لمدة طويلة قد يعرض الفرد إلى التكيف مع واقع جديد قد تتناقض فيه مقومات الهوية سواء كان ذلك على المستوى الفكري أو على المستوى السلوكي .

إن هوية الواجهة تظهر في حالة الصراع المستمر الذي تكون فيه هوية الفرد غير مكتملة من حيث تصوره عن نفسه ومن حيث درجة ارتباطه بمقومات ذاتيه، وقد يؤدي ذلك إلى اضطرابات كبيرة تؤول إلى عدم تجانس إستراتيجية المهادونة مما سيؤدي إلى صراع الفرد مع نفسه." الخطورة تكمن في أنه حين تخفي الهوية وتحل محلها هوية الواجهة قد يعيش الفرد صراعا مع ذاته شعورا منه بسلبيته ، ويكون هذا الشعور انعكاسا مباشرا للصورة التي يكونها الآخرون عنه والتي تعتبر من منظور نفسي / إيكولوجي انعكاسا للصورة التي يكونها المحيط الخارجي عنه.

وحين يتعرض الفرد إلى ضغط كبير جدا فقد يلجأ إلى إستراتيجية يعتقد أنها ذكية وأقل خطورة ويتوقع أنها ستحفظ توازنه الداخلي فيميل إلى اختيار "السلبية" لأنه يعتقد أن ذلك سيسمح له بعدم فقدان موقعه ويمكنه من الهروب من المواجهة، ويبرز هذا السلوك كإستراتيجية عند العمال الذي يشعر بنقص في التأهيل المهني أو في عدم القدرة والكفاءة لإثبات وجوده، كما أن هذا الاختيار يظهر جليا بكيفية واضحة عند المراهقين وهي مرحلة البحث عن الهوية حيث أن فقدان الشعور بالهوية يرافقه رفض

للأدوار التي تحدها الأسرة أو المجتمع بشكل عام ، وعليه فإن الفرد المراهق - أو من هم في وضعيته - يحاول إسقاط العيوب التي يخاف مواجهتها على الآخرين، ومن هنا فإن الفرد حين يسقط كل ما هو سلبي على الآخرين فإنه يعتقد أنه في مأمن ويطمئن لهويته الذاتية. ولكن في الواقع فإن هذه الإستراتيجية قد تؤدي إلى عملية تفكك في "الأنما". وحين تفشل هذه المحاولة ويدرك الفرد الواقع خطورة الموقف قد يلجأ إلى تعزيز سلوك دفاعي أو عدواني محاولة منه لإثبات ذاتيته من جديد.

وأما فيما يخص تبني الإستراتيجية الدفاعية، فإن الفرد يسعى إلى تثبيت ذاتيته عن طريق إيجاد علاقات مع المحيط الخارجي بحيث تتجاوز مع متطلبات الذات أو المحيط الداخلي (Carpentier-Roy & de Vézina, 2000).

إن الهوية في هذه تحاول وباستمرار المحافظة على وحدتها وعلى قيمتها داخل المجتمع، وقد تلجأ من أجل ذلك أثناء الضغوط التي تمارس عليها مثل محاولة تجريدها من بعض خصوصياتها.

إن الوضعية الدفاعية للهوية تتبلور حين شعورها بأنها سلبية في نظر الآخرين. وقد يلجأ البعض - في بعض الثقافات - أمام هذا الشعور بفقدان القيمة إلى الانتحار الفردي أو الجماعي كما تدل على ذلك الدراسات الأنثروبولوجية. وأما على مستوى الجماعات فإن أبحاث علماء الاجتماع تبرز عنصر التباعد الاجتماعي حيث نجد بأنه حتى يتمكن الفرد أو المجموعة من المحافظة على الهوية التي قد تتأثر تحت ضغوط المحيط الخارجي فإنه يتم اللجوء إلى الابتعاد اجتماعياً لتفادي التأثير السلبي وبالتالي إلى حماية هويتهم من الزوال والتفكك.

ويتم اللجوء في مواقف أخرى خاصة تحت الضغط الثقافي الذي يلحق أضراراً بالجانب العاطفي لفرد إلى الانطواء على الذات أو إلى نوع من الانكماس في العلاقات الاجتماعية، فيتوقع الإنسان - فرداً أو مجموعة - على نفسه هروباً من التأثير السلبي على هويته ونجد ذلك واضحاً عند الأقلية.

وهناك حالات أخرى يتبنى فيها الفرد أو المجموعة أسلوباً دفاعياً يتمثل في تجاهل الضغوط والانتقادات التي من شأنها المساس بقيمة الهوية مع اعتبار السكت خير وسيلة لعدم الإثارة والتأثير ، وهذا ما يعرفه (إيريكسون) بعدم إحساس المجموعة بالانتقادات لها أو بالثقافة التي تهدد كيانها .

إن هذا الموقف يتميز برباط الجأش وبقوه التحمل والصبر أمام جميع التحديات مع غلق دائرة الاتصال مع المحيط الخارجي لتفادي احتدام الذوبان أو احتمال فقدان بعض الامتيازات. وفي مقابل الوضعيات الدفاعية قد تتبلور

استراتيجيات أخرى تمثل في الميل وتبني المواقف الهجومية على الآخر  
(Berthoz, & Jorland, 2004).

إن إستراتيجية الهجوم تقلل الباب تماما أمام علاقة التعاون أو التحاور لأن الفرد حين يتعرض إلى محاولة تفكيره في ذاته وفي هويته أو إلى محاولة فرض نمط سلوكي وثقافي معين عليه فإنه يشعر بالإهانة ويرى في ذلك عذانا عليه وعلى مقومات هويته مما يدفعه في هذه الحالة إلى تبني أسلوب هجومي وهذا ما تذهب إليه أيضا (Guillaumin, 1986) : " يتبنى الفرد أسلوبا هجوميا عدوانيا خاصة أمام مظاهر التمييز العنصري. أو في مواطن العمل المشحونة بالسلط وعدم الإنصاف ويتبني العدوانية كرد فعل سريع للإحباط الذي تلحقه به هذه المظاهر من أذى يصيبه في عق ذاتيته.

إن الروح العدوانية وما ينجم عنها من سلوك تأتي عموما نتيجة استثارة تنقص من قيمة الفرد اجتماعيا وتحطم شعوره الداخلي فيكون رد الفعل هجوميا لصد الخطر المحتمل على الهوية. ويتبني الفرد هذه الإستراتيجية في مظهرها السلوكي العدوانى حين شعوره بخطورة الموقف الذي سيلحق أذى بذاته وهوبيته، فيغير في أسلوب معاملته.

وقد يظهر هذا السلوك العدوانى خاصة عند عدم استقرار الهوية أو في حالة البحث عن الهوية أو في حالة المراهقة، ويعزز هذا الرأي قول ( Guillaumin, 1986 ) " إن الهوية والعدوانية توجد بينهما علاقة وطيدة حيث أن العنف والعدوان يمثلان بشكل ملموس حالة من حالات الهوية غير المستقرة". إن اختيار إستراتيجية العدوان يظهر كرد فعل حين لا تجدي نفعا الإستراتيجيات الأخرى مع فارق يمكن في إضافة عنصر جديد وهو الغيرة على الذات ومحاولة إبرازها كعنصر قوي بإمكانه التصدي للأخر بنفس الأساليب المستعملة معه. ومما تقدم يتبين أهمية البعد النفسي في استراتيجيات الاتصال وباء علاقات التقارب والتعاون والتنافر والصراع.

وفي الختام، فإنه يتبع الوقوف عند أهمية الاتصال الفعال في وسط العمل كعنصر تجانس وضبط للعلاقات الإنسانية، وهذا لا يمكن إلا من خلال تفهم عميق جدا للأبعاد النفسية لمختلف الفاعلين حفاظا على عدم استثارة خصوصيات الآنا والذات التي تم الحديث عنها، وذلك بالبحث من ما هو مشترك وتجنب مواطن الاختلافات. إن الاتصال يخضع لمجال الوجдан، ومن ثم بات ضروري العمل على محاولة عقانة الوجدان مع محاولة إيجاد معادلة تقارب بين المنطق الوجданى الداخلى للفرد وبين المنطق الخارجي المتعلق بنمط التسيير وبظروف العمل. غير أن هذا الأمر ليس

بالسهل ويتطلب مساهمة كل الفاعلين بإرادة ووعي حتى يتم التقارب في ظل سياسة للعلاقات الإنسانية يرقى الفرد فيها في وسط مجموعة ترقى في نفس الاتجاه.

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# **المعسكرات وأهميتها في خدمة الجماعة لتنمية المجتمع المحلي**

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## **مقدمة:**

يعتبر العمل الاجتماعي و التنموي التطوعي من أهم الوسائل المستخدمة للمشاركة في النهوض بمكانة المجتمعات في عصرنا الحالي، ويكتسب العمل الاجتماعي أهمية متزايدة يوماً بعد يوم، فهناك قاعدة مسلم بها مفادها أن الحكومات، سواء في البلدان المتقدمة أو النامية، لم تعد قادرة على سد احتياجات أفرادها ومجتمعاتها، فمع تعدد الظروف الحياتية ازدادت الاحتياجات الاجتماعية وأصبحت في تغيير مستمر، ولذلك كان لا بد من وجود جهة أخرى موازية للجهات الحكومية تقوم بملء المجال العام وتكميل الدور الذي تقوم به الجهات الحكومية في تلبية الاحتياجات الاجتماعية، ويطلق على هذه الجهة " المنظمات الأهلية ". وفي أحيان كثيرة يعتبر دور المنظمات الأهلية دوراً سباقاً في معالجة بعض القضايا الاجتماعية والاقتصادية الثقافية وليس تكميلياً، وأصبح يضع خططاً وبرامج تنموية تحذى بها الحكومات. (عصبيات،2006). وتمثل قضية التنمية في الوقت الحاضر، وبالنسبة للمجتمعات النامية، والأذلة في النمو قضية أساسية باعتبارها قضية الحاضر والمستقبل بالنسبة لهذه المجتمعات بل وباعتبارها كذلك قضية إستراتيجية سياسياً واقتصادياً واجتماعياً. (عبد الحميد،2001) وتأتي هذه الدراسة للوقوف على الدور الذي تؤديه المعسكرات الشبابية في تنمية وتجيئ الشباب نحو العمل المجتمعي من وجهة نظرهم أنفسهم.

## **أهداف الدراسة**

- 1- محاولة التعرف الدور الذي تلعبه المعسكرات كأداة في توجيه الشباب في استغلال أوقات الفراغ.
- 2- محاولة التعرف أهمية المعسكرات الشبابية في تنمية روح التعاون والمبادرة عند الشباب.

- 3- محاولة التعرف على أهمية المعسكرات الشبابية وأثرها على السلوكات المختلفة لدى الشباب.
- 4- التعرف إذا ما كان هناك فروق ذات دلالة إحصائية بين إجابات الشباب من الذكور الإناث، والمراحل الدراسية المختلفة في نظرتهم نحو المعسكرات الشبابية وأهميتها.
- 5- محاولة التوصل إلى مجموعة من المقتراحات يمكن أن تدعم برنامج المعسكرات كأداة في خدمة الجماعة لتنمية المجتمع المحلي.

### **أسئلة الدراسة**

- 1- كيف تساهم المعسكرات كأداة في خدمة الجماعة لتنمية المجتمع المحلي؟
- 2- هل هناك أثر لمتغير الجنس على إجابات أفراد عينة الدراسة في أهمية المعسكرات الشبابية وأثرها على المجتمع المحلي؟"
- 3- هل هناك أثر لمتغير السنة الدراسية على إجابات أفراد عينة الدراسة في أهمية المعسكرات الشبابية وأثرها على المجتمع المحلي؟"
- 4- ما المقتراحات التي تدعم برنامج المعسكرات كأداة لتنمية المجتمع المحلي ؟

### **الإطار النظري**

تعتبر قضية التنمية المحلية من القضايا الهامة التي فرضت نفسها على متطلبات الحياة التي نعيشها في الوقت الحاضر حيث نعاني من العديد من المشكلات ومن أفضل السبل لهذه التنمية هو ذلك السبيل الذي ينهض على دعم العمل التطوعي بقدرات الشباب وحشد الموارد والإمكانيات التي تفيد في وضع البرامج الفعالة لتنمية المجتمع المحلي . ( جلال، 2003) . ولهذا تهتم طريقة خدمة الجماعة بالقضايا التي تهتم بها الدولة ومن هذه القضايا قضية تنمية المجتمع المحلي التي يتطلب كافة الجهود لتنميته ، ولا سيما تضافر جهود جماعات الشباب على اعتبار أن هذه الجماعات هي التي لديها القدرة على العمل التطوعي وتساهم مساهمة فعالة في تحقيق هذه التنمية (عصبيات، 2006).

### **دور العمل التطوعي في المجتمع**

أصبح العمل التطوعي ركيزة أساسية في بناء المجتمع ونشر التماسك الاجتماعي بين المواطنين لأي مجتمع، والعمل التطوعي ممارسة إنسانية ارتبطت ارتباطاً وثيقاً بكل معانٍ الخير والعمل الصالح عند كل المجموعات البشرية منذ الأزل ولكنه يختلف في حجمه وشكله واتجاهاته ودوافعه من مجتمع إلى آخر، ومن فترة زمنية إلى أخرى، فمن حيث الحجم يقل في فترات الاستقرار والهدوء، ويزيد في أوقات الكوارث والنكبات والحروب، ومن حيث الشكل فقد يكون جهداً يدوياً وعضلياً أو مهنياً أو تبرعاً بالمال أو غير ذلك، ومن حيث الاتجاه فقد يكون تلقائياً أو موجهاً من

قبل الدولة في أنشطة اجتماعية أو تعليمية أو تنموية، ومن حيث دوافعه فقد تكون دوافع نفسية أو اجتماعية أو سياسية.(عرابي، 2008). ولطريقة خدمة الجماعة فاعليتها مع الجماعات بصفة عامة ومع جماعات الشباب بصفة خاصة، وذلك من خلال المناقشات الجماعية التي تساعدهم على تحديد المشكلات التي تواجهه تنمية المجتمع المحلي وكيفية التغلب عليها، التي تهدف إلى تنمية إدراك الأفراد بمشكلاتهم وبمشكلات مجتمعهم ، وكيفية المشاركة الفعلة من خلال المعسكرات في حل هذه المشكلات عن طريق برامج ومشروعات تنموية ، ومن هذه البرامج والمشروعات المعسكرات كأداة في خدمة الجماعة لتنمية المجتمع المحلي .

وتنسند طريقة خدمة الجماعة على مبادئ وأسس مهنية كما أنها تستخدم الأدوات التي من خلالها تمارس برامجها الجماعية ، ومن هذه الأدوات معسكرات العمل، و من خلالها تمارس برامجها التنموية ، فالمعسكرات كأداة لها جاذبية أكثر من أي أداة أخرى ربما لوجود برامج متنوعة ، وطبيعة الحياة الجماعية للمشتركين في مواقف مختلفة ، وهذا يؤثر وبالتالي على مبدأ الاستعداد للتعلم ، والرغبة لهما ارتباط وثيق بالعملية التعليمية وتحقيق أهدافها .(أحمد، 2004) .

وعليه فإن تطوع الشباب ومشاركتهم بالمعسكرات لتنمية مجتمعهم تؤدي إلى اكتسابهم الاتجاه نحو حل المشكلات، وازدياد مقدرة الشباب على تنظيم أنفسهم ، والقدرة على تحقيق التعاون الإيجابي بينهم، والتضامن بين الشباب في المثابرة في العمل الجماعي المشترك لصالح مجتمعهم، و التمرن على اكتساب بصيرة ورؤى في اجتماعية صائبة تعود الشباب على تحمل أعباء المسؤولية الاجتماعية ، وقيام الشباب بالتعود على الاستجابة للتغيرات الاجتماعية وتدربيهم على ممارسة التقويم الموضوعي من واقع تجارب العمل الميداني الاجتماعي.

فالشباب هو الهدف الأول للتنمية، وهو المحرك لها، فإذا ما وجد الشباب الرعاية المناسبة والخطط الملائمة لبنائه بذل الكثير من الجهد والعطاء، وأصبح في مقدمة القوى الدافعة والمتحركة لأهداف التنمية.

ولقد اهتمت الحكومة والهيئات المعنية بمختلف الشباب والعنابة بهم حيث انتهت إلى إنشاء العديد من الأجهزة والمؤسسات لتحقيق ذلك وكانت أولية التطوع بمراكيز الشباب كأحد المؤسسات الاجتماعية التي تقدم خدماتها لرعاية الشباب.

وتعتبر أولية التطوع بمراكيز الشباب – والتي اهتمت بها الدولة – من أهم المؤسسات التربوية والتي تضم لعضويتها قاعدة عريضة من النشء والشباب والطلائع في مراحل العمر المختلفة ، والتي تحتاج إلى الرعاية والتوجيه وإكسابهم من الاتجاهات والمعارف ما يوهلهم لأداء دورهم الإيجابي في بناء مجتمعهم وتنميته .(محجوب، 1998).

## مفهوم تنمية المجتمع المحلي

استخدم لفظ المجتمع المحلي (Community) والمدلول اللغوي لكمة Community كما جاء بالقاموس هو "المملكة المشتركة" أو الزماله ، وجاء في معنى كلمة Commune أنها "قسم جغرافي إداري" كما يسميه الفرنسيون ، وفي معنى آخر أنها "المشاركة الوجاندية" أو التعامل الوثيق وكلمة مجتمع العربية تعطي المدلول الاجتماعي أكثر مما توضح الجانب المكاني أو الجغرافي للمفهوم ، ويفضي الكثيرون كلمة محلي "مجتمع محلي" لكي تتعبر عن المفهوم الأصلي وللتفرقة بينه وبين المجتمع الأكبر .(بدران، 1999).

أما (الفاروق ، 1999) فقد عرف تنمية المجتمع المحلي أنها العمليات التي تبذل بقصد ووفق سياسة عامة وتنظيم اجتماعي واقتصادي للناس وببيئتهم سواء كان في مجتمعات محلية أو إقليمية بالاعتماد على المجهودات الحكومية والأهلية المتسلقة على أن تكتسب كل منها قدرة أكبر على مواجهة مشكلات المجتمع نتيجة لهذه العمليات .

ومن خلال التناول السابق لمفهوم التنمية المحلية ، فإنه يمكن استنتاج تعريف شامل للتنمية في أنها عملية مقصودة وموجهة، ومت坦لة ترتكز على مشاركة الشباب مشاركة فعالة لتنمية المجتمع المحلي ، والتي تتمثل في الخدمات الصحية والبيئية والتعليمية والإجتماعية وذلك من خلال زيادة جهود الشباب لتنفيذ برنامج المعسكر كفريق عمل واحد متكامل .

## تعريف العمل الاجتماعي التطوعي

يمكن تعريف العمل الاجتماعي التطوعي بأنه مساهمة الأفراد في أعمال الرعاية والتنمية الاجتماعية سواء بالرأي أو بالعمل أو بالتمويل أو غير ذلك من الأشكال. ومن خصائص العمل الاجتماعي أن يقوم على تعاون الأفراد مع بعضهم البعض في سبيل تلبية احتياجات مجتمعهم، وهذا يقود إلى نقطة جوهيرية مفادها أن العمل الاجتماعي يأتي بناء على فهم لاحتياجات المجتمع.

وتتجدر الإشارة إلى أن مساهمة الأفراد في العمل الاجتماعي تأتي بوصفهم إما موظفين أو متطوعين، وما يهمنا هنا الوصف الثاني. والتطوع هو الجهد الذي يقوم به الفرد باختياره لن تقديم خدمة للمجتمع دون توقع لأجر مادي مقابل هذا الجهد وبالرغم من "مجانية" العمل الاجتماعي التطوعي، إلا أنه يوجد نظام امتيازات وحوافز وجوائز يتمتع بها العاملون في هذا القطاع وبشكل عام يمكن أن نصف المتطوع بأنه إنسان يؤمن بقضية معينة، واقعي ومتعايش مع ظروف مجتمعه، له القدرة على الاندماج والتفاعل مع أفراد مجتمعه، ومستعد لن تقديم يد المساعدة لرعاية وتنمية مجتمعه

## أهمية العمل الاجتماعي التطوعي للشباب

- 1 تعزيز انتماء ومشاركة الشباب في مجتمعهم.
- 2 تنمية قدرات الشباب ومهاراتهم الشخصية والعلمية والعملية.
- 3 يتيح للشباب التعرف على الثغرات التي تшوب نظام الخدمات في المجتمع.
- 4 يتيح للشباب الفرصة للتعبير عن آرائهم وأفكارهم في القضايا العامة التي تهم المجتمع.
- 5 يوفر للشباب فرصة تأدية الخدمات بأنفسهم وحل المشاكل بجهدهم الشخصي.
- 6 يوفر للشباب فرصة المشاركة في تحديد الأولويات التي يحتاجها المجتمع والمشاركة في اتخاذ القرارات.

## إطار العمل الاجتماعي التطوعي

يتصف العمل التطوعي بأنه عمل تلقائي، ولكن نظراً لأهمية النتائج المترتبة عن هذا الدور والتي تتعكس بشكل مباشر على المجتمع وأفراده، فإنه يجب أن يكون هذا العمل منظماً ليحقق النتائج المرجوة منه وإلا سينجم عنه آثاراً عكسية. وعادة ما يتم تنظيم العمل الاجتماعي بالأطر التالية:

1. القوانين: وهي مجموعة القوانين التي تنظم العمل الاجتماعي وتحدد قطاعاته، كما تنظم إنشاء وعمل المؤسسات الأهلية العاملة في المجال الاجتماعي التطوعي.
2. إطار المجتمع: سبق وأشارنا أن العمل الاجتماعي التطوعي يأتي استجابة لحاجة اجتماعية، فهو واقعي ومحبر عن الحس الاجتماعي. لذلك فإن افتتاح المجتمعات يؤدي إلى اتساع الخيارات أمام العمل الاجتماعي.
3. المؤسسات: وهي مؤسسات حكومية وأهلية، فيإمكان الشباب المشاركة في البرامج التطوعية التي تنفذها المؤسسات الحكومية كالوزارات والمدارس والجامعات والمؤسسات الدينية وغيرها ، كما يمكن للشباب ممارسة العمل التطوعي من خلال انتسابهم للمؤسسات الأهلية كالجمعيات والوادي والهيئات الثقافية وغيرها.

## المعوقات التي تعرّض مشاركة الشباب للأعمال الإجتماعية التطوعية

- 1 الظروف الاقتصادية وضعف الموارد المالية للمنظمات التطوعية.
- 2 المعتقدات السائدة مثل التمييز بين الرجل والمرأة.
- 3 ضعف الوعي بمفهوم وفوائد المشاركة في العمل الاجتماعي التطوعي.
- 4 قلة التعريف بالبرامج والنشاطات التطوعية التي تنفذها المؤسسات الحكومية والأهلية.
- 5 عدم السماح للشباب للمشاركة في اتخاذ القرارات بداخل هذه المنظمات.
- 6 قلة البرامج التدريبية الخاصة بتكوين جيل جديد من المتطوعين أو صقل مهارات لمتطوعين

7- قلة تشجيع العمل التطوعي. وتعتبر طريقة خدمة الجماعة من طرق مهنة الخدمة الاجتماعية التي لها فاعليتها مع الشباب بأندية التطوع بمراكيز الشباب التي تساعدهم على تنمية قدراتهم وإكتسابهم العديد من المهارات والمعارف التي تساعدهم على تحديد المشكلات بمجتمعهم المحلي وكيفية التغلب عليها، من خلال مشاركتهم الايجابية في برامج ومشروعات تنمية ومنها اشتراكهم بالمعسكرات (Joseph,1991)

وبالإضافة إلى المسلمة التي تؤكد أهمية الدور الذي يمكن أن تؤديه طريقة خدمة الجماعة باستخدام المعسكرات في زيادة مشاركة جماعات الشباب نحو تنمية مجتمعاتهم المحلية، فإن خدمة الجماعة هي خدمة مهنية تؤدي للناس بغرض مساعدتهم كأفراد في جماعات للوصول إلى علاقات طيبة ومرضية ، والوصول إلى مستويات الحياة التي تتمش مع رغباتهم وقدراتهم التي يجب أن تكون في توافق مع رغبات وقدرات المجتمع المحلي . (أحمد، 2001)

إن أخصائي الجماعة لا يساعد الأفراد والجماعات على الأداء الاجتماعي السليم داخل محتوى اجتماعي فحسب، إنما يحاول التأثير أيضا على هذا البناء الاجتماعي أو تغييره لأنه ينظر إلى الجماعة كجزء من البيئة الاجتماعية التي تتضم الأعضاء والجماعة معا ويصبح معا دوره بمثابة الوسيط بين احتياجات الأفراد والمحددات الاجتماعية ومحددات ومتطلبات البيئة .

وتبرز أهمية خدمة الجماعة كطريقة تساعد الأفراد والجماعات التي تبني أهداف عامة، تشارك الأفراد في تحقيقها وصولا إلى تنمية اتجاهات المشاركة في حياة المجتمع وتحقيق أهدافه العامة من خلال ممارسة برامج وأنشطة جماعية تركز على حل المشكلات التي تعرّض الأفراد في البيئة التي يعيشون فيها . ( بهجت، 2003)

وإذا كان أخصائي خدمة الجماعة يتعامل مع جماعات مختلفة في المجتمع المحلي كالجمعيات ومراكيز الشباب والنقبات والمؤسسات وغير ذلك من الجماعات فإن العمل مع الجماعات في المجتمع المحلي يهدف إلى أهداف ثلاثة وهي كالتالي :

- ا- مساعدة الأفراد في الجماعات على النمو والتكييف في جماعاتهم .
- ب- اكتساب الجماعات لمهارات واتجاهات ومعلومات تساعدهم على الاشتراك الايجابي في مقابلة حاجاتهم وحاجات المجتمع .
- ج- مساعدة الجماعات على تنفيذ مشروعات لهم المجتمع . (أحمد، 1992)

ولهذا تعد المعسكرات من أهم الأدوات التي تستخدمها طريقة خدمة الجماعة لزيادة مشاركة معظم الأفراد فيها من مختلف الأعمار خاصة الشباب، لأنها وسيلة تربوية هامة يمكن من خلالها إكتساب الأعضاء المستردين فيها المهارات المتعددة إلى جانب القيم والاتجاهات المبتغاة.

فالمعسكرات أداة هامة في خدمة الجماعة لها جاذبية أكثر من أي أداة أخرى ربما لوجود برامج متنوعة ، وطبيعة الحياة الجماعية للمشتركين في مواقف مختلفة ، وهذا يؤثر وبالتالي في خلق القدرة على التكيف مع مجتمعهم المحلي وتنميته ، كما تهدف إلى إتاحة الفرصة لغرس صفات النظام والطاعة في الشباب ، والاعتماد على النفس والثقة بها وتحمل المسؤولية المجتمعية. (عفيفي، 2005)

ولهذا يجب على أخصائي الجماعة أن يساعد الشباب المشتركين بالمعسكر على الاهتمام بتنمية مجتمعاتهم المحلية، وهو قد ينجح في ذلك إذا أدرك أن الأعضاء بنظرون إليه باعتباره مصدرًا للقوة لهم، وإذا قام بعملية المساعدة لتحقيق هدف مزدوج هو اكتساب الأعضاء القدرة على القيام بمسؤولياتهم الجماعية، وفي نفس الوقت القدرة على التعامل مع البيئة حيث تعطى أكبر دعم لنمو الخبرات الجماعية .

وتمثل الأسس التي يقوم عليها النموذج التنموي في طريقة خدمة الجماعة دورا فاعلا في إبراز دور جماعات الشباب المشتركين بالمعسكر في تنمية مجتمعهم المحلي، إذ يرى أصحاب هذا النموذج أن الأفراد يكتسبون مقدرة متزايدة على القيام بوظائفهم ومسؤولياتهم الاجتماعية خلال أنواع معينة من الخبرات الجماعية التي تتتوفر عندما يكون للجماعة هدف مشترك، أي هدف يشارك جميع الأعضاء في تحقيقه، ويصبح الهدف الأساسي لطريقة خدمة الجماعة هو تنمية قدرة الجماعة على السعي لتحقيق هذا الهدف المشترك وخلال سعي الجماعة لتحقيق ذلك ينمو الأعضاء اجتماعيا ويتساندون فيما بينهم لتحقيق النمو المشترك، ويقوم أخصائي الجماعة بالاتصال الإنساني بجميع أعضاء الجماعة مما يساعد الأعضاء على مشاركة أكثر في تحقيق الهدف الجماعي المشترك، وتصبح الجماعة الوسط الذي يتم فيه التفاعل الجماعي، ومع توالي واطراد هذه العملية تصبح الجماعة أكثر مقدرة على توجيه نفسها بنفسها، الأمر الذي يكتبها القدرة الفعالة على المشاركة في أمور مجتمعها الذي تعيش فيه ( منقيريوس ، 2004).

حيث يهدف النموذج التنموي في خدمة الجماعة إلى الآتي :

- 1 التخلص من المشاعر والقيم السلبية التي تعرقل الأداء الاجتماعي السليم لجماعات الشباب والأهالي بالمجتمع المحلي ، ولذا يجب الحد من هذه المشاعر والقيم لزيادة قدراتهم لتنمية مجتمعهم المحلي .
- 2 تدعيم القوى الكامنة في كل شاب من الشباب المشتركين بالمعسكر واستثمارها حتى يمكنه القيام بأدواره الاجتماعية على النحو المطلوب منه وذلك من خلال :

- أ- تنمية حاجة الشباب للانتماء للمجتمع، وعن طريق زيادة الانتماء يسهم الشباب في تنمية مجتمعهم .
- ب- التقبل والحب سواء من أخصائي الجماعة أو من الآخرين ويسهم هذا في زيادة الأداء للعضو والجماعة من الشباب تجاه المجتمع .

- ج - إتاحة الفرص لعضو الجماعة بالمعسكر لتحقيق آماله والحفاظ على المجتمع وحصوله على المكانة المناسبة ، وتأتي من قدرته على أداء دوره .
- د - تشجيع عضو الجماعة من الشباب المشتركين بالمعسكر على التعبير عن ذاته .

3. توجيه الفرد في الجماعة لكي يدرك الواقع الذي فيه المجتمع. (تركس، 1999)

### **المعسكرات كأداة في خدمة الجماعة لتنمية المجتمع المحلي**

لقد شهد العمل الاجتماعي عدة تغيرات وتطورات في مفهومه ووسائله ومرتكزاته، وذلك بفعل التغيرات التي تحدث في الاحتياجات الاجتماعية، وما يهمنا هنا التطورات التي حدثت في غایات وأهداف العمل الاجتماعي، فبعد أن كان الهدف الأساسي هو تقديم الرعاية والخدمة للمجتمع وفائدته، أصبح الهدف الآن تغيير وتنمية المجتمع، وبالطبع يتوقف نجاح تحقيق الهدف على صدق وجدية العمل الاجتماعي وعلى رغبة المجتمع في إحداث التغيير والتنمية. ومن الملاحظ أن العمل الاجتماعي بات يعتبر أحد الركائز الأساسية لتحقيق التقدم الاجتماعي والتنمية، ومعياراً لقياس مستوى الرقي الاجتماعي للأفراد.

و يعتمد العمل الاجتماعي على عدة عوامل لنجاحه، ومن أهمها المورد البشري، فكلما كان المورد البشري متخصصاً للقضايا الاجتماعية ومدركاً لأبعاد العمل الاجتماعي كلما أتي العمل الاجتماعي بنتائج إيجابية وحقيقة. كما أن العمل الاجتماعي يمثل فضاءً رحباً ليمارس أفراد المجتمع ولاءهم وانتماءهم لمجتمعاتهم، كما يمثل العمل الاجتماعي مجالاً مهمًا لصقل مهارات الأفراد وبناء قدراتهم.

وانطلاقاً من العلاقة التي تربط بين العمل الاجتماعي والمورد البشري، فإنه يمكن القول بأن عماد المورد البشري الممارس للعمل الاجتماعي هم الشباب، خاصة في المجتمعات الفتية، فحماس الشباب وانتسابهم لمجتمعهم كفيلان بدعم ومساندة العمل الاجتماعي والرقي بمستواه ومضمونه، فضلاً عن أن العمل الاجتماعي سيراكم الخبرات وقدرات الشباب، والتي سيكونون بامس الحاجة لها خاصة في مرحلة تكوينهم ومرحلة ممارستهم لحياتهم العملية. ورغم ما يتسم به العمل الاجتماعي من أهمية بالغة في تنمية المجتمعات وتنمية قدرات الأفراد، إلا أننا نجد نسبة ضئيلة جداً من الأفراد الذين يمارسون العمل الاجتماعي، فهناك عزوف من قبل أفراد المجتمع، وخاصة الشباب منهم، عن المشاركة في العمل الاجتماعي بالرغم من أن الشباب يتمتع بمستوى عالي من الثقافة والفكر والانتماء وبالرغم من وجود القوانين والمؤسسات والبرامج والجوائز التي تشجع الشباب على المشاركة بشكل فاعل في تنمية مجتمعهم.(عرابي، 2008)

## الدراسات السابقة

اطلع الباحث على عدد من الدراسات حول موضوع الدراسة وقد افاد منها والدراسات مرتبة حسب التسلسل الزمني .

### أولاً: الدراسات العربية

دراسة درويش (1990). كانت نتائج هذه الدراسة بأن المعسكرات لها دور واضح في إكساب الطلاب العديد من مهارات العمل مع الجماعات و منها مهارة تنمية التفاعل الجماعي، ومهارة القيادة ومهارة تقدير مشاعر الآخرين، ومهارة التسجيل، ومهارة في إعداد و تنظيم المعسكرات. كما بينت الدراسة أن الصعوبات الخاصة بقيادة الجماعات بالمعسكرات تتمثل في عدم تفهم القائد لخصائص المرحلة العمرية للطلاب، يلي ذلك قلة خبرة الرواد، ثم عدم تفهم القائد لدوره، وأخيرا عدم تحديد دور واضح لرائد الجماعة.

وفي دراسة أجراها حبيب (1992) كانت نتائج الدراسة حول أهمية المعسكرات لطلاب الخدمة الاجتماعية خاصة حيث أوضحت أنها يمكن أن تلعب دوراً فعالاً في تأهيل طلاب الخدمة الاجتماعية إذا روعي فيها الشروط الازمة للإعداد.

أما دراسة أبو حشيش (1996) حيث أسفرت نتائجها بأن معسكر التدريب العقلي خلال برنامج ثقافي استطاع أن يقوم بالتوعية من خلال عمل ايجابي بناءً انعكس على تنمية المسؤولية الاجتماعية لدى الشباب الجامعي نحو بيئتهم وهذا يرجع إلى أنشطة البرنامج الموجهة لتنمية الاتجاهات الايجابية في نفوسهم .

وفي دراسة أجراها حامد (1996) وأوضحت نتائج الدراسة بأن المعسكرات التدريبية لها دور بارز في إكساب طلاب الخدمة الاجتماعية العديد من المهارات الاجتماعية والخبرات والمعارف.

وفي دراسة سمعان (1998). كانت نتائج هذه الدراسة أن المعسكرات تهتم بدور فعال في تحقيق التربية البيئية وتنمية الوعي البيئي لدى المواطنين ، حتى يمكن أن يساهموا مساهمة أكثر فاعلية في مواجهة المشكلات البيئية التي تفاقمت في الآونة الأخيرة بشكل يشكل خطرا على مستقبل الإنسان.

### ثانياً : الدراسات الأجنبية

من أهم الدراسات الأجنبية التي اطلع عليها الباحث والتي ترتبط إلى حد كبير بموضوع دراسته

دراسة هيتشس (Hichs, 1976) كانت نتائج هذه الدراسة أن برامج التربية البيئية التي تقدم في المعسكرات البيئية لها أهمية في زيادة اهتمام التلاميذ بالعلوم البيئية وتنمية وعيهم تجاه البيئة .

أما دراسة ميل ورد (Mill ward 1973 ) حيث بينت نتائج هذه الدراسة أن المعسكرات لها دور في تنميةوعي واتجاهات الطلاب نحو البيئة ، وذلك من خلال الأنشطة المختلفة في برنامج المعسكر تجاه التنمية المحلية .(23، ص146).

وفي دراسة أجراها شلدون (Sheldon 1973) حيث قام بتقييم برنامج العمل البيئي. التي كانت تقوم بتدريسه جامعة " أبوا Iawa " في المعسكر السنوي لطلابها وبينت نتائج الدراسة أن للمعسكرات أهمية كبيرة في أحداث التغيير الايجابي في وعي وتنمية إتجاهات المشاركين فيها من الشباب نحو البيئة.

وفي دراسة مكاي (Maccay, 1978). حيث بینت نتائج هذه الدراسة أن المعسكرات لها اثر كبير في تنمية الوعي البيئي لدى الشباب من خلال تنمية المسؤلية الاجتماعية البيئية لديهم وتربية بيئتهم .(221،ص 155).

ولقد استفاد الباحث من نتائج الدراسات العربية والأجنبية السابقة في صياغة مشكلة بحثه وتساؤلاتها وتحديد أبعاد استمرارة الاستبيان التي صممها الباحث وفي تدعيم نتائج البحث وأيضا في تقييم أوجه نشاط المعسكر والخدمات التي يقدمها المعسكر لتنمية المجتمع المحلي .

وبذلك فإن اشتراك الشباب بالمعسكرات ، يحيل أهمية خاصة في المجتمعات المحلية لأنها يعتبر فرصة لزيادة مشاركة الشباب وإسهامهم الايجابي في برامج ومشروعات تنمية المجتمع المحلي ، وذلك تعبيرا عن مدى الشعور بالولاة والانتفاء لهذا المجتمع فضلا عن توجيه الطاقات البشرية والمادية ، وتحويلها إلى عمل اجتماعي وايجابي ، مما يحقق لأندية التطوع بمراکز الشباب مزيدا من الفاعلية والكفاءة في تقديم وتطور خدماتها.

ويساعد أخصائي الجماعة أعضاء الجماعة من الشباب على زيادة مهاراتهم في كيفية تأدية واجباتهم ومسؤولياتهم التي تحددها لهم مراکزهم واكتساب السلوك وتعديل الأفكار السلبية واكتساب صفات المواطنة الصالحة مستخدما في ذلك أوجه نشاط برنامج المعسكر وطبقاً للمواقف المختلفة والعمليات الجماعية ومعرفته للمجتمع المحلي ، وما تحدده لأعضائها من أدوار في حدود ثقافة المجتمع . (مرعي، 1999).

ولهذا فإن الأخصائيين الاجتماعيين المشتركين في الهيئات والعمل الاجتماعي يستخدمون معارفهم العلمية بالجماعات الصغيرة وخصائصها عند التعامل معها ، وقد شكل الأخصائيون الاجتماعيون جماعات من المجتمع المحلي يعملون على مساعدتهم للتعرف على وظائفهم الاجتماعية ليكون لهم تأثير في البيئة ، وقد تتخذ هذه الجماعات شكل اللجان أو وحدات أو فرق عمل جماعية . ( تركس، 1999)

وفي إطار ما تقدم يتضح أن مشاركة الشباب في المعسكرات وتحقيق برامج التنمية وخدمة البيئة والخدمة العامة، سيؤدي لأندماجهم في الحياة العامة، وبالتالي اكتساب المزيد من المهارات والمعارف ، بالإضافة إلى تنمية خبراتهم الشخصية المكتسبة .

### الإجراءات المنهجية للدراسة

أولاً : مجتمع الدراسة:

تمثل مجتمع الدراسة من الطلبة المتواجدين على مقاعد الدراسة في جامعة اليرموك من كلا الجنسين وتبعاً للمراحل الدراسية.

ثانياً : عينة الدراسة:

كانت عينة الدراسة(50) طالباً من طلبة جامعة اليرموك تم اختيارهم بالطريقة العشوائية الطبقية.

### ثالثاً : أداة الدراسة :

استخدم الباحث استمار استبيان قام بإعدادها وفقاً للخطوات العلمية المتبعة في إعداد مثل هذه الأدوات، وقد راعى الباحث أن تشمل هذه الاستمار على كل ما يتعلق بأثر وأهمية المعسكرات الشبابية على المجتمع المحلي. حيث قام الباحث بأيجاد معامل ثبات الإعادة للإسبيان حيث بلغ (0.8).

### رابعاً: المعالجة الإحصائية :

قام الباحث بتدخل إجابات الطلبة في جهاز الحاسوب عن طريق استخدام برنامج (spss) وإيجاد الوسط الحسابي والانحرافات المعيارية، والتكرارات والنسب المئوية.

### عرض النتائج ومناقشتها

#### جدولة وتحليل وتفسير نتائج الدراسة

تم توزيع (50) استبيانه على طلاب اليرموك من مختلف التخصصات والسنوات الدراسية من الجنسين الذكور والإإناث، وقد كان توزيع أفراد عينة الدراسة وفقاً للمتغيرات الديمografية كما يلي:

أولاً: الجنس

جدول رقم (1)

توزيع أفراد عينة الدراسة تبعاً للنوع

النسبة	العدد	النوع
%52	26	ذكر
%48	24	أنثى
%100	50	المجموع

يتضح من الجدول السابق ارتفاع نسبة الذكور على الإناث من حيث الاشتراك بالمعسكر حيث بلغت نسبة الذكور 52% ، في حين انخفضت نسبة الإناث حيث بلغت نسبتهن 48%.

ثانياً: السنة الدراسية:

جدول رقم (2)

توزيع أفراد عينة الدراسة تبعاً للسنة الدراسية

النسبة	العدد	السنة الدراسية
%32	16	أولى
%34	17	ثانية
%34	17	ثالثة فأكثر
%100	50	المجموع

يبين الجدول السابق أن أفراد عينة الدراسة كانوا بنسبة 34% من طلاب السنة الثانية أو الثالثة فأكثر، بينما بلغ أفراد عينة الدراسة من طلاب السنة الأولى بنسبة 32% من مجمل أفراد عينة الدراسة.

وفيما يلي نتائج التحليل الإحصائي وفقاً لأسئلة الدراسة:

أولاً: الإجابة المتعلقة بالسؤال الأول والذي ينص على "كيف تساهمن المعسكرات كأداة في خدمة الجماعة لتنمية المجتمع المحلي؟": تم استخراج المتوسطات الحسابية والانحرافات المعيارية لـإجابات أفراد عينة الدراسة على فقرات الدراسة، وكانت الإجابات مرتبة تنازلياً كالتالي

جدول (3)

المتوسطات الحسابية والانحرافات المعيارية لـإجابات أفراد عينة الدراسة على الفقرات التي تقيس أهمية المعسكرات الشبابية على المجتمع المحلي

درجة التقدير	الرتبة	الانحراف المعياري	المتوسط الحسابي	الفقرة	الرقم
مرتفعة	1	0.86	3.96	تنمي المعسكرات الشبابية الولاء والانتماء للمجتمع.	7
مرتفعة	2	1.00	3.94	تنمي المعسكرات الشبابية في الأفراد حب التعاون وروح الفريق الواحد.	8
مرتفعة	2	0.79	3.94	تساهم المعسكرات الشبابية في تنمية الوعي الصحي لدى الشباب من خلال دورات الإسعاف الأولية التي تقدمها للشباب.	18
مرتفعة	4	0.99	3.92	تساهم المعسكرات في تحسين قدرة الشباب على	

				استغلال أوقات الفراغ بما هو مفيد.	
مرتفعة	5	0.91	3.78	تعمل المعسكرات الشبابية على تضافر جهود الشباب وتوحيدها بما يحفز العمل الجماعي والخدمة المجتمعية.	
مرتفعة	6	0.77	3.76	تتيح المعسكرات الشبابية الفرص للشباب لممارسة هواياتهم	7
مرتفعة	7	1.08	3.68	تساعد المعسكرات الشبابية على تقليل نسب الانحراف في المجتمع من خلال إشغال الشباب واستغلال أوقات فراغهم.	
مرتفعة	8	0.83	3.62	تثري المعسكرات الشبابية خبرات الشباب وتزيد من ثقافتهم.	0
مرتفعة	9	0.88	3.60	تعمل المعسكرات الشبابية على تشجيع الشباب نحو تقبل المسؤولية الاجتماعية	
مرتفعة	10	0.97	3.56	تساعد المعسكرات الشبابية دعم العمل التطوعي بقدرات الشباب وحشد الموارد والإمكانيات التي تؤدي في وضع البرامج الفعالة لتنمية المجتمع المحلي .	
مرتفعة	11	0.97	3.50	تساهم المعسكرات الشبابي في تنمية المهارات ومهارات جديدة	
مرتفعة	12	0.93	3.40	تشجع المعسكرات الشبابية الشباب على ممارسة الرياضة من خلال إقامة المسابقات الرياضية المختلفة.	1
متوسطة	13	0.83	3.36	تساهم المعسكرات الشبابية في المحافظة على البيئة من خلال	3

				النوعية والنشاطات البيئية التي يقوم بها الشباب.	
متوسطة	13	0.83	3.36	تنمي المعسكرات الشبابية الروح التافسية الشريفة بين الشباب من خلال المسابقات الرياضية	6
متوسطة	15	0.97	3.28	تنمي المعسكرات الشبابية درجة الوعي لدى الشباب اتجاه مسؤولياتهم الاجتماعية المختلفة.	2
متوسطة	16	0.94	3.18	تساعد المعسكرات الشبابية على التعرف على الموهوبين من الشباب ورعاية موهبتهم.	
متوسطة	17	1.06	2.94	تساهم المعسكرات الشبابية في تدريب الشباب على أعمال بعض الحرف اليدوية	4
متوسطة	18	1.02	2.88	تهدف المعسكرات الشبابية إلى تعديل الاتجاهات السلبية بين الشباب	5
مرتفعة		0.49	3.54	الدرجة الكلية	

يظهر من الجدول السابق أن المتوسطات الحسابية جاءت بين المرتفعة والمتوسطة للفرات حسب إجابات أفراد عينة الدراسة، وقد جاء المتوسط الحسابي الكلي (3.54)، وبانحراف معياري بلغ (0.49).

وبين الجدول السابق أن الفقرة رقم (7) والتي تنص على "تنمي المعسكرات الشبابية الولاء والانتماء للمجتمع" جاءت في المرتبة الأولى بمتوسط حسابي بلغ (3.96)، بينما جاءت كل من الفقرة رقم (8) والتي تنص على "تنمي المعسكرات الشبابية في الأفراد حب التعاون وروح الفريق الواحد"، والفرقة رقم (18) والتي تنص على "تساهم المعسكرات الشبابية في تنمية الوعي الصحي لدى الشباب من خلال دورات الإسعاف الأولية التي تقدمها للشباب" في المرتبة الثانية بمتوسط حسابي بلغ (3.94)، وجاءت في المرتبة قبل الأخيرة الفقرة رقم (14) والتي تنص على "تساهم المعسكرات الشبابية في تدريب الشباب على أعمال بعض الحرف اليدوية" بمتوسط حسابي متوسط بلغ (2.94)، وجاءت في المرتبة الأخيرة الفقرة رقم (15)

والتي تنص على " تهدف المعسكرات الشبابية إلى تعديل الاتجاهات السلبية بين الشباب" ، بمتوسط حسابي بلغ (2.88).  
 ثانيا: الإجابة المتعلقة بالسؤال الثاني والذي ينص على "هل هناك أثر لمتغير الجنس على إجابات أفراد عينة الدراسة في أهمية المعسكرات الشبابية وأثرها على المجتمع المحلي؟"  
 تم استخدام اختبار (ت) لعينتين مستقلتين وكانت النتائج كالتالي

**جدول (4)**  
**المتوسطات الحسابية والانحرافات المعيارية وقيمة (ت) لاختبار الفروق بين إجابات عينة الدراسة تعزى لمتغير الجنس**

المجال	الجنس	المتوسط الحسابي	الانحراف المعياري	قيمة ت	مستوى الدلالة
أهمية المعسكرات الشبابية ذكر وأثرها على المجتمع المحلي أنثى	3.53 3.55	0.47 0.51	0.870	0.934	

تشير نتائج الدراسة فيما يتعلق باختلاف إجابات أفراد عينة الدراسة تبعاً للجنس، إلى عدم وجود فروق ذات دلالة إحصائية للفروق ما بين إجابات الذكور والإإناث حيث بلغت قيمة مستوى الدلالة (0.934) وهي قيمة غير ذات دلالة إحصائي عند مستوى الدلالة ( $\alpha \geq 0.05$ ).

ثالثا: الإجابة المتعلقة بالسؤال الثالث والذي ينص على "هل هناك أثر لمتغير السنة الدراسية على إجابات أفراد عينة الدراسة في أهمية المعسكرات الشبابية وأثرها على المجتمع المحلي؟"

تم إجراء تحليل التباين الأحادي (One Way ANOVA) وكانت النتائج كالتالي:

**جدول (5)**  
**تحليل التباين الأحادي(One Way ANOVA) لبيان أثر متغير السنة الدراسية على إجابات أفراد عينة الدراسة**

المجال	مصدر التباين	مجموع المربعات	درجة الحرية	متوسط المربعت	قيمة (F)	مستوى الدلالة
أهمية المعسكرات بين الشبابية وأثرها على المجتمع المحلي	1.308	2	.654	2.957	.062	

	.221	47	10.39	داخل المجموعات
			3	المجموعات
		49	11.70	المجموع
			1	

يظهر من الجدول السابق أن الفروق بين إجابات أفراد عينة الدراسة باختلاف السنة الدراسية جاءت غير ذات دلالة إحصائي عند مستوى الدلالة ( $\alpha \geq 0.05$ ) مما يدل على عدم وجود فروق ذات دلالة إحصائية بين إجابات أفراد عينة الدراسة تعزى لمتغير السنة الدراسية.

رابعا: الإجابة المتعلقة بالسؤال الرابع والذي ينص على " ما المقترنات التي تدعم برنامج المعسكرات كأداة لتنمية المجتمع المحلي؟" ومن خلال تفسير وتحليل البيانات استخلاص نتائج الدراسة توصلت الدراسة إلى العديد من التوصيات الهامة وهي كالتالي :

بعض المقترنات لتطوير العمل المجتمعي التطوعي : ضرورة قيام وسائل النشر المختلفة كالأسرة والمدرسة والإعلام بدور منسق ومتكامل الجوانب في غرس قيم التضحية والإيثار وروح العمل الجماعي في نفوس الناشئة منذ مراحل الطفولة المبكرة.

يجب التركيز في الأنشطة التطوعية على البرامج والمشروعات التي ترتبط بإشباع الاحتياجات الأساسية للمواطنين؛ الأمر الذي يساهم في زيادة الإقبال على المشاركة في هذه البرامج.

دعم المؤسسات والهيئات التي تعمل في مجال العمل التطوعي مادياً ومعنوياً بما يمكنها من تأدية رسالتها وزيادة خدماتها.

إقامة دورات تدريبية للعاملين في هذه الهيئات والمؤسسات التطوعية مما يؤدي إلى إكسابهم الخبرات والمهارات المناسبة، ويساعد على زيادة كفاءتهم في هذا النوع من العمل، وكذلك الاستفادة من تجارب الآخرين في هذا المجال.

أن تضم البرامج الدراسية للمؤسسات التعليمية المختلفة بعض المقررات الدراسية التي تركز على مفاهيم العمل الاجتماعي التطوعي وأهميته ودوره التنموي ويقترن ذلك ببعض البرامج التطبيقية؛ مما يثبت هذه القيمة في نفوس الشباب مثل حملات تنظيف محيط المدرسة أو العناية بأشجار المدرسة أو خدمة البيئة.

مطالبة وسائل الإعلام المختلفة بدور أكثر تأثيراً في تعريف أفراد المجتمع بماهية العمل التطوعي ومدى حاجة المجتمع إليه وتبصيرهم بأهميته ودوره في عملية التنمية، وكذلك إبراز دور العاملين في هذا المجال بطريقة تكسبهم الاحترام الذاتي واحترام الآخرين.

تدعيم جهود الباحثين لإجراء المزيد من الدراسات والبحوث العلمية حول العمل الاجتماعي التطوعي؛ مما يسهم في تحسين واقع العمل الاجتماعي بشكل عام، والعمل التطوعي بشكل خاص.

استخدام العمل التطوعي في المعالجة النفسية والصحية والسلوكية لبعض المتعاطفين للمخدرات والمدمنين أو العاطلين أو المنحرفين اجتماعياً.

استخدام التكنولوجيا الحديثة لتنسيق العمل التطوعي بين الجهات الحكومية والأهلية لتقديم الخدمات الاجتماعية وإعطاء بيانات دقيقة عن حجم واتجاهات وحاجات العمل التطوعي الأهم للمجتمع.

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## الملاحق

الاستبيان :  
 الطالب / الطالبة ..... المحترم/ة .....  
 تحية طيبة وبعد.....

يقوم الباحث بإجراء دراسة بعنوان "المعسكرات وأهميتها في خدمة الجماعة لتنمية المجتمع المحلي" أرجوا التفضل بالإجابة عن جميع فقرات والاستبانة المرفقة وذلك بوضع إشارة (✓) عند الإجابة التي ترونها مناسبة، كما أرجو تعبئة المعلومات العامة المذكورة أدناه؛ علما أن الدراسة لأغراض البحث العلمي فقط.

**الباحث**  
**البيانات الشخصية:**  
 1. الجنس:  
 ذكر  أنثى  
 2. السنة الدراسية:  
 أولى  ثانية  ثالثة فأكثر

الرقم	الفقرات	الدرجة
1	تساهم المعسكرات في تحسين قدرة الشباب على استغلال أوقات الفراغ بما هو مفيد.	
2	تساعد المعسكرات الشبابية على تقليل نسب الانحراف في المجتمع من خلال إشغال الشباب واستغلال أوقات فراغهم.	

الدرجة	الفترات	الرقم
	تساعد المعسكرات الشبابية دعم العمل التطوعي بقدرات الشباب وحشد الموارد والإمكانيات التي تفيده في وضع البرامج الفعالة لتنمية المجتمع المحلي .	3
	تعمل المعسكرات الشبابية على تضافر جهود الشباب وتوحدها بما يحفز العمل الجماعي والخدمة المجتمعية.	4
	تعمل المعسكرات الشبابية على تشجيع الشباب نحو تقبل المسؤولية الاجتماعية	5
	تساهم المعسكرات الشبابي في تنمية المهارات و معارف جديدة	6
	تنمي المعسكرات الشبابية الولاء والانتماء للمجتمع.	7
	تنمي المعسكرات الشبابية في الأفراد حب التعاون وروح الفريق الواحد.	8
	تساعد المعسكرات الشبابية على التعرف على الموهوبين من الشباب ورعاية مواهبهم.	9
	تشري المعسكرات الشبابية خبرات الشباب وتزيد من ثقافاتهم.	10
	تشجع المعسكرات الشبابية الشباب على ممارسة الرياضة من خلال إقامة المسابقات الرياضية المختلفة.	11

الرقم	الفترات	الدرجة
12	تنمي المعسكرات الشبابية درجة الوعي لدى الشباب اتجاه مسؤولياتهم الاجتماعية المختلفة.	
13	تساهم المعسكرات الشبابية في المحافظة على البيئة من خلال التوعية والنشاطات البيئية التي يقوم بها الشباب.	
14	تساهم المعسكرات الشبابية في تدريب الشباب على أعمال بعض الحرف اليدوية	
15	تهدف المعسكرات الشبابية إلى تعديل الاتجاهات السلبية بين الشباب	
16	تنمي المعسكرات الشبابية الروح التنافسية الشريفة بين الشباب من خلال المسابقات الرياضية	
17	تتيح المعسكرات الشبابية الفرص للشباب لممارسة هواياتهم	
18	تساهم المعسكرات الشبابية في تنمية الوعي الصحي لدى الشباب من خلال دورات الإسعاف الأولية التي تقدمها للشباب.	

**Manifestation organisée par :**

**Filière d'Assistance Sociale  
Filière de Sociologie & Anthropologie**

**Laboratory of : Discourse, Creativity and Society : Perception and Implications**

**En Collaboration avec**

**L'Ecole du Travail Social de l'Université de Moncton (Canada)  
Laboratoire d'Anthropologie et de Sociologie  
« Mémoire, Identité & Cognition Sociale »**

**Université de Nice-Sophia Antipolis**

**Avec l'appui du Comité Mixte Interuniversitaire  
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**Le CNRST**

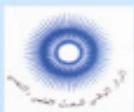
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**&**

**L'institut de technologie Hôtelier et Touristique Atlas - Fès**



**Manifestation réalisée avec le concours du :**

Comité Mixte Interuniversitaire Franco-Marocain : Programme VOLUBILIS - Ministère de l'Education Nationale, de l'Enseignement Supérieur de la Formation des Cadres et de la Recherche Scientifique et du CNRST.