



What to do against neighborhood gangs in Algeria?



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Abstract

The fight against neighborhood gangs is not a matter of intuition or a solution that can be improvised. On the contrary, a methodical and rational approach based on scientific knowledge and proven experiences. That is essentially what this research seeks to demonstrate. The case of Algeria is exemplary, as despite the recent introduction of new measures to address the issue, the violence of the gangs remains a concern. Therefore, based on observations of the reality in neighborhood, the aim of this study is to suggest new strategies for an effective fight against neighborhood gangs.

Keywords

Neighborhood gangs;
Proactive strategy;
Reactive strategy;
Problem solving;

الكلمات المفتاحية

عصابات الأحياء؛
استراتيجية استباقية؛
استراتيجية رد فعلية؛
حل المشكلات؛

ما الفعل ضد عصابات الأحياء في الجزائر؟

ملخص

مكافحة عصابات الأحياء ليست مسألة حدس أو حل ارتجالي. بل على العكس من ذلك، فهي قضية عمل منهجي وعقلاني يتطلب الإعتماد على المعارف العلمية والخبرات الثابتة. وهذا ما نحاول تبيينه من خلال هذه الدراسة. فالجزائر مثال نموذجي في هذا المجال، لأنه على الرغم من التدابير الجديدة التي تم اعتمادها مؤخرا لمكافحة عصابات الأحياء، إلا أن العنف المرتبط بهذه الظاهرة لا يزال يشكل مسألة مثيرة للقلق. ولهذا السبب، وانطلاقاً من ملاحظة واقع الأحياء في الجزائر، فإن الهدف من هذه الدراسة هو اقتراح استراتيجيات جديدة وفعالة للتصدي لعصابات الأحياء.

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I. Introduction:

Neighborhood gangs are a thorny problem of criminal policy which affects several countries, and to which the Algerian legislator recently devoted an ordinance No. 20-03 of August 30, 2020 relating to the prevention and fight against neighborhood gangs (*Official Journal of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria*, No. 51, 2020). Thus, in addition to “organized crime”, “criminal associations”, and “terrorist crimes”, which affect state security and which are already provided for in the Penal Code, the formation of violent gangs in certain neighborhood in Algeria in recent years, causing increasing concern. Control of territories, threats, drug trafficking, quarrels, incivility, attacks, illegal appropriation of parking lots, feeling of insecurity, violence, this is what the presence of these gangs in neighborhoods generates. The problem is so rooted in certain neighborhoods that the police find it difficult to contain it. However, although the phenomenon is not new, its origins are diverse (historical, social, economic, cultural, urban, etc.). So, what should we do in the face of neighborhood gangs violence? The aim of this study is not so much to analyse the causes of the formation of these gangs, since it is a subject that has been widely explored, but rather to identify the solutions which prevent them from flourishing. These solutions consist of a complementary and balanced criminal policy that combines two types of strategies: a proactive strategy that acts upstream of the phenomenon in question, and a reactive strategy intervenes downstream.

II. A proactive response strategy:

Two types of proactive intervention strategies can be implemented cumulatively to prevent neighborhood gangs in Algeria. These are, on the one hand, preventing involvement in gangs, and on the other hand, acting on the design of urban planning and the architectural design of large housing complexes.

II. 1 Intervention at the level of Engagement in Gangs:

This preventive strategy can be achieved through social work in neighborhoods in difficulty thanks to street workers (social-cultural animators, street educators, social mediators, specialized educators, social assistants, family counsellors, etc.). Whose mission will be to supervise, advise, raise awareness, support and facilitate the integration of young people who are in a vulnerable situation (unemployment, poverty, social isolation, drug use, idleness, begging, vagrancy, violence, delinquency, etc.). But this means first of all promoting street work, creating jobs, training centers specialized in social work and providing the necessary resources to those who work with young people: transport, accommodation, remuneration, access to certain data, facilities, protection in some difficult contexts, etc.

Social workers can be recruited within the “social services” of central administrations (Ministry of National Solidarity, Family and the Status of Women, Ministry of Justice, Ministry of National Education), local authorities (municipalities and wilayas), and associations involved in the prevention of delinquency. Social workers can above all be mobilized within the framework of the “social protection” of children in danger as provided for by Law No. 15-12 of July 15, 2015 relating to the protection of children (art. 21 et seq.), (*Official Journal of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria*, No. 39, 2015). However, “social work”, in Algeria suffers from a lack of social recognition, and is unfortunately not seen by the public authorities as a necessity or as a factor of social integration. Public authorities prefer to fight against social ills by other means: jobs creation, construction social housing, etc.

In any case, the prevention of involvement in neighborhood gangs in Algeria can be archived by implementing two forms of social prevention. The first is to intervene in the neighborhood and its inhabitants. The second is to target the child and his family.

Intervention on the neighborhood and its inhabitant is a matter of “community prevention”. It requires counselling and awareness-raising among the gangs on the consequences of violence, and involves community members (neighborhoods associations, imams, local notables, schools, etc.). This prevention targets primarily the “at-risk groups”, that is to say young people who are in situations of insecurity and social maladjustment. But this requires a long-term investment and human and material efforts on the part of local (communes, wilayas) and national (different ministries) officials. Social workers, like street educators, must also have the necessary human qualities (listening, compassion, availability, communication, etc.) to establish a lasting and serene relationship of trust with young people (Spergel, 1995).

Intervention on the child and his family takes the form of “developmental prevention”. This prevention should be implemented as early as possible in the family or at school for children at risk, aged three to five, who have problems of social maladjustment, or driving disorders such as impulsiveness, Systematic opposition to authority, self-centeredness, lack of empathy, poor self-control, aggressiveness, etc. This prevention also applies to parents who lack educational skills or have some difficulty (drug and alcohol use, violence, early pregnancy of the mother, unemployment, divorce, etc.). The aim of this prevention, which has proved to be effective, is to prevent the development of criminal behavior in children

when they reach adulthood through interventions that master cognitive and behavioral methods of a psycho-social nature (anger management, self-control, maternity techniques, prenatal and post-natal home visits, etc.) (Nagin, Tremblay, 1999, p. 1181). Moreover, recent studies have also shown that “family therapies” have positive effects. This is the case of parental support programs such as *The Incredible Years*, and the *Triple P* (Positive Parenting Program), which have been implemented in countries like Canada, England, the United States and France (Piquero et al. 2016).

Taking age into account is very important for the implementation of all these measures, because according to a study carried out by the National Institute of Forensic Science and Criminology of the National Gendarmerie on 22 districts of the “gendarmerie zone” of the Algiers wilaya, it was found that most of the authors involved in the gangs of neighborhoods (42 %) are young people aged 18 to 25 years (NIFSC-NG, 2021). The same study, which involved 117 authors, also revealed that most people belonging to neighborhood gangs have a college education (60 %), unemployed (64 %), single (90 %), and that 19 % have ‘among them are already known to the courts.

Some of the social prevention measures are already provided for in Ordinance No. 20-03 of 30 August 2020 relating to the prevention and fight against neighborhood gangs (art. 4 and 12). Furthermore, the Algerian legislator has given a high priority to the treatment of victims of these gangs (art. 14 and 16). However, it is regrettable that the regulations did not provide for a “scientific evaluation” to measure the real impact of the actions of the “National Strategy for the Prevention of Neighborhood gangs”, since Article 8 of Executive Decree No. 21-123 of March 29, 2021 only requires “periodic reports assessing its activities in the prevention and fight against neighborhood gangs submitted to the Prime Minister and an annual report submitted to the President of the Republic” (*Official Journal of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria*, No. 25, 2021). There is a profound difference between periodic reports or activity reports, which do not allow us to know whether gang crime has decreased or not, and scientific evaluation, which measures the effectiveness of actions taken, the use of well-defined evaluation protocols (Cusson et al., 1994). Finally, we can also regret the absence of a support program for parents and children who have problems of social misadaptation or who suffer from educational deficiencies in Ordinance No. 20-03 of 30 August 2020.

II.2 Intervention in the level of Urban Planning and Architectural Design:

An effective proactive strategy to address neighborhoods gangs is not only aimed at the perpetrators of violence, but also at the environment in which they operate. Indeed, if it is accepted that human behavior is influenced by elements of the physical context, then a modification of this context would be likely to regulate this behavior. This is the very objective of situational planning, because it is well known that certain criminogenic situations create criminal opportunities by arousing the envy of offenders or facilitating their passage to action. For example, the lack of natural surveillance, lighting or escape routes make crimes less risky and easier to commit. The idea is to change the urban planning and architectural design of housing complexes in order to deter the move.

Considering the social housing built by hundreds of thousands in recent years in Algeria, it is observed that the phenomena of violence thrive precisely because the architectural design of these dwellings and the urban planning do not offer a safe environment for residents. The apartment buildings built in Algeria are curiously reminiscent of the public housing projects of certain foreign countries (USA, France for example) designed in the 1960s-1970 and which were at the origin of the appearance of some forms of delinquency in the neighborhoods, as drug trafficking, burglary, vehicle fire, public property damage, incivility, etc. New buildings in Algeria are reminiscent of the NUHZ (New Urban Habitat Zones) of the 1970s, which quickly became “Sleeping cities” as in the former USSR “Sputnik cities” (Foura, Foura, 2005, p. 122).

In this type of buildings, the density of people is problematic. It is crowded with thousands of inhabitants from different backgrounds with different cultures, where some families are not accustomed to living together in a building, do not know the codes of co-ownership living, which ultimately creates friction, of neighborhoods conflicts, or even territorial wars. Over time, new buildings are deteriorating, street waste is spreading on their sidewalks and the facades are lacking in maintenance. The entrances to buildings, halls and stairs are gradually becoming a squat for young people, a meeting place where they talk, play, party, consume and sell drugs, and sometimes assault passers-by. In these conditions, it becomes difficult to live in safety, and it is not surprising to see criminal gangs formed.

These findings are confirmed even more by the study of NIFSC-NG mentioned above, where it is observed that most authors involved in gangs of neighborhoods (78 %) are newly-settled residents in new neighborhood built under collective housing programs, compared to 22 % of the authors who are former residents (NIFSC-NG, 2021). It is also in the context of new collective dwelling that ties between neighborhood gangs are woven, and where it is observed that most of the authors belonging to neighborhoods gangs (51 %) met in the new neighborhoods, meaning after they were relocated, compared to 27 % of authors with previous knowledge and 21 % of authors linked other by other links (Kinship) (NIFSC-NG, 2021).

However, it has long been known that urban planning and architectural design influence delinquency (Jacobs, 1961; Newman, 1972). It follows that better prevention of the gangs of neighborhoods, would be one that takes into account the safety dimension in the design of large housing complexes, in the sense that, instead of building large housing complexes, it will be necessary to design small residential units with reduced height, grouping limited number of apartments with fenced entrances and clear demarcation between semi-space private and public space and where foreigners will be quickly identified and dissuaded. Semi-public spaces must also be treated appropriately by erecting symbolic barriers to prevent the intrusion of foreign persons. Residential entities must above all arouse in the inhabitants of the territorial reflexes, and allow natural surveillance of the places by removing hidden corners that escape the eyes. In short, the idea is not so much to transform houses into a fortress, but to encourage residents to better protect themselves, to give the impression that one is being observed and that there is a risk of being identified in case of bad intentions (Ouabri, 2024, p. 231).

Certainly, the Algerian legislator has recently taken into account the influence of urban planning on delinquency in Ordinance No. 20-03 of August 30, 2020 by specifying among other measures to prevent gangs of neighborhoods “... *-the development of a general policy for the implementation of housing programs that takes into account the requirements of crime prevention and control*” (art. 4, paragraph 6). The same applies to the Law No. 06-06 of February 20, 2006 relating to the city’s orientation law, which provides among its objectives: “... *-the reabsorption of unsafe or unhealthy habitat, ... - the fight against social scourges, marginalization, delinquency, poverty and unemployment*” (art. 6), and “... *- the fight against the degradation of living conditions in neighborhood’s, ... -the prevention of urban delinquency* (art. 10). (Official Journal of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria, No. 15, 2006). Finally, Article 5 of Executive Decree No. 07-05 provides among the missions of the National Observatory of the city has following tasks: “... *- to observe the development and urban structuring, the functionality and use of public spaces and the use of urban land, to analyze trends and to propose any measures or programs intended to improve living conditions citizens within the city*” (Official Journal of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria, No. 03, 2007).

However, all these measures remain insufficient and face challenges in practice. Because, if we truly want to tackle delinquency through urban planning and the architectural design of large housing complexes in Algeria we must require builders to provide, prior to any project, a public safety and security study. This study would assess the risks to the safety of people and property that may arise from construction and development projects, as well as the measures to be implemented to prevent these risks (Farde, 2016). Some countries have introduced this obligation for several years, as is the case in England since 1994 (government circular « Planning out of Crime »), and France since 1995 (art. L114-1 to L114-4, and R114-1 to R114-3 of the Urban Code). In short, the risks of delinquency in Algeria must be taken seriously as well as the need to solve housing problems.

III. Reactive response strategy:

In order to strengthen the fight against neighborhood gangs, it is also necessary to complement proactive interventions with reactive interventions focused, on the one hand, on the violence of these gangs, and on the other, on the creation within our criminal justice system of specialized jurisdictions to ensure the exit of gangs.

III.1 Intervention focused on hot spots policing and targeted deterrence:

In parallel with the preventive measures just described, the fight against gangs of neighborhoods also requires a focus on the spots policing or maintaining order in the hot districts, and the implementation for a targeted deterrence. But to achieve this, it first be necessary to introduce in Algeria the approach of “problem-Oriented-Policing”. Thus, unlike traditional policing, this new approach follows a well-defined process using the SARA (Scanning, Analysis, Response, Assessment) model (Hinkle et al., 2020). In other words, police response according to this approach consists of organizing the police response according to the following steps: 1. Identifying the criminal problem; 2. Analyzing it in detail; 3. Applying a tailor-made solution; 4. Evaluate the results of the intervention.

The results of scientific evaluations on the application of this policing approach have all show that it is effective. This is the case, for example, of these two experiments carried out by police in the cities of Jersey City and Boston in the US in the 1990s. In the first experiment, the hot spots policing was reflected by the surveillance of high-crime gang sites, the intensification of police presence, and the implementation of situational prevention measures (improvement of lighting, fencing of abandoned buildings, garbage collection, repair of broken windows, installation of locks and digicodes in apartment buildings, intervention against drug sales, Systematic cleaning of tagging walls, installation of surveillance cameras eviction of problematic tenants, etc.). In the second experiment, targeted deterrence took the form of an operation called “Cease-fire”. In this operation, the authorities of the city of Boston mobilized several partners (federal government prosecutors, police, criminologists, probation officers, street workers, pastors, community leaders) to end gang violence through a strategy that is based on a series of actions: detailed analysis and collection of information on gang activity, communication of the risks of criminal sanctions incurred, systematic enforcement of sentences against gang members,

crackdown, publicizing operations, increased police patrols, arrest and punishment for violations of the law. Following these two experiences, there was a significant decrease in gang-related violence and shootings (Braga et al., 2001, p. 195).

In comparison to police work in Algeria, it is clear that it is the traditional policing which is privileged there (such as controls, arrests, searches, fines, identity checks, etc.). This approach focuses more on the organization and management of police forces, rather than on the search for hard-hitting results or the achievement of specific objectives. In other words, police work in Algeria puts the focus on resources before it is on results. This police approach has long shown its limits (Chaiken et al., 1974).

In any case, to improve its effectiveness, the police in Algeria will need to rely on community action and local authority (municipalities and wilayas). Unfortunately, the police in Algeria is not sufficiently community-oriented and its work remains disconnected from the action of local elected officials, especially the Presidents of Communal Popular Assemblies despite Ordinance No. 20-03 of August 30, 2020 on the prevention and fight against gangs in neighborhood's encourages "*the promotion of institutional cooperation*" (art. 4 paragraph 4). In fact, local elected officials complain about the lack of resources provided by the state to deal with crime and are content to manage local affairs. Moreover, it should be noted at the outset that in Algeria, unlike other countries (Normandeau, 1998; Roché, 2005), the "communal police" body has been gradually dissolved, despite what is stipulated in article 93 paragraph 1 of the Communal Code: "*For the implementation of his administrative police prerogatives, the president of the communal popular assembly has a communal police force, the status of which is defined by regulation*".

The communal police are therefore part of the responsibilities of the President of the Communal Popular Assembly as part of the representation of the State. But, after being timidly employed, and the role they played during the 1990s in the fight against terrorism, municipal police officers were redeployed between several administrations and public institutions, particularly after the coup de grace that they received by Executive Decree No. 14-100 of March 9, 2014 relating to the redeployment of communal guard personnel (*Official Journal of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria*, No. 13, 2014). But, curiously, in the new bill establishing the Communal Code, the Communal police force is maintained (art. 119)!

However, what is certain is that many problems of delinquency and incivility neighborhoods in Algeria can be avoided if there was only a communal police force (police presence, foot patrols, enforcement of APC President's police regulations, public road surveillance, prevention of incivility, verbalization of offenders, etc.). In fact, the observation shows that in Algeria there is a professional culture which makes the police force almost exclusively in the service of the state, that is to say oriented towards the preservation of public order and public security. This is clearly seen when it comes to dealing with incivility, minor and medium-level delinquency that are left to the responsibility of the community.

In reality, the municipalities in Algeria are considered by the central authorities as entities that have not yet reached a sufficient maturity to take on security issues. At the same time, the state encourages and sometimes forces the municipalities to deal with local crime problems. This is where the paradox of criminal policy in Algeria lies. This demonstrates in any case that the fight against crime in Algeria is essentially guided by a logic of centralization of security and crime issues. Therefore, the approach should be reversed, that is to say, from the bottom (common) upwards (central power) and not the reverse. Basically, what is lacking in Algeria for an effective fight against gangs of neighborhoods, it is real local crime prevention policies where the President of the Communal Popular Assembly will have a central role in the elaboration, implementation and evaluation of these policies.

III.2 The intervention Requiring the Creation of Specialized Jurisdictions to Support the Exit from Gangs:

The intervention of the criminal justice system in the fight against neighborhood gangs becomes necessary when proactive intervention strategies prove insufficient. Penal sanctions appears here as the last resort to stop the violence. But the sanction must not be limited to its traditional functions (neutralization, deterrence, retribution). Social reintegration should also be pursued by the judge, whose mission is precisely to prevent recidivism among offenders.

However, to achieve the objectives of social reintegration, specifically the reintegration of criminal gang offenders into society, our criminal justice system must be reformed. This means abandoning its traditional functioning, which is characterized by a managerial approach to case handling, and instead taking the time to examine the expressed needs and the suffering endured by offenders. Many countries, even the most developed ones like the United States and European nations, face the issue of court congestion (Cadiet, 2010, p.13). Judges also often complain of exhaustion and lack of resources and time to carry out their missions. Even the court atmosphere, decorum and theatricality of hearings often cause anxiety and give litigants the feeling that they are not really listened to or sincerely taken into account.

The solutions to his situation exist, and one of them is the creation of "*Problem-Solving Courts*" within our criminal justice system (Berman, Feinblatt, 2005). The type of jurisdiction was born in a court located in a ghetto in the

State of Florida in the United States at the end of the 1980s. The judges who sat there regularly received the same people: drug addicts prostitutes, delinquents mentally ill, alcoholics, drug addicts, etc. Not enough attention was paid to these delinquents, nor were their problems addressed or resolved (drug use, behavioral problems, lack of care, violence, unemployment, housing, problems, etc.). Over time, judges even ended up taking refuge in postures of presence distributing sentences like an automaton according to a well-established cadence. Following this situation, it became urgent to invent a new model of justice which had to be implemented in neighborhoods in difficulty.

However, serious crime (homicides, terrorist attacks, kidnapping, etc.) does not fall within the area of jurisdiction of these jurisdictions; they mainly cover small and medium-sized delinquency (theft, drug-related delinquency, domestic violence, sexual assault, etc.).

Thus, unlike traditional courts, Problem-Solving Courts are characterized by the practical application of tailor-made solutions to problems of delinquency. In particular, this justice model is based on a series of key principles.

First, these jurisdictions are located in the neighborhoods, closer to the community in order to involve the latter in solving the problems of delinquency that it encounters and to involve it in the search for solutions. Community members attend court hearings, participate in the discussion of matters, approve or disapprove of the accused's behavior.

Second, in this model of justice, the correctional judge, that is to say, the one who pronounces the sentence, is himself the judge of the application of sentences, which is not the case in Algeria. This single judge, specially trained, is responsible for the overall care of the convicted person and ensures that the principles of fair trial are respected. The judge regularly meets the sentenced person, once a week or monthly as the case may be, personally checks compliance with the obligations imposed on him (injunction of care for example), and does not hesitate to encourage the condemned person and motivate him in his withdrawal process, congratulate him for his efforts, but also punish him in case of failure on his part (for example, a community service sentence or a short prison sentence but without interrupting the follow-up). The other probationers are also present at the hearings, and can thus imbibe from the experiences of each convicted person. The goal pursued by the judge is to make the convicted person responsible for his situation and to help him get out of the way of delinquency. The judge must be aware of certain forms of delinquency and process certain qualities: humanity, listening, kindness, empathy, but also firmness and authority.

Collaboration among multiple partners is also another important principle of *Problem-Solving Courts*. Thus, the police, public prosecutor's office, probation officers, psychiatrists, criminologists, social workers, psychologists, associations, employment officials, social landlords are all present in court, they hold permanent work with the judge to find a solution that first each convicted person. Thus, instead of moving, the condemned person will be able to meet in the same building an addiction counsellor to help him solve addiction problems, a social landlord to find him a home, an employment counselor for work, etc.

Problem-Solving Courts not only address issues of delinquency, but all problems of the offender in a holistic approach, including factors of recidivism: unemployment, housing problem, drug addiction, psychiatric illness, etc.

Finally, it is not uncommon for the success of the convicted person in his or her withdrawal journey to be recorded publicly and solemnly, with applause and congratulations, or even certificates issued in recognition of the efforts made to leave delinquency.

Several countries now apply the problem-solving jurisdiction model (US, England, Canada, Australia, Scotland, etc.). While some researchers question the effectiveness of this justice model, others show satisfactory results: the rate of recidivism in Problem-Solving Courts is less important than in conventional jurisdictions, and the convicts who are followed there submit more to the obligations imposed on them, consume fewer drugs and commit fewer offences. Thanks to the *Problem-Solving Courts*, we have also observed visible positive effects in the social environment of the neighborhoods: disorders, incivility and other manifestations related to delinquency decrease significantly. Finally, the application of the *Problems-Solving Courts* model also saves money by reducing the costs of crime (expenses related to police operations, justice, enforcement of sentence, damage to society, medical care, etc.). In addition, for example, research has shown that the Drug Courts can save up to \$5,000 over two years for each drug user (Rossman et al., 2011).

Compared to our criminal justice system, the difference with the Anglo-Saxon model is clear. Certainly, probation in Algeria is framed by a system focused on the reintegration of the sentenced person. The objectives of social reintegration are clearly stated in Law No. 05-04 of February 6, 2005 on the Code of Prison Organization and Social Reintegration of Prisoners (*Official Journal of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria*, No. 12, 2005). But our criminal justice system is still too dominated by a repressive logic giving very little attention to the objectives of rehabilitation, aid and support. This explains why in many cases the prison becomes a school of crime rather than a solution to delinquency problems. In fact, most members of neighborhood gangs are addicted to drugs. As long as the addiction problems are not solved, then there is no hope of getting out crime. For this reason, the experimental

establishment of *Drug Courts* in neighborhoods where gangs and drug trafficking are concentrated is highly desirable. Great reforms always start with a small step!

IV. Conclusion:

What results can be drawn from this study? Fighting neighborhoods gangs is no easy task. Violence, drug trafficking, and the insecurity generated by criminal gangs are all phenomena that are difficult to control and therefore require a renewed approach. However, our criminal policy is not sufficiently adapted to address them, as it is too focused on repression, while prevention remains a relatively recent practice. This is why a better fight against neighborhood gangs suggests establishing a comprehensive, balanced, and coordinated criminal policy based on two pillars. First, by implementing a “proactive strategy” that acts upstream of the phenomenon, through the prevention of gang involvement, and by modifying the architectural design of collective housing to make it less criminogenic. Then, by establishing a “reactive strategy” which aims to improve the quality of police work by creating special police units which apply the *Problem-Solving* method, and the establishment of problem solving jurisdictions within our criminal justice system in order to facilitate the exit of gangs.

In light of these results, we propose the following recommendations:

1. Under the “proactive strategy”:
 - The development of community prevention programs to benefit at-risk populations in neighborhoods;
 - The implementation of developmental prevention for socially unadapted children and their parents;
 - The creation of a regulatory requirement for a public safety study prior to any social housing project;
2. Under the “reactive strategy”:
 - The creation of a problem-solving police force;
 - The establishment of problem-solving jurisdictions.

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