

The increase in intra-family violence in France during the pandemic. What are we talking about?

O aumento da violência intrafamiliar na França durante a pandemia. Do que estamos falando?

ABSTRACT

A variety of statistical data points to an increase in intrafamily violence following the first lockdown in France. To better understand the data, this article discusses the pre-existing violence within families living in poverty before the pandemic and whether it was rooted in a class 'habitus', in the consequences of the effects of poverty or in individuals' suffering. Consequently, as the pandemic hit the most deprived communities the hardest, it is likely that violence linked to social context has increased more than any other type of violence since the pandemic began.

Keywords: Family violence; Child; Social class; Poverty.

RESUMO

Vários dados estatísticos atestam um aumento da violência doméstica após o primeiro confinamento na França. Para melhor compreender esses dados, este artigo discutirá a violência que existia nas famílias pobres antes da pandemia, seja uma violência enraizada num "habitus" de classe, consequência dos efeitos da pobreza ou do sofrimento experimentado pelos indivíduos. Consequentemente, tendo a pandemia enfraquecido as populações mais pobres, é provável que a violência ligada ao contexto social tenha aumentado mais do que outras formas de violência desde a pandemia.

Palavras-chave: Violência doméstica; Criança; Classe social; Pobreza.

INTRODUCTION

Following the first lockdown in France in March/April 2020, French media and a number of sociological studies

¹ highlighted a significant increase in intrafamily violence against women and children. It may be believed that this increase is debatable, linked to a rise in the number of victim testimonies due to a gradual increase in victim support systems that have given victims the freedom to speak out. This should not prevent us from delving further into this increase, which is also due to, in part but not only, the increased visibility of these forms of violence in recent years, and trying to understand the existing links between the pandemic and the evolution of violence. In fact, as I consider it crucial to look at the issue of intrafamily violence before the pandemic to be able to understand the statistical data, in this article I will build upon my past research on the construction of family relationships within lower working class families. First of all, I will explain the research methodology and the situation of families in poverty. I will then present the forms of violence observed between parents and children within these families. The final section will show the correlation between the increase in intrafamily violence and the measures taken by the government during the pandemic.

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Studying “poor families”

The analyses provided here are based on data collected through an ethnographic study on the construction of family relationships in situations of poverty². The study involved fifteen families subject to Non-Institutional Educational Action (AEMO) monitoring³. The fieldwork, carried out between 2009 and 2016, was initiated thanks to two organisations responsible for monitoring children’s upbringing. For most families, only the first meeting is organised with a monitor. The monitors chose the families at the request of one of its members (often the mother). The participating families are therefore considered to have the resources to talk about their situation, either because they have reached a more or less “stable” point in their lives or because the study may benefit them. In addition, the reasons for the fieldwork (the intention to write a book on families facing economic hardship) are explained in detail beforehand so that the research and parental monitoring are clearly differentiated.

For each family, interviews, informal discussions and observations took place over a period ranging from several months to six years. The meetings usually happened within the family home (during the week or at the weekend, at variable times), but also outside of the home: when shopping, doing activities with the children, at a restaurant, at the hospital or court or during meetings with their monitor. More than fifty interviews were carried out with mothers, fathers, several children and other people living in the home. Trust was built through the provision of services, listening or simply taking an interest (SCHWARTZ, 1990). During these meetings, many subjects relating to family affairs were discussed: finances (receipts, spending), housing and equipment, relationships with their neighbours and local community, leisure activities, the children's birth and upbringing and educational care [etc.]. Spending time with the families and being with them for part of their lives led to a greater level of understanding than could be achieved through discourse. The amount of time dedicated to fieldwork not only reflects the complexity of the subject, but also the challenging nature of building trust, which is essential to understand the facts. As Olivier Schwartz writes, the study came up against "closed doors, missed meetings, evasive answers [and] conversations stubbornly limited to small talk", serving as a reminder that the study could be perceived as embarrassing, excessive, inconvenient or unjustified (SCHWARTZ, 1990, p. 39).

There are elements of risk associated with focusing on violence within working class families in situations of poverty: the risk of forgetting that greater scrutiny of these families by social services could ultimately lead to "family disorders" being laid bare (CARDI, 2007; SERRE, 2009) and the risk of forgetting that intrafamily violence exists in all echelons of society (MUCCHIELLI, 2011). In the conclusion of a literature review on child abuse and its relation to social class, Gillonne Desquesnes concludes: "Although general population studies and hospital monographs show that working classes are in the majority, this does not mean that abuse is absent from upper classes. However, as it passes through other circuits, abuse in affluent areas is inconspicuous and research sorely lacking" (DESQUESNES, 2011, p. 29). There is the further risk of forgetting the various forms of violence that these families face (JAZOULI, 1993; PALHETA, 2015). Jeanne Lazarus, drawing on the work of Aline

O'Connor, reiterates the danger of researchers' descriptions used when conducting research into poor people and how they are ultimately used "against" them: "In this way, opponents of the welfare-state will say that poor people are not qualified and have to receive training. Their family life is unstable: they have to be more responsible, parents have to take better care of their children. They are demotivated and stop looking for work: they have to stop receiving benefits and rediscover their motivation, etc." (LAZARUS, 2012). It therefore seems important that all descriptions of vulnerable populations are contextualised. I do not study "poor people", even if this shorthand will occasionally be used, rather I study individuals living in poverty. As I describe the lives of individuals affected by these circumstances, I therefore move away from a strictly individualistic, accusatory and stigmatising reading, which would classify the individual as being responsible for their situation.

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In the following analyses, poverty, of which intensity variations differ from one family to another, will be presented as a common social reality. Although several of the participating families are in the "grey area", as described by Duvoux and Papuchon, "between employment and unemployment", in which individuals could be "in permanent employment, but their situation, which is both unstable and on the edge of the poverty line, constitutes a new nebula of poverty" (DUVOUX, PAPUCHON, 2019, p. 2), most families who participated in the study are unemployed and in severe poverty, combining "income poverty" and "poor living conditions". Poverty is thus defined through a multidimensional and not strictly monetary approach, more closely aligned with a qualitative approach to the phenomenon (DAMON, 2010). As Nicolas Duvoux and Jacques Rodriguez stipulate, in rich countries such as France, poverty is characterised primarily as "a social status depriving those affected of the chance to participate fully in community life or to fulfil their potential as individuals" (DUVOUX, RODRIGUEZ, 2016, p. 8). This is the "disqualifying poverty" discussed by Serge Paugam (Paugam, 1998 and 2005), even if, in the case of my research, it takes on forms of stability and is viewed "less and less as a downfall and more and more as a condition", as highlighted by Nicolas Duvoux and Adrien Papuchon (DUVOUX, PAPUCHON, 2019, p. 2). Thus, many aspects of daily life will be addressed in order for the reader to understand how

certain aspects can destroy social participation and the prospect of building a different future. The combination of poor housing conditions and local resources, health and healthcare issues and difficulties in accessing education, knowledge and communication means poverty is also rooted in lacking opportunities and possibilities and, above all, economic, social and cultural resources.

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Working classes and poverty

In French sociological literature, poor families predominantly belong to the working classes. However, not all working class people are poor (MASCLET, SCHWARTZ, 2019). The heterogeneity of the working classes has been proven by numerous sociologists recalling the distance between individuals and their attempts to distinguish themselves from each other. There are salient differences between individuals from the upper and lower echelons of the working classes. Those from the better-off fractions do not want to be identified with those from the most precarious fractions (SCHWARTZ, 1998; SCHWARTZ, 2009; SIBLOT, CARTIER, COUTANT, MASCLET, RENAHY, 2015; CAYOUEITE-REMBLIERE, 2015; MAUGER, 2015; DUVOUX, LOMBA, 2019, MASCLET et al. 2019; 2020). Olivier Schwartz believes that belonging to the working classes characterises a community marked by “low social and professional status”, “few economic resources” and being “distanced from cultural capital” (COLLOVALD, SCHWARTZ, 2006). However, it is within the fragments of each of these characteristics where the heterogeneity of the working classes is to be found. The most acute forms of poverty combine a lack of professional status, an income consisting solely of benefits and a significant distance from cultural capital. Insee (the French National Institute for Statistics and Economic Studies) has found that in households where the reference person works, the poverty rate was, in 2017, 8.2% for manual workers and 6.8% for non-manual workers, in contrast with 2.6% for management positions⁴. A more detailed analysis from the *Observatoire des inégalités* (2018 - the French Inequalities Observatory) shows that the poverty rate for skilled manual and non-manual workers is 7%, but 22% for personal service occupations (particularly female housekeepers)⁵. According to the

Observatoire des inégalités, manual and non-manual workers make up almost 80% of poor people⁶. The most deprived people are primarily the least qualified and therefore have greater difficulty entering into stable and adequately paid employment (*Observatoire des inégalités*, 2018).

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Nicolas Duvoux and Adrien Papuchon highlight the risk of an exacerbated dichotomy “between the analysis of poverty and the analysis of the working classes”. According to these authors, there is currently “a division of sociological work and a relative fragmentation between studies on poverty and centred on situations of distance from the labour market and marginalisation on the one hand, and work on the integrated - albeit fragile - working classes on the other” (DUVOUX, PAPUCHON, 2019, p. 4). They thus highlight the risk for researchers of sidestepping “the experience [that these communities] have of social structure (...), of sidestepping poverty’s evolution in the wake of the persistence and deepening of the crisis” (*op. cit.*, p. 4). It is for this reason I situate the research participants in a wider context, that of the working classes. Even though it is important to distinguish being part of the working classes and being in a situation of poverty, certain habits are linked to a “class habitus” and others to injunctions linked to their poverty. The distinction is sometimes subtle, especially as “class habitus” is rooted in poverty (BOURDIEU, 1979; BOURDIEU, 1980).

This cross-sectional view of social structure also allows us to understand the relationships that people living in poverty have with other echelons of society. As Nicolas Duvoux states, “regulation mechanisms for poor people do not only apply to them. Even though they are specifically designed for the poor, in reality the health, social and even criminal management systems actually subjugate society as a whole” (PAUGAM, DUVOUX, 2008, p. 27).

Intrafamily violence

Laurent Mucchielli supports the hypothesis that “a moral peace process is undoubtedly continuing to work in French society and is contributing to the slow but

steady decline in the use of physical violence to resolve ordinary, everyday conflicts in our social lives” (MUCCHIELLI, 2008, p.119). According to the author, this “moral peace” process, which stigmatises and delegitimises the use of violence, contributes to the feeling that there is an increase in violence. “The general feeling of an increase in violent behaviour may well see an acceleration in the reporting of such behaviour, but also a stagnation or even a decline in its actual frequency” (ibid., p. 120). According to Mucchielli, French society would become progressively more opposed to violence, therefore transforming its status: “What was once considered ‘normal’ or ‘unreasonable but tolerable’ has become abnormal and intolerable. What we did not want to see is now clearly visible to everyone. What was considered a ‘private matter’ has become a public matter. The public gaze penetrates places that were previously subject to authoritative discretion: the father of the family, school teachers, holiday camp leaders, boarding school or residence supervisors, military camps’ chief sergeant, office managers, etc. As a result, interpersonal violence, which is not new but has seen a change in its status, is denounced” (Ibid., pp. 120-121). All of this would lead today to a “judicialisation of the settlement of social conflicts” (MUCCHIELLI, 2008 and 2011).

Violence is socially constructed and multifaceted. May Clarkson, building upon multiple studies and reports, draws a distinction between personal violence (physical, psychological, sexual, social and environmental) and structural violence (poverty, repression and frustration) (MAY, 2004). In research carried out in Portugal that analysed the instances of violence against children from various social groups, Sandra Pascoal and Gabrielle Poeschl identify four causes of violence against children: “socio-environmental factors (e.g. hunger, poverty, war), personal factors (lack of education, family issues, aggressiveness), relational factors (parental disagreements, lack of love, lack of dialogue), and factors related to the children themselves (violence, disability, drug addiction)” (PASCOAL and POESCHL, 2004, p. 24).

There are certain crossovers between my analyses and those of the previously cited authors, yet they do differ as mine have been drawn-up solely from

my observations. Observing different moments of the participants' family life where different types of violence were used allowed me to identify three types of violence between parents and children: structural violence, contextual violence and reactivated violence. Before presenting the three forms of violence observed, it is important to define what I believe constitutes a violent verbal or physical act. Regardless of my own inevitably subjective view, I consider a violent act to be any which elicits rejection from the person subjected to it (crying, anger, fear, etc.) and which is considered by the individual subjected to it as violent.

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Structural Violence

The social construction of violence is experienced differently depending on generation, gender and class. Individuals react differently to gestures and words used to express discontent or as punishment, for example. Cléopâtre Montandon and Saloni Sapru highlight the importance "of inter-individual variations and nuances in attitudes and practices within social groups" (MONTANDON and SAPRU, 2002, p. 132). Parenting styles are shaped by multiple factors, including professional activity (Ibid, 2002). Professional interactions are "one of the drivers of change of parenting 'lifestyles', particularly among the working classes" (LE PAPE, 2012, p. 40). However, parenting styles are also propagated by legitimate institutions that care for young children: medicine and health professions (GOJARD, 2010), infant care institutions (GARCIA, 2011) and schools (THIN, 2009), among other examples.

Jean Kellerhals, Cléopâtre Montandon, Gilbert Ritschard and Massimo Sardi describe three parenting styles: statutory, materialist and contractual. The statutory style is characterised by accommodation (moulding to the rhythms and discipline of the environment) and control (coercion and prohibition). Communication is neither very frequent nor intimate, and shared activities are restricted. The materialist style is similar to the first style with regard to accommodation and control, yet differs through strong communication and the importance of shared activities between parents and children. Both are predominantly more common among the working classes. The contractual style is characterised by the importance given to the child's self-regulation

and creativity. Authority is based more on negotiation than coercion. Masculine and feminine roles are less differentiated than in the previous styles. This model concerns upper middle class families (KELLERHALS et al., 1992).

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In a study carried out in the USA of children between 8-9 years old from all social backgrounds, Anne Lareau (2011) contrasts the parenting model she names “concerted cultivation” seen in the middle and upper classes with that of “accomplishment of natural growth” seen in the working classes. The sociologist shows how concerted cultivation helps children in their education (LAREAU, 2011). According to Marie Clémence Le Pape, “communication takes the form of justifications in working-class environments and negotiations in privileged environments. Control is more precocious and indirect in the middle and upper classes, and more direct in working-class environments” (LE PAPE, 2009, p. 41-42).

Structural violence aims to punish behaviour deemed unacceptable, to reinforce rules or express discontent. They serve an educational purpose. I observed that the spanking, slapping, shouting and verbal insults were used as a direct and unplanned way to better bring up the child. Physical and verbal punishments are often part of these parents’ “habitus”. In most cases, having often received a stricter upbringing, they believe they are less rigid and “kinder” than their own parents. A study carried out by Pascoal and Pueschl shows that adults from “low-income areas” believe the violence they witness is less violent than that in residential areas (PASCOAL and PUESCHL, 2004). Furthermore, the fact that, on several occasions, parents carried out these actions in my presence proves their almost innocuous nature. Ludovic Vandaele, unemployed, talking about his daughter: “Amelie responded rudely to my wife, I came and slapped her. And it was a belter. Her buttocks were bruised. I don’t hit her in the face, I always hit her buttocks.” Monique Dazin, talking about an incident with her son, Sofiane: “One day Sofiane was stamping his feet. Once, twice, three times, I told him to stop, I set him down on the sofa and told him, ‘stop or I’ll hit you’, once, twice. He looked at me calmly and laughed. Then he started stamping his feet again. ‘Get here, you!’ I smacked his bottom. ‘I’m going to tell my father’, he replied. ‘You’re going to tell your father? Wait,

we'll call your father, you'll see.' We got the phone, 'Sofiane wants to talk to you.' Sofiane and his father were talking: 'Dad.' 'What?' 'Dad, Mum smacked my bum.' And his father said: 'I don't have to tell you again because your mother already has. If Mum hit you, you must have deserved it.' Sofiane said something else to me, I don't know what, but I raised my hand and *whack*." More significant corporal punishments are kept for "serious" matters, as Sylvie Barderon, a housekeeper, points out when talking about her son Enzo: "He's been hit with a belt twice in his life. Twice because on these two occasions he really put himself in danger. Once he wasn't home at 8 PM, at 6 years old!"

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Contextual violence

Qualitative research into poverty, despite still being rare in France, highlights in detail its effects on families and the fostering of relationships between children and adults. Although people living in poverty are not, by nature, more violent than others, they are nonetheless impacted by their living conditions. Indeed, I observed several tensions among these families linked to their living conditions. Violence in the forms of insults or hitting aimed to resolve frustrations, jealousy, feelings of unfairness and tensions, and not as a means of parenting.

In fact, these forms of violence are often linked to housing conditions. Living in crowded, poorly insulated and sometimes unsanitary dwellings can make these families' lives very difficult. Johnny Vermeersch, a former miner now living with a disability, lives with his wife and five children in a two-bedroom house. The three boys sleep in one room and two girls and their mother sleep in another (in the same bed as their mother). According to Johnny, he sleeps in the living room: "It's not normal that I don't sleep with my wife. She's going to have a test tube baby (forced laughter)." In another participating family, Gilles, the son of Annick and Jean Lagier's, also sleeps in the living room. He often becomes annoyed in the morning when his little brother is being noisy while he is still asleep. He often gets up off the sofa in anger and hits his little brother. It is evident that a lack of space causes difficulties concerning homework and the need to escape conflict or to be alone.

The cramped conditions sometimes add to poor housing conditions, as illustrated by Nora Dhamani, unemployed, who, when I met her, was living with her two children in a house where the toilet did not work. Nora recounts tensions between herself and her son Kevin while they were bathing her grandson: “Yeah. He took this bucket. He put it in the middle of the dining table, and just like that he filled it with hot bath water and left Yohan standing in it. And I was there and I felt sick and scared, I started to feel my heart beating, one step backwards... He was totally unaware. And I was there, with him watching me, I told him Yohan was in danger. So I tried to get up to pick him up and he forcibly blocked me” (STETTINGER, 2019).

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In addition to housing, a lack of money forces families to adapt their consumption levels in the form of measured purchases, children being treated differently through family purchases and even food. Some families sometimes choose to give more to the child who is most likely to be successful, as in the case of the Vermeersch family, for example. The five children often do not have the same meals with the smallest getting better meals than the three others. Jessica, the youngest and a star pupil at school, also receives the most presents. She got her mobile phone younger and wears the best clothes (etc.). Dylan is often violent towards his sisters and takes out his jealousy on his sisters and his mother by hitting them. He also often takes his sister's and mother's phone. During one of my visits to the Vermeersch family, Johny almost punched his son Dylan for stealing a pair of socks. Nora Dhamani also describes a violent scene caused by Kevin: “I came home, had barely shut the door [when] I heard grunting coming from above. Kevin and Ludovic had begun to fight upstairs. I say, ‘What’s going on?’ ‘Yeah, he stole my phone!’ Yet again with the phone! So I try to intervene and I say: ‘Listen, don’t you attack him!’, ‘Yes, yes, yes’, and he was effing and blinding at him, and Ludovic was scared. He escaped and my eldest son ran after him, and trapped Ludovic. My God, you should have seen how he looked at him. I started to scream and scream! I wanted to separate them and then Kevin pushed me, ‘No, stop!’ The neighbours came out onto the landing and not one came to help me. I was there, I was crying

out, I was crying out in pain and they were just kicking each other non-stop, non-stop...”

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The derisive attitude society shows towards them, especially institutions, makes them very angry. Jean Lagier, unemployed, talking about how he is treated by his town's social services: “When we don't have work. When you hit rock bottom, you're worthless so they [local social services] try to make us leave sooner rather than later. To make people leave quicker...as quickly as possible, they make their life hell. Don't believe it, town halls, they're a mess. They're supposed to really help people but they only help those who they want to help.”

Reactivated violence

I will add a third form of violence to the two described above that reflects the suffering that is often linked to family history (placement, loss of a parent, sickness). They can often be linked to forms of dependency such as drug addiction and alcoholism. These are less controlled and constrained manifestations that can sometimes take epic proportions. They can be taken out on children by their parents, but also on parents by their children. Dylan Vermeersch hits his mother, father and sisters. Gilles Langier, put into placement at three years old due to his parents' drug addiction, hits his brother and has already threatened his father with a knife. For a long time, Nora Dhamani has suffered physical and/or verbal violence from her son Kevin, in placement since the age of one year old: “He's violent, he's violent. Yes, it's true that he's violent. It comes from... I was always insulted by my parents, horribly: ‘you're nothing, you're useless, you're stupid.’ But when I hear things like mentally disabled and all that, it hurts me because I didn't do that well at school but I'm certainly not mentally disabled. As a result, I spend my time crying at the moment because he doesn't see everything I do, what I can do.”

Some turn this violence towards themselves, like Gilles Langier, who self-harms: “Craft knives or... anything. Everything I have that can cut, I take it. It can be a knife, even if I struggle to cut myself, but if I didn't cut myself, well, I would continue...”

For better visibility and analysis, these three forms of violence have been dissociated, but they often overlap, especially the last two.

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During the COVID-19 pandemic...

There are already numerous studies on the consequences of the pandemic on families, particularly on those who are the worst off⁷. The analyses of most of them are based on statistics (INSEE - National Institute for Statistics and Economic Studies⁸, Drees - Department of research, studies, assessments and statistics⁹), as more qualitative studies take longer to be carried out and published and in which it would be advantageous to interview parents and children living in poverty. These statistic studies are almost unanimous in emphasising the visibility of pre-existing inequalities, while warning about the increase of some of them, especially those related to job insecurity.

Exposing inequalities

Social distancing measures introduced for health reasons demonstrated that certain families can struggle to maintain distance due to living in cramped and overcrowded living spaces with no outdoor space. Before the pandemic, these factors were already problematic: a lack of privacy for the adults (a reduced sex life due to not having a parents' room), a lack of privacy for children (difficulty doing homework and sleeping, having nowhere to be alone or escape conflict) and a lack of basic comforts through squalid housing conditions (cold, humidity and no toilets). Even though these issues existed before, the lockdowns have laid bare the difficulties of living together. The SAPRIS survey (health, perception, practices, relationships and social inequality during the COVID-19 pandemic, funded by the National Research Agency) indicates that living conditions also determine the quality of relationships within the household that can deteriorate even further during the pandemic in the absence of external influence¹⁰. As Pierre Gilbert highlights, "On the one hand, lockdown has created specific inequalities and significant difficulties for

households [...]. On the other hand, due to the different inequalities affecting them - health, housing, work and transport -, working class households and neighbourhoods are particularly exposed to the virus and may ultimately pay a very heavy price for the pandemic” (Gilbert, 2020, online).

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Job Insecurity

The evolution of family relationships also depends on social and material conditions. They are often improved in households where the parents are in managerial positions or working from home. While the SAPRIS survey highlights that the vast majority of parents report that their relationship with their child(ren) has not changed (61%) or has even improved (23%), relationships have worsened in predominantly manual worker households or predominantly non-manual worker and middle-class households where parents were not working and the household's financial situation was considered difficult. The study has also found a rise in sleep and emotional disorders in children from lower-income households, particularly in those where there has been a drop in income during the lockdown (19%) compared to well-off households with consistent income (10%).

Finally, pre-existing poverty has increased during the pandemic. The Inequalities Observatory has reported that income poverty rates, stable until 2017, have since risen again: a “modest” increase that is worsening with the health crisis. This increase is said to be linked, according to historian Axelle Brodriez-Dolino, to people being tipped into poverty, from poor people becoming even poorer (rising expenses and difficulty receiving benefits due to being in informal employment) and those in precarious situations, whom the author describes as “the new poor people of the pandemic”, meaning those who did not benefit from furlough. These include, those on precarious, fixed term or temporary contracts and trial periods; seasonal workers and informal workers (BRODIEZ-DOLINO, 2021).

In addition, several studies indicate that non-manual and manual workers who could not work remotely were more exposed to the virus and more serious cases of

COVID-19 due to their poor overall health, limited healthcare access and loss of financial resources.

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Conclusion

As mentioned in the introduction, intrafamily violence has increased during the pandemic. In light of what we have demonstrated, this rise can be attributed to the second type of violence identified in this article: “contextual violence”. As we have seen, intrafamily violence between parents and children existed before the pandemic and to be able to make sense of it, it is necessary to understand it beyond an individual context. They are inherent to the place occupied by families in the social arena, in a social and economic context that intersects with personal trajectories. This violence sometimes stems from different parenting styles, but also from difficult periods in people’s lives, past and present, that can be material (a lack of money) or emotional (e.g. a lack of love). The COVID-19 pandemic did not create violence between parents and children but it has put strain on fragile lives. During the pandemic, people living in poverty have been more exposed and vulnerable. As Céline Bessière, Emilie Biland, Sibylle Gollac, Pascal Marichalar and Julie Minoc discuss, “family does not always and in all places constitute a safe space within which the individual is sheltered from the difficulties of social life, as in the case of coronavirus¹¹” (BESSIERE, BILAND, GOLLAC, MARICHALAR and MINOC, 2020). This is all the more true for the least well-off families.

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Notas

¹ Insécurité et délinquance en 2020: bilan statistique, Service statistique ministériel de la sécurité intérieure, 2020 (<https://www.vie-publique.fr/sites/default/files/rapport/pdf/279727.pdf>)

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² Project partly funded by *ANR Venir au monde 2010/2014*, led by Bertrand Geay.

³ Established following the 23 December 1958 ordinance in the French Constitution, the Aemo (Non-Institutional Educational Action) programme is a protection measure for children living in their family environment. Aemo services intervene at the request of the administrative authority (the president of the departmental council through the child welfare service) or the judicial authority (the children's judge). This intervention takes place when parents encounter difficulties in their parental responsibilities and/or when living conditions put the child in ascertained or potential danger. The intervention is principally undertaken in the child's family environment by specialised monitors or social workers. An Aemo measure is time-limited and generally ranges from six months to two years and renewable depending on how the child's situation evolves until they reach adulthood.

⁴Insee-DGFiP-Cnaf-Cnav-CCMSA, *Tax and Social Income Survey 2017*.

⁵ Insee-DGFiP-Cnaf-Cnav-CCMSA, *Tax and Social Income Survey 2015*.

⁶ Insee-DGFiP-Cnaf-Cnav-CCMSA, *Tax and Social Income Survey 2015*.

⁷ Anne Lambert, Joanie Cayouette-Remblière (dir.), *L'explosion des inégalités [The explosion of inequalities]*. Classes, genre et générations face à la crise sanitaire, La Tour d'Aigues, INED, Editions de l'Aube, coll. "Monde en cours", 2021; Nicolas Mariot, Pierre Mercklé, Anton Perdoncin (dir.), *Personne ne bouge. Une enquête sur le confinement du printemps 2020*, Grenoble, UGA Editions, coll. "Carrefours des idées", 2021.

⁸ Meriam Barhoumi, Anne Jonchery, Sylvie Le Minez, Philippe Lombardo, Thierry Mainaud, Ariane Pailhé, Catherine Pollak, Émilie Raynaud, Anne Solaz, "Les inégalités sociales à l'épreuve de la crise sanitaire: un bilan du premier confinement", Insee Références, Edition 2020.

⁹ DOSSIERS DE LA DREES n° 62 • July 2020, Les inégalités sociales face à l'épidémie de Covid-19 État des lieux et perspectives, Special issue coordinated by Claire-Lise Dubost, Catherine Pollak and Sylvie Rey (DREES)

¹⁰ 4,877 questionnaires are used here. The data has been adjusted to represent children born in France in 2011 (8-9 years old).

¹¹ Penser la famille aux temps du Covid-19, Céline Bessièrre, Emilie Biland, Sibylle Gollac, Pascal Marichalar et Julie Minoc, Mouvements, 2020.



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