



# FRANCE

## Ministry of Justice

# European Project STARR

# Strengthening Transnational Approaches to Reducing Re- offending



**General Secretary**

**Department for European and International Affairs**

**Office for cooperation**

**- French Pilot Project -**

**Final report:**

**« Parole groups for perpetrators of domestic violence  
introduced in the judicial district of the Tribunal de  
Grande Instance [Regional Court] of Mulhouse »**

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## **Introduction:**

As part of its involvement in the STARR project, from October 2010 to June 2011 the Ministère de la Justice et des Libertés undertook a research project on a system to combat recidivism in the area of domestic violence through probation measures. This research is, therefore, in response to the objective set out by the project: to identify and to share best practices applied within the European Union in order to effectively combat recidivism in three areas:

- alcohol and drug addiction
- juvenile crime
- domestic violence

In May 2010 the service des affaires européennes et internationales (SAEI) of the ministère de la Justice et des libertés approached the direction de l'administration pénitentiaire (DAP) [Penitentiary Administration Department], for it to develop a system to combat recidivism in the area of domestic violence implemented by its services de probation et d'insertion pénitentiaire (SPIP) [probation and penitentiary integration departments]. This system was conspicuous through its innovative character, particularly the methodological tools applied.

Following this approach the DAP reoriented the SAEI towards a system developed from the Mulhouse SPIP initiative, in partnership with the Accord68 association, involving the development of parole groups for the perpetrators of domestic violence. These parole groups were formed within recidivism prevention programmes (RPP) developed since the end of December 2007 by the DAP which represent a procedure for 'collective responsibility in the form of parole groups, the objective of which is to work on the development of the act and the conditions for its non-reiteration' [\[1\]](#).

Ludovic FOSSEY, magistrat\* and vice-president responsible for the enforcement of sentences at the Tribunal de Grande Instance of Créteil, was appointed as the expert responsible for undertaking this study. He was supported by David GORECKI policy officer for the STARR project at SAEI.

The objective of this study is to reproduce the experience of the parole groups and to describe their operation. Its conclusions are aimed at all the STARR project's partners but also at all Member States of the European Union interested in this system. They will also allow professionals in the judicial system in France to have access to 'feedback' on a system for the combat of recidivism.

From 24 to 26 November 2010 the Ministère de la Justice et des Libertés also organised an international seminar devoted to domestic violence. Magistrats, experts, universities, representatives from the associative and medical sector from different European countries were also able to exchange information about the various existing systems within this field over three days.

*\* Translator's note: 'magistrat' can refer to a judge or a prosecutor*

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[\[1\]](#) Référentiel Programme de prévention de la récidive – Direction de l'administration pénitentiaire - 2010

## **1 – The legislative and legal framework**

We should firstly summarise French legislation in the field of domestic violence over the last 20 years (1), and the legal framework for monitoring perpetrators of domestic violence (2)

### **1.1. French legislation from the last 20 years concerning domestic violence**

#### **Law no. 92-683 of 22 July 1992 concerning reform of the provisions of the Penal Code:**

This law recognises that being a spouse or partner of the victim constitutes aggravating circumstances of the offence committed. Even if it does not involve any complete incapacity to work, these violent actions constitute an offence or a crime.

This aggravated circumstance will appear in the Penal Code in March 1994 on the entry into force of law no. 92-1336 of 16 December 1992 concerning the entry into force of the new Penal Code

#### **Law no. 2005-1549 of 12 December 2005 concerning recidivism:**

The law sets out to facilitate the eviction from the home of the perpetrator of the violence (spouse or cohabitor) at all stages of the procedure before the criminal courts, whilst providing the option of health, social or psychological care

#### **Law no. °2006-399 of 4 April 2006 strengthening the prevention and repression of domestic violence or violence committed against minors:**

The text introduces an increase of the sentence incurred *‘for a crime or an offence if the offence is committed by the spouse, the cohabitor or the partner associated with the victim through a civil solidarity pact’* (cf. article 132-80 of the Penal Code below) but also if the actions are committed by the former spouse, former cohabitor or former partner associated with the victim through a civil solidarity pact. In the case of murder, the sentence incurred is increased to life.

This law is devoted, inter alia, to the suppression of rape and sexual assault between spouses, as already recognised by a judgement of the Cour de Cassation [Supreme Court] in 1990.

#### **Law no. 2007-297 concerning crime prevention of 5 March 2007:**

The text allows the sentence of socio-judicial surveillance for perpetrators of domestic violence, with the exception of sexual crimes. This sentence, however, is still relatively rarely applied to this type of crime.

#### **Law no. 2010-769 of 9 July 2010 concerning violence specifically committed against women, violence within a partnership and incidences of the latter against children:**

This law introduces the offence of psychological conjugal violence into the Penal Code. Article 222-14-3 of the Penal Code provides that harassment against ones spouse, partner or cohabitor through *‘repeated actions the objective or the result of which is a deterioration of his/her living conditions that manifests itself by an alteration to the physical or mental health’* is punishable by a sentence of imprisonment and a fine. The same penalties are incurred when the offence is committed by a former spouse, cohabitor or partner of the victim.

## **2.2. Suspended prison sentence, the usual legal framework for monitoring perpetrators of domestic violence**

The court delivering the judgement may issue a sentence of up to 5 years' imprisonment. This penalty may be wholly or partly suspended. Unlike straightforward suspension it involves monitoring and support measures for the convicted person for a period of 1 to 3 years. If the person re-offends or fails to comply with the requirements, the suspension may be wholly or partially withdrawn.

This sentence is primarily pronounced to punish crimes. It is never an administrative penalty. It may be pronounced for a crime but, as the maximum term of imprisonment that can be pronounced is 5 years, it is not particularly appropriate to the gravity of the crimes.

As with any crime it is assumed in advance that the criminal court is passing judgement on the defendant's guilt and is declaring him/her guilty of all or part of the crimes of which he/she is accused.

Of course, it comes with general requirements determined by article 132-44 of the Penal Code:

- 1: to attend when required to do so by the penalty enforcement judge or the designated social worker;
- 2: to receive visits by the social worker and to provide him with such information or documents as are necessary to verify his means of existence and the fulfilment of his obligations;
- 3: to inform the social worker of any change of employment;
- 4: to inform the social worker of any changes of residence or of any journey in excess of fifteen days and to account for his return;
- 5: to obtain prior authorisation from the penalty enforcement judge for any journey abroad and, where it is liable to obstruct the fulfilment of his obligations, for any change of employment or residence.

The court may add to this one or more of the specific obligations provided for at article 132-45:

- 1: to exercise a professional activity or to follow a course of education or professional training;
- 2: to establish his residence in a determined place;
- 3: to undergo medical examination, treatment or medical care, and where necessary hospitalisation; these measures may include a requirement to undergo a course of treatment as provided for at articles L3413-1 to L3413-4 of the Public Health Code where it appears that the convicted person uses drugs or is a regular and excessive consumer of alcohol;
- 4: to demonstrate that he is contributing to family expenses or is regularly paying any alimony that he may owe;
- 5: to make good, in all or part, according to his ability to pay, the damage caused by the offence, even in the absence of a court decision on civil liability;
- 6: to demonstrate that he is paying according to his ability to pay the amounts due to the public Treasury in consequence of the sentence;
- 7: to abstain from driving certain vehicles determined by the category of driving licenses provided for under the Highway Code;

- 8: not to engage in professional activity in the exercise of which or on the occasion of which the offence was committed or not to engage in a professional activity involving regular contact with minors;
- 9: not to appear in any location, any category of location or any specially designated area;
- 10: not to engage in betting, especially in betting shops;
- 11: not to frequent public houses;
- 12: not to keep company with certain convicted persons, especially other offenders or accomplices to the offence;
- 13: to abstain from contacting certain persons, including with the victim of the offence, or certain categories of persons, specifically minors, with the exception of, as appropriate, those specified by the court;
- 14: not to hold or carry any weapon;
- 15: where the offence was committed while driving a motor vehicle, the completion of a road safety awareness course at the offender's expense;
- 16: to abstain from broadcasting any audiovisual work which he has produced or co-produced and which deals, in part or in whole, with the offence committed, and to abstain from any public appearance relating to this offence; the provisions of the present article are only applicable in cases of conviction for felonies or offences relating to wilful attacks on life, sexual aggressions or sexual assault;
- 17: to deliver his children to those who have been granted custody of them by a legal ruling;
- 18: to complete a citizenship course.
- 19: where the offence was committed either against his spouse, his cohabitor or his partner through a civil solidarity pact, or against his children or those of his spouse, cohabitor or partner, to reside outside the couple's home or residence and, if appropriate, to refrain from entering this domicile or this residence or its immediate environs and, if necessary, subject himself to health, social or psychological care; the provisions of this article 19 also apply if the offence is committed by the victim's former spouse or cohabitor or by the person who was associated with her through a civil solidarity pact, and the domicile concerned is, therefore, that of the victim.

The criminal courts often resort to this manner of penalty where domestic violence is involved. The very nature of the attacks on the person more often require a sentence of a term of imprisonment. A fine or a sentence of community service are more often inappropriate to the gravity of the actions being punished. Imprisonment that is not suspended is often too great a penalty other than for cases of particularly serious violence on the basis of the period of incapacity suffered or the frequency. Simple suspension, a formal caution not to commit any further offence within a period of 5 years is perfectly appropriate if the convicted person fully acknowledges the actions for which he has been sentenced, demonstrates remorse towards the victim and does not have any previous convictions such that it can be assumed that appearance before a criminal court is sufficient dissuasion to repeating the offence. This is rarely so in the case of domestic violence. More often, the defendant contests the asserted facts or plays them down. Taking account of the relations established with the victim in an intra-familial situation, he does not accord his spouse the status of victim and, on the contrary, tends to present himself as the victim. In many cases the offence is said to have been caused by alcohol or drug addiction. Judicial records may also reveal previous offences involving violence. In this context, the court issuing the judgement issues a suspended sentence which both permits the gravity of the actions committed to be highlighted through the issue of a term of

imprisonment and obliges the person convicted to undergo a socio-educational support programme. In addition to the general obligations referred to above, the perpetrator of domestic violence is more often made subject to the specific obligations below:

- To work and to compensate the civil party if the victim has applied for and received damages and interest; in addition to the payment of compensation this obligation allows the perpetrator/victim relationship to be developed and to restore the victim to her true position.
- Not to enter into any relationship with the victim, not to approach her residence: this is to take account of the victim's wish to not be confronted by her attacker and to protect a victim placed under such a hold that she is not able to demand this break; these prohibitions are particularly difficult to apply; on the one hand it is not easy to establish their violation; more often, when the victim complains, the person convicted simply denies it; in the absence of any witness it is difficult to take it any further; on the other hand, relationships between the attacker and the victim often remain ambivalent following the events, and it is not uncommon for the offence to be determined by common consent, at the risk of the situation occurring again.
- apply a care programme: as has already been stated, the offence often arises from alcohol or drug addiction or is part of a violence issue; it is not uncommon for the perpetrator of violence to have already been convicted of violent offences (robbery with violence, assault, resisting arrest, defamatory act ...)

Once pronounced and definitive, the sentence is enforced by the penalty enforcement judge who has the authority to develop various obligations and prohibitions, depending on the convicted person's circumstances, to apply coercive measures against him if he is subject to control (arrest warrant or to check his address ...), to penalise any failures to comply by extending the period of probation or revoking suspension.

In the conduct of his task, the penalty enforcement judge may delegate the role of monitoring the person convicted to the probation service or an authorized association. This is the usual framework. A teacher or a prison rehabilitation and probation counsellor is appointed. He is responsible for summoning the convicted person, implementing all the particular obligations and prohibitions, checking as far as possible that they he complies with these measures, and encouraging him to comply with all the obligations. He shall ensure that the convicted person demonstrates compliance with all the obligations whilst the measures apply by referring him towards the appropriate agencies (centre for addictology, medico/psychological centre ...) and asking for the appropriate evidence of such.



## **2 – Assessment and description of the Mulhouse system**

### **2.1. Assessment and the problems encountered**

The objective set by the study was to reproduce the experience of the parole groups introduced under the jurisdiction of the court of Mulhouse.

To this end a first meeting was held on 18 February 2011 at the tribunal de grande instance of Mulhouse, bringing together all the parties involved in the operation of the system (president of the tribunal de grande instance of Mulhouse, the vice-president responsible for penalty enforcement, the deputy public prosecutor, the director of rehabilitation and probation from the Mulhouse unit, the director of the Accord68 association). During this meeting the SAEI delegation was able to familiarize itself with the entire programme, its institutional and legal framework and its background.

At this meeting the delegation was advised of the existence of two parole group programmes that were operating in parallel, one managed by the SPIP, the other by the Accord68 association. These exchanges of information allowed the members of the delegation to gather important information, particularly from the representatives of the probation service and the association. They are being followed up by e-mail and through telephone conversations.

The study covered the analysis of various elements:

1. The criminal circumstances of the participants at the parole groups: the state prosecutor's office provided the judicial records of the participants, the objective being to identify the type of person at which the system was aimed and to assess the percentage level of recidivism at the commencement of their involvement.
2. The progress of the convicted person during the measure: this analysis related to the study of reports of the measure and the monitoring put in place by the rehabilitation and probation counsellors responsible for monitoring the person convicted throughout his involvement with the parole group.
3. The convicted person's perception of his involvement in the group and his development during the measure: this part of the study was undertaken by issuing questionnaires to 7 participants from the last group, whose sessions finished in March 2011.
4. The perception of the rehabilitation and probation counsellor supervising the group of the system as a whole: questionnaires were also sent to the 3 rehabilitation and probation counsellors supervising the parole groups.

There was a second visit to Mulhouse on 31 May 2011, during which the provisional results of the study were presented to the officials of the SPIP, Mulhouse and their feedback taken. This latest meeting provided the opportunity to exchange information about these conclusions.

The principal barrier to a full assessment and specific report on the effectiveness of the plan, particularly in terms of recidivism, was, on the one hand, the small number of cases examined (27) and, on the other hand, the absence of a control group. The latter could not be developed due to lack of resources and time. It was, therefore, recorded that no assessment tool was anticipated in advance of the formation of the group and, more generally, the development of the RPP. These tools would have specifically allowed an assessment of the progress of the participants and a comparison to be drawn with the progress of person convicted who had been subject to 'classic' measures. Another

issue appeared as a result of the lack of long-term data available to us to measure recidivism. A thorough measure of recidivism should be planned in the long-term, that is over a period of at least 5 years.

Finally the SPIP team from Mulhouse was not associated with this project in advance of the project. As a result it was not able to anticipate the additional work load associated with the high number of requests that it has received. It has, however, always responded promptly, in spite of the particularly large amount of work that it must face on a daily basis as part of its operations.

## **2.2. The parole groups formed by the Accord68 association**

Accord68, an association established within the jurisdiction of the court of Mulhouse and that becomes involved with victims of criminal offences and pre-sentencing mediation, took the initiative to propose a parole group for perpetrators of domestic violence.

Originally the project proposed by the Accord68 association and financed by the fond interministériel de prévention de la délinquance (FIDP) [inter-ministerial crime prevention fund] was based on a holistic approach, in particular integrating social issues (eg: housing). These ambitions were, however, thoroughly reviewed by the FIDP and only the introduction of the parole groups was retained.

Accord 68 initially opened the system to violent spouses as part of a voluntary approach. In a second stage, representatives from the association proposed to the Court that persons sentenced by the tribunal de grande instance of Mulhouse should be referred for acts of violence against a spouse or cohabitor. This project was favourably received by the Public Prosecutor's Office that no longer wanted to apply criminal mediation procedures to domestic violence issues, and by the presidents of magistrates courts.

Article 132-45 19 of the Penal Code formed the legal basis for pronouncing this measure: 'where the offence was committed either against his spouse, his cohabitor or his partner through a civil solidarity pact, or against his children or those of his spouse, cohabitor or partner, to reside outside the couple's home or residence and, if appropriate, to refrain from entering this domicile or this residence or its immediate environs and, if necessary, subject himself to health, social or psychological care; the provisions of this article 19 also apply if the offence is committed by the victim's former spouse or cohabitor or by the person who was associated with her through a civil solidarity pact, and the domicile concerned is, therefore, that of the victim.'

Referral to the association was by the court when the penalty was pronounced. The convicted person was, therefore, subject to dual responsibility, the SPIP being responsible for monitoring all the obligations other than monitoring the parole group, which was left with the Accord68 association.

Due to a lack of ongoing finance the Accord68 association terminated its programme in 2009.

According to the report provided by the association, a total of 41 convicted persons attended 4 parole groups between March and December 2009. However, and according to the information that we received from the SPIP and the association, only 14 convicted persons attended. The circumstances of each of them were analysed.

### 2. 3. The parole groups formed by the SPIP of Mulhouse

The parole groups formed by the SPIP team of Mulhouse are part of the larger framework of the Recidivism Prevention Programmes (RPP) developed by the direction de l'administration pénitentiaire (DAP) at national level at the end of 2007.

#### Recidivism prevention programmes

The PPR exist in order to 'bring together a group of persons (convicted or on remand) exhibiting a common problem, linked to the type of crime committed'<sup>1</sup>. The objective is to provide support through the group dynamic and through the use of educational tools in order to allow the participants to reflect on the consequences of their behaviour and to adjust their behaviour to the rules for living in society. The group comes together for several meetings. This type of involvement complements the individual responsibility provided by the rehabilitation and probation counsellors. The latter is, however, suspended whilst the convicted persons are attending the parole groups.

The parole groups are facilitated by the rehabilitation and probation staff. They are supported by a psychologist who provides a control and debriefing facilitation role.

The teaching methods used are intended to be educational and on a cognitive behavioural level. The RPP differs from the therapeutic responsibility provided by the medical teams. The rehabilitation and probation counsellors remain in the educational field.

The RPP involve groups of persons who have similar issues. The issues tackled are, therefore, intra-familial violence and, more specifically, domestic violence, sexual offences, road violence and any offences involving an issue related to addiction. The SPIP have the option of implementing and developing the RPP within the area of their choice, according to the needs observed in the area for which type are responsible.

In 2008, around fifty RPP were established in around thirty SPIP.

In 2009, 107 RPP were established in 54 SPIP.

In 2010, 71 SPIP were established in 156 RPP, which are made up according to the following issues:

- 47 on family and domestic violence of which 26 were on domestic violence
- 50 for perpetrators of sexual offences
- 22 on violence other than domestic and family
- 16 on road traffic offences
- 21 other issues

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1 Référentiel PPR -Direction de l'Administration pénitentiaire, 2010

## The RPP of Mulhouse

At the end of 2009, on the basis of the finding that 12 to 15% of persons monitored receive a sentence for domestic violence, the SPIP team of Mulhouse decided to introduce a RPP on this issue.

An initial group was formed in January 2009 and operated in parallel to the groups formed by Accord68.

This situation does not appear to have caused any major problems, as the SPIP and the Accord68 association were used to working together. If a convicted person was made subject to one of the obligations provided for at 19 of article 132-45, the SPIP provided classic care and Accord68 monitored the convicted person within the framework of its parole group whilst keeping the SPIP informed of the progress of its care. Accord68 advised the SPIP if a convicted person did not attend the group.

Only if the criminal court had not nominated the Accord68 association on the basis of article 132-45-19 of the Penal Code would the SPIP consider included the person convicted for domestic violence in the parole group.

De facto, the care provided by the SPIP and the Accord68 association overlap, with the guidance given to the convicted person arising from an empirical process rather than a concerted criminal policy.

The guidance given to candidates differed considerably between the two parole groups. For the Accord 68 association it arose from the court's decision, on the basis of information on file and discussions. This was taken by court decision and there was no freedom of choice. What is more they could open the group to persons who wished to attend on a voluntary basis outside any legal framework. The care took place very quickly following the sentence.

For the SPIP, there is real selection of probationers. The rehabilitation and probation counsellor (RPC) responsible for individual monitoring may suggest to the convicted person that he attends the parole group. He decides the guidance on the basis of a number of exclusion criteria: is he in denial and to what extent? Is he presenting psychiatric problems? Does he have addiction problems? What are his linguistic capabilities?

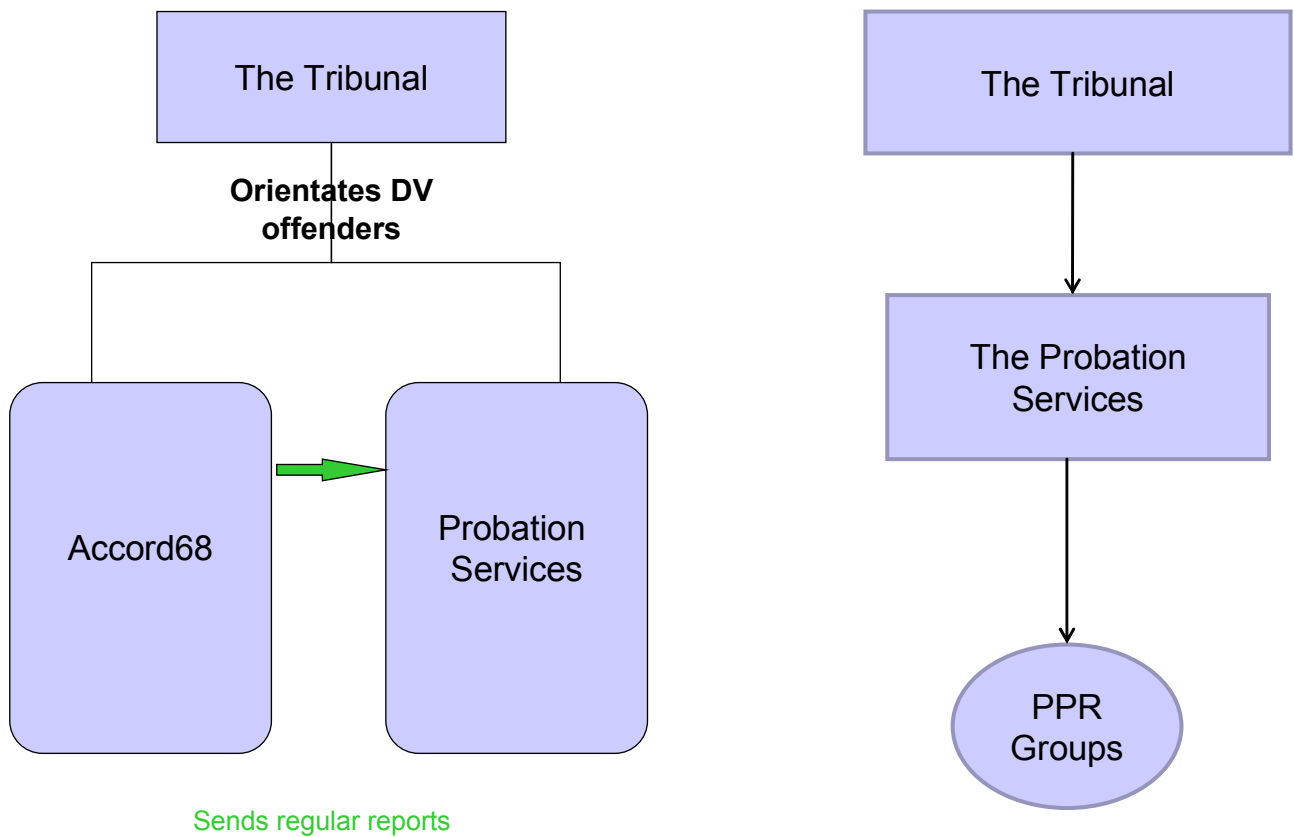
The rehabilitation and probation counsellors facilitate the parole group. They have a meeting with the convicted person in order to determine his effective participation in the group within a period more or less close to the sentence.

The penalty enforcement judge has no involvement in this choice. He is advised of the probationer's involvement in the parole group when the progress report on the suspension of sentence is issued by the referring rehabilitation and probation counsellor.

Participation in the SPIP parole group is only one of the methods for monitoring the legal measure. It is in line with the holistic care of the convicted person, with individual monitoring acting as preparation for involvement in the parole group and subsequently continuing. In fact, the regularity of the monitoring is more important insofar as the measure or involvement in the parole group proceeds at the rate of one 90 minute meeting every three weeks, whereas the individual meetings are planned on a cycle of 6 weeks.

The parole group within the SPIP is continuing even if there are concerns about the maintenance of finance for 2011.

Diagram showing the operation of the two systems:



Comparative table between the SPIP groups and the Accord68 groups:

Probation Services 28 participants – 3 groups	Accord 68 41 participants – 4 groups
January – July 2009: 12 participants	March 2009: 11 participants
November 2009 – March 2010: 8 participants	May 2009: 10 participants
December 2010 – April 2011: 8 participants	Septembre 2009: 10 participants
	December 2009

### **3 – The methodological tools**

The methodological framework used by the SPIP and the Accord68 association to form the groups only varies slightly.

#### **3.1. The methodological tools used within the framework of the groups formed by Accord68**

At the meeting of 18 February 2011, the association's psychologist told us that he was following the example of the groups formed by the Canadian association, Option, based in Montreal. For 20 years the Option association had allowed perpetrators of conjugal violence to participate in parole groups with 9 members, operating on the same model as the RPP.

Mr. Clément GUEVREMONT, director of the association, had visited the SAEI on 8 April 2011. He confirmed that his association regularly had the opportunity to work and exchange information with a number of French SPIP, which followed the example of the Option experience to form and improve their care systems for the perpetrators of domestic violence.

At the methodological level, Mr. GUEVREMONT said that the parole groups fell within systematic and psychodynamic therapy. Cognitive-behavioural tools are also used. The groups are classified as 'guidance groups' insofar as one of the objectives is particularly to guide the participant towards a request for care.

The group dynamic allows the participant to be exposed to listening to experiences that are similar to his own and, therefore, to lead him to question his behaviour, even if he does not wish to participate in the exchanges. In contrast, at individual meetings, if the convicted person chooses not to contribute, the rehabilitation and probation counsellor has no room for manoeuvre.

The report by doctor Roland COUTANCEAU, president of the association of forensic psychiatry and psychology and founder of a forensic psychiatry and psychology unit for adults only at la Garenne-Colombes, entitled 'Perpetrators of violence within a partnership, care and prevention' has also been supportive in the development of the system of care for perpetrators of domestic violence. This study differentiates between three profiles of perpetrators of domestic violence:

- The first, immature-neurotic falls within the spectrum of normality: these are open subjects who may suffer from what they have done. This was a minority group (around 20%) with fairly easy monitoring insofar as these subjects are effectively applicants and may fall within classic individual psychotherapy practice.
- The second profile corresponds to a poorly structured subject presenting various weaknesses: instability, aggression, a disharmonic character, issue of jealousy or fear of loss. This profile covers the vast majority of violent subjects. They often trivialise or play down facts and are initially more preoccupied with the consequences for themselves than the feelings of their companion. They have difficulty in expressing and verbalising their emotions and struggle to self-criticise. Their participation in parole groups is particularly advised. They allow those that are least self-critical to listen to those who are most committed to true emotional reflection of themselves. Individual care of these subjects is often defensive and difficult.
- The third is that with a particularly problematic personality, they are particularly self-centred and have a dimension of paranoia and megalomania. In practice it is possible to integrate one or two of these perpetrators presenting this type of profile into the parole groups.

The dynamic created by the group is, therefore, at the heart of the system. It allows the issue of the mental mechanisms that facilitated the passage to the violent act to be tackled, so that the perpetrator can learn to control the 'emotional chain'. The objective is for the perpetrator to take responsibility and gradually agree to attribute his behaviour to internal rather than external reasons. The feeling of impotence, which is largely liable to promote violent behaviour, reduces.

The group is organised into sessions of 7 meetings. Each group has a maximum of 8 participants. Each 2 hour meeting takes place every fortnight, and 7 major themes are covered:

1. The definition of violence and the specific nature of domestic and intra-family violence
2. The various forms of violence: the weight of words, verbal and psychological violence
3. Cultural issues
4. The social representation of men, women and the family, values linked to education
5. How is the role of justice perceived? Is it accepted?
6. The victim's personal experiences, empathy
7. The role of anger and violence: the ability to compare yourself with the other person without resorting to violence

A preliminary session is arranged individually with the participant that is devoted to presenting the framework and signing a charter by which he undertakes to respect a certain number of rules.

The parole groups are supervised by a psychologist and a specialist teacher. This pairing comprises one man and one woman who commit as a rule to never interrupt each other, specifically to demonstrate to the participants that a couple can operate without relationships necessarily being conflictual.

### **3.2. The methodological tools used within the framework of the groups formed by the SPIP**

The development of the domestic violence RPP also follows the example of studies undertaken by doctor COUTANCEAU. There are, however, certain differences to note.

Unlike the system introduced by the Accord68 association, the SPIP team has a choice when selecting candidates. There is, therefore, an initial pre-selection on the basis of criteria used by the department. Thus, sexual offenders, individuals presenting serious pathological problems or who are in complete denial of the facts of which they are accused are not allowed into the groups. Furthermore, those persons convicted whose capacity for comprehension and expression is not considered to be sufficient may not benefit from the system. All these criteria provide the guarantee of a minimal cohesion in the group, but also concentration on the issue of violence within the couple.

The penalty enforcement judge has no involvement in this choice. He is, however, advised of the probationer's involvement in the parole group when the progress report on the suspension of sentence is issued by the referring rehabilitation and probation counsellor.

Facilitation, development of the content of the sessions, the formation of the group and its operation, the tools used and reporting all fall within the competence of the rehabilitation and probation staff. A psychologist acting as moderator is also recruited. He supports the rehabilitation



and probation counsellors and accompanies them at all stages of the system. However, he never intervenes during the sessions.

The presence of the psychologist was considered to be essential by the rehabilitation and probation staff, particularly during debriefing meetings, during which participants' behaviour and progress are discussed. Practices are also analysed during these meetings, which provides ongoing training for the rehabilitation and probation counsellors. This analysis allows discussion amongst leaders or discussion about any difficult issues encountered. It also helps to maintain the dynamic and coherence from one session to another.

7 sessions are organised every two weeks. A maximum of 10 convicted persons attend:

– 1<sup>st</sup> meeting: presentation of the parole groups

A quick introduction of participants. This meeting is dedicated to presenting the 'ethical framework' (the participants contract of commitment and rules of operation)

– 2<sup>nd</sup> meeting: the law

This meeting is dedicated to the law, its supervisory role on human behaviour and what it prohibits. Consideration is also given to the reasons why violence may develop in a couple.

– 3<sup>rd</sup> meeting: sentencing, the context of the development of the act

The participants outline the context and the circumstances of the development of the act. There is also a discussion on the motives 'at the root' of the conflict (money, jealousy, children's education ...) and the experience of how the act arose.

– 4<sup>th</sup> meeting: the couple and the family

The role of the woman and the man within the couple. Distortion between representation and reality. Parenthood – the position of the extended family (parents, grand parents). What is a couple that works?

The objective is to encourage the participants to contribute

– 5<sup>th</sup> meeting: the position of the other party

Trying to imagine what the other party is feeling, empathy for the victim. There is also work on the other party's behaviour and its interpretation. There is also work on the relationship: violence, pressure, manipulation. When does the other party feel in danger?

– 6<sup>th</sup> meeting: avoidance mechanisms

How to spot the moment when you tip into violence. What useful actions can you take to avoid violence?

– 7<sup>th</sup> meeting: assessment

Various methodological support methods are used during the programme, in particular role play and support videos (documentaries and films on domestic violence).



### The victims' position:

Participants' victims are not included in the meetings. However, insofar as the systems are directed towards the recognition of their status as victim and leading their attackers to accept responsibility, a meeting is, of course, dedicated to them.

The rehabilitation and probation counsellors said that the narcissistic and selfish' personality type made this stage of the process difficult. The film shown to the participants during this meeting was not actually able to sufficiently retain their attention and 'reach' them. The rehabilitation and probation counsellors also considered involving a former victim of domestic violence through, for example, an association. This plan is under development.

## **4 – Analysis of the results**

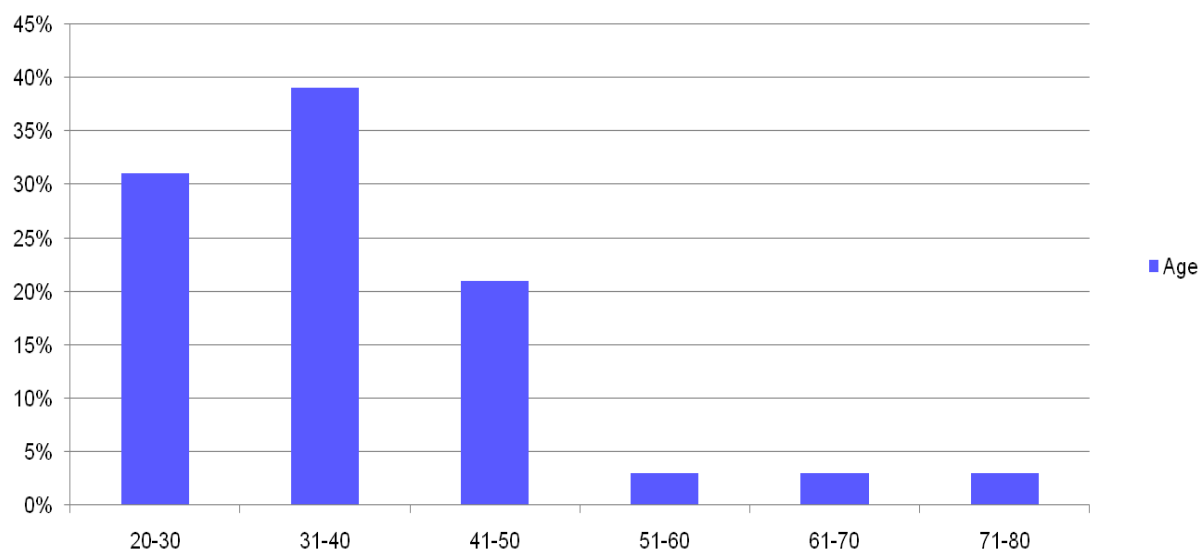
### **4.1. The objective analysis of participants circumstances**

27 progress reports and judicial records were analysed during the study. An analytical table was produced from this data with the objective of identifying the target group at which the parole groups were aimed. Various criteria were considered:

- Nationality
- Place of birth
- Age
- Number of children
- Socio-professional category
- Employment situation
- How many convictions does the convicted person already have?
  - For what type of offence
  - Was the victim the same person as the one on account of which the individual is attending the parole groups?
- New conviction during the suspended prison sentence?
  - For what type of offence
  - Was the victim the same person as the one on account of which the individual is attending the parole groups?
- Has the convicted person’s sentence been partly or wholly suspended?
- Does he present any psychological problems?
- Does he present any alcohol or drug addictions?
- Has he complied with the general framework of the measure?
- Has he complied with the specific obligations linked to the enforcement of the measure?
- Is he cohabiting with the victim again?
- Has the relationship with the victim broken down?

Average age of the participants:

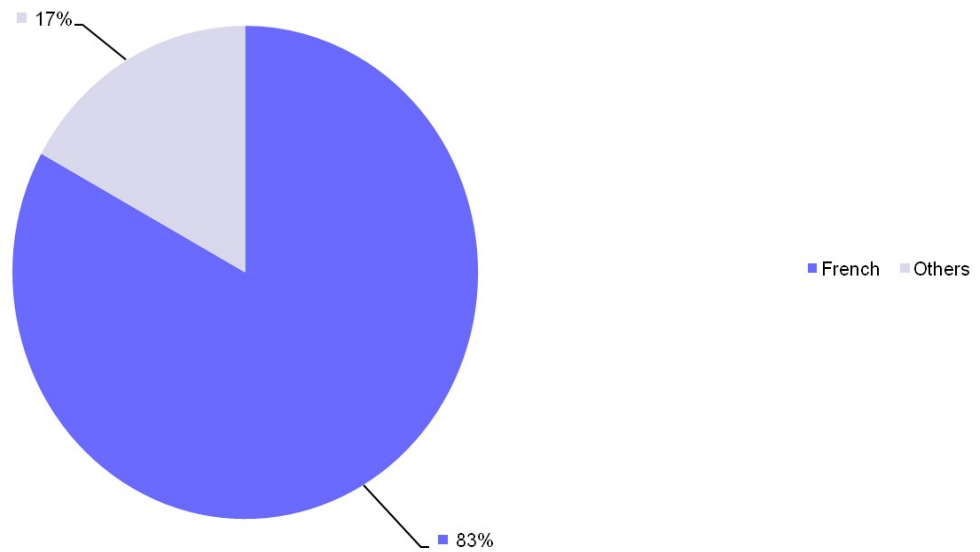
### Age



The average age of the participants is mainly between 20 and 40 (70%)

Nationality:

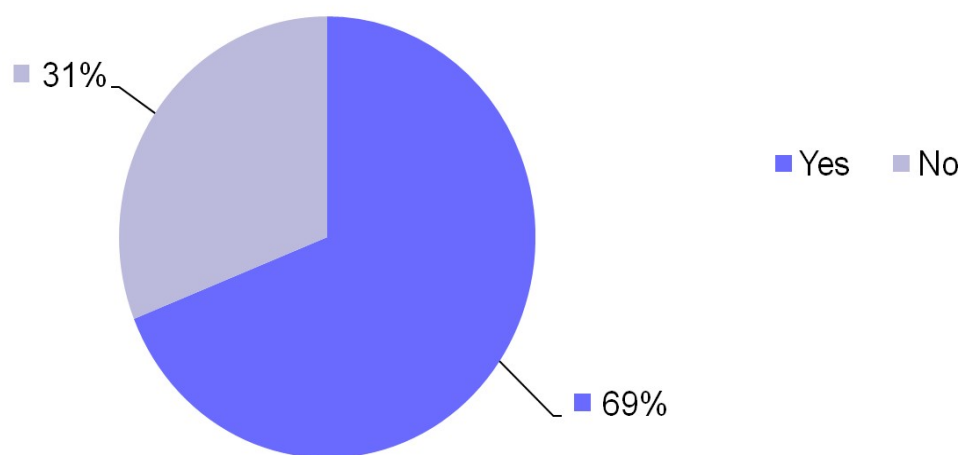
**Nationality**



17% of participants do not have French nationality. This high rate justifies the 'linguistic prerequisite' set by the SPIP teams when selecting participants.

Percentage of participants born in France:

**% of participants born in France**

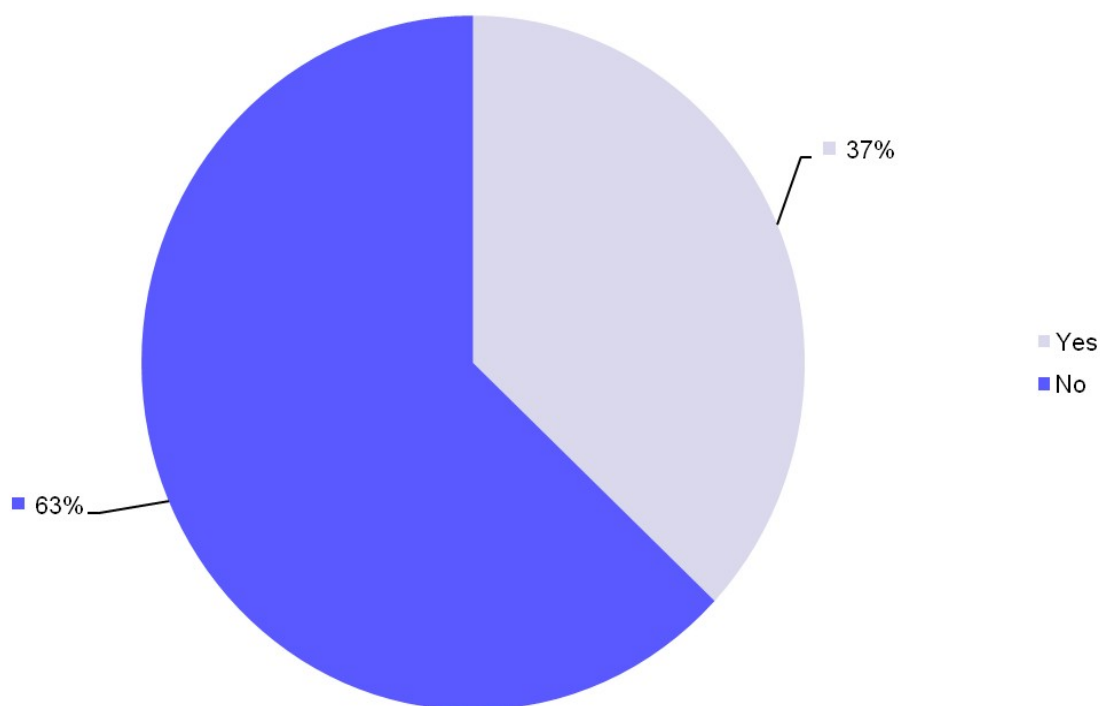


It can also be seen that 31% of participants in the parole groups are not born in France, which is a higher proportion than that observed at a national level. The cultural factor, therefore, appears to be a direct or indirect contributory factor. The contrast between the internal cultural environment in the home and the external environment may actually be an element that ‘weakens’ the couple by, in particular, promoting withdrawal. The social factor must also be taken into account, since immigrant populations find themselves more generally in insecure circumstances, particularly linked to lower stable rates of employment (which has been noted amongst participants). Financial problems are determining factors.

These observations correspondent to those established at a national level. Although all social environments are affected by the phenomenon of domestic violence, desocialisation, religion, age or unemployment have an effect on the violence suffered. Foreign or French women of foreign origin are also more exposed.

Percentage of participants presenting problems of addiction to drugs and alcohol:

### Psychological - Alcool - Drug problems



This graphic shows the problems faced by the participants of the parole groups, whether they are associated with addictions or psychological issues.

At a national level, it is estimated that 15% of perpetrators of domestic violence suffer from clearly identified psychiatric problems.<sup>2</sup> This proportion has been reduced to 7% for the participants in the parole groups, the selection of which allows this type of person to be filtered.

The other major issue is linked to the consumption of and addiction to alcohol and drugs.

These two elements play a predominant role in domestic violence. 28% of perpetrators of domestic violence are regular consumers, which is higher than the average proportion amongst the French population (between 8 and 15%)<sup>3</sup>.

As far as the system is concerned, the proportion of participants in the groups who present alcohol addiction problems has been assessed at 17% and drug addiction problems at 13%. This rate is higher than the national average, as the percentage of persons dependant on a drug is less than 1% in the major French cities.<sup>4</sup>

These various issues are the subject of another type of assessment. However, the rehabilitation and probation counsellors tackle these issues with the participants.

Here again, these observations have also been drawn from national level. The studies demonstrate that the consumption of alcohol and, to a lesser extent, narcotic drugs increases the risk of violence. An enquiry undertaken within the jurisdiction of a tribunal de grande instance in the Paris region showed, for example, that 34% of perpetrators of domestic violence were drunk when they committed the action<sup>5</sup>.

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2 Claudine Pérez-Diaz et Marie-Sylvie Huré, « Violences conjugales et alcool: quel traitement judiciaire? », Tendances, n°55, juillet 2007

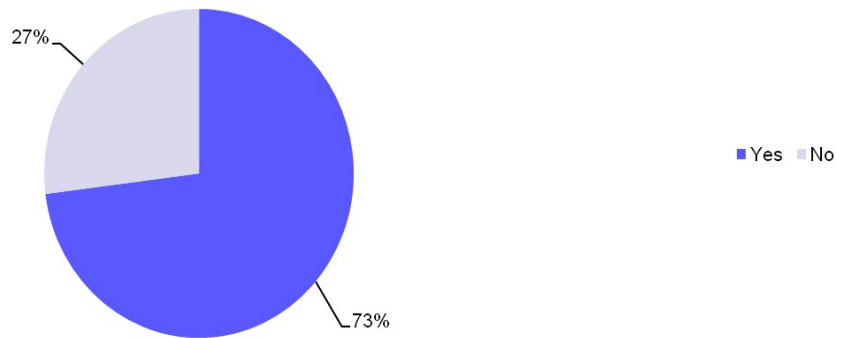
3 Rapport d'Information de l'Assemblée Nationale fait au nom de la mission d'évaluation de la politique de prévention et de lutte contre les violences faites aux femmes, 7 juillet 2009

4 Claudine Pérez-Diaz et Marie-Sylvie Huré, « Violences conjugales et alcool: quel traitement judiciaire? », Tendances, n°55, juillet 2007

5 Claudine Pérez-Diaz et Marie-Sylvie Huré, « Violences conjugales et alcool: quel traitement judiciaire? », Tendances, n°55, juillet 2007

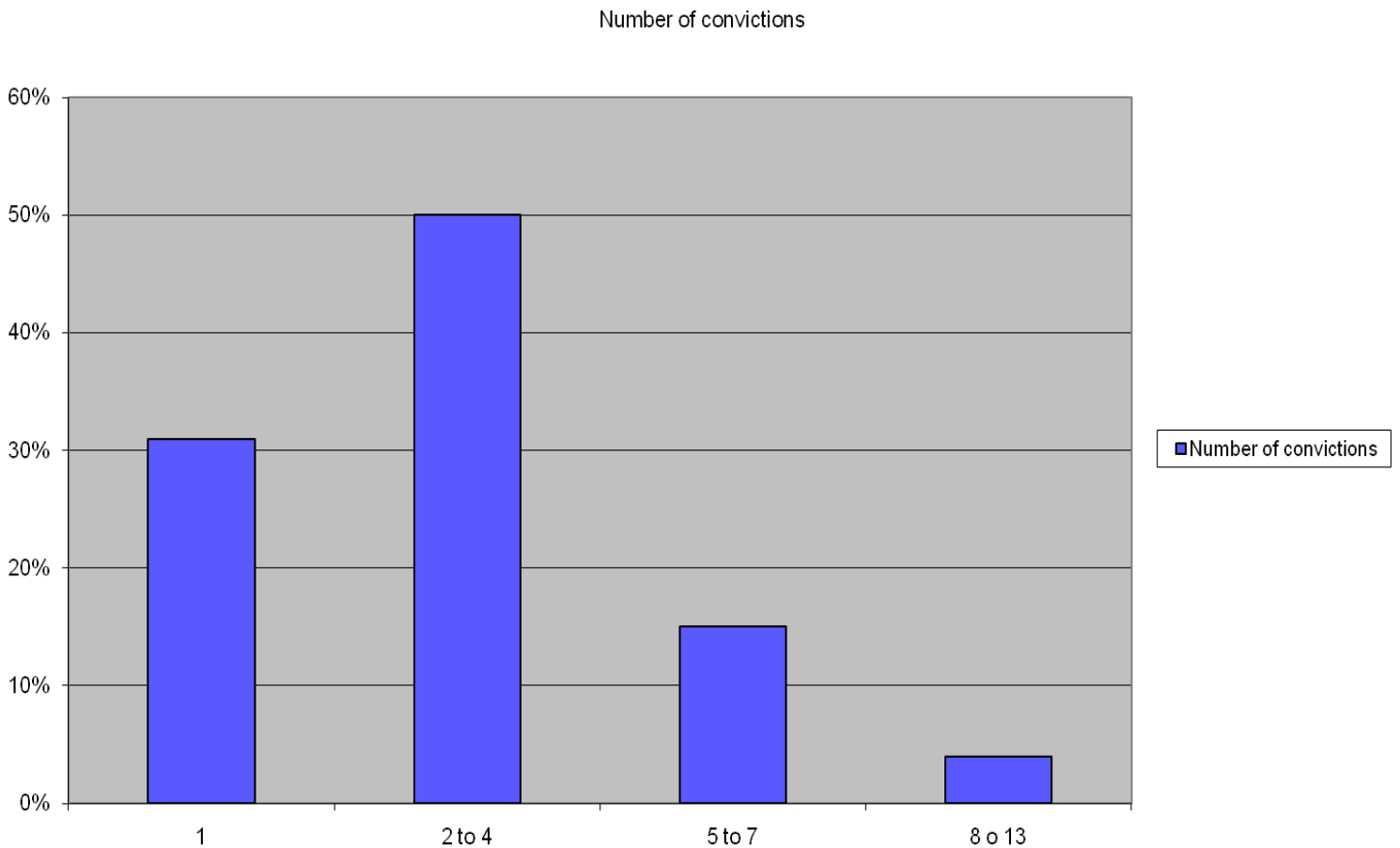
Percentage of participants already previously convicted:

**Have been convicted before...**



Analysis of the judicial records of participants has demonstrated that the vast majority of participants (73%) already have at least one previous conviction.

Number of convictions:

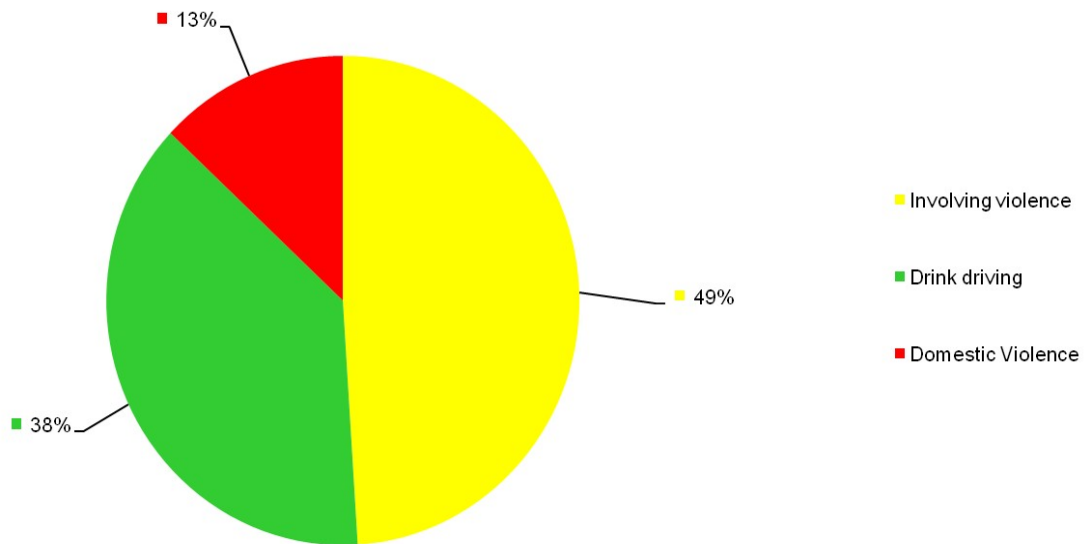


These figures demonstrate the extent of the criminal record of participants in parole groups. 50% already have between two and four conviction. However, it is important to note that the courts rarely issue suspended sentences on first conviction.



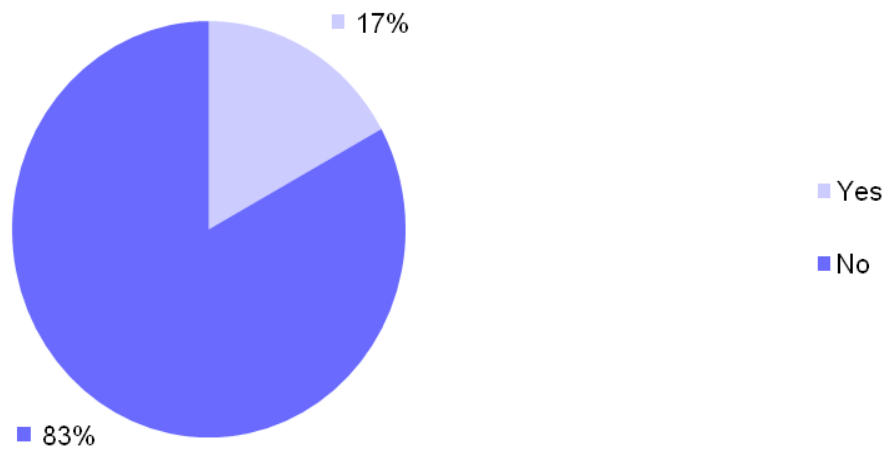
Type of offence:

### Type of offence



This data confirms the over-representation of participants who present problems associated with violence or addictions. 49% had committed acts of ‘straightforward’ violence and 13% acts of domestic violence. 38% had committed offences against the highway code under the influence of alcohol. The issues of violence and addiction are, therefore, tackled at these meetings.

## New convictions during the SME



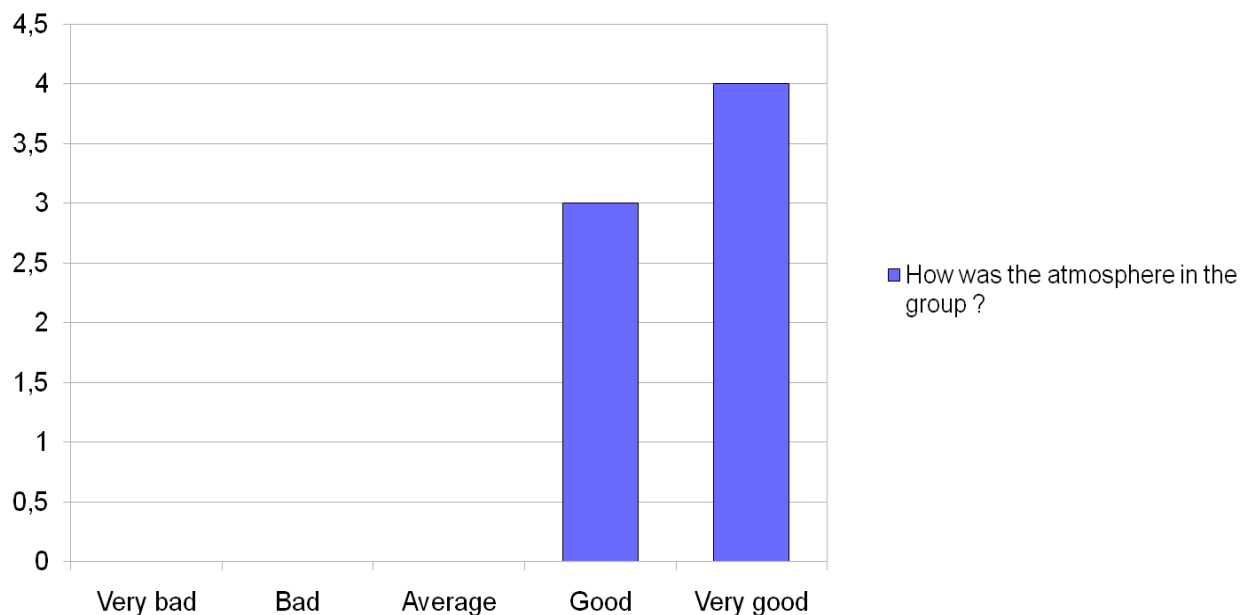
17% of participants have committed further offences during the suspended sentence

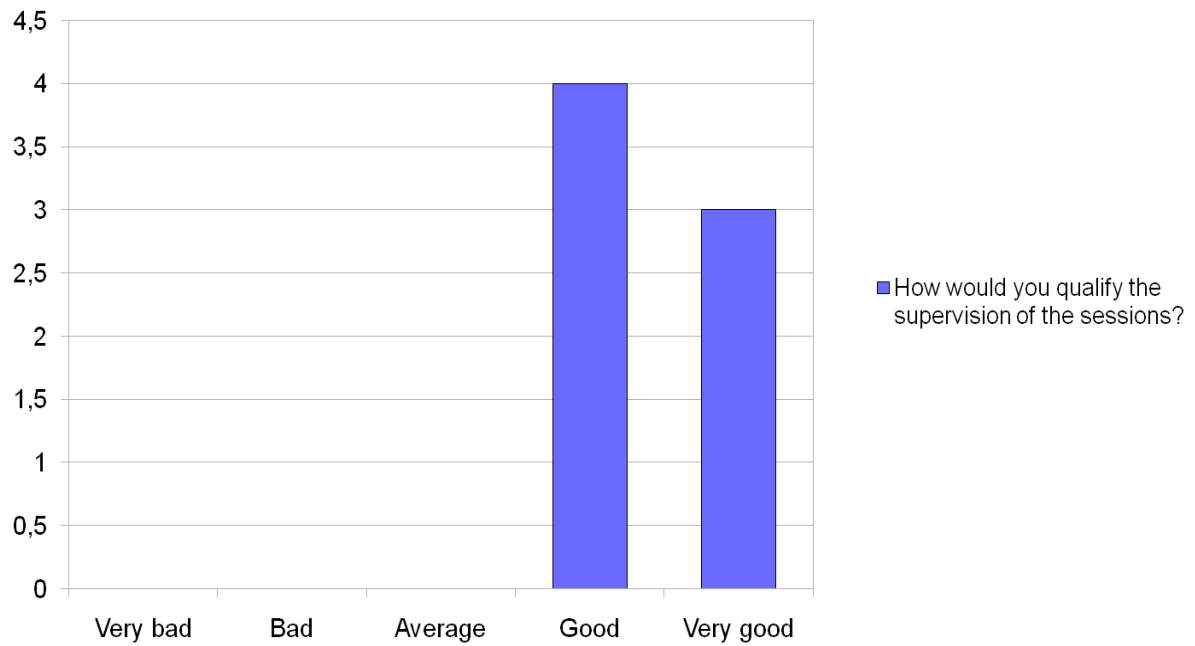
## 4.2. Analysis of the responses to the questionnaires

The study also involved sending questionnaires to the participants in the groups in order to get their opinions about their involvement in the system. It was, however, not possible to send these questionnaires to former participants, insofar as the majority were no longer monitored by the SPIP and that, legally speaking, they should not be sent questionnaires inviting them to revisit a conviction and a measure that has been completed.

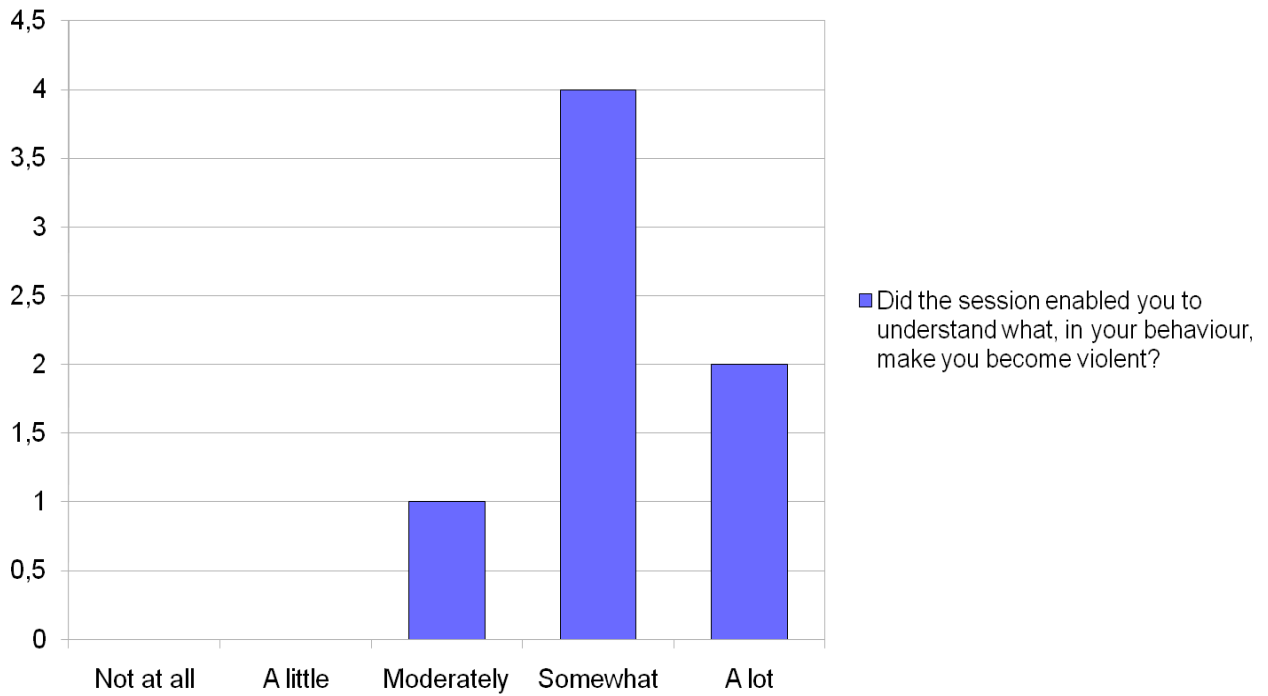
This questionnaire was, therefore, sent to the 8 participants from the last parole group (December 2010 – April 2011). It was sent to the rehabilitation and probation counsellors who forwarded them to the participants at the end of the last meeting. Only 7 participants agreed to reply. They at least provided some feedback on the system.

9 questions were asked (the participants could also add comments). However, only 5 allow participants to give a ‘tendency’ in their replies.

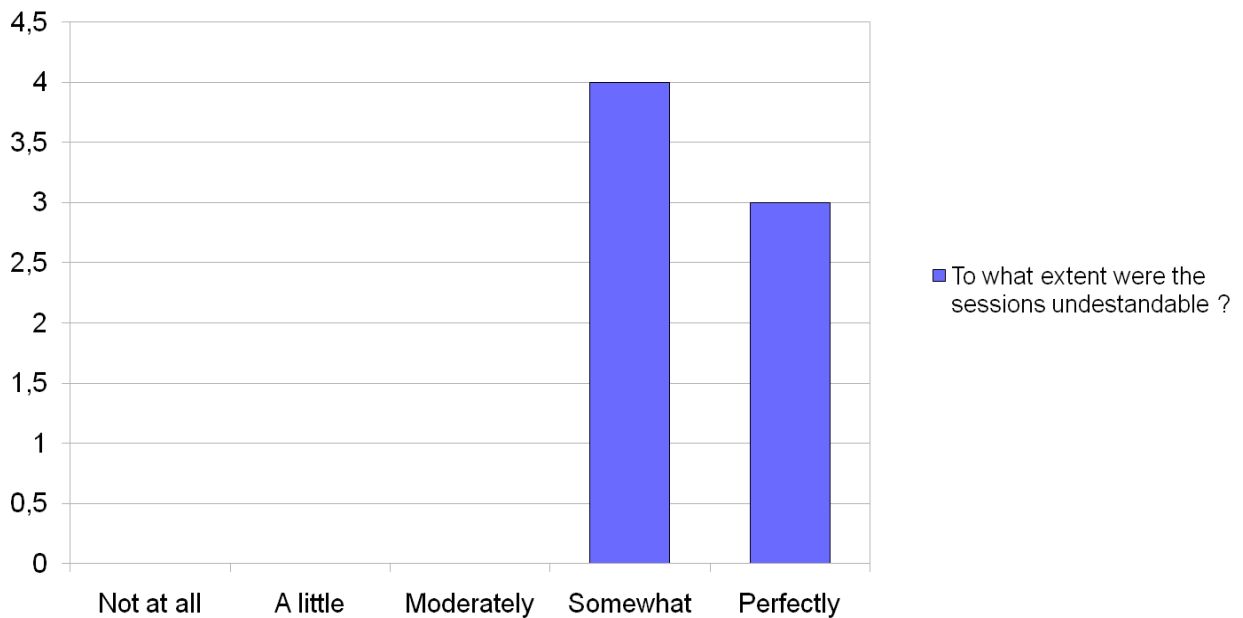




These two graphics confirm that the participants have a positive view of the parole groups and more particularly the role played by the rehabilitation and probation counsellors. This supervision was considered to be ‘good’ or even ‘very good’ by all the participants questioned. The participants also appreciated the atmosphere in which the groups were conducted.

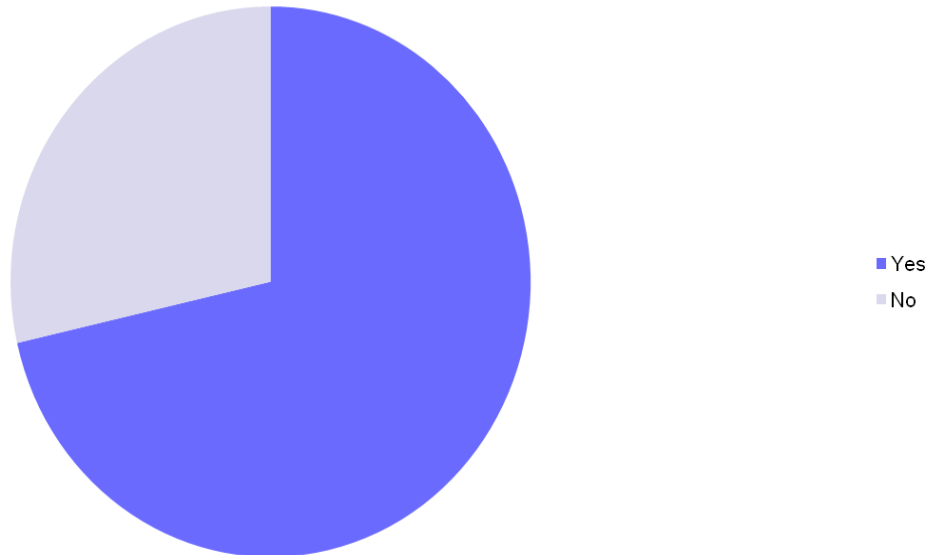


All the participants felt that the sessions had a **positive impact** on the understanding of their behaviour, one of the objectives set by the system.



There was also an understanding of the sessions, as all participants considered them to be ‘good’ or even ‘very good’.

**Did the participation to the groups help you better respect the other obligations you were subjected to by the SME ?  
(attendance to meetings with your probation officer, compensation to victims)**



The participants were invited to give their feelings on the impact on the impact that their participation in the parole groups would have on their respect for the other obligations to which they were subjected as part of their sentence. The responses obtained confirmed that the parole groups provide effective support to the participants to more readily respect these obligations, which corroborates with the observations received from the rehabilitation and probation counsellors. The system, therefore, presents this additional benefit. The convicted persons appear to more easily comply with the legal monitoring that is implemented.

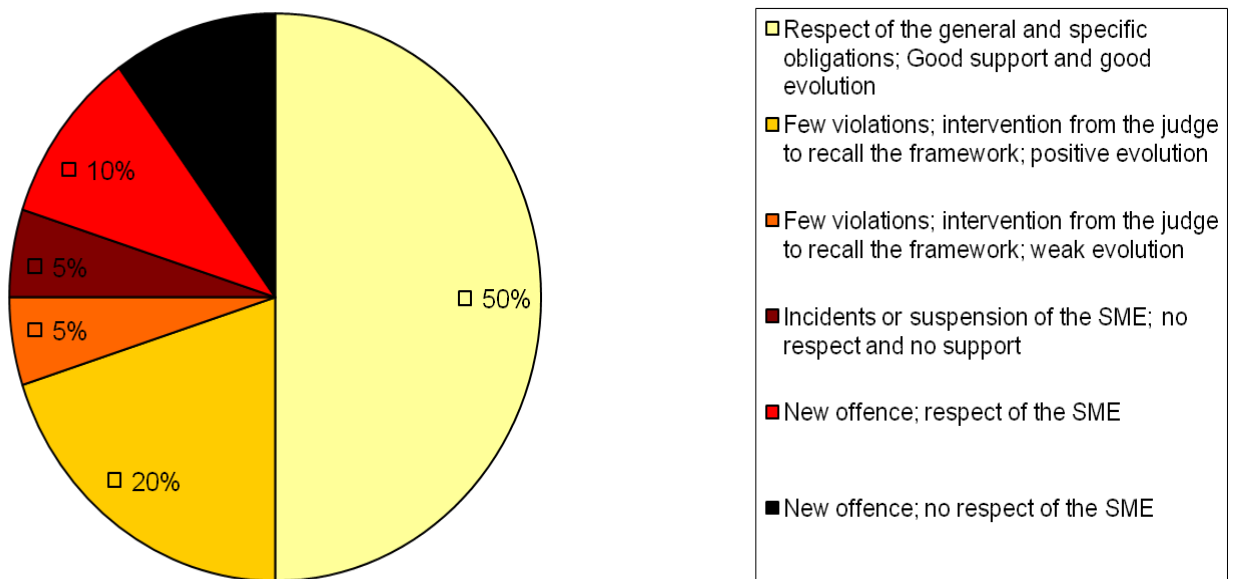
### 4.3. Investigative analysis of the suspended sentence

On the basis of various reports provided by the probation service and reading judicial records, we have tried to analyse, in what is necessarily a subjective manner, the impact of a suspended sentence on the development of behaviour. As there is no pre-determined analytical table, the elements in the written records of the rehabilitation and probation counsellors allowing a comparison of development and behaviour had to be researched.

Probationers were classified into 6 categories:

- Those who complied with the general framework of the measure (punctuality for various meetings), who understood the purpose of the measure, complied with the specific obligations (care, compensation for the victim, prohibition on entering into a relationship with her, for example) and reports on whom indicate that the forecast is positive,
- Those whose development appears to be equally positive but who sometimes failed to comply with their obligations, requiring a summons from the penalty enforcement judge,
- Those whose development is not certain and who failed to comply with their obligations, requiring a summons from the penalty enforcement judge,
- Those who did not comply with their obligations and were the subject of reports of incidents that could result in the withdrawal of suspension but who did not commit any further offence,
- Those who complied with their obligations and who committed a further offence,
- Those who did not comply with their obligations and who committed a further offence.

The results of this study are reproduced in the following graphic:



A quick read shows that half of the probationers fully complied with the framework of the measure and showed positive development during suspension. 20% showed a pretty favourable development and 5% a more uncertain development. With regard to the remaining 25%, it should be considered that suspension failed either because the offender refused to comply with the regulations or committed a further offence.

These results appear to be very positives as  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the participants demonstrated a positive or rather positive development in their behaviour which leads to the consideration that the risk of recidivism reduced. However, it is difficult to draw any conclusions from this sort of study. On the one hand the group studied is very small, which can lead to random percentages. On the other hand, it was not possible to analyse the development of similar probationers who did not participate in the parole groups. To our knowledge there has not been any research to date into the impact of socio-educational monitoring applied within the framework of a suspended sentence on the rehabilitation of offenders and recidivism. No comparison can be made to determine the impact of the parole group on the development of behaviour.



However, this result can be very positively explained by means of three elements:

1. The participants are selected and only those who do not dispute the facts for which they were convicted and who do not suffer any serious addiction problems are retained,
2. They benefit through their participation in the group from increased supervision and close attention through the very nature of the system,
3. Without being able to measure it, those involved in running the sessions have all noticed a stronger sense of commitment from the convicted persons to individual monitoring after participating in the parole groups. This element is particularly important, as the individual strategy employed for the offender is essential towards preventing recidivism.

## **5 - Conclusions and outlook**

### **5.1. The contribution of the parole group to individual care**

In addition to the analysis, that is necessarily limited, of the statistical data gathered during this study, interviews and accounts both from those responsible for the programme and the participants themselves provide evidence of significant support on a qualitative level of the monitoring process and the care of perpetrators of domestic violence.

Firstly, the probationer's participation in a parole group considerably alters his relationship with the criminal order to which he has been subjected. Reticent and unprepared to commit to consideration of the development of the act within the framework of classic individual care with a probation officer, his registration in a group system with other perpetrators develops his relationship with the measure and helps him to commit more strongly to the probation measure.

Traditionally in France, a person who is subject to a suspended sentence is placed under the care of rehabilitation and probation counsellor who will regularly meet him to both ensure compliance with the obligation imposed by the sentencing court and to support him in a socio-educational plan. More often the convicted person senses the constrictive framework imposed on him and has great difficulty in appreciating the interest for him in engaging in reflecting on his behaviour. At best he adopts a passive behaviour by complying with the meeting arranged and providing evidence of compliance with his obligations of care, compensation of civil parties. At worst he objects to the monitoring and which leads the rehabilitation counsellor to increase the number of meetings then send an incident report to the penalty enforcement judge. This is without taking account of the resentment that the convicted person may harbour towards the victim who lodged the complaint and set in motion the legal process to which he is subject. This awareness is, however, vital in the measure's success and ultimately in preventing any re-occurrence of the act.

Introducing a parole group breaks with this framework and offers a different dynamic in three stages. The convicted person is initially monitored by a rehabilitation and probation counsellor whose role will be not only to fulfil his traditional task of monitoring but also to assess his ability to participate in the parole group and to commit to this project. This monitoring is then suspended whilst the convicted person is participating in the parole group, before recommencing. At this stage, the rehabilitation counsellors have noticed a very positive development in the probationer, whose perception of the probation service changes completely. He sees less of the control framework and invests further in the educational framework. It also appears that the psychological monitoring often imposed takes on its full meaning. We have had a report of the case of a probationer who, after participating in the parole group, arrived at his meetings early and full of enthusiasm, whereas he had adopted a withdrawn attitude at the start of the measure.

By the yardstick of this analysis it would be more appropriate to consider the recidivism prevention programme as not only comprising the parole group but more broadly all probationary care according to the various practical methods. In fact the initial orientation stage followed by recommencement of classic monitoring gives full meaning to the parole group. Moreover, it could be envisaged that inclusion in a parole group does not always take place at the same time as monitoring for a probationer taking account of his personal development in this way.

By participating in the parole group, each convicted person found additional space which allowed him to more easily find his position in a relationship of equality with the others and to become aware of the status of parole and his ability to modify his behaviour. It is a reasonable assumption that, by voluntarily participating in judicial monitoring, each convicted person will be better able to undergo the psycho-therapeutic work at the end of the suspended sentence. It is often observed that, once the measure has been completed, the convicted person is unable to maintain the

therapeutic framework, even though he was perceived as positive whilst associated with the judicial measure.

Secondly, the introduction of this parole group within the Mulhouse probation service has created an entirely new internal dynamic. On the one hand, a number of counsellors have changed their approach to involvement and they have agreed to work with the support of a supervising psychologist. The group facilitators have made a tremendous investment in their mission. They have undergone additional training and have questioned their previous professional practices with a view to adapting them to this new concept. Furthermore, in addition to the two facilitators, the entire probation service has been involved in this process, as each counsellor had to identify and locate the potential target group, submit proposals to the facilitators and provide an initial presentation to the probationer. For each probation officer the parole group is an additional care tool which allows him to undertake his work as part of a joint action.

Unfortunately it has not been possible to assess the impact of the system on the victims. It was difficult post event to contact them and have any dealings with them. This would only be a legitimate step if it was possible from the start of the process to advise the victims of this evaluation process and give them the opportunity to participate in it. In addition to recidivism, it would be desirable to assess whether the perpetrators' participation in the parole groups changed their relationship to the victims.

## **5.2. Improving the system**

The study also envisaged sending questionnaires to the 3 rehabilitation and probation counsellors who had supervised the parole groups.

Firstly, it should be stated that the replies received viewed the system positively, which was confirmed by the direct discussions that we had during the visits of 18 February and 31 May.

These questionnaires also allowed us to tackle the question of improvements to the system. The improvements identified appear to be based around two axes: training and centralisation of competencies.

The requirements in terms of training have regularly been mentioned during meetings that have been held. It appears important not only to develop initial training but also the ongoing training of rehabilitation and probation counsellors. Since 2006, it is proposed to have 10 days' training dedicated to the RPP for students within the framework of their progress through the Ecole Nationale de l'Administration Pénitentiaire (ENAP) [National Training College for Prison Administration]. This could be an in depth and expansive initial training programme whilst an ongoing training programme could be introduced in the form of training sessions provided at regular intervals. Ongoing training actually appears to be located within the debriefing sessions that the psychologist attends. Whilst it is essential in this form, it does not appear to be sufficient and does not seem able to provide true continuity between the various existing RPP and, thus, continuity of the entire system. A system of continuous training would also allow recognition of the rehabilitation and probation supervisor's role of 'RPP supervision'.

The system could also be improved by centralising and sharing competencies acquired by the SPIP who manage the RPP. This idea was mentioned at the last meeting on 31 May and approved by the entire SPIP team. It would involve allowing the various competencies acquired and methodological tools developed such as work support media being pooled at regional level through meetings or basic contacts. Such exchanges would allow the rehabilitation and probation counsellors to increase the number of methodological tools at their disposal and to identify those that they considered worked in practice.

The RPP appear to be developing empirically separately from one another. The institutional framework of the system should be developed through training and sharing knowledge, which should be initiated by senior management. The system is, therefore, committed to continuity and to improving its content.

### 5.3. A transferable tool

The parole groups for perpetrators of domestic violence are tools that can be transferred to European level. In theory, there is nothing to prevent them from being introduced into other Member States within their national territory.

As mentioned above, the parole groups introduced by the Accord68 association follow the example of an experience initially undertaken in Canada, but also in the United States. They are, therefore, the result of a previous transfer. When we interviewed Mr. GUEVREMONT about this point, he stressed the flexibility of the tool. The content of the issues tackled can actually be altered depending on the group's objective, ie, to make the participant reflect on his behaviour by exposing him to other persons' similar personal experiences. This flexibility allows the content to be altered to fit the cultural context that applies to each State or region in which the groups are introduced. As an example, Mr. GUEVREMONT told us about working in partnership with an association based in Morocco that wanted to launch a parole group programme. A fresh look was taken at the session content in order to devote more time, in particular, to the place of the woman within the couple and male/female relations within society.

This appears to bridge the cultural gap. There may only be a need to consider adjustment of a legal nature with regard to the legal framework under which the convicted person is operating.

The main obstacle lies in the impossibility in which we are to analyse thoroughly the capacity of the groups to prevent recidivism. If we are absolutely convinced of their utility, it is impossible to establish precisely their impact on the evolution of behaviors. Therefore, it appears necessary to early define assessment tools that would enable to measure if the objectives are fulfilled. It would be necessary that pre-requisite are defined on a European level so that comparison of the tools developed by the different partners is made possible.

## Annexes

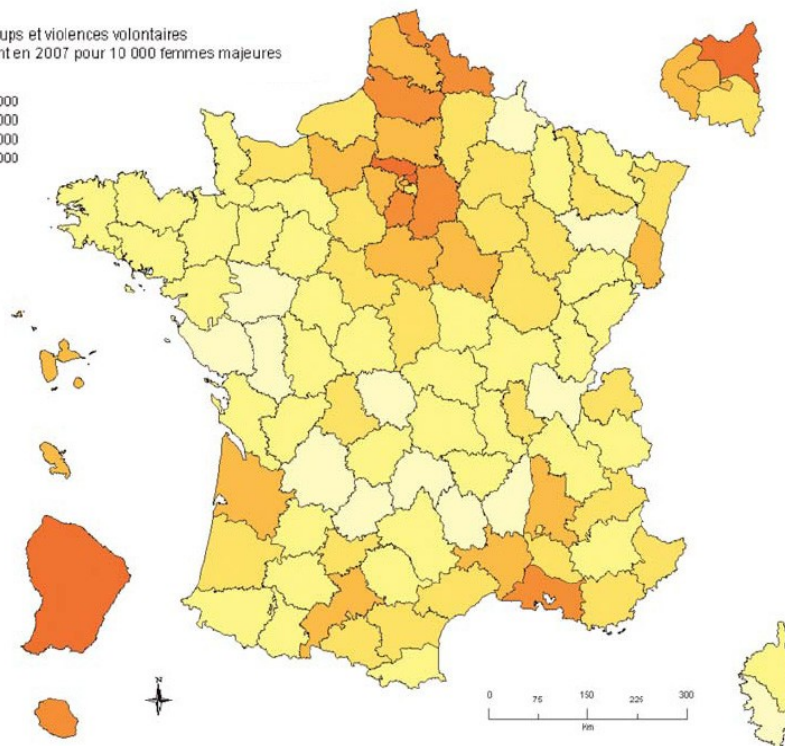
### 1. Comparative table France – Mulhouse :

	France	Mulhouse
Population	65.000.000	111.000
Affaires traitées	450.000	2204 (0.4% du chiffre national)
Nombre de probationnaires	173.000	1978 (0.6% national data)
% de probationnaires faisant l'objet d'un SME	75%	71%

### 2. Number of incidences of intentional attacks on and violence against adult women by a spouse in 2007 per 10,000 adult women :

Nombre de faits constatés de coups et violences volontaires sur femmes majeures par conjoint en 2007 pour 10 000 femmes majeures

- Moins de 10 pour 10 000
- De 10 à moins de 15 pour 10 000
- De 15 à moins de 20 pour 10 000
- De 20 à moins de 25 pour 10 000
- De 25 à moins de 30 pour 10 000
- 30 pour 10 000 et plus



Source : Extractions sur les violences par conjoint, DCSP, DGCN et préfecture de Police de Paris ; Estimations de populations au 1<sup>er</sup> janvier 2006, INSEE ; Estimation du nombre de faits constatés sur femmes majeures, OND.

2. The questionnaire sent to participants:



SECRETARIAT GÉNÉRAL  
SERVICE DES AFFAIRES EUROPÉENNES ET INTERNATIONALES  
BUREAU DE LA COOPÉRATION

**Session assessment questionnaire for participants**

Date:

**Tick the relevant box:**

*(you may also add comments)*

How was the general atmosphere within the group?

Very bad      bad      average      good      very good  
                       

*Comments*

.....  
.....

Did you understand the sessions?

Not at all   a little   average   fairly well   perfectly  
                       

*Comments*

.....  
.....

How did you find the supervision of the sessions?

Very bad      bad      average      good      very good  
                       

*Comments*



.....  
.....

Did the sessions give you a greater understanding of what part of your behaviour causes you to become violent?

Not at all a little average fairly well perfectly

Comments

.....  
.....

Did the sessions help you to change your behaviour?

Not at all a little average fairly well perfectly

Comments

.....  
.....

Have you previously had a suspended sentence for similar offences?

Yes No

Comments

.....  
.....

If yes, how do you rate them in terms of effectiveness compared to the parole groups?

Not as good the same better

.....  
.....

Did participation in the parole groups help you to comply with the other obligations of the suspended sentence? (attending meetings with your rehabilitation and probation counsellor, compensation of civil parties)

Yes No

Comments

.....  
.....

Have you previously been under an obligation to receive care?

Yes

No

*Comments*

.....  
.....

If yes, how do you rate it in terms of effectiveness compared to the parole groups?

Not as good

the same

better

.....  
.....

What aspects could be improved?



3. The questionnaire sent to facilitators:



SECRETARIAT GÉNÉRAL  
SERVICE DES AFFAIRES EUROPÉENNES ET INTERNATIONALES  
BUREAU DE LA COOPÉRATION

**Session assessment questionnaire for facilitators**

Date:

**Tick the relevant box:**

*(you may also add comments)*

1. How was the general atmosphere within the group?

Very bad   bad   average   good   very good

Comments?

.....  
.....

2. How do you rate the support from the parole groups compared to individual meetings?

Very bad   bad   average   good   very good

Comments?

.....  
.....

3. How do you assess session content in terms of participant understanding?

Very bad   bad   average   good   very good

Comments

.....  
.....



4. Do the sessions appear useful to you to allow the participant to modify his behaviour?

Not at all   a little   average   fairly well   perfectly

*Comments*

.....

5. Could the methodological tools used be improved?

Yes            No

*Comments*

.....

.....

6. Have you any recommendations for improving the sessions?

Yes            No

If yes, what are they?

.....

.....

.....

.....

5. The analytical table produced for the participants :

SPIP	X1	X2	X3	X4	X5	X6	X7	X9
Nationality	French	French	Turkish	French	French	French	French	French
Place of birth	France	France	Turkey	France	Algeria	France	France	France
Age	42	33	45	28	74	30	27	40
Children	0	2	3	1	5	0	0	2
CSP		Artisan						Artisan
Employment situation	Employed	Employed (CDI)	Temporary (Intérim)	Unemployed	Retired	Employed (CDD)	CDI	
Previous conviction?	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	YES	NO
Total number of convictions	2	1	1	4	1	6	2	1
Type of offence	Driving under the influence of alcohol			Damage to property – Driving under the influence of alcohol – Carrying a weapon without a licence		Theft - Violence – Defamatory act	Violence – possession of weapons	
Against the same victim						NO		
Further offences during the suspended sentence	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES (3)	NO	NO
Type of offence						Theft - Violence – Defamatory		

						act		
Against the same victim						NO		
Partly/wholly suspended	WHOLLY	WHOLLY	WHOLLY	WHOLLY	WHOLLY	WHOLLY	WHOLLY	WHOLLY
Psychological issue	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
Alcohol addiction	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
Drug addiction	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
Acknowledgement of the facts at the start of the measure	YES	YES	YES	NO (but played down)	YES	YES	YES	YES
Acknowledgement of the facts at the end of the measure	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Compliance with the general framework	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Compliance with specific obligations	YES	YES	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Resumption of cohabitation	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
Separation with/without retaining links	WITHOUT	WITH		WITH		WITHOUT		