

Inter-association report

"Move along, there's nothing to see":  
**1 YEAR OF SOCIAL CLEANSING  
BEFORE THE 2024 OLYMPIC  
GAMES**





# Glossary

**AMNA:** Home for Unaccompanied Minors

**BOP 177:** Corresponds to the budget for emergency accommodation for vulnerable people. Understanding "le 115

**BPI:** Beneficiary of International Protection

**BPS:** Barreau de Paris Solidarité

**CAARUD:** Centre d'Accueil et d'Accueil fi la Réduction des Risques des Usager-es de Drogues (Reception and Support Centre for the Reduction of Risks for Drug Users)

**CAD:** Law Access Collective

**CAES:** Centre d'Accueil et d'Examen des Situations administratives (Reception and Examination Centre for Administrative Situations)

**COJOP:** Comité d'Organisation des Jeux Olympiques et Paralympiques (Organising Committee for the Olympic and Paralympic Games)

**COMEDE:** Comité pour la santé des exilé-es (Committee for the Health of Exiles)

**CPH:** Centre Provisoire d'Hébergement (Temporary Accommodation Centre)

**CRA:** Centre de Rétention Administratif (Administrative Detention Centre)

**CSAPA:** Centres de Soins, d'Accompagnement et de Prévention en Addictologie (Addictology care, support and prevention centres)

**DGEF:** General Directorate for Foreigners in France

**DNA:** National reception system for asylum seekers

**DPAR:** Devices for Preparing to Return

**DPE:** Cleanliness and Water Department

**DRIHL:** Direction Régionale et Interdépartementale de l'Hébergement et du Logement (Regional and Interdepartmental Directorate for Housing)

**FTDA:** France Terre d'Asile

**IdF:** Île-de-France

**IRTF:** Interdiction de Retour sur le Territoire Français (French re-entry ban)

**OGP:** Olympic and Paralympic Games

**MdM:** Médecins du Monde

**MIST:** Missions d'Intervention et de Sensibilisation contre la Traite des êtres humains (Intervention and awareness-raising missions against human trafficking)

**MNA:** Unaccompanied minors

**OFII:** French Office of Immigration and Integration

**OQTE:** Obligation to Leave French Territory

**PP:** Préfecture de Police

**PRIF:** Prefecture of the Île-de-France Region  
harm reduction

**SIAO:** Service Intégré de l'Accueil et de l'Orientation  
(Integrated reception and guidance service) **TEH:**

Trafficking in human beings in the sex trade **TDS:**

Travailleurs du sexe (Sex workers)

**UASA:** Unité d'Assistance aux Sans-Abris de la Ville de Paris (Homeless Assistance Unit of the City of Paris)



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# Summary

In this report, a number of associations and groups present their data and observations from the field in the Île-de-France region for the period April 2023 to May 2024. This work brings to light the "social cleansing" underway against the most disadvantaged populations (people living on the streets, in precarious housing or dependent on public space to live and work), which is largely linked to the organisation of the Olympic and Paralympic Games (JOP).

By "social cleansing", we mean the harassment, expulsion and invisibilisation of populations categorised by the public authorities as undesirable from the venues where the Olympic Games will be held, and more generally from the host cities, as has happened in many other cities that have welcomed them in recent decades, without offering them permanent shelter.

This clean-up is based on a twofold dispersal movement: dispersal in the public space to avoid informal settlements that would be too visible, and removal from the Paris conurbation of highly precarious people who may occupy the public space on a daily basis or be housed in hostels.

While these public action logics have been at work for several years, several indicators lead us to believe that the Olympic Games are acting as an accelerator of this dispersal and estrangement. From this point of view, they represent an opportunity to increase and reinforce the processes of invisibilisation of the most precarious people in the capital and its region.

➡ On the night of 25 to 26 January 2024, **3,462 people without accommodation in Paris** were counted as part of the 7th Solidarity Night. This represents a 16% increase on the previous event on 26 January 2023<sup>1</sup>. However, all those involved agree that this figure is necessarily lower than the reality, as not all rough sleepers could be met in the space of a night on the streets. The geographical distribution of the homeless people we met that evening was **concentrated in the central Paris area and the 12th arrondissement (including the Bois de Vincennes), central locations for the 2024 Olympic Games**, as well as in the 19th arrondissement - these three areas accounted for more than half of the homeless people counted (46%).

<sup>1</sup> However, this figure is necessarily lower than the reality, as not all rough sleepers could be met in the space of a night on the streets, and coverage is not complete across the Metropolitan area.

➤ During the period 2023-2024, the *Observatory of Evictions of Informal Living Places* recorded **138 evictions in Île-de-France**, including **64 evictions of shanty towns, 34 evictions of tent settlements** (exclusively in Paris and Aubervilliers), **33 evictions of squats, and 7 evictions of travellers**. By way of comparison, 121 evictions were recorded over the period 2021-2022, and 122 in 2022-2023. These evictions involved **12,545 people**, an increase of 38.5% compared with the 2021-2022 period<sup>2</sup>. Of these, **3,434 were minors**, twice as many as last year and almost three times as many as in 2021-2022<sup>3</sup>.

➤ Against this backdrop, **3,000 social hotel places have been eliminated by 2023 in the Île-de-France region**<sup>4</sup>, half of which will be in Seine-Saint-Denis, while only 300 additional places at 115 have been announced as a "social legacy". Of these 300 places intended exclusively for isolated rough sleepers in the JO perimeters, only 73 are occupied to date.

➤ **Evictions of street encampments** of exiles have been significantly accelerated since September 2023, with **16 operations in 4 months in 2023**, i.e. half of the year's evictions, and **26 operations in the first 5 months of 2024**, almost as many as for the whole of 2022 (which counted 30).

➤ **Prefectoral orders** to evict informal housing from public spaces have increased since February 2024: whereas between May 2021 and January 2024, only 2 evictions were linked to a prefectoral order, we counted **8 in just 4 months** between February and May 2024.

➤ A prefectoral decree published on 9 October 2023 **bans food distributions** in a defined area of the 10th and 20th arrondissements. The order was immediately suspended following an appeal launched by a group of associations. This case poses a serious threat to access to food during the Olympic Games.

➤ Since 26 April 2023 and the eviction of the large Unibéton squat on Île-Saint-Denis, there have been **10 evictions of squats inhabited by highly vulnerable exiles throughout the region, for a total of 1,967 people evicted**. These squats represent a rare alternative to camping out and living rough, in the absence of access to institutional accommodation.

➤ These **different expulsions result in a geographical spread outside the Ile-De-France region**: the vast majority of shelter proposals for exiles in extreme precariousness are made to the regional temporary reception SAS, created in March 2023. In 2023, of the 6,000 people sheltered by the Ile-de-France Prefecture (PRIF), 3,958 were referred to the SAS.

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<sup>2</sup> Between 1 May 2021 and 30 April 2022, 9,048 people were evicted from their informal living quarters in the Paris region, according to data from the Observatoire des expulsions de lieux de vie informels.

<sup>3</sup> 1,220 minors were evicted from their informal living quarters in Île-de-France between 1 May 2021 and 30 April 2022, and 1,648 between 1 May 2022 and 30 April 2023, according to data from the Observatoire des expulsions de lieux de vie informels. <sup>4</sup> Press release, Fédération des Acteurs de la Solidarités, "Non à une nouvelle restriction budgétaire impactant les personnes précaires", 24 July 2023. Available on : [!https://www.federationsolidarite.org/actualites/cp-non-a-une-nouvelle-restriction-budgetaire-impactant-les-personnes-precaires/](https://www.federationsolidarite.org/actualites/cp-non-a-une-nouvelle-restriction-budgetaire-impactant-les-personnes-precaires/)

➤ Since June 2023, all the associations working with victims of human trafficking for the purpose of exploitation in the sex trade (TEH) **in the Bois de Vincennes** have noted an increase in checks on the administrative situation of Nigerian women on the Route de la Pyramide and increased aggressiveness by the police against them. Between June 2023 and March 2024, at least **20 operations were carried out by the Préfecture de Police, resulting in the inspection of 203 people. Of these**, 44 were placed in administrative detention (13 men and 31 women), 37 were ordered to leave the country (OQTF) and 2 were placed in administrative detention centres (CRA). Increased police pressure has also been documented at **Belleville** against TDS workers of Chinese nationality. Numerous targeted control operations were reported by the Lotus Bus of Médecins du Monde (MdM) and Roses d'Acier. **More than 112 people were checked between March 2023 and today**; more than 36 OQTFs with a ban on returning to France were issued, 3 people were placed in the CRA and one person was expelled to China.



Libération

Kader et Eschär dans un squat à Aubervilliers, Marjorie au Bois de Boulogne. STEPHAN LACOUTTE / ANTOUR / ANSA / SAUTTER / HANDELICUS



JEUX OLYMPIQUES

Sans-papiers, sans-domicile, travailleurs du sexe... Ils ont pour certains déjà été exfiltrés hors de Paris, quand d'autres sont sous une surveillance policière accrue... Nombreuses sont les victimes de ce que les associations appellent un «nettoyage social». PAGES 2-3

# LES INDÉSIRABLES

IMPRIMÉ EN FRANCE / PRINTED IN FRANCE Algérie 1,80 €, Allemagne 3,20 €, Andorre 3,20 €, Belgique 3,70 €, Canada 8,20 \$, DOM 3,20 €, Espagne 3,20 €, États-Unis 8,20 \$, Grande-Bretagne 3,60 £, Grèce 3,20 €, Italie 3,20 €, Liban 1600 LBP, Luxembourg 3,70 €, Maroc 29 Dh, Pays-Bas 3,20 €, Portugal (continental) 3,60 €, Suisse 3,60 Fr, Suisse alémanique 3,60 Fr, Tunisie 8,70 DT, Zone CFA 1600 CFA

# Introduction

On the night of 29 October 2023 in Aubervilliers, the façade of the headquarters of the *Organising Committee for the Olympic and Paralympic Games* (COJOP) was **illuminated with a laser-projected message** entitled "*Paris 2024: The Reverse of the Medal*". It was through this action<sup>5</sup> and an open letter<sup>6</sup> widely distributed the following morning to all the relevant authorities and to the organisers of the Paris 2024 Olympic and Paralympic Games (JOP) that our inter-associative group made its presence known publicly. The aim of this alert was to draw the attention of the public authorities and inform the public at large to the "**social cleansing**" of the most disadvantaged sections of the population (people living on the streets, in precarious housing or dependent on public space to live and work), caused by the organisation of the Olympic Games and likely to intensify in the run-up to this mega-sporting event with worldwide repercussions. By 'social cleansing', we mean the expulsion and invisibilisation of disadvantaged groups from the venues where the Olympic Games will be held, as has happened in many of the cities hosting them (Barret Bertelloni, 2024).

The issue of **population movements** during the summer editions of the Olympic Games has been raised and analysed since Seoul 1988, with increased attention paid to the most recent editions (Davis, 2011; Rocha 2022). Two scenarios stand out:

➤ The first, and probably best-known, is the **massive displacement of residents** and homeless people in the run-up to the event. The Beijing 2008 Games are frequently mentioned in this context (Rock, 2012; Shin et al, 2013; Wang et al, 2015): it is estimated that **1.25 million people were displaced** following the hosting of the 2008 Games (Val et al, 2013). In a similar vein, Rio 2016 made its mark with the case of the Vila Autódromo (Ivester et al, 2017; Zimbalist et al, 2017). Overall, 77,206 residents were displaced for the sake of Olympic infrastructure (Boyko, 2013), which was planned as an emergency (Sanchez et al, 2013).

➤ The second scenario refers rather to indirect processes of displacement of residents, due to **sharp increases in the price** of housing for rent and sale post-hoc, coupled with **evictions and direct displacement** of more specific groups, such as homeless people, upstream. This was the case with the London 2012 Games (Kennelly et al, 2011; Kennelly et al 2012; Kavetsos 2012), frequently cited as a model for the organisation of the Paris 2024 Games. The displacement of marginalised populations has also been reported in the singular context of Tokyo 2020 (Suzuki et al, 2018).

<sup>5</sup> *Le Monde*, "Paris 2024 : des associations dénoncent un "nettoyage social" en Ile-de-France en avant des Jeux olympiques", 30 October 2023. Available on : [https://www.lemonde.fr/sport/article/2023/10/30/paris-2024-des-associations-denoncent-un-nettoyage-social-en-ile-de-france-en-amont-des-jeux-olympiques\\_6197229\\_3242.html](https://www.lemonde.fr/sport/article/2023/10/30/paris-2024-des-associations-denoncent-un-nettoyage-social-en-ile-de-france-en-amont-des-jeux-olympiques_6197229_3242.html)

<sup>6</sup> Le Revers de la Médaille, "Open Letter", 30 October 2023. Available on : [https://lereversdelamedaille.fr/wp-content/uploads/2023/10/Le-revers-de-la-medaille-Lettre-ouverte-\\_30\\_10\\_23-1.pdf](https://lereversdelamedaille.fr/wp-content/uploads/2023/10/Le-revers-de-la-medaille-Lettre-ouverte-_30_10_23-1.pdf)



Crédit photo : Ophélie Loubat

Photo Credit: [@ophelieloubat](https://www.instagram.com/ophelieloubat)

For several months now, our various associations, groups and NGOs have been observing a number of concordant clues on the ground and in public policy: the Île-de-France (IdF) region and the areas around the Olympic sites were beginning to be "**cleaned up**"; with the approach of the Games, the populations deemed **undesirable** by the authorities are all the more easily and systematically displaced and made invisible.

The eviction of the *Unibéton* squat in April 2023, home to 500 exiled people on the outskirts of the Olympic Village, marked the start of **an acceleration in evictions** from these living quarters, shipments to *regional SASs*, police operations against rough sleepers, **harassment and mistreatment** of various categories of particularly precarious populations (people identified as migrants, Roma, sex workers, drug users, homeless people, etc.).

Whether it's the SAS circular of March 2023<sup>7</sup>, setting up a system for relocating exiled and homeless people to **10 regions far from Paris**, or the Darmanin (immigration law) or Kasbarian-Bergé (anti-squat law) laws, the repertoire of action available to the police and the authorities has expanded and now facilitates the implementation of this social cleansing.

<sup>7</sup> Circular of 13 March 2023 relating to guidelines for the administrative management and orientation of persons sheltered in temporary reception shelters. NOR : IOMK2305900J. Available at: [https://www.gisti.org/IMG/pdf/circ\\_2023-03-13\\_sas\\_ocr.pdf](https://www.gisti.org/IMG/pdf/circ_2023-03-13_sas_ocr.pdf)



As our work on this issue grew, we soon found ourselves working closely with the research community as well as with our international counterparts, particularly in Vancouver, the *host city of the 2010 Olympic Games*. These exchanges highlighted **one fact**: these social clean-up operations are intertwined with the organisation of the Olympic Games. Every instance of these mega-sporting events is associated with social exclusion, a real downside for many disadvantaged people.

*This report is a local and non-exhaustive documentation. Photo*

*credit @Ophelieloubat*



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# Who are we ?

In spring 2023, the first **mass evictions** of living quarters (*camps, squats, shanty towns*) took place in Seine-Saint-Denis, in the immediate vicinity of the future Olympic venues.

Concentrated over a short period of time and within a restricted geographical area, these operations are a wake-up call for the associations that provide day-to-day support for people living in precarious conditions on the ground. At the same time, the **regional SAS** system is being set up, scheduled to last until fin 2024.

When contacted, the Prefecture of the Île-de-France region was slow to respond, and finally received the associations in June 2023, without giving a satisfactory answer f i their concerns.

Subsequently, various inter-associative coordinations revealed the state of unpreparedness and lack of anticipation on the part of the public authorities regarding the social impact of the 2024 Olympic Games on the most vulnerable people. Numerous studies and observations have documented the behaviour of host cities during all previous editions of the Games and confirmed **the risk of increased social exclusion** if no major measures are taken by the organisers.

The *Le revers de la médaille (The other side of the coin)* collective was formed in September 2023, with the publication of an open letter<sup>8</sup>, signed by **70 organisations**, and an initial action on 30 October in front of the COJOP (Organising Committee for the Olympic and Paralympic Games).

To date, the collective brings together more than 100 organisations, associations and federations that work with people in very precarious situations: *homeless people, exiles, drug users, people living in informal settlements (camps, squats, shanty towns), sex workers, victims of human trafficking fi des fins of exploitation in the sex trade; and run schemes for food aid, access to healthcare, risk prevention and reduction, access to rights, social support, etc.*

<sup>8</sup> [https://lereversdelamedaille.fr/wp-content/uploads/2023/10/Le-revers-de-la-medaille-Lettre-ouverte-\\_30\\_10\\_23-1.pdf](https://lereversdelamedaille.fr/wp-content/uploads/2023/10/Le-revers-de-la-medaille-Lettre-ouverte-_30_10_23-1.pdf)

**The collective plays a dual role:**

- 1) **challenge the public authorities** and institutions involved in organising the Olympic Games and alert public opinion to the policy of managing public space during the Games and its impact on **the most vulnerable people**.

In this context, the collective carried out **6 festive and non-violent** actions in the public space, mobilising more than 200 activists, afin order to **make its messages visible**, always in relation to specific points of its advocacy.

The collective is also inviting the press and media, both national and international, to testify and investigate the many dramatic situations suffered by the people they support on a daily basis. Under the microscope of the world's media, the Olympic Games reveal the public policies pursued by the host cities and countries. Since October 2023, **more than 700 articles**<sup>9</sup>, surveys and reports from all over the world have covered the social cleansing that preceded the Olympic Games in France.

- 2) **coordinate a plea for solutions**, working to put in place a concerted plan to ensure that the dynamic of the Games contributes to the fight against extreme exclusion.

In January 2024, the collective drew up and widely disseminated a comprehensive, well-documented dossier entitled *JOP Paris 2024: pour un héritage social positif (Paris 2024 Olympic Games: for a positive social legacy)*<sup>10</sup> containing some 50 proposals for easy-to-implement short-term solutions based on 5 main themes: **accommodation, public space, access to the law, food and access to water, health, prevention and risk reduction**.

These solutions, which are estimated to cost the associations an additional €10 million over the summer period, have led to a proposal by the COJOP and its partners to set up an *Olympic Solidarity Fund*. Given the lack of financial resources cited by the COJOP, despite an announced budget of €9 billion, nearly 50 sponsors of the Games were formally asked to contribute to the Fund. Only around ten of them responded, **all of them in the negative**.

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***"Unfortunately, we **WON'T** be able to help you as we are very involved in other initiatives. Unfortunately, we no longer have the budget to extend the scope of our activities.***

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*A listed multinational company, sponsor of Paris 2024, which paid out over €600 million in dividends in 2024."*

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<sup>9</sup> <https://lereversdelamedaille.fr/espace-presse/>

<sup>10</sup> Le Revers de la Médaille "JOP Paris 2024: pour un héritage social positif", 26 January 2024. Available at: <http://lereversdelamedaille.fr/wp-content/uploads/2024/02/Le-revers-de-la-medaille-JOP-Paris-2024-pour-un-heritage-social-positif.pdf>

➤ The collective has also been very active in seeking consultation meetings with institutions and public authorities, and has honoured more than 30 meetings with the City of Paris, the Prefecture of Paris and the Île-de-France region, the Paris Police Prefecture, the Ministry of Sport and the Olympic Games, and the Ministry of Solidarity, the Délégation Interministérielle fi la Prévention et fi la Lutte contre la Pauvreté, the Délégation Interministérielle fi l'Hébergement et l'Accès au Logement, the Conseil Départemental de Seine-Saint-Denis, the Région IdF, the municipalities hosting the Olympic venues, numerous elected representatives and MPs from all parties, the ARS, the AP-HP, the Organising Committee for the Olympic and Paralympic Games, etc.

Only the Ministry of the Interior, the Ministry of Housing and the Interministerial Delegation for the Olympic and Paralympic Games did not wish to receive us despite our numerous requests.

➤ In January 2024, the French Human Rights Defender, Claire Hédon, decided to look into the risks of infringement of rights and freedoms and possible situations of discrimination in the context of the preparation and organisation of the Olympic Games to be held in Paris in the summer of 2024<sup>11</sup>.

On 18 April 2024, Mr Rajagopal, the United Nations Special Rapporteur on the Right to Housing, questioned the French government directly, asking it to justify itself, and comparing the policy of eviction to 'beautify' Paris before the Olympic Games to the behaviour of China and India before mega-sporting events.<sup>12</sup>

➤ In a report entitled *Fair play for housing right*<sup>13</sup>, the Centre pour le droit au logement et contre les expulsions (Centre for Housing Rights and Evictions) reveals that over the past twenty years, the Olympic Games have had a number of consequences for the most vulnerable residents of host cities, including the "cleaning" of the streets, harassment and criminalisation of marginalised individuals such as the homeless, people living in informal settlements and people who resort to survival practices such as begging. The organisation of sports mega-events, and the Olympic Games in particular, is accompanied by repressive policies aimed at people in precarious situations, in order to make them invisible and avoid tarnishing the image of the host cities. For example, 1.5 million people were evicted to make way for the Olympic facilities for the Beijing 2008 Games<sup>14</sup>, and 77,000 people from poor neighbourhoods and favelas were displaced for Rio 2016<sup>15</sup>.

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<sup>11</sup> Défenseur des droits, press release, "Jeux Olympiques et Paralympiques 2024 : La Défenseure des droits va enquêter sur les risques d'atteintes aux droits et libertés et sur d'éventuelles situations de discrimination", 29 January 2024. Available on : <https://www.defenseurdesdroits.fr/jeux-olympiques-et-paralympiques-2024-la-defenseure-des-droits-va-enqueter-sur-les-risques-548>

<sup>12</sup> Rajagopal P. V, 18 April 2024, social network X. Available at: <https://x.com/adequatehousing/status/1780941218358132932>

<sup>13</sup> The Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions (COHRE), *Fair play for housing right*, January 2007. Available at: <https://www.sportanddev.org/research-and-learning/resource-library/fair-play-housing-rights-mega-events-olympic-games-and>

<sup>14</sup> Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions (COHRE)

<sup>15</sup> <https://www.mdpi.com/2076-0760/12/3/166> (Faulhaber and Azevedo 2015; Zimbalist 2017)



In view of the promise made for the Games to be "more responsible, inclusive, parity-based and spectacular than ever before"<sup>16</sup>, of an edition "for greater inclusion"<sup>17</sup> guided by the ambition to ensure the social legacy"<sup>18</sup>, we hoped that this edition would be different from previous ones and have long made numerous proposals to this end. Today, in the absence of any concrete commitment from the COJOP and the public authorities, and faced with the intensification of social cleansing, **we can confirm that Paris 2024 will not be any different from previous editions and will truly be an accelerator of exclusion for the most vulnerable.**



Photo Credit: [@vanites\\_pariennes](https://www.instagram.com/vanites_pariennes)

<sup>16</sup> Paris 2024, "Ouvrons grands les jeux", last accessed 28 May 2024. Available at: <https://olympics.com/fr/paris-2024/information/ouvrons-grand-les-jeux#>

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Paris 2024, "Our Legacy and Sustainability Plan", last accessed 28 May 2024. Available at: <https://olympics.com/fr/paris-2024/information/plan-heritage-durabilite>



## Our plea

To ensure that the promise of a **positive social legacy from** the Games is kept in terms of the fight against exclusion, in October 2023 we called for a concerted plan to be put in place for the care of people in precarious situations before and during the Games, and for part of the legacy of the Games to be dedicated to improving their situation over the long term. To this end, we are putting forward a series of proposals for concrete measures.

➤ Firstly, to prevent the eviction or removal of people living in precarious conditions without a dignified and permanent solution (homeless people, exiles, people living in camps, shantytowns and squats, sex workers, drug users, etc.), by coordinating with the associations and outreach teams that work with people on the ground, so that referrals are voluntary and tailored to each individual situation.

➤ Secondly, guarantee the continuity of all social services before and during the Games by supporting their adaptation where necessary, due to the difficulties of access or maintenance linked to the organisation of the Games. This applies in particular to food aid, access to water, access to healthcare, harm reduction and access to rights, whether fixed or via outreach services (outreach teams, mobile teams). With regard to access to food, a coordination forum dedicated specifically to the arrival of the Olympic Games has been set up between the City of Paris and those involved in food aid, with the aim of adapting the services available during the period of the Olympic Games to the security perimeters. This open dialogue with the City of Paris is helping to mitigate the impact of the Olympic Games on food aid services. However, there is still some concern about people's access to the services, whether they are people who have been taken in or the people, often volunteers, who accompany them.

➤ Enfin, to leave a legacy, through accommodation and reception solutions, of getting the greatest number of homeless people off the streets for good: by the net creation of 20,000 accommodation places nationwide, including at least 7,000 in Île-de-France, and the permanent establishment of a first humanitarian reception centre for exiles in Paris.

Since October 2023, the collective has requested, participated in or organised numerous meetings:

- **at government level:** Préfecture de Région Ile-de-France (PRIF), Ministère des Solidarités, Ministère des Sports, Déléguee Interministérielle fi la lutte contre la Pauvreté (DILP), Agence Régionale de Santé (ARS)
- **with the Organising Committee of the Olympic Games (COJOP),**
- **with local authorities:** City of Paris, Seine-Saint-Denis Departmental Council, Seine-Saint-Denis Prefecture

Of all these meetings, the ones that found an attentive and constructive ear were those with the *City of Paris* and *the ARS*. As for the others, very little direct or indirect concrete progress was made, so much so that in May 2024, **the collective sent T la PRIF to announce its withdrawal from the "concertation" meetings.**



# methodology

This report is based on an analysis of the data and materials collected by the various people working on the ground for the *Revers de la Médaille* associations, collectives and NGOs as part of their work in Paris and the Ile-de-France region. It reports on just over a year's documentation of various **social cleaning** events.

The materials used are based on summaries of observations in the field; on quantitative data collected by the organisations, in particular in the form of **eviction and evacuation censuses**; and on qualitative data based on the testimonies of people affected by these practices. In addition to this data, official documents were analysed, as well as a large number of decrees (*concerning evictions or bans on food aid, the targeting of drug users, or against begging, sex work, etc.*). Finally, the material also comes from the consultations in which the players on the ground take part with the authorities.

Since 2018, the *Observatoire des expulsions de lieux de vie informels (Monitoring Centre for Evictions of Informal Living Areas)* has been recording all evictions of so-called "informal" living areas (*shanty towns, tent complexes, squats, caravan complexes, etc.*) in France.

This includes legal evictions resulting from court decisions or administrative acts, as well as those outside any legal framework.

The data collected comes from reports made by contributors from the Observatory's partner associations, supplemented by media monitoring.

The *Collectif d'accès au droit (CAD)* is **recording and documenting** the evictions of street encampments of exiles in Paris organised by the public authorities, as well as the less formalised evictions **without any offer of shelter**, even for small gatherings, and the police violence that sometimes accompanies them. This work is based on field surveys carried out by researchers and community workers since 2015.

In addition, all the associations and groups that have signed this report collect direct testimonies from the people concerned during their fieldwork.

## I/ An already untenable situation for the most precarious

- 1. An inadequate and insecure accommodation system for rough sleepers in Ile-de-France

Every year, the Collectif *Les Morts de la Rue* (CMDR) reminds us that an average of nearly two people die **every day** as a result of living without a home of their own. According to the Collectif, the average homeless person dies before the age of 50, compared with 82 for the population as a whole. At least 656 people died on the streets in 2023, and since 1 January 2024 the Collectif *Les Morts de la Rue* has recorded at least 222 deaths<sup>19</sup> of people who died on the streets or in shelters in France.

➡ In fact, living conditions on the streets are **particularly difficult**: poor hygiene, promiscuity, trauma, nutritional deficiencies, violence, etc.

The national Maraudes study carried out on 12-13 January 2021 by the *Fédération nationale des Samu Sociaux* (FNSS) and the *Fédération des Acteurs de la Solidarité* (FAS) showed that **42% of homeless people surveyed were in poor health, and 16% were in very poor health**<sup>20</sup>. 45% of those in poor health had mental health problems and 56% had an addiction problem, particularly among young people.

➡ These figures remind us that, in addition to the essential issue of respect for people's human dignity, access to suitable, permanent accommodation or housing is a health issue that **can be vital for people**.

➡ In Île-de-France, and particularly in the two departments hosting the most Olympic events, Paris and Seine-Saint-Denis, the situation was already **untenable** for the most vulnerable people before the arrival of the Olympic Games. In fact, these two départements are characterised by the concentration and intensity of manifestations of precariousness: a high number of informal living areas, chronic saturation of emergency accommodation, high poverty rates, **overloaded** food aid systems, saturation of the public health system.

### *Collectif les morts de la rue*

*In France, homeless people are in a variety of situations.*



<sup>19</sup> Figures as at 6 May 2024

<sup>20</sup> Fédération nationale des Samu Sociaux, Fédération des Acteurs de la Solidarité, "Étude nationale maraudes et Samu Sociaux sur le sans-abrime, 2021".

☛ Dialogue with certain stakeholders is also particularly difficult in some of the Île-de-France départements. **In Seine-Saint-Denis, for example, evictions of informal living spaces are particularly frequent. The prefecture prides itself on this,** and very rarely offers stable accommodation to evicted families. Dialogue with associations, particularly on the subject of reducing shanty towns by integrating families, is at a standstill.

☛ There are almost **96,650** general accommodation **places** in Île-de-France, half of which are in hotels.

They provide shelter for rough sleepers for one night, a few weeks or even several months. **In addition, there will be almost 11,000 places** in the national reception system for asylum seekers in Greater Paris (a larger area) by early 2023.

As the public authorities regularly remind us, this number of places has been rising steadily over the years.

However, **it is not keeping pace with the situation and needs of homeless people**. In fact, the majority of services are **saturated** and the various editions of the *Nuit de la Solidarité (Night of Solidarity)* attest to the deterioration in the conditions for dealing with extreme exclusion: an increase in the number of homeless people counted in 2023; restricted access to existing services; low levels of use of emergency accommodation services such as 115<sup>21</sup>, etc.

☛ **On the night of 25 to 26 January 2024, 3,462 people without accommodation were counted as part of the 7th Nuit de la Solidarité T Paris**, and 785 people in the 32 communes taking part in this edition of the operation coordinated by the Métropole du Grand Paris. For Paris, **this represents a 16% increase on the previous event on 26 January 2023<sup>22</sup>**.

☛ **The lack of accommodation is also reflected in the high number of unfilled requests (DNP) from the 115 emergency accommodation service.**

**In Paris, this figure rose to more than 800 unfavourable responses per day in January 2023. The SIAO (Service Intégré de l'Accueil et de l'Orientation) in Seine-Saint-Denis recorded an average of more than 600 unfilled requests per day in 2022**, with a high proportion of families with children, the proportion of which will continue to rise in 2023. For example, on 13 May 2024, the Seine-Saint-Denis SIAO counted 715 unfilled requests. Of these people who remained on the street despite having applied to the 115, 69% were families, sometimes with minor children or pregnant women.

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<sup>21</sup> 115 is a national number that is managed on a departmental basis. The social workers on 115 assess callers' needs, inform them of the services available to them and direct them towards accommodation solutions depending on the number of places available.

<sup>22</sup> Marie de Paris, *Solidarity Night*, 6 February 2024. However, this figure is necessarily lower than the reality, as not all rough sleepers could be met in the space of a night on the streets, and coverage is not complete across the metropolitan area. Available at: <https://www.paris.fr/pages/nuit-de-la-solidarite-2024-25549>.



The SIAO 75's response rates have not changed, leaving in the every evening more than 800 people, the majority of whom are people in families.

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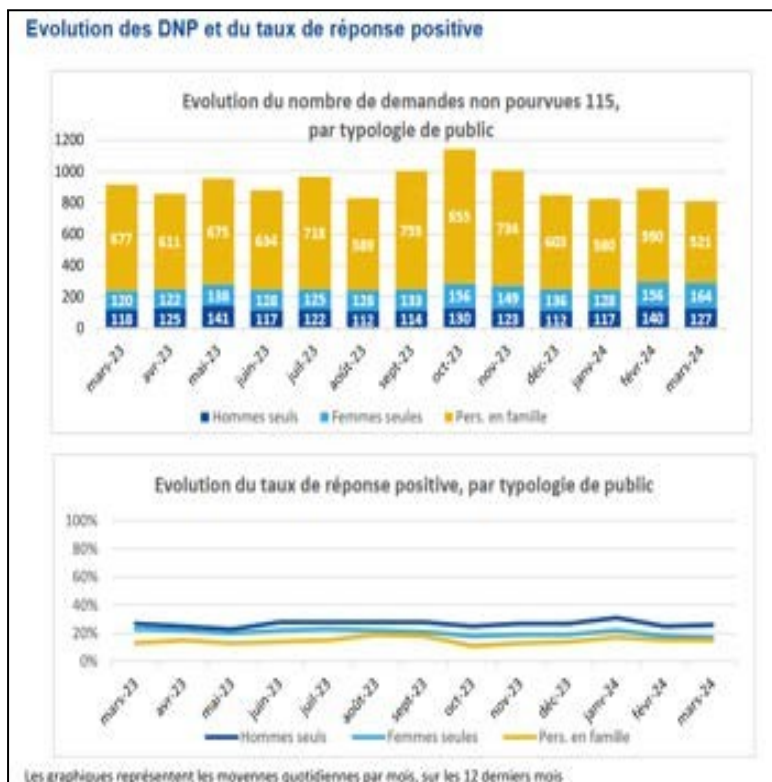
NOUS DORMONS DANS LA RUE

One of the positive announcements in the Solidarity Pact is the stabilisation of the stock of generalist accommodation at **203,000 places and the decision not to cut 6,000 places from the capacity opened at the end of the winter of 2022-2023.**

However, this commitment does not meet the ever-increasing need to ensure that no child is forced to sleep rough this winter.

In e a n d due to a lack of available places, the 115/SIAO **left at least 8,351 people without accommodation every evening, including 2,822 children, 686 of whom were under the age of 18.**

3 years (cf. FAS/UNICEF data). Bearing in mind that non-use of the 115 is 50 or even 80% depending on the study (70% according to the most recent study by Interlogement 93 in 2022), it can be estimated that at least **20,000 additional accommodation places** are needed to reduce homelessness by the time the fluidification of pathways to housing and integration - which must be stepped up - produce their effects.



Unsatisfied requests only give a very approximate idea of the **real number of homeless people**, since they reflect the demand expressed, but not the implicit needs, which remain **invisible** because of non-use. Hundreds of people do not call or no longer call the 115 helpline, either because they have been refused accommodation several times or because they are desperate to reach a helpline operator. In Paris and the Greater Paris region, **three out of four people surveyed were not calling 115 in January 2023**, despite the fact that the number of calls was rising and the proportion of people calling was falling.

people who called that evening **increase**<sup>23</sup>.

Because of overcrowding, the principles of unconditional accommodation and continuity of care, which are enshrined in the *Social Action and Family Code*, **are being structurally flouted** in the Île-de-France region.

To manage the shortage, government departments issue oral or written instructions on prioritising accommodation requests to the departments responsible for emergency accommodation referrals and to managers of establishments and services.

<sup>23</sup> APUR, Accommodation and services for homeless people in Greater Paris, December 2023.

For example, in August 2023, *Samusocial de Paris*, which is responsible for managing the 115 emergency helpline in Paris, adopted a new referral policy restricting emergency accommodation to people who meet the so-called "No. 1" priority criteria.

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***"Pregnant women over 7 months, women who are victims of violence, families with newborns under 3 months old, people with reduced mobility, people with serious pathologies".***

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The SOLIPAM network has consistently found that pregnant women are not dealt with by the 115 despite being "prioritised" in relation to other groups.

When they joined the network in 2022, 38% of pregnant women were living rough. In the second half of 2023, the proportion **rose to 56%**, and the situation deteriorated particularly sharply in the summer of 2023.

In Paris, pregnant women are **only** considered a priority **from the 7th month of pregnancy**, and are only housed until their baby is 3 months old. Stabilisation in a hotel has become the exception rather than the rule, with women having to change hotels every week (when they are taken into care) and being **systematically put back on the street with newborn babies**. The lack of accommodation has **also led to an increase in pregnancy-related illnesses**.

As proof of this exceptionally tense context, in December 2023, the Director General of Samusocial de Paris indicated that she could no longer even honour the commitment to care for this very vulnerable population, which had already been "sorted" into extremes<sup>24</sup>.

In Seine-Saint-Denis, in a letter dated June 2023, the prefecture told the SIAO that single people, with the exception of those meeting strict vulnerability criteria (pregnant women, people with disabilities, women who are victims of domestic violence), should not be kept in hotels.

While emergency accommodation is a state responsibility and the responsibility of the departmental councils<sup>25</sup>, it is particularly **shocking** that in Île-de-France, by far the most prosperous region in France, the public authorities are allowing the number of rough sleepers to grow, **particularly families, pregnant women and young children**.

<sup>24</sup> Claire Anaé and Minh Dréan, Des femmes enceintes et des mères avec des nouveau-nés sans hébergement d'urgence, *Le Monde*, December 2023.

<sup>25</sup> According to article L.222-5 of the CASF, the département (via child welfare) is responsible for the care of unaccompanied minors, pregnant women and single mothers with children under the age of three who need material and/or psychological support.



## - 2. A logic of public of mobility geographical which relocates the most precarious

In 2023, the Ministries of the Interior and Housing, working closely with the Île-de-France prefecture, have launched a new type of accommodation scheme in ten regions<sup>26</sup> designed to provide temporary accommodation for exiles living rough, in informal settlements or sheltered in the Paris region.

➤ Strongly inspired by the "directive orientation" imposed on asylum seekers in order to benefit from the material reception conditions associated with their application for protection, these "guidelines" are designed to ensure that asylum seekers are able to benefit from the material reception conditions associated with their application for protection.

These "**regional relief hubs**" take in people from the Île-de-France region for a maximum of 3 weeks, before offering them a "new" orientation.

"adapted to their situation in the destination region. The creation of this system has three objectives: to "**relieve**" the **overcrowding of** accommodation facilities in the Paris region; to better **distribute the "burden"** of receiving homeless people in mainland France; and to **systematically examine** the administrative situation of the people concerned, as a determining criterion for their subsequent orientation.

➤ This last objective marks a **turning point in the public policy of general accommodation** for homeless people, which until now has been predominantly based on the assessment of their social needs and vulnerabilities to trigger their accommodation and support.

The administrative situation of individuals is established in the airlocks by the systematic presence of agents from the French Office for Immigration and Integration (OFII) and by cross-referencing the personal information collected with that from the national asylum and immigration information systems.

➤ The interministerial instruction of 13 March 2023 governing the scheme presents access to emergency accommodation as a residual option, justifiable only until the prefecture organises the subsequent examination of the person's administrative situation or the time strictly necessary to prepare for voluntary return or removal for people whose application for residence is refused.

By their very design, **airlocks therefore incorporate a restrictive definition of unconditional reception in emergency accommodation**, and **confuse the roles of social work and control of foreign nationals**.

➤ Furthermore, if the choice to go to an SAS is supposed to be based on the **free adhesion of individuals**, it is difficult to consider that they give truly free and informed consent.

After being **evicted** from their living quarters, people are offered a place in an SAS with the promise of stable accommodation and the possibility of their application for residence being examined or re-examined. On the other hand, if they refuse, they cannot hope, except in certain specific cases<sup>27</sup>, to be offered a place in emergency accommodation in Île-de-France, **contrary to the law**.

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<sup>26</sup> Auvergne-Rhône-Alpes, Bourgogne-Franche-Comté, Bretagne, Centre Val de Loire, Grand Est, Normandie, Occitanie, Pays de la Loire, Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur, Nouvelle Aquitaine

<sup>27</sup> People legally residing in Paris with a permanent contract or a 9-month fixed-term contract can hope to obtain a place in accommodation.

➤ In addition, and on a more limited scale for the moment, referrals to SAS are also offered to **people living in Île-de-France**.

Once again, the choice offered to people is particularly limited: **accept the referral to the region or receive a form of support from their current accommodation, and find themselves on the street in the Ile-de-France region**.

➤ At several meetings, the French government indicated that SAS was only a complement to the accommodation policy implemented in the Ile-de-France region.

However, in view of the above, the number of people in this category is particularly low. Even when households are among the most vulnerable (*with infants, pregnant women, medical conditions, etc.*), it is **particularly difficult** to find accommodation in the Île-de-France region.

➤ In addition, households who agree to be referred to SAS and who return to Île-de-France may have **great difficulty** in asserting their right to accommodation in the region.

The case of a family accompanied by the lawyer *S. Djemaoun* is proof that SAS is **becoming an emergency solution** to compensate for the lack of an accommodation policy that meets the needs in the Île-de-France region.

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**In January 2024, a family with a 7-month-old baby on the streets of Paris went to court to seek permanent accommodation.**

On receipt of the request, the Île-de-France prefecture referred the household to an SAS in Geispolsheim, with the promise of permanent accommodation for the household. After a few days in the SAS, and a study of their administrative situation, the **household was issued with an obligation to leave French territory (OQTF) and a ban on returning to French territory (IRTF), with the gendarmerie visiting the SAS to arrest them**. The family risks being placed in a return preparation centre (CPAR), the purpose of which is to offer accommodation before being sent back to another country.

The family therefore decided to return to Paris, and again called the Parisian 115, which **only** housed them **from 26 January to 2 February**.

Once back on the streets, the matter is referred to the judge with the aim of finding the family permanent accommodation. However, the judge considers that since the household has voluntarily left its other accommodation, the SAS, the State can refuse to house them.

For example, a particularly vulnerable family that was supposed to be housed permanently in an SAS is **finally called in for eviction**.

When she returned to Paris, she could not claim accommodation either, on the grounds that she had left the SAS, **where she was threatened with eviction**. What is even more worrying, as the lawyers working on accommodation cases in the Île-de-France region have confirmed, is that in cases concerning access to accommodation, **the State systematically refers households in the region to the SAS, and thus claims to have offered them suitable accommodation**.

While it is not possible to establish a direct causal link between the preparations for the 2024 Olympic Games and the deployment of the desertification policy, **the former acts a minima as a catalyst for the latter**, and offers a fertile ground for the deployment of homelessness management methods combining social action and control of migratory flux, in the right fit of the creation of CAES, the instructions of 12 December 2017<sup>28</sup>, of 4 July 2019<sup>29</sup>, of 17 November 2022<sup>30</sup>, and then the asylum-immigration law of 26 January 2024<sup>31</sup>.

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Given the pre-JOP situation, we were particularly attentive to the arrival of this mega-event, with all the risks it entails. The inability of households to access permanent accommodation means that they are forced to live on the streets, in public spaces. The occupation of public space by security perimeters and devices, and a **heavy** police presence, will make it increasingly inhospitable for people in **extremely precarious situations, some of whom are staying illegally**.

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*"May 2024. Madame X is 7 months pregnant and just 19 years old. In Paris, she doesn't know anyone. She spends her days in a women's day centre and constantly calls 115. She has pregnancy monitoring at the hospital, but no hibernation. She's very distressed today and wonders how she's going to be able to welcome her bibi. The response from 115 is always the same: "No room today, call back tomorrow. Out of 37 calls made, she got this response 34 times."*

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*"Mrs Y is a carpenter. She's been going every day for a month to the [voluntary] office in Place de l'Hôtel de Ville. She has two children: aged 3 and 4. Every day, the main concerns are the same: finding food, keeping the children occupied, finding clothes to keep them warm, going to the doctor, calling 115... no room. The santi of the whole family digrades. On 22 May 2024 "going to the emergency room for his fille" is added to his timetable."*

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*Testimonies of a social worker from COMEDE (Committee for the health of exiles)*

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<sup>28</sup> Circular from the Ministry of the Interior and Territorial Cohesion on the examination of administrative situations in emergency accommodation, NOR INTK1721274J, 12 December 2017.

<sup>29</sup> Interministerial instruction on cooperation between integrated reception and guidance services (SIAO) and the French Office for Immigration and Integration (OFII) for the care of asylum seekers and beneficiaries of international protection, NOR SSAA1918438J, 4 July 2019.

<sup>30</sup> Instruction from the Minister of the Interior on the enforcement of obligations to leave French territory (OQTF) and increasing detention capacity, 17 November 2022.

<sup>31</sup> For an analysis of the SAS, see the Secours Catholique Caritas France report, *Jeux olympiques et paralympiques : les oubliés de la fête*, February 2024. Available at <https://www.secours-catholique.org/m-informer/publications/jeux-olympiques-et-paralympiques-les-oublies-de-la-fete>

## II/ Hiding the undesirables: a year of evictions from informal living areas in the Île-de-France region



Photo credit: [Félix Seiler Fedi](#)

On 26 April 2023, 500 residents of the *Unibéton* squat **were evicted**. The largest squat in the Île-de-France region was located on *Île-Saint-Denis*, close to the future Olympic Athletes' Village. It was hard not to make the connection between this eviction and the organisation of the Olympic Games. This event marked the start of **a year characterised by repeated evictions from informal living areas<sup>32</sup>, but above all by the fact that these evictions were carried out in conditions that respected people's rights less and less, against a backdrop of intensifying preparations for the 2024 Olympic Games.**

The analyses presented in this section, based on data from the **Observatory of Evictions from Informal Living Environments**, cover the period from 1<sup>er</sup> May 2023 to 30 April 2024, in order to be able to monthlyise the data where relevant. Comparisons are made with the previous two years, for the same period (1<sup>er</sup> May to 30 April).



During the period 2023-2024, the Observatory recorded **138 evictions of informal living sites in Île-de-France**, including 64 evictions of shanty towns, 34 evictions of tented settlements (exclusively in Paris and Aubervilliers)<sup>33</sup>, 33 evictions of squats, and 7 evictions of travellers. By way of comparison, 121 evictions were recorded over the period 2021-2022, and 122 in 2022-2023.

These evictions affected **12,545 people<sup>34</sup>**, an increase of 38.5% compared with the period 2021-2022<sup>35</sup>. Of these, **3,434 were minors**, twice as many as last year and almost three times as many as in 2021-2022<sup>36</sup>.

Despite this increase in the number of evictions and the number of people affected by them, **the way in which they are carried out has deteriorated over the years.**

<sup>32</sup> Informal living areas include shanty towns, tent cities, squats and vehicle clusters.

<sup>33</sup> To this figure must be added the disappearance of at least 25 places where isolated homeless people have been living in Paris since January 2024 (see below), which had not yet been counted by the Observatory at the time of the report.

<sup>34</sup> Some people may be counted several times, when they are repeatedly evicted, which is common.

<sup>35</sup> Between 1 May 2021 and 30 April 2022, 9,048 people were evicted from their informal living quarters in the Paris region, according to data from the Observatoire des expulsions de lieux de vie informels.

<sup>36</sup> 1,220 minors were evicted from their informal living quarters in Île-de-France between 1 May 2021 and 30 April 2022, and 1,648 between 1 May 2022 and 30 April 2023, according to data from the Observatoire des expulsions de lieux de vie informels.



Today, in addition to the **worrying proportion of evictions carried out outside any legal framework**, the other statistic worth looking at is that of evictions triggered by **eviction orders**, which are often published the day before an eviction, so that people cannot receive any appropriate social care or anticipate any post-eviction solution.

## - 1. Virtually no social diagnostics

➤ Between 1<sup>er</sup> May 2023 and 30 April 2024, only **27.5% of evictions were preceded by a social diagnosis**<sup>37</sup>. In the previous year, this concerned 36.8% of evictions, and 65.3% in 2021-2022<sup>38</sup>.

➤ This three-year trend runs completely counter to the **ministerial instruction of 25 January 2018** framing the resorption of "illegal encampments and shanty towns"<sup>39</sup>, which stipulates in particular that a social diagnosis should be effected as soon as people settle in a new place to live, afin order to assess the various vulnerabilities of the occupants and offer them suitable accommodation solutions.

➤ In one case out of two, in 2023-2024<sup>40</sup>, residents were not even aware that eviction proceedings had been initiated against their home, highlighting the **dehumanisation and lack of consideration for individual situations** in eviction practices in the Île-de-France region, regardless of the homes concerned.

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## - 2. Increasingly rare accommodation options

Over the period 2023-2024, **only 35.3% of evictions** (<sup>41</sup>) **were accompanied by offers of accommodation**. And when offers were made, the solutions were permanent in only two cases (most of the accommodation offered was short-term, ranging from a few days to a few months). The situation has particularly deteriorated over this period, since the previous year 64.3% of evictions were accompanied by offers of shelter<sup>42</sup>.

This once again highlights a **growing failure to comply with the instruction of 25 January 2018**, according to which the resorption of living spaces must be accompanied by rehousing and support for their residents<sup>43</sup>.

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<sup>37</sup> Among the 80 evictions for which information is available, according to data from the Observatoire des expulsions de lieux de vie informels.

<sup>38</sup> Information is available for 68 expulsions in 2022-2023, and 49 in 2021-2022.

<sup>39</sup> Government instruction to give new impetus to the reduction of illegal settlements and shanty towns, [available here](#)

<sup>40</sup> Among the 64 evictions for which information is available.

<sup>41</sup> Among the 102 evictions for which information is available.

<sup>42</sup> Among the 70 evictions for which information is available.

<sup>43</sup> Interministerial circular dated 26/08/2012 on anticipating and supporting operations to evacuate illegal settlements (INTK1233053C).

**We have therefore seen a clear deterioration in the way evictions of informal settlements have been carried out over the last three years, with less and less respect for the rights of the people living there.**

Data from the Observatory of Evictions of Informal Living Places also highlights the violence of these evictions. Between 1<sup>er</sup> May 2023 and 30 April 2024, **physical and/or verbal violence** was reported during 11 evictions, a figure that falls far short of the reality, as the observation and objectification of any violence may be made difficult by the installation of security perimeters, the absence of witnesses and the trivialisation of this phenomenon by the people concerned.

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### - 3. An increase in the number of evacuation orders<sup>44</sup>

An analysis of the legal grounds for eviction also highlights a worsening trend in recent years, with the potential danger posed by people living in camps being exploited.

Between 1<sup>er</sup> May 2023 and 30 April 2024, the legal grounds for evictions recorded in Île-de-France by the Observatoire des expulsions de lieux de vie informels were, in descending order (where the information is known) :

- Evacuation orders: 40.3% (including municipal orders: 22.8% and prefectural orders : 17,5 %)
- Legal decisions taken by the owner: 22.8
- Shelter operations<sup>45</sup> : 20.2
- No legal basis<sup>46</sup> : 9.6
- Flagrance<sup>47</sup> : 5.2
- Article 38 of the DALO Act<sup>48</sup> : only one eviction recorded on this ground

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<sup>44</sup>**Eviction:** eviction occurs when the landlord initiates proceedings to evict people living on the premises because they do not have a right of occupancy, and the proceedings result in a court decision.

**Evacuation:** when a mayor or prefect issues an order relating to safety, hygiene or public health, it is the living environment itself that is targeted, because of the risks involved. This is known as evacuation. This is an administrative decision. We prefer the term "expulsion" when we are not interested in the legal basis for the procedure, as the term better reflects the reality of the violence inherent in this act.

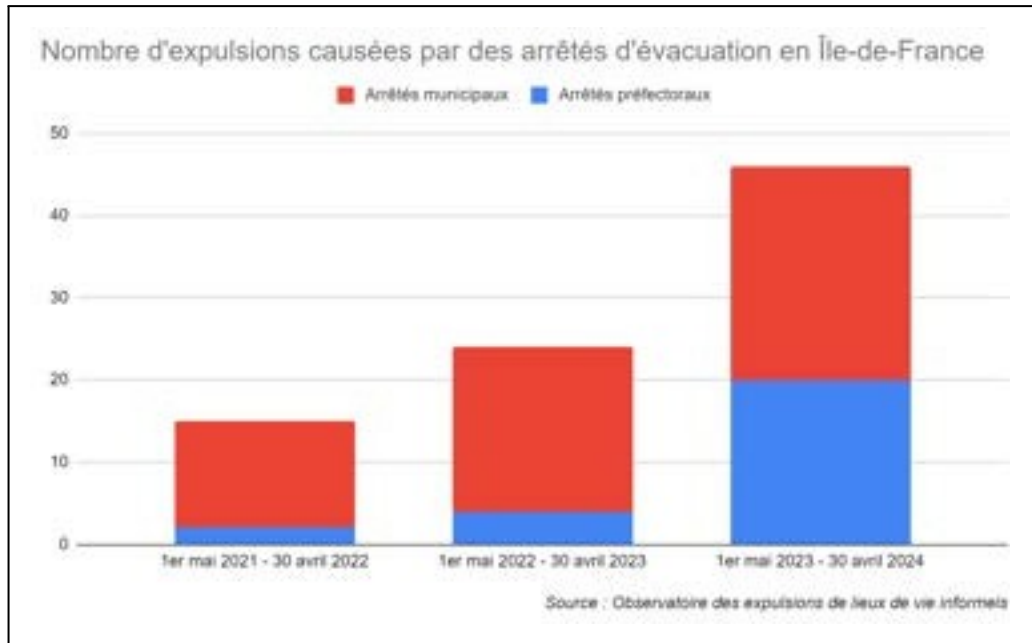
<sup>45</sup> A **shelter operation** cannot be considered as a legal basis for eviction from a place to live; it is not an eviction ordered by a court or by a decree. When these operations take place, they are not intended to prevent people from resettling. In practice, the site is often destroyed and access prevented by cleaning agencies and/or the authorities.

<sup>46</sup> This refers to **illegal evictions**, which can be perpetrated by local residents or the authorities. This is particularly the case when pressure is brought to bear on residents to leave the premises without any administrative or legal decision having been taken.

<sup>47</sup> The **flagrante delicto procedure** is invoked when a place to live is evicted a few days after it has been set up. However, this procedure should not be an immediate means of putting an end to the offence of illegal installation and occupation, as the legal framework for investigation is being fully abused. The Human Rights Defender herself pointed out that "while the discovery of offences can lead to arrests, criminal proceedings cannot constitute a means of eviction".

<sup>48</sup> The **eviction procedure based on article 38 of the DALO law** concerns squatted homes or premises. Created in 2007, it enables squats to be evicted in a very short space of time, at the request of the owner to the Prefect, without having to go to court. Since the [Kasbarian-Bergé law of 27 July 2023](#), the deadlines for

**There is a strong tendency for the authorities in the Île-de-France region to use eviction orders to evict people from their homes quickly, rather than waiting for court rulings. Over the last three years, there has been a clear upward trend in the use of these orders by the authorities, as can be seen in the graph below: the number of evictions linked to eviction orders in the Île-de-France region has more than tripled.**



**In addition to being carried out quickly, evictions caused by administrative acts are generally carried out in conditions that are particularly unfavourable to the rights of the people living there.** For example, of the evictions carried out by order, only one was accompanied by a social diagnosis<sup>49</sup>. And when residents are informed of the eviction, it is only 24 or 48 hours before it takes place, if not on the day itself, which makes it virtually impossible to challenge.

Paris is particularly affected by this trend, with an increase in the number of prefectoral orders since February 2024. **Between May 2021 and January 2024, only two evictions in Paris recorded by the Observatory were linked to a prefectoral order, but since February 2024 there have already been 8 such evictions<sup>50</sup>, the last of which took place on 28 May 2024.** These orders concerned two camps of families/couples and 6 camps of young minors on appeal. According to information collected by the Observatory of Evictions of Informal Living Environments, **only 24 of the nearly 1,000 people concerned have been referred.**

**This method of action prevents the implementation of social work that provides appropriate guidance to the target groups, and these operations increase the number of people wandering and encourage local resettlement without any lasting solution.**

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evacuation times have been shortened even further: to 24 hours in the case of a squatted home, or 7 days in the case of residential premises.

<sup>49</sup> Among the 10 evictions caused by a prefectoral order and for which the information is known.

<sup>50</sup> In the week of 23 to 30 April 2024 alone, a record 3 arrests were recorded: Fossés St Bernard/Jussieu, boulevard Berthier and place St Gervais.

<https://www.prefecturedepolice.interieur.gouv.fr/actualites-et-presse/arretes/accueil-arretes>



## Legal analysis of the content of evacuation orders

Generally speaking, we note that the prevention of harm to the safety of people and property and public health are widely used by the administrative authorities to justify the legality of orders to evacuate informal living areas. **In practice, however, these orders are issued without proper justification, and the risks are often put forward without being established.** The urgency to act to protect people's safety invoked by prefects or mayors in the context of these orders is all the more questionable when the place in question has sometimes existed for several years<sup>51</sup>. The urgent need for protection seems to be of concern to the authorities only when it comes to evictions, since in the majority of cases no suitable long-term solution is offered to residents who are **forced to leave their homes in a hurry**. Furthermore, the risks cited in the orders are often linked to the authorities' refusal to fulfil their obligations (fire safety, water and electricity connections, rubbish collection).

Analysis of the evacuation orders also reveals that **the prefectures and municipalities sometimes target and classify the people affected by the evacuations within particular ethnic minority or social groups**. For example, during the emergency evacuation of a camp on rue Charles Leroy in the 13<sup>e</sup> arrondissement<sup>52</sup>, the prefect of police explicitly targeted "people of Romanian origin (Roma)" living in the camp. This ethnicisation of evictions is clearly expressed by the Prefect of the Val d'Oise, who stated: *"We are very active in the evacuation of illegal camps, whether they be Travellers or Roma"*<sup>53</sup>.

In another example, in an order dated 19 March 2024<sup>54</sup>, the Prefect of Police refers to a "resettlement of migrants" in the Villiot tunnel, as well as an "intensification of the presence of migrants" in this area to justify his order.

In addition, in an order dated 3 October 2023<sup>55</sup>, the mayor of the municipality of Champs-sur-Marne based (and therefore legitimised) his order to evacuate a place to live on extremely violent comments, referring to *"a high level of exasperation among local residents, as can still be seen in the exchanges on the Facebook account 'You know when you come from Champs-sur-Marne when...' or the anonymous testimonies in the grievance notebooks calling for the 'burning of the Roma'"*.

<sup>51</sup> The eviction of the Antony shanty town on 12 March 2024, explained in the following sub-section, is a good example.

<sup>52</sup>

<https://www.prefecturedepolice.interieur.gouv.fr/sites/default/files/Documents/Arr%C3%AAt%C3%A9%202024%20-00252%20portant%20%C3%A9vacuation%20en%20urgence%20d%27un%20campement%20irr%C3%A9gulier%20A8rement%20install%C3%A9%20.pdf>

<sup>53</sup> [https://actu.fr/ile-de-france/cery\\_95127/nouvelle-evacuation-d-un-campement-illicite-dans-le-val-d-oise\\_61002477.html](https://actu.fr/ile-de-france/cery_95127/nouvelle-evacuation-d-un-campement-illicite-dans-le-val-d-oise_61002477.html)

<sup>54</sup> Prefectoral decree, Préfecture de Police de Paris, no. 2024-00359, 19 March 2024:

[https://www.prefecturedepolice.interieur.gouv.fr/sites/default/files/Documents/ARRETE\\_2024\\_00359\\_evacuation\\_en\\_urgence\\_tunnel\\_Villiot\\_sans\\_signature\\_PP.pdf](https://www.prefecturedepolice.interieur.gouv.fr/sites/default/files/Documents/ARRETE_2024_00359_evacuation_en_urgence_tunnel_Villiot_sans_signature_PP.pdf)

<sup>55</sup> Arrêté du maire n°DG-2023-120, Mise en demeure d'évacuer le campement illicite situé sur la parcelle cadastrée AD049 dans le bois de la Grange, au sud-est de l'avenue forestière à Champs-sur-Marne, 03 October 2023.

Aside from the stigmatising nature of the semantics used by the Prefecture of Police and certain municipalities, these elements bear witness to the targets of these orders. In fact, exiles are proportionately more likely to find themselves on the streets and are therefore over-represented victims of the authorities' evacuation and expulsion policy.

Enfin, orders are sometimes issued to **circumvent a legal procedure deemed too lengthy or T following a legal decision unfavourable to the owner**. The examples of the evictions of the shanty towns of Cours des merveilles (fi Cergy, 26 April 2024) and those located fi the confluence of the Seine and the Canal Saint-Denis (fi Saint-Denis, 15 May 2024), are indicative of this practice<sup>56</sup>.

### ***Systematising these practices in the run-up to the Olympic Games***

These methods of dealing with undesirable people in the public space, already present in the Paris region<sup>57</sup>, are becoming more widespread and systematic as the Olympic Games approach. The authorities are thus speeding up the dispersal of exiles, leading to a sudden increase in the number of orders issued on grounds of public order or public safety.

An interesting case in point is the **eviction of a shanty town in T Noisy-le-Sec**, triggered by a municipal order dated 7 February 2024, which mentions, among the reasons for evicting the site located near railway lines, *"the urgent need to maintain the regularity of trains, particularly during the very special period of the forthcoming Olympic and Paralympic Games"*<sup>58</sup>. This incomprehensible link between the holding of the Games and this eviction, apart from highlighting the lack of any logical basis for most of the evacuation orders, is **worrying in terms of the impact that the Olympic Games can have on living areas that initially do not seem to be threatened by this event**. Should we fear risks for all sites near railway lines in the Paris Region?

It is also interesting to note that this over-use of eviction orders to evict informal settlements is not common in other areas, since in the national survey carried out by the Observatory of evictions of informal settlements, apart from the northern coast, **the Île-de-France region accounts for more than two-thirds of evictions caused by eviction orders**<sup>59</sup>.

<sup>56</sup> Accounts of these expulsions are given in the following sub-section.

<sup>57</sup> Gardesse, C., Le Courant, S. and Masson-Diez, E. (2022). *Exile in Paris, 2015-2020*. L'oeil d'or.

<sup>58</sup> Order of the Mayor of Noisy-le-Sec N°24\_40, dated 7 February 2024, giving formal notice to vacate the premises [https://www.noisylesec.fr/app/uploads/2024/02/AR24\\_40-ARRETE-MISE-EN-DEMEURE-DE-QUITTER-LES-LIEUX-56-rue-alsace-Lorraine.pdf](https://www.noisylesec.fr/app/uploads/2024/02/AR24_40-ARRETE-MISE-EN-DEMEURE-DE-QUITTER-LES-LIEUX-56-rue-alsace-Lorraine.pdf)

<sup>59</sup> Over the last 12 months, 67 evictions in France (excluding the northern coast) have been carried out following the publication of municipal or prefectural decrees. Of these, 46 took place in the Île-de-France region (68.5%).

#### - 4. Stories of evictions carried out without respect for legal procedures and human dignity

➤ **Le 6 février 2024**, alors que les mineurs non accompagnés installés sous le **Pont au Change (Paris)** manifestent pour réclamer un hébergement, leur lieu de vie est détruit par les forces de l'ordre. Sur place, la commissaire de police indique agir sous les ordres de la préfecture, mais aucun acte administratif n'a jamais été retrouvé. De plus, la mairie de Paris a rapidement annoncé ne pas avoir donné son aval à la préfecture. **Une expulsion totalement illégale**, qui ne s'est donc pas accompagnée d'une mise à l'abri des personnes. En l'absence de propositions d'hébergement, les 70 jeunes exilés qui (sur)vivaient dans des tentes se sont alors retrouvés dépourvus du peu de matériel et d'affaires qu'ils possédaient.

➤ **Le 12 mars 2024**, le bidonville d'**Antony (Hauts-de-Seine)**, où vivent près de 200 personnes depuis environ 7 ans, est expulsé. Pour ce lieu de vie emblématique, dont les habitats auto-construits étaient même enregistrés sur Google Maps, personne n'aurait pensé à une expulsion sèche, sans solutions de relogement. Pourtant, malgré un diagnostic social de plus de 25 000 €, réalisé à la demande de la préfecture des Hauts-de-Seine en vue de la résorption du site par l'insertion socio-professionnelle, c'est un arrêté municipal, pris en pleine trêve hivernale, qui a provoqué l'expulsion du site. Ce sont alors **191 personnes, dont 95 enfants, qui se sont retrouvées dans l'errance du jour au lendemain** (l'arrêté a été remis aux habitant-es la veille de l'expulsion), en l'absence de propositions d'hébergement. Une pratique reflétant une absence totale de considération de la dignité des personnes.

➤ **Le 19 mars 2024**, un arrêté est pris par la Préfecture de Paris, demandant l'évacuation du campement de mineurs non accompagnés situé dans le **Tunnel Villiot, à Paris**. Sur cet arrêté, est mentionné un délai de 48 heures pendant lesquelles les personnes pouvaient partir d'elles-mêmes, avant que les services de police n'interviennent. Le lendemain, soit moins de 24 heures après la publication de l'arrêté, les forces de l'ordre étaient présentes pour procéder à l'expulsion du lieu. **Les délais annoncés n'ont donc pas été respectés**. Pour les 150 jeunes qui, pour certains vivaient dans ce tunnel depuis six mois faute de propositions d'hébergement, c'est un retour à l'errance.

➤ **Le 26 avril 2024**, les habitant-es du bidonville de "**Cours des Merveilles**" à Cergy (Val d'Oise) avaient une audience programmée, visant à statuer sur leur possible expulsion, dans le cadre d'une procédure juridique lancée par le propriétaire du terrain. Or, le matin même, **le site était expulsé**, à la suite d'un arrêté municipal publié quelques jours plus tôt. L'un des motifs de cet arrêté : "l'absence d'engagement de procédure d'expulsion connue du propriétaire des parcelles". Un arrêté donc infondé, qui traduit un manque criant de communication entre les autorités et les acteurs de terrain, ou simplement une volonté d'accélérer les expulsions de lieux de vie.

➤ **Le 15 mai 2024**, deux bidonvilles situés à la confluence de la Seine et du Canal Saint-Denis, dans la ville de Saint-Denis, sont expulsés à la suite de la publication de deux arrêtés municipaux. Or, les deux terrains étaient déjà sous le coup de procédures juridiques d'expulsion lancées par leurs propriétaires respectifs : l'une, lancée par la ville de Paris, avait été déboutée par le tribunal administratif le 11 avril 2024, tandis que l'autre, lancée par le département de la Seine-Saint-Denis, s'était conclue par l'accord d'un délai de 5 mois avant que les habitant-es ne doivent quitter les lieux (donc un droit de rester sur le terrain jusqu'en juillet 2024). À cause des arrêtés pris par la mairie, les 17 et environ 65 personnes vivant sur ces lieux de vie ont tout de même été

<sup>60</sup>[https://www.prefecturedepolice.interieur.gouv.fr/sites/default/files/Documents/ARRETE\\_2024\\_00359\\_evacuation\\_en\\_urgence\\_tunnel\\_Villiot\\_without\\_signature\\_PP.pdf](https://www.prefecturedepolice.interieur.gouv.fr/sites/default/files/Documents/ARRETE_2024_00359_evacuation_en_urgence_tunnel_Villiot_without_signature_PP.pdf)

<sup>61</sup> Municipal by-law N°402 / 2024, dated 23 April 2024, concerning the release of plots of land affected by the illegal occupation of the Roma community - Cours des Merveilles, Hauts de Cergy



- 5. The impact of the Games, elsewhere in France



*Dry eviction and destruction of the Pont au Change camp, 75001 Paris - 06/02/2024*

While the majority of the Olympic events take place in the Île-de-France region, the rest of France is not spared from the pre-JOP social cleansing. In addition, cities in other regions hosted some of the events, and the Olympic Flame passed through many départements between 8 May and 26 July. The aim remained the same: to make undesirables invisible in the vicinity of Olympic venues and the places where the Flame passed through. **The Observatoire des expulsions de lieux de vie informels (Observatory of evictions of informal living spaces) has recorded evictions linked to the organisation of the Games in other major cities, the most emblematic being T Bordeaux and T Lille.**

**In Bordeaux, almost 500 people were living in a shanty town on land adjacent to the Matmut Atlantique stadium.** The problem? The stadium will host some of the football events at the Olympic Games. Justin Babilotte, chief of staff for the Gironde prefecture, announced: "*Preparations for the Olympic Games require a high level of security, and to achieve this, a certain number of security perimeters have had to be set up around the Matmut stadium*"<sup>62</sup>. As a result, following a court decision, the 500 people were evicted **on 28 March 2024.**

**In Lille, on 16 May 2024, the shanty town of Parc Matisse was evicted:** according to our information, a representative of the Ministry of the Interior in the Nord region had indicated that the prefecture wanted to make the camps and shanty towns "invisible in the vicinity of the sites where the events and activities linked to the Olympic Games will take place, but also along the flamme route in the Lille metropolitan area". Parc Matisse was identified as one of these sites. **Its 60 residents were evicted following a court ruling**<sup>63</sup>. Some people left before the eviction was carried out, while those who remained were given shelter.

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<sup>62</sup> Montagne, Annaelle, Le bidonville derrière le stade Matmut de Bordeaux évacué en vue des JO 2024, Actu Bordeaux, 28 March 2024. Available on :

[https://actu.fr/nouvelle-aquitaine/bordeaux\\_33063/video-le-bidonville-derriere-le-stade-matmut-de-bordeaux-evacue-en-vue-des-jo-2024\\_60876887.html](https://actu.fr/nouvelle-aquitaine/bordeaux_33063/video-le-bidonville-derriere-le-stade-matmut-de-bordeaux-evacue-en-vue-des-jo-2024_60876887.html)

<sup>63</sup> Mikaël Libert, " Agressions, vols, proxénétisme "... A Lille, les occupants d'un bidonville sommés de quitter les lieux " sans délai ", 15 May 2024, 20 Minutes. Available on :

<https://www.20minutes.fr/lille/4091130-20240515-agressions-vols-proxenetisme-lille-occupants-bidonville-quitter-lieux-del-ai>

### III/ Between unfulfilled promises and increased invisibility: focus on the situation of isolated rough sleepers

When analysing the results of the Solidarity Night already cited at the beginning of this report<sup>64</sup>, it is interesting to note that the distribution of homeless people in Paris is **concentrated in the Centre of Paris and the 12th arrondissement (including the Bois de Vincennes) - central locations for the 2024 Olympic Games** - as well as in the 19th arrondissement: these three areas alone accounted for more than half of the homeless people counted in Paris that night (46%). Next come the 8th, 10th, 13th, 14th, 16th (including the Bois de Boulogne), 18th and 20th arrondissements, with more than a hundred homeless people. The other arrondissements have fewer than 100 homeless people. It should also be noted that on the RATP's underground network alone, the social register counts around 200 people each night<sup>65</sup>.

➤ The construction of the Olympic sites, as well as security reasons and the city's image in view of the arrival of millions of tourists, may lead to a large number of these people being displaced onto the streets. Even beyond the perimeters of the Olympic venues, any use of public space in Paris will be closely scrutinised by the public authorities. One of the fears raised on several occasions by the prefectures is that of "the visibility of people living on the streets during the Olympic Games"<sup>66</sup>.

➤ Among the homeless, there is a specific group known as the "This category does not correspond to any precise legal definition. This category does not correspond to any precise legal definition, but is in fact the opposite of the "exiled" public. It covers people in a variety of situations who may nevertheless share certain characteristics, which have the effect that social support to get them off the streets necessarily takes time and patient social work. The authorities have announced their intention to open **274 additional accommodation places** in Paris alone for this specific group, in order to "shelter" those living in certain areas of the Olympic Games: event zones, SILT and red zones. These places are permanent and will be left as a legacy after the Games.

➤ To date, according to figures from Samusocial de Paris, 10 people living within the JO perimeters have been accommodated, including 73 people who have been able to benefit from these 274 dedicated places.

The opening of these accommodation places is really good news for the people who will benefit from them. However, this measure has been grossly underestimated, and there is still a long way to go.

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<sup>64</sup> Marie de Paris, *Nuit de la solidarité* <https://www.paris.fr/pages/nuit-de-la-solidarite-2024-25549>, 06 February 2024.

However, this figure is necessarily lower than the reality, as not all rough sleepers could be met in the space of a night on the streets, and coverage is not complete throughout the Metropolitan area.

<sup>65</sup> Carte nuit de la solidarité, "Répartition du nombre de personnes sans abri rencontrées dans les communes ayant participé à la Nuit de la Solidarité 2024", 06 February 2024. Available at:

[https://www.apur.org/sites/default/files/documents/carte\\_fichiers\\_attaches/carte\\_nuit\\_solidarite\\_2024\\_metropole\\_grand\\_paris\\_communes.pdf?token=fMdxozS7](https://www.apur.org/sites/default/files/documents/carte_fichiers_attaches/carte_nuit_solidarite_2024_metropole_grand_paris_communes.pdf?token=fMdxozS7)

<sup>66</sup> See part IV/ Worsening violations of the rights of exiles and Olympic relocations. 2. Regional SAS for temporary reception.

Another 300 to 350 people identified by the SIAO in Paris, according to association sources, are in the same areas<sup>67</sup>.

➤ Furthermore, there are no plans for people in other areas (blue zones, fanzones, road races) or locations (train stations and airports) that will be affected by the Olympic Games. However, they are also at risk of having to move far from where they currently live.

☞ If the Olympic Games were an opportunity for people to leave the streets in a dignified and voluntary manner, we could only be delighted, but we can see that accommodation is above all a question of political will.

**However, the promise not to evict anyone from the vicinity of the Olympic sites without an accommodation solution will not be kept as things stand.**

**There is also the question of accommodation for people who are not in the vicinity of the Olympic sites and who have no offer of accommodation even though they have been waiting for a SIAO place for several years.**

➤ In addition, all the outreach workers in Paris are concerned about the displacement of people who do not wish to leave their place of residence or who refuse the offers of accommodation made to them, for example when they are not suitable (e.g. without the possibility of being accompanied by a pet, etc.). Whether they are tents or shacks, these living quarters are homes in the legal sense of the term, and any eviction is governed by a clear legal framework.

Unfortunately, this has not always been the case in recent years, with a marked acceleration in evictions since the finding of 2023.

☞ In addition to the usual eviction procedures based on prefectural decrees or court orders, there have been outright evictions based on no precise legal framework, with the aim of moving people without any social diagnosis, thus disrupting the social and solidarity work that has sometimes been in place for several years.

➤ These evictions have had an impact on many arrondissements not directly affected by the JOP perimeters, but have accelerated a policy of social cleansing of people living in public spaces fi des fins d'habitation. According to several players in the Paris social watch, **at least 25 places to live have disappeared since January 2024**, leading to suspicions that evictions are being carried out without any consultation or prior information of the people concerned. On several occasions, people's personal belongings (tents, documents, medication) have been destroyed in the absence of their owners.

These sudden disappearances from shelters/evictions lead to breaks in social support, which can have very serious consequences for people.

➤ In addition to these sudden and brutal evictions, since 2023 there have been a **dozen or so o cials triggering a "small encampment protocol"** with a flous outline.

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<sup>67</sup> By JOP perimeters we mean the red zones and SILT perimeters defined by the Préfecture de Police in the vicinity of the event zones.



led to people being moved without the authorities having had recourse to an order or a judge, and therefore without any legal recourse for the people concerned. This affects 76 people, 44 of whom have accepted accommodation solutions, but 33 of whom have had to move their place of residence.

Although the original purpose of this protocol between the City of Paris and the Préfecture de Police was to **clarifier the tasks and responsibilities** of the various public services likely to intervene around an encampment, it has to be said that its use **has largely exceeded its initial objective** and that it has been used on numerous occasions over the months, particularly by arrondissement town halls or central police stations, to serve as an apparent legal basis for organising **straightforward and finally illegal evictions**. Every week, new requests are made to the City of Paris departments by police stations to **organise** such evictions.

Here are just a few examples of the many evictions<sup>68</sup> :

▸ **En septembre 2023, 15e - métro Cambronne** : décès de R. après l'enlèvement illégal de sa tente et de ses affaires la veille de son décès.

▸ **Le 8 septembre 2023, 16e - secteur du bois de Boulogne** : disparition de J. qui avait déplacé sa tente au bois à la suite de plusieurs passages des policier-es municipaux-ales et de menaces d'expulsions. La maraude de secteur n'a plus pu le joindre alors qu'un lien venait d'être renforcé après deux ans de passages quasi hebdomadaires.

▸ **Le 13 décembre 2023, 13e - rue des frères d'Astier de la vigerie** : la Direction de la propreté et de l'eau de la Ville de Paris (DPE) jette toutes les affaires d'une personne à la poubelle en son absence, sans information préalable.

▸ **Le 12 janvier 2024, 19e - Bd MacDonald** : destruction illégale de la cabane d'un homme y habitant depuis plusieurs mois et disparition de l'habitant en plein plan "grand froid".

▸ **Le 23 février 2024, 13e - avenue d'Italie** : disparition de 3 tentes.

▸ **Le 4 février 2024, 19e près du gymnase Jean Jaurès (Métro Laumière)** : disparition des deux tentes installées depuis mi-janvier et des affaires personnelles en l'absence de leurs habitant-es. Une personne a disparu, l'autre s'est réinstallée sur une issue de secours pour se protéger de la pluie faute de tente.

▸ **Le 14 mars 2024, 13e - boulevard de l'Hôpital** : disparition d'une installation devant l'EPS du 13eme arrondissement pour des "raisons d'image".

▸ **Le 3 avril 2024, 13e - rue Choderlos de Laclos** : disparition de plusieurs tentes faisant suite à une demande d'éviction formulée en mars par le commissariat.

▸ **Le 4 avril 2024, 10e - près de l'Église St Vincent de Paul rue Fénelon** : destruction illégale d'un campement de 15 tentes, les services de la Ville (DPE) ont ensuite « nettoyé » les affaires des personnes, au titre de la « salubrité ». Une seule personne a pu être revue.

▸ **Le 13 mai 2024, 12e - rue du sergent Bauchat** : en l'absence des occupant-es, toutes leurs affaires ont été retirées et le lieu de vie entièrement nettoyé par la DPE sans fondement légal.

the DPE without any legal basis.

<sup>68</sup> Feedback from outreach teams of lawyers as part of the programme run with the Barreau des Rues to provide support for outreach coordinators by volunteer lawyers.



Many social workers feel powerless in the face of the lack of consultation and proposed solutions for people they have been working with for several years and for whom social work stops overnight.

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***"These interventions have become so recurrent that I now wonder whether our mission is being undermined".***

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*Testifies a social worker fi a grassroots association in January 2024.*

So we are also wondering: for people who refuse these solutions or who are unable to benefit from them, do the authorities intend to continue the practice of illegal evictions consisting of putting pressure on people through the national or municipal police, sometimes required on the basis of a protocol that has never been published?

## IV/ Worsening violations of the rights of exiles and Olympic relocations

### - 1. Accelerated evacuation of camps rue

Since 2015, in Paris and its inner suburbs, there has been a **cycle of settlements and evacuations of street encampments** inhabited by exiles in extremely precarious situations (*Gardesse, Le Courant, Masson Diez, 2022; CAD 2023*). Between 2015 and 2023, there will be at least 406 evacuations of camps involving more than 80,000 people, an average of between 40 and 50 a year, or almost one a week.

☛ Despite this, depending on the period, between 500 and 2,000 exiles continue to live in informal settlements in the Paris region. **There are no systematic offers of shelter** for people living in the camps, and even when there are, they are not necessarily permanent - **so exiles soon find themselves back on the streets**, but forced to change their place of living.

☛ In fact, these evacuations, even when accompanied by offers of accommodation, **remain temporary**, are imposed without consultation with the exiles and are based on administrative criteria that lead to them being sorted.

These operations are above all a means of managing public space and the flux of people, which serves to **tidy up**.

This is reflected in the priority given to the most visible installations in the public space.

This is also evidenced by the increased police presence or the erection of dissuasive street furniture often seen in the days following an evacuation, **in order to prevent any resettlement**, which is inevitable given that there is no accommodation available to meet the needs.



*The photo above shows the changes that took place under the Pont Charles de Gaulles in Paris before and after the sheltering and evacuation operation on 6 February 2024. - CAD photographs*

**From this point of view, several factors seem to highlight the impact of the organisation of the Olympic Games on these evacuations.**

First of all, when we look at the data, we see that while the number of exiles affected by evacuations, with or without offers of shelter, is stable or even decreasing (7,168 in 2022 for 6,623 in 2023), **the number of evacuations is increasing.**

**increases between 2022 (30 evacuations) and 2023 (37 evacuations), with in particular an acceleration in the last months of 2023 (16 evacuations in 17 weeks), even more visible in 2024 with 26 evacuations triggered by the State in just 5 months, i.e. almost as many as for the whole of 2022.**

Period	2022	2023	Of which, from September to December 2023	2024 (January to May)
Number of evacuation operations	30	37	16	26
Number of people evacuated	7168	6623	2759	2046

In addition, since the creation of the SAS in March 2023, i.e. more than a year before the Olympic Games, the proposed shelters have systematically been organised to send people outside the Île-de-France region, whatever their ties or vulnerabilities (with the exception of refugees with a permanent contract or a 9-month fixed-term contract domiciled in the city of Paris). **This acceleration in the rate of arrival of people resembles the management of the influx of people using public space to survive, at a time when the Olympic Games are expected to attract 15 million tourists to the capital.**

Since 2015 and until the beginning of 2024, evacuation and sheltering operations have followed the same modus operandi.

➡ Early in the morning, several companies of **CRS surrounded the** area of the evacuated camp and prepared for the arrival of the buses which were then used to distribute the residents to various sorting areas or temporary accommodation solutions.

👂 Social workers and mediators appointed by the Préfecture de la Région Île-de-France (PRIF) provided **direct information** to people about the various referrals on offer, both in the region and in Île-de-France, in schemes that were sometimes flexible as to the terms and conditions of care.

➡ At the end of the operation, the police **dispersed the few people who had not wished to be accommodated** for various reasons, and the city services cleaned up the camp area.

This system, which has been tried and tested since 2015, combines what the authorities call "sheltering" (*offers and departures via buses*) with almost systematic evictions from public space; people refusing to get on the buses were often forced to leave this informal living space, most of the time to set up another one further away.



*Sheltering and evacuation operation, Stalingrad metro station, Paris (75019), 05/09/2023 - CAD photograph*

However, with the creation of the SAS, the option of flexible care in Île-de-France quickly closed, in correlation with the **acceleration in the number of massive** and exclusive **shipments** to the SAS temporary solutions. Faced with this near-impossibility of obtaining solutions in IdF, particularly from January 2024 onwards, most of the occupants of the camps **stopped getting on the buses** during the evacuation operations. Buses have been known to leave for a regional SAS with only 2 or 3 people inside.

In response, the PRIF changed this costly, disproportionate and above all ineffective operating method. Instead, from February 2024, they adopted an approach known as "*continuous sheltering*" of camps. Social teams from the Unité d'Assistance aux Sans-Abris de la Ville de Paris (UASA) and France Terre d'Asile (FTDA), working directly in the camps, offer all those who wish to **do** so the **possibility of being sent to SAS** via a temporary centre located at Porte de la Villette. Information and diagnostic patrols are carried out every Tuesday morning, followed by a pick-up service in a van on Thursdays, without police presence. The exiles who board these vans spend a few nights in the temporary reception centre before being directed to different SAS services the following Tuesday.

This **adaptation** of the shelter and evacuation system is a small victory for our collective, in that it marks a slight improvement on the previous system.



## 👉 The end of the use of police forces, the possibility for people to remain on site who do not wish to move to another region

and therefore the progress of our pleas. However, it also shows **the absolute determination** of the regional prefecture to **further restrict people's choices** (the region or the street) and not to set up a reception centre, even a temporary one, in the Île-de-France region, and more specifically in Paris.

On 11 January 2024, during the evening organised by the City of Paris with the signatories of the pact to combat exclusion, in order to gather their concerns and warnings about the impact of the Olympic Games, the Prefect and Director of the Office of the Regional Prefect asked whether it would be possible to set up a reception centre during and after the Olympic Games to welcome new arrivals to France other than on the streets, Mr Noël Du Payrat replied:

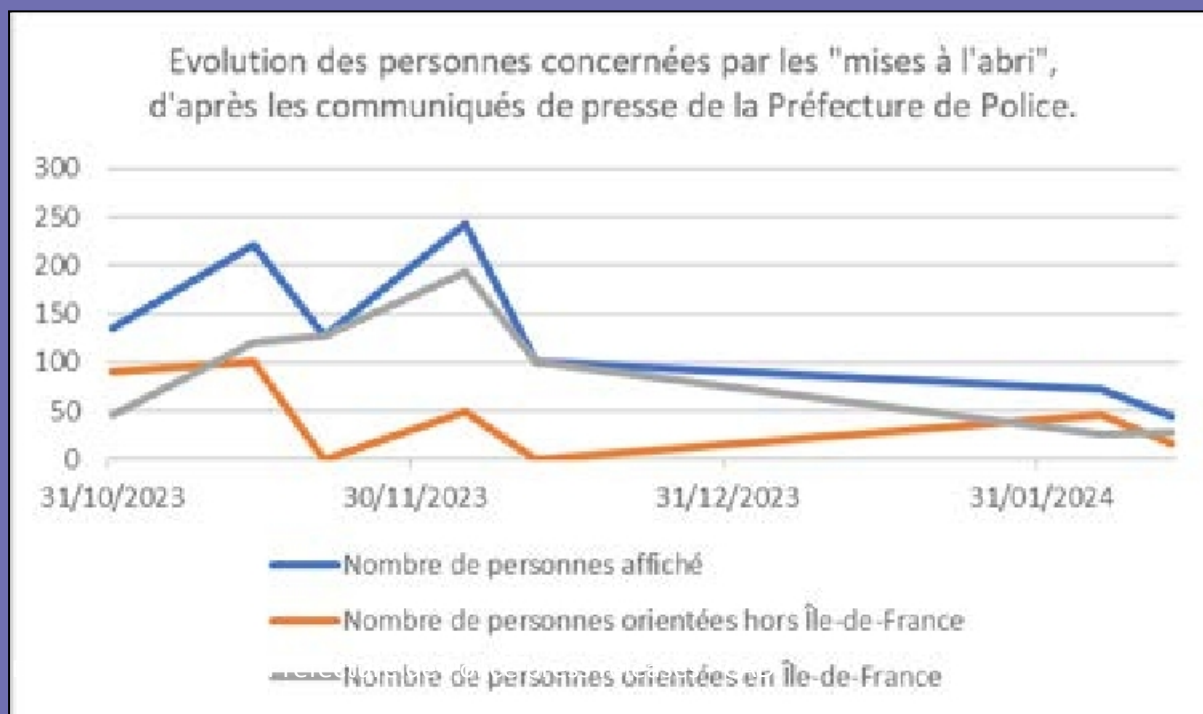
***"With SAS, we reduce street time".***

The Préfecture therefore **assumes** the systemic creation of homelessness and is content simply to reduce it temporarily.

However, the reception offered to Ukrainian refugees has shown that a dignified model that does not involve street life is indeed possible for people arriving in France.

- **2. Regional temporary shelters: unsuitable places for exiles in very precarious situations, which do not keep them off the streets**

The SAS began operating in April 2023 and were announced in a circular dated 13 March 2023<sup>69</sup>. Since their creation, these situation assessment structures have played a key role in all evacuation operations from exile street camps. In theory, they enable the State to have *at least* 150 accommodation places available each week, without entry criteria and outside the Île-de-France region. For the past 6 months, they have been the main option offered when evacuating camps or squats.



<sup>69</sup> Circular of 13 March 2023 relating to guidelines for the administrative management and orientation of persons sheltered in temporary reception shelters. NOR : IOMK2305900J. Available at: [https://www.gisti.org/fr/MG/pdf/circ\\_2023-03-13\\_sas\\_ocr.pdf](https://www.gisti.org/fr/MG/pdf/circ_2023-03-13_sas_ocr.pdf)

Even if the public authorities deny the link between the creation of the regional SASs and the arrival of the Olympic Games, their operation effectively **removes all people living in exile on the streets from the public space of Paris Region**, even though the majority of the people concerned do not support the idea of relocation. At the end of 2023, following a number of collective requests, the government provided the associations with an initial partial assessment of the SAS. The characteristics of the SAS public are as follows:

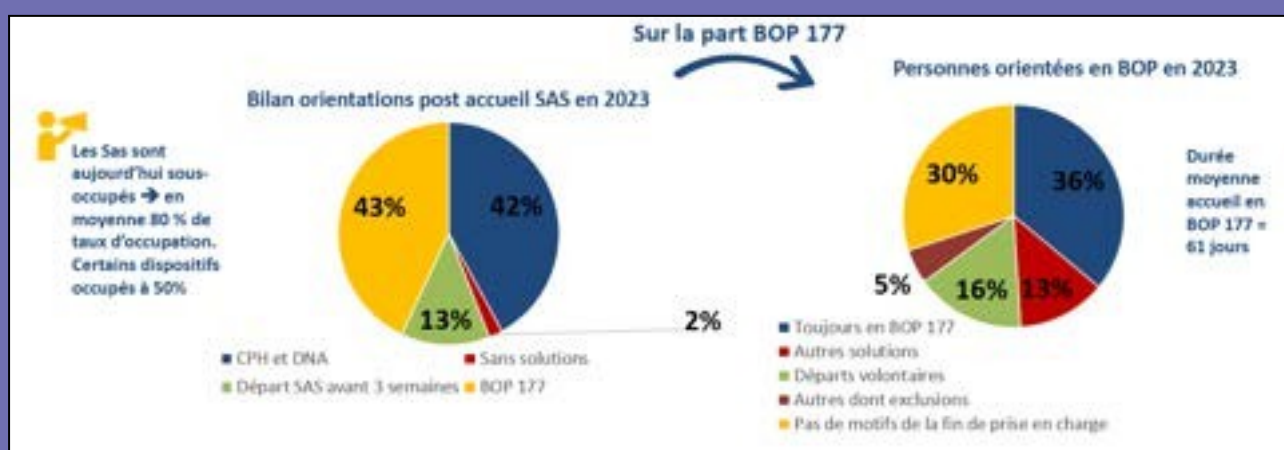
- 74% single men; 26% families.
- 56% asylum seekers; 26% legally resident (Bénéficiaire de la Protection Internationale - BPI);
- 13% in an irregular situation;
- 5% other.

We then learn that the SASs are under-occupied, with an average occupancy rate of 80%, and that some of them are over-occupied by 50%. The assessment of post-SAS orientations in 2023 is as follows:

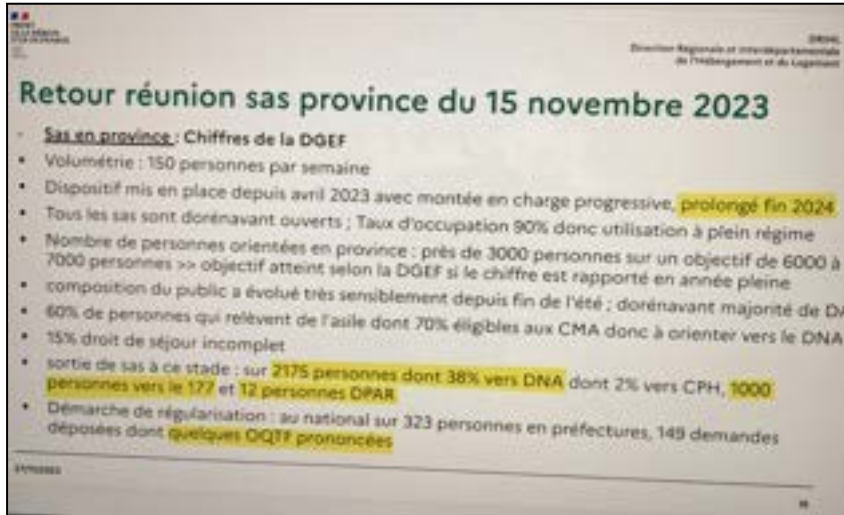
- 43% referred to the BOP 177 programme (which corresponds to the budget for accommodation and referral to housing for vulnerable people, i.e. mainly the 115)
- 42% to temporary accommodation centres (CPH) and the National Reception System (DNA)
- 13% left the SAS before 3 weeks
- 2% remained without a solution

Of the 43% referred to the BOP 177 programme - the 115 :

- 36% are still there
- For 30%, care ended without reason
- 16% left voluntarily
- 13% have found other solutions
- 5% other (including exclusions).



It should be noted that the average duration of reception under BOP 177 is 61 days according to the State. These figures show that, in many cases, the solutions are unsuitable for the people concerned and are not permanent (permanent solutions are understood to mean that the person can be stabilised until they are taken into care in a better facility).



At the end of November 2023, we obtained and made public an internal document presenting the the Management Regional and Interdépartementale de l'Hébergement et du Logement (DRIHL) and the PRIF, which drew up an assessment of SAS exits at 15 November 2023.

This document confirms the 5 possible scenarios for exiting SAS and takes stock of the 2,175 people who have exited SAS since April 2023 :

1) **1st scenario: people are referred to DNA.** In the document, **38% o f** them have

**1er scénario : les personnes sont orientées dans le DNA.**

Dans le document, 38% d'entre elles s'y sont vu attribuer une place. Cela veut dire qu'elles accèdent à un hébergement le temps de leur demande d'asile. Parmi ces 38%, 2 % de personnes BPI sont orientées vers des solutions en CPH.

**2ème scénario : les personnes sont orientées vers le 115.** Ici le document ne s'exprime plus en pourcentages mais en chiffres et indique que 1000 personnes - soit 46 % et donc une proportion supérieure aux orientations dans le DNA - ont été orientées via le BOP 177. Cette solution est extrêmement problématique : toutes les remontées concordent à dire que les régions d'accueil de ces SAS n'ont pas reçu de fonds supplémentaires pour renforcer leur parc d'hébergement d'urgence, toutes sont déjà saturées et de nombreuses personnes nous indiquent n'avoir bénéficié que d'une ou quelques nuits dans ces 115 régionaux avant d'accuser une fin de prise en charge et de se retrouver de nouveau à la rue.

**3ème scénario : les personnes sont incitées à retourner dans leur pays d'origine et finissent par l'accepter.** 12 personnes auraient accepté un départ volontaire (DPAR). Nous ne connaissons pas les modalités de ces propositions de départ.

**4ème scénario : les personnes sans-papiers peuvent déposer une demande de régularisation ou tomber sur le coup d'une OQTF et/ou d'une IRTE (Interdiction de retour sur le territoire français).** Sur le document il est indiqué que sur 323 demandes de régularisation en préfecture, 149 avaient pu être déposées mais que "quelques OQTF" avaient été prononcées. Là on ne parle ni en pourcentage, ni en chiffre mais on donne l'approximation "quelques", ce qui souligne l'ambiguïté et l'opacité de la présentation de ces données.

**5ème scénario : Les personnes quittent d'elles-mêmes les SAS avant la fin des 3 semaines de prise en charge,** comprenant qu'elles ne vont pas bénéficier d'une prise en charge long-terme et qu'il va être difficile pour elles de construire leur vie dans cette région (zone rurale, peu d'opportunités professionnelles, moins de réseaux de solidarité ou d'entraide communautaire qu'en IdF).

l'approche de la compétition : France Info, 15 February 2024. Available on : [https://www.francetvinfo.fr/les-jeux-olympiques/paris-2024/enquete-franceinfo-paris-2024-que-deviennent-les-migrants-envoyes-dans-des-sas-d-accueil-en-region-a-l-approche-de-la-competition\\_6340942.html](https://www.francetvinfo.fr/les-jeux-olympiques/paris-2024/enquete-franceinfo-paris-2024-que-deviennent-les-migrants-envoyes-dans-des-sas-d-accueil-en-region-a-l-approche-de-la-competition_6340942.html)



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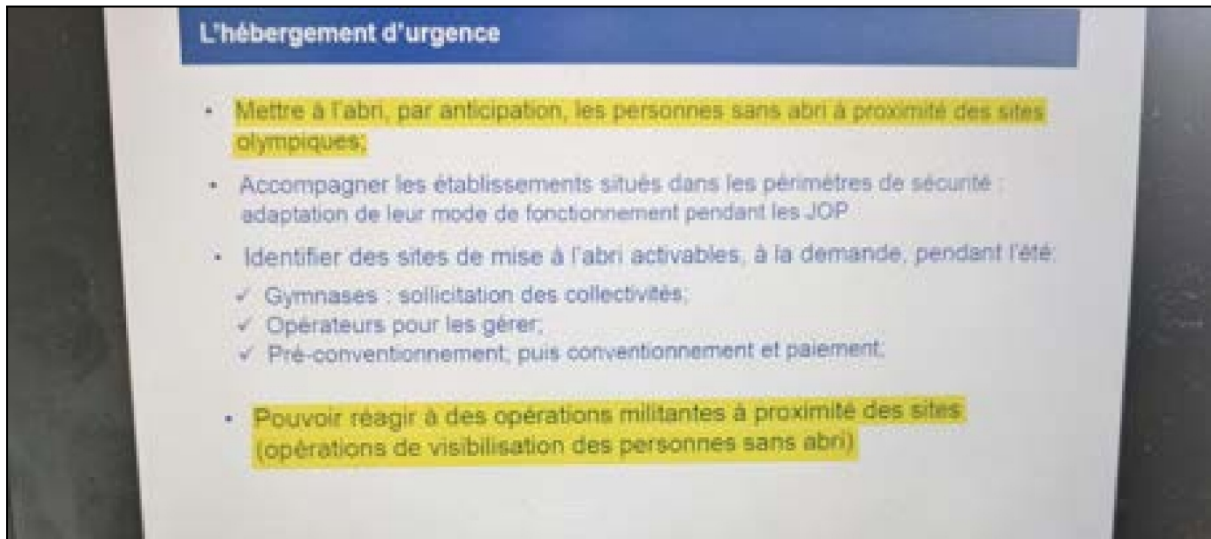
***"We may be staying outside Bordeaux.  
We were lied to because we were told there  
would be work and accommodation in  
Bordeaux. We thought why not, so we came. But  
we were told that we'd have to go somewhere in  
the countryside for accommodation, and that's  
only 'maybe'.  
So, in fact, some of us will be going back to Paris  
for sure. What's more, it's difficult here, they gave  
us food at the start, sometimes a few cheques, but  
it's not regular, there's a kitchenette, but no  
canteen, no restaurant.  
We have to buy our food ourselves."***

*Testimonial from a Sudanese BPI, translated from Arabic and collected by MDM's health monitoring team on 16/05/24*

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At the end of March 2024, we also made public an email sent to the DRHIL 93 teams and a document presented to them (see image below).

**afin to mobilise them for shelter operations during the period of the Olympic Games.**



**This document** clearly **shows** the link, denied by the regional prefecture, between the creation of these SAS and the arrival of the Olympic Games. The setting up of these structures corresponds to several objectives linked to the Olympic Games, one of which is to avoid the presence of homeless people, particularly "**near the Olympic sites**"<sup>71</sup> .

It is also clearly stated that the institutional players are attentive to militant operations in these same areas, which may also take the form of **encampments in the public space**.

These solutions are **far from satisfactory** for the people who will be evicted from their homes, however precarious they may be, for a temporary solution in unworthy living conditions. The SAS will be a rapid response that allows the State to claim that it has offered solutions to all these people, **without specifying that they are** **unsuitable or even abusive**.

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<sup>71</sup> Simon Bolle, "Evacuation des SDF : la note qui confirme la stratégie des autorités avant les JO 2024" L'équipe, 28 April 2024. Available on : <https://www.lequipe.fr/Jo-2024-paris/Tous-sports/Article/Evacuation-des-sdf-la-note-qui-confirme-la-strategie-des-authorites-before-jo-2024/1464019>

- **3. Systematic evacuation of squatter settlements to remove and disperse exiled communities**



In 1 year, from April 2023 to May 2024, 10 living quarters were evicted even though they were occupied by **T des fins d'habitation exiles**. This list is not exhaustive, as other evictions took place during the same period. However, these 10 major sites are emblematic because they are well known to the associations in our collective, which have regularly intervened there and have thus been able to collect data.

**These 10 evictions resulted in the displacement of 1,962 people.** If we consider that some people were evicted several times, **we can speak with certainty of 1,800 exiled people evicted from these d i f f e r e n t locations.**



The eviction of the **Unibéton squat and its 500 inhabitants on 26 April 2023** is an emblematic example of the social cleansing caused by the organisation of the Olympic Games. The building is located at 15 quai du Châtelier fi L'Île-Saint-Denis, next to the Olympic Village facilities. Negotiations had begun between the residents and the 93 departmental prefecture, but the authorities finally evicted the residents without warning, citing security reasons. Today, the building is empty and permanently guarded by private security guards.

Having heard about the eviction **the day before**, and for fear of being caught up in a police operation against foreigners, we estimate that around **150 people left the premises the night before**.

The authorities claim to have *taken in* 388 people on the day of the eviction. The people referred to IdF were only looked after for a maximum of one to three weeks. **50 of them went to the SAS in Toulouse.**

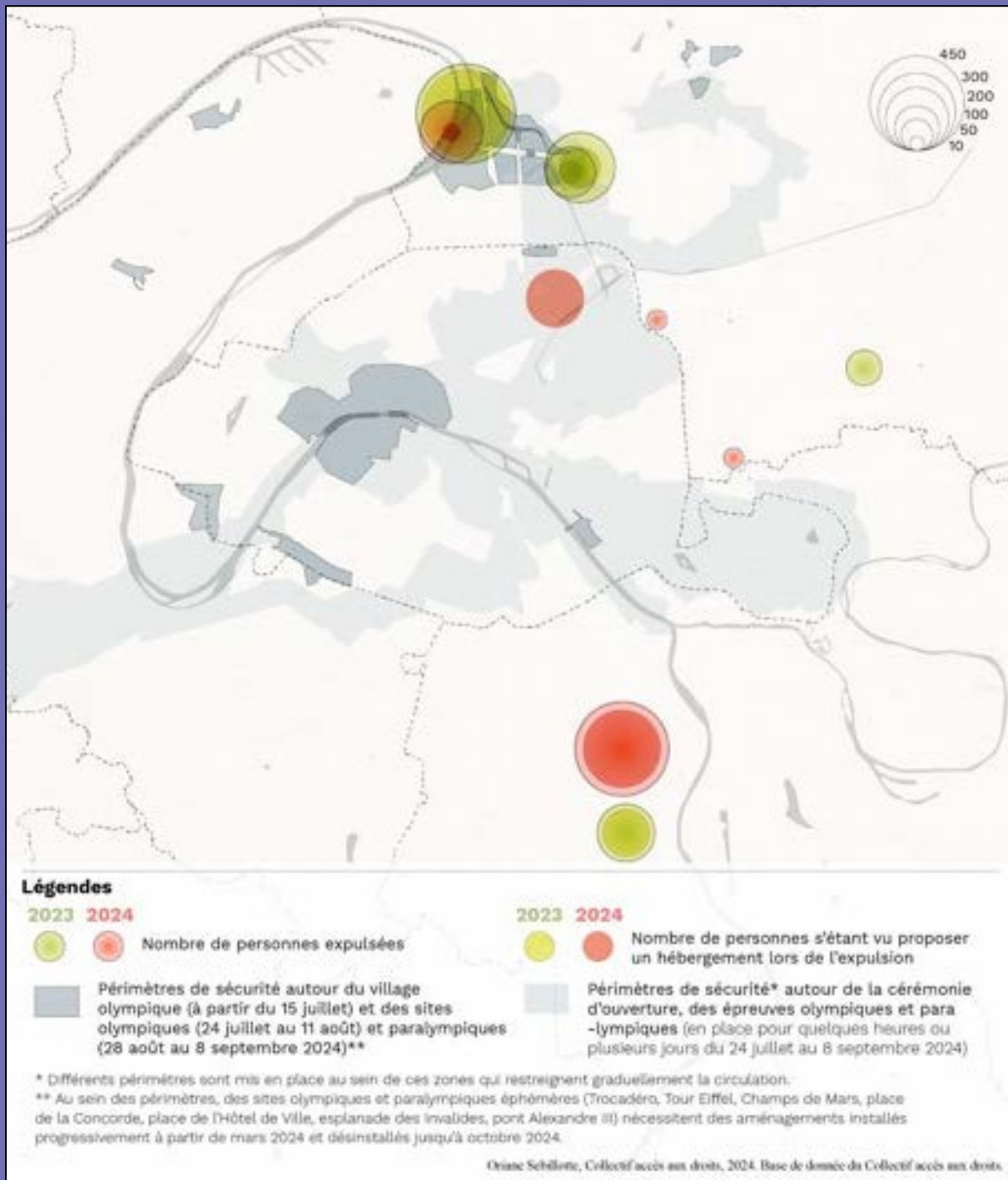


*Eviction of the Unibéton squat, Ile-Saint-Denis (93), 26/04/2023 - Photo credits: [Aurélie Ruby](#)*

The table and map below list all these locations:

Date	Location	Number of people evicted	Number of people referred to accommodation
<b>26 April 2023</b>	Unibéton squat, 15 quai du Châtelier fi l'Île-Saint-Denis (93)	500	388 (with an average of 1 week fi 1 month)
<b>18 July 2023</b>	Squat de Thiais, 30 rue des Baudemons fi Thiais (94)	169	110 (with an average of 1 week fi 1 month)
<b>25 July 2023</b>	Squat Schae er, 61 rue Schae er fi Aubervilliers (93)	250	80 (with an average of 1 week fi 1 month)
<b>8 August 2023</b>	Squat de la Seine, 32 rue du Landy fi Aubervilliers (93)	128	24 (with an average of 1 week fi 1 month)
<b>6 September 2023</b>	Squat in Rosny-Sous-Bois (93)	60	0
<b>11 March 2024</b>	Centre 104, 5 rue Curial (75019)	165	165
<b>12 April 2024</b>	Squat Le Malvassé, avenue Jean Jaurès fi l'Île-Saint-Denis (93)	200	15 (3 days only)
<b>17 April 2024</b>	Squat de Vitry, 38 rue de Seine fi Vitry-Sur-Seine (94)	450	300 (with an average of 1 week fi 1 month)
<b>3 May 2024</b>	Squat at 7 rue Baudin, au Pré-Saint-Gervais (93)	20	0
<b>23 May 2024</b>	Squat le "EnGare" 81 rue Michelet fi Montreuil (93)	20	0





Some of these places had an address directly linked to an Olympic or tourist site:

- **Unibéton** next to the Olympic Village
- **The Seine squat** on the banks of the Saint-Denis fi Aubervilliers canal, a tourist attraction currently being renovated between Paris and the Stade de France.
- **Le 104**, located in the heart of Paris on the route of one of the outdoor sports events (road race)

➤ **As for the other addresses, they are the connections and fallback solutions of the same network of acquaintances and solidarity.** This wave of evictions is by no means insignificant in a pre-JOP context. In addition to the Olympic and tourist sites, it has spread throughout the IdF region, with the aim of emptying the region of these precarious populations and permanently undermining collective solidarity practices and alternative places and resources, even at the expense of the legal framework in force.

➤ **The fact that the existence of all these places has been methodically wiped off the map one after the other will be one of the real 'anti-social' legacies of these JOPs,** in a context where the Kasbarian-Bergé law - known as the 'anti-squat' law - makes it almost impossible to open similar places, condemning the first people concerned to finding other accommodation solutions despite their precarious situations.

➤ As an example of repression on squat sites, we feel it is important to analyse the **behaviour of the authorities and the forces of law and order during the attempted occupation and creation of a new place to live** by exiled people and in particular former residents of the Unibéton squat. On 27 April 2024, the occupation of an empty company building at 7 rue Baudin in Le **Pré Saint-Gervais (93)** fi des fins d'habitation was made public.

☞ Although the people present in the building had proof of residence, they were **sequestered inside the building by a private security company, sent by the owners, with the knowledge of the municipal police and municipal elected representatives. They were finally violently evicted on 3 May**, the whole sequence being completely illegal and in breach of the laws in force. 20 days later, on 23 May 2024, **a squat at 81 rue Michelet T Montreuil was evicted without prior notice or social diagnosis.** 11 exiled men were arrested and taken into custody, and the women found themselves homeless. The squat was legally occupied and was due to go before a court on 19 June 2024, with a judicial response in early July to determine whether or not the occupation could continue.

These two evictions show **contempt for legal procedures and illustrate the violence of prefectural practices against exiles and the network of squatted sites** occupied by this population in the IdF region.

## - 4 Invisibilisation and harassment of unaccompanied minors "on appeal" T Paris

The **regular evictions of camps for unaccompanied minors (UAMs) "on appeal"**, most of which are located on the banks of the Seine, were one of the most blatant examples of the social cleansing carried out in the run-up to the Olympic Games.

➡ Between February and May 2024 in Paris, **828 young people were evicted from their living quarters, without being offered a shelter solution**. These operations, which do not solve the problem of accommodation for these young people, are repeated regularly, and sometimes affect the same people several times, creating a phenomenon perceived as harassment.

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***"They chase us away wherever we go.  
They don't want to see us in France. (...)  
We get the impression that they don't want us  
here, we've been sleeping outside in the street for  
months now,  
we're like animals."***

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*testimony of a young man sleeping at Pont-Marie, transcribed from French, collected on 06 March 2024 by the Health Watch of Médecins du Monde Paris.*



*Evacuation of the Pont Marie camp, Paris 75004, 06/03/2024 - Photo credit: [Manisier Téo](#)*

➤ As a reminder, after recognition of their minority status was refused by the departmental council on the basis of a social assessment carried out by AMNA (*Accueil des Mineurs Non Accompagnés*), a Parisian assessment body, these young people appealed **against the refusal decision by taking their case before a children's judge.**

➤ While they are waiting to be summoned by the juvenile court judge and for a ruling on their minority, young people are not cared for by the child welfare system or by the national reception system for adult asylum seekers or accompanied minors. The waiting time for a hearing varies considerably from one department to another, ranging from a few weeks to several months. As a result, these minors find themselves without legal protection or accommodation several months or even years, forced to sleep rough.

➤ For young boys "on appeal", Paris City Hall and the Prefecture only occasionally organise temporary shelter for them in accommodation centres that are often unsuitable. **Forced most of the time to live on the streets**, the young people try to find a place to pitch their tent in a fixe location, which also allows the associations, in the absence of dedicated premises, to organise food distributions and provide the care and legal support they need. For several years, young filles MNA have benefited from shelter during their appeals, because they are considered to be particularly vulnerable, but the City of Paris **has stopped organising any accommodation from July 2023.** Since then, the associations in our collective have been in contact with an average of **30 young filles appealing on grounds of minority who are surviving on the streets.**

➤ In Paris, these young people, who also did not have access to the day-care facilities for exiles reserved for adults, were finally able to access the Espaces de Solidarité Insertion in 2023. However, these facilities have proved unsuitable for their situation. In addition to the lack of accommodation, there are too few day centres where young people can eat, charge their phones or rest for a few hours.

**In a context of constant police pressure on young people "on appeal"<sup>72</sup>, the year leading up to the Olympic Games was marked by an acceleration in the policy of evicting people from public places: outright eviction operations have become more recurrent and all the more violent since the young people set up camp on the banks of the Seine, the venue for the opening ceremony of the Olympic Games.**

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<sup>72</sup>Rapport inter-associatif, *Enquête auprès des jeunes en procédure de reconnaissance de minorité de Paris*, Action Contre la Faim, October/November 2023. P 26: "Since their arrival in Paris, young people on appeal have had many negative experiences with the police, including being woken up late at night or early in the morning for 58% of young people, being chased from their place of rest for 50% of young people, confiscation or destruction of equipment for 24% of young people, verbal violence for 14% and physical violence for 11%, as well as being stopped or arrested for 10%." Available at: <https://www.actioncontrelafaim.org/publication/enquete-aupres-des-jeunes-en-procedure-de-reconnaissance-de-minorite-a-paris/>



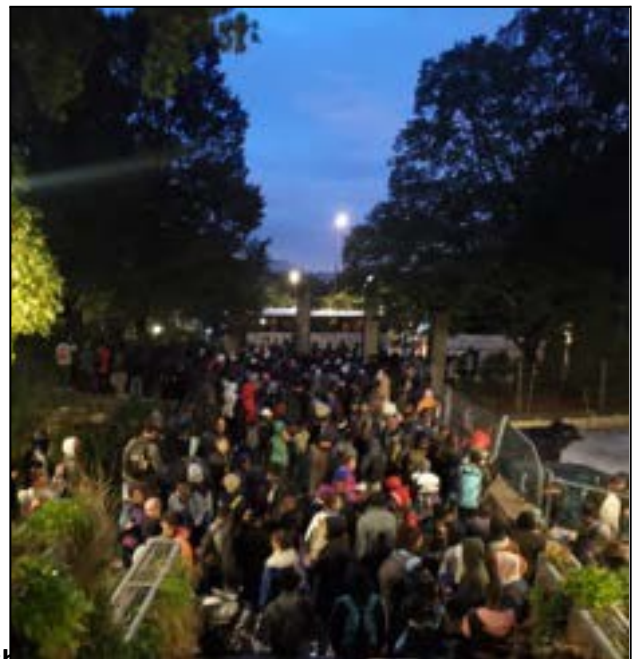
➤ **Between April and June 2023, 600 young people slept in a disused school in unsanitary conditions.**

During these 3 months, they were not offered any accommodation. When they were put back out on the street, the young people mobilised in front of the Palais Royal to demand their rights. They were then **violently evicted by the police during this occupation of public space**, and still without any offer of a solution. The young people were then able to find a place to regroup in the Pali Kao garden in the 20th arrondissement of Paris, but this too was finally evacuated in October 2023, this time sheltering 430 young people in CAES and more than 100 young people left without a solution.

➤ Incidentally, young people sent to CAES were quickly removed from the system for refusing to start a regularisation procedure for adults.

The CAESs provide emergency transitional accommodation and, with the help of the OFII and the prefecture, examine the administrative situation of the adult exiles received and make the appropriate referrals. These young people were therefore **placed in a shelter in an adult facility that was unsuitable for their situation**, so they were offered the choice of either applying for adult asylum or applying for an adult residence permit, both options requiring them to abandon their current appeal to the juvenile court. The young people were therefore put **back out on the street without a solution**, after having been subjected to **an unfair process of attempting to modify their appeal, without having been informed beforehand of the consequences of such a change.**

➤ The same process of proposing that young people be sent to structures unsuited to their situation was used again on several occasions in 2024 by officials from the Île-de-France Prefecture, who insistently advised young people, sometimes with **misleading information**<sup>73</sup>, to accept relocation to regional SASs, even though the young people would not be cared for there, or even welcomed for one night. The only young people on appeal who agreed to go to the Rouen SAS following the eviction on 9 April 2024 from Square Coquoin in the 16th arrondissement of Paris were not even able to enter the SAS and had to travel to Paris **by their own means**.



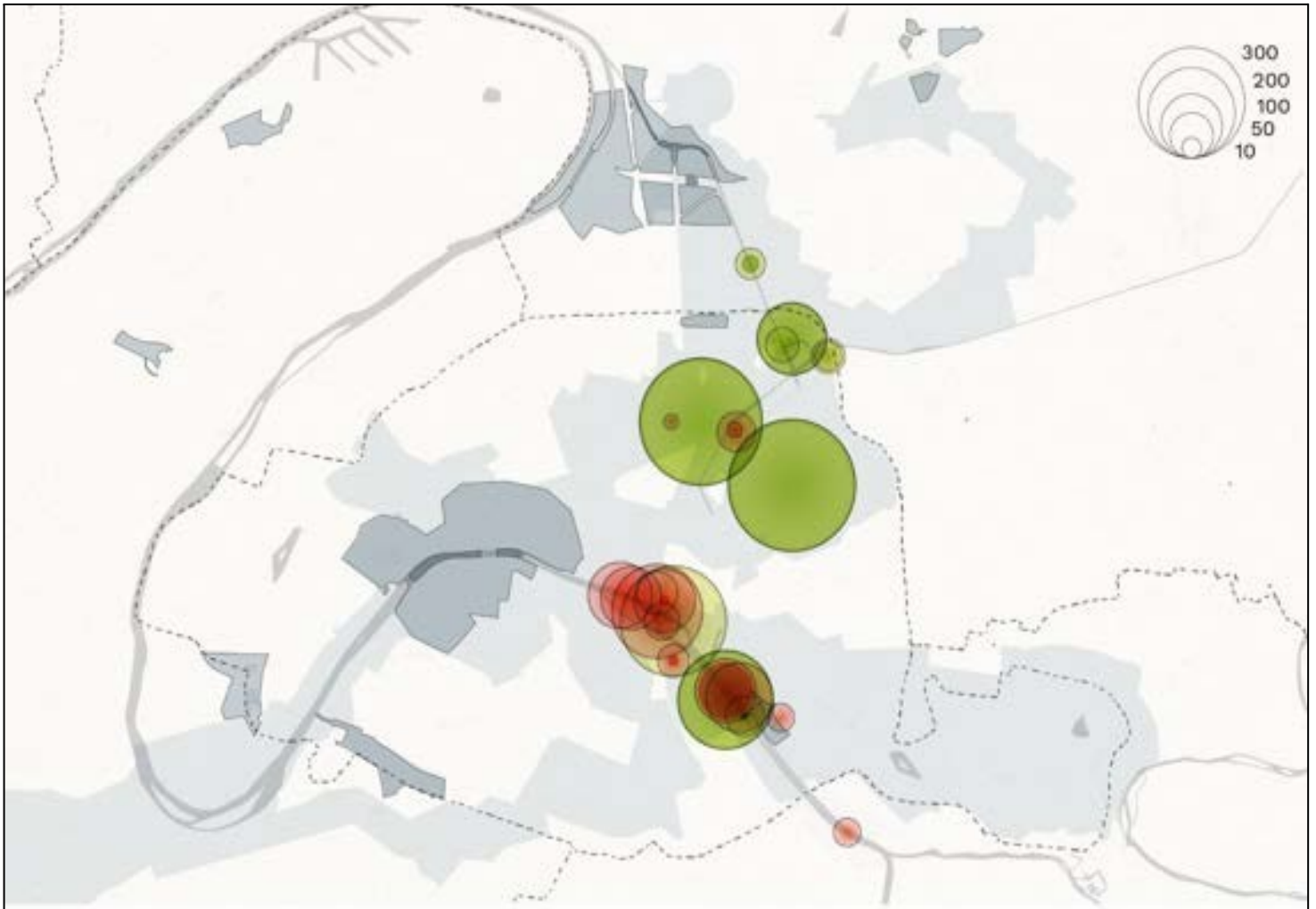
*Sheltering and evacuation of the Pali Kao garden, Paris 75020 - France  
19 October 2023*

**Camps then formed on the banks of the Seine, the flagship venue for the Olympic Games.**

The areas to be evicted in 2024 were therefore mainly grouped around the Seine.

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<sup>73</sup> Clément Parrot, "Paris 2024 : après une nouvelle évacuation d'un camp de sans-abri, les associations dénoncent un "nettoyage social" de la capitale pour les Jeux", France Info, 23 April 2024. Available on : [https://www.francetvinfo.fr/les-jeux-olympiques/le-revers-de-la-medaille/reportage-paris-2024-apres-une-nouvelle-evacuatio-n-d-a-camp-for-the-shelter-associations-denounce-social-cleaning-of-capital-for-play\\_6503429.html](https://www.francetvinfo.fr/les-jeux-olympiques/le-revers-de-la-medaille/reportage-paris-2024-apres-une-nouvelle-evacuatio-n-d-a-camp-for-the-shelter-associations-denounce-social-cleaning-of-capital-for-play_6503429.html)



### Légendes

- Périmètres de sécurité\* autour de la cérémonie d'ouverture, des épreuves olympiques et para-lympiques (en place pour quelques heures ou plusieurs jours du 24 juillet au 8 septembre 2024)
- Périmètres de sécurité autour du village olympique (à partir du 15 juillet) et des sites olympiques (24 juillet au 11 août) et paralympiques (28 août au 8 septembre 2024)\*\*

**2023 2024**

- Nombre de personnes expulsées
- Nombre de personnes s'étant vu proposer un hébergement lors de l'expulsion
- Nombre de personnes expulsées inconnu
- 
- 
- 

\* Différents périmètres sont mis en place au sein de ces zones qui restreignent graduellement la circulation.  
 \*\* Au sein des périmètres, des sites olympiques et paralympiques éphémères (Trocadéro, Tour Eiffel, Champs de Mars, place de la Concorde, place de l'Hôtel de Ville, esplanade des Invalides, pont Alexandre III) nécessitent des aménagements installés progressivement à partir de mars 2024 et désinstallés jusqu'à octobre 2024.

Oriane Sebillotte, Collectif accès aux droits, 2024. Base de donnée du Collectif accès aux droits.



Here are a few examples of the numerous evictions from campsites, dispersals, intimidation, police violence, confiscation and destruction of ares

➤ Dès le mois de décembre 2023, 200 jeunes ont été expulsés du campement situé au niveau du Pont Marie tandis qu'une distribution alimentaire était en cours. Les CRS et la BRAV-M ont été mobilisés pour chasser les jeunes dans les rues alentours avec violence

**“Quand j'étais en train de partir deux policiers, un noir et un blanc, m'ont donné des coups. Ils m'ont tapé sur les 2 épaules et les jambes aussi, je suis blessé au pied. Il y avait du sang sur ma chemise. Ils ne m'ont rien dit quand ils me tapaient. [...] On a marché, marché mais ils ont toujours suivi. On est allés dormir à pont Marie mais pas sur la terrasse, en bas sur les quais à côté de l'eau”**

*témoigne un jeune le 17 décembre 2023, auprès d'un acteur en veille sanitaire*

➤ Un autre jeune, jeté à terre brutalement à l'occasion de l'évacuation du 19 décembre 2023, a déposé une plainte à la suite de laquelle le Parquet a saisi l'IGPN qui a entendu le jeune avec son avocat et l'association Utopia 56 qui l'accompagne. **L'enquête est encore en cours.** Régulièrement, les jeunes sont violemment expulsés des campements et leurs affaires personnelles et les tentes sont confisquées, le plus souvent lorsqu'ils sont absents.

➤ Le 6 février 2024, la préfecture de police a organisé une opération d'expulsion de campement sur les quais de Seine, sous le Pont au Change, où se trouvaient majoritairement des jeunes en recours de minorité.



➤ Cette opération **n'avait pas été communiquée en amont** aux personnes présentes sur ce lieux de vie informel. Les policier-es ont procédé à un nettoyage en jetant toutes les affaires des jeunes sans faire de distinction entre des affaires personnelles, documents administratifs ou affaires de couchage. Les jeunes installés sur ce campement se sont retrouvés sans aucun effet personnel et laissés pour compte sans proposition de mise à l'abri.

*Evacuation campement le 6 février 2024 - les jeunes n'ont pas été prévenus et ont des difficultés à retrouver leurs affaires personnelles*

➤ Le lundi 12 février au matin, trois policier-es en civil sont venus pour compter les quelques jeunes encore sur place, malgré plusieurs passages dans les nuits précédentes, **afin de leur dire que des collègues à eux reviendraient pour leur dire de partir.** Les policier-es sont revenu-es les nuits suivantes.

**« Je dormais sur un camp à Pont neuf. L'après-midi, trois policiers en civil sont venus. J'étais dans ma tente, quand j'ai entendu parler, je suis sorti de ma tente. Je suis directement allé les voir, ils se sont tout de suite présentés comme la police. Ils nous ont dit qu'ils nous comptaient parce qu'on allait bientôt devoir partir. Quand je leur ai demandé pourquoi, un des policiers m'a dit que ça les emmerdait qu'on soit là, qu'on était trop, que la France organisait les Jeux Olympique, qu'il y avait beaucoup d'étrangers dans la rue et qu'il ne fallait pas que les touristes nous voient, que c'était bizarre qu'ils voient des gens dormir dehors. Moi je leur ai dit que c'était pas possible, que le département nous rejette et maintenant la police. Ils m'ont dit que c'était pas leur problème, qu'ils s'en foutent. Quand ils sont partis, je savais qu'ils allaient revenir, j'ai décidé de partir dormir avec des amis dans une tente à porte de la villette. »**

*Témoignage d'un jeune récolté le 12/02 lors d'une maraude de la Veille Sanitaire de Médecins du Monde.*



➤ Le 23 février à la suite de mise en garde d'agent-es de police auprès de jeunes dormant au pont Marie quant à un risque de crues, **une vingtaine de jeunes se sont déplacés dans un tunnel à côté de la gare de Bercy afin d'y installer leurs tentes**. Plus tard, la police est intervenue sur ce lieu pour demander à ce que les jeunes prennent leurs affaires **et s'en aillent**. Seulement quatre d'entre eux étaient présents. L'intégralité du matériel de couchage et certaines affaires personnelles **ont été détruits**. Personne n'a été informé de cette évacuation et aucun arrêté n'a été publié.

**"Ils ont demandé si on était en recours, on a dit que oui.**

**Après ils ont dit : « On vous avait ordonné de quitter le territoire, pourquoi vous êtes pas partis ? » On leur a répondu « Non non personnes ne nous a ordonné [remis une OQTF], on a déposé notre recours ». Ils étaient très agressifs, surtout une femme qui criait beaucoup, ils m'ont dit "Toi là, c'est quoi ton nom ?" Je lui donne mon nom, "ton âge". Je lui donne mon âge, "ton pays d'origine". Je lui dis la Guinée. Là, il a parlé dans son talkie. Après il a dit qu'on avait que à quitter les lieux, qu'on avait pas le choix. Ils ont mal parlé et après ils ont tous pris, tout, tout le matériel que Utopia 56 nous avait donné, c'était neuf, les tentes et les couvertures qu'Utopia 56 nous avait données. Mais j'ai eu très peur donc je suis parti de là-bas."**

*Témoignage d'un jeune recolté le 26/02 lors d'une maraude associative*

➤ Le 6 mars, à la suite d'un arrêté de la Préfecture paru le matin-même, plus de 200 jeunes ont été expulsés. **Les demandes de mise à l'abri ont été vaines.**

➤ Le 9 mars, les jeunes ont décidé d'occuper le 104, établissement artistique de la ville de Paris.

Deux jours plus tard, la Mairie de Paris a organisé une prise en charge des jeunes au sein de 3 gymnases, tout en déplorant l'inaction de l'État.

De nombreux jeunes sont néanmoins toujours sans solution.



➤ Le 19 mars, un arrêté préfectoral a laissé 48 heures aux jeunes pour évacuer le campement situé au Tunnel Villiot installé depuis le 24 octobre 2023. **Sans respecter ce délai**, l'expulsion a eu lieu **dès le lendemain matin**, sans proposition d'hébergement, sans proposition d'endroit de réinstallation et sans possibilité de récupérer les affaires.

➤ Le 3 Avril 2024, s'est déroulée l'expulsion de plusieurs lieux de vie situés sur les quais de Seine de Paris ( Pont Marie, Pont de Sully, pont Louis Philippe et Place Louis Aragon) où vivaient environ 110 jeunes en situation de recours devant le tribunal des enfants.

Les services de police ont bloqué l'accès aux lieux vers 20 heures, de sorte qu'une partie des jeunes n'a pas été en mesure de récupérer son matériel (tentes, couvertures, etc).

➤ => Enfin, le 28 mai 2024 à 7 heures du matin, une énième expulsion a eu lieu sur les quais de Seine au niveau du Pont Marie sur la base d'un arrêté préfectoral publié le 25 mai au motif que la présence du campement "dégrade significativement la physionomie du secteur et présente des risques pour la salubrité publique et la santé des occupants", couplé d'une justification sécuritaire. Une certaine de jeunes "en recours" ont, encore une fois, été expulsés de leur lieu de vie par les forces de l'ordre, sans s'être vus proposer de solution d'hébergement adaptée.

[rcom.pdf](#)



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These examples of evacuation operations bear witness to this desire to **disperse in order to make** young UFM's **invisible** and push them out of the public space during the Olympic Games, and in particular from the banks of the Seine "*considered to be a flagship element of the Olympic and Paralympic Games*"<sup>75</sup> .

Invisibilising these young people at all costs, without proper and appropriate care, will have serious consequences.

➤ The results of a survey carried out by Action contre la Faim and 3 other associations<sup>76</sup> fin 2023 among 128 young people reveal **an alarming situation**: 95% of the young people questioned sleep rough or in a camp, 92% of them are in a situation of moderate or severe hunger and 35% do not know how to access a medical consultation.

➤ Another impact of this invisibilisation is the spatial fragmentation of these young people, who are now spread over more than 20 different living areas, sometimes with adult audiences, **sometimes alone in parks and often further and further away from associations.**

➤ This situation gives rise to **serious health problems and psychological distress, resulting in a high level of vulnerability that makes these young people**, who are very often victims of police harassment, targets for exploitation or human trafficking networks.

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<sup>75</sup> DRIEAT Île-de-France, *La Seine et la Marne baignables pour les JOP 2024 et en "héritage"* : un engagement tenu de l'Etat, 17 March 2024. Available here:

<https://www.drieat.ile-de-france.developpement-durable.gouv.fr/la-seine-et-la-marne-baignables-pour-les-jop-2024-a12967.html?lang=en>

<sup>76</sup> Rapport inter-associatif (ACF, Utopia 56, Coucou Crew, Fondation Armée du Salut) , *Enquête auprès des jeunes en procédure de reconnaissance de minorité de Paris*, Action Contre la Faim, October/November 2023. Available at <https://www.actioncontrelafaim.org/publication/enquete-aupres-des-jeunes-en-procedure-de-reconnaissance-de-minorite-a-paris/>



Photo credit: [Les Jeunes de Belleville](#) press [kit](#)

### **An example of political and community resistance to social cleansing: the Belleville Youth Collective**

The collective was formed in October 2023 through weekly general meetings at which MNAs, members of the Paris 20ème Solidaire Collective and residents of the 20th arrondissement of Paris met and organised themselves.

While their mobilisation is also helping to denounce the ill-treatment documented above and the expulsions in the run-up to the 2024 Olympic Games, the Young People of Belleville naturally **have broader demands** to improve the situation of all UFM and all exiles.

After several occupations, actions and demonstrations, on 6 April 2024 the collective began an occupation of *the Maison des Métallos* in Paris, where more than 175 UFM on appeal now sleep every night.

Eviction proceedings were launched by the City of Paris on 24 May 2024.

During the Olympic Games, the Maison des Métallos will become an Olympic venue: the House of Japan.

**The young people have not yet been offered a housing solution.**

## V/ Olympic behaviour and harassment of sex workers and victims of human trafficking T des fins of exploitation in the sex trade

Sex workers face particularly high levels of violence and abuse. Violence can take a variety of forms, ranging from insults and threats to hate crimes and even murder, stalking and harassment (including online), theft, physical assault, rape and sexual violence. For the same reasons, sex workers are also at high risk of other serious human rights violations, such as human trafficking and exploitation<sup>77</sup>. There is therefore a major challenge in denouncing these groups of people.

➤ It is crucial to understand that only a proportion of people who prostitute themselves do so under the duress of exploitation or trafficking. This report uses the terms victims of trafficking in human beings in the sex trade (TEH) and TDS for the others, without excluding the possibility that some of the latter are also in a trafficking situation.

➤ A number of associations<sup>78</sup> working with sex workers and victims of trafficking in human beings have joined forces to form the *Le revers de la médaille* (*The other side of the coin*) collective to **denounce** the repeated administrative checks and **police harassment** suffered by the people they follow. The aim of these processes is to remove them from the public space, which is a fundamental resource for them, just a few months before the Olympic Games.

➤ This phenomenon of increased police harassment is in no way accompanied by a policy of prevention and information in connection with the Olympic Games, which would enable MSM to anticipate the coming period. For example, AIDES interviewed some of the sex workers it met on its outreach programmes in the Bois de Boulogne. 20% of those interviewed had not been informed about the JOP.

➤ The associations operate in a number of locations in Paris, including the Bois de Vincennes and Bois de Boulogne, Belleville, Château Rouge and Porte de la Chapelle.

➤ In the Bois de Vincennes area, Barreau de Paris Solidarité (BPS) and the Mission d'intervention et de sensibilisation contre la traite des êtres humains (MIST) provide support for victims of trafficking in human beings who work on the Pyramide du Bois road. Some are Nigerian nationals who arrived in the 2000s and again between 2014 and 2018 via human trafficking, a complex transnational criminal phenomenon that has existed throughout Europe for more than 25 years and particularly affects women from Edo state in south-west Nigeria<sup>79</sup>. Of course, they are still arriving today.

<sup>77</sup> Human Rights Notebooks, "Protecting the human rights of sex workers", Commissioner for Human Rights, 15 February 2024. Available on :

<https://www.coe.int/fr/web/commissioner/-/protecting-the-human-rights-of-sex-workers>

<sup>78</sup> Acceptess-t, AIDES, Aux captifs la libération, Barreau de Paris Solidarité, le Bus des femmes, Les Roses d'Acier, MDM, MIST, le STRASS

<sup>79</sup> Mist "How do we look at wood? 2024. Available on : [Contribution-Mist-MIE-bois-Paris.pdf \(mist-association.org\)](#)

☞ Many feel discouraged when it comes to social and administrative procedures and would like to start a pathway out of prostitution (PSP) but do not know how to go about it or are waiting in one of the approved associations that are already saturated with requests. All of them are highly vulnerable to exploitation in all its forms, particularly pimping and fraud, and very exposed to robbery and physical and sexual assault of all kinds. However, few of them call the police in the event of an attack, either because they are discouraged by the fact that law enforcement agencies rarely visit them, or **because they fear the checks on their administrative situation that have intensified over the last few months in the run-up to the Olympic Games**<sup>80</sup>.

☞ All the associations working in the Bois de Vincennes have e ected a **clear increase in checks on the administrative situation of the Nigerian women in the wood. Between 1 June 2023 and the end of March 2024, 20 operations were carried out by the Préfecture de Police, resulting in 203 people being checked.** Of these, 44 were placed in administrative detention (13 men and 31 women), 37 OQTFs were notified, and 2 placements in the CRA were e cted<sup>81</sup>.

☞ We also received **numerous accounts of violent controls** (presence of police dogs, insults, chases through thickets, forced extractions from vans, refusal to let women get dressed, etc). During one of our marauds on 2 May 2024, Pearl told us that she had seen a girl being taken away by the police:

***"The policeman forced open the door of her van, made her get out and took her in to check her papers. She didn't even have time to change, she was in her underwear".***

*Testimonial from Pearl*

☞ Since then, **these workers have been coming to work later and later into the night to avoid inspections and contact with outside workers. As a result, the associations can no longer see them or accompany them.**

☞ Increased police pressure on sex workers and victims of THB has also been documented in **Belleville and Château Rouge**, particularly against sex workers of Chinese nationality. Numerous targeted control operations have been reported by the Lotus Bus of Médecins du Monde and Roses d'Acier. They explain that the waves of checks in Belleville began in March 2023.

<sup>80</sup> Mist "How do we look at wood? 2024. Available on : [Contribution-Mist-MIE-bois-Paris.pdf \(mist-association.org\)](https://misteurope.org/fr/contributions/mist-mie-bois-paris)

<sup>81</sup> Louise Jouveshomme, "JO : le nettoyage social des " filles " du bois de vincennes", *Combat Le Media*, 9 April 2024. Available on : <https://combatlemedia.com/2024/04/09/jo-au-bois-de-vincenne-le-nettoyage-social-des-travailleuses-du-sexe/>



➤ **More than 112 people were inspected between March 2023 and today<sup>82</sup> :**

- more than 36 OQTFs with a ban on re-entry were notified,
- 3 people were placed in the CRA,
- 1 person was deported to China,
- 2 OQTF annulled before the TA,
- 1 adjustment was obtained.

➤ The women were taken to the Rue de l'Aubrac police station in the 12th arrondissement, almost all of them handcuffed following violent stops. A flash investigation carried out by the association *Les Roses d'Acier* during **April 2023** was able to show that **the police came around twenty times to make the sex workers leave, sometimes several times in the same day, T di érent schedules**. Since then, the checks have intensified in June and July 2023, and from mid-December 2023 onwards, they have been accompanied by clear messages asking them to leave the area in preparation for the Olympic Games. In addition, **for several months now, Chinese women working as sex workers have had their freedom of movement restricted in France, as they are subject to identity checks, in addition to having their tickets checked on trains**. This discriminatory practice leads them to resort to alternative and often more expensive means of transport.

☞ In the **Bois de Boulogne** area, the pressure is more in the form of **finances on vans or the fight against sexual exhibition, the direct consequence of which is the criminalisation of people who are already vulnerable and in a precarious situation**, even though the offence of soliciting was abolished by the law of 13 April 2016. A survey carried out by *AIDES* shows that a significant proportion of the sex workers they meet are considering changing their place of work or working method, working further upstream to anticipate the risk of losing their income, or working from home.

☞ If these strategies were to be confirmed, it would be likely to **make it significantly difficult for drug users to gain access to prevention associations and services**, to the harm reduction material generally distributed during the outreach work that frequently takes place in the woods, and more generally to support in terms of access to rights and health, which is often initiated through meetings and exchanges with associations. **Isolation can also increase exposure to certain forms of violence and harassment**. Sex workers lose even more of their ability to choose their clients and thus avoid potential aggression. In addition, faced with the need to work further upstream, they would lose the ability to refuse unprotected sex.

➤ Situations of **police ill-treatment** are also reported by the sex workers we meet. For example, a sex worker being monitored in the Bois de Boulogne told an *AIDES* outreach worker that she had been **gassed several times at close range by police officers in December 2023**. She was under stress, afraid to go to work and afraid of losing contact with the associations.

➤ The police harassment that has been going on for almost 1 year now is actively contributing to **the invisibilisation and alienation of this already vulnerable public, by keeping them away from**

<sup>82</sup> Figures collected by Les Roses d'Acier during its outreach campaigns.

increasingly from urban centres and associations. The increase in violence suffered by sex workers in the bush could have a **direct negative impact on their ability to work and to continue to be monitored by health and legal access associations**. They will no longer have access to certain areas of the city, either because they are the scene of events or because they are tourist attractions.

➤ The use of sporting events as a means of temporarily or permanently removing sex workers from the public space has been reported at the French Open every year in the Bois de Boulogne, and in Lyon last year during the Rugby World Cup.

➤ This will put sex workers in even greater danger, as they will be forced to find new ways of working. Some will isolate themselves on the Internet, while others will have to travel to new cities and therefore to environments they are not familiar with. Like the penalisation of clients or the confinement covid, this will put the most vulnerable at particular risk, especially allophones who will have to rely on intermediaries to work via the Internet.

➤ The Olympic Games are also the occasion for an **anti-prostitution campaign that systematically confuses prostitution with exploitation or trafficking** and propagates the idea of an explosion in sexual exploitation during major sporting events. This campaign has harmful effects on sex workers (in terms of work, housing, etc.)<sup>83</sup>.

➤ The fight against exploitation, whatever the sector of activity, is essential, but it cannot be waged through simplistic communication campaigns that lump people together and conjure up invented crises. Many health and legal access associations, through their grassroots and harm reduction policies, are forging links with people exploited in sex work, informing them of their rights and supporting them in making the choices that are right for them.



<sup>83</sup> Rapport Inter-associatif, *Les jeux olympiques et paralympiques : Un confinement social pour les travailleuses du sexe*, March 2024. Available on :

<https://www.actupparis.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/03/RAPPORT-LES-JEUX-OLYMPIQUES-ET-PARALYMPIQUES-UN-SOCIAL-CONFINEMENT-FOR-SEX-WORKERS-MARCH-2024.pdf>

## VI/Drug users: towards a return to repressive measures?

With the onset of the HIV/AIDS epidemic in the 1980s, the authorities were forced to recognise the limits of a purely repressive approach to drug users. The government then gradually put in place a policy aimed at preventing the health and social problems associated with drug use: the **harm reduction approach (harm reduction)**, in conjunction with stakeholders in the field of addiction, the fight against AIDS and committed drug users.

➤ Far from being a permissive policy, harm reduction mobilises a range of public and private interventions and facilities, precisely defined by law, with the aim of helping a fragile and long-stigmatised population. In Île-de-France, this public policy has been pursued for a number of years by specialised associations working in CAARUDs, CSAPAs and Espace de Repos, as well as mobile outreach services.

➤ In May 2019<sup>84</sup>, a protocol to "combat crack cocaine use in the Île-de-France region" gave new impetus to public policies aimed at crack cocaine users in north-east Paris. This new impetus has given significant additional resources to the health and social approach, but has also made it possible to strengthen a "security" approach by combating public order disturbances linked to drug use.

➤ This approach has resulted in "firmer" intervention by the police and the judicial system, as the City of Paris indicates on its website:

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*"Several hundred police officers and gendarmes are deployed every day, day and night, in the sensitive areas of north-east Paris: Stalingrad, Éole, Porte de la Chapelle, Rosa Parks, the banks of the Canal de l'Ourcq, etc.*

*This safety precaution prevents drug users from relocating or resettling. Where necessary, the police immediately remove users from their premises in order to put an end to the nuisance caused by crack consumption in the public space and guarantee the peace of mind of the local residents concerned. In 2023, 25 traffiquants were deported. The Paris Public Prosecutor's Office is pursuing its firm criminal policy against traffickers and dealers. Since 2022, the number of prosecutable offences has increased by 46%. The sentences handed down are significant, ranging from a few months to several years' imprisonment, and are accompanied by travel bans and a ban from French territory. Consumers arrested are subject to a therapeutic injunction, up 18% on last year<sup>85</sup>."*

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<sup>84</sup> Fédération Addiction, Press release, "Amende forfaitaire pour usage de drogues : une illusoire fermeté pour de réels effets pervers", 30 July 2020. Available on : <https://www.federationaddiction.fr/actualites/amende-forfaitaire-pour-usage-de-drogues-une-illusoire-fermete-pour-de-reels-effets-pervers/>

<sup>85</sup> Mairie de Paris, " Lutte contre le crack : bilan et perspectives " 1 February 2023. Available at: <https://www.paris.fr/pages/lutte-contre-le-crack-un-plan-d-actions-2019-2021-6843>

➤ Another major turning point in this repressive reorientation of public policy towards drug users: in the last quarter of 2023, the Minister of the Interior and Overseas France announced the **launch of "clean sweep" operations**, i.e. a new approach to combating crime and, more specifically, drug trafficking. On 30 March 2024, the Minister drew up the results for the Île-de-France region, where 33 anti-drug operations had been carried out in just one week, resulting in 319 people being taken into custody, particularly in Paris and Seine-Saint-Denis.

➤ Enfin, since June 2023, the Prefect of Police of Paris, Laurent NUNEZ, has initiated a "public thoroughfare" police action by *issuing* a series of special orders "*banning groups of cocaine users based in certain areas of Paris and Seine-Saint-Denis*". Since then, these orders have been renewed every month for very large geographical areas<sup>86</sup>.

➤ In the Île-de-France region, the associations responsible for implementing harm reduction policy are warning of the impact of these **security and repressive** approaches on their ability to continue their work and on the health of the users themselves. In fact, several of them have launched an application for interim relief against the order issued by the Préfecture de Paris. *police de Paris considering that these police actions hinder harm reduction work and constitute a serious infringement of the freedom and of the dignity of the most precarious drug users or those assumed to be such.*

The collective points out<sup>87</sup> that the "crackdowns" facilitated by the decree in particular lead to the hunting down, confinement or dispersal of these populations, with three major effects:

- **Worsening living conditions for drug users, accentuating their vulnerability,**
- **A rise in tension among local residents who are "hiritent" of this situation in their living spaces,**
- **A deterioration in the working conditions of care workers**

For example, the AIDES association runs a CAARUD located near Les Halles, on the outskirts of the areas affected by the order banning the gathering of drug users. Since the publication of this order and its renewal in February, March and April 2024, **the association has observed numerous evictions in the metro stations, accompanied by a strong police presence and RATP security teams in the areas concerned, which has necessarily had an impact on the frequentation and work of the CAARUD.** AIDES also points out that new cameras have been installed in the RATP network in the area and that it is impossible to park seated on metro platforms, where seats have sometimes been removed.

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<sup>86</sup> Example of an order: Arrêté préfectoral, Préfecture de Police de Paris, no. 2024-00361, 19 March 2024. Available at: [https://www.prefecturedepolice.interieur.gouv.fr/sites/default/files/Documents/2024\\_00361\\_19032024.pdf](https://www.prefecturedepolice.interieur.gouv.fr/sites/default/files/Documents/2024_00361_19032024.pdf)

<sup>87</sup> Association Addictions France, Press release "Crack à Paris : des associations agissent en justice pour mettre fin à la répression arbitraire des consommateurs" 12 March 2024. Available on : <https://addictions-france.org/presse/crack-a-paris-des-associations-agissent-en-justice-pour-mettre-fin-a-la-repression-arbitraire-re-consumers/>



The increased pressure on cocaine users has a number of consequences:

➤ For the people themselves: **the increased presence of RATP police officers and security guards means that users have to be on the move all the time.** Users find themselves in a state of exacerbated fatigue as a result of this systematic movement. By extension, as the drug dealers are also dispersed, the users have to walk for miles on end, or even go outside Paris to find their drugs, and start to suffer from foot and leg pain, which they report to the CAARUD teams. As a **result, these people are no longer able to access healthcare and social rights.** For the users and for the community to which they belong, this is detrimental to their social ties, which are weakened by the regular dispersal of the groups. This can lead to isolation and a worsening of their already precarious situation.

➤ This situation also leads to an influx of new people who are not used to the CAARUD. This leads to **problems of violence and tension** with the rest of the regular group. For the AIDES team, this requires mediation and sustained attention on a daily basis. The extreme fatigue in which these people find themselves can also lead to irritability and therefore to situations of tension with other public transport users, **which increases the risk of them being stopped by the police.**

➤ Generally speaking, due to the incessant movements of user groups, the CAARUD team has difficulty finding people in order to carry out the usual distribution of harm reduction equipment. In addition, there may be a loss of follow-up and support for people seen only on the street who do not usually come to CAARUD.

## **AIDES has also identified other initiatives that can be linked to the Olympic Games.**

➤ Along the Saint-Denis canal, in rue Ambroise Croizat, opposite the Porte de Paris metro station, in the immediate vicinity of the Stade de France, AIDES teams have witnessed the **regular displacement of people living there (mostly migrants and/or users of psychoactive substances).** The canal quays have been transformed by the work required for the Olympic Games, and fences have been erected to prevent people who normally live in the area from being able to do so.

➤ These people are part of the association's priority actions in the area, and the fact that they are unable to find refuge here takes them away from these health services and jeopardises their fragile balance. The association's teams lose sight of some of the users and it is therefore impossible for them to provide them with the support and/or guidance they need.

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**The urban transformation stimulated by the approach of the Olympic and Paralympic Games is leading to an alienation of the people who live in these areas in the first place, and putting them at a distance from the care they may need.**

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👁️ On 12 February 2024, the AIDES marauding team was questioned by a police team about the authorisation of its monthly activities.

➤ In addition, the SP78 CAARUD in Yvelines, also a member of the Le revers de la médaille collective, notes the arrival of a number of new users in the Versailles area, expelled from Paris, in **very precarious situations and with no ties to the host area**. These people live in Paris and are attached to the Paris health insurance funds. As a result, the **living conditions** and precariousness of these people are **increasing**. Yvelines is not the only department to be relegated to this situation, which is also found in many towns in other regions.

## VII/ At the end of the social cleansing, for some, the prison

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"On the eve of the Olympic Games and the security issues they raise, the opening of this new detention centre comes at just the right time".<sup>88</sup>

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*rejoiced Justice Minister Éric Dupond-Moretti in October 2023.*

➤ However, professionals point out that any **increase in delinquency during the Olympic Games is neither objective nor objectible**. What is certain, however, is that the security measures put in place for the Youth Olympic Games illustrate the repressive logic that has been at work in recent years: to penalise ever more behaviour, to trivialise incarceration and to make invisible the ills that society cannot see, starting with social insecurity and psychological distress. This dynamic of **over-incarceration** is already pushing the prison population to record levels, and French prisons to boiling point.

➤ A circular from the Ministry of Justice<sup>89</sup> encourages the jurisdictions where the trials will be held to put in place "*a determined penal policy providing for rapid, strong responses and disrupt the smooth running of the Olympic Games*".

➤ According to the plans submitted to the Ministry, the courts concerned plan to meet this objective by increasing the number of hearings for immediate appearances - in Paris as well as in Saint-Étienne, Nice, Meaux and Papeete.

At Bobigny, a "relief chamber" is already in operation to try to absorb the referrals until an additional immediate appearance chamber is opened this summer. This expeditious procedure, **which mainly affects the most vulnerable sections of the population**, is particularly prone to imprisonment: **not only does it facilitate the use of pre-trial detention, but it also increases the likelihood of a prison sentence by a factor of eight (Gautron et al, 2013).**

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<sup>88</sup>Jeux olympiques et paralympiques 2024 : la médaille de la surincarcération, 22 mars 2024, Website of the International Prisons Observatory, available at :

<https://oip.org/analyse/jeux-olympiques-et-paralympiques-2024-la-medaille-de-la-surincarceration/>

<sup>89</sup> Ministry of Justice, circular relating to the judicial system put in place for the Olympic and Paralympic Games. 15 January 2024, No. JUSD2401073C. Available on

<https://www.justice.gouv.fr/sites/default/files/2024-01/JUSD2401073C.pdf>

➤ In tune with the "zero delinquency plans" deployed by the prefects, the instructions received on the ground converge around the need to "**clear the streets**".

In Seine-Saint-Denis, the main aim is to tackle "the phenomenon of the takeover of public space: dealing points, street vending, stations where people feel unsafe...", explained Michel Lavaud, the territorial director of local security, back in April 2023. A year later, he announced 105 "anti-sneak-and-snatch" operations and an unprecedented concentration of resources to combat counterfeiting, particularly of cigarettes but also of brand-name goods, 60,000 of which were destroyed on 3 April at the Saint-Ouen flea market<sup>90</sup>.

➤ Public transport is also under particular scrutiny. While the Paris police prefecture **plans to increase the number of daily patrols from 125 to 700 during the Olympic Games**, a bill on transport security<sup>91</sup> has been adopted by the Senate with the support of the government, which has initiated the fast-track procedure. As it stands, the bill would extend the powers of security officers and make the "habitual" repetition of more than thirty behaviours on public transport or in the vicinity of stations punishable by six months' **imprisonment: from begging to preventing doors from closing, or smoking, vaping or playing music**. At the end of May, the text was being examined by the National Assembly.

➤ **While we fight the confusion between people in precarious situations and delinquents**, parallel economy practices (*begging, street vending, etc.*) are sometimes the last resort for extremely precarious people to ensure their subsistence.

➤ When the Ministry of the Interior spoke of **harassment<sup>92</sup> and clean-up work**, we deplore the fact that once again the choice of repressive measures has prevailed in the face of the crying need for genuine policies to combat extreme poverty, all the more so in the context of the Olympic Games with their unprecedented promises of inclusiveness.

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<sup>90</sup> Nathalie Revenu, "Unprecedented mobilisation against delinquency", Le Grand Parisien, Seine-Saint-Denis edition, 19 April 2024.

<sup>91</sup> Proposition de loi n° 2223 adoptée par le Sénat, relative au renforcement de la sûreté dans les transports. Available at: [https://www.assemblee-nationale.fr/dyn/16/textes/116b2223\\_proposition-loi#:~:text=%C2%AB%20The%20agents%20of%20the%20internal%20services,their%20propr%C3%A9t%C3%A0%20their%20functions](https://www.assemblee-nationale.fr/dyn/16/textes/116b2223_proposition-loi#:~:text=%C2%AB%20The%20agents%20of%20the%20internal%20services,their%20propr%C3%A9t%C3%A0%20their%20functions).

<sup>92</sup> Direction de l'administration pénitentiaire Bureau de la donnée, "Série statistiques des personnes placées sous main de justice, 1980-2022" Ministry of Justice. Available at [https://www.justice.gouv.fr/sites/default/files/2023-04/PPSMJ\\_2022\\_vf.pdf](https://www.justice.gouv.fr/sites/default/files/2023-04/PPSMJ_2022_vf.pdf)



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***"They come to digest us every day!  
Every day! It's exhausting and really pointless. It's a  
rifiichi choice to work here begging. [...] So yes, it's  
tiring and very difficult, that's for sure... But I don't want  
to become a thief.  
I've got a wife and child, if I get locked up, how am I  
going to look after them from prison? So malgri the  
police, I come back here every day to earn enough to  
feed them and buy them mineral water. Sometimes the  
police come 5 times a day! They chase us away. So we  
go into hiding.  
I'm a tiler. A professional, I know how to do it very well  
[...] but it's impossible to find work... "***

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*Testimonial collected fi Porte d'Aubervilliers d u r i n g an MdM outreach programme,  
29/04/2020, Anonymous Nigerian man, 27 years old (translated from English) :*

# Conclusion

**Our report documents a year of abusive practices and policies** towards disadvantaged groups in the area hosting the Olympic Games. They **form part of a *continuum* of government action against the most vulnerable**. The government's response to our numerous warnings, via some of its ministers or prefects, has often been as follows: **"This has nothing to do with the YOP"**. While this argument may have been very weak yesterday, it is no longer convincing today. **The areas around the Olympic and Paralympic sites have been systematically "cleaned up", the harassment of people who live or work in the public space has developed and increased, and a system for relocating some of them was even introduced** just one year before the Olympic Games.

➤ Despite promises to "leave a more inclusive society after the Games"<sup>93</sup> and "a social legacy"<sup>94</sup>, we have seen systematic and reinforced violations of people's rights. **In the space of a year, all the figures have risen compared with previous years**: the number of evictions from informal living spaces, the number of "shelters", the number of prefectural decrees, episodes of harassment and police violence against the most precarious members of society...

➤ So, with such practices, it is possible that the period of the Olympic Games will go better from the point of view of the authorities: **the IdF region has indeed been emptied of some of the people that the public authorities consider undesirable and we have lost touch with many of them.**

➤ In addition to the **12,500 people evicted between April 2023 and May 2024**<sup>95</sup>, and the **4,000 people sent to SAS T by fin 2023**, there is also the loss of individual links. Some streets and woods have seen the disappearance of homeless people who had been living there for years and with whom the medical and social outreach workers had sometimes taken years to establish a bond of confidence. All it takes is an eviction - all too often outside the legal framework - to break this bond. Dozens of precarious housing sites have been evicted, and with them their hundreds of inhabitants dispersed. **In the case of exile squats, at least 1,800 people have been evicted in the space of a year**, depriving them of virtually the entire solidarity network that the squats represented, their one and only alternative to the street.

<sup>93</sup> Paris 2024, *Leaving a more inclusive society after the games*, last accessed 28 May 2024. Available at: <https://olympics.com/fr/paris-2024/nos-engagements/promouvoir-le-role-du-sport/societe-plus-inclusive>

<sup>94</sup> Oudéa-Castéra, "Déclaration de Mme Amélie Oudéa-Castéra, ministre des sports et des jeux olympiques et paralympiques, sur l'organisation des Jeux Olympiques et Paralympiques de Paris 2024, à l'Assemblée nationale le 2 avril 2024" Vie Publique, 2 April 2024. Available on :

<https://www.vie-publique.fr/discours/293626-amelie-oudea-castera-02042024-organisation-des-jo-paris-2024>

<sup>95</sup> Data collected and analysed by [the Eviction Observatory](#).

➡ Then this summer, Paris and its region will be able to present themselves in a light that the authorities surely consider more favourable: a sanitised 'City of Light', with almost invisible misery, no major informal living areas, 'clean' neighbourhoods and woods, no begging, drug use or sex work. **All of this would have been possible otherwise, by devoting an infime part of the total budget for the JOPs to it and supporting people towards dignified solutions. Who knows, maybe some of them would also have liked to profite the Olympic party?**

**Of course, we will be continuing our daily presence on the ground and collecting donations throughout the period of the Olympic Games so that we can draw up an assessment afterwards.**

➡ What is certain is that **the development of the repertoire of public action and the prefectoral practices documented in this report already presage an anti-social legacy of the Games and that without major political change, social cleansing practices will continue, long after the Olympic Games.**



Image credit: [Strike Paris](#)

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**"We have eighteen months ahead of us to do this work of harassment and cleaning up - and it will be a spirit of the Olympics".**

*Statement by G.Darmanin, 25/10/2022*

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**"I want to reiterate that this has nothing to do with the Olympic and Paralympic Games".**

**a commitment to the social plan".**

*Amélie Oudéa-Castera, Minister for Sport and the Olympic Games, in response to the MP's question A. Taché at the government question session at the National Assembly on 2 April 2024 on eviction operations and the social legacy of the Paris 2024 Olympic Games*

**"We shouldn't confuse the fact that this work has been going on for years and that it is continuing while the Olympics are due to be held at the same time, but these two issues are unrelated."**

*Marc Guillaume, Prefect of Paris and the Ile de France Region, on the evacuation of street camps, on France Bleu on 11 October 2023*

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**"There is a shortage of emergency hibernation places, the public players are committed and we are not involved".**

**"We don't want to be the cause of any shortcomings in the Île-de-France region, as this deficit is independent of the Games".**

*Tony Estanquet, President of Paris 2024, on homelessness during the Games, 20 December 2023.*

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**"We have not fixi as an objective ziro SDF in Paris in August 2024, it is neither the wish nor the ambition of the autoritis in view of the Olympics-2024", "We will try to do better during the period of the Games. But it won't be coercive". "The associations' accusations of "social cleansing" are nonsense".**

*Communication from the Préfecture de Région Ile de France to the press - 21 December 2023.*

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**"There is no social cleansing".  
"it has nothing to do with the Olympic Games".**

*Amélie Oudéa-Castera, Minister for Sport and the Olympic Games, in response to a question about the displacement of migrant and homeless people, on France 2, "Complément d'enquête", 28 March 2024.*

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**"We're not going to get caught".**

*Anne Hidalgo, Mayor of Paris, on the "Quotidien" programme on Wednesday 22 November on the management of public transport and homelessness in the capital at the time of the 2024 Olympic Games.*

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