



UNSDRI

UNITED NATIONS SOCIAL DEFENCE RESEARCH INSTITUTE

Publication No. 22

JUVENILE SOCIAL MALADJUSTMENT

AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE CONTEXT OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT

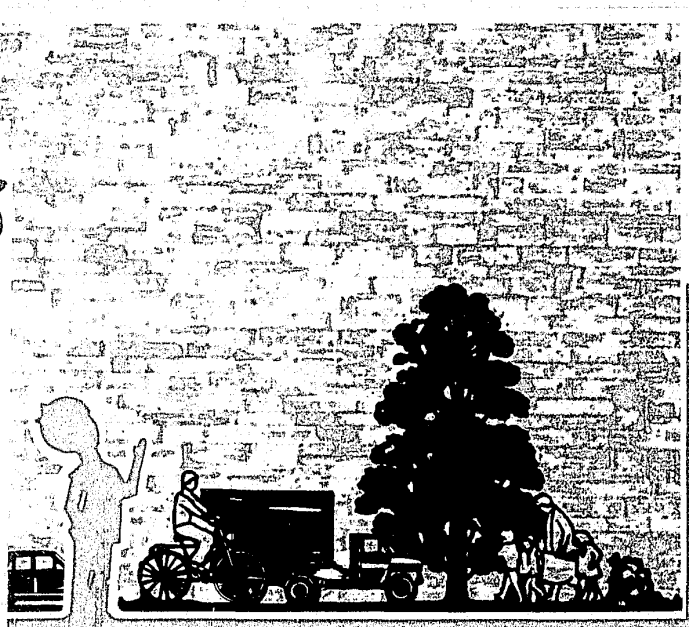
EL DESAJUSTE SOCIAL JUVENIL

Y LOS DERECHOS HUMANOS DENTRO DEL CONTEXTO DEL DESARROLLO URBANO

L'INADAPTATION SOCIALE DES JEUNES

ET LES DROITS DE L'HOMME DANS LE CONTEXTE DU DEVELOPPEMENT URBAIN

101001ca



Fratelli Palombi Editori

Rome, October 1984

10/001

UNSDRI

UNITED NATIONS SOCIAL DEFENCE RESEARCH INSTITUTE

Publication No. 22

JUVENILE SOCIAL MALADJUSTMENT

AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE CONTEXT OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT

EL DESAJUSTE SOCIAL JUVENIL

Y LOS DERECHOS HUMANOS DENTRO DEL CONTEXTO DEL DESARROLLO URBANO

L'INADAPTATION SOCIALE DES JEUNES

ET LES DROITS DE L'HOMME DANS LE CONTEXTE DU DEVELOPPEMENT URBAIN

Funded by the
UNITED NATIONS DEVELOPMENT
Programme

101001

U.S. Department of Justice
National Institute of Justice

This document has been reproduced exactly as received from the person or organization originating it. Points of view or opinions stated in this document are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the official position or policies of the National Institute of Justice.

Permission to reproduce this copyrighted material has been granted by
United Nations Social Defence
Research Institute

to the National Criminal Justice Reference Service (NCJRS).

Further reproduction outside of the NCJRS system requires permission of the copyright owner.

Fratelli Palombi Editori
Rome, October 1984

NOTE FOR THE READER: Since the working language adopted for this study was English, the complete version in English appears in the first part of the book. Nevertheless, texts referring specifically to Bogotá, San José and Dakar are presented in the languages of each of the participating countries.

AVISO AL LECTOR: Dado que el inglés fue adoptado como lengua de trabajo, la versión completa en inglés figura en la primera parte del libro. No obstante, los textos que se refieren específicamente a Bogotá, San José y Dakar figuran en la lengua original de cada uno de los países participantes.

AVIS AU LECTEUR: Etant donné que l'anglais a constitué la langue de travail, la version anglaise de cette étude figure dans la première partie du livre. Néanmoins, les textes spécifiques se référant à Bogotá, San José et Dakar sont transcrits dans la langue originelle de chacun des pays participants.

Copyright © UNSDRI
The United Nations Social Defence Research Institute, 1984
ISBN 88-7621-828-9

Extracts from this publication may be reproduced without authorization on condition that the source is indicated.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Acknowledgement	7
Preface	9
I. Theoretical introduction	11
II. Case Study No. 1 Bogotá, Colombia	35
III. Case Study No. 2 San José, Costa Rica	83
IV. Case Study No. 3 Lagos, Nigeria	130
V. Case Study No. 4 Bombay, India	174
VI. Case Study No. 5 Dakar, Senegal	227
VII. General summary and conclusions	273

INDICE

	Página
Reconocimientos	281
Prefacio	283
I. Introducción teorica	285
II. Estudio de Caso No. 1 Bogotá, Colombia	310
III. Estudio de Caso No. 2 San José, Costa Rica	361
IV. Resumen general y conclusiones	408

TABLE DE MATIÈRES

	Page
Avant-propos	415
Preface	419
I. Introduction théorique	421
II. Etude de Cas No. 5 Dakar, Senegal	446
III. Résumé général et conclusions	494

JUVENILE SOCIAL MALADJUSTMENT

AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE CONTEXT OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This project was generously funded by the United Nations Development Programme. We are grateful to them for this imaginative and constructive gesture.

Many heads and hands have contributed to the successful execution of the study. Giuseppe di Gennaro, who was General Consultant to UNSDRI at the inception of the project played a seminal role.

Yasuo Hagiwara, who was seconded by the Japanese Government as a contribution in kind to UNSDRI, worked with Giuseppe di Gennaro on the draft questionnaires and travelled to the participating cities with the Director. His interest in the project continued after his return to Japan and he attended the second meeting of collaborators.

Aurelio Mattei did the statistical analysis from which he was able to prepare the structure of the preliminary national reports.

The leaders of the national research groups organized their teams and supervised the operations in their respective areas and produced their own reports. They were:

<i>Bogotá</i>	<i>Clemencia Gutiérrez Gutiérrez</i>
<i>San José</i>	<i>Luis Lachner</i>
<i>Dakar</i>	<i>Guibril Camara</i>
<i>Lagos</i>	<i>Ndidi Chibogu</i>
<i>Bombay</i>	<i>G. Pandey</i>

We are grateful to the governments of the participating countries for giving their consent for the implementation of the project to be carried out in their respective countries.

John Hogarth from Canada, who spent his sabbatical leave at UNSDRI during the period when the final report was being collated, made a very important contribution by working out the theoretical framework for the report and also wrote the chapters on Bogotá and San José. Fumio Saito, wrote the chapter on Dakar.

Ricardo Ulate, researcher at ILANUD, San José, was in charge of the Spanish translation of the text and Marie-Pascale Travade, associate expert seconded by the French Government, was responsible for the French version.

Practically all members of the staff of the Institute, in one form or another, made their valuable contributions at various stages of the project and at different levels. Special mention should be made of Martha Barkunsky whose work went far beyond her initial duties as secretary and translator.

Without the patience and co-operation of juveniles, adult members of the public and professionals interviewed in the different cities, we could not have collected the volume of data necessary for the completion of the study.

The relevant and concerned ministers who gave of their busy time to discuss the results of the project and potential policy implications are remembered with gratitude.

To one and all, I would like to express my sincere thanks and appreciation for their contribution.

Rome, October 1984

Tolani Asuni
Director

PREFACE

The study, funded by UNDP, was carried out in five cities: Bogotá (Colombia), Bombay (India), Dakar (Senegal), Lagos (Nigeria), and San José (Costa Rica). The strategy for the study was to involve local collaborators at every stage of the project, not only to provide training opportunities in research where necessary, but also to confer on the study a high level of relevance and credibility.

To this end a meeting of the local team-leaders who had been identified was held at the beginning of the project, from 12 to 16 January 1981, to examine the draft instruments which had been prepared by UNSDRI and to come to some agreement on these and also on the overall methodology.

Prior to this meeting, the Director of the Institute and the coordinator of the project visited the cities included in the study in order to familiarize themselves with local conditions and talk with the local leaders and their research teams, which were expected to be multi-disciplinary.

After the meeting with the collaborators, held in Rome, the Institute finalized the instruments which were forwarded to the various teams for implementation. The instruments consisted of questionnaires for juveniles, adults and professionals working in the field of juvenile problems. Two distinct areas of the cities were selected one which had undergone recent and rapid urbanization and the other which had not undergone rapid urbanization. The interviews for the administration of the questionnaires were carried out in both areas.

The questionnaires which totalled 2,000 for juveniles, 2,000 for the public and 500 for professionals were processed by all centres but one, which did not have access to computerization, UNSDRI processed those. A preliminary analytical report was prepared by UNSDRI and sent back to the local collaborators for comments and elaboration.

The material was collated for a meeting of local team leaders at the Institute for discussion on the data and also on the format of the final report.

According to the work-programme the findings of the project were to be discussed with the relevant decision-makers of the various countries involved in the study in order to have their reaction and input which would be incorporated in the final report for all five participating countries.

During the discussions with the decision-makers, policy-related

findings were high-lighted. Some of these included: strengthening traditional informal methods of prevention and control of juvenile social maladjustment, strengthening the family counselling services of social welfare, providing more recreational facilities for youths, strengthening educational systems and in general increasing the quality and quantity of professional workers and developing adequate training for maladjusted juveniles.

In spite of the methodological and operational problems the study encountered, some of the responses were quite unequivocal, and the policy issues listed above, accepted by the decision-makers, were derived from these responses.

In some cases the efforts made by the decision-makers were stated and the need for pilot projects to address some of the issues was discussed.

It was not the main intention of the study to compare one city with another, and this was not done. Even if this had been planned, it would have proven unscientific because of the major differences in the selection of the two areas in each city. However, most of the policy-related issues were common to all the cities involved in the study.

The study illustrates a high level of interregional co-operation. The role played by ILANUD in overseeing the study both in San José and Bogotá also illustrates the collaboration between the regional Institute and UNSDRI. An academic Institute — Tata Institute of Social Sciences — undertook the study in Bombay and staff of the relevant ministries provided leadership to the local teams in Bogotá, Dakar and Lagos.

THEORETICAL INTRODUCTION

a) A search for a paradigm

A threshold problem in any research project is to find or to fashion appropriate paradigms of analysis for the study.

This issue becomes of crucial importance in a study such as this which attempts to understand the problem of juvenile social maladjustment in five different countries which were known to be similar in terms of one attribute only: namely, they were undergoing economic development accompanied by rapid urbanization.

In all other respects we could not assume they were similar. Moreover, we were cautioned by local advisers in each country not to apply uncritically criminological theories developed in the industrialized West, however attractive that approach may be in terms of having ready-made theoretical frameworks to which we could fit our data.

After reflecting upon discussions held with local teams selected to execute the project it was decided that an approach which looked at juvenile delinquency and other forms of juvenile social maladjustment from a cultural perspective would allow us to be sensitive to the unique ways in which these terms are defined and responded to by the people directly affected in each area under study.

This conclusion was reinforced by our preliminary analysis of the literature on urbanization in developing countries and by discussions with local experts in the participating countries. We learn from the above-mentioned sources that despite some differences in matter of detail, the broad economic pattern in each country participating in our research can be summarized as follows:

Traditional rural societies had, before the period of rapid development, few cases of male delinquency and even lesser problems among teen-age girls. Crimes of violence whilst not unknown were infrequent and property crime was relatively rare.

Cohesive family structures, strong religious proscriptions against stealing, intensive supervision of youth, well defined youth roles, universally accepted informal mechanisms of dispute-settlement, limited opportunities to commit property crimes (there was very little to steal), and, wide-spread and almost fatalistic acceptance of status-quo, were among the cultural factors that held youth in check.

The transformation of agriculture from subsistence, labour-extensive farming to a partially mechanized industry and low returns

from farm products in one generation made much of the rural population superfluous. Migration to cities became necessary as developing countries quickly converted to cash economies. As such, internal migration was not a natural phenomenon and occurred much more rapidly than in Western Europe several centuries previously. It has been said that migration in the Third World resulted more from a «rural push» than an «urban-pull». At the same time, cities served as magnets to the under-employed rural population. People looked to cities as the only places where, jobs, medical care, education and excitement could be found. Several of the cities in our study doubled their population in less than ten years and almost redoubled in each of the following decades.

Most of these cities were not prepared for this huge and sudden influx of poverty-stricken people. Basic services such as: housing, streets, water and sanitation could not be provided in sufficient quantities to keep up. In result, instant slums or «shanty-towns» sprung up, usually at the edges of established areas.

In many of the larger cities most of the houses were illegal in that land was simply invaded and the residents «squatted» unless forcibly removed. Even where land could be purchased, land-use planning was usually of a «site and services» variety with no provision for controlling density, the quality of construction and little thought given to schools, parks and social services.

Some of the new arrivals were absorbed in the urban economy but for many unemployment became a permanent feature of their lives. For them survival depended upon begging, «scrounging», petty theft and other marginal activities.

Average, per-capita income was generally higher in cities but the distribution of that income was more uneven than in rural areas. In result, the gap between the wealthy and the poor was not only real but highly visible.

Due to a rapidly increasing birthrate accompanied by a continuing drop in infant mortality, the average age of the population dropped dramatically, to the extent that in some areas the bulk of the population was under the age of 18.

Many children were abandoned by their parents who could not afford to look after them and they roamed the streets begging, shoplifting, pickpocketing and otherwise surviving at the margins of society.

In Colombia, for example, it is estimated that 5 million children were abandoned in recent years. As these children grew older some of them joined delinquent groups and progressed towards some serious

types of delinquency such as, street-robbery, organized burglary, prostitution and drug trafficking.

The state attempted to control this phenomenon by increasing its repressive apparatus particularly the police and the courts; schools were asked to play a larger role in dealing with delinquent and near-delinquent children and specialized institutions and programmes were set up but were rarely adequately funded to make a big impact on the problem. As the state began to take over the social control tasks previously exercised informally in the community, families, lay-persons and indigenous organizations were weakened and became delegitimized, large, impersonal, rule-oriented institutions began to gain a monopoly over crime.

We are advised that the broad pattern as outlined above is continuing to this day.

Despite these economic similarities, juvenile social maladjustment and adult criminality did not follow a single path. The amount, type and seriousness of crime varied from community to community depending in part on the strength of existing norms against such conduct which survived changes in economic relations and in part on the degree to which formal agents of social control were able to gain the respect and co-operation of the citizenry.

It seemed to us that the most interesting aspect of this problem and the one offering the greatest potential for constructive, short-term social intervention would be that focussed on the cultural differences which seemed to be the crucial intervening variables which determine the level of crime that a community will suffer as it undergoes traumatic economic changes.

b) Crime as culture

Culture is more than popular entertainment, arts or letters. In this study it is defined in anthropological terms as the sum total of the attainments, social values and learned behaviour patterns of any specific period, race or people. Within that matrix are social norms governing interpersonal relations and property rights which may or may not be congruent with legal norms enforced by the state.

Certain types of behaviour may be proscribed by the law yet tolerated if not supported by some social groups in a particular society.

Moreover, there may be a gap between the law that is to be found in legislation, official pronouncements and reported decisions of the courts and that experienced in action by individuals and groups located

at different places within the social structure. A useful starting point in understanding social deviance, juvenile delinquency or adult criminality within a particular social context would be an examination of how these concepts are defined and experienced in the everyday lives of the people directly affected. These people would include: delinquents, victims, social control agents operating at the street level and the immediate public with whom those groups interact and give social meaning to their conduct. Such a study would not be constrained by legal definitions but would seek to discover how crime is socially defined and how broad cultural forces impact both on the etiology of deviance and on the manner in which society responds in official and unofficial ways.

Cultural shifts occur relatively gradually and while impacted by law, technology and changes in economic conditions, those shifts are mediated and shaped by the existing cultural patterns within a country. Government policy, by design or through inadvertence, may buttress, encourage or militate against specific cultural traits, but the main carriers of culture are primary groups, most notably the family. In a word culture is socially transmitted.

In periods of rapid social change or in a society with sharp divisions along economic, racial or social lines, individuals and groups tend to be located differently within the dominant culture and some may even experience conflict with certain elements of that culture. In extreme cases in which individuals are uprooted from the cultural context with which they are familiar and are exposed to radically different life situations, where even their survival requires them to abandon learned norms of conduct, they may temporarily experience the cultural vacuum known as anomie. That vacuum tends to be filled rather rapidly, however, as individuals join with others and collectively form a sub-cultural group that provides the conduct norms, justifications and techniques of coping with the shared situation.

Juvenile gangs are one such group. The size, structure and degree of internal solidarity of such groups vary from loose associations better characterized as «near-groups» to well organized structures with hierarchies, divisions of labour and patterned responses to the outside world. The behavioural norms governing individual conduct within the group depend in part on the opportunities afforded by it to meet the needs of its individuals members — money, status, socialization, etc. — and on the reaction of the wider society, particularly official reaction.

Rarely does a group afford total insulation from the wider culture.

While individuals may be marginalized as far as participation in the legitimate economy is concerned, they frequently have some ties to other social, linguistic and ethnic groups, their family, perhaps their school and other friendship networks. Paradoxically, there may be little conflict in personal goals or measures of social prestige between members of groups labelled as delinquent and those not so stigmatized. The differences that exist may only be in the *means* that can be used to achieve universally accepted goals.

For example, official and community reactions to a juvenile delinquent group involved in theft may be harsh in response to specific behaviours of its members but at the same time reinforce some of the goals of the group — the attainment of wealth, power and prestige. In a sense property crime reinforces the value of property and in countries where property acquisition is a measure of social worth, crime is not a revolutionary act but one which buttresses the status quo.

At the societal level there may be hidden admiration of some personal characteristics that juvenile offenders exhibit — independence, audacity, entrepreneurship, physical prowess, etc. The popular culture may even make «folk heroes» of certain criminals whose antics are enjoyed as entertainment.

If corruption exists, or is believed to exist, in government or in big business or if the official agencies of social control (most notably the police and the army) lose their legitimacy by violating universally accepted norms of conduct, then the moral authority of state officials is weakened and the prescriptions for conduct held out by the dominant culture are to a large extent neutralized.

If the local neighbourhood is one that is new, lacking in organization or stability, and consisting of «families» in which traditional patterns of kinship have broken down, there are few countervailing pressures to the conduct norms to be learned in the group.

Crime, therefore, cannot be understood as an isolated or pathological phenomenon set apart from and alien to the broad cultural forces in a society. Even the notion of sub-culture delinquency is misleading to the extent it suggests a subterranean phenomenon in opposition to the dominant culture. Criminogenic elements are rooted in society-wide processes and do not arise magically from the internal workings of one segment of society. While it is the crimes of the poor that are the most visible and most easily detected and recorded, a proper explanation requires an examination not only of factors which predispose particular individuals and groups to commit crime, but also an examination of the wider economic, cultural and social factors

which provide not only the setting within which such crime takes place but also many of the reasons for it.

Perhaps surprisingly, the evidence suggests that even in circumstances in which all of the above-mentioned criminogenic elements are present, crime is not seen as an intrinsically good thing, even by those who commit it (although they justify the necessity for their behaviour by reference to economic need). Juvenile delinquency tends to be an intra-class phenomenon, i.e. the majority of victims belong to the same social class as do the offenders. The research evidence from developing nations suggests that property crime is not a means by which income is redistributed from rich to poor, rather it merely recirculates income among the poor. The social costs are borne by those least able to bear them, the urban poor. In result, property crime is a threat to the precarious economic existence of the residents of poor communities and tends to be universally condemned within those communities. Traditional values with strong prescriptions against stealing survive the transformation from rural to urban society. It is these values that form the raw material for the social defence strategies suggested by our research.

Our point of departure from previous writings in this field is that we do not see current levels of crime and juvenile delinquency suffered in the so-called «third world» as being the inevitable consequence of «modernization» nor do we accept the view that nothing short of the total restructuring of society and the elimination of class differences are worthy of consideration.

While accepting that the goals of economic and social justice are not only desirable in their own right but also argueably offer the best long range solution to crime and juvenile delinquency, it is here and now that communities must find ways of ameliorating the worst aspects of that problem. What we wish to avoid is the pessimism inherent in all deterministic theories of crime causation. The elimination of poverty however laudable as a long range goal is not on the immediate horizon for most countries under study. Nor is it realistic to expect that the trend towards increased industrialization and urbanization will be reversed.

A cultural approach to the problems has other advantages. First, it explains more the evidence. If crime is the inevitable by-product of poverty, class conflict and official corruption, then why is there not more of it? Why is it that countries with similar economic systems and levels of personal wealth have differences in crime rates? Why have crime rates in America and Eastern Europe tracked along during

the 1950s and 1960s with increases in absolute levels of prosperity? Explanations centered on the notion of relative deprivation arising from uneven income distribution or those which focus on the increased opportunities to commit crime in an affluent society, seem hardly adequate to fully explain this phenomenon.

Japan, Switzerland and certain countries in the Middle East, to give but a few examples, have retained traditional cultural values in the face of industrialization and rising prosperity and have crime rates well below other nations at comparable levels of economic development. Whether and for how long those countries can maintain their present position in the light of cultural interpretation in our global society is a good question. Socialist countries report some success in preventing certain types of crime associated with rapid unplanned urbanization through control over internal migration. Other forms of criminal behaviour, most notably economic crimes by people in positions of authority and alcohol-related violence, continue to be of concern in socialist states.

Second, a cultural perspective helps locate the research in the very community under study, permitting us to stay within the definitions of the situation as understood by local inhabitants and thus helps avoid the tendency towards intellectual imperialism characteristic of much research conducted by Western trained scholars in developing nations.

Third, a cultural explanation offers more hope for medium term strategies within the present capacity of the nations under study. While expectations for significant improvement through government policy must be modest and gains will be small, it is those marginal gains that offer realistic goals, short of revolution.

A cultural approach allows for the development of an indigenous social response that is responsive to local conditions and cultural patterns. The tendency to adopt formal models of social control, models developed in the industrialized West, cannot serve the needs of the developing world. In any event, one looks in vain to developed countries for a model of success in dealing with crime associated with rapid urbanization.

In sum, placing crime in relation to specific forms of cultural transformation being experienced in the countries under study it is hoped that we will be able to identify the central issues of policy.

We now turn to the notion of development. Development is not viewed in this study as being restricted to economic development. Rather the well known definition provided by UNESCO will be used: «Development, in short, is an integral and interacting process, both

requiring and precipitating far-reaching social, political, cultural and economic changes». Nor do we see development as inevitably following one path. Using the UNESCO statement again: «It is by no means a unilinear process that moves steadily and smoothly towards some predetermined set of models and values». Marked differences in the way in which social, political and cultural forces have found expression in both socialist and capitalist countries that have undergone economic development should be warning enough to avoid the error of assuming that countries now undergoing rapid industrialization will replay a script written for them by their predecessors.

Even at the economic level the world economic order has rapidly changed since Western Europe and North America became industrialized. The rise of powerful supra-national corporations, the shift from labour intensive to capital intensive industries, the reduction in the need for unskilled labour, and the energy crisis, are among the factors that prevent the Third World from enjoying the benefits of industrialization experienced in Western Europe during the 18th century and in North America thereafter. There are of course some parallels. The destruction of peasant economies and massive migration to urban centres have created a large group of people who are not only marginal to the new economies that have emerged, but are in danger of becoming permanently «marginalized». The cultural impact on those that find themselves in that position is enormous. The new urban poor find themselves separated from rural social structures based on tribal and kinship relations which provided not only subsistence but also socialization. For the first time their physical existence depends upon participating in cash economy to which they have limited access.

Finally, we are not prepared to make the value judgement that all forms of development are necessarily good. The unfortunate tendency to see development as progress, and progress as good, has two implications: first, that the non-industrialized world must inextricably follow the path of the developed world and second, in all important respects nations which have not undergone full industrialization are inferior to those that have.

c) Literature review

This short review is limited to those writings which have examined the impact of economic development on crime. Unfortunately, most of the better known works are those developed by European and

American scholars and most of the theoretical concepts which have emerged are, to a large extent, cultural-bound. They are mentioned here not because they play a central role in our own study but because such writings dominate the field.

Criminological theory developed in Western Europe from the early works of Quetelet and Lombroso. Lombroso chose to focus on the individual characteristics of the offender, while for Quetelet the central task of criminology was to identify the social factors which impact upon the existence and distribution of crime in society. The two approaches, those that are individually oriented and those that examine crime in the wider context, continue to this day.

The French scholar Guerry analysed the effect of age, sex, race, education, profession and economic conditions on crime. He noted a striking, similarity and regularity in crime patterns in Western European nations studied and subsequently concluded that scientific methods could be applied to the study of criminal behaviour. Guerry was followed by Tarde who noted that crime rates rose rapidly with the industrialization of society. He developed the concept of «imitation» to explain the increase in crime in rapidly growing cities. He speculated that the growth of urban areas served as breeding ground for criminal activity where newcomers learned to imitate others who were already criminally-oriented. Both Marx and Engels commenting upon increasing crime rates which accompanied industrialization, attempted to explain this phenomenon in terms of economic exploitation of the working class resulting in the creation of a group of «lumpen proletariat» who were forced to commit crime out of dire economic need.

Durkheim in contrast with Marx and Engels asserted that it was changes in the social relations of society rather than in the economic system that were responsible for the sudden change from relatively constant crime rates to rapidly accelerating rates accompanying rapid urbanization. Durkheim's most significant theoretical contribution to the field of criminology is his formulation of the concept of anomie. This concept has been applied in different societies to explain social deviance of many kinds. It has gained extensive support because it appears not to be culture-bound and has a universality not present in other theories of criminal behaviour. According to this theory, when a society is in a state of rapid transition, the rules which govern conduct break down or do not exist. On the other hand aspirations for the acquisition of material goods rise. Cities which he called «citadels of loneliness» stimulate but never satisfy ambition. Chronic anomie

occurs when overwhelming importance is attached to material progress without countervailing societal pressures which would regulate and channel human conduct along socially acceptable lines.

American scholars have taken the concept of anomie much further. The pioneering work of Robert Merton provided a foundation from which several other specific explanations were developed. According to Merton, deviance is most likely in societies in which success is a major societal possession or the social status that denotes success. He concentrated on the «false promise» of material reward in an acquisitive society. Individuals who are blocked from achieving success in socially acceptable ways resort to illegitimate deviant means to obtain those goals.

Thorsten Sellin proposed a theory of culture conflict in the same year as Merton's theory of anomie surfaced. According to Sellin certain types of crime in America could be explained in terms of conflict between the norms of different cultural codes which are in conflict and cause clashes on the borders of contiguous cultural areas. Those clashes may find expression in juvenile delinquency and crime when the laws of one cultural group are extended over the territory of another.

Edward Sutherland, a contemporary of Merton and Sellin, is recognized as one of the fathers of American criminology. Sutherland formulated the notion of «differential association». He saw the aetiology of crime as arising from the social and economic changes involved in the industrialization of the Western World, accompanied by perverse individualism and the strive for material success. In that world people are located differently within the social matrix. In that matrix are individuals who identify with criminal norms of conduct and those who accept the proscriptions against criminal behaviour. According to Sutherland an individual will have a tendency to commit crime if he associates with the former rather than the latter. Criminal behaviour therefore is learned through interaction with others. The extent to which criminal norms and habits are acquired is determined by the intensity and duration of the association with existing criminals. A criminogenic community or group is one in which there is an «excess of definitions favourable to the commission of criminal acts». Both criminals and non-criminals are motivated by the desire of material goods, however the non-criminal individual is sufficiently committed to society's norms and values to channel his desires through legitimate means whilst the criminal will pursue his goal by illegitimate means.

There are a number of limits to the theory of differential association and its precursor. First of all the reasoning is tautological. To say that an individual is a criminal because he identifies with criminal values is clearly circular.

The theory is more descriptive than heuristic. While it is true that one may find an excess of definitions favourable to criminality in existing delinquent groups, what does that explain? It has very little to say about what particular individuals seek out a delinquent solution to frustrated aspiration for material wealth, and it offers little insight into the wider economic, cultural and social factors which differentially impact on various social groups in society. More importantly, differential association standing by itself does not provide a framework for social intervention.

An attempt to fill the gap in Sutherland's theory was advanced by the American scholars Shaw and McKay in the 1930s. According to their theory of «social disorganization», urban areas characterised by poor economic conditions, competing and conflicting moral values, lack of community organizations and alienation from formal agencies of social control, provide the setting within which crime is seen by many of the residents as a means not only of survival but of social and economic status. According to this theory, children in socially disorganized areas turn to delinquent behaviour because they are alienated from their parents and the social institutions around them. Whatever the validity of this theory during the 1930s, it cannot be applied to later stages of community transformation when social mobility decreases and the community becomes organized along formal lines. The theory of social disorganization cannot explain the perpetuation of high levels of urban criminality in later stages of development. However, the Chicago school of criminology, identified with Shaw and McKay, has had a lasting impact on American criminological thought. The idea of working with local communities in developing social structures with which the residents can identify as a means of crime prevention finds expression in community-based programmes to this day.

Cloward and Ohlin took the concept of anomie, as originated by Durkheim and developed by Merton, a step further. According to these authors, lower class American boys correctly perceive that their opportunities to acquire material success and social status are limited. They look for other means to obtain their objectives. The discrepancy from what they desire from life and what they can realistically expect to attain causes them to strive for success by other than legitimate means.

American society, particularly in large urban centres, provides both a legitimate and an illegitimate opportunity structure. Whether an individual chooses a legitimate means or an illegal method to achieve material wealth depends in part on the incentives offered by existing delinquent groups and in part by the degree to which upward mobility within the larger society is blocked.

A number of writers have examined the inner workings of delinquent subculture, particularly juvenile gangs, in America. One fact that previous theories could not account for was that a high proportion of the delinquent acts of juveniles were not those that generate economic benefit for the delinquent. According to Albert Cohen delinquent subcultures arise as the collective solution to the inability of individuals to succeed within established structures of society. By changing the norms of status and success in their own terms, the activities of the group are directed towards the attainment of short term objectives. It is status and excitement that vandalism can create, rather than economic gain. According to Cohen, Walter Miller and others, the predominance of these short term values among lower class youth explains their widespread delinquency, and the relative severity and destructiveness of their acts of criminality. Critics have pointed out, however, that significant amounts of criminality exist among middle class youth and that any theory of delinquency which fails to take this into account must be obviously flawed. Recent research has also shown that the rejection of middle class values by members of delinquent groups is not as marked as the subcultural theorists suggest.

American criminological thought is now at a turning point. Theories of crime causation based on the failure of the «American dream» realized by all American citizens must be modified in the light of the recent research evidence which suggests that for the first time in American history, the present generation passing out of their teens do not expect to achieve higher social status and economic success than their parents. Whatever the weaknesses of American criminological thought within its own context, it would appear to be irresponsible to export it uncritically to other countries.

All these American theories of criminal behaviour represent partial explanations of the problem of contemporary criminality. They are to a large extent cultural-bound and arose at a particular stage in the evolution of American society. They are predicated on the then existing conditions in large and rapidly expanding American cities which raised expectations for increase in material prosperity without providing adequate means of access to that wealth for all. To some

extent the «American dream» has been exported to countries now undergoing development, but for many urban residents in those countries the problem is one of survival. «Getting to the top» is not an issue for most residents.

Until very recently, Western-based criminological theory was virtually silent on crime in non-industrialized countries. Three important books have surfaced in the past decade which have attempted to fill this gap. The pioneering work by Clinard and Abbott, *Crime in Developing Countries* provided a start but the book attempts to fit data from a number of developing countries to the theory of differential association developed primarily by Sutherland in the United States. Clinard and Abbott see crime in the non-developed world as a replay of events which occurred in Western Europe and the United States some 100 years before. They offer as possible solutions similar programmes as those advocated by Shaw and McKay for Chicago in the 1930s, programmes which by all accounts did not achieve their stated aims.

The second book is by Louise Shelley, *Crime and Modernization*, published in 1981. One of the advantages of her book is that it attempts to integrate data from various regions of the world and includes, for the first time, comparative analysis of both socialist and capitalist societies. Her thesis is not dissimilar to that of Abbott and Clinard. She sees crime over the past 200 years as a consistent response to what she calls «modernization». In particular she sees the hallmark of modernization as the transition from a society dominated by violent crime to one characterized by increasing property crime. The critical features of modernization for this writer is industrialization and mass migration to urban centres which disrupts traditional family and other institutional patterns. Like Clinard and Abbott she sees the future for the developing world as an imitation of what has already happened in those parts of the world that have become industrialized and are now entering the post-industrial era.

Our principal criticism of Shelley's book lies in the vagueness inherent in the concept «modernization». What has become «modern», the modes of production, social relations, physical habitat, or government infrastructures? Changes have in fact occurred but, in what specific ways do those changes produce crime? What are the intervening variables which mediate their impact and explain differences in crime rates between countries at similar levels of economic development? It is in answering this latter question that we may get closer to understanding the aetiology of crime in specific terms and in ways

that are suggestive of an appropriate social response by governments. To accept the author's thesis that increased crime is the inevitable consequence of the passage of time in all societies regardless of their stage of development, social system or cultural background is far too deterministic to be acceptable.

An important selection of critical essays edited by Colin Summer has just been published under the title *Crime, Justice and Underdevelopment*. Writing from a Marxist perspective the contributors to this volume see crime as the inevitable consequence of colonial capitalism and their studies attempt to show how the criminal law and the state are used in the transformation of indigenous rural societies to urbanized but strictly dependent economies with chronic high unemployment or underemployment as their major feature. In the introduction Summer makes some powerful criticisms of the two earlier mentioned works. Concentration on crimes by the poor and ignoring those of the powerful, failure to recognize the role of the police and the army in military dictatorships, and the failure to recognize fundamental changes in the world economy which would prevent the «delay replay» assumptions made by both Shelley and by Clinard and Abbott, are among the criticisms made. When it comes however to suggestions for social policy the volume provides very little except for the implicit call for the transformation from capitalist to socialist economic order. Like the previous two books this collection makes the assumption that crime is the inevitable consequence of changes in economic relations.

Our search for a paradigm has led us to take the bold move of stepping outside existing orthodoxy, of abandoning main stream criminological theory and of moving tentatively along the uncharted path towards a «third-world criminology». As a first step it is a small and tentative one and time alone will prove if it is in the right direction. Like a blind man caught on the side of a mountain which must be climbed: any step, even if it is in the wrong direction, will point the way up.

d) Methodology

In every research project decisions taken prior to the collection and analysis of data have profound effects on what will be found or «discovered» in the course of the research. Decisions as to the choice of the subjects, the questions to be asked, the manner in which the data will be gathered, the research instruments to be used, etc. may

yield very different results.

The more well defined the topic is, based on previous research or general knowledge about the phenomenon, the more precise and standardized the methodology can be. On the other hand, if the phenomenon is not well understood or if sufficient theoretical or empirical work is absent, then it becomes important to start from a more general perspective sacrificing some reliability, standardization and repeatability in the interest of obtaining information which validly describes the phenomenon.

In this case we were prepared to make only two assumptions based on what the literature and common «knowledge» provided. First, there is a widely accepted proposition that high rates of juvenile social maladjustment are associated with rapid urbanization. This seemed to be a proposition worth testing. Second, despite this, crime rates appear to be different in countries with similar rates of growth. Moreover, most commentators on this phenomenon explain those differences in terms of variations in degrees of social cohesion particularly kinship ties which survive the transformation from rural to urban society. If this be the case it would be worth finding out the extent and manner in which cultural factors intervene.

After considerable discussion within UNSDRI and after negotiations and on-site visits to some ten different cities in developing countries, two Latin American cities (Bogotá, Colombia and San José, Costa Rica), two African cities (Dakar, Senegal and Lagos, Nigeria) and one Indian metropolitan area (Bombay) were included in the study. It was hoped that the range of cultural differences among these countries would allow us to test our basic hypotheses.

Given the absence of previous research in the area and our wish to avoid over-defining the phenomenon in advance, it was decided that it would be important to attempt to understand juvenile social maladjustment through the eyes of the local residents and professional persons living in the areas of each city selected. It was decided to collect perceptions and attitudes of six samples of opinion in each city.

Two areas from each city were selected: namely, an area that was relatively stable in terms of population growth (designated A1) and an area which had undergone rapid increase in population in recent years (designated A2).

We quickly discovered that in most countries participating it was not possible to find two areas of the city chosen that were similar in all respects except for the rate of population growth. The «ideal-typical» models of urban communities drawn from theory had to give

way to the reality of a complex mix of social, economic and cultural factors unique to each area finally chosen. As our interest shifted more towards understanding how social and cultural factors impact upon social deviance, the initial research difficulty came to be seen not as a problem but as an advantage.

From each of the two areas in the selected cities three samples of opinion were gathered: 200 adult citizens, 200 juveniles and 50 professional persons working with children from each area.

Due to the absence of adequate sampling frames in some cases it was necessary to allow flexibility in selecting the subjects to be interviewed and in the case of two countries it was not possible to find sufficient professionals to complete the required 50. The size of the overall sample (approximately 900 persons for each city) gave us some confidence that the expression of opinion collected would represent the populations from which they were derived. On the other hand, when the data was finally submitted to UNSDRI for analysis there appeared to be rather large differences in basic characteristics of the samples such as age, sex, education and occupation, which might account for some of the differences in responses to particular questions. The next section of this chapter reports on those differences.

Given the fact that it was decided to maintain maximum flexibility, to avoid precise hypotheses and to stay within the definitions of the situation as understood by local inhabitants, it was necessary for us to ask very general questions directed towards understanding the everyday and ordinary meanings of juvenile social maladjustment in the community at large.

Some standardization was of course necessary, and therefore it was decided that the same questions would be asked in all participating countries and that a mix of closed and opened-ended questions would be used. The questionnaires were originally drafted in English. They had to be translated into the languages of each participating country and in the cases of India and the two African countries the questions were further interpreted in the languages of the local population. Given the differences in cultural interpretations of words some loss in standardization might have occurred. However, the questions were rather simple and it is hoped that such loss was within acceptable limits.

Those questions asked may be clustered around 7 dimensions of the phenomenon that our local advisors suggested would be relevant to their individual countries and from a theoretical point of view seemed relevant to all. They are:

- a) *a general description* of the economic, social and demographic

characteristics of the two areas selected from a city. Most of the information about this dimension was requested and received from local teams selected to administer the project;

b) the basic aspects of the way in which juveniles spend their everyday lives. Information concerning this dimension was obtained from questionnaires administered to the three populations sampled;

c) the phenomenon of juvenile social maladjustment. We were interested to know how the community defines and responds to juvenile social maladjustment in each area. It was decided not to restrict the definition of social maladjustment to legal categories of juvenile delinquency contained within national legislation. Rather, all forms of socially-defined troublesome behaviour of juveniles would be examined. Our hope was to discover the perceptions and attitudes of the community, its level of tolerance and its predictions for the future. Several questions in our questionnaire dealt with this subject;

d) the strength of family and kinship ties. Since the little research that has been carried out in developing countries tends to show that the amount of juvenile social maladjustment that a community will suffer depends in part on the social controls exercised over children by adults that are connected to them by way of familial and other close relationships, it was decided to incorporate a number of questions about this in our questionnaire;

e) the strength of community ties. Apart from familial relationships, it can be expected that the community as a whole may have an influence over the conduct of children. Therefore it was deemed important to ask several questions about formal and informal social structures within the community and how children relate to them;

f) relationships with formal agencies of social control. Since the police and juvenile courts and various social agencies have legal responsibility to deal with children it seemed important to understand how those agencies are viewed by children and their parents. Similarly, it would be interesting to know how professionals working in these agencies view their own performance. Finally, it might be useful to compare the attitudes and perceptions concerning agency performance between the three populations comprising our sample;

g) recommendations for future social policy. We asked several questions concerning the measures that could be undertaken by governments in dealing more effectively with juvenile social maladjustment. We wished to know the types of recommendations that would be made and the extent to which there was agreement within and between the three groups interviewed. It was our hope that the information col-

lected would be of use to governments concerned in fashioning an appropriate social response — a response which not only incorporates the collective wisdom of the people most directly involved but also one which would receive public support.

e) A Description of the samples

A sample fairly represents the population from which it is drawn if in all relevant aspects the characteristics of the sample are identical to that of its parent population. This is usually done by selecting a random sample from a list which comprises the total population of individuals or households. It was not possible to achieve this in this case as in most countries participating an adequate sampling frame did not exist. The only alternative was to ask the local teams to attempt to draw samples which were as representative as possible.

Nonetheless, some bias in some of our samples appears evident from a cursory examination of the basic characteristics of those samples. There are significant differences in age, sex and occupation among the various samples selected. One must assume that some of the differences in response to particular questions in our questionnaires were due to the composition of the samples selected. For example, one could assume that social workers and police officers would view juvenile social maladjustment rather differently. Similarly, one would expect some difference in response from male and female juveniles as well as differences among younger and older adults.

In the case of professionals the sampling fraction, i.e., the proportion that the sample represents of the total population, is very high and in some cases approaches 100%. Sample bias was not a problem in this area. However, given national differences in the make-up of professionals working with children, other problems of interpretation arose. For example the number of women who hold professional jobs varies from country to country. We have large differences in the female component of our professional samples. Similarly, some countries have a relatively well established network of supporting professional staff working with children whilst others find it necessary to rely more heavily upon the police and the courts. In result the professional background varies considerably from country to country. This being the case one has to guard against over-interpreting the data, particularly if one wishes to draw comparisons. It may be that differences in professional response to our questions had as much to do with the type of professionals interviewed as with the objective nature of juvenile social

maladjustment in the areas in which they work.

Bearing this caution in mind, it is necessary to be tentative about our findings, to restrict comparative analysis to a very few generalizations heavily supported by the analysis and to focus on results from the questionnaires where the data overwhelmingly supports particular conclusions.

Similar problems arose in relation to selecting the geographical areas within each city. This was largely left to the local teams who were asked to follow guidelines agreed upon at a meeting of all local team leaders held at UNSDRI in January 1981. In retrospect, those guidelines were as specific and detailed as they should have been. All teams well understood the need to select two areas, one that had undergone rapid, recent population growth and a second that was relatively stable in terms of growth. It appears now that it was not understood that it would be important from a scientific point of view to match the areas as much as possible in terms of characteristics other than the rate of growth. These other characteristics could have included such factors as the income level of heads of households and demographic characteristics of the population.

The result is that the contrast between Area 1 and Area 2 varies among the cities participating. For example, in Bogotá two very poor areas were selected: one a genuine shanty-town and the other an older low-income area contiguous with the first area and also to the commercial centre of the city. In contrast, in Dakar a stable area in the centre of town and a newer but poorer area on the outskirts were selected. In Bombay it was not possible to isolate rapid urbanization in terms of specific geographic areas. New arrivals have settled in most areas of the city and side by side different levels of income and standards of housing exist. Therefore, the notional designation of A1 and A2 breaks down almost completely.

In Lagos, the rapidly urbanized area selected was a middle-class, suburban area which was contrasted with an old deteriorated slum in the centre.

By frankly admitting these deficiencies it is not suggested that the research design eventually carried out makes the exercise worthless. What it does however is to force certain changes in emphasis. Our design does not permit us to come to firm conclusions concerning the impact of rapid urbanization on juvenile social maladjustment. Rather, our attention turns more to attempting to understand how various populations within each of the five cities selected define the phenomenon of juvenile social maladjustment and the content of their

belief system concerning it.

Differences from city to city in response to the questionnaires may not be due to the simple fact of rapid/non-rapid urbanization, but to the types of urban communities selected for the study or to differences in the make-up of samples of persons interviewed. On the other hand, if *similar* responses are received to particular questions despite the heterogeneity of the interviewees, then those answers assume greater significance and may be of considerable importance.

The selected social areas in the different cities were as follow:

Basic sample characteristics

	Area of non-rapid urbanization (A1)	Area of rapid urbanization (A2)
Bogotá	«Paraíso»	«San Martín»
San José	«Barrio de Córdoba»	«15 de Septiembre»
Bombay	«G. Southward»	«M. Ward»
Lagos	«Isale Eko»	«Surulere»
Dakar	«Plateau»	«Pikine» and «Xar Yalla»

a) Total sample size:

JUVENILES

	Area	
Bogotá	«Paraíso»	119 interviewees
	«San Martín»	120 »
San José	«Barrio de Córdoba»	204 »
	«15 de Septiembre»	200 »
Bombay	«G. Southward»	200 »
	«M. Ward»	203 »
Lagos	«Isale Eko»	199 »
	«Surulere»	199 »
Dakar	«Plateau»	30 »
	«Pikine» and «Xar Yalla»	168 »

PUBLIC

	Area	
Bogotá	«Paraíso»	200 interviewees
	«San Martín»	200 »
San José	«Barrio de Córdoba»	320 »
	«15 de Septiembre»	320 »
Bombay	«G. Southward»	266 »
	«M. Ward»	304 »
Lagos	«Isale Eko»	199 »
	«Surulere»	199 »
Dakar	«Plateau»	201 »
	«Pikine» and «Xar Yalla»	201 »

PROFESSIONALS

	Area	
Bogotá	«Paraíso»	30 interviewees
	«San Martín»	30 »
San José	«Barrio de Córdoba»	23 »
	«15 de Septiembre»	27 »
	«Alajuelita» *	52 »
Bombay	«G. Southward»	43 »
	«M. Ward»	58 »
Lagos	«Isale Eko»	50 »
	«Surulere»	50 »
Dakar	«Plateau»	66 »
	«Pikine» and «Xar Yalla»	52 »

The total number of interviewees, 4,536, is divided in categories as follows:

Juveniles	1,644
Public	2,410
Professionals	482

* Because of the inability to reach the foreseen number of professionals (100) the Costa Rican experts inserted subjects belonging to an area similar to 15 de Septiembre (Alajuelita).

and by cities as follows:

Bogotá	699
San José	1,147
Bombay	1,074
Lagos	898
Dakar	718

b) Age

The average age of the 1,644 juveniles interviewed was at the time of data collection approximately 15 years, the oldest juveniles were those in Dakar (16.2 years) and the youngest in Bogotá (14.6). In terms of age alone, there does not appear to be large differences which might account for variations in responses to the questionnaires.

The average age of the 2,410 adult members of the public was 36.7 years, however, there is over ten years difference between the oldest group (A1 in Lagos - 42.5 years) and the youngest group (A2 in Dakar - 31.4 years). This difference is sufficiently large to have a possible impact on results.

The average age of the professionals as a total group was 36.7 years. Here too there were significant differences between samples. The oldest group (A2 in Bombay) had an average age of 44 years, while the youngest group (A1 in Dakar) was 32.1 years. One must be careful in interpreting differences in the responses of professionals in Bombay as opposed to Dakar, which may be accounted for (at least in part) by differences in age.

c) Sex

This variable yields remarkable differences among the samples selected. In the juvenile group women comprised a majority in San José (52.2%), while in Dakar they represented only 19% of the juvenile group interviewed. Religious and cultural attitudes in Senegal may account for the unwillingness of female juveniles to be interviewed.

With respect to the non-professional public, women represent 43.1% of our total sample. In Dakar they represent only 23.4% but in Bogotá they are a clear majority: 63.3%.

Similar sex differences in our sample show up in the professional

group. Overall, women make up almost 39% of the total sample of professionals, but in Dakar they comprise only 8.6%. In contrast, area A2 in San José is serviced by a majority of female professionals (52%).

These large differences in the sex composition of the various samples must be borne in mind when interpreting the data.

d) Professional background

As stated earlier the local team collected information from nearly all professional persons working in areas A1 and A2, and therefore problems of sampling bias do not arise. However, the areas studied are remarkably different from each other in terms of the professional background of persons interviewed.

Overall, the most representative categories were:

- teachers 23%
- social workers 14%
- judicial officers 11%
- police officers 8.3%

However, the police range from a maximum of 16% in Bombay to less than 2% in San José, counsellors represent almost 30% in Dakar and less than 3% in Bombay, school teachers and allied professionals working out of the school system comprise 40% of the professional sample in Lagos but only 10% in Bombay, social workers range from 35% in Bombay to 1.6% in Bogotá and court officials range from 26.6% in Bogotá to 9.3% in Dakar.

Given the fact that well-known and documented differences in attitudes exist among these professional groups, the data obtained may be, to a large extent, coloured by the particular professional mix providing answers.

Given the particular ways in which the areas of rapid and non-rapid urbanization were selected and given a lack of consistency of how the various samples of individuals to be interviewed were chosen, together with differences in the ways in which the questionnaires were interpreted and administered to the interviewees, it was decided that it would be misleading to present the data in a comparative format. However, the very heterogeneity among the areas selected for study does provide some advantages.

What we have in this study is a range of urban phenomena which reflects some of the many ways in which urbanization impacts upon communities in the Third World. Thus, in the case of Lagos there is what may be labelled as «centrifugal migration» to the suburbs as con-

trasted with «centripetal migration» of urban residents moving into cities, most dramatically represented in our study by San José and Bogotá. Within this latter category we see further complexities. In Bombay, new arrivals tend to be dispersed throughout the city, but the area designated as A2, subject to the greatest growth, is considered to have a slightly higher standard of living than the so-called slow-growth area. The opposite is true for other cities such as Dakar, Bogotá and San José. Moreover, the degree of planning, physical conditions and social organization varies considerably from city to city.

Thus, we cover a wide spectrum of urban phenomena. This permits us to be rather more sophisticated in our treatment of the impact of urbanization on juvenile social maladjustment. As we shall see the simple fact of rapid urbanization does not necessarily yield high rates of juvenile social maladjustment. Indeed, our data show that in some cities official and perceived rates of crime and juvenile delinquency are lower in A2 than in A1. Our analysis will attempt to identify some of the reasons for this.

CASE STUDY No. 1

BOGOTA - COLOMBIA

a) Background information

This chapter includes a summary of basic information related to the social, economic, demographic and criminological situation in the city of Bogotá, where the study was carried out. These data have been extracted from the material provided by the local team of experts and from official specialized publications. A much more detailed description is contained in the national report prepared by the local teams.

The main feature of Colombia's urban life is over-population. Over the last thirty years, the massive flow of population from the rural areas to the city has brought about radical changes in population distribution and in the national urban structure.

Colombia's demographic experience is different to that of other developing countries. Colombia is an «urban» country, almost one third of the population live in four metropolitan areas: Bogotá, Medellín, Cali and Barranquilla.

Colombia has approximately 28,700,000 inhabitants, 5,200,000 of which live in Bogotá, its capital. In less than 13 years — from 1951 to 1965, period of massive rural-urban area exodus — cities like Bogotá, Cali, Medellín, Barranquilla, Cartagena, Bucaramanga and Manizales doubled their population.

According to 1973 census, there are approximately 8 million peasants who must feed themselves and produce food for 13 million urban inhabitants. At present, three out of four urban inhabitants are sons of peasants. In 1975, the inhabitants of Bogotá accounted for 15% of the total population, with an annual increase of approximately 250,000 inhabitants. In the decade 1964-1975 the increase reached 7.6% and in the period 1975-1980 the increase has been 6.5%. Apart from a purely demographic point of view, it is important to point out the economic predominance of the capital where the average level of income is 65% higher than in the rest of the country. The distribution of income, is more uneven in Bogotá. In result, both the wealthiest and poorest members of society live there.

Over 97% of the construction-permits in Bogotá are allotted to housing. Of course, statistical data does not include slums (built without permits) that spring-up in the outskirts of each city. Entire

slum neighbourhoods are built-up overnight on abandoned plots of land or land without owners. Growth and concentration processes have not been carried out in a harmonious and orderly manner. Bogotá cannot cope with the basic needs, the demand for work is much higher than employment opportunities which industry and commerce can offer. Unemployment and underemployment are endemic phenomena.

Housing presents the biggest problem for the larger part of the urban population. There is shortage of houses, primary services, communication facilities and security measures which affect part or all the community and exasperates disparities. The cost of land, increased by rural exodus, also creates segregation in the urban areas. There are poles of deplorable and superlative housing right next to each other.

At present almost 70% of the new buildings in Bogotá are unauthorized: they lack water, sewers, roads of access and other services. There are four construction markets in Bogotá: 1) where middle-high socio-economic groups live; 2) government housing for low-income residents; 3) public land occupied by «squatters» referred to as «invaded areas» and finally 4) unauthorized private development or what is labelled as «pirate urbanization». It is estimated that 45 to 60 percent of all families in Bogotá have no access to the commercial construction market due to their low income levels.

a) squatter areas

At present there are around 16 squatter areas in Bogotá which occupy approximately 78.5 ha. with a population of about 71,100 people.

Squatters were concentrated, from the beginning, in the city's outskirts and were mainly composed of migrants. They have always been in constant evolution but have a certain degree of informal organization and discipline. Dwellings are constructed on public land and generally lack facilities; housing is of poor quality, built with unstable material, sometimes even with waste material. Their main traits are unsanitary conditions and overpopulation.

In some squatter areas there are community-based organizations with education and health committees. In some cases they even obtain legal status from the Ministry of Justice who has the task of helping and assisting newcomers. Squatters depend considerably on relatives and friends who are the ones who decide whether they should migrate and where they should settle in the metropolitan area.

b) pirate urbanization

In Bogotá, for over 40 years, the major producer of houses, responsible for more than 40 percent of the existing urban housing has been the sector known as «pirate urbanization» which authorities combat more in theory than in practice. Such urbanized areas have been the result of plots of land sold by illegal urban speculators (who sell plots with no water or paved road or electricity). In these plots, houses are built little by little and this phenomenon is known as «self-construction». This type of construction can last up to 10 years but benefits both society and the family by saving the expenses of administration, manpower and house design. The long period in constructing a house allows the head of the family, when he is jobless, to stop work and start again when he has saved some money. Once the house has been finished the cost of rent is eliminated from the family budget. On the other hand, renting some rooms or the installation of a small workshop might help to increase the family's income. In time and by exercising pressure on the authorities the new owners may obtain public services and will then invest in additional building materials bringing the physiognomy of the district more in line with the other districts and thereby consolidating the sector.

Pirate urbanization occupies an area of approximately 1,309 ha. with a total of 170 districts and 576,116 inhabitants. In terms of numbers it is a much more important feature of the urban scene than housing built on invaded public land.

For Government offices in charge of urban planning, these districts are sometimes seen as an obstacle for the carrying out of already established programmes such as building of roads, sports grounds, etc.

On the other hand, once these pirate urban areas are integrated in the productive process of the city, they save the Government the cost of planning and the creation of artisanal infrastructures.

The majority of these areas have social committees that help the newcomers in the adaptation process. As a rule settlement takes place as a result of the suggestion of members of the family or friends.

c) health conditions

The mortality rate is approximately eight per thousand; this rate has decreased considerably over the last ten years (from fourteen per thousand to eight per thousand). In the 60's and the 70's the most

frequent illnesses were tuberculosis, gastro-interitis, malaria etc.

According to the recent official data there has been substantive improvement in the health situation, but it is still a lingering problem for some citizens.

The main problems are: insufficient health services for all the population; inadequate co-ordination of the health institutions; lack of participation of the communities; rapid increases in the cost of services; the high rate of mortality and morbidity regarding some predictable and curable diseases, accidents, malnutrition and parasites, etc.

One of the main causes of infant mortality is malnutrition, 250 children die every day in Colombia for this and other reasons such as: diarrhea and respiratory diseases and accidents. The National Food and Nutrition Plan (PAN), started by the Government was designed to eliminate malnutrition and to benefit the poorest 30% of the population, but it only assists 1,300,000 Colombians. Deplorable housing and hygienic conditions in which a high percentage of the population live increases health problems and greatly influences the rate of infantile mortality. Only 15% of the water supply is adequately treated to make it drinkable, 27% of the population in the urban areas and 54% of those in the rural areas lack water supply. Less than 1% of the sewage system is supplied with treatment of waste water; 39% of the urban area and 86% of the rural area lack any type of sewage service.

d) education system

The education system in Colombia is divided in three phases; pre-school (2 years), primary (5 years) and secondary (6 years). Primary school is compulsory and free of charge; 80 out of every 100 children enter the primary school; 42% of city children and 8.7% of rural children complete primary school; 35 out of every 100 enter the secondary school but only 17% of these complete high school.

In 1951 there were 3,700,000 illiterate persons and 4,100,000 in 1964, but since the population increased during this period from 11 to 17 million, the illiteracy ratio has decreased proportionally. The number of students in all types of education went from 2,700,000 in 1963 to over 3,000,000 in 1966.

e) employment

The official unemployment rate fluctuates but is usually reported

to be under 10%. However, due to rapid growth, the economic structure of the big cities causes the proliferation of various forms of «sub-occupations» or «disguised occupations» such as: shoe-shiners, stevedores, street vendors, etc. The industrialized «boom» that marked the 50's and the 60's has now come to an end. The high number of newly unemployed and underemployed persons are now appearing on the scene. The result is a continuous and growing increase in the tertiary urban sector which one way or another produces food for a large percentage of the population. Among the many negative aspects we find a hypertrophic, parasitic and inefficient tertiary that absorbs the nation's income and in some cities involves over 60% of the economically active population.

Three million children work in a wide range of occupations and many of them are exploited; 47% work seven days a week and one out of four work 12 hours a day. The phenomenon of «consignment» of children is frequent in Colombia. Parents who cannot maintain their children «consign» them in family houses where they are given food and lodging in exchange for domestic help which the child is able to do. Unfortunately, some of the chores carried out by these children endanger their physical and psychological health.

f) problems of delinquency and other forms of social pathology

Although there have been great changes in Colombia over the last few years — from improvement in the educational and medical services to a decrease in illiteracy and higher expectancies of better living conditions, the phenomenon of delinquency together with inflation and unemployment constitute serious national problems and their socio-economic implications cast shadows over any analysis.

The situation is deplorable as measured against any national or international standard:

a) the growing evolution of delinquency is difficult to measure. If homicides is taken as a reliable indicator, Colombia presents one of the highest rates in the world;

b) the urbanization process has produced living conditions with serious repercussions in terms of health, safety and family life;

c) although the rate of infantile mortality has decreased, it continues to be very high particularly in some areas;

d) unemployment and under-employment, particularly in the urban areas, are serious problems.

Seventy percent of the reported crimes were committed in urban

areas and 40% of these are concentrated in the three urbanized zones in the country: Bogotá, Cali and Medellín.

The most frequent crimes, as classified by the Penal Code are:

- crimes against property 58%
- crimes against the person 20%
- sexual crimes 5%
- others 16%

The police are giving particular attention to the increasing number of professional pick-pockets in the capital. Many homicides committed in Bogotá have been the result of house and street robberies.

«Raponazo» (street robbery) is the most common crime committed by juveniles. It consists in tearing off watches, earrings and other personal objects from people in the street.

Contraband is another traditional form of illegal activity, especially illegal drug traffic in cocaine, marijuana and heroin; this last substance is in constant increase. According to police sources, drugs are second only to coffee in Colombian exportation. Colombia's problems as regards drugs are not limited to the international trafficking but include domestic consumption among juveniles, specially among students. According to official sources, in 1975, 43.3% of Colombian students made regular use of barbiturates, marijuana, LSD or cocaine. This percentage is much higher than in the USA or Europe.

Many families are forced to abandon their children due to the dire condition of misery in which they live; it is reported that over five million children have been abandoned by their parents in the past ten years.

In the last few years the phenomenon of «gaminismo» (youth living in the street) has increased in urban areas and has caused insecurity with regard to property and personal security.

Groups of «gamines» invade the streets at a very early age to beg and roam, later to carry out light chores mixed with transgressive activities of a marginal type. Finally, as they grow older and in their plight for survival as well as because of the conditioning effect of the emarginated urban context, some of them become involved in more serious types of criminal behaviour.

With regard to the penal system, juveniles under 14 who have committed a crime are put under the custody of their parents until they reach 18; between 14 and 18 they are generally sent to a reformatory. Juvenile delinquents, in general, present the following characteristics: they are male, between 6 and 14 years of age, have

minimum schooling and come from precarious economic and family situations.

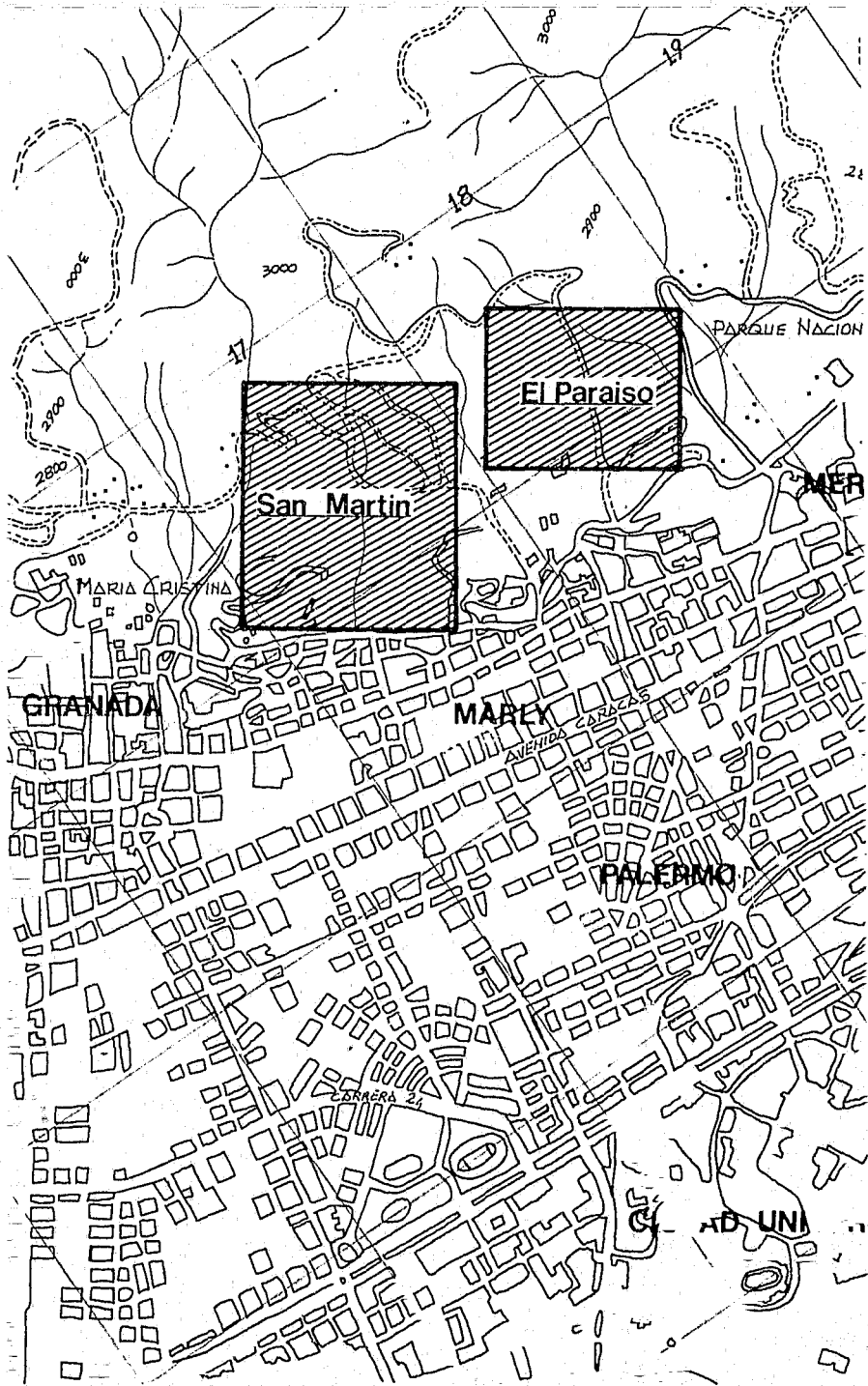
There are institutions for juveniles. These are managed by the Colombian Institute for Family Welfare or the District Social Welfare. Three of the institutions are situated in the city (these are for women and are run by nuns) and two are situated in rural areas. These institutions are essentially for the protection, prevention and rehabilitation of juveniles. Children are referred by the juvenile courts, social works and the police.

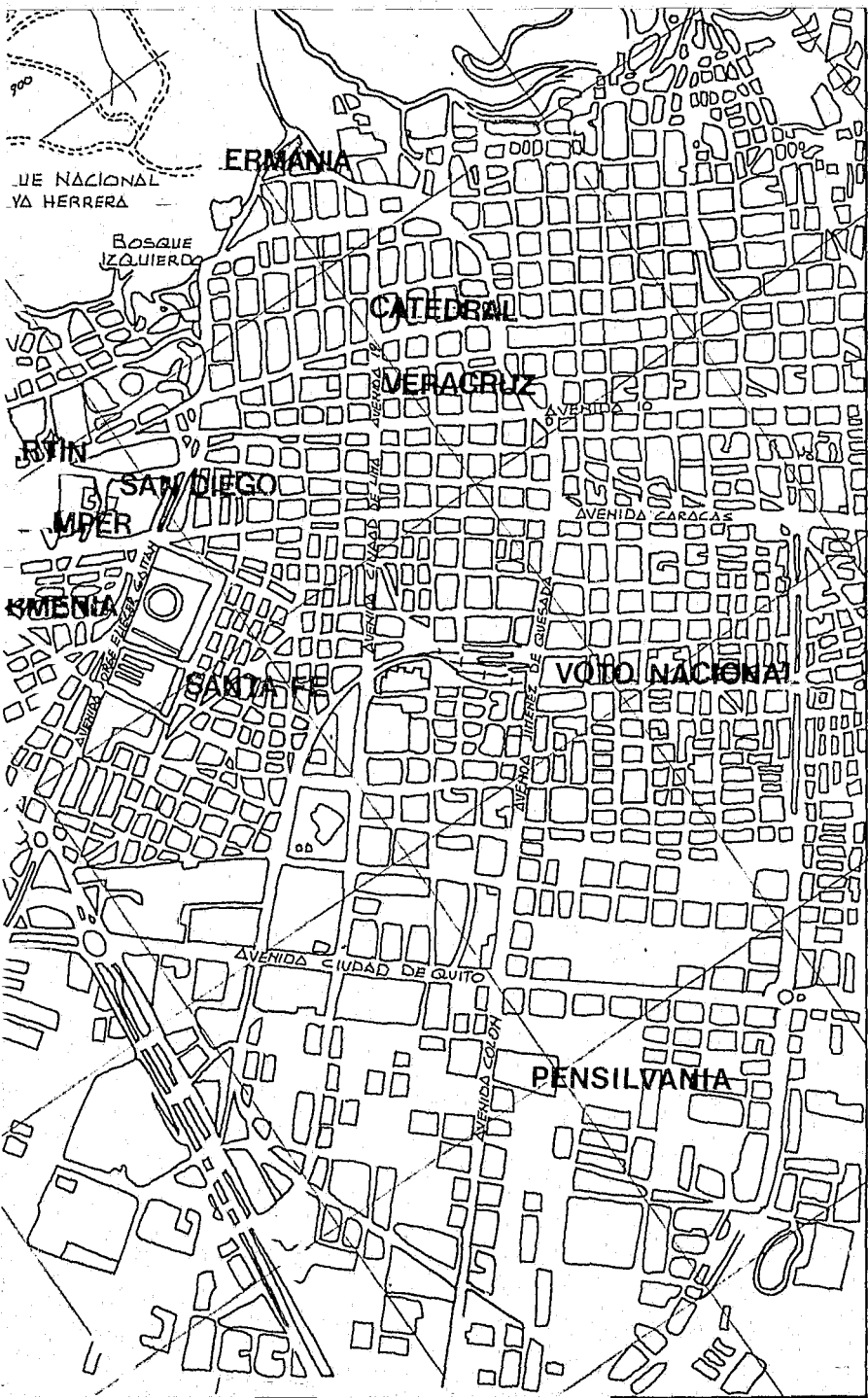
b) Description of the two areas: El Paraíso (A1) - San Martín (A2)

The migration process from rural communities to Bogotá is a complex one which defies neat classification. The majority of peasants arrive directly to the centre of the city and are crowded in run-down «tenement houses». However, the centre is not the only entrance point for migrants. They are found throughout the metropolitan area of Bogotá. Many are to be found in the «pirate» areas of the outskirts. It is reported that those that have relatives and friends go directly to suburban areas while those that have no ties, end up in tenement houses near the centre.

There are also areas which are in transition. Many of these were originally pirate or invaded areas but through a relatively short space of time have become solidified through improvement in the standard of housing and the provision of basic services, such as streets, sewers and sidewalks. Finally, there is a small internal migration towards the better areas of the city by those who were lucky enough to obtain stable employment.

Thus, we may identify four distinct forms of migration to and within Bogotá. The first form is migration to the centre of the city by peasants without family or friendship ties within the city. Within this group is a high proportion of single males in search of employment. The second form is rural migration to the outskirts of the city, either to public land which is simply invaded but more likely to a suburban area in which plots of land are illegally sold by speculators. These areas have grown rapidly and tend to lack services. Nonetheless, the community tends to be organized along family lines and some sense of community-wide awareness, mutual assistance and help for newcomers exist. The third form of migration is from the centre of the city (which is a temporary resting place for many peasants) to the





ERMIANIA

CALLE NACIONAL
CALLE YA HERRERA

BOSQUE
IZQUIERDO

CATEDRAL

VERACRUZ

BOYIN

SAN DIEGO

IMPER

AVENIDA SARACAS

ARMENIA

SANTA FE

VOTO NACIONAL

AVENIDA CIUDAD DE QUITO

PENSILVANIA

AVENIDA COLON

suburbs once contacts have been made with relatives or friends. This form of migration may occur within one or two years of the original move to the city. the fourth form is for the very few. This is migration which marks a significant upward step in the economic status of the family. These individuals obtain housing and services characteristic of the lower-middle class.

The two areas selected in this study do not fit any of the four classifications made above to the extent that would be ideal for the purpose of testing the hypothesis that our research was originally designed to explore. «El Paraíso» (designated A1) is a community in transition and it is not growing rapidly at the present time. Not too many years ago it was subject to all the disadvantages of an area built on land speculation. Its residents are still poor but many have occupations of one sort or another. The standard of housing whilst uneven, is characteristic of a low-income area. The houses are larger than in invaded or pirate areas and are not so overcrowded. Streets, sewage and water are generally provided. Medical, dental and community services are available even though access is less than desirable. The inhabitants of this area have some community pride. The area provides, formally or informally, for some of the social and economic needs of its inhabitants.

Children are somewhat better supervised by adults and the community as a whole exercises some control over deviant or antisocial acts of children. We are advised that the residents of El Paraíso feel more secure with respect to their persons and property than their counterparts in the outskirts.

San Martín (designated A2), is a genuine slum, but it does not fit any one of the «ideal-typical» areas listed above. It cannot be classified either as an «invaded» or as a «pirate area». The inhabitants have lived there for a relatively short space of time, at least in comparison with El Paraíso. Housing is inadequate, often built with waste materials that do not permit improvement or repair. The houses are small and overcrowded as relatives and friends stream in from the country. There are very few roads, no public transport and no parks. The average age of the population is lower than in El Paraíso, over 50% being under the age of 15. The community lacks formal and informal social organization. Survival needs overwhelm a sense of community and both selfishness and individualism prevail. It is reported that the inhabitants feel insecure and demoralized.

The two areas are more similar than the above description would suggest. First of all, they exist contiguous to each other. Any attempt

to draw a line which would separate the two in terms of geography, demography or social structure is bound to be artificial.

Both areas have been impacted by urbanization. The differences are ones of degrees. While El Paraíso appears more stable it contains new immigrants along with individuals who have been there for some years. Moreover, El Paraíso is experiencing negative effects of urbanization due to an increase in commercial and government non-residential construction. Being next to San Martín it suffers from some of the problems generated in this area: most notably crimes committed in El Paraíso by adults and juveniles who live next door.

Secondly, San Martín is not entirely a social wasteland in that some family kinship and community ties exist. At the informal level, citizens provide assistance to new comers and government agencies are attempting to meet the most dire medical, financial and social needs of its habitants.

In sum, what we have in Bogotá are two communities existing side by side, both poor although one more than the other; both suffering from urbanization, although one more directly and immediately than the other; and both undergoing a transitional phase although one more maturely developed than the other.

From the point of view of resarch there is bound to be some leakage in the social processes that affect these two communities that colour each other and make interpretation of data difficult. Nonetheless the areas selected in Bogotá provide a particular case study of the absorption of peasants into urban society at a particular phase of development.

c) Analysis of data

i) The extent of juvenile social maladjustment

The first question posed by our research is: What is the extent of juvenile social maladjustment in the two areas of Bogotá from which our samples were drawn? Conventional wisdom, previous research and the theoretical basis to this project would suggest that there ought to be a higher level of juvenile social maladjustment in A2 as opposed to A1. Given known inadequacies in official criminal statistics and because of our desire to base this project on community perceptions and beliefs we shall attempt to answer this question in terms of questionnaire results.

In Table 1 below data is reported in response to the very general question asked to adult members of the public and professionals in the two areas: What is the behaviour of the juveniles in this area like? We can see that overall more than 80% of the public view the behaviour of juveniles in that area as problematic. Interesting differences between A1 and A2 exist, 92.5% of the public in A2 perceive juvenile behaviour as «bad» whilst less than 74% in A1 gave the same answer. It can be said from this data that the majority of the public in both El Paraíso and San Martín are concerned about juvenile misbehaviour but the degree of concern is higher in the area of rapid urbanization.

PUBLIC

TABLE 1
What is juveniles' behaviour like?

	Area 1 %	Area 2 %	Row total %
Good	23.2	5.8	15.1
Bad	73.9	92.5	82.6
I don't know	2.9	1.7	2.4
Column total	100	100	100

A slightly different worded question was put to professionals working in these two areas yielding somewhat different responses.

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 2
In your opinion what is the juvenile social maladjustment situation in your area like?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Good	4	8	12
Bad	22	20	42
I don't know	4	2	6
Column total	30	30	60

The majority of professionals working with children in these areas view juvenile social maladjustment as a significant problem, but a

distinction between A1 and A2 does not appear in the analysis. Given the differences in how the professional sample was selected may account for this result. In any event, it is public perception which may be more important, in that it is they and not the professionals that must live daily with the consequences of juvenile social maladjustment.

Our data show not only a serious current problem but also a pessimistic prognosis. In Table 3 below it can be seen that the vast majority of the public believe that behaviour problems of children have increased during the past five years. A similar response was received from professionals interviewed as revealed in Tables 4 and 5. Once again it is the residents in A2 that see the greatest increase.

PUBLIC

TABLE 3
Have behaviour problems increased over the last five years?

	Area 1 %	Area 2 %	Row total %
Yes	84.1	91.7	87.6
No	6.5	4.2	5.4
The same	8.0	2.5	5.4
Decreased	0.7	0.8	0.8
I don't know	0.7	0.0	0.4
Column total	100	100	100

PUBLIC

TABLE 4
Future trends of juvenile social maladjustment

	Area 1 %	Area 2 %	Row total %
Decrease	8.0	0.0	4.3
Constant	18.8	8.3	14.0
Increase	62.3	89.2	74.8
I don't know	12.9	4.2	8.6
Column total	100	100	100

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 5
Have behaviour problems increased over the last five years?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Increased	26	29	55
The same	3	0	3
Decrease	1	1	2
Column total	30	30	60

Table 4 very clearly shows that an overwhelming proportion of residents in A2 (96.6%) believe that juvenile behaviour problems will continue to increase over the next five years. In contrast, less than two-thirds of the residents in A1 were willing to make such a pessimistic prognosis. In general terms this public prediction is supported by professionals as can be seen from Table 6 below. It is interesting to note that the professionals in A1 and A2 give roughly the same answers to this particular question.

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 6
Future trends of juvenile social maladjustment

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Decrease	0	1	1
Constant	5	3	8
Increase	25	26	51
Column total	30	30	60

PUBLIC

TABLE 7

If conduct problems have increased, what, in your opinion, are the reasons? (give three alternatives in order of seriousness)

Reasons	A1 + A2	Ranking	A1	Ranking	A2	Ranking
1	24.4%	1st	24.3%	1st	24.5%	1st
2	22.0%	3rd	20.4%	3rd	23.6%	2nd
3	15.4%	4th	12.8%	4th	18.0%	4th
4	4.8%	6th	1.7%	7th	7.9%	5th
5	2.3%	7th	4.6%	6th	0.0%	7th
6	23.7%	2nd	23.9%	2nd	23.5%	3rd
0	7.4%	5th	12.5%	5th	2.3%	6th

Reasons:

0. not applicable
1. lack of control
2. influence of bad company
3. lack of schooling
4. indifference of the neighbourhood
5. influence of mass-media
6. bad family conditions

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 8

What, in your opinion, are the reasons for the increase of socially maladjusted behaviour? (give three answers in order of priority)

Ranking	Reasons	A1 + A2	Reasons	A1	Reasons	A2
1st	6	43.6%	6	45.8%	6	41.2%
2nd	2	23.9%	2	21.6%	2	25.4%
3rd	5	12.5%	1	17.2%	5	15.0%
4th	1	10.8%	5	10.0%	3	12.2%
5th	3	8.6%	3	5.0%	1	3.8%
6th	4	1.1%	4	2.2%	4	0%

Reasons:

1. lack of control
2. influence of bad company
3. lack of schooling
4. indifference of the neighbours
5. influence of mass-media
6. bad family conditions

All this suggests that the people most directly affected by or involved with juveniles in these two areas of Bogotá express a deep sense of concern about existing levels of juvenile social maladjustment and about prospects for the future. The most negative and pessimistic responses come from the public who reside in the area of rapid urbanization. Some empirical support is thereby given to a basic hypothesis in the study: namely, that high rates of juvenile social maladjustment tend to be associated with rapid urbanization.

Before drawing firm conclusions about this tentative finding, further analysis of data is required. One would wish to know more specifically about the reasons for these pessimistic views and one would need to have more detailed answers to specific questions concerning the belief system of the two populations. Fortunately, we have data that allow us to get closer to this issue.

With respect to the reasons for the predicted increase, remarkably consistent answers were received from both the residents of A1 and A2 and from the professionals.

PUBLIC

TABLE 9
Are there juveniles with conduct problems in this area?,

	Area 1 %	Area 2 %	Row total %
Yes	56.5	40.0	48.8
No	35.5	37.5	36.4
I don't know	8.0	22.5	14.8
Column total	100	100	100

The reasons given across all samples in order of priority are:

1. lack of control
2. influence of bad company
3. poor family conditions
4. lack of education

What we see in these findings is a widely shared belief that the principal reason for juvenile social maladjustment is a break down or absence of the principal socializing institutions in society, most notably the family and the school. It is believed that these tend to be replaced by influences coming from peer groups who are already delin-

quent. There are policy implications from this finding which will be discussed in the concluding section.

Turning more specifically to the content of belief systems concerning juvenile social maladjustment, a number of rather interesting findings emerge. Overall, our data clearly show that the more specific and concrete the question, the more tolerant and sophisticated the answer. Thus, whilst over 80% of the public and professionals would attribute the word «bad» to describe juvenile conduct in general, less than half of the public are prepared to say that juveniles with conduct problems live in their particular community.

PROFESSIONALS⁴

TABLE 10
Are there groups of socially maladjusted juveniles in this area?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Yes	29	29	58
No	1	1	2
I don't know	—	—	—
Column total	30	30	60

The public appears to be somewhat protective of the children in the local community, at least more than the professionals.

This finding is reinforced by answers to a question which asked members of the public and professionals to compare the seriousness of adult v.s. juvenile behavioural problems in their communities. More than 70% of the public see adult maladjustment as a more serious problem than juvenile maladjustment. Interestingly, a higher proportion of residents in A2 believe that adults pose a bigger problem than do juveniles (83.3% as compared to 58.7%). In contrast, professionals tend to see juveniles as a bigger problem and the only professionals who have a different opinion work in A1. It is not surprising that professionals working exclusively with children would tend to see juvenile social pathology as more serious than adult social pathology.

Perhaps the most interesting finding is that the public do not appear to be willing to use children as «scape-goats» for the problems that exist in their community. There is a greater tendency to place responsibility upon the adult members of the community.

PUBLIC

TABLE 11
In which group are behaviour problems more serious?

	Area 1 %	Area 2 %	Row total %
Among adults	58.7	83.3	70.2
Among juveniles	35.5	16.7	26.7
There are no behaviour problems in this area	5.8	0.0	3.1
Equally distributed between the age groups	—	—	—
I don't know	—	—	—
Column total	100	100	100

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 12
In which group are behaviour problems more serious?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Among adults	8	0	8
Among juveniles	22	24	46
I don't know	0	6	6
Column total	30	30	60

Further reinforcement of the pattern which is emerging in this analysis can be found in Table 13 below. Here we can see that the vast majority of the public do not perceive young people as being dangerous to community life or to personal security. Indeed, almost 42% would label juvenile conduct as «inoffensive» and a further 6.6% were prepared to go so far as to suggest that juveniles present «no problem» of any kind.

PUBLIC

TABLE 13
What are the juveniles in your area like?

	Area 1 %	Area 2 %	Row total %
No answer (they don't present a problem)	11.6	0.8	6.6
Harmless	34.1	50.8	41.9
Troublesome	47.8	32.5	40.7
Dangerous	6.5	15.8	10.9
I don't know	—	—	—
Column total	100	100	100

It is true that almost 41% see juveniles as «troublesome». But this is a considerably more tolerant response than one might expect given the dire social conditions conducive to criminality that exist in the two communities.

It is interesting to see that more than twice as many citizens in A2 are prepared to attach the label «dangerous» to children. The fact that nearly 16% of the residents in A2 express this view should be of some concern. For them the community is not only an economically deprived area but a dangerous place in which to live. Further support for the hypotheses that not only higher rates but more serious types of juvenile social maladjustment are associated with rapid urbanization can be found in these data.

In contrast, professionals, as compared to members of the public, are three times more likely to see children as dangerous. Moreover, irrespective of the area in which the professionals work, there is no difference in the answers given. It may be that professionals who see the worse cases of juvenile social maladjustment are coloured by that experience and are likely to generalize it to the entire population of juveniles.

What these data show overall is that the public is both tolerant and sophisticated in its response to juvenile social maladjustment. The public in A2 expressed deeper concern and showed more fear, but even then they tend to be more accepting of juveniles than members of professional groups working in their communities.

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 14
What are the groups of juveniles in your area like?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
There are none	—	—	—
Dangerous	8	7	15
Troublesome	18	17	35
Harmless	2	5	7
I don't know	2	1	3
Column total	30	30	60

With respect to specific offences there was a tendency for citizens in both A1 and A2 to rate the seriousness of particular crimes in similar ways. Overall, among 7 offences to which they were asked to rate in terms of seriousness the following order from highest to lowest was given:

1. rape
2. drug abuse
3. prostitution
4. shop-lifting
5. theft /robbery
6. vagrancy
7. fraud

Because of the way the question was worded it is not clear whether the public in answering this question were expressing views concerning the seriousness of individual events, the numerical size of the problem or the threat posed to the community as a whole.

More interesting are the results of the question which asked the public to compare their rating of severity against that of the police. Apart from shop-lifting in which the public believe that community and police reaction is roughly the same, for every other offence the public viewed their own response as considerably less severe than that of the police. Indeed, the results for some offences, particularly drug abuse and prostitution, demonstrate dramatic differences. One might conclude from this that the public are aware that their own attitudes towards juveniles in conflict with the law is considerably more tolerant than that of the police. Once again we see a self-aware, protective at-

titude towards children. In the concluding chapter we will discuss more fully the policy implications of these findings. For the moment it is sufficient to say that these data show little of the «law and order» or punitive response towards severe problems of juvenile delinquency that can be found in many developed countries.

ii) Family relationships

In the preceding section we presented data which tend to show that in the opinion of the public and to a lesser extent among professionals, there is a higher level of juvenile social maladjustment in San Martín, the area of more rapid urbanization. We now turn to an examination of some of the possible reasons for this finding. In particular we are interested in learning about the degree of social stability in the two areas and the influence of primary carriers of cultural norms, i.e. the family, the church, the school, the work place and the community.

a) The family

Our first finding is that in both A1 and A2 family bonds appear to be strong. Over 90% of the public believe that juveniles respect their parents and guardians. With respect to other adult members of the community who are neither parents nor guardians, more than three-quarters of the public believe that a high level of respect for adults exists among juveniles in their area. From this one may conclude that inter-generational conflict is not perceived as a serious problem in either community. Almost 80% of our total sample drawn from the public believe that parents look after their children well. Interestingly, a higher proportion of the public in A2 believe this to be the case (91.7% as opposed to 68.6%).

PUBLIC

TABLE 15
Do juveniles respect parents or guardians?

	Area 1 %	Area 2 %	Row total %
Yes	92.0	91.0	91.9
No	5.8	6.7	6.2
I don't know	2.2	1.7	1.9
Column total	100	100	100

PUBLIC

TABLE 16
How do parents look after their children?

	Area 1 %	Area 2 %	Row total %
Well	68.6	91.7	79.5
Badly	29.7	3.3	17.4
I don't know	1.4	5.0	3.1
Column total	100	100	100

This finding is contrary to expectations and it may mean that the public in A1 set rather higher standards for parental care than A2. Some support for this might be found in data presented below which tends to show a higher degree of family cohesiveness in A1.

PUBLIC

TABLE 17
Do female juveniles help in house chores?

	Area 1 %	Area 2 %	Row total %
Yes	94.9	100	97.3
No	1.4	0.0	0.8
I don't know	3.6	0.0	1.9
Column total	100	100	100

The public in A1, more likely than those in A2, believe that male juveniles help in household chores. It should be noted that in both areas female juveniles provide such help.

PUBLIC

TABLE 18
Do male juveniles help in house chores?

	Area 1 %	Area 2 %	Row total %
Yes	76.8	67.5	72.5
No	20.3	30.0	24.8
I don't know	2.9	2.5	2.7
Column total	100	100	100

Further, there appears to be closer and more frequent contacts between children and their parents in A1 than in A2. The majority of male juveniles in both areas work after school (78.3% in A1 and 93% in A2). An important finding is that male juveniles are much more likely to work with parents/guardians and family relations in A1 than in A2. About two-thirds of the public in A1 believe that children are likely to work within family and friendship networks. In A2, however, well over half of the respondents indicated that male juveniles find employment outside those networks. From these data we can conclude that it appears that the everyday lives of children and their parents in the more stable area is marked by rather more frequent contact. Families that share in household chores and in outside employment are likely to build more stable bonds.

PUBLIC

TABLE 19
Who do male juveniles work for?

	Area 1 %	Area 2 %	Row total %
No answer	18.8	4.2	12.0
Parents or guardians	37.0	33.3	35.3
Others	8.0	5.8	7.0
Autonomously	34.1	56.7	44.6
I don't know	2.2	0.0	1.2
Column total	100	100	100

The juveniles interviewed reinforce the findings reported immediately above. Over 90% of our total sample of 240 juveniles believe that the family contributes to the solving of personal problems. A much lower percentage believe that formal agencies of social control offer such assistance. Moreover, the children in both areas are likely to turn to their parents, brothers or sisters or to other relations when in difficulty. Interestingly, a higher proportion of juveniles in A1 as compared to A2, look to the family as a helping institution.

JUVENILES

TABLE 20
Do you think that the family really contributes
to solving the problems of their children?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Yes	115	96	211
No	2	22	24
I don't know	3	2	5
Column total	120	120	240

JUVENILES

TABLE 21
When you are in trouble, who do you turn to?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Parents	2	0	2
Brother/sister	85	72	157
Relatives	12	7	19
School-teachers	1	1	2
Friends	3	5	8
Social workers	17	23	40
Other	0	12	12
Column total	120	120	240

JUVENILES

TABLE 22
Assuming that you commit an unlawful action
who would you like to handle your case?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Family	92	77	169
Neighbours	3	6	9
School-teachers	7	4	11
Social workers	7	1	8
Police officials	11	3	14
Others	0	29	29
Column total	120	120	240

From these data one can make the following tentative statements. First, the family is viewed by the public and by juveniles as the most important helping institution available to children.

Indeed, the importance of the family as compared to other social institutions most notably formal agencies of social control is dramatically demonstrated in the data. Secondly, there is some support in our data for the view that family in the area of non-rapid urbanization is organically stronger. It is in A1 that we are more likely to find families with more frequent contacts among its members, families which are economic as well as social units and families where children can seek refuge in time of difficulty. One is tempted to conclude that while the family remains a significant institution even when placed under the kind of economic and social pressure that comes from rapid urbanization (A2), such urbanization has a negative impact on family life and this may be the root cause of higher rates of juvenile social maladjustment in that area.

iii) Non-family relationships

Apart from interactions within the family, juveniles are socialized by interaction with other adults and peers both within and outside formal structures. Almost half of the juveniles interviewed work. As mentioned earlier juveniles in A1 are more likely to find work with family members than those in A2.

The work situation is an important socializing mechanism as it places the child in contact with adults and marks the transition from school to adult membership in society. From Table 23 we can see that a higher proportion of juveniles in A1 work. This higher proportion exists in all categories of work: full-time, part-time and now and again. From this one may draw the inference that children in A1 are not only provided with a more solid family structure but also are more likely to find employment which makes the transition to independent adult status easier.

JUVENILES

TABLE 23
Do juveniles in your area work full-time, part-time or intermittent?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Full-time	11	12	23
Part-time	17	10	27
Intermittently	26	19	45
Do not work	66	79	145
Column total	120	120	240

In Table 24 below we can see that the majority of juveniles in both A1 and A2 are not involved in constructive leisure time activities. Only 3 indicated that they were involved in sports and they all were in A1. The largest group in both areas spend their free time with friends. A much higher proportion in A2 than in A1 spend their free time passively, watching TV, loitering or doing nothing. We were advised by the local team that there are no facilities for organized sports in either A1 or A2.

JUVENILES

TABLE 24
What do you do in your leisure time?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Sports	3	0	3
Cultural activities	29	31	60
Musical activities	3	7	10
Watch TV	1	6	7
Meet with friends	41	35	76
Read	30	10	40
Loiter	11	13	24
Idle	0	10	10
Other	2	8	10
Column total	120	120	240

The school is an important socializing institution. For more than half of the juveniles in our sample the school is their principal non-family activity. A much higher proportion of juveniles in A1 than in A2 both study and work, thus contributing to the family income and the economic health of that unit.

JUVENILES

TABLE 25
What is your principal activity?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Studying	63	75	138
Working	13	15	28
Both studying and working	39	26	65
Neither studying nor working	3	4	6
Column total	120	120	240

The level of education is somewhat higher in A1 than in A2 and a higher proportion of children with no formal education of any kind are to be found in A2. Non-attendance and dropping out is a more frequent phenomena in A2. The reasons for leaving school reflect the differences between the areas; children in A2 are more likely to leave school because of the economic conditions of the family or because the family shows no interest in their studies.

From this we may conclude that the school is a more important institution in A1 than in A2. Children stay in school longer, are less likely to voluntarily drop-out and more likely to receive encouragement from their parents to stay in school. Overall the picture is one of closer school-family relations in the more stable, slow-growth area.

JUVENILES

TABLE 26
Level of education of school-going juveniles

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Up to 4 years	83	80	163
5 - 8	34	29	63
Above 8	1	0	1
None	1	11	12
Column total	120	120	240

JUVENILES

TABLE 27
Reasons for not having completed school

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Not applicable	104	102	206
I had to support my family	8	11	19
I had difficulties in studying	3	1	4
My family was not interested in my schooling	4	0	10
I had problems with teachers and/or schoolmates	0	0	0
Column total	119	120	239

It appears that the Church fills a void, at least to some extent. According to the public, the majority of children actively participate in religious activities and according to the majority of juveniles, religious organizations play a constructive role in solving personal problems. Once again we see the socializing influence of this institution appearing to have a greater impact in the area of non-rapid urbanization. Almost twice as many juveniles in A1 than in A2 are prepared to say the religious organizations function positively in solving their personal problems.

PUBLIC

TABLE 28
Do juveniles participate in religious activities?

	Area 1 %	Area 2 %	Row total %
Actively	84.8	91.7	88.0
Passively	13.0	3.3	8.5
I don't know	2.2	5.0	3.5
Column total	100	100	100

JUVENILES

TABLE 29
Do you think that religious organizations are really helpful
in solving the personal problems of juveniles?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Yes	72	45	117
No	28	20	48
Don't know	20	8	28
Column total	120	120	240

iv) Peer relationships

As we have seen, both adult members of the public and juveniles interviewed in the course of this study tend to believe that children in A1 are more likely to have stable and enduring ties to adults, to the school system and to the church than those who live in A2. We have also learnt that there are few, if any, organized sports activities. Nonetheless, a majority of the juveniles interviewed indicated that they participate in group activities. These activities are not organized and are likely to comprise merely of unstructured interaction with peers. For children cut off from their families, the church and the school, peers are likely to be the biggest influence in their lives.

We can see from Table 30 below that a much higher proportion of children in A2 participate in group activities. These activities are of the unstructured and unorganized type mentioned above.

From Table 31 below it is interesting to note that a much higher proportion of the public believe that male juveniles in A2 spend their free time separated from adults. Moreover, in Table 33 we can see that it is believed that male juveniles spend their free time in all-male groups and that this tendency is more marked in A2. Females follow the same pattern but to a lesser extent. From this we can conclude that peer relations are a much stronger influence in San Martín than in El Paraíso.

Given the weakness of adult structures to which children can relate in San Martín and given the intensity of the interaction among juveniles in that area, the conditions are set for the growth of delinquent sub-cultures.

JUVENILES

TABLE 30
Do you participate in group activities?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Yes	47	95	141
No	72	25	97
Column total	120	120	240

PUBLIC

TABLE 31
Do the male juveniles, in general, spend their free time?

	Area 1 %	Area 2 %	Row total %
Mixing with adults	23.9	2.5	14.0
Separate from adults	76.1	97.5	86.0
No information	—	—	—
Column total	100	100	100

PUBLIC

TABLE 32
Do the female juveniles, in general, spend their free time?

	Area 1 %	Area 2 %	Row total %
Mixing with adults	13.0	0.8	7.4
Separate from adults	86.2	99.2	92.2
No information	0.7	0.0	0.4
Column total	100	100	100

PUBLIC

TABLE 33
With whom do male juveniles, in general, spend their time?

	Area 1 %	Area 2 %	Row total %
Grouped - males only	61.6	75.0	67.8
Grouped - males and females mixed	32.6	16.7	25.2
Alone	5.8	8.3	7.0
No information	—	—	—
Column total	100	100	100

A consistent pattern has emerged from these data. A high level of social disorganization exists in San Martín. The principal socializing institutions, the family, the school, the work-place and the religious organizations function more effectively and appear to have a bigger impact in El Paraíso than in San Martín. A plausible explanation for higher rates of juvenile social maladjustment in the area of rapid urbanization can now be put forward. Rapid urbanization not only produces economic problems but has a devastating effect on family and community relationships. Poverty is not a new phenomenon for the majority of families in San Martín - they were poor as peasants. What is new is the breakdown of all traditional institutions which served them well in the rural context. The next section will explore the degree to which the State through its formal institutions of police, juvenile courts and social welfare agencies have been able to fill the void.

PUBLIC

TABLE 34

With whom do female juveniles, in general, spend their free time?

	Area 1 %	Area 2 %	Row total %
Grouped - females only	54.3	47.5	51.2
Grouped - females and males mixed	29.0	11.7	20.9
Alone	15.9	40.8	27.5
No information	0.7	0.0	0.4
Column total	100	100	100

v) Relationships with formal agencies

This section explores the quality of the relationships between children and state-managed institutions set up by Government to assist, control or rehabilitate children who are experiencing problems of one sort or another, most particularly problems which bring them into conflict with community norms and the law. We will also examine public confidence in those institutions and seek to measure the opinions of professionals about the performance of their own agencies.

Juveniles were asked to indicate whether a number of named formal organizations contributed to the resolution of personal problems. The result for religious organizations, the school, social welfare organizations, courts of justice and reformatory institutions are

reported below. Overall, the picture which emerges is as follows: religious organizations and the school are seen by juveniles as being more helpful than any of the other agencies; juveniles in A1 are more likely to rate the performance of government-run agencies higher than those who live in A2; less than half of the juveniles interviewed believe that courts and reformatories offer constructive help to juveniles with problems; a distressingly high proportion of juveniles in A2 appear to be totally alienated from all formal agencies. From this we can see a gap between juveniles and agencies established for their benefit, which should provoke serious thinking on the part of government officials and line-staff about ways in which this gap might be filled, a topic to which we will return.

JUVENILES

TABLE 35
Are you of the opinion that religious organizations contribute to solve juveniles' personal problems?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Yes	72	45	117
No	28	20	48
I don't know	20	8	28
Column total	120	120	240

JUVENILES

TABLE 36
Are you of the opinion that social welfare organizations contribute to solve juveniles' personal problems?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Yes	80	79	159
No	12	19	31
I don't know	28	22	50
Column total	120	120	240

JUVENILES

TABLE 37
Are you of the opinion that the school contributes
to solve juveniles' personal problems?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Yes	117	75	192
No	0	33	33
I don't know	2	12	14
Column total	120	120	240

JUVENILES

TABLE 38
Are you of the opinion that courts of justice
contribute to solve juveniles' personal problems?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Yes	29	26	55
No	23	47	70
I don't know	67	47	114
Column total	120	120	240

JUVENILES

TABLE 39
Are you of the opinion that reformatories contribute
to solve juveniles' personal problems?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Yes	59	18	77
No	50	54	104
I don't know	11	48	59
Column total	120	120	240

When it comes to the police, an interesting pattern emerges. More juveniles in A2 believe the police treat juveniles with tolerance than those in A1. Conversely, a higher proportion of children in A1 believe that police treat juveniles severely. These findings could in part be explained by results obtained from research carried out in other countries which tend to show that the police assume a helping role in areas

of cities in which supporting agencies do not exist or cannot cope with the situation.

The service role of the police tends to be emphasized when there is no other credible agency to which children can turn. It may also be that juveniles in A1 are not as familiar with the police as those in A2 and therefore are more likely to view the police as an agency to be feared. Support for this latter explanation can be found in Table 21 previously reported where it can be seen that very few juveniles would want the police involved if they had commit an illegal act, but among those that would, the majority are in A1. However, the most important findings from this Table are that the vast majority of children would rely exclusively upon their family when in difficulty with the law and that the only children who would not ask their family or any other organization for help are to be found in A2. These children would turn to peers, perhaps because they have no one else to turn to or because of their negative experience with agencies.

JUVENILES

TABLE 40
How do the police treat juveniles?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
With tolerance	6	27	33
With indulgence	27	12	39
Severely	86	67	153
I don't know	1	14	15
Column total	120	120	240

vi) Public and professionals' recommendation for policy

Adult members of the public were asked what their reaction would be if they were a victim of a socially maladjusted act committed by a juvenile. It is interesting to see that the only persons (3.3%) that would not react at all are to be found in A1 and that a much higher proportion in A2 than in A1 would call the police. More distressingly over 21% of the respondents in A2 would take justice in their hands. We see in these findings the desperate situation that many residents in A2 believe they are in. Many of them appear to have little confidence in non-punitive responses towards juvenile social maladjustment and are forced to rely upon the police.

PUBLIC

TABLE 41
If you were the victim of a socially maladjusted act, what would your reaction be?

	Area 1 %	Area 2 %	Row total %
No reaction	10.3	0.0	5.4
Call the police	59.4	75.8	67.1
Would take justice into his own hands	17.4	21.7	19.4
I don't know	13.0	2.5	7.7
Column total	100	100	100

These findings are reinforced by data presented in Table 42 below from which it can be seen that a much higher proportion of residents in A2 call for a more severe response to juvenile conduct problems.

PUBLIC

TABLE 42
What should society's attitude be towards juveniles conduct problems?

	Area 1 %	Area 2 %	Row total %
More tolerant	22.5	5.0	14.3
More severe	51.1	90.8	71.7
As it is at present	1.4	2.5	1.9
I don't know	21.0	1.6	11.3
Column total	100	100	100

There should be little surprise in this as it only demonstrates that a society which has failed to provide adequate assistance to families in trouble should not expect those families to look towards non-existent or inadequate services as solutions to their problems. It also shows that a punitive public response rises in part out of frustration and alienation. The tendency of course is to blame individuals, in this case juveniles, who are as much victimized by the system as adults are.

As we have seen only the family and to a lesser extent the school and the religious organizations appear to have earned the respect of ordinary citizens. We now turn to see how professionals rate the per-

formance of their own agencies. Several questions were asked concerning the functioning of police, the courts, reformatories, the schools and the social welfare agencies. Overall, it is only schools and to a lesser extent welfare agencies that receive a vote of confidence from the professionals interviewed. This is an important finding in that a professional sample was drawn from staff working in those very institutions. The picture appears to be one of decreasing confidence as one moves from general agencies designed to provide basic services to all children (such as schools) towards more specialized institutions designed to deal with particularly troublesome children (such as reformatories).

It may also be said that our findings show that both the public and the professionals interviewed see more strength in the family and the community than they do in formal agencies of social control. Both groups see the family and the community as being more effective today than five years ago. When these findings are contrasted with the low confidence rating given to government-run agencies it becomes apparent where the strengths lie. These data are also suggestive of the policy options open to government. It could build on strength which reside in families and in the community at large or it could attempt to overcome weaknesses which lie in its organized structures.

Interestingly, a difference appears to exist between the public and professional opinion as to what the main direction of the future social policy should be. The largest number of the public call for non-punitive and non-delinquency oriented measures such as improving the school system and creating more work opportunities for juveniles. Others asked for measures designed to strengthen traditional values. Less than 3% asked for more severe sentences.

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 43
Do you think that the family and the community play an effective role in the prevention and control of juvenile social maladjustment? (affirmative answers)

	A1 + A2	A1	A2
Family at present	90.0%	86.7%	93.3%
Family five years ago	38.3%	33.3%	43.3%
Community at present	88.3%	86.7%	90.0%
Community five years ago	46.7%	50.0%	43.3%

PUBLIC

TABLE 44

Do you think that the family and the community play an effective role in the prevention and control of juvenile social maladjustment? (affirmative answers)

	A1 + A2	A1	A2
Family at present	89.9%	85.5%	95.0%
Family five years ago	75.2%	77.5%	72.5%
Community at present	90.3%	94.9%	85.0%
Community five years ago	64.7%	58.0%	72.5%

In contrast, professionals tend to call for specialized services such as professional family counselling and special counsellors for schools to deal with difficult juveniles. Only 12% see a role for increased community participation. In other words, the public appear to be asking for long-term primary prevention strategies which are not crime-specific but are geared towards improving the general welfare of children. The professional response on the other hand whilst not overly punitive, seeks to professionalize the problem. They call for more resources, more training and more specialization.

PUBLIC

TABLE 45

What is in your opinion the most effective means to reduce juvenile social maladjustment?

	Area 1 %	Area 2 %	Row total %
Strengthen traditional values	7.2	0.0	3.9
Greater efficacy of civil justice	3.6	15.0	8.9
Greater efficacy of penal justice	4.3	0.8	2.7
Greater efficacy social welfare system	3.6	10.8	7.0
Greater efficacy of educational system	39.9	37.5	38.8
Increase work opportunities	36.2	35.8	36.0
Introduce more severe sentences	5.1	0.0	2.7
I don't know	0.0	0.0	0.0
Column total	100	100	100

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 46
Do you think that the following institutions have improved their efficiency over the last five years? (affirmative answers)

	A1 + A2	A1	A2
Police	18.3%	20.0%	17.7%
Courts	11.7%	16.7%	6.7%
Penitentiary system	8.3%	6.7%	10.0%

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 47
What is the reason for the improvement verified over the last five years?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Institutions have been reformed	19	23	42
Social maladjustment problems are not serious	11	7	18
Column total	30	30	60

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 48
How do the police services function in controlling juvenile social maladjustment?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Well	8	5	13
Badly	18	23	41
I don't know	4	2	6
Column total	30	30	60

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 49

If the police services function «badly» what are the reasons, in order of importance?

Ranking	A1 + A2		A1		A2	
	Percentage	Count	Percentage	Count	Percentage	Count
1st	27.5%	0	36.7%	0	28.3%	3
2nd	25.5%	3	22.8%	3	27.2%	4
3rd	18.3%	2	21.7%	2	18.3%	0
4th	16.9%	4	8.3%	1	15.0%	2
5th	8.1%	1	6.7%	4	7.8%	1
6th	3.6%	5	3.9%	5	3.3%	5

Reasons:

- 0. not applicable
- 1. lack of personnel
- 2. inadequate training

- 3. lack of interest of the authorities
- 4. tolerance on the part of the police
- 5. lack of public participation

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 50

How do the courts function in controlling juvenile social maladjustment?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Well	5	2	7
Badly	4	13	17
I don't know	21	15	36
Column total	30	30	60

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 51

If courts function «badly» what are the reasons?
(give three reasons in order of importance)

Ranking	A1 + A2		A1		A2	
	Percentage	Count	Percentage	Count	Percentage	Count
1st	71.7%	0	86.7%	0	56.7%	0
2nd	13.1%	3	6.1%	3	20.1%	3
3rd	8.9%	2	4.4%	2	13.4%	2
4th	3.6%	4	1.6%	1	6.1%	1
5th	2.8%	1	1.1%	4	4.0%	4

Reasons:

- 1. lack of personnel
- 2. inadequate training

- 3. delay in the administration of justice
- 4. lack of harsh punishment
- 0. not applicable

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 52
How do re-education institutions function in preventing juvenile social maladjustment?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Well	1	0	1
Badly	26	28	54
I don't know	3	2	5
Column total	30	30	60

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 53
If re-education institutions function badly what are the reasons? (give three reasons in order of importance)

Ranking	A1 + A2		A1		A2	
1st	39.5%	3	36.7%	3	42.2%	3
2nd	27.5%	2	28.3%	2	16.8%	2
3rd	14.2%	1	15.6%	1	13.9%	4
4th	10.8%	0	15.0%	0	12.8%	1
5th	8.1%	4	4.5%	4	6.7%	0

Reasons:

- 0. not applicable
- 1. lack of personnel
- 2. inadequate training
- 3. lack of treatment programmes
- 4. lack of harsh punishment

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 54
How does non-institutional treatment function in controlling juvenile social maladjustment?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Well	3	6	9
Badly	9	9	18
I don't know	18	14	32
Column total	30	30	60

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 55
If non-institutional treatment functions «badly», what are the reasons? (give three reasons in order of importance)

Ranking	A1 + A2		A1		A2	
	Percentage	Count	Percentage	Count	Percentage	Count
1st	68.6%	0	69.5%	0	67.7%	0
2nd	13.3%	3	12.8%	3	13.8%	3
3rd	7.2%	2	6.1%	4	8.8%	2
4th	6.7%	4	5.6%	2	7.3%	4
5th	4.2%	1	5.6%	1	2.8%	1

Reasons:

1. lack of personnel
2. inadequate training

3. lack of treatment programmes
4. lack of public participation
0. not applicable

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 56
How do social welfare institutions function?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Well	8	18	26
Badly	6	4	10
I don't know	16	8	24
Column total	30	30	60

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 57
If social welfare agencies function «badly», what are the reasons? (give three reasons in order of importance)

Ranking	A1 + A2		A1		A2	
	Percentage	Count	Percentage	Count	Percentage	Count
1st	83.3%	0	80.0%	0	86.7%	0
2nd	7.8%	3	9.5%	3	6.1%	3
3rd	3.9%	2	5.0%	2	2.8%	2
4th	3.3%	1	5.0%	1	2.0%	4
5th	3.3%	4	4.3%	4	1.6%	1

Reasons:

1. lack of personnel
2. inadequate training
3. lack of treatment programmes

4. lack of public participation
5. lack of harsh punishment
0. not applicable

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 58
How do correctional institutions function in the control
of juvenile social maladjustment?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Well	0	3	3
Badly	24	23	47
I don't know	6	7	13
Column total	30	30	60

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 59
If correctional institutions function «badly», what are
the reasons? (give three reasons in order of importance)

Ranking	A1 + A2		A1		A2	
1st	38.3%	3	38.9%	3	37.8%	3
2nd	21.9%	2	22.2%	2	21.7%	2
3rd	20.0%	0	20.0%	0	20.0%	0
4th	13.4%	1	8.9%	5	15.3%	1
5th	10.3%	5	8.3%	1	11.0%	5
6th	1.9%	4	3.3%	1	2.2%	4

Reasons:

1. lack of personnel
2. inadequate training
3. lack of treatment programmes
4. lack of public participation
5. lack of harsh punishment
0. not applicable

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 60
Do schools contribute to control juvenile social maladjustment?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Yes	26	23	49
No	1	3	4
I don't know	3	4	7
Column total	30	30	60

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 61
If schools function «badly», what are the reasons?
(give three reasons in order of importance)

Ranking	A1 + A2		A1		A2	
	Percentage	Count	Percentage	Count	Percentage	Count
1st	93.3%	0	98.5%	0	89.0%	0
2nd	4.2%	1	0.9%	1	6.8%	1
3rd	1.5%	4	0.2%	4	2.4%	4
4th	1.0%	2	0.1%	2	1.6%	2
5th	0.7%	3	0.1%	3	1.3%	3

Reasons:

1. overcrowded schools
2. lack of school counsellors
3. lack of enthusiasm on the part of the teacher
4. lack of co-operation between teachers and parents
0. not applicable

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 62
Place in priority order the remedies listed below, from
the viewpoint of effectiveness, for the prevention of juvenile
social maladjustment

Ranking	A1 + A2		A1		A2	
	Percentage	Count	Percentage	Count	Percentage	Count
1st	27.3%	4	28.0%	4	26.6%	4
2nd	24.0%	2	23.3%	2	24.7%	2
3rd	19.2%	1	23.3%	1	18.7%	3
4th	17.0%	3	15.3%	3	15.1%	1
5th	12.4%	5	12.6%	5	12.2%	5

Remedies:

1. family counselling
2. subsidizing poor families
3. increasing the number of school counsellors
4. greater working possibilities for juveniles
5. encouraging community participation

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 63
Place in priority order the remedies listed below, from the viewpoint of effectiveness for the control of juvenile social maladjustment

Ranking	A1 + A2		A1		A2	
1st	54.8%	1	53.0%	1	56.6%	1
2nd	32.8%	2	33.0%	2	32.6%	2
3rd	12.0%	3	12.5%	3	11.5%	3

Remedies:

1. improvement of institutional and non-institutional treatment
2. reinforcement of the police
3. more severe sentences

It is distressing to see that almost a third of all professionals see reinforcing the police as a remedy and that 12% call for more severe punishment. Professional opinion is less tolerant than public opinion. Well over half would like the government to build and properly staff specialized treatment institutions for juveniles. What the majority of these professionals seem to be calling for is an expensive, highly technical, specialized response which is probably beyond the capacity of Colombia to afford. This response is sadly self-serving. There are echoes in these answers of the call for increase in professionalism made by staff working in the United States and in Western Europe some two decades previously.

If hard choices have to be made and priorities established, it would seem that governments may well come to the conclusion that while improving professional standards is a goal which is worthy in its own right and which cries out for some attention, it is the public in the study who are probably closer to surfacing the broad directions which a future social policy should take. They call for measures which would strengthen the family, reinforce traditional values, improve the capacities of the local school and increase work opportunities for juveniles.

If one conclusion has to be drawn from our data it would be this: juvenile delinquency is not the inevitable result of poverty and rapid urbanization. The key intervening variable is the strength of adult-child relationships, most notably family relationships. The residents of El Paraíso and San Martín may be interested to know that our data support their recommendations.

d) Summary and Conclusions

In the theoretical introduction we put forward two working hypotheses: first, that higher rates of juvenile social maladjustment would be found in an urban area which has undergone rapid and unplanned growth; second, that a number of intervening variables would determine the degree to which a community will suffer from juvenile social maladjustment. These intervening variables were postulated as being associated with the degree of organic solidarity within the community. In particular, it was suggested that the role of primary groups in socializing juveniles during the difficult transition period from childhood to adult status would be particularly important.

Our data tend to confirm both of the above hypotheses. A summary of our findings is presented in Table 64 below. All four indicators of the extent of juvenile social maladjustment: the existing level, recent trends, the perception of dangerousness and predictions for the future, show that juvenile social maladjustment is perceived as a more serious and worsening problem in the area of rapid urbanization.

The public as a whole expressed a tolerant, and perhaps a somewhat overly protective, attitude towards juveniles. The public in Bogotá believe that adults are more of a problem than juveniles. Indeed, the public appeared to be more tolerant in their response to children in trouble than are many professional persons working in their communities.

With respect to the second hypotheses ample support can be found in items 7 to 23 below which summarize data presented earlier in individual tables. Of the 17 indicators of social solidarity, 15 are in the direction of demonstrating a higher level in El Paraíso, one shows no difference between the two areas and one is in the contrary direction.

It is true that parents in San Martín express more concern than their counterparts in El Paraíso about the adequacy of parental care but this may be due to differences in the standards set by the public for family life in the two areas. Similarly, there are no demonstrable differences between the two areas in the proportion of females who help with household chores but this is no doubt due to the fact that in Colombia females are expected to carry out chores in the home.

All the remaining items show that juveniles in El Paraíso are better integrated into their families, their schools, their church and are less likely to spend a large part of their free-time isolated from adult members of the community.

Families in San Martín are more likely to rely upon the police rather than any other helping agency and this was explained as a function of the isolation from any other credible agency in that area.

Our data show that a tolerant, caring attitude towards juveniles is more likely to be found in the more stable community. There is less likelihood of juveniles being blamed in El Paraíso than in San Martín.

In terms of public policy, the first point that should be made is that the vast majority of residents in El Paraíso and San Martín would support a humane set of measures designed to improve the quality of life for children generally. Unlike the professionals interviewed, the public tend to call for a family and community-based social policy. They do not see how problems of juvenile social maladjustment can be solved simply by increasing the repressive apparatus of the State. Their «professional helpers» tend to focus on increased staff, better training, more institutions and more severe sentences. Both the public and professionals agree that the existing agencies of social control are functioning rather badly.

Religious organizations should be encouraged to continue their role, as they are also seen by the majority as helpful institutions. Other community-based agencies apart from religious organizations should be given the necessary support to extend their activities when they exist, and to become established where none presently exist. Organized sports and other recreational outlets should be provided for. This can be done with very little ongoing expenses provided small funds are given to community groups as «seed money», and encouragement is provided. Overall, non-professional persons could play a number of roles that in some countries are the exclusive province of professionals. Elders, who have the respect of the community would be identified and placed in positions of lay counsellors, social work aids, teaching assistants, etc. Minor disputes could be handled by neighbourhood councils.

Professionals would still have a role but mainly as back-up support for lay persons.

To do all or most of the above requires Government with courage and faith in ordinary people. To fashion an appropriate social strategy sensitive to the cultural heritage of its people, built on existing strength and within the financial capacity of the State, requires abandoning the path set for developing nations like Colombia, by industrialized West.

TABLE 64
Summary of results

1. Extent of juvenile social maladjustment	A1 < A2
2. Danger posed by juvenile social maladjustment	A1 < A2
3. Increase in juvenile social maladjustment	A1 < A2
4. Prediction of future rates of juvenile social maladjustment	A1 < A2
5. Comparison with adult criminality	A1 > A2
6. Respect for parents	A1 = A2
7. Perceived adequacy of parental care	A1 < A2
8. Male juveniles help in household chores	A1 > A2
9. Female juveniles help in household chores	A1 = A2
10. Male juveniles work with parents	A1 > A2
11. Family role in solving problems	A1 > A2
12. Parents seen as helpful when in trouble	A1 > A2
13. Juveniles work in support of family	A1 > A2
14. Constructive leisure time	A1 > A2
15. Free-time spent with adults	A1 > A2
16. Free-time spent in mixed groups	A1 > A2
17. Positive relations with school	A1 > A2
18. Positive relations with church	A1 > A2
19. Positive attitudes to justice system	A1 > A2
20. Fear of police	A1 > A2
21. Reliance on police	A1 < A2
22. Tolerance towards juvenile social maladjustment	A1 > A2

Our final conclusion to this project is one that sees some room for positive action on the part of Government. Community and family life have survived the transition from rural to urban society, despite being battered by a host of negative influences associated with urban life. The strengths which reside in these communities are to be found within families and at the school, in religious organizations and in the community at large. Government could build on these strengths by paying particular attention to the recommendations coming from the public reported in this study. Key to that social policy would be the role of the family.

Our data show that families that work together, stay together. Families which are tied not only by blood but by social, recreational and economic bonds produce children who make the transition from adolescence to adulthood smoothly.

Families need to be buttressed, by economic and other measures so that State will not be required to take over its traditional role by providing elaborate, expensive professional programmes. One of the ways in which this might be done is to provide economic incentives,

subsidies or low-interest loans that would enable family-based cottage industry to be established.

The school is a credible institution in the eyes of most juveniles and their parents. The role of the local neighbourhood school could be reinforced by encouraging it to become more fully integrated into the community. More parent-teacher contacts, perhaps some degree of parental control and a broader perception of the role of the school in all aspects of childhood development would be helpful.

CASE STUDY No. 2

SAN JOSE - COSTA RICA

a) Background information

Costa Rica is a country of approximately 2,200,000 inhabitants. It has one of the highest population growth rates in the world, with an annual growth rate of almost 3.4% during the 1960-1970 decade which has now decreased to about 2.7%. This growth rate is due to a high fertility rate, a decrease in infant mortality and an increase in the longevity of adults.

Due to a strong migratory movement of people from rural areas to urban centres, the growth rate in the one large metropolitan area, San José, has been maintained at over 5%. A high proportion of peasants who migrate to San José are young. They travel to this city seeking employment. In 1978, young persons between the ages of 14-24 comprised 42% of the economically active population. Official government statistics indicate that within the country as a whole, 39.2% were under the age of 14 in 1978. Of the total number of juveniles under the age of 14 in Costa Rica, 44% reside in San José. From this we can conclude that juveniles comprise a significant proportion of the total population and in terms of number alone tend to dominate the demographic picture in San José.

On the other hand, San José has not grown as fast as two other provinces of Costa Rica. During 1963-1973 provinces which established new industry such as Heredia and Limón grew by 14.39% and 23.7% respectively. Net decreases in all other provinces, mostly rural, account for the influx of peasants to urban centres. These centres and in particular San José were not able to absorb this sudden influx and as a result many peasants ended up in shanty-towns known as «tugurios».

a) *data on slum and squatter areas*

According to data obtained from the National Housing and Urban Development Institute of Costa Rica, the rate of population growth for San José is above 5% a year and a greater part of such growth is accounted for by the emergence of instant slums.

Usually these «tugurios» start from illegal occupation of vacant land at the borders of established areas. Over time, the inhabitants

ask the National Institute for legal recognition so as to qualify for public services.

These areas are very difficult to locate in city maps as they are scattered through the city and are frequently contiguous to areas which present rather different ecological and economic characteristics.

During the 1973 census, 108 slum areas were identified. The criteria used was the level of physical deterioration in which the inhabitants lived. Specifically, slum areas have the following characteristics:

1. totally inadequate physical habitat;
2. lack of basic services such as roads, sanitation and drinking water;
3. overcrowding;
4. high illiteracy rates;
5. substantially lower than average family income;
6. high unemployment and underemployment rates;
7. a high proportion of residents who do not own their own houses.

In San José approximately 11,500 dwellings met the above criteria in 1973. In those dwellings lived approximately 32,000 inhabitants which comprised slightly more than 5% of the total population of the capital city.

Despite sharing many characteristics, these 108 zones differ in some respects. For example, average family income varies between US\$150 per month to below US\$70 per month in the poorest zones. The social structures of these zones also vary. Places of origin, size of families, continued contact with village, solidarity within the area and the amount and type of community organization vary considerably.

The research team provided a detailed description based on a survey, of a slum area in San José: Calle Chapulines, considered to be a typical example of a slum district. Since one of the areas selected for this study is very similar to Calle Chapulines, a brief summary of the descriptive material provided about this area is presented immediately below.

Calle Chapulines emerged as a residential area in 1971 due to the illegal occupation of the land which took place in that zone. By 1977, this area had 201 dwellings, 98 of which had no water, less than 50% had sanitary services and the majority of those that had water and sewage had to share these services with neighbours.

The total population at that time was 1,027 inhabitants of which 53% were females and 47% were males. The population was very young, over 50% being under 14 years old.

One-third of the dwellings were occupied by more than 7 persons despite the fact that the majority of the dwellings were very small. Two-thirds of all houses had no more than two rooms and almost one-quarter consisted of one-room shanties.

Forty-eight percent of the families who settled in this zone came directly from rural areas to San José, whilst 52% arrived in two shifts, first to another part of the city, most likely a tenement district, and then to Chapulines. From a sociological point of view it is interesting to note that 22% of the families had next-door neighbours who originated from the same rural area. This of course means that more than three-quarters of the residents did not have immediate neighbours to whom they could relate in terms of a shared past experience.

The largest number (56%) stated that the principal reason for coming to Chapulines was «because they had relatives in the area». Other reasons given included: «not having to pay rent» (most of these were two-step migrants) and «poor economic conditions in their place of origin».

The level of education is low by Costa Rican standards. In Costa Rica primary school is compulsory and free. Despite this many minors work and do not go to school. The survey did not identify one person who had completed secondary education and no one surfaced with specialized training of any kind.

Forty percent of the population were economically active. By this it is meant that some form of full or part-time paid employment was performed. Three-quarters of those employed found work outside Chapulines, mainly in the centre of town. The average income from employment among those lucky enough to have a job was low, about 75% earned less than US\$100 per month.

One of the most interesting aspects of this district concerns community life. There were at least 10 community organizations pressing government for services. However, the level of community participation was not very high, only 29% of the persons surveyed knew of the principal and legally sanctioned committee, the «Committee of Community Development», and less than 2% knew of any committee that was calling for electricity and public services.

The most frequently mentioned needs expressed by inhabitants were (in order of frequency): the need to have the dwelling declared legal and registered in the occupant's name, and the need for water,

streets, paved access to others areas, electricity and sewage.

We are advised that the above description is fairly typical of other slum areas in San José and in particular that it roughly conforms to the general economic, demographic and social conditions in Area 2 in this study: Barrio 15 de Septiembre.

b) health indicators

Given the difficult economic situation in Costa Rica, one would expect health indicators to reveal a high infantile mortality rate, a high morbidity rate and a significant incidence of preventable diseases and accidents. However, as compared to other Latin American countries Costa Rica appears to have lower than expected problems in the health area. This is in part due to a relatively sophisticated health care system.

In 1978 the birth rate was high but not as high as in other Latin American countries in 1978 it was 31.8 per 100,000 inhabitants. The mortality rate is one of the lowest in Latin America and has been decreasing steadily over the years; in 1978 it stood at 4.1 per 100,000. Life expectancy in that year was 73.4 years, a remarkably high figure for Latin America and one that approaches Western Europe. Diseases in order of importance included influenza, venereal diseases, measles and viral mumps.

A complex system of health care exists comprising: regional, area and suburban hospitals, four types of out-patients clinics, and medical units serviced by para-professionals, located in rural areas. The general health situation is fairly good by standards usually found in developing countries.

c) education system

Primary school education is compulsory and free. As a result, the illiteracy rate is low by Latin American standards. In 1978 it stood at 10% of the total school-age population and 15% of the rural population. The system of education is highly decentralized and is designed to respond to the needs, expectations and characteristics of different regions of the country. A standard curriculum is provided by the Ministry of Education but that curriculum is implemented in different ways depending upon decisions taken at the local level.

The degree of decentralization is revealed by the formal structure which administers education in Costa Rica. At the top is the Ministry of Education followed by seven regions, twenty-two sub-

regions, 110 micro-regions and 400 school districts.

Apprenticeship training, technical instruction leading to diplomas or degrees and continuing education, available in the evening, are all part of the post-secondary system. The National University and the University of Costa Rica complete the picture.

Despite the sophisticated model outlined above, certain problems continue to exist. In some communities, such as A2 in this study, high truancy rates continue to persist. Moreover, dropping-out of school rates are also high. Although access to post-secondary education is not formally restricted to the middle and upper-classes these tend nonetheless to be over-represented. This is so despite efforts to remove income barriers to education and seems to reflect the same factors which produce a preponderance of upper-income level students in college and university in other countries.

d) employment

In 1978 the official unemployment for the country as a whole was reported to be less than 8%. This figure, of course, does not reveal those who are under-employed and it masks wide variations in levels of income. Gross national product stood at US\$3,473,000 and the average per capita income was US\$1,519 in that same year over 20% of the population in San José earned less than US\$170 per month and only 3% of the total population earned a minimum of US\$250 per month.

Migrants in squatter areas tend to be at the low end of income distribution. Thirtyseven percent of migrants in squatter and non-squatter areas of San José earn less than US\$260 per month. In contrast, non-migrants, particularly those living outside the squatter areas, are over-represented in the higher income brackets and while earning more than \$260 a month, have an average of 1.5 dependents per wage earner. The average number of dependents is higher (4.9) among migrants, particularly those living in squatter areas who earn less than US\$170 per month. This group also had the largest number of minors aged 15 or under living at home (4.05). Overall, these data show considerable gaps in both economic need and levels of income between the richest and poorest members of San José society. This uneven distribution of income may not only produce class conflict but also social conditions conducive to juvenile social maladjustment and adult criminality.

e) problems of delinquency and other forms of social pathology

Officially reported and recorded crime statistics are vulnerable to a number of well-known criticisms. Nonetheless, treated with caution, they do provide some indication of the phenomenon. We were given the following data from the Office of Statistics of the Supreme Court of Justice for the years 1974-1979:

Year	Reported crime per 100,000 inhabitants
1974	1,186
1975	1,210
1976	1,264
1977	1,521
1978	1,452
1979	1,406

These data show a relatively high crime rate in absolute terms. The big jump in 1977 is apparently due to new laws of consumer protection that went into force during that year. The decrease in 1978 and 1979 is apparently due primarily to a decrease in the number of reported consumer protection offences since 1977. Taking all that into account an annual increase of less than 1% in crimes per 100,000 inhabitants is indicated by the data.

The break down of offences, known to the police, that were committed by adult males is as follows: over 83% were crimes against property (in the juveniles' category it was even higher, approaching approximately 90%). The remaining categories were: crimes against life (11.4%) and sexual crimes (3.3%).

From this we can see that in terms of numbers alone property crime dominates the picture. The proportion of all reported offences that are crimes against property is somewhat higher in Costa Rica than in other Latin American countries. It is often said that developing countries tend to suffer more from crimes against the person than against property, at least in early stages of development. This generalization does not hold for Costa Rica.

The age distribution is rather interesting in that it does not appear to follow the same pattern that exists in most developed nations. In Western Europe and North America offenders under the age of 20 account for the highest crime rate. This is not so for Costa Rica

in that it is the 21-30 age group that has the highest reported crime rate.

Age	Rate per 100,000 inhabitant
17-21	148
21-30	216
31-40	149
41-50	132
51 and over	59

Sentencing practice is fairly severe. During 1977-1979, there was an annual rate of committal to penal institutions of about 4,000. This works out to about 60% of all condemnatory sentences pronounced by the courts and close to 300 institutional sentences per 100,000 inhabitants.

It is interesting to note that 25% of all institutionalized offenders were under the age of 20; 72% were unmarried and over 89% came from urban communities.

Legal response to juvenile and adult criminality in Costa Rica is more elaborate, at least at the formal level, than that which exists in most other Latin American countries. In 1979, there were more than 6,000 urban police officers distributed in urban and metropolitan centres throughout the country. This gives a ratio of one policeman to 350 urban inhabitants, a ratio which is high by international standards. In centres with high crime levels the ratio is even greater, approximately 1 policeman to 200 inhabitants.

In addition, the Ministry of the Interior employs over 2,000 rural assistant guards who act in a number of social defence roles other than responding to crime in traditional ways. They are not, however, given much training and their impact in rural areas is a matter of some controversy. It should be noted that Costa Rica does not have a standing army.

The State, through the General Directorate of Social Adaptation, administers two specialized juvenile institutions. In addition, there are several private institutions funded in part by the National Children's Fund, designed to protect and rehabilitate children who are abandoned or in social danger because of the absence of adequate parents. The total capacity of both public and private residential facilities for juveniles is approximately 600 and the majority of them are based in the metropolitan area of San José and other urban cen-

tres in that province. The staff at most of these centres are professionally trained and some capacity for professional diagnosis and/or treatment exists. Nonetheless, it is the judgement of most observers in Costa Rica that the needs of troubled children are not being met due to insufficient staff and inadequate facilities for treatment. Most of the children who are placed in these institutions come from poor families. Once again the problems of the poor are dealt with by the police, the courts and by correctional authorities. The rich have private means to deal with family problems that do not usually come to the attention of the authorities.

What we see in the above material supplied by our local team in Costa Rica is a fairly active, intrusive professional response to juveniles. In terms of design, the overall system is comparable to that which can be seen in many developed nations. The size of the problem, restricted budget, and administrative difficulties make the system less effective in practice.

**b) Description of the two areas: Barrio de Córdoba (A1)
and 15 de Septiembre (A2)**

Barrio de Córdoba (A1) is a relatively new suburban area that comprises middle and upper-income families who settled there since 1962. Around 1954 the land in this area was purchased by a number of relatively wealthy citizens. In 1962 the first plots were sold to a firm of contractors who sub-divided parcels, built roads and sought approval for services. House construction started shortly thereafter and can be divided into two stages: the first, which was called FINSA I, developed several areas located in the south end of the district, and the second, called FINSA II, began development as stage one (FINSA I) was nearing completion and it included districts near the main highway. The division into stages I and II does not imply strong social and economic differences but rather a two-stage development process.

People who settled in Barrio de Córdoba included small businessmen and a number of teachers, professors, lawyers, engineers and other professionals. The motivations for moving to this district were many but the move was mainly prompted by desire to settle in a safe, decent district away from the city centre and the social problems found there. Not surprisingly the community became organized rather quickly, a «progressive council» was created which pressed government for public services which were quickly provided. A high

degree of community pride and organic solidarity exists among the residents of this area.

There is no unemployment to speak of and the only social problem mentioned by residents is one associated with the trafficking and occasional use of marijuana, a typical middle-class phenomenon.

The community of 15 de Septiembre is also located in the province of San José in the outskirts of the central area. It was created in 1962, about the same time as Barrio de Córdoba. In all other respects 15 de Septiembre is radically different from A1 in the study.

It was a slum from the beginning. The residents were moved to this area from squatter districts and squalid housing in the centre of the capital.

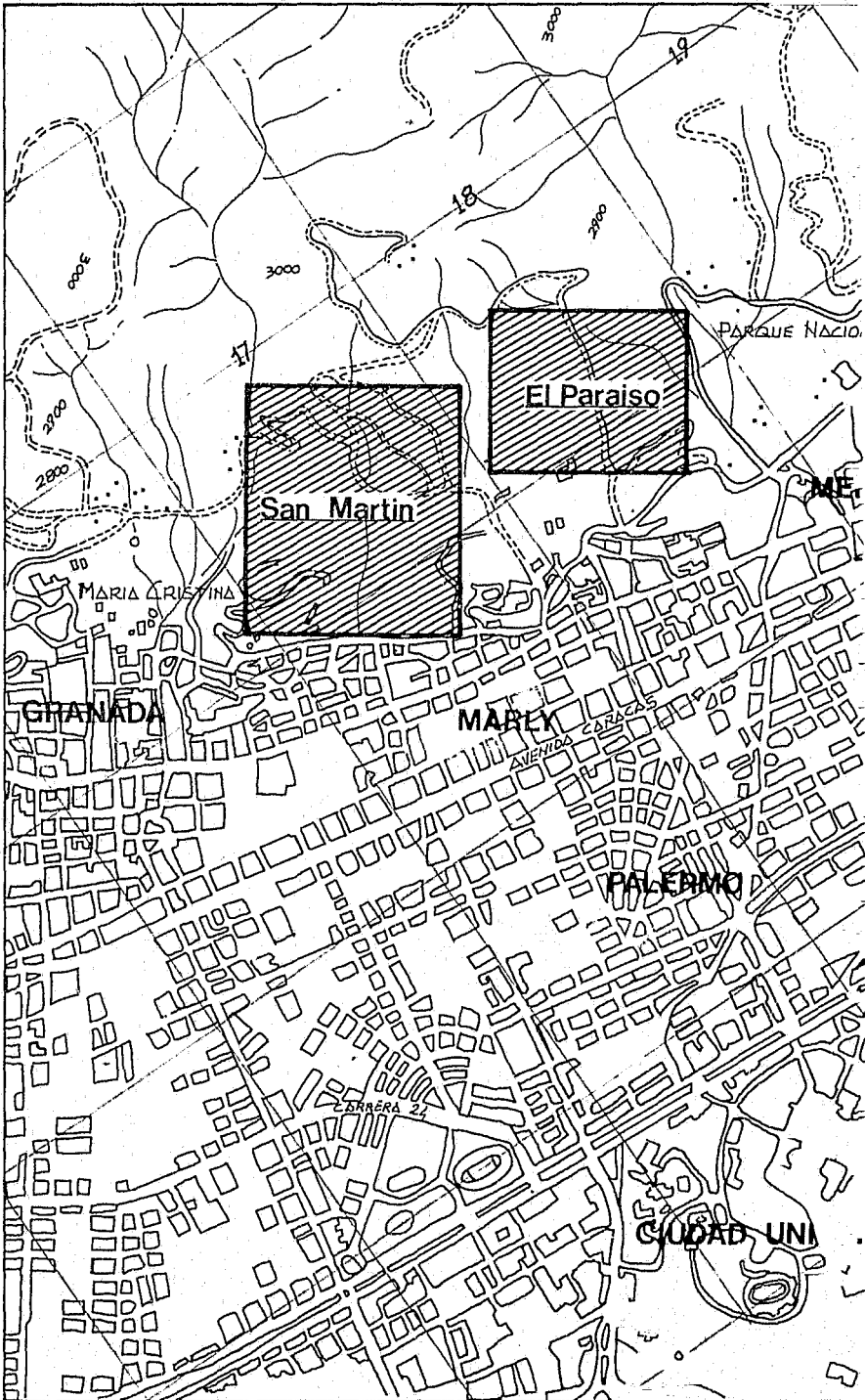
The area was urbanized in two stages. In 1963 the National Institute of Housing and Urbanism assigned 278 families that had been evicted from other slums to the southern part of the district near the Citadel. These families were from the lowest social economic order in San José and were known as «those from the bottom». Shortly thereafter, a second stage of settlement took place. The population did not have the same origin. In general, they belonged to a low-income group with housing problems but were not evictees from the worst slums. These people were called «those from the top».

This division cannot be recognized easily by outsiders as the standard of housing and living conditions of the inhabitants are similar. In social terms, the division into «those from the bottom» and «those from the top» was fundamentally an internal process. In 1980 a peripheral road was built that served as a physical boundary between the two areas, thus solidifying the social stratification that was underway.

The district is very deteriorated. Narrow lanes serve as streets and basic services such as electricity, safe drinking water and sanitation are either non-existent or have to be shared.

Most residents are not productive wage-earners. Some have been excluded from the labour market for years. The most typical employment activities are: handicrafts, petty commerce, shoe-shine, newspaper seller, peddling, etc. . Those that have work of some kind are usually under-employed and the average income per household is very low. A study conducted in 1977 showed that 44% of the employable population had worked for less than three months in the previous years.

The majority of children do not complete primary school. Truancy and desertion rates are very high.





Despite these conditions some community services exist. The residents of both sectors have achieved unity to fight for and obtain some public services. Among the services obtained through community action were the following: a centre for infant nutrition and a nursery, a primary school, a workshop which provides training in sewing, auto-mechanics, welding, etc., a laundry, a telephone box, and a police-lodge.

The commercial organization of the area is comprised of 17 small stores, three cobblers, three workshops manufacturing brooms and one carpenter's workshop.

A high level of demoralization exists among the population and a sense of helplessness prevails. Not surprisingly a host of social problems such as: alcoholism, family fights and juvenile delinquency appear to be endemic to this district.

What we have in San José are two communities that were developed about the same time. The issue of rapid versus non-rapid urbanization is thereby excluded from our analysis. Nonetheless, if the speed of development alone is presumed to be a dominant factor in producing high levels of juvenile social maladjustment, one would expect to see both districts having similar delinquency rates. If this should not turn out to be true, then one must seek other explanations.

Area 1 is a typical new middle-class area, developed and planned by private enterprises to serve the housing needs of the wealthy. Government responded to pressure coming from this group by providing all necessary services to enhance the quality of life of these already privileged citizens. These citizens in turn organized themselves locally to protect their interests thus solidifying the community.

In contrast A2 is a typical slum created by the government who responded to a housing crisis faced by the poorest members of society. Relocation took place without adequate planning. Housing of a sort was made available but social planning was almost totally absent. The residents were not politically powerful enough to obtain government services.

In sum, the contrast in this case study is between privately planned and organized urbanization which complies with and exceeded all government guidelines, on the one hand, and unplanned and disorganized urbanization on the other.

c) Analysis of data

In this study three questionnaires were administered: 320 adult residents in A1 (Barrio de Córdoba) and an identical number in A2

(Barrio 15 de Septiembre) were interviewed. Questionnaires were administered to 200 juveniles in A1 and to 204 in A2.

It was not possible to identify 50 professionals working in each of the two areas selected for this study. It was the judgment of the local team that there were other slum areas in San José that corresponded in all important ecological, demographic, economic and social characteristics with Barrio 15 de Septiembre. It was therefore decided to select Alajuelita as a comparable district from which additional professional persons could be selected to participate in the survey. As a result some 79 professional persons comprise our sample for the area notionally designated A2. With respect to A1, it was decided that there were insufficient similarities with any other area to safely draw in additional professional persons from other districts. The result is that only 24 professional persons comprise our sample from A1.

This has created an imbalanced design and given the small number of professionals from A1, one must be rather cautious in interpreting the data from that particular questionnaire. Apart from this one difficulty, the sample of juveniles and of adult members of the public appear to be sufficiently large for statistical manipulation and to be representative enough to draw certain conclusions.

i) The extent of juvenile social maladjustment

The first question posed in this study is: What is the extent of juvenile social maladjustment in the two areas of San José from which our samples were drawn? The Instituto Latinoamericano para la prevención del delito y tratamiento del delincuente (ILANUD) completed a study on Victimology subsequent to the completion of this project. They report that in terms of officially recorded cases referred to the penal courts of the metropolitan area of San José, one of the highest rates is attributed to the area designated A2 in this study. In 1981, San José had an average of one person accused per 325 inhabitants while Barrio 15 de Septiembre had an average of one accused person per 233 inhabitants. In other words, the official crime rate is approximately one-third higher in 15 de Septiembre than in the city as a whole. This finding is of course based on official statistics and does not reveal the dark figures of crime — i.e., crimes that are not reported or recorded. There is no comparable data for Barrio de Córdoba but since this study attempts to examine juvenile social maladjustment in the context of community perception and belief we will base our analysis primarily on questionnaire results.

In Table 1 below responses to the very general question asked to adult members of the public and professionals in the two areas are reported: What is the behaviour of juveniles in this area like? It can be seen that there are significant differences in A1 and A2. Over 82% of the public in A1 rate juvenile behaviour as «good», less than 31% of the residents in A2 are prepared to give such a positive response. A slightly different worded question was given to professionals working in these areas yielding somewhat different results. Only 16% would give a favourable rating to juveniles and no difference showed up between areas. It is interesting to note that the public apparently has a more tolerant attitude than the professionals (a finding which is confirmed in this case study and which is consistent with the results reported in the other case studies of this project). Perhaps the most interesting finding is that residents of Barrio de Córdoba reveal a satisfied and protective attitude towards juveniles. In sharp contrast, the residents of 15 de Septiembre are not as protective and a large majority view juvenile behaviour in their area as problematic.

PUBLIC

TABLE 1
What is juvenile's behaviour like?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Good	263	99	362
Bad	21	199	220
I don't know	5	19	24
Not so good	31	3	34
Column total	320	320	640

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 2
In your opinion what is the juvenile social maladjustment situation in your area?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Good	4	13	17
Bad	9	58	67
I don't know	11	8	19
Column total	24	79	103

PUBLIC

TABLE 3
Have behaviour problems increased over the last five years?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Yes	119	180	299
No	91	54	145
The same	53	20	73
Decreased	8	34	42
I don't know	49	32	81
Column total	320	320	640

Our data show not only a perception of a serious problem in A2 but also a pessimistic prognosis. About half of the residents of A1 and A2 (combined) believe that there has been an increase in behavioural problems over the past five years, although a much higher proportion of residents in A2 are prepared to state that such problems have increased (56.2% in A2 compared to 37.2% in A1).

In Table 4 below one can see that more than two out of three residents in A2 believe that juvenile social maladjustment will continue to increase over the next few years while only about one-half of the residents in A1 are prepared to make such a pessimistic prognosis. A similar pattern shows up in the professional group, approximately 71% of the professionals working in A2 indicated that in their opinion juvenile social maladjustment will increase. In contrast, only 33% of their colleagues working in A1 reveal such bleak prospects for the future.

PUBLIC

TABLE 4
Future trends of juvenile social maladjustment

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Decrease	38	53	91
Constant	46	7	53
Increase	172	217	389
I don't know	64	43	107
Column total	320	320	640

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 4
Future trends of juvenile social maladjustment

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Decrease	5	10	15
Constant	8	12	20
Increase	8	56	64
I don't know	3	1	4
Column total	24	79	103

It is interesting to see a striking similarity in the reasons given for the perceived increase in juvenile social maladjustment. For all samples of public and professional opinion, regardless of area, the rank order of reasons given were identical:

1. lack of control by adults
2. negative peer's influence
3. inadequate schooling
4. community indifference

In a word, public and professional opinion in these areas of San José see the principal reason for juvenile social maladjustment as being the absence of positive socializing influences over children.

PUBLIC

TABLE 6
If conduct problems have increased, what in your opinion, are the reasons?
(give three alternatives in order of seriousness)

Ranking	A1 + A2	Reasons	A1	Reasons	A2	Reasons
1st	29.3%	6	25.6%	2	24.9%	6
2nd	26.8%	2	24.0%	1	28.3%	2
3rd	21.2%	1	23.8%	6	17.9%	1
4th	11.3%	3	12.5%	5	11.5%	3
5th	7.4%	5	10.8%	3	4.6%	4
6th	3.7%	4	2.8%	4	3.4%	5

Reasons:

1. lack of control
2. influence of bad company
3. lack of schooling
4. indifference of the neighbourhood
5. influence of mass-media
6. bad family conditions

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 7
What, in your opinion, are the reasons for the increase of socially maladjusted behaviour? (give three answers in order of priority)

Ranking	A1 + A2	Reasons	A1	Reasons	A2	Reasons
1st	35.5%	6	35.7%	6	35.5%	6
2nd	22.6%	2	23.9%	2	22.5%	2
3rd	18.9%	1	21.4%	1	18.2%	1
4th	12.5%	3	10.3%	3	13.1%	3
5th	9.3%	5	9.5%	5	9.7%	5
6th	1.2%	4	0%	4	1.5%	4

Reasons:

1. lack of control
2. influence of bad company
3. lack of schooling
4. indifference of the neighbours
5. influence of mass-media
6. bad family conditions

The most negative and pessimistic responses come from the public in A2, Barrio 15 de Septiembre. Since A1 and A2 evolved as distinct urban communities during the same period of time, one is tempted to conclude that the temporal factor (i.e. time or speed of development alone) is not an independent cause of juvenile social maladjustment. Both officially reported data and results emerging from this study tend to reject the hypotheses that rapid urbanization necessarily leads to higher level of juvenile social maladjustment.

Before drawing firm conclusions about this, further analysis of data will be required. One needs to know more about the phenomenology of juvenile social maladjustment as perceived and understood by the residents of those areas; one would like to have more data about social and cultural forces operating at the community level and one should examine the relationships of children to the principal socializing influences in their lives: their families, their schools, their peers and formal agencies of social control such as the police and the courts. Fortunately we have data which permit us to get closer to those issues.

Further reinforcement of the sharp difference between A1 and A2 in beliefs held about the extent of juvenile social pathology can be found in Tables 8 and 9 below. Almost 78% of the public in A2

are prepared to say that there are juveniles living in that area with conduct problems. Only 35% of the public in A1 believe this is the case in their community. A similar response came from professionals. More than 87% of professionals in A2 indicated that there were groups of socially maladjusted juveniles living in the community in which they worked. A slightly lower percentage (70.8%) of professionals in A1 held the same view. From this it would appear that the public in A1 are far more protective of their children and have a more positive image of them than their counterparts in A2 and even than professionals working in the own area. Middle-class families generally tend to deny the existence of juvenile delinquency within their homes, and it may be that professionals working in that area have a more accurate perception of the extent of the problem. On the other hand, it is in A2, that the public were inclined to say that children with serious problems existed in their area.

PUBLIC

TABLE 8
Are there juveniles with conduct problems in this area?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Yes	112	249	361
No	157	29	186
I don't know	51	42	93
Column total	320	320	640

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 9
Are there groups of socially maladjusted juveniles in this area?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Yes	17	69	86
No	5	5	10
I don't know	2	5	7
Column total	24	79	103

Turning more specifically to the content of belief systems concerning juvenile social maladjustment, a number of rather interesting findings emerged. When asked to compare adult and juvenile pro-

blems, one-half of the public saw adult maladjustment as more serious. A higher proportion of adults in A1 were prepared to make that judgement. Only 26% of them saw juveniles as a more serious problem. In contrast, almost 50% of the public in A2 were able to say that juveniles posed a greater problem than adults. It is interesting to note the high number of «don't know» responses to this particular question.

No distinction appeared in the responses of the professionals of both areas in regard to this question. The professionals were evenly divided in comparing adult and juvenile maladjustment.

PUBLIC

TABLE 10
In which group are behaviour problems more serious?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Among adults	165	155	320
Among juveniles	84	127	211
There are no behaviour problems in this area	11	0	11
Equally distributed between the age groups	6	3	9
I don't know	54	35	89
Column total	320	320	640

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 11
In which group are behaviour problems more serious?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Among adults	5	35	40
Among juveniles	12	38	50
I don't know	7	6	13
Column total	24	79	103

These data show a tendency for members of the public and professionals in Barrio de Córdoba to be fairly tolerant towards juveniles, at least to the extent of not attaching all the blame for community problems on them. The opposite appeared to be true for Barrio 15

de Septiembre. In that community, juveniles are targeted as a major problem. This conclusion is amply supported by data presented in Table 12 below.

PUBLIC

TABLE 12
What are the juveniles in your area like?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
No answer (they don't present a problem)	208	71	279
Harmless	40	36	76
Troublesome	67	137	204
Dangerous	3	73	76
I don't know	2	3	5
Column total	320	320	640

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 13
What are the groups of juveniles in the area like?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
There are none	7	10	17
Dangerous	3	25	28
Troublesome	6	9	15
Harmless	8	7	15
I don't know	2	3	5
Column total	24	79	103

Of the 76 members of the public interviewed who were prepared to say that juveniles in their community were «dangerous», 73 were from A2. Indeed, 208 (70%) of residents in A1 did not see youth problems of any kind. Only 71 (22%) of A2 residents were as sanguine. Nonetheless, it is important to note that the majority of the public in both A1 and A2 did not see juveniles as posing a serious problem to personal safety. The response most frequently given even in A2 was «troublesome». This is a considerably more tolerant response than one might expect given the difficult social and economic conditions under which these people live.

A similar pattern emerged from the identical question given to professionals. By far the largest number of professionals who were prepared to attach the label «dangerous» to juveniles, work in A2. Once again professionals tend to be less tolerant than members of the public. Perhaps they see the worst cases of social pathology and are coloured by that experience.

What we see overall, is a public in A2 that is deeply concerned about the extent and seriousness of juvenile social maladjustment. For all indicators they are more likely than their counterparts in A1 to view the problem as being a major and worsening problem posing real threats to their precarious existence. Moreover, they are rather pessimistic about the future and have a greater tendency to «scape-goat» their own children, who are as much victims as perpetrators. This tendency to «blame the victim» is troublesome as it creates particular problems in obtaining community support for social programmes designed to assist juveniles in danger.

The new section will explore relationships between children and adults in order to gain a better understanding of the relatively more punitive tendency in Barrio 15 de Septiembre.

ii) Family relationships

In the preceding section we presented data which tended to show that in the opinion of the public and in a lesser extent among professional there is a higher level of juvenile social maladjustment in the economically and culturally deprived district of 15 de Septiembre than in the new middle-class community of Barrio de Córdoba.

We now turn to examine the possible reasons for this finding. In particular, we are interested to learn about the nature of relationships between adults and juveniles and about the influence of primary carriers of cultural norms, i.e. the family, the church, the school, the work-place and the community.

a) The family

A very sharp difference of opinion exists among the public in A1 and A2 concerning the quality of family life. Over 75% of the public in A1 believe juveniles respect their parents: only 28.6% of their counterparts in A2 hold such view. Moreover, almost 78% of A1 residents believe that parents in their community look after children well. In sharp contrast, only 28% of A2 residents believe this to be the case. From this we can see that the social pathology which finds

a visible expression in overt acts of juveniles, is deeply rooted within the family. Families in which love, care and attention is not forthcoming are not only likely to produce negative attitudes from adults but also acting-out behaviour on the part of juveniles. If this public perception is accurate (and there is little reason not to believe it), there should be no surprise in learning that 15 de Septiembre is experiencing a relatively serious juveniles' delinquency problem.

PUBLIC

TABLE 14
Do juveniles respect parents or guardians?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Yes	242	92	334
No	44	190	234
I don't know	34	38	72
Column total	320	320	320

PUBLIC

TABLE 15
How do parents look after their children?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Well	249	92	341
Badly	44	201	245
I don't know	27	27	54
Column total	320	320	640

We have data which tend to show that parents and juveniles have more frequent contact with each other in A1 than in A2. In Table 17 below we can see that the public in A1 are more likely to believe that male juveniles help in household chores. It should be noted that in both areas female juveniles provide such help. This indicates a more integrated family structure in Barrio de Córdoba.

PUBLIC

TABLE 16
Do female juveniles help in house chores?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Yes	260	241	501
No	51	52	103
I don't know	9	27	36
Column total	320	320	640

PUBLIC

TABLE 17
Do male juveniles help in house chores?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Yes	138	89	227
No	150	185	335
I don't know	32	46	78
Column total	320	320	640

A slightly higher proportion of juveniles in 15 de Septiembre have paid employment. Apparently juveniles in Barrio de Córdoba tend to be financially supported by the parents for a longer period. It is interesting to see that only 14 children in A1 and A2 combined find employment outside the family structure and that 13 of these come from A2. Overall, the data show a more cohesive family structure in A1. Families in that area are not only more likely to provide for the economic needs of juveniles but also to be more socially cohesive.

PUBLIC

TABLE 18
Who do male juveniles work for?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
No answer	308	271	579
Parents and guardians	5	14	19
Others	3	2	5
Autonomously	1	13	14
I don't know	3	20	23
Column total	320	320	640

Nonetheless, it is the family in both A1 and A2 that is the principal refuge for juveniles. Over 90% of our total sample of 404 juveniles believe that the family contributes to the solving of personal problems and we shall see that a much lower percentage believe that formal agencies of social control offer such assistance. Moreover, juveniles in both areas are likely to turn to their parents and other relatives when in difficulty.

From this it may be said that even in an area characterized by inadequate parents-child relationships, lack of respect for adults and poor physical and social conditions, the family survives as the one social institution to which children can relate and where they can seek refuge when in difficulty.

JUVENILES

TABLE 19
Do you think that the family really contributes to solving the problems of their children?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Yes	193	185	378
No	8	10	18
I don't know	3	5	8
Column total	204	200	404

JUVENILES

TABLE 20
When you are in trouble, who do you turn to?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Parents	183	173	356
Brother/sister	3	11	14
Relatives	4	6	10
School-teachers	2	2	4
Friends	8	6	14
Social workers	1	0	1
Other	3	2	5
Column total	204	200	404

JUVENILES

TABLE 21
Assuming that you commit an unlawful action, who
would you like to handle your case?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Family	184	179	363
Neighbours	2	2	2
School-teachers	6	5	11
Social workers	7	12	19
Police officials	5	2	7
Column total	204	200	404

iii) Non-family relationships

Apart from interactions within the family, juveniles are socialized by contact with other adults and peers within and outside formal structures. As we have seen, there are data which suggest that juveniles in A2 are more likely to work. For them, the normal childhood experience characterized by emotional and economic dependence on their parents, is replaced by the need to become socially and economically independent at an early age. Due to high unemployment, particularly among the young living in areas such as 15 de Septiembre, the majority of juveniles in both areas do not have paid employment. In Barrio de Córdoba, this is a matter of choice whilst for juveniles in 15 de Septiembre it is because employment opportunities do not exist. This being the case, leisure time occupies the bulk of the non-school and non-family hours of the day. In Tables 22 to 24 below, one gets a picture of how juveniles spend their free-time.

JUVENILES

TABLE 22
Do juveniles in your area work full-time, part-time or intermittently?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Do not work	199	181	380
Full-time	4	14	18
Part-time	1	4	5
Intermittently	0	1	1
Column total	204	200	404

JUVENILES

TABLE 23
What do you do in your leisure time?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Sports	87	69	7
Cultural activities	3	4	7
Musical activities	9	8	17
Watch TV	40	50	90
Meet with friends	20	28	48
Read	18	7	25
Loiter	7	1	8
Idle	3	5	8
Other	6	19	25
No information	11	9	20
Column total	204	200	404

JUVENILES

TABLE 24
What is your principal activity?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Studying	189	165	354
Working	2	13	15
Both studying and working	3	6	9
Neither studying nor working	10	16	26
Column total	204	200	404

Juveniles in A1 report that they spend most of their free-time studying. In contrast, juveniles in A2 are more likely to be working, working and studying or doing neither. A significant number of juveniles in A1 report that they spend their free-time in sports or reading. On the other hand, juveniles in A2 are more likely to spend their free-time watching TV, meeting with friends or doing nothing in particular. These data give the impression that a higher proportion of A2 juveniles find themselves at a loose end when they are not at school.

For juveniles in both areas, the school occupies the greater part of their non-family time. The level of education among juveniles in our two samples is significantly higher in A1 than in A2. We reported earlier that the level of truancy and dropping-out was much higher in A2 and this may account for higher academic achievement in A1. It should be noted that the two samples are comparable in terms of age. This being the case the higher average grade level achieved in A1 must be due to better school performance.

JUVENILES

TABLE 25
Level of education of school-going juveniles

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
No answer	12	28	40
Up to 4 years	19	35	54
5 - 8	125	111	236
Above 8	48	25	73
None	0	1	1
Column total	204	200	404

In Table 26 below we can see that only 6 out of 204 juveniles in A1 dropped-out from school. In contrast, 38 out of 202 juveniles in A2 left school early. Most of these juveniles report «difficulties in studying» as the main reasons for leaving school. It is rather difficult to interpret this information as it may be due to a variety of reasons, many of which are not connected with academic potential.

These data show that the school is a more important institution in A1 than in A2. Juveniles stay in school longer, achieve more and are less likely to drop out.

Overall, the picture is one of stability: stability in family relationships and stability in the relationships with the most important non-family socializing institution, i.e. the school.

JUVENILES

TABLE 26
Reasons for not having completed school

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Not applicable	198	172	370
I had to support my family	0	2	2
I had difficulties in studying	3	18	21
My family was not interested in my schooling	0	1	1
I had problems with teachers and/or schoolmates	0	1	1
I wanted or had to work	1	2	3
Other	2	4	6
Column total	204	200	404

Apart from the school, other organizations may have an influence on children. The Church is one such institution. More than twice as many members of the public in A1 than in A2 believe that juveniles participate actively in religious activities. The juveniles interviewed tend to support this expression of opinion coming from adults. The majority of juveniles in both areas believe that the Church plays a constructive role in solving personal problems. A higher percentage with this view live in A1.

Once again an important social institution (in this case the Church) appears to have a closer and more intimate bond with juveniles living in the stable middle-class area of Barrio de Córdoba than in the disorganized, poverty-stricken district of 15 de Septiembre. Juveniles in this latter community are more likely to be cut-off from their families, their Church and their school.

PUBLIC

TABLE 27
Do juveniles participate in religious activities?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Actively	115	54	179
Passively	157	219	376
I don't know	48	37	85
Column total	320	320	640

JUVENILES

TABLE 28
Do you think that religious organizations are really helpful
in solving the personal problems of juveniles?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Yes	139	121	260
No	33	47	80
I don't know	32	32	64
Column total	204	200	404

iv) Peer relationships

As we have seen both adult members of the public and juveniles interviewed in the course of this study tend to believe that juveniles in A1 are more likely to have stable and enduring ties with their families, the school and religious organizations than those who live in A2. We have also seen that the level of participation in sports is higher in A1 than in A2. In other words, juveniles in A1 are treated as children should be — as important members of the family unit, as students and as «kids at play». This does not mean that the above-mentioned institutions are unimportant to juveniles in A2, it only suggests that these institutions have less impact.

Despite this lack of significant contact with the principal socializing institutions, juveniles in both areas interact with a variety of other individuals, some of whom are peers and other are adults. These interactions may be positive, they may provide good role-models for juveniles and they may ease the transition to adult status. On the other hand, the influences may be negative, they may teach children an-

tisocial attitudes and behaviours and they may provide an opportunity for juveniles to achieve money and status by illegitimate means.

In Table 29 below one can see that a higher proportion of juveniles in A1 participate in organized group activities of some kind. Almost three-quarters of the juveniles in A2 do not participate in any organized activity. In Tables 30 and 31 we can see that despite the absence of organized group interaction in A2, a higher proportion of juveniles (male and female) in that area spend their free-time mixing with adults. In about half of the cases these informal groups comprise both males and females.

We do not have any hard data which would enable us to identify the type of individuals who make up these groups. We do know that juvenile and adult gangs and «near-groups» are more prevalent phenomena in 15 de Septiembre. That being the case one may safely assume that at least some of these groups are delinquent in orientation. Given the relative weakness of the family, the school and religious organizations, and the absence of organized sports activities in A2, one can conclude that informal interaction among peers and with non-family adults plays a bigger role in 15 de Septiembre than in Barrio de Córdoba. Given the absence of recreational centres, sports facilities or any other dedicated habitat for structured activities and given overcrowded conditions in private homes, much of the interaction which does take place in A2 must take place in the street. This being so, a deviant, antisocial or delinquent act by any member of the street community is highly visible, thus providing a model for juveniles. The street, therefore, is a place where social learning takes place. This type of learning can neutralize the moral and religious values attempted to be taught in the home, the school and religious organizations. If these institutions are already weak in the eyes of juveniles, the street scene becomes the dominant place where culture is learned.

JUVENILES

TABLE 29
Do you participate in group activities?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Yes	91	76	167
No	113	124	237
Column total	204	200	404

PUBLIC

TABLE 30
Do the male juveniles, in general spend their free time?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Mixing with adults	40	161	201
Separate from adults	270	137	407
No information	10	22	32
Column total	320	320	640

PUBLIC

TABLE 31
Do the female juveniles, in general, spend their free time?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Mixing with adults	23	108	131
Separate from adults	280	150	430
No information	17	62	79
Column total	320	320	640

PUBLIC

TABLE 32
With whom do male juveniles, in general, spend their time?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Grouped - males only	129	118	247
Grouped - males and females mixed	175	174	349
Alone	4	6	10
No information	12	22	34
Column total	320	320	640

PUBLIC

TABLE 33
With whom do female juveniles, in general, spend their free time?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Grouped - females only	132	68	200
Grouped - females and males mixed	167	177	344
Alone	8	30	38
No information	13	45	58
Column total	320	320	640

v) Relationships with formal agencies

This section explores the quality of relationships between juveniles and state-managed institutions set up by government to assist, control or rehabilitate juveniles who are experiencing problems which bring them into conflict with community norms and the law. We will also examine public confidence in those agencies and seek to measure the opinions of professionals about the performance of their own agencies.

We have already seen that the family and to a lesser extent the school and the church are seen by juveniles and the public as useful social institutions. However, the degree of confidence varied in that it was A1 juveniles and adults who rated these primary institutions higher than their counterparts in A2.

Juveniles were asked to indicate whether a number of named formal organizations contributed to the resolution of personal problems. The results for religious organizations, the school, social welfare agencies, the police, courts of justice and reformatory institutions are reported below.

JUVENILES

TABLE 34
Are you of the opinion that religious organizations
contribute to solve juveniles' personal problems?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Yes	139	121	260
No	33	47	80
I don't know	32	32	64
Column total	204	200	404

JUVENILES

TABLE 35
Are you of the opinion that social welfare organizations
contribute to solve juveniles personal problems?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Yes	129	147	276
No	24	20	44
I don't know	51	33	84
Column total	204	200	404

JUVENILES

TABLE 36
Are you of the opinion that the school contributes
to solve juveniles' personal problems?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Yes	146	143	289
No	54	53	107
I don't know	4	4	8
Column total	204	200	404

JUVENILES

TABLE 37
Are you of the opinion that courts of justice contribute
to solve juveniles' personal problems?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Yes	69	93	162
No	49	36	85
I don't know	86	71	157
Column total	204	200	404

JUVENILES

TABLE 38
Are you of the opinion that reformatories contribute
to solve juveniles' personal problems?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Yes	67	79	136
No	89	104	193
I don't know	48	27	75
Column total	204	200	404

JUVENILES

TABLE 39
How do the police treat juveniles?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
With tolerance	105	87	192
With indulgence	13	12	25
Severely	51	78	129
I don't know	35	23	58
Column total	204	200	404

PUBLIC

TABLE 40
If you were the victim of a socially maladjusted act, what would your reaction be?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
No reaction	10	21	31
Call the police	247	226	473
Would take justice into his own hands	38	57	95
I don't know	25	16	41
Column total	320	320	640

PUBLIC

TABLE 41
What should society's attitude be towards juvenile conduct problems?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
More tolerant	47	46	93
More severe	214	237	451
As it is at present	34	24	58
I don't know	25	13	38
Column total	320	320	640

Overall, the picture which emerges is as follows: non-coercive organizations such as the church, the school and welfare agencies are given a high performance rating by juveniles in both communities; the police, the courts and reformatory institutions do not receive enthusiastic support from many juveniles; there is a slight tendency for juveniles from the low-income area to be more positive about social welfare agencies than their middle-class counterparts; a higher proportion of middle-class juveniles express positive views about the school and the church; juveniles from the slum area are more likely to believe that the police treat juveniles harshly.

From these results one is tempted to conclude that A1 juveniles give high rating to those agencies with which they are most familiar, i.e. the school and religious organizations. The opposite is true for A2 juveniles — they are more likely to give a negative rating to the police and to reformatory institutions about which they have some

knowledge if not direct experience. A significant number of juveniles from both areas expressed negative opinions about various components of the juvenile justice system. These attitudes are sufficiently widespread to give cause for concern. We will return to this topic in our conclusions.

vi) Public and professionals' recommendations for policy

Members of the public were asked what their reaction would be if they were a victim of a socially maladjusted act committed by a juvenile. Marked differences in responses came from the two areas. An overwhelming majority (77%) of A1 residents would call the police. Only 11.8% of residents from A2 would do likewise. A significant number of A2 residents were likely to take justice into their own hand. Lack of confidence in the police among residents of 15 de Septiembre is dramatically revealed.

Perhaps one of the most interesting findings which surfaced in our analysis was a sharp difference between A1 and A2 residents concerning the effectiveness of both the family and the community at present and as compared to five years ago. Over 80% of the residents of Barrio de Córdoba believe that the family is a stronger institution at present than five years ago. Only 42% of their counterparts in 15 de Septiembre believe that the family is now stronger. Similarly, more than 64% of the residents in A1 believe that the community plays a more effective role in dealing with juvenile social maladjustment at present. Less than half (45%) of A2 residents see the community as a stronger institution today. These data show the differential impact of rapid urbanization on family and community life. For residents of Barrio de Córdoba, urbanization has produced healthier families and a stronger community. The opposite is true for the residents of 15 de Septiembre. The pessimism revealed by our data is but one further component of the alienation which characterizes that community. What we see in 15 de Septiembre is a community which not only has lost confidence in government but, what is more important, is in danger of losing confidence in itself.

PUBLIC

TABLE 42
Do you think that the family and the community play an effective role in the prevention and control of juvenile social maladjustment? (affirmative answers)

	A1 + A2	A1	A2
Family at present	61.5%	80.9%	42.2%
Family five years ago	38.5%	19.1%	57.8%
Community at present	54.6%	64.3%	45.0%
Community five years ago	45.4%	35.7%	55.0%

This section deals with what the public in the two areas and professionals who work there see as possible solutions to the problems identified above. In Table 43 below recommendations coming from the public are reported. Interesting differences in public opinion between residents of A1 and A2 can be seen. A significant number of residents in both areas believe that strengthening the school system as a possible solution. It is the most frequent response of residents in A1, and the second in A2. It is significant to note that a large number (87) of A1 residents see strengthening of traditional values as an important prevention tool. Only 31 of A2 residents recommend this approach. Once again, we see the community with the greater self-confidence, prepared to build on that confidence and the community which became demoralized looking to outside agencies as a salvation. Thus, a greater proportion of A2 residents call for improvements in formal systems of civil and penal justice. They also were more likely to ask for jobs as a long-range solution. It is important to recognize that less than 3% from either district called for more severe sentences.

These data suggest that an adequate social response to problems of juvenile social maladjustment would consist of a combination of the measures recommended. The public appear willing to support a humane set of measures at the level of primary prevention. These measures would not be delinquency-specific. Rather, they would comprise a set of social intervention strategies designed to improve the welfare of juveniles generally.

PUBLIC

TABLE 43
What is, in your opinion, the most effective means
to reduce juvenile social maladjustment?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Strengthen traditional values	87	31	118
Greater efficacy of civil justice	7	31	38
Greater efficacy of penal justice	8	24	32
Greater efficacy of social welfare system	47	66	113
Greater efficacy of educational system	115	74	189
Increase work opportunities	39	77	116
Introduce more severe sentences	8	7	15
I don't know	9	10	19
Column total	320	320	640

The following section deals with professional opinion as to the performance of their own agencies and recommendations for a future social policy.

Overall, professionals rate agencies performance very low. This generalization tends to hold across all agencies and for both A1 and A2 professionals. Police, court and related justice services tend to be rated very badly. The only agency given a majority of positive responses was social welfare and then only by A2 professionals. Even schools emerge with a poor performance rating.

When it came to recommendations, professionals tended to call for more treatment facilities, more professional staff and better training. Very few asked for more severe sentences. It is not surprising that this response appears oriented towards enhancing the professional capacity of existing agencies to cope more effectively with juveniles and families in trouble. It is disappointing to see that very few professionals called for increased community participation.

Our data tend to support a social policy which would permit com-

munities such as 15 de Septiembre to regain its pride and its capacity to deal with its own problems. To do that will require active public participation. The paradox is that the more effective professional intervention is, the less effective families and communities appear to be, at least in their own eyes. For residents of Barrio de Córdoba this presents no problem given the community awareness and self-assurance which is so clearly revealed by our data. Re-building a cohesive community in 15 de Septiembre will not be an easy task. It will be tempting to respond to the residents of that community by holding out the promise of increased or new professional services. If some way could be found to make increased professional service dependent upon community participation it is possible that solutions might be found.

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 44
How do the police services function in controlling
juvenile social maladjustment?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Well	5	20	25
Badly	16	51	67
I don't know	3	8	11
Column total	24	79	103

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 45
If the police services function «badly» what are
the reasons, in order of importance?

Ranking	A1 + A2	Reasons	A1	Reasons	A2	Reasons
1st	34.8%	2	29.8%	2	36.3%	2
2nd	25.9%	3	26.7%	3	25.2%	3
3rd	17.1%	1	16.0%	4	19.0%	1
4th	11.6%	4	15.1%	5	10.2%	4
5th	10.5%	5	10.8%	1	9.3%	5

Reasons:

1. lack of personnel
2. inadequate training
3. lack of interest of the authorities
4. tolerance on the part of the police
5. lack of public participation

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 46
How do the courts function in controlling
juvenile social maladjustment?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Well	9	23	32
Badly	9	39	48
I don't know	6	17	23
Column total	24	79	103

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 47
How do re-education institutions function in preventing
juvenile social maladjustment?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Well	4	13	17
Badly	13	42	55
I don't know	7	24	31
Column total	24	79	103

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 48
If re-education institutions function badly what are the reasons?
(give three reasons in order of importance)

Ranking	A1 + A2	Reasons	A1	Reasons	A2	Reasons
1st	41.8%	3	41.1%	3	49.6%	3
2nd	30.8%	2	34.8%	2	32.5%	2
3rd	18.1%	1	13.3%	4	18.7%	1
4th	9.5%	4	10.8%	1	9.2%	4

Reasons:

1. lack of personnel
2. inadequate training
3. lack of treatment programmes
4. lack of harsh punishment

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 49
How does non-institutional treatment function in controlling
juvenile social maladjustment?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Well	5	8	13
Badly	9	33	42
I don't know	10	38	48
Column total	24	79	103

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 50
If non-institutional treatment functions «badly»,
what are the reasons?
(give three reasons in order of importance)

Ranking	A1 + A2	Reasons	A1	Reasons	A2	Reasons
1st	41.8%	3	35.2%	3	43.6%	3
2nd	23.1%	4	29.6%	2	23.3%	4
3rd	19.4%	2	22.2%	4	16.6%	2
4th	15.7%	1	13.0%	1	16.5%	1

Reasons:

1. lack of personnel
2. inadequate training
3. lack of treatment programmes
4. lack of public participation

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 51
How do social welfare institutions function?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Well	7	29	36
Badly	14	39	53
I don't know	3	11	14
Column total	24	79	103

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 52
If social welfare agencies function «badly», what are the reasons?
(give three reasons in order of importance)

Ranking	A1 + A2	Reasons	A1	Reasons	A2	Reasons
1st	40.9%	3	41.6%	3	40.9%	3
2nd	25.5%	2	33.2%	2	22.8%	2
3rd	18.2%	4	16.1%	4	18.9%	4
4th	15.4%	1	9.1%	1	17.5%	1

Reasons:

1. lack of personnel
2. inadequate training
3. lack of treatment programmes
4. lack of public participation

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 53
How do correctional institutions function in the control
of juvenile social maladjustment?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Well	4	12	16
Badly	14	40	54
I don't know	6	27	33
Column total	24	79	103

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 54
If correctional institutions function «badly», what are the reasons?
(give three reasons in order of importance)

Ranking	A1 + A2	Reasons	A1	Reasons	A2	Reasons
1st	40.1%	3	38.1%	2	43.9%	3
2nd	30.4%	2	33.3%	3	27.4%	2
3rd	11.3%	1	14.3%	5	12.4%	1
4th	9.4%	5	7.15%	4	9.0%	4
5th	8.8%	4	7.1%	1	7.3%	5

Reasons:

1. lack of personnel
2. inadequate training
3. lack of treatment programmes
4. lack of public participation
5. lack of harsh punishment

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 55
Do schools contribute to control juvenile social maladjustment?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Yes	6	33	39
No	16	39	55
I don't know	2	7	9
Column total	24	79	103

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 56
If schools function «badly», what are the reasons?
(give three reasons in order of importance)

Ranking	A1 + A2	Reasons	A1	Reasons	A2	Reasons
1st	31.9%	4	33.3%	4	32.3%	4
2nd	27.2%	2	24.4%	2	29.3%	2
3rd	24.3%	3	23.8%	3	25.1%	3
4th	16.4%	1	18.5%	1	13.2%	1

Reasons:

1. overcrowded schools
2. lack of school counsellors
3. lack of enthusiasm on the part of the teacher
4. lack of co-operation between teachers and parents

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 57
Place in priority order the remedies listed below from the viewpoint
of effectiveness for the prevention of juvenile social maladjustment

Ranking	A1 + A2	Remedies	A1	Remedies	A2	Remedies
1st	28.8%	1	29.3%	1	31.0%	1
2nd	23.5%	4	21.0%	4	19.5%	4
3rd	19.4%	5	20.5%	5	18.7%	5
4th	16.8%	3	16.7%	3	16.7%	3
5th	11.4%	2	12.5%	2	14.0%	2

Remedies:

1. family counselling
2. subsidizing poor families
3. increasing the number of school counsellors
4. greater working possibilities for juveniles
5. encouraging community participation

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 58
Place in priority order the remedies listed below from the viewpoint
of effectiveness for the control of juveniles social maladjustment

Ranking	A1 + A2	Remedies	A1	Remedies	A2	Remedies
1st	49.1%	1	32.7%	1	49.3%	1
2nd	30.0%	2	29.7%	2	30.1%	2
3rd	20.8%	3	20.9%	3	20.5%	3

Remedies:

1. improvement of institutional and non-institutional treatment
2. reinforcement of the police
3. more severe sentences

TABLE 59
Summary of results

1. Extent of juvenile social maladjustment	A1 < A2
2. Danger posed by juvenile social maladjustment	A1 < A2
3. Increase in juvenile social maladjustment	A1 < A2
4. Prediction of future rates of juvenile social maladjustment	A1 < A2
5. Comparison with adult criminality	A1 > A2
6. Respect for parents	A1 > A2
7. Perceived adequacy of parental care	A1 > A2
8. Male juveniles help in household chores	A1 > A2
9. Female juveniles help in household chores	A1 = A2
10. Male juveniles work with parents	A1 = A2
11. Family role in solving problems	A1 > A2
12. Parents seen as helpful when in trouble	A1 > A2
13. Juveniles work in support of family	A1 < A2
14. Constructive leisure time	A1 > A2
15. Free-time spent with adults	A1 > A2
16. Free-time spent in mixed groups	A1 = A2
17. Positive relations with school	A1 > A2
18. Positive relations with church	A1 > A2
19. Positive attitudes to justice system	A1 > A2
20. Fear of police	A1 < A2
21. Reliance on police	A1 > A2
22. Tolerance towards juvenile social maladjustment	A1 > A2

d) Summary and conclusions

In the theoretical introduction we put forward two working hypotheses: first, that high rates of juvenile social maladjustment

would be found in an urban area that had undergone rapid growth, and secondly, that a number of intervening variables would determine the degree to which a community would suffer from juvenile social maladjustment. These intervening variables were postulated as being associated with the degree of organic solidarity within the community. In particular, it was suggested that the role of primary groups in socializing juveniles during the difficult transition period from childhood to adult status would be particularly important.

Our data tend to reject the first and affirm the second hypothesis. Both communities have similar life-spans, both were recently developed and both are products of urbanization. Here the similarity ends.

Barrio de Córdoba is a new residential community for the urban middle-class. It is economically, socially and culturally integrated. On all four indicators of the extent of juvenile social maladjustment; the existing level, recent trends, the perception of dangerousness and prediction for the future, the residents of this community do not feel threatened and express a tolerant, caring attitude towards their children.

In sharp contrast, residents of 15 de Septiembre, a new but depressed low-income district, expressed concern bordering on anxiety in relation to each of the above-mentioned indicators. If there was a simple and direct causal relationship between rapid urbanization (regardless of type) and juvenile social maladjustment there should be no appreciable difference between the communities.

Explanations for the demonstrated differences in juvenile delinquency rates are not hard to find Barrio de Córdoba is a planned community. The planning took place as result of private initiatives by persons with economic resources, social skills and political influence to create a favourable residential habitat for themselves and their neighbours. Barrio 15 de Septiembre is not only an economically poor area but it is also a community in which the residents are socially and culturally deprived. It began as a government response to a housing crisis experienced in San José. Homeless people were simply dumped into structures in which even the most basic of services were not available. These individuals lacked the personal resources, social skills, political power and self-confidence necessary to create the infrastructures needed to produce a livable district. Government did little by way of social planning. If this study demonstrated anything it is that physical planning in the absence of social planning will produce negative results.

These negative results find expression in the everyday lives of the

residents of 15 de Septiembre. Families not only bring with them as baggage all the personal problems arising from their past experiences, but are put under additional pressures leading to a break down in healthy pattern of family interaction. Our data amply demonstrate that family cohesiveness is less likely to be found in this community than in Barrio de Córdoba.

It is not only the family which functions less effectively in 15 de Septiembre. All other socializing institutions which usually can be relied upon to give support to parents have less impact here than in the other community. Of the 17 indicators of social solidarity, 16 are in the direction of demonstrating a higher level in Barrio de Córdoba. Given the consistent pattern which emerged from our analysis it seems safe to conclude that the second hypothesis in the study is amply confirmed by our data. The degree to which a community will suffer from juvenile social maladjustment does not depend upon the rapidity of urbanization alone. The crucial intervening variables are: the strength of the family and the degree of organic solidarity within the community.

The policy implications arising from this study are manifold. It is not possible here to list them all and in any event policy development in concrete terms must be locally developed. What we can recommend, however, is some broad directions that might be considered.

Costa Rica is a relatively successful developing country. It has achieved gains in health, education and delivery of social services that have so far evaded other nations at a similar stage since independence. The majority of citizens enjoy the benefits of a relatively open society with opportunity for upwards mobility.

Nonetheless, pockets of poverty exist particularly in San José. The residents of communities like 15 de Septiembre feel trapped in a cycle of poverty from which they see no escape. It appears from our data that traditional institutions and agencies are not reaching such people. High level of juvenile social maladjustment in areas such as this must be seen as a symptom of a deeper social malaise.

Government may wish to consider targeting areas such as this as high priority communities for a comprehensive programme of economic, social and cultural assistance.

Our data show that despite enormous pressure, the family and to a lesser extent the school play important positive roles in dealing with children in trouble. A family-centered social policy would seem to be called for by our data. The school could play a more effective role but only if it works in closer harmony with parents. Some degree of parental participation in school affairs might be considered.

The community needs to be organized, even if this should mean creating a local constituency with the capacity to compete for government services. The apathy which presently exists must be overcome. To do so will require patience and skill. It may only be achieved once a significant number of residents see community participation as a route to bettering their lives.

Particular problems exist in public attitudes towards most formal agencies. Reasons for these negative attitudes are not entirely clear, but serious attention should be given to closing the gap which presently exists. If some way could be found in developing a partnership between professionals and lay persons, the vicious cycle of poverty, alienation, demoralization and crime might be broken. If significant gains in this direction could be achieved, Costa Rica will be able to hold its head high in the international community as a country which not only has made economic strides but also found solutions to vexing problems of crime and juvenile delinquency which so often accompany economic growth.

CASE STUDY No. 3

LAGOS - NIGERIA

a) Background information

This chapter is a summary of characteristics of urban development in the city of Lagos in terms of demographic, socio-economic, ethnic, labour, education and other relevant facts. It needs to be pointed out, however, that it has a major limitation due to lack of contemporary socio-demographic data. The last population census was in 1963 and even the reliability of this was a subject of dispute. In spite of this limitation, recent estimates confirm that great socio-demographic changes have taken place in Lagos over the last three decades.

Lagos was and still is the functional capital of Nigeria. It has also been since 1967 the capital of Lagos State, the year when new states were created. It is the main harbour of the country, and also the commercial and financial centre of the country. It has always been an important educational centre. A large number of industries are located in and around Lagos. In national terms it is relatively well supplied with urban infrastructures and amenities, however inadequate they may be in absolute terms.

The recent oil boom has accelerated the rate of economic development in the whole country and this is strikingly noticeable in Lagos, with the expansion of the seaport, changes in skyline and fly-overs.

The population of the whole country is 80-100 million. One of the most striking features of Lagos is its dense population which has increased very rapidly, especially since 1963. It has the fastest growth rate of all cities in the country. This growth has been attributed to the decrease in the mortality rate, especially among infants, high fertility and, in particular, migration into the city from other parts of the country, especially rural areas. In 1963 the population was over a million and increased to 3.5 million in the 1970s.

By 1980 the population was calculated to have reached more than 4.5 million inhabitants with an annual growth rate of approximately 8.6% for the city and 11.5% for the metropolitan population beyond the city limits.

The number of migrants since 1963 is estimated at about 650,000 of whom 510,000 came from Western Nigeria, the contiguous area;

106,000 from Eastern Nigeria; 23,000 from the Mid-West and 6,000 from Northern Nigeria.

In 1963, 45.7% of the population was in the 0 to 19 category. The estimated figure for 1972 was 50% for the 0 to 14 age group and 63.6% for the 0 to 20 age group. Like in most other developing countries the proportion of youth in the total population is very high.

The ratio of male to female in the general population in 1963 was 131 to 100 and 122 to 100 in 1976. For the youth the ratio is 101-100 for age 0-14 and 103 for age 6-20.

In 1976 only 21.8% of the population in Lagos were Lagos born, which indicates that almost 80% of the population migrated to the city. According to our estimates, 64.7% of those migrating to Lagos between 1960-65 were in the 10-19 age category. More recent figures are not available. The number of migrants is inversely proportional to the distance between the place of origin and Lagos, thus most of the migrants came from different areas of Lagos State and from neighbouring states.

Migration does not take place in one single stage but in various stages from rural areas to small towns and then to a bigger town or city. A migrant usually tries to contact relatives or people from his village or town with whom he shares lodgings before moving out on his own. Some of the major factors motivating migration are: employment opportunities, education facilities, possibilities of lucrative trade and the glamour of the big city. Poor conditions in rural areas result in a rural-push as much as an urban-pull.

a) health conditions

The burgeoning of the population of Lagos has overstretched the health and medical facilities of the city in spite of measures to increase them. According to the Federal Ministry of Health Statistics Division, as of December 1979 there were 284 health facilities in Lagos, including 4 for the armed forces. Of these 55 were general hospitals both governmental and private, 81 maternity homes both governmental and private, 33 maternity health centres all governmental, 8 health centres all governmental and 90 other dispensaries and clinics including school clinics. There were 960 doctors (6,585 for the whole country) about half of whom are in the University Teaching Hospital which has 699 beds out of the total of 5,244 hospital beds for the whole country.

In addition to these services it is known that pharmacists and traditional healers also provide medical services. There is also a child guidance clinic which caters for the emotional, psychological, development and educational problems of children.

Parasitic and infectious diseases top the list in the morbidity statistics for 1978-79.

It should be noted that the quality of the city's water supply and the sewage system seriously affects the health and sanitary conditions of the community. With respect to the three main disposal systems provided in Lagos, only about 3% of the whole city is served by a water-borne sewage system, 7% by septic tanks and the rest by night soil bucket privies or by nothing at all. In fact, there is pollution in the harbour water resulting from nightsoil disposal as far in as the harbour water entrance.

Many new houses in Lagos have septic tanks with the accompanying danger that effluents from these also contribute to pollution which leads to many water-borne diseases. An increase in the use of septic tanks may cause contamination of underground water, especially wells and bore holes; many parts of Lagos depend on these sources of water.

b) education system

According to the information available, in the mid-60s' over half of the population aged 5 and above in all centres lacked formal education; of these about 20% could be regarded as literate (defined as primary education but below school certificate). In rural areas, literates accounted for only 10% of the population.

The rapid expansion of general education in Lagos seems to have occurred in the 1960s', although it should be noted that vocational education did not expand at the same rate. Primary enrolment almost doubled between 1964 and 1968. In that period, general secondary education increased some 50% but technical secondary education remained stagnant and teacher training even decreased. In 1970 the primary school enrolment rate in Lagos was 13.4% as compared to 5.6% for the whole country. Enrolment in primary education in Nigeria grew from 3.5 million in 1970 to 4.5 million in 1973. With universal education, there were probably 7.4 million children in primary schools in 1976 and 11.5 million in 1980.

Despite the higher enrolment ratio, it may be speculated that in Lagos, in the short run, there will be an increasing difficulty in fin-

ding enough teachers and more serious problems to find employment for those who drop out or finish only primary school. Many primary and secondary school drop-outs and graduates not equipped with any employable skills are unwilling to return to agriculture and consequently migrate to the urban centres to learn a trade. The desertion rate from the formal education-system is very high, ranging from about 40% in the urban areas to almost 70% in the rural areas.

One of the major shortcomings of the Nigerian educational system is that vocational education and technical training for middle-level manpower have been seriously neglected, resulting in a serious shortage of technicians and skilled workers in the country.

c) problems of delinquency and other forms of social pathology

Theft, street fighting, truancy, «beyond parental control» appear to be the common delinquent behaviours among juveniles committed to the female remand home in Lagos. Most of the referrals thereto are made by police, while those by parents or guardians (most of whom would appear to be recent migrants) represent only 10% of all the cases.

According to local sources, the total number of juveniles in the four approved schools in Metropolitan Lagos was 345 in 1974. Of 1,173 inmates in the three remand homes during the same period, about 23% were in the category of criminal activities, the same percentage applied to «beyond parental control», about 10% to «need of care and protection» and the same percentage to «abandoned children».

With regard to crime trends for the city and the whole country information is seriously lacking.

b) Description of the two areas: Isale Eko (A1) and Surulere (A2)

Lagos started as a fishing village situated on an island. Isale Eko on the North Central part of the island is one of the oldest parts and it is here that the King's Palace is located. The name Lagos was given to the island by the Portuguese around the middle of the eighteenth century, while the name Eko was given by the first settlers probably early in the seventeenth century. With time it grew to be the capital of Nigeria.

In dividing the residential districts of Lagos into four categories based on the quality of the habitat — high, medium, lower-medium

and lower — grade, Isale Eko falls into the last category. This was not a planned area. It has very narrow streets, housing conditions are squalid and access is by narrow footpaths which also serve as drains for house-water. Household equipment and facilities, where they exist, are grossly inadequate and unsatisfactory. Many of the old families of Lagos live here and since family ties make it difficult for many of the indigenous Lagos inhabitants to move out of this squalid area, it has become hemmed in by recently developed areas mostly occupied by migrants.

In most areas the fast population growth has brought about a deteriorated situation. Many of the inhabitants of this area are artisans and traders, but the younger and the educated tend to take up white-collar jobs.

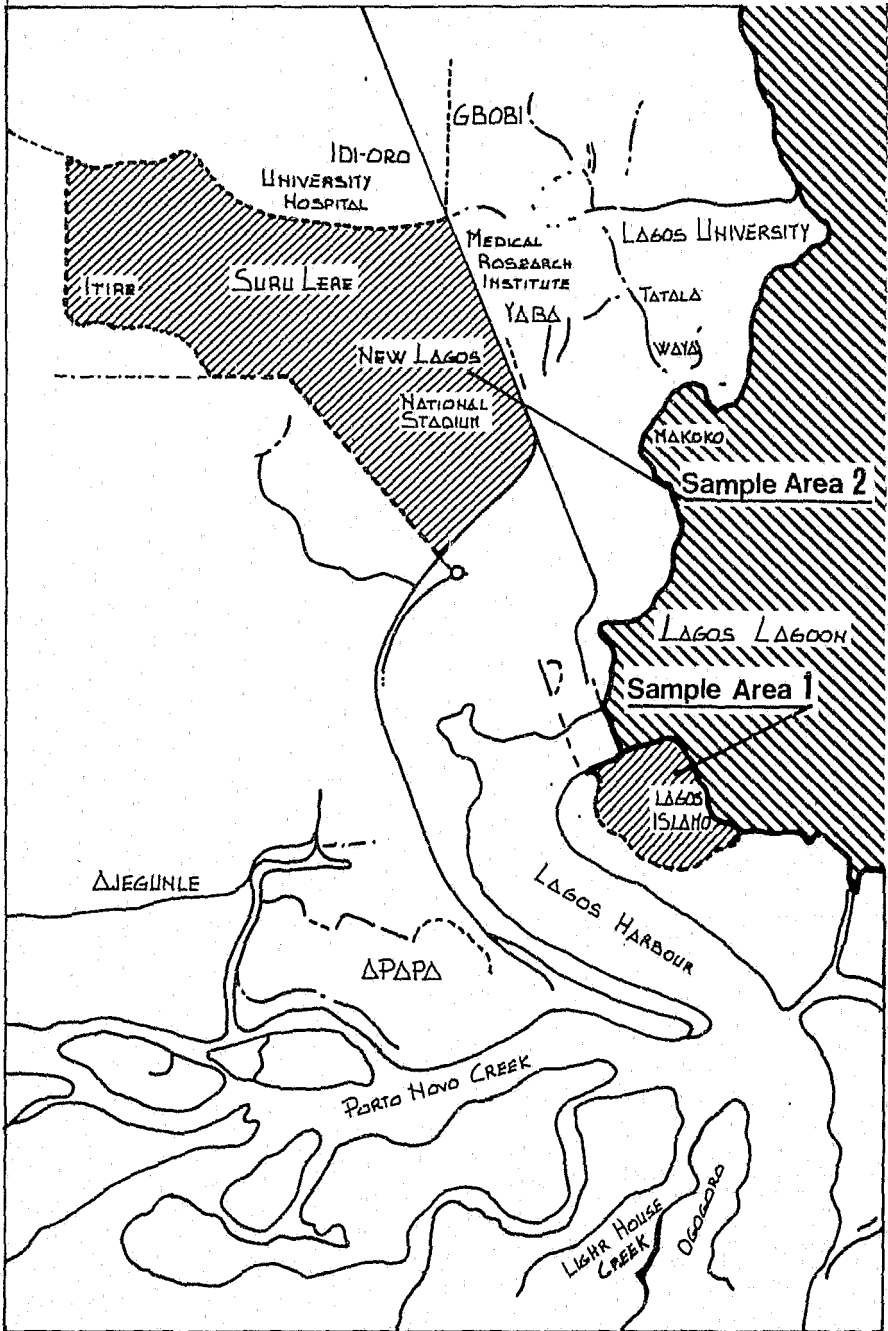
In spite of the poor physical conditions described above, there is a high level of social and cultural cohesion, especially among the old Lagosians and family ties are still very strong.

Among the old buildings there are oases of new modern houses.

The expansion of Greater Lagos is a relatively recent phenomenon. The expansion to Surulere, on the mainland, was a consequence of the Central Lagos Slum Clearance Scheme in the 1950s and the need to provide accommodation for the people evacuated from the slum area and some middle-income civil servants. It was planned and laid out with the necessary infrastructures like roads, drainage, water-closets, shopping centres, etc. . It is classified as a medium-grade residential district. The quality of housing varies from blocks of four to six stories of two to four room apartments to single household buildings either in the form of bungalows or two-storey houses with gardens.

The resettlement of the people from the slums appeared to have grouped the population coming from the same neighbourhoods on the island. The middle-income civil servants and those in the private sector who had not had previous affinity, constitute a large number of those who live in Surulere. They soon developed a neighbourliness attitude, but not as strong as those who were neighbours from the island.

For the purpose of this research project, the two areas selected are not «ideal-typical» representatives of a well-established, cohesive, residential neighbourhood on the one hand and a highly disorganized instant community on the other. Rather, we have an old neighbourhood which contains both old and new residents and a new neighbourhood which not only developed according to a plan but also



contains residents most of whom knew each other prior to moving there. In cultural terms, both communities can be expected to retain some traditional values and networks. The principal difference between the two appears to be the degree of planning which accompanied urbanization.

Isale Eko, while older, has been forced to absorb many new residents in the absence of any kind of social planning. Moreover, most of these new residents appear to be at the lower end of the socio-economic scale, and they do not seem to have a stake in the development of the area. In contrast, the residents of the new neighbourhood of Surulere were able to obtain the best of what the city-government could offer in terms of schools, parks, sanitation facilities, etc. Perhaps even more important is the fact that many of the people living here are connected to each other by reasons of family, tribe or shared work experience. Certainly, these individuals are tied together by social class.

If cultural factors are important intervening variables in explaining the degree of juvenile social maladjustment that a community will have to bear, one would expect to see remnants of traditional values continuing to exist in Isale Eko and some aspects of those same values carried into the new community of Surulere. If this is the case, it would not be surprising to learn that the picture which emerges from our data analysis is somewhat mixed, at least in comparison with some of the other case-studies which form part of our total project.

What we have in Lagos is an older area in terms of physical habitat (Isale Eko) which for the purpose of this research was notionally designated A1. It is essential to point out, however, that in social and cultural terms this area has experienced some of the *negative consequences of urbanization*. Some older families who could afford to, have moved away as soon as circumstances permitted. They were replaced by new migrants at the lower end of the socio-economic scale. While the physical habitat is old, much of the human composition in this district is new. This type of decay within the inner core of a city is well-known in other cities of the world, particularly in the industrialized West. It will be interesting to see the extent to which the residents of Isale Eko have been able to maintain traditional values in the face of these changes.

In contrast, A2 (Surulere) while notionally labelled an area of rapid urbanization has avoided some of the negative consequences of rapid change due to the degree of planning that accompanied the growth. Here too, it will be important to find out the degree to which

such planning bears a relationship to the extent of juvenile social maladjustment experienced in this district.

c) Analysis of data

i) The extent of juvenile social maladjustment

PUBLIC

TABLE 1
What is juveniles' behaviour like?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Good	41	88	129
Bad	150	96	246
No information	8	15	23
Column total	199	199	398

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 2
In your opinion, what is the juvenile social maladjustment situation in your area?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Good	15	13	28
Bad	31	35	66
I don't know	4	2	6
Column total	50	50	100

Tables 1 and 2 indicate that more than three quarters of the public in Isale Eko (A1) respond that juvenile behaviour is bad while a little more than half the public in Surulere (A2) say the same. The professionals tend to agree with this view as regards to A1 but to a lesser extent. Only twice as many say juvenile behaviour is bad. Regarding A2 almost three times as many say it is bad. This suggests that the professionals have a poorer view of both areas, especially Area 2. This may well be that they are confronted with extreme cases of juvenile social maladjustment.

Tables 3 and 4: most of the members of the public interviewed

agree that the juvenile behaviour problems have increased in the previous 5 years; it is significant that over three times as many in Area 2 say that they have not increased. The vast majority of the public also agree that they will continue to increase but again twice as many in Area 2 say that they will decrease. This indicates that the public think better of Area 2 than Area 1 in this regard.

PUBLIC

TABLE 3
Have behaviour problems increased over the last five years?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Yes	170	145	315
No	11	37	48
Same	13	17	30
No information	5	0	5
Column total	198	198	398

PUBLIC

TABLE 4
Future trends of juvenile social maladjustment

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Decrease	21	42	63
Remain constant	35	38	73
Increase	134	109	243
No answer	9	10	19
Column total	199	199	398

Table 5: while most of the professionals in Area 1 agree that juvenile social maladjustment has increased, those in Area 2 are equally divided between those who say it has increased and those who say it has remained constant and it has decreased. This again indicates that the professionals see A2 in a better light.

Tables 9 and 10 show that while the vast majority of the public and professionals interviewed agree that there are juvenile social maladjustment problems in both areas, it seems to be less so in A2. Of the minority of the public who deny that there are problems, about twice

of them are from Area 2, and of the 10 professionals who say that there are no groups of socially maladjusted juveniles 9 are from A2.

The data so far does not support the hypothesis that rapid urbanization itself contributes to juvenile social maladjustment. Rather they indicate that the physical and social deterioration of the old part of the city of Lagos (A1, Isale Eko) has contributed to juvenile social maladjustment. The planned development of Surulere (A2) does not appear to have led to as much juvenile social maladjustment as the social and physical deterioration of the old part of the city.

PUBLIC

TABLE 9
Are there juveniles with conduct problems in this area?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Yes	141	143	284
No	16	30	46
No information	42	26	68
Column total	199	199	398

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 5
Have behaviour problems increased over the last five years?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Increased	32	24	56
Same	11	14	25
Decreased	7	11	18
I don't know	0	1	1
Column total	50	50	100

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 6
Future trends of juvenile social maladjustment

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Decrease	7	12	19
Remain constant	7	6	13
Increase	35	31	66
I don't know	1	1	2
Column total	50	50	100

Table 6 shows that the majority of the professionals in both areas see an upward future trend, of the minority twice as many in A2 say the trend will go down. This tends to confirm that the professionals are more hopeful in A2.

The public tends to have a poorer assessment of the situation now compared with the previous 5 years than the professionals but both groups appear to be of the same view regarding the future trends i.e. that juvenile social maladjustment will increase.

This is not surprising given the general increase in corruption and overall lack of discipline. In spite of this general assessment, the situation in A2 is considered better than in A1.

The first three reasons, as shown in Tables 7 and 8, for the perceived increase in juvenile social maladjustment given by both public and professionals for both areas are: lack of control, influence of bad company and bad family conditions. These constitute a defect in these socializing processes. It is interesting, however, that both groups rated lack of education and neighbours' indifference very low. This makes home influence, the primary socializing process, (lack of control and bad family conditions), the major culprit. More light will be thrown on this latter when we examine the data on family relationships.

PUBLIC

TABLE 7

If conduct problems have increased what, in your opinion, are the reasons?
(Give three alternatives in order of seriousness)

Ranking	A1 + A2		A1		A2	
	Percentage	Count	Percentage	Count	Percentage	Count
1st	29.0%	2	30.0%	1	30.2%	2
2nd	28.0%	1	27.8%	2	26.0%	1
3rd	20.9%	6	22.5%	6	18.4%	6
4th	10.0%	5	10.3%	5	11.4%	4
5th	8.8%	4	6.2%	4	9.7%	5
6th	3.3%	3	3.3%	3	3.3%	3

Reasons:

1. lack of control
2. influence of bad company
3. lack of education
4. neighbours' indifference
5. influence of media
6. bad family conditions

PUBLIC

TABLE 8

If conduct problems have increased what, in your opinion, are the reasons?
(Give three alternatives in order of seriousness)

Ranking	A1 + A2		A1		A2	
	Percentage	Count	Percentage	Count	Percentage	Count
1st	35.5%	2	33.0%	2	38.2%	2
2nd	23.7%	6	24.5%	6	22.7%	6
3rd	22.4%	1	24.2%	1	20.4%	1
4th	12.9%	5	15.7%	5	9.8%	5
5th	3.8%	3	2.1%	4	7.2%	3
6th	1.8%	4	0.7%	3	1.5%	4

Reasons:

1. lack of control
2. influence of bad company
3. lack of education
4. neighbours' indifference
5. influence of media
6. bad family conditions

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 10
Are there groups of socially maladjusted juveniles in this area?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Yes	45	38	83
No	1	9	10
I don't know	4	3	7
Column total	50	50	100

Tables 11 and 12: the majority of the public and professionals interviewed agree that juvenile behaviour problems are more serious than adult criminality but this is less so in A2. This is a difficult finding to interpret. Does it refer to the larger number of youths involved in anti-social behaviour or does it refer to the seriousness of the behaviour in terms of damage to society? The damage of adult criminality to society is usually perceived to be more serious. It will seem therefore that this perception that juvenile problems are more serious than those of adults refers to the numerical superiority of juvenile problems. Considering the high proportion of youth in developing countries, this perception is understandable.

PUBLIC

TABLE 11
In which group are behaviour problems more serious?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Among adults	25	63	88
Among juveniles	158	132	290
No information	16	4	20
Column total	199	199	398

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 12
In which group are behaviour problems more serious?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Among adults	2	12	14
Among juveniles	41	35	76
I don't know	7	3	10
Column total	50	50	100

The next set of tables will throw more light on this issue of seriousness.

Tables 13 and 14: admittedly the question on dangerousness, troublesomeness and harmlessness is a value judgement and may or may not be related to the objective harm caused by the behaviour. In other words, it reflects the degree of tolerance.

Of the 332 members of the public who responded to the question, 148 say that socially maladjusted juveniles are dangerous, while 184 say they are troublesome and harmless. This reflects a degree of tolerance on the part of the public. It is paradoxical, however, that the public in Isale Eko (A1) appear to be more tolerant than the public in Surulere (A2). Could it be that the public in A2 are more accustomed to the peccadillos of youth and have consequently developed a high tolerance level? Or could it be that the youth in A2 are so sophisticated that their misdemeanours assume a more dangerous level. The data available do not permit us to answer these questions.

The professionals also tend to agree with the public in this regard, in that of the 83 who responded only 31 say that socially maladjusted juveniles are dangerous and 52 say they are troublesome or harmless. The responses also tend to suggest that youths in A1 are less dangerous than in A2. The data indicate a high level of tolerance on the part of the professionals even more than the public.

PUBLIC

TABLE 13
What are the juveniles in your area like?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Dangerous	65	83	148
Troublesome	96	49	145
Harmless	13	26	39

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 14
What are the juveniles in your area like?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Dangerous	13	18	31
Troublesome	22	20	42
Harmless	8	2	10
I don't know	7	10	17
Column total	50	50	100

ii) Family relationships

We have already found that the major reasons given for the increase in juvenile social maladjustment include lack of control and bad family conditions. Tables 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21 and 22 explore this issue further and in some detail. Table 15 indicates that more members of the public say in general that juveniles respect their parents and guardians. However when we look at the data for the two areas, it is striking that in A1, 119 (60%) say that juveniles do not respect their parents or guardians, when only 75 (38%) do. The situation is reversed in A2 where 144 (23%) say that juveniles respect their parents and guardians and 53 (27%) say they do not.

PUBLIC

TABLE 15
Do juveniles respect parents or guardians?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Yes	75	144	219
No	119	53	166
No information	11	2	13
Column total	198	198	398

PUBLIC

TABLE 16
How do parents look after their children?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Well	64	138	202
Badly	111	51	162
No information	24	10	34
Column total	199	199	398

Table 16 is consistent with the above observation. More members of the public say in general that parents look after their children well. When we look at the areas individually, however, we find that almost twice as many responses 111-64 (56%-32%) in A1 say that parents look after their children badly and in A2 more than twice as many 138-51 (69%-26%) say that parents look after their children well.

Both tables confirm social and family deterioration in A1 and it can well be linked with the earlier finding that juvenile social maladjustment is worse in A1 than in A2 and the trend is going to increase.

Table 17: it is regarded as an essential part of the training and upbringing of children for them to participate in household chores. It not only encourages discipline but it also prepares them for adult life. This participation in household chores is even more important for girls to prepare them for their future role as housewives along with whatever other they may play. In addition to the skill learned in the process, it gives the opportunity for intimate family interaction and communication in a tropical climate where life is lived primarily outdoors. It is therefore not surprising that in general more than twice as many members of the public interviewed say that female juveniles help in household chores. Regarding the two areas, however, there are notable differences. The number of «no information» is striking in A1. Of the total number of definite answers (177), 99 say that female juveniles participate in household chores and 78 say they do not participate in A1. Whereas in A2 of the total of 197 definite responses 159 say that female juveniles participate in household chores and only 38 say they do not.

PUBLIC

TABLE 17
Do female juveniles help in house chores?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Yes	99	159	258
No	78	38	116
No information	22	2	24
Column total	198	198	398

According to table 18, even though in general fewer members of the public say that male juveniles help in household chores, it is remarkable that in A2, 113 (more than half) of the total definite responses of 193 say that boys participate in household chores. Whereas in A1, 43 (a quarter) of the total definite responses of 173 say that boys participate in household chores.

These findings add more weight to earlier findings which indicate the deteriorating socialization in A1 compared with A2. It also suggests that these youths, especially in A1, have more free time on their hands. It will be interesting to see later what they do with the free time.

PUBLIC

TABLE 18
Do male juveniles help in house chores?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Yes	43	113	156
No	131	80	211
No information	25	6	31
Column total	198	198	398

The next table, 19, in the meantime looks into the question: Who do male juveniles work for? Where information has been given, 69 say that boys work in A1 and 35 in A2. This is not surprising as the socio-economic conditions in A2 are higher and so also is the pressure for education. The need for boys to work is not as great as in A1. It would appear that the majority of juveniles are students and do not work. Of those who work 54 (78%) say that the boys in A1 do

so with their parents and 23 (66%), in A2. These differences may be due to the fact that more parents in A1 are self-employed and therefore in a position to take on their sons, whereas more parents in A2 are in paid employment.

PUBLIC

TABLE 19
Who do male juveniles work for?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Their parents	54	23	77
Others	4	6	10
On their own	11	6	17
No information	130	164	294
Column total	198	198	398

So far we have observed the differences between A1 and A2 in terms of respect for parents and guardians, the way parents look after their children, male and female participation in household chores, all indicating a more cohesive and integrated family in A2 than in A1. The next tables, 20, 21 and 22 deal with the perception of the juveniles themselves.

Table 20 shows only a slight difference in the responses of juveniles in A1 and A2. The vast majority of them think that the family really contributes to solving the problems of their children, this in spite of the less respect for parents and guardians and other evidence of less integration and cohesion in the families in A1.

JUVENILES

TABLE 20
Do you think that the family really contributes to solving the problems of their children?

	Area 1 %	Area 2 %	Row total %
Yes	98.0	95.3	96.0
No	3.0	4.7	4.0
Column total	100	100	100

Again Table 21 yields a result in exactly the same direction. The level of confidence the juveniles have in their parents in Areas 1 and 2 in spite of disparities, is very high. 77.2% and 72.7% in A1 and A2 respectively will turn to their parents when in trouble. If we consider the extended family to include siblings and relatives, the figures rise to 92.1% and 88.7%. The role of the professional workers in this regard is perceived by the juveniles to be insignificant.

JUVENILES

TABLE 21
When you are in trouble, who do you turn to?

	Area 1 %	Area 2 %	Row total %
Parents	77.2	72.7	74.5
Brother/sister	10.9	6.7	8.4
Relatives	4.0	9.3	7.2
School-teachers	2.0	1.3	1.6
Friends	5.9	10.0	8.4
Social workers and other public officers	—	—	—
Other	—	—	—
Column total	100	100	100

While Table 22 confirms the already noted confidence and reliance on parents by juveniles in both areas, it shows an expected difference that 81.3% in A2 and only 63.4% in A1 would like their family to handle their case if they commit an unlawful action. This indicates that juveniles in A2 have more confidence in and reliance on their family.

Another interesting revelation in Table 22 is that while about the same proportion of juveniles in Areas 1 and 2 (10.9% and 10.0% respectively) would like the police to handle their case if they commit an unlawful act, 25.7% in A1 and 8.1% in A2 would like neighbours, school-teachers and social workers to handle their case. This suggests that, at least in A1 where the juvenile problems are higher, the juveniles would prefer informal intervention to the formal intervention of the police.

JUVENILES

TABLE 22
Assuming that you commit an unlawful action who would
you like to handle your case?

	Area 1 %	Area 2 %	Row total %
Family	63.4	81.3	74.1
Neighbours	5.9	2.7	4.0
School-teachers	13.9	2.7	7.2
Social workers	5.9	2.7	4.0
Police officials	10.9	10.0	10.4
Other	0.0	0.7	0.4
Column total	100	100	100

iii) Non-family relationships

Table 23 confirms what we have earlier noted that juveniles in A1 do not work as much as those in A2 and consequently have more free time. We were looking forward to knowing what they do in their free time. Table 24 answers that question.

It is interesting to note that juveniles in both areas spend their leisure time in sporting, cultural, social and educational activities but less so in all of them in A1. The fact that a larger percentage of juveniles in A2 participate in healthy activities may be a reflection of the socio-economic advantages they have. The fact that juveniles in A1 participate to the extent that they do is remarkable. It is striking, however, that it is only in A1 that loitering and idleness feature even though to a small extent, 6% altogether.

JUVENILES

TABLE 23
Do you work full-time, part-time or intermittently?

	Area 1 %	Area 2 %	Row total %
Full-time	18.8	15.3	16.7
Part-time	1.0	7.3	4.8
Intermittently	0.0	1.3	0.8
Do not work	80.2	72.0	75.3
No information	—	4.1	2.4
Column total	100	100	100

JUVENILES

TABLE 24
What do you do in your leisure time?

	Area 1 %	Area 2 %	Row total %
Sports	51.5	73.3	64.5
Cultural activities	22.8	40.7	33.5
Musical activities	33.7	54.7	46.2
Watch TV	36.5	88.0	67.3
Meet with friends	45.5	79.3	65.7
Read	62.4	86.7	76.9
Loiter	3.0	0.0	1.2
Idle	3.0	0.0	1.2
Other	0.0	3.3	2.0

Table 25 which deals with the status of the juveniles or their principal activities, does not seem to fit squarely into the pattern which we have seen so far. More juveniles in A1 are students and workers. It is in the categories of studying and working and doing neither that juveniles in A2 excel. This finding contradicts the picture that has been sketched so far and there is no explanation for this.

JUVENILES

TABLE 25
What is your principal activity?

	Area 1 %	Area 2 %	Row total %
Studying	80.2	72.7	75.7
Working	18.8	16.7	17.5
Studying and working	1.0	7.3	4.8
Neither studying nor working	0.0	3.3	2.0
Column total	100	100	100

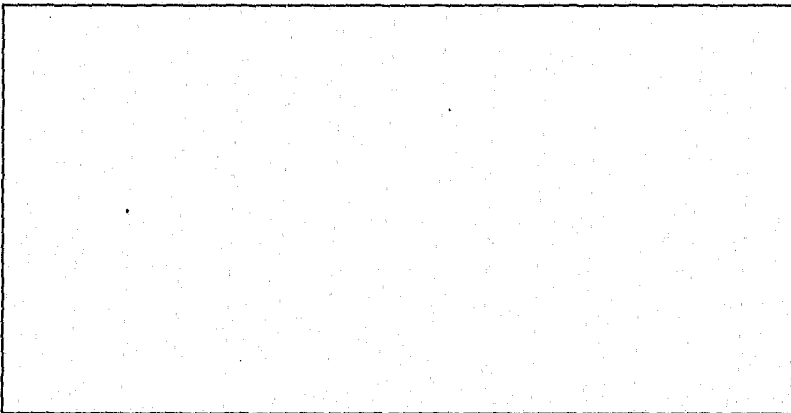
Table 26: level of education of school-going juveniles. It is strange that 6% of the juveniles in A2 do not give any answer to this question. It could have appeared strange that few juveniles in A2 have attended school for up to 8 years but this may be a reflection of the ages of the juveniles interviewed rather than their educational level.

JUVENILES

TABLE 26
Level of education of school-going juveniles

	Area 1 %	Area 2 %	Row total %
Juvenile worker	19.8	21.3	20.7
Up to 4 years	2.0	0.7	1.2
5 - 8	36.6	27.3	43.4
Above 8	41.6	44.7	43.4
No answer	0.0	6.0	3.6
Column total	100	100	100

Table 27 deals with reasons for not having completed school. About the same percentage, 8%, had to support their family. The fact that more in A1 than A2 stopped because of difficulties in studying and lack of family interest in school is not surprising. What is surprising is that 30.7% of those in A2 did not answer the question. Maybe they are ashamed that they have had to drop out of school.



JUVENILES

TABLE 27
Reasons for not having completed school

	Area 1 %	Area 2 %	Row total %
Juvenile student	81.2	72.7	76.1
I had to support my family	7.9	8.0	8.0
I had difficulties in studying	8.9	2.7	5.2
My family was not interested in my schooling	2.0	1.3	1.6
I had problems with teachers and/or schoolmates	0.0	0.7	0.4
Other	0.0	1.3	0.8
No information	0.0	13.3	7.9
Column total	100	100	100

Table 28: the concept of participation in religious activities is rather vague when we take into account the fact that in Lagos, even though statistics are not available, the majority of the population are either Moslems or Christians in about equal proportion. Participation in religious activities does not appear to mean the same, as the level of participation for juveniles in each religion differs. Nevertheless it will be seen from Table 28 that according to the public perception only 30 in A1 and only 37 in A2 say that juveniles do not participate at all in religious activities. In other words, the majority (169 in A1 and 162 in A2) say that juveniles participate actively and passively in religious activities.

PUBLIC

TABLE 28
Do juveniles participate in religious activities?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Actively	62	38	100
Passively	107	124	231
Do not participate	30	37	67
Column total	199	199	398

The opinion of the juveniles on the issue of influence of religious organizations is relevant at this point. According to Table 29, 83.3% of the juveniles interviewed are of the opinion that religious organizations are really helpful in solving their personal problems. It is to be noted also that more in A2 (85.3%) than in A1 (80.2%) are of that opinion. That the important social institution of religion is perceived more by juveniles in A2, where the family is more integrated and cohesive, as being helpful in solving their personal problems is very interesting and noteworthy.

JUVENILES

TABLE 29
Do you think that religious organizations are really helpful in solving the personal problems of juveniles?

	Area 1 %	Area 2 %	Row total %
Yes	80.2	85.3	83.3
No	19.8	14.7	16.7
Column total	100	100	100

iv) Peer and adult relationships

These relationships have to be interpreted with caution in a situation where traditional roles are clearly defined according to sex and age even though educational institutions now tend to neutralize this division specially with respect to sex.

According to Table 30, 93.1% and 90% in A1 and A2 respectively, participate in group activities in the opinion of the public. This is understandable.

JUVENILES

TABLE 30
Do you participate in group activities?

	Area 1 %	Area 2 %	Row total %
Yes	93.1	90.0	91.2
No	5.9	10.0	8.8
Column total	100	100	100

Where there is a marked difference is shown in Table 31. The 95% of the public interviewed are of the opinion that male juveniles spend their free time mixing with adults; of these 67 are from A1, Isale Eko and only 28 from A2 Surulere. This may appear to conflict with the impression of the more integrated and cohesive family in A2, Surulere. If one considers the living conditions in the two areas, it will be seen that in view of the paucity of play-grounds, the congestion of the buildings, the congestion of the people living in Isale Eko, the juveniles will have less option than those in Surulere not to mix with adults.

PUBLIC

TABLE 31
Do male juveniles in general spend their free time?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Mixing with adults	67	28	95
Separate from adults	122	163	285
No information	10	8	18
Column total	199	199	398

PUBLIC

TABLE 32
Do female juveniles in general spend their free time?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Mixing with adults	81	36	117
Separate from adults	110	156	266
No information	8	7	15
Column total	199	199	398

This pattern is the same for female juveniles and it is not surprising that the public perceive that more females in general mix with adults than males. This is consistent with what has already been noted that they participate more in household chores to learn how to play their future role as mothers and housewives and even as traders.

Besides contact with the principal socializing institutions mentioned above, juveniles also interact with a variety of individuals, some of whom are peers and others adult. This interaction may be positive,

providing useful role-models for juveniles and may facilitate the transition to adulthood. On the other hand, these influences may be negative and encourage the adoption of anti-social attitudes and behaviour.

It is not surprising that in Tables 33 and 34 the public perceives that in both areas more male and female juveniles spend their free time more in separate groups than in mixed groups. More females than males spend their free time among same-sex groups.

More male juveniles in A2 (Table 33) spend their free time in same-sex groups than in A1. This may be a reflection of the greater availability of space in A2, Surulere, for separate same-sex groups than in A1 where for lack of space male and females juveniles have to spend their free time in the same groups.

PUBLIC

TABLE 33
With whom do male juveniles in general spend their free time?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Grouped - males only	77	122	199
Grouped - males and females mixed	114	64	178
Alone	5	11	16
No information	3	2	5
Column total	199	199	398

The same pattern emerges in Table 34 for female juveniles, for the same reason as already pointed out.

The socialization process in the sex role is different for males and females and this difference is reflected in the above finding. The relationship between this and juvenile social maladjustment is not clear except that it is consistent with the generally low incidence of juvenile social maladjustment among females than males.

PUBLIC

TABLE 34
With whom do female juveniles in general spend their free time?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Grouped - females only	92	128	220
Grouped - females and males mixed	100	57	157
Alone	4	9	13
No information	3	5	8
Column total	199	199	398

v) Relationships with formal agencies

This section deals with the perception of the juveniles on the functioning of the formal institutions set up by the Government to assist, control or rehabilitate juveniles whose problems bring them into conflict with the community norms and especially the law.

Tables 35, 36, 37, 38 and 39 reflect the perception of juveniles on social welfare organizations, schools, juvenile courts, reformatories and the police respectively. In this order: the schools, social welfare institutions, reformatories, juvenile courts are perceived as contributing to solve juveniles' personal problems. If the rating of the family is included in this hierarchical structure, the family comes first. What stands out very clearly is the high level of confidence the juveniles have in schools, and at the other extreme the relatively low level of confidence they have in juvenile courts, especially the youth in Surulere, A2, who are likely to have less contact with the courts than the youth in A1.

Another striking finding is the fairly positive perception of the reformatories. This may be a reflection of the learning and vocational training opportunities available to educationally and economically deprived youth and also the tolerant atmosphere in these schools.

The court formalities and technical proceedings and their image as punitive agencies of control, rather than as «counsellors» in personal problems are probably responsible for the low confidence they enjoy among juveniles.

It is also striking that there is little or no difference between the youths of both areas, except for their low confidence in the courts which has already been mentioned.

JUVENILES

TABLE 35
Are you of the opinion that social welfare organizations
contribute to solve juveniles' personal problems?

	Area 1 %	Area 2 %	Row total %
Yes	78.2	72.7	74.9
No	21.8	27.3	25.1
Column total	100	100	100

JUVENILES

TABLE 36
Are you of the opinion that schools contribute
to solve juveniles' personal problems?

	Area 1 %	Area 2 %	Row total %
Yes	90.1	91.3	90.8
No	9.9	8.7	9.2
Column total	100	100	100

JUVENILES

TABLE 37
Are you of the opinion that courts contribute
to solve juveniles' personal problems?

	Area 1 %	Area 2 %	Row total %
Yes	62.4	48.7	54.2
No	37.6	51.3	45.8
Column total	100	100	100

JUVENILES

TABLE 38
Are you of the opinion that reformatories contribute
to solve juveniles' personal problems?

	Area 1 %	Area 2 %	Row total %
Yes	71.3	71.3	71.3
No	28.7	28.7	28.7
Column total	100	100	100

Table 39 shows that the police are perceived in a negative way by juveniles, in that 47.5% of those in Isale Eko (A1) and 40.0% in Surulere (A2) say that they are harsh in their treatment of juveniles. That 28% of juveniles in Surulere against 11.9% in Isale Eko say that the police are tolerant in their treatment of juveniles may be a reflection of differential treatment in the two areas or the idealization of the police by those in Surulere who may have less contact with them.

JUVENILES

TABLE 39
How do the police treat juveniles?

	Area 1 %	Area 2 %	Row total %
Tolerantly	11.9	28.0	21.5
Leniently	40.6	32.0	35.5
Harshly	47.5	40.0	43.0
Column total	100	100	100

vi) Public and professionals' recommendations for policy

This section will look at the public and professional views of what can be done about the problem of juvenile social maladjustment.

Firstly Table 40 deals with the reaction of the public if they are victimized by a juvenile socially maladjusted act. It is significant that a great majority of the respondents say that they would call the police, more so in Area 2 than Area 1. This may reflect a sense of helplessness or confidence in the police.

Of the minority response, 25 from A1 and 15 from A2 say they would take justice into their own hands. This suggests that more adults in A1, Isale Eko, have less confidence in the police. On the other hand, 38 from Isale Eko and 26 from Surulere show no reaction, suggesting that those in Isale Eko are more tolerant than those in Surulere.

When asked what the society's attitude should be towards juvenile social maladjustment however, 42 of the adults in Isale Eko and 59 in Surulere say that the public should be more tolerant. This contradicts the suggestion of the last paragraph. Maybe there is a distinction between personal reaction on one hand and societal attitude on the other.

It is significant that more than half of the respondents say that the society should be more repressive, more so in Surulere. In view

of the general attitude of tolerance of children's misbehaviour this response should be weighed with circumspection. Repressive reaction may not necessarily mean an unfeeling, rejecting attitude, nor may it exclude the element of love and care. That 147 (73.9%) of those in Surulere, who have a more integrated and cohesive family structure, as against 123 (61.8%) of those in Isale Eko are of the view that society should be more repressive tends to confirm that repressive reaction should not be seen as intolerable.

PUBLIC

TABLE 40
If you were the victim of a social maladjustment act,
what would your reaction be?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Call in the police	134	153	287
No reaction	38	26	64
Take justice into my own hands	25	15	40
No information	2	5	7
Column total	199	199	398

PUBLIC

TABLE 41
What should society's attitude be towards juveniles' conduct problems?

	A1+A2	A1	A2
More tolerant	101 (25.4%)	42 (21.1%)	59 (29.6%)
More repressive	263 (66.1%)	123 (61.8%)	140 (70.4%)
No information	34 (8.5%)	34 (12.1%)	0

The professionals were asked about the role of the family and community in the prevention and control of juvenile social maladjustment over a period of 5 years. The response (Table 42) confirms that the majority from both areas, more so in Surulere, are of the opinion that the family plays an effective role. They believe that this role has improved over what it was 5 years previously when a minority of them say that family role was effective.

With regard to the community, the majority of the professionals in both areas say that it played an effective role 5 years previously.

They confirm the same position at the time of the enquiry, but more so in Surulere. The figure dropped from 76% to 54% over 5 years in Isale Eko. This fact supports the idea that the social solidarity in Isale Eko has deteriorated and even though the community is still effective, it is not as effective as it was 5 years previously.

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 42

Do you think that the family and the community play an effective role in the prevention and control of juvenile social maladjustment? (affirmative answers)

	A1 + A2	A1	A2
Family at present	61.0%	70.0%	52.0%
Family five years ago	35.0%	38.0%	32.0%
Community at present	72.0%	54.0%	90.0%
Community five years ago	67.0%	76.0%	58.0%

In response to the same set of questions addressed to the public (Table 43), it emerges that they are not as positive about the effectiveness of the role of the family in the prevention and control of juvenile social maladjustment.

PUBLIC

TABLE 43

Do you think that the family and the community play an effective role in the prevention and control of juvenile social maladjustment? (affirmative answers)

	A1 + A2	A1	A2
Family at present	48.7%	48.2%	49.2%
Family five years ago	38.9%	53.5%	24.6%
Community at present	69.8%	53.8%	85.9%
Community five years ago	55.5%	44.2%	66.8%

Less than 50% in both areas say that the family is effective, the figures were less for the situation 5 years previously except for those in Isale Eko, where 53.5% say the family was effective. They see the situation as worsened as the figure dropped from 53.5% to 48.2% over 5 years.

They seem to have more confidence in the community which the majority believe to be effective in both areas, especially in Surulere. Even in Isale Eko, where the percentage saying the community was effective 5 years ago was 44.2%, the figure has increased to 53.8%.

Table 44 presents the opinion of the public as to the most effective means to reduce juvenile social maladjustment. Before going into detailed comments on this table, attention should be called to the last of the suggestions given by the public in both areas — application of severe punishment. This taken along with the question of repressive action earlier discussed will tend to suggest that severe punishment is the last resort to be taken.

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 44
What is, in your opinion, the most effective means
to reduce juvenile social maladjustment?

Ranking	A1 + A2		A1		A2	
	Percentage	Rank	Percentage	Rank	Percentage	Rank
1st	19.2%	1	18.0%	1	20.0%	1
2nd	16.4%	4	16.6%	3	19.3%	4
3rd	15.6%	2	15.4%	2	15.8%	2
4th	15.0%	5	14.9%	5	15.1%	5
5th	12.7%	3	13.5%	4	11.7%	6
6th	11.9%	6	12.1%	6	8.8%	3
7th	9.1%	7	9.6%	7	8.6%	7

Remedies:

1. reinforce traditional values
2. make civil justice systems more efficient
3. make criminal justice systems more efficient
4. make social welfare systems more efficient
5. make educational systems more efficient
6. increase working opportunities
7. introduce harsher punishment

It is noteworthy that in both areas the first preventive and remedial measure suggested is reinforcement of traditional values. There is also agreement on the third and fourth measures — to make civil justice systems more efficient, and educational systems more efficient. While for the second suggestion the public in A1 indicate making the criminal justice system more efficient, those in Surulere indicate making social welfare systems more efficient. What is particularly striking is the area

of agreement between the public in the two areas — reinforcement of traditional values — making civil justice systems more efficient — making educational systems more efficient.

These are areas in which the public are confident will prevent or reduce juvenile social maladjustment and will understandably support any measure made by the authority in that direction. Community participation in this direction is comfortably assured.

Professionals are seldom asked what they think of the efficiency of their performance. Opportunity has been taken of this project to ask them this question in order to identify what they think in terms of the strengths and weaknesses of their organizations and how this can be improved.

Table 45: only a small majority think that the police efficiency has improved in the previous 5 years and there is practically no difference between the professionals from the two areas.

The same response emerges with regard to the question on efficiency of the courts in the previous 5 years.

With regard to the efficiency of the correctional system opinion was divided between positive and negative. It is striking, however, that there are more positive responses in A2 (Surulere) than in A1 (Isale Eko).

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 45
Do you think that the following institutions have improved their efficiency over the last 5 years? (affirmative answers)

	A1 + A2	A1	A2
Police	53.0%	52.0%	54.0%
Courts	55.0%	52.0%	58.0%
Penitentiary system	48.0%	44.0%	52.0%

For those who say that the efficiency of the performance has improved, the reason given by the good majority of the professionals is that the institutions have been reformed and restructured (Table 46).

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 46
What is the reason for the improvement verified over the last 5 years?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
The institutions have been reformed	30	29	59
Problems of juvenile social maladjustment have become less serious	8	4	12
I don't know	12	17	29
Column total	50	50	100

Some questions focussed on the specific services in controlling juvenile social maladjustment. Table 47 focussed on police services. A good majority of the professionals say that the police function badly and more so in A2 than A1. The first three major reasons given for this are: shortage of personnel, inadequate training and lack of interest on the part of the authorities.

Professionals in both areas agree in giving second place to inadequate training, while they give contrary positions to shortage of personnel and lack of interest on the part of the authorities. It is interesting that professionals in Surulere give first place to lack of interest on the part of the authorities. One would have expected that it is the professionals in Isale Eko that would have given first place to this reason.

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 47
How do police services function in controlling juvenile social maladjustment?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Well	20	13	33
Badly	25	34	59
I don't know	5	3	8
Column total	50	50	100

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 48
If the police services function «badly» what are the reasons in order of importance?

Ranking	A1+ A2		A1		A2	
	Percentage	Count	Percentage	Count	Percentage	Count
1st	24.6%	3	28.4%	2	27.2%	1
2nd	25.6%	1	28.3%	3	24.4%	3
3rd	25.3%	2	24.3%	1	21.9%	2
4th	11.8%	5	11.4%	5	14.4%	4
5th	10.9%	4	7.6%	4	12.2%	5

Reasons:

1. lack of personnel
2. inadequate training
3. lack of interest on the part of the authorities
4. tolerance on the part of the police
5. lack of public co-operation

Regarding the courts (Table 49) a good majority of all the professionals say that they function badly, but there is a notable difference between professionals in Isale Eko and Surulere. While those in Surulere are equally divided in their assessment, four times more in Isale Eko say that the courts function badly.

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 49
How do the courts function in controlling juvenile social maladjustment?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Well	7	20	27
Badly	28	19	47
I don't know	9	0	9
Column total	50	50	100

The first two reasons (Table 50) for the bad functioning of the courts given in general and sectorally are lack of personnel and inadequate training. It is in Isale Eko that lack of harsh treatment was given last place in the order of reasons.

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 50
If the courts function «badly» what are the reasons in order of importance?

Ranking	A1 + A2		A1		A2	
1st	39.1%	3	40.0%	3	32.9%	3
2nd	29.7%	1	28.5%	1	31.2%	1
3rd	16.0%	4	17.4%	2	18.6%	4
4th	15.2%	2	14.1%	4	12.3%	2

Reasons:

1. lack of personnel
2. inadequate training
3. delay in the administration of justice
4. lack of harsh punishment

The same pattern of response emerged with the consideration of re-educational institutions and non-institutional treatment (Tables 51, 52, 53 and 54) in that they both function badly in the assessment of a good majority of the professionals, especially in Isale Eko. In Surulere, however, more professionals tend to give a more favourable assessment.

The first two reasons given for poor functioning of re-educational institutions and non-institutional treatment were again shortage of personnel and inadequate training of personnel.

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 51
How do re-educational institutions function in controlling juvenile social maladjustment?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Well	12	25	37
Badly	26	15	41
I don't know	12	10	22
Column total	50	50	100

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 52
If re-educational institutions function «badly» what are the reasons in order of importance?

Ranking	A1 + A2		A1		A2	
1st	25.6%	1	23.0%	1/2	25.8%	2
2nd	24.0%	2	23.0%	1/2	24.6%	1
3rd	19.6%	3	22.4%	3	23.0%	4
4th	16.0%	4	17.8%	5	14.8%	3
5th	16.0%	5	13.8%	4	12.9%	5

Reasons:

1. lack of personnel
2. inadequate training
3. lack of treatment programmes
4. lack of public participation
5. lack of harsh punishment

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 53
How does non-institutional treatment function in controlling juvenile social maladjustment?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Well	6	19	25
Badly	32	15	47
I don't know	12	16	28
Column total	50	50	100

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 54
If non-institutional treatment functions «badly» what are the reasons in order of importance?

Ranking	A1 + A2		A1		A2	
1st	28.0%	1	33.3%	1	30.4%	2/4
2nd	25.8%	2	23.6%	2	30.4%	2/4
3rd	25.5%	4	23.2%	4	22.5%	3
4th	20.8%	3	19.9%	3	16.7%	1

Reasons:

1. lack of personnel
2. inadequate training
3. lack of treatment programmes
4. lack of public participation

When we come to look at the assessment of welfare agencies, Tables 55 and 56, we see that a good majority of professionals in both areas agree that they function well. It has to be remarked that these agencies are those which tend to take a more informal structure and function than the courts and institutions, and they deal with juveniles in the context of their families. It can be rightly suggested that the involvement of the family tends to give a positive assessment of the functioning of social welfare agencies.

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 55

How do welfare agencies function in controlling juvenile social maladjustment?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Well	23	30	53
Badly	18	11	29
I don't know	9	9	18
Column total	50	50	100

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 56

If welfare agencies function «badly» what are the reasons in order of importance?

Ranking	A1 + A2		A1		A2	
	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count
1st	38.5%	1	39.3%	1	36.4%	1
2nd	27.0%	2	24.3%	2	24.8%	2
3rd	18.4%	3	18.4%	3	18.2%	3
4th	16.1%	4	18.1%	4	10.6%	4

Reasons:

1. lack of personnel
2. inadequate training
3. lack of treatment programmes
4. lack of public participation

For those who say that the agencies function badly there is total agreement in the reasons given in order of importance — lack of personnel, inadequate training, lack of treatment programmes and lack of public participation.

The response of professionals to the assessment of correctional institutions is rather mixed (Table 57). One point is clear and that is the overall assessment is that about twice as many say that they func-

tion badly. Four times the number of those in Isale Eko make a poor assessment, while those in Surulere are equally divided between those who say the correctional institutions function well and badly.

The reasons given by those who say they function badly can only be summarized by saying that lack of personnel and inadequate training tend to top the list of reasons given (Table 58).

The assessment of schools follows the pattern of the correctional institutions. A good majority of all the professionals say that the schools function badly. Three times as many in Isale Eko say so, and only half of those in Surulere say so.

The reasons given are mixed.

In the consideration of all these assessments there are a sizeable number of professionals who register that they do not know. It is understandable that only 4 were recorded as being ignorant of the situation in schools, as this is more visible than the others.

The general pattern is that most of the organizations function badly and the reasons for this are mainly shortage of staff, and inadequate training of personnel. The policy implication of this is obvious. Note has to be taken of the positive assessment of the welfare agencies. It has been suggested that this may be due to the involvement of the family. It has also been noted that the family is regarded by the juveniles and public as playing a primary role in the prevention and control of juvenile social maladjustment. These findings can be linked to strengthen both the family and the welfare agencies.

This observation is supported by Table 61 which shows that the professionals in both areas rank family counselling, as number one of the remedies, from the viewpoint of effectiveness, for the prevention of juvenile social maladjustment. It is striking that providing working possibilities for juveniles tends to be given the lowest priority as a remedy for prevention of juvenile social maladjustment.

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 57
How do correctional institutions function in controlling juvenile social maladjustment?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Well	8	19	27
Badly	34	19	53
I don't know	8	12	20
Column total	50	50	100

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 58
If correctional institutions function «badly» what are the reasons in order of importance?

Ranking	A1+A2		A1		A2	
1st	30.2%	1	38.4%	1	28.7%	2
2nd	24.1%	2	26.4%	3	20.1%	5
3rd	23.5%	3	21.3%	2	18.4%	3
4th	13.8%	5	10.2%	5	16.8%	4
5th	8.5%	4	3.7%	4	16.0%	1

Reasons:

1. lack of personnel
2. inadequate training
3. lack of treatment programmes
4. lack of public participation
5. lack of harsh treatment

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 59
How do schools function in controlling juvenile social maladjustment?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Well	12	24	36
Badly	35	25	60
I don't know	3	1	4
Column total	50	50	100

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 60
If schools function «badly» what are the reasons in order of importance?

Ranking	A1+A2		A1		A2	
1st	29.9%	1	36.0%	1	32.9%	4
2nd	24.7%	3	26.6%	3	23.9%	2
3rd	24.5%	4	18.9%	2	22.0%	3
4th	21.0%	2	18.5%	4	21.2%	1

Reasons:

1. overcrowded schools
2. lack of school counsellors
3. lack of enthusiasm on the part of the teachers
4. lack of co-operation between teachers and parents

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 61
Place in priority order the remedies listed below from the viewpoint of effectiveness for the prevention of juvenile social maladjustment?

Ranking	A1 + A2		A1		A2	
	Percentage	Count	Percentage	Count	Percentage	Count
1st	25.7%	1	23.5%	1	27.9%	1
2nd	20.9%	3	21.9%	3	22.2%	5
3rd	19.5%	5	19.8%	2	19.7%	3
4th	18.3%	2	17.5%	4	16.6%	2
5th	15.6%	4	17.1%	5	13.5%	4

Remedies:

1. family counselling
2. subsidizing poor families
3. increasing the number of school counsellors
4. working possibilities for juveniles
5. encouragement of community participation

There is total agreement on the question of control of juvenile social maladjustment (Table 62). The improvement of institutional and non-institutional treatment programmes is given the highest priority regarding control. Reinforcement of the police comes next, and last on the list is severe sentences. This reflects the high level of enlightenment of the professionals. Their general responses indicate that they are not satisfied with the way they function and that they can do better if there are more of them and they are given adequate training and tools with which to work.

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 62
Place in priority order the following remedies from the viewpoint of effectiveness for the control of juvenile social maladjustment?

Ranking	A1 + A2		A1		A2	
	Percentage	Count	Percentage	Count	Percentage	Count
1st	43.5%	1	43.4%	1	43.6%	1
2nd	32.6%	2	31.5%	2	33.5%	2
3rd	23.9%	3	25.2%	3	22.1%	3

Remedies:

1. improvement of institutional and non-institutional treatment programmes
2. reinforcement of the police
3. more severe sentences

It is also to be noted that they have confidence in the family and the community on the effective role they play in the prevention and control of juvenile social maladjustment. This would suggest that while they seek to improve their own professional effectiveness, they also appreciate the vital contribution of the family and the community and they would welcome the strengthening of these institutions.

TABLE 63
Summary of results

1. Extent of juvenile social maladjustment	A1 > A2
2. Danger posed by juvenile social maladjustment	A1 < A2
3. Increase in juvenile social maladjustment	A1 > A2
4. Prediction of future rates of juvenile social maladjustment	A1 > A2
5. Comparison with adult criminality	A1 > A2
6. Respect for parents	A1 < A2
7. Perceived adequacy of parental care	A1 < A2
8. Male juveniles help in household chores	A1 < A2
9. Female juveniles help in household chores	A1 < A2
10. Male juveniles work parents	A1 > A2
11. Family role in solving problems	A1 = A2
12. Parents seen as helpful when in trouble	A1 = A2
13. Juveniles work in support of family	A1 = A2
14. Constructive leisure time	A1 < A2
15. Free-time spent with adults	A1 > A2
16. Free-time spent in mixed groups	A1 > A2
17. Positive relations with school	A1 = A2
18. Positive relations with religious organizations	A1 = A2
19. Positive attitudes to justice system	A1 = A2
20. Fear of police	A1 > A2
21. Reliance on police	A1 < A2

d) Summary and conclusions

While the extent of juvenile social maladjustment is perceived to be greater in Isale Eko, the old part of Lagos with general overcrowding in run-down old buildings and deterioration of physical and social structures, the maladjustment is perceived to be more dangerous in Surulere. As suggested before, this may be due to the heightened sensitivity of the adults in Surulere.

It is also noted that juvenile social maladjustment is perceived to have increased and is predicted to increase more in Isale Eko than in Surulere. Adult criminality is perceived to be more serious in Isale Eko. This may be a reflection of the greater tolerance of juvenile maladjustment in this area.

Respect for parents, adequacy of parental care, male and female participation in household chores are all of a higher degree in Surulere.

It appears that more male juveniles work with their parents in Isale Eko. In spite of the physical and apparent socio-economic differences between the two areas, the perception of the role of the family in solving juvenile problems, perception of parents as being helpful when their children are in trouble and the number of juveniles who work in support of their families are practically the same. This confirms the high level of family cohesion and confidence in the family that has remained in Isale Eko and is sustained in Surulere.

That more juveniles engage in constructive and healthy leisure time activities in Surulere is not surprising. What is surprising is the large number of those who are also so engaged in Isale Eko.

It has been suggested that the physical deficiencies in Isale Eko may account for the fact that more juveniles in that area spend their free time with adults and in mixed groups.

The juveniles in both areas have the same level of positive relations with school and with religious organizations. This fact is significant and could be utilized. The level of confidence in the justice system of the juveniles in both areas is the same.

The juveniles in both areas, but more so in Isale Eko, fear the police in that they perceive them as being harsh. This poor image of the police is worthy of attention.

On the other hand the public in Surulere tend to rely more on the police.

The differences we have found in the two areas are in terms of family ties (stable relationships between parents and children), the quality of leisure-time activity and the nature of group activity. It seems that these are the intervening variables which in fact account for differential rates of juvenile social maladjustment in the two areas. Thus, a plausible explanation for juvenile social maladjustment in Lagos can now be put forward.

Juvenile social maladjustment does not have a simple or direct relationship with rapid urbanization. Rapid urbanization may have devastating effects on family and community structures, particularly if social planning does not accompany rapid growth. These «devastating effects», which were referred to as «negative consequences of urbanization» earlier in this chapter, seem to have a more direct and causal relationship with juvenile social maladjustment. Rapid urbanization may produce economic problems but poverty alone is not a new phenomenon for the majority of the residents in both areas.

It is the breakdown of culture which is the key exploratory variable. In Isale Eko we can see the breakdown of traditional institutions and the lack of appropriate social planning that would give support to those institutions.

The policy implications of the findings in Lagos can be considered under the headings of formal and informal control of, and intervention in juvenile social maladjustment. The formal mechanisms are generally well-thought of by juveniles, public and professionals but it is also agreed that they could do better if they had more staff with better training. This of course would require more funding.

On the other hand the informal systems are part of the cultural tradition which has been acknowledged by all to be of primary importance in the prevention of, control of and intervention in juvenile social maladjustment. The tendency is to take this for granted, but it is a dangerous tendency as there are elements in the changing socio-cultural environment which undermine the effectiveness of the informal systems. It becomes necessary, therefore, to take a harder, more careful and serious look at the system in order to find ways of preserving them. This of course will be cheaper than the improvement of the formal system and it will be more consonant with the culture of the people.

This calls for courage to introduce a considerable amount of innovation as copying what has been done in developed countries will not solve the problem of juvenile social maladjustment. Not only are the practices in developed countries too expensive for developing countries to copy but these practices do not necessarily fit into the socio-cultural milieu of developing countries. In any case there is no evidence that these practices in developed countries have resulted in the successful prevention, control and treatment of juvenile social maladjustment.

CASE STUDY No. 4

BOMBAY - INDIA

a) Background information

Bombay is the second largest and the most cosmopolitan city of India, with a population of 8,2 million in 1981 and with one of the highest demographic densities in the world. Its growth in the last decade (1971-81) was 37.4% and about 13% of the total population of Maharashtra lives on a tiny little island of Bombay. In fact, the urbanistic structure has a capacity for approximately 1,2 million inhabitants in the central area, and 2 million in the periphery. The excess population of approximately 5,3 million causes serious housing, economic, health-sanitary and crime problems which are practically impossible to control and which make Bombay incomparable with any other city in Asia or, in fact, in any other part of the world.

The population of the city of Bombay is increasing due to 1) a constant birth rate; 2) a decrease in the mortality rate; and 3) a high influx of people by way of migration. Bombay's population is calculated to increase to 12 million by the end of this century.

The urban migration has proved to be economically unproductive, as the urban employment sector has not expanded sufficiently to absorb those who have been forced out of agriculture, both because of the increasing population pressure on the land, and the mechanisation of agriculture.

The continuing increase in population is worsening the civic conditions of the city, especially housing conditions, by increasing the number of slum areas and the population living in slum areas. In 1966, it was estimated that about half a million people lived in about 180 slum areas. In 1976, just 10 years after, the slum population had increased to 2,9 million, living in 1,991 slum areas. These are the figures supplied by the Municipal Corporation of Greater Bombay on the basis of a survey of slum populations conducted by them, but social workers working with various voluntary agencies engaged in slum areas consider this an understatement. The density of the city population has also been increasing to staggering heights compared to other urban areas in Maharashtra or in other parts of the country. Whereas the density of population per square km for urban India increased from 2,050 in 1961 to 3,442 in 1981, for Bombay it increased from 8,614

in 1961 to 13,564 in 1981. However, within the city the density of population is not the same everywhere. In some wards of the city the density is decreasing whereas in others the density is increasing. Despite little increase in the density of population in the main city (only 10% between 1961 and 1971) compared to 109% increase over the same period in the suburbs of the city, and 48% in the extended suburbs of the city, it continued to be proportionately much higher (49,458 per sq.km) compared to 11,266 in the suburbs and just 1,451 for the extended suburbs. Detailed information is not known for a later period as the census figures for 1981 are not available. But by now, the picture for the suburbs and the extended suburbs is expected to have worsened.

The sex-ratio (i.e. no. of women per 1,000 men) for Bombay compared to other urban areas of Maharashtra and the rest of India is much less, only 716 compared to 820 for the state and 858 for the country, indicating that most men migrating to the city leave their women folk behind. But another feature noticed is that the sex-ratio for Bombay has increased over the years, from 596 in 1951 to 716 in 1971. This can be interpreted to mean that the early migrants have over the years sent for their families to live with them in the city. Another index to take into account is housing.

Considering the influx of people pouring into the city about 65,000 new tenements are needed every year whereas the number of tenements going up in the city is in the region of only 12,000 to 13,000. Thus at least 6 million tenements are still needed. Another unfortunate aspect of the housing problem is that not many people can afford to buy the type of houses which are going up in the city. It is estimated that about 60% of the city's population cannot afford to pay more than Rs. 18,000 per tenement whereas even the plot on which a tenement could be built is not available for that price. This leads to illegal occupation of vacant land in the city belonging to the government and private owners. But this illegal land is not directly occupied by the people. In most cases, there are self-styled occupants of the vacant land who, in turn, either raise huts and rent them out to others or permit other people to raise their own huts. After receiving an initial fixed deposit, known in common parlance as 'Pagadi', and a monthly rent, such self-styled occupants of the land, known popularly as slum lords, provide guarantees to people living in the area against forced eviction by the government authorities. Most of the slum lords are known for their connections with political parties which strengthen their hands vis-a-vis contacts with government officials.

The most evident aspect of this phenomenon of massive and uncontrolled migration and the capacity of the city to «host» only 37.7% of the resident population, is the presence of *innumerable individuals* who live permanently on the streets. Every 10 years the census records the houseless population in the country and the city. In 1971 the houseless population in the city of Bombay was 59,169, in the urban areas of Maharashtra 106,260, and in the urban areas of the whole country 465,863. It is estimated that the number of people living under houseless conditions is much higher than the figures provided. As a consequence the housing situation has reached dramatic proportions and it should be noted that each living space is occupied to three times its capacity. According to a recent study, half the population live in zones which can be considered slums.

The type of urban structure of the city of Bombay (and probably also of other Indian cities) is characteristic of India alone. In fact, it is very difficult to make a clear distinction between the inhabited areas of the high-income and low-income groups. According to information received, urbanistic subdivisions are determined, above all, by religious and caste factors.

Obviously such a situation has had an influence on:

- a) employment
- b) health conditions
- c) education
- d) problems of delinquency and other forms of social pathology.

a) employment

One person out of 2 from the economically active age group (15-64) works in the city of Bombay, while this figure becomes 1 out of 5 in the total population. Among the economically active only 10.7% are females.

Although lacking precise information it can be presumed that the Bombay unemployment rate is extremely high, hypothetically this figure can be estimated at approximately 2 million. This accounts for the fact that 60% of the Bombay population lives below «poverty limits» and must, in consequence, make recourse to governmental «social intervention» in order to compensate, at least in part, for this deficit.

Most of the labour force is unskilled and there is a shortage of professional, technical and managerial manpower. The uncertainty of finding acceptable employment and dissatisfaction with available

salaries have caused a drain of professionals towards the highly developed countries. Many people do not have a permanent occupation and often work only 10 days per month, therefore they do not benefit from the rights provided by the local laws.

Generally speaking, working conditions are not good: often factories, industries, and workshop premises are in a state of decay and lack the most elementary security conditions. Furthermore, low salaries encourage the local employer to utilize a larger labour force than is necessary, thereby preventing, to some extent, economic growth and specialization.

The employment of children is difficult to estimate because organized industries often falsify reports to comply with the requirements of child-labour legislation and because household industries, which usually employ children, make no official reports. Nevertheless, it would appear that in Bombay not only 30% of the children work but they work in very poor conditions.

b) health conditions

Although the birth rate for Bombay is about 10% higher than the world average, 7.3% of the children born do not survive the first year of life and only 8 children out of 10 reach the age of 4. The average life expectancy for the city is 51 years. Social inequality, lack of professional staff, deteriorating environmental conditions, ignorance on the part of the population, climatological and geological conditions, and women's low legal and social status, are among the causes for the poor health-sanitary conditions.

Diseases like tuberculosis (one of the most frequent) are mainly correlated to malnutrition. In fact, a substantial segment of the population suffers from under-nutrition and malnutrition with their attendant dietary illnesses, anemia and low resistance to various bacteria and virus-caused diseases. As a result of a deficiency of vitamin A and protein, approximately 150,000 children lose their eye-sight in infancy every year.

There is one hospital bed for every 1,500 inhabitants and one for every 1,600 tuberculosis patients. The existing health system responds to the needs of a restricted strata of society and only in urban areas. The shortage of medical personnel remains a serious problem.

Though medical facilities in urban areas are much better than those available in rural areas, they are not available to all sections of the population. In fact, it has been found that public hospitals run

by the government mainly for the benefit of poor people are used by people belonging to middle class families. However, some measures are being taken to see that medical facilities reach the poor, i.e. the establishment in slum areas of health clinics, mobile health clinics, health and medical facilities provided by various voluntary agencies, immunisation and periodical health checkups in the schools, etc.

Parents do not usually refer their children to child guidance clinics, it is looked down upon. The exact number of clinics in the city is not known but they are inadequate.

c) education system

The illiteracy level among juveniles is very high, approximately 50% of those belonging to the 15-19 year old group neither read nor write. This percentage is higher among females, in fact, 56.5% of the female juveniles are illiterate and 62% do not attend primary school.

The desertion rate at the primary school level in India is 40% to 60% and the overwhelming majority of the drop-outs belong to the economically and socially disadvantaged sector of the community. The desertion rate in the city of Bombay according to local sources is approximately 80%. Lack of correlation between training and work opportunities has resulted in a high rate of unemployment and disillusionment among secondary school and college students.

Over the years there has been an increase in the enrolment of children in the schools but the dropout rate more than offsets this. The problem is not getting children enrolled in the schools but keeping them in the school system. The various reasons offered for the high dropout rate can be divided into two categories: 1) the conditions in the schools, and 2) the conditions prevailing in the families to which the dropout children belong. Less interest on the part of certain children in study is also a reason as well as the two mentioned above. This however, can be traced to malnutrition among such children who find it difficult to cope with the burden of study and therefore start losing interest, and after one or two failures in the same class, either withdraw on their own or are withdrawn by their parents.

The number of schools, especially those which are run by the Municipal Corporation, is not increasing in line with the increase in population of the city. With the result that there is a problem of overcrowding. Moreover, few schools are located in slum areas or near the slum areas resulting in a lower enrolment rate of children from these areas. The school hours are also considered as a deterrent to

enrolment of children from the slum areas.

Drug abuse has not reached the same proportion in India as it has in the West. The incidence of drug abuse is more noticeable in juveniles belonging to affluent families than to poor families, and more common among college-going students than school-going students. Among children belonging to poor families, and living in slums, cigarette smoking is frequent, while the most common socially maladjusted behaviour found among children is stealing and indulging in petty thefts.

d) problems of delinquency and social pathology

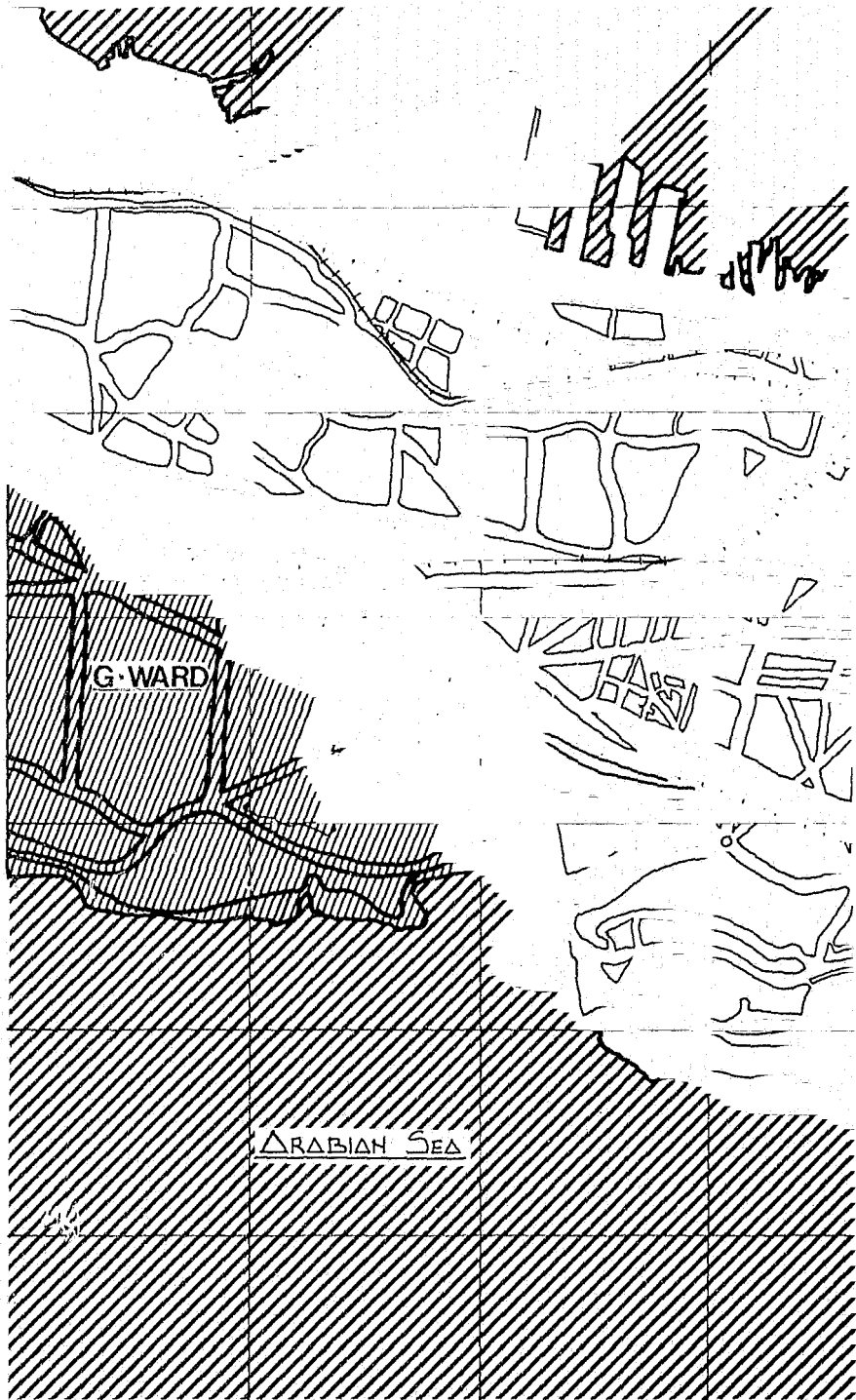
The traditional emphasis on religious, ethical and social values in the general life style is a stabilizing factor in Indian society. Strong family and social ties, and the relative security of a closely-knit family system contribute to the maintenance of order. On the other hand, poverty, urban congestion, population pressure and unemployment appear to be closely associated with the incidence of crime.

Ordinary theft ranks as the most common offence, although smuggling has a centuries-old history in India. The infiltration of arms and the burgeoning of illegal traffic in luxury goods which are exchanged for Indian silver, has developed into a serious problem for the law enforcement agencies.

The legal system, criminal procedures and methods of operation among law enforcement authorities are deeply rooted in the British tradition. The penal code and other laws, as well as the judicial system of British India, were retained with only slight modifications.

Recent characteristics and trends of adult crime for both the country and the city show an increase. Between 1966 and 1976 there was an increase in all types of crime, ranging from murder to minor offences like petty theft. The highest increase was noticed in the incidence of *dacoity* (120% increase). The total cognizable crimes committed in the city of Bombay increased by 4.4% between 1971 and 1976, whereas the average per city rate registered a decline. Cognizable offences committed in Bombay were three times more than the average crime rate for other big cities in the country.

Juvenile delinquency both for Bombay and other cities has been mostly in the form of robbery and theft. Total juvenile crimes under the Indian Penal Code in Bombay increased from 277 in 1971 to 575 in 1977 in which the major increase was noticed in the incidence of theft.



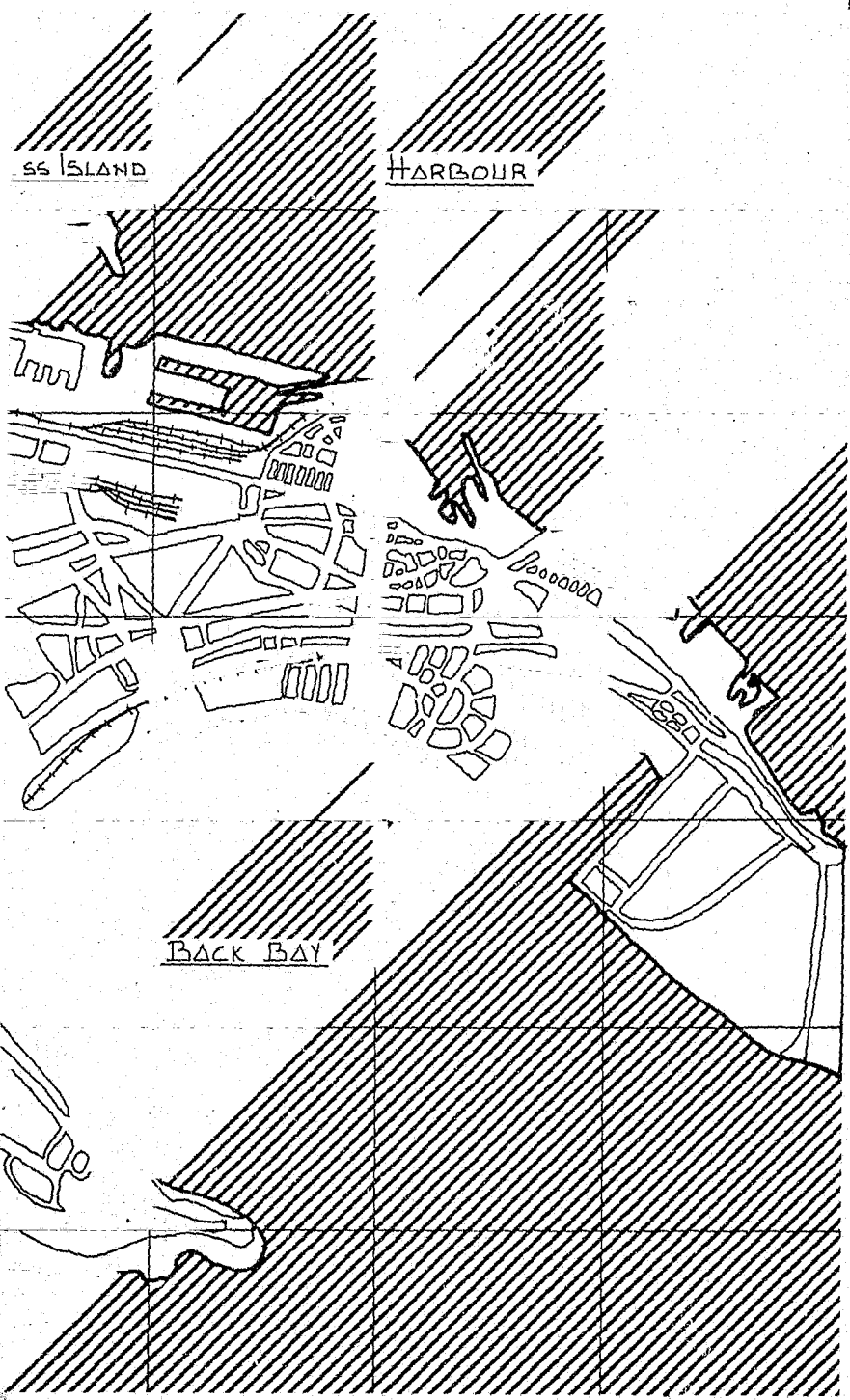
G. WARD

ARABIAN SEA

SS ISLAND

HARBOUR

BACK BAY



**b) Description of the two areas -
G. South Ward (A1) and M Ward (A2)**

The two wards selected — G. South and M — do not strictly conform to the norms of non-rapid and rapid urbanization as used in the case of areas from other cities in the study. Both wards have populations living in slums. The decision to treat wards as social areas for the study was taken mainly to match the information that would be collected from the Municipal Corporation on factors like education, health, etc. with the views of respondents selected from the area.

G. South Ward designated Area 1 (A1) is one of the city wards, and M. Ward designated Area 2 (A2) is one of the suburban wards. Both areas are inhabited by rich, middle-income and poor classes. Occupation-wise, businessmen, service-class, and both white and blue collar workers are well represented in both areas. The cosmopolitan character of the two areas is similar as they both have people from different regions of India.

14% of respondents have been living in the city from birth, out of which the majority live in G. South Ward. The majority of respondents from M. Ward have been living in the city for 10-20 years. Urbanization of M. Ward is recent but rapid; while G. South Ward is more densely populated, the rate of increase in the density of population is higher in M. Ward.

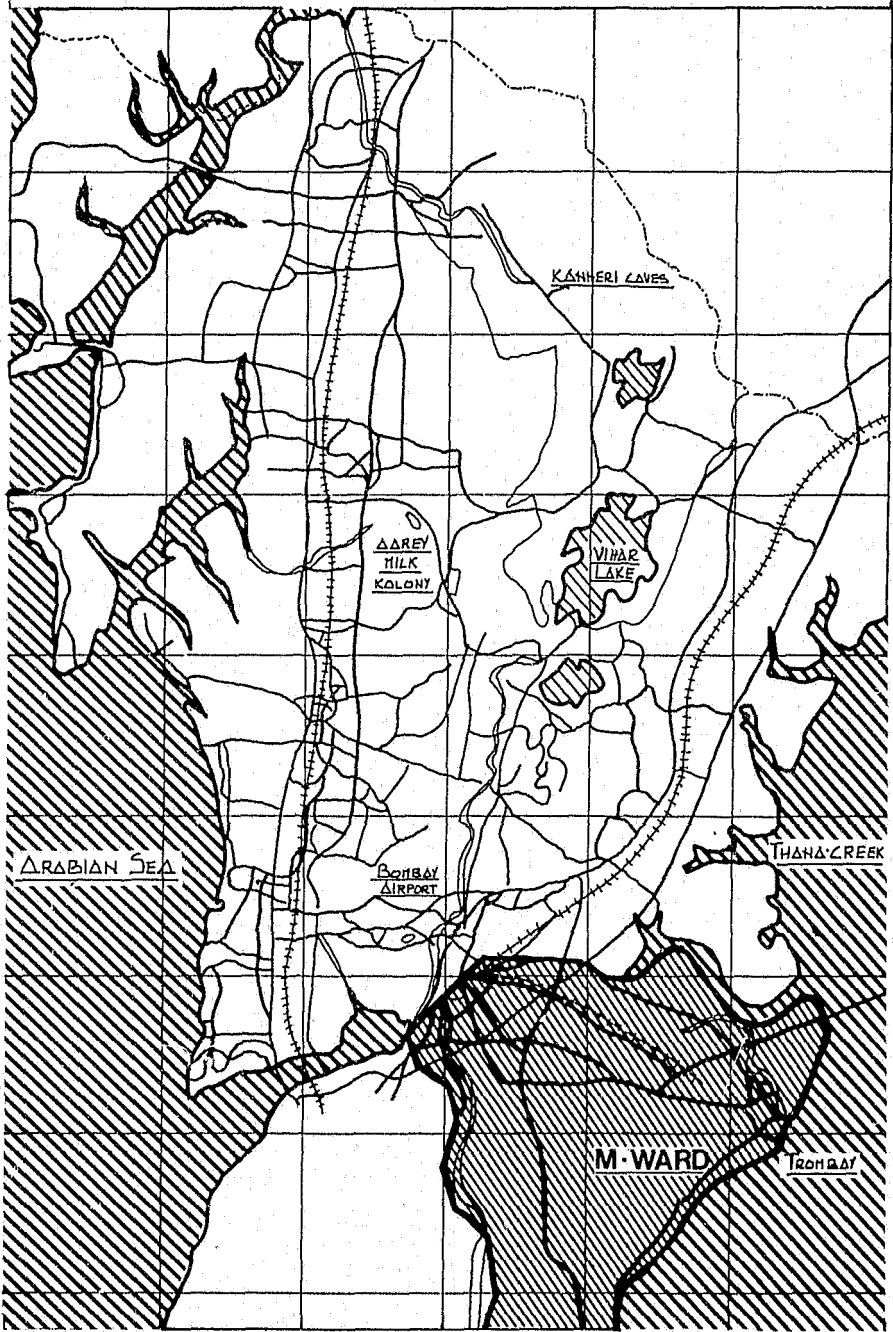
80% of the respondents live in slum-like conditions — huts and shacks. Of those living in slums (huts) the majority are in M. Ward. As there is no planning, rapid and recent urbanization is associated with slum-living conditions. The majority of respondents in G. South Ward live in shacks whereas the majority of respondents in M. Ward live in huts.

The majority of respondents in G. South Ward are from the middle-caste, whereas in M. Ward they are more heterogeneous — belonging equally to middle and lower-castes. There are relatively more lower-castes living in M. Ward.

In terms of occupation, the majority of routine manual workers are from M. Ward, whereas the majority of semi-skilled manual workers are from G. South Ward.

Public Health Facilities

While 49% in both areas do not have water taps in the house, the majority come from M. Ward. 70% do not have independent





bathroom facilities, and there is practically no difference in the two areas in this respect. 79% of the respondents do not have an independent lavatory. The majority of these are from M. Ward. They mostly rely on public latrines or public open spaces.

Respondents from M. Ward spend more time than those in G. South Ward commuting to and from work.

For the sake of uniformity the agreed format of questionnaires was used but because of the peculiarity of the situation in Bombay additional items were included in the questionnaires by the local team.

c) Analysis of data

i) *The extent of juvenile social maladjustment*

Since we cannot rely on official statistics even if they are available, it is necessary to start with the extent of juvenile social maladjustment, as perceived by members of the adult public and professionals for both Area 1 (G South Ward) and Area 2 (M Ward), to set the basis for the analysis of further responses. In any case the perception of the public and professionals is more relevant for our purpose than official statistics.

PUBLIC

TABLE 1
What is the juveniles' behaviour like?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Good	197 (74%)	213 (70%)	410
Bad	67 (25%)	88 (29%)	155
No information	2 (1%)	3 (1%)	5
Column total	266	304	570

Table 1 gives the response of the public to the question. 74% of the public in Area 1 perceive the behaviour of juveniles there to be good, while 70% in Area 2 say the same. This suggests that the situation is slightly better in Area 1.

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 2
In your opinion what is the juvenile social maladjustment situation
in your area like?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Good	21 (49%)	34 (59%)	55
Bad	22 (51%)	23 (40%)	45
No information	0	1	1
Column total	43	58	101

Table 2 gives the response of the professionals to a similar question. 49% of them say that the behaviour of juveniles in Area 1 is no problem when 59% say the same for Area 2.

From these two Tables it appears that the public and professionals do not see eye-to-eye on this issue. The professionals are less sanguine about the situation generally and they see the situation to be better in Area 2. It may well be that they judge by the serious cases that come to their attention. On the other hand, the public may be more tolerant of juvenile misbehaviour than the professionals.

PUBLIC

TABLE 3
Have behaviour problems increased over the last five years?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Yes	148 (56%)	118 (39%)	266
No	101 (38%)	154 (51%)	255
Same	17 (6%)	32 (10%)	49
Column total	266	304	570

Table 3 shows the responses by the public to the question whether juvenile behaviour problems have increased over the previous five years. 56% of them in Area 1 say that it has increased and 39% in Area 2 say the same. This suggests that the public in Area 1 think that the situation there has deteriorated.

PUBLIC

TABLE 4
Future trends of juvenile social maladjustment

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Decrease	75 (28%)	165 (54%)	240
Remain constant	68 (25%)	44 (14%)	112
Increase	119 (44%)	92 (30%)	211
No information	4 (1%)	3 (1%)	7
Column total	266	304	570

Table 5 shows the response of the professionals to the same question. 70% of them say it has increased in Area 1, while 40% of them say the same for Area 2. This is consistent with their view that the situation is better in Area 2, and agrees with the public in Area 1 that the situation has worsened there.

When we turn to the future trends as perceived by the public in Table 4, we see that 45% of the public in Area 1 think that juvenile social maladjustment will increase, while only 30% in Area 2 think so. The pessimism shown is not great, but it is greater in Area 1 than in Area 2, which is not surprising as they perceive the situation in Area 1 to be deteriorating in their earlier responses.

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 5
Have behaviour problems increased over the last five years?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Increased	30 (70%)	23 (40%)	53
Same	8 (19%)	18 (31%)	26
Decreased	5 (11%)	7 (12%)	12
No information	—	10	10
Column total	43	58	101

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 6
Future trends of juvenile social maladjustment

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Decrease	6 (14%)	10 (17%)	16
Remain constant	1 (2%)	10 (17%)	11
Increase	36 (84%)	38 (64%)	74
Column total	43	58	101

Table 6 shows the response of professionals to future trends. 84% in Area 1 say it will increase while 66% in Area 2 say the same. The professionals appear to be more pessimistic than the public and more so for Area 1.

The reason for the increase in juvenile social maladjustment as given by the public is shown in Table 7.

PUBLIC

TABLE 7
If conduct problems have increased, what, in your opinion, are the reasons?
(give three alternatives in order of seriousness)

Ranking	A1 + A2		A1		A2	
	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count
1st	49.8%	7	38.3%	7	59.8%	7
2nd	14.4%	1	18.2%	2	11.2%	1
3rd	14.3%	2	18.1%	1	10.9%	2
4th	9.0%	6	11.4%	6	6.9%	6
5th	6.4%	3	7.2%	3	5.6%	3
6th	3.7%	5	4.0%	5	3.3%	5
7th	2.5%	4	2.7%	4	2.3%	4

Reasons:

1. lack of control
2. influence of bad company
3. lack of education
4. neighbours' indifference
5. influence of media
6. bad family conditions
7. not applicable

Those in Area 1 give the first three in this order — influence of bad company, lack of control, bad family conditions; while those in Area 2 give them in this order — lack of control, influence of bad company, and bad family conditions. There is a considerable degree of agreement especially when we consider the same order given for the other reasons.

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 8
What, in your opinion, are the reasons for the increase of socially maladjusted behaviour? (give three answers in order of priority)

Ranking	A1 + A2		A1		A2	
	Percentage	Count	Percentage	Count	Percentage	Count
1st	24.8%	7	26.7%	1	32.8%	7
2nd	23.1%	1	21.7%	6	20.4%	1
3rd	17.7%	6	19.0%	2	14.6%	6
4th	16.3%	2	13.9%	7	14.4%	2
5th	9.4%	5	9.3%	3	10.6%	5
6th	7.1%	3	7.7%	5	5.4%	3
7th	1.6%	4	1.5%	4	1.7%	4

Reasons:

1. lack of control
2. influence of bad company
3. lack of education
4. neighbours' indifference
5. influence of media
6. bad family conditions
7. juvenile social maladjustment has not increased

In Table 8 on the other hand the professionals give their reasons for the perceived increase in juvenile social maladjustment. For Area 1 they give them in this order — lack of control, bad family conditions and influence of bad company, while for Area 2 — for those who said that it has increased, the order is the same as for Area 1.

It is noted that both the public and the professionals are in agreement as to the major reasons for the increase in juvenile social maladjustment, and attention should be paid to these reasons. It is easy to speculate that if the home conditions are bad and control is defective, children will easily succumb to undesirable peer pressure and unacceptable behaviour will be reinforced. The emphasis therefore is on bad family conditions — which is the primary socializing factor.

PUBLIC

TABLE 9
Are there juveniles with conduct problems in the area?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Yes	165 (62%)	122 (40%)	287
No	99 (37%)	180 (59%)	279
No information	2 (1%)	2 (1%)	4
Column total	266	304	570

Table 9 shows the level of acceptance of juvenile conduct problems by the public in their areas. 62% in Area 1 acknowledge that there are conduct problems, while only 40% in Area 2 do so. This suggests that the public in Area 2 are more tolerant and protective of the youths in their area than the public in Area 1.

In spite of the fact that Area 2 is worse physically and socio-economically than Area 1 it appears that on the whole, the overall situation in terms of juvenile social maladjustment as perceived by professionals and public is slightly better, since the situation in Area 1 appears to be deteriorating. It has also been noted that the public in Area 2 are more tolerant and protective of the youths in their area. Further enquiries will hopefully shed more light on this.

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 10
Are there groups of socially maladjusted juveniles in the area?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Yes	29 (67%)	35 (60%)	64
No	14 (33%)	22 (38%)	36
No information	0	1 (2%)	1
Column total	43	58	101

In response to the question regarding the existence of socially

maladjustment juveniles, 67% of professionals (Table 10) in Area 1 affirm that there are, and 60% in Area 2.

PUBLIC

TABLE 11
In which group are behaviour problems more serious?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Adults	144 (54%)	180 (59%)	324
Juveniles	116 (44%)	109 (36%)	225
No information	6 (2%)	15 (5%)	21
Column total	266	304	570

When the public were asked whether adult or juvenile behaviour problems are more serious, Table 11 shows that in both areas they regard adult problems to be more serious and this is more so in Area 2.

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 12
In which group are behaviour problems more serious?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Adults	24 (56%)	29 (50%)	53
Juveniles	19 (44%)	24 (41%)	43
No information	0	5 (9%)	5
Column total	43	58	101

The professionals in answering the same question (Table 12) agree that adult problems are more serious than juvenile problems, but more so in Area 1.

PUBLIC

TABLE 13
What are juveniles in your area like?

	Area 1		Area 2		Row total
Dangerous	18 (10%)		22 (18%)		40
Troublesome	88 (52%)	169	80 (64%)	124	168
Not dangerous	63 (37%)		22 (18%)		85
No information	1		1		2
Not applicable *	96 (36%)		178 (58%)		274
Column total	266		304		570

* answered negatively to the previous item.

The question regarding dangerousness refers to group activities — whether juvenile groups are dangerous, troublesome, not dangerous. The response then will be from those who have acknowledged that there are groups in the area. Of the 169 members of the public questioned in Area 1 (Table 13), 10% say they are dangerous, 52% say they are troublesome and 37% say they are not dangerous. Of the 124 members of the public questioned in Area 2, 18% say they are dangerous, 64% say they are troublesome, and 18% say they are not dangerous. From this it is clear that juvenile groups in Area 2 are regarded to be more dangerous than in Area 1.

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 14
What are the groups of juveniles in the area like?

	Area 1		Area 2		Row total
Dangerous	6 (21%)	} 29	9 (25%)	} 36	15
Troublesome	23 (79%)		24 (67%)		47
Not dangerous	0		3 (8%)		3
No information	14		22		36
Column total	43		58		101

Of the 29 professionals who responded to the same question (Table 14) in Area 1, 21% say they are dangerous and 79% say that they are troublesome. Of the 36 who responded in Area 2, 25% say they are dangerous, 67% say they are troublesome, 8% say they are not dangerous. The professionals seem to hold a different view from the public in believing that juvenile groups in Area 2 are more dangerous than those in Area 1.

On the whole both the public and the professionals tend to agree that most of the juvenile groups in both areas are more troublesome than dangerous.

ii) Family relationships

It has already been observed that both the public and the professionals have indicated that lack of control, influence of bad company and bad family conditions are responsible for the increase in juvenile social maladjustment. This section of the report presents the opportunity to examine these issues in depth and detail.

PUBLIC

TABLE 15
Do juveniles respect parents or guardians?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Yes	234 (88%)	263 (87%)	497
No	31 (11%)	41 (13%)	72
No information	1 (1%)	0	1
Column total	266	304	570

Table 15 gives the response of the public to the question: Do juveniles respect parents and guardians? A preponderant majority of the public in both areas (Area 1 - 88%, Area 2 - 87%) say that juveniles respect parents and guardians. There is almost total agreement in both areas.

PUBLIC

TABLE 16
How do parents look after their children?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Well	246 (92%)	278 (91%)	524
Badly	19 (7%)	26 (9%)	45
No information	1 (1%)	0	1
Column total	266	304	570

When the question was asked how do parents look after their children, we find in Table 16 that an overwhelming majority of the public in both areas (92% in Area 1 and 91% in Area 2) say that parents look after their children well. There is hardly any difference between the two areas.

PUBLIC

TABLE 17
Do female juveniles help in house chores?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Yes	251 (94%)	288 (95%)	539
No	13 (5%)	15 (5%)	28
No information	2 (1%)	1	3
Column total	266	304	570

Table 17 gives the answers to the question whether female juveniles help in house chores. Again the vast majority of the members of the public in both areas (94% in Area 1 and 95% in Area 2) agree that female juveniles help in house chores. This is expected as females are expected to prepare for their future role as housewives.

PUBLIC

TABLE 18
Do male juveniles help in house chores?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Yes	229 (86%)	254 (84%)	483
No	34 (13%)	49 (16%)	83
No information	3 (1%)	1	4
Column total	266	304	570

What is surprising is that in Table 18, which states the answers to the same question regarding male juveniles, we observe that even males in both areas (86% in Area 1 and 84% in Area 2) mostly help in house chores, and there is practically no difference between the two areas.

PUBLIC

TABLE 19
Who do male juveniles work for?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Their parents	116 (86%)	40 (42%)	156
Others	5 (4%)	8 (8%)	13
On their own	14 (10%)	46 (48%)	60
No information	0	1	1
Not applicable	131	209	340
Column total	266	304	570

Table 19 shows for whom male juveniles work after school hours. 135 of the public in Area 1 said that they work and 94 in Area 2. There is an appreciable difference between the two areas. 86% in Area 1 work with their parents against only 42% in Area 2. 10% in Area 1 work on their own, while 48% in Area 2 do so. While it can be agreed that those in Area 1 who work for their parents are under supervision

and control, those who work on their own should be credited with some degree of resourcefulness and independence. Neither of these factors can necessarily be considered to be detrimental in terms of social maladjustment. We need to know the nature of the occupation they are engaged in, but this information is not available.

So far we have found that juveniles respect their parents and guardians, that parents look after their children well, that both males and females help with house chores. All these give a salutary picture for the prevention of juvenile social maladjustment in terms of family cohesion, integration and solidarity.

JUVENILES

TABLE 20

Do you think that the family really contributes to solving the problems of their children?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Yes	191 (96%)	191 (94%)	382
No	9 (4%)	12 (6%)	13
Column total	200	203	403

We now move to perceptions of the juveniles themselves. When they were asked if the family really contributes to solving the problems of their children (Table 20), 96% in Area 1 and 94% in Area 2 say they do. This shows a high level of confidence in the family, which needs to be exploited in the prevention and treatment of juvenile social maladjustment.

JUVENILES

TABLE 21
When you are in trouble, who do you turn to?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Parents	160 (80%)	167 (82%)	327
Brother/sister	18 (9%)	18 (9%)	36
Relatives	9 (5%)	6 (3%)	15
School teachers	2 (1%)	6 (3%)	8
Friends	6 (3%)	4 (2%)	10
Social workers or other public officers	4 (2%)	1	5
Other	1	1	2
Column total	200	203	403

This is further confirmed in the next table (21) dealing with the question to whom they will turn when they are in trouble. 80% in Area 1 and 82% in Area 2 say they will turn to their parents. If we include siblings and relatives to represent the extended family the figures rise to 94% in both areas.

JUVENILES

TABLE 22
Assuming that you commit an unlawful action who would you like to handle your case?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Family	184 (92%)	195 (96%)	379
Neighbours	1	1	2
School-teachers	2 (1%)	3 (1%)	5
Social workers	9 (5%)	2 (1%)	11
Police officials	4 (2%)	1	5
Other	0	1	1
Column total	200	203	403

Another confirmation of confidence in the family is demonstrated in the next table (22) which gives the response to the question who would you like to handle your case if you commit an unlawful action. 92% in Area 1 and 96% in Area 2 express their preference for the family. It is noteworthy that 5% in Area 1 and 1% in Area 2 prefer social workers.

This table is important as it deals with a question which is rarely asked juveniles. If we have to plan rationally for the prevention and treatment of juvenile social maladjustment, we need to take into account the views of the youths themselves. This will make our plan meaningful, relevant and acceptable to them — the potential consumers of the services we provide.

iii) Non-family relationships

In terms of pattern of work of juveniles, Table 23 shows practically no difference between Areas 1 and 2. The vast majority of them do not work, according to the juveniles. Compared with Table 19, it appears that the public think more of the juveniles work than the juveniles themselves admit. About the same proportion of them say they work full time - 8%. This may be due to the fact that they are preoccupied with their studies, or there is no desperate need to work, or work opportunities are not there, or any combination of these.

JUVENILES

TABLE 23
Do juveniles in your area work full-time, part-time or intermittently?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Full-time	15	16	31
Part-time	1	5	6
Intermittently	2	2	4
No	182	180	362
Column total	200	203	403

JUVENILES

TABLE 24
What do you do in your leisure time?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Sports	47 (23.5%)	37 (18.2%)	84
Cultural activities	14 (7%)	1 (5%)	15
Musical activities	2 (1%)	2	4
Watch TV	9 (4.5%)	12 (6%)	21
Meet with friends	24 (12%)	20 (10%)	44
Read	79 (39.5%)	105 (52%)	184
Loiter	4 (2%)	5 (2.4%)	9
Idle	9 (4.5%)	10 (4.9%)	19
Other	12	11	23
Column total	200	203	403

This leads us to ask what they do in their leisure time. Table 24 analyses their responses to this question. The leisure time activities of juveniles in both areas are similar. There are, however, some interesting differences. 23.5% in Area 1 and 18.2% in Area 2 say they spend their time in sporting activities; 7% in Area 1 and 5% in Area 2 in cultural activities. This suggests there are more outdoor activities in Area 1 than Area 2. This is consistent with the fact that 52% in Area 2 and 39.5% in Area 1 spend their leisure time reading. About the same percentage in both areas watch T.V., and meet with friends. A very insignificant number (6.5% in Area 1 and 7.3% in Area 2) loiter and idle away their time.

Again the profiles of activities (Table 25) of juveniles in both areas are very similar. Practically the same percentage say they are studying (71%-72%), working (8.5%-9.3%), both studying and working (1%), neither studying nor working (19.5%-17.7%). In spite of our earlier observation that Area 1 appears to be slightly better physically than Area 2, this difference is not reflected in the leisure time activities of the youths and the profile of other activities.

JUVENILES

TABLE 25
What is your principal activity?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Studying	142 (71%)	146 (72%)	288
Working	17 (8.5%)	19 (9.3%)	36
Both studying and working	2 (1%)	2 (1%)	4
Neither studying nor working	39 (19.5%)	36 (17.7%)	75
Column total	200	203	403

JUVENILES

TABLE 26
Level of education of school-going juveniles

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Up to 4 years	13	13	26
5 - 8	78	90	168
Above 8	66	45	111
Not applicable	43	55	98
Column total	200	203	403

Table 26 only shows the level of education of the juveniles interviewed in terms of years already spent in school. Most of the juveniles interviewed in both areas have spent more than 4 years in school.

JUVENILES

TABLE 27
Reasons for not having completed school

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
I had to support my family	11	1	12
I had difficulties in studying	5	7	12
My family was not interested in my schooling	1	2	3
I had problems with teachers and/or schoolmates	0	1	1
Other	0	1	1
Not applicable	183	191	374
Column total	200	203	403

Of the 17 in Area 1 and 12 in Area 2 (Table 27) who have had to discontinue school, 11 (65%) in Area 1 and 1 (8%) in Area 2 did so in order to support their family. This may suggest poorer circumstances in Area 1, which is not consistent with earlier observations. 5 (29%) in Area 1 and 7 (58%) in Area 2 had difficulties studying. An insignificant number left school because their family was not interested, or because they had problems with teachers and/or school mates.

Another institution, apart from the school, which may play an important role in shaping behaviour and controlling juvenile social maladjustment is the church, which has different importance in different communities. To find out the level of importance of religion the public were asked if juveniles participate in religious activities (Table 28).

PUBLIC

TABLE 28
Do juveniles participate in religious activities?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Actively	229 (86%)	242 (80%)	471
Passively	30 (11%)	35 (12%)	65
Do not participate	6 (2%)	24 (8%)	30
No information	1	3	4
Column total	266	304	570

86% of the public in Area 1 and 80% in Area 2 say that juveniles participate actively in religious activities, 11% in Area 1 and 12% in Area 2 participate passively. The difference between the two areas is not much. The most striking point is that a vast majority of juveniles participate in religious activities.

The next question (Table 29) directed to the juveniles is whether they think that religious organizations are really helpful in solving the personal problems of juveniles. It is interesting that slightly over half (57%) of the total number of juveniles interviewed say that they do. There is, however, a marked difference between Area 1 and Area 2. In Area 1, 69% say that they do and 44% in Area 2. This finding is not easy to explain, except perhaps that religious organizations are more involved in institutional and ritualistic functions, than in personal problems. All the same one would expect participation in religious activities in whatever form to have a strong positive effect on the juvenile in terms of prevention of social maladjustment. At least the time spent in these activities means less time for antisocial behaviour.

JUVENILES

TABLE 29
Do you think that religious organizations are really helpful
in solving the personal problems of juveniles?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Yes	138 (69%)	90 (44%)	228 (57%)
No	62 (31%)	113 (56%)	175 (43%)
Column total	200	203	403

iv) Peer and adult relationships

This section deals with group activities in terms of inter-sex associations and association with adults. Table 30 is the analysis of the question posed to juveniles if they participate in organized group activities. Most of the juveniles say that they do, and there is very little difference between the two areas. It would have been useful to know more about the organization of the group activities, but this was not explored by the questionnaires.

JUVENILES

TABLE 30
Do you participate in organized group activities?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Yes	176 (88%)	182 (90%)	358
No	24 (12%)	21 (10%)	45
Column total	200	203	403

Members of the public were asked how male juveniles spend their time in terms of sex grouping (Table 31). The majority of them say that males spend their free-time among themselves, but this is more so in Area 2 (73%) than in Area 1 (67%).

PUBLIC

TABLE 31
Do male juveniles, in general, spend their free-time:

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Grouped - males only	193 (73%)	204 (67%)	397
Grouped - males and females mixed	63 (24%)	72 (24%)	135
Alone	9 (3%)	28 (9%)	37
No information	1	0	1
Column total	266	304	570

When the same question was asked about females, the same pattern emerged (Table 32). Most of the members of the public say that female juveniles spend their free-time among themselves, but more so in Area 1 (72%) than in Area 2 (65%).

PUBLIC

TABLE 32
Do female juveniles, in general, spend their free-time:

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Grouped - females only	192 (72%)	197 (65%)	389
Grouped - females and males mixed	65 (24%)	66 (22%)	131
Alone	8 (3%)	41 (13%)	49
No information	1	0	1
Column total	266	304	570

This is undoubtedly a cultural phenomenon where there is a sharp separation of the sexes and sex roles.

The members of the public were also asked if male juveniles spend their free-time mixing with adults (Table 33). Fewer of them say they do, but more in Area 2 (40%) than in Area 1 (35%).

PUBLIC

TABLE 33
With whom do male juveniles, in general, spend their free-time?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Mixing with adults	92 (35%)	123 (40%)	215
Separate from adults	171 (64%)	177 (58%)	348
No information	3 (1%)	4 (2%)	7
Column total	266	304	570

The same question regarding female juveniles yields a very similar response (Table 34). Fewer members of the public say that female juveniles spend their free-time mixing with adults, but more in Area 2 (44%) than in Area 1 (39%).

PUBLIC

TABLE 34
With whom do female juveniles, in general, spend their free-time?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Mixing with adults	104 (39%)	133 (44%)	237
Separate from adults	160 (60%)	168 (55%)	328
No information	2 (1%)	3 (1%)	5
Column total	266	304	570

This also is a cultural phenomenon. The implication of this from the point of view of juvenile social maladjustment, is that the adult model will be limited mainly to that of the family and this makes the position of the family stronger still in terms of effectiveness of role model. On the other hand, the juveniles are exposed to stronger peer pressure because it is not diluted much by mixing with adults, except for adults in the family.

v) *Relationship with formal agencies*

Having examined relevant responses regarding family relationships, non-family relationships, peer and adult relationships, we now turn to relationships with formal agencies having bearing on juvenile social maladjustment. These agencies include social welfare organizations, the school, courts of justice, reformatories and police. This relationship will be compared with that of the informal agencies which have been discussed.

JUVENILES

TABLE 35
Are you of the opinion that social welfare organizations contribute to solve juveniles' personal problems?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Yes	155 (78%)	103 (51%)	258 (64%)
No	45 (22%)	100 (49%)	145 (36%)
Column total	200	203	403

The juveniles were asked if they think that social welfare organizations contribute to solve their personal problems (Table 35). The majority of them (64%) say that the organizations do, but more so in Area 1 (78%) than in Area 2 (51%).

JUVENILES

TABLE 36
Are you of the opinion that the school contributes to solve juveniles' personal problems?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Yes	190 (95%)	181 (89%)	371 (92%)
No	10 (5%)	22 (11%)	32 (8%)
Column total	200	203	403

The same question was asked regarding schools (Table 36). An overwhelming majority of the juveniles admit that schools contribute to solve juveniles' personal problems. This manifests a very high degree

of confidence in the schools in this regard, and much higher confidence than they have in social welfare organizations. This lower level of confidence in those organizations has been attributed to the fact that they are more involved in the provision of services than in face to face interaction with juveniles and their problems.

JUVENILES

TABLE 37

Are you of the opinion that courts of justice contribute to solve juveniles' personal problems?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Yes	125 (62.5%)	74 (36%)	199 (49%)
No	75 (37.5%)	129 (64%)	204 (51%)
Column total	200	203	403

The same question was asked regarding the courts of justice (Table 37). Only 49% of all the juveniles interviewed say that the courts of justice contribute to solve juveniles' personal problems, 62.5% of the youths in Area 1 and 36% in Area 2. This points to a very low level of confidence in the courts, lower than social welfare organizations and schools.

JUVENILES

TABLE 38

Are you of the opinion that reformatories contribute to solve juveniles' personal problems?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Yes	186 (93%)	165 (81%)	351 (87%)
No	14 (7%)	38 (19%)	52 (13%)
Column total	200	203	403

The contribution of reformatories to solve juveniles' personal problems is shown in Table 38. A great majority (87%) of the juveniles declare that they do, 93% in Area 1 and 81% in Area 2. This indicates a very high level of confidence in reformatories.

JUVENILES

TABLE 39
How do the police treat juveniles?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Tolerantly	140 (70%)	102 (50%)	242 (60%)
Leniently	41 (20%)	68 (34%)	109 (27%)
Harshly	19 (10%)	33 (16%)	52 (13%)
Column total	200	203	403

When it comes to the police, Table 39, the question was put differently. It asked how the police treat juveniles. 60% of the juveniles interviewed avow that the police treat juveniles tolerantly, and 27% leniently. There is a striking difference between the two areas, more juveniles in Area 1 (70%) than in Area 2 (50%), say that police are tolerant.

On the whole juveniles in Area 1 have more confidence in the formal agencies — social welfare organizations, schools, courts of justice, reformatories, and police than those in Area 2. The reason for this is hard to find in view of the general similarities between the two areas. The fact that Area 1 is an older part of the city does not appear to be sufficient explanation.

vi) Public and professionals' recommendations for policy

The members of the public were asked what their reaction would be if they were the victim of a socially maladjusted act. Their response is in Table 40. 47% of the whole number interviewed said they would call the police, being 65% of those in Area 1 against 30% in Area 2. This response coincides with those of the juveniles in Area 1 who also seem to have a lot of confidence in the police. Put together, both juveniles and adults in Area 1 appear to have more respect for authority as represented by the formal agencies.

PUBLIC

TABLE 40

If you were the victim of a socially maladjusted act, what would your reaction be?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
To call in the police	173 (65%)	92 (30%)	265 (47%)
Not to react	67 (25%)	83 (27%)	150 (26%)
To take the law into your own hands	23 (9%)	127 (42%)	150 (26%)
No information	3 (1%)	2 (1%)	5 (1%)
Column total	266	304	570

42% of the adults in Area 2 said they would take the law into their own hands while only 9% in Area 1 said so. This indicates that the adults in Area 2, like the juveniles, do not have much confidence in the formal agencies.

PUBLIC

TABLE 41

What should society's attitude be towards juvenile conduct problems?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
More tolerant	133 (50%)	177 (58%)	310 (54%)
More repressive	123 (46%)	117 (39%)	240 (42%)
As it is	10 (4%)	3 (1%)	13 (2%)
No information	—	7	7 (1%)
Column total	266	304	570

Table 41 gives the response to the question addressed to the public «What should society's attitude be towards juvenile conduct problems»? 54% of the total number say that society should be more tolerant. It is interesting however that 58% of those in Area 2 and 50% in Area 1 say so. This is consistent with an earlier observation that adults in Area 2 are more protective and tolerant of juveniles.

46% in Area 1 and 39% in Area 2 call for more repressive action on the part of society.

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 42

Do you think that the family and the community play an effective role in the prevention of juvenile social maladjustment? (affirmative answers)

A1 + A2	A1	A2	
<i>Family</i> at present	65.3%	48.8%	77.6%
<i>Family</i> five years ago	74.3%	69.8%	72.4%
<i>Community</i> at present	56.4%	53.5%	58.4%
<i>Community</i> five years ago	57.4%	51.2%	62.1%

The professionals were asked what they thought of the role of the family and the community in the prevention of juvenile social maladjustment at the time of the interview and five years previously. Table 42 gives the result. 63.3% of professionals in both areas assert that the family played an effective role at the time of the interview, 74.3% say the same for the previous five years. Which suggests that they think the family's role is not as effective as it was.

When we consider their response by areas, we observe that professionals in Area 1 are really pessimistic about the effective role of the family. While 69.8% of them said the family was effective five years previously, only 48.8% said the same at the time of the interview. This is consistent with earlier findings that the situation in Area 1 has been deteriorating.

The professionals in Area 2 on the other hand believe that the effective role of the family has increased over the five year period — 72.4% to 77.6%.

When we look at their response on the role of the community, more than half of the total number of professionals say that the community plays an effective role in the prevention of juvenile social maladjustment. There is little difference over the five year period — 57.4% and 56.4%. This is however lower than the figures given for the family.

In terms of the two areas, more of the professionals in Area 2 (58.4%), than in Area 1 (53.5%) say that the community is more effective. Community effectiveness has however decreased in Area 2 over five years, while the professionals in Area 1 indicate that it has slightly increased over five years. This finding is difficult to interpret.

PUBLIC

TABLE 43

Do you think that the family and the community play an effective role in the prevention and control of juvenile social maladjustment? (affirmative answers)

	A1 + A2		A1		A2	
	At present	5 years ago	At present	5 years ago	At present	5 years ago
Family	74.7%	72.8%	83.9%	64.3%	84.2%	80.3%
Community	54.4%	50.9%	51.5%	54.1%	56.9%	48.0%

Turning to the response of the public to the same question on the effectiveness of the family and community in the prevention of juvenile social maladjustment (Table 43), it can be observed that the rating for the effectiveness of the family is very high indeed in the opinion of the public in both areas for the 5 year period (74.7% and 72.8%). The public in Area 1 say it has increased from 64.3% to 83.9% over five years, while in Area 2 there is a smaller increase from 80.3% to 84.2% for the same period.

A little more than half the public affirm that the community is effective but a larger number of them agree on the effectiveness of the family. This has increased in 5 years from 50.9% to 54.4%.

In Area 1 it decreased from 54% to 51.5% in 5 years, and in Area 2 it increased from 48.0% to 56.9%.

The significant point is that the public have more faith in the family than in the community in their effectiveness in preventing juvenile social maladjustment.

PUBLIC

TABLE 44
What is, in your opinion, the most effective means
to reduce juvenile social maladjustment?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Reinforce traditional values	12 (4.5%)	10 (3%)	22 (3.8%)
Make civil justice systems more efficient	3 (1%)	9 (3%)	12 (2%)
Make criminal justice systems more efficient	24 (9%)	9 (3%)	33 (5.8%)
Make social welfare systems more efficient	21 (8%)	42 (14%)	63 (11%)
Make educational systems more efficient	85 (32%)	103 (34%)	188 (33%)
Increase working opportunities	104 (39%)	97 (32%)	201 (35%)
Introduce harsher punishment	17 (6%)	34 (11%)	51 (9%)
Column total	266	304	570

The adult members of the public were asked what in their opinion is the most effective means to reduce juvenile social maladjustment. As can be seen from Table 44, the first four measures indicated by all the respondents in both areas are:

- increasing working opportunities 35%
- making educational systems more efficient 33%
- making social welfare systems more efficient 11%
- introducing harsher punishment 9%.

When responses are broken down into the two areas, we get the following:

- Area 1* increasing working opportunities 39%
 making educational systems more efficient 32%
 making criminal justice systems more efficient 9%
 making social welfare systems more efficient 8%
- Area 2* making educational systems more efficient 34%
 increasing working opportunities 32%
 making social welfare systems more efficient 14%
 introducing harsher punishment 11%

Measures on which there is the highest level of agreement are: increasing working opportunities and improving the educational system. This is to some extent understandable in a society where traditional mores and practices are still largely maintained through religion and family interaction, the public have indicated areas in which much can still be done to reduce juvenile social maladjustment.

There are some differences between the two areas regarding priorities given to the measures suggested; but these differences do not seem to alter the general pattern.

The professionals were asked questions relating to the different juvenile criminal justice services. The first of these questions, Table 45, is whether the related institutions have improved their efficiency over the previous five years. Less than half of them in both areas declare that the police (40.6%) and the courts (37.6%) have improved. A little more than half (51.5%) say that the penitentiary system has improved.

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 45

Do you think that the following institutions have improved their efficacy over the last five years? (affirmative answers)

	A1 + A2	A1	A2
Police	40.6%	55.8%	29.3%
Courts	37.6%	39.5%	36.2%
Penitentiary system	51.5%	65.1%	41.4%

The differences between the professionals in the two areas are more striking with regard to the police and penitentiary system. Regarding the police, 55.8% of the professionals in Area 1 and 29.3% in Area 2 say they have improved. Regarding the penitentiary system, 65.1% in Area 1 and 41.4% in Area 2 say it has improved. Their views regarding courts are almost equally low.

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 46
How do the police services function in controlling social maladjustment?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Well	22 (51%)	12 (21%)	34 (33.4%)
Badly	21 (49%)	45 (76%)	66 (65.3%)
No information	0	1 (2%)	1 (1%)
Column total	43	58	101

The performance of the police (Table 46) is rated by professionals in both areas to be poor (65.3%). There is a marked difference between the two areas. While only 49% in Area 1 rated the performance negatively, 76% in Area 2 gave a poor rating. This suggests a poorer image of the police by professionals in Area 2.

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 47
If police services function «badly», what are the reasons, in order of importance?

Ranking	A1 + A2		A1		A2	
1st	33.5%	6	48.8%	6	22.7%	2
2nd	18.8%	3	17.5%	3	22.4%	6
3rd	16.2%	2	9.7%	4	20.1%	3
4th	12.2%	1	9.7%	5	15.8%	1
5th	11.0%	5	7.4%	1	12.1%	5
6th	8.1%	4	7.4%	2	7.1%	4

Reasons:

1. lack of personnel
2. inadequate training
3. lack of interest of the authorities
4. tolerance on the part of the police
5. lack of public participation
6. not applicable

To those who have given a negative image of the police, a further question as to the reason for such a response was posed (Table 47). The order of priority for the first three reasons by professionals

in both areas is as follows:

lack of interest of the authorities	18.8%
inadequate training	16.2%
lack of personnel	12.2%

When examined area by area, there are striking differences, both in the order of priority and the importance of each item. Thus in Area 1 we have the following response:

lack of interest of the authorities	17.05%
tolerance on the part of the police	9.7%
lack of public participation	9.7%

and in Area 2:

inadequate training	22.4%
lack of interest of the authorities	20.1%
lack of personnel	15.8%

The factor common to professionals in both areas is the lack of interest of the authorities; and lack of personnel and inadequate training may be argued to be consequences of lack of interest of the authorities.

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 48
How do the courts function in controlling juvenile social maladjustment?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Well	30 (70%)	32 (55%)	62 (61%)
Badly	11 (26%)	25 (45%)	37 (37%)
No, information	2 (4%)	0	2 (2%)
Column total	43	58	101

The question how do the courts function in controlling juvenile social maladjustment evoked the following pattern of response (Table 48): 61% of all the professionals interviewed agree that the courts function well and this view is stronger in Area 1 (70%) than Area 2 (55%).

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 49
If the courts function «badly» what are the reasons in order of importance?

Ranking	A1 + A2		A1		A2	
1st	62.6%	5	72.1%	5	55.3%	5
2nd	13.9%	3	12.0%	3	15.3%	3
3rd	11.2%	1	6.6%	1	14.7%	1
4th	9.2%	2	5.0%	2	12.4%	2
5th	3.1%	4	4.3%	4	2.4%	4

Reasons:

1. lack of personnel
2. inadequate training
3. delay in the administration of justice
4. lack of harsh punishment
5. not applicable

There is complete unanimity by professionals in Areas 1 and 2 (Table 49) in the order of the reasons given for poor performance of the courts by those who declare that they function badly. The order is as follows:

delay in the administration of justice
 lack of personnel
 inadequate training.

The court seems to enjoy a better image than the police. The common reasons for poor performance of both the police and the courts are: lack of personnel and inadequate training. It has to be remembered, however, that the percentage of juveniles who think the courts contribute to solve juvenile personal problems is only 49% - lower than the positive response of professionals.

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 50

How do re-education institutions function in preventing juvenile social maladjustment?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Well	34 (79%)	28 (48%)	62 (61%)
Badly	8 (19%)	25 (43%)	33 (33%)
No information	1 (2%)	5 (9%)	6 (6%)
Column total	43	58	101

The majority (61%) of all the professionals interviewed state that re-educational institutions function well in preventing juvenile social maladjustment (Table 50) but there is considerable difference in the views of professionals in the two areas, 70% in Area 1 and only 48% in Area 2.

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 51

If re-education institutions function «badly» what are the reasons? (give three reasons in order of importance)

Ranking	A1 + A2		A1		A2	
1st	67.8%	6	81.4%	6	57.8%	6
2nd	12.4%	3	8.5%	3	15.2%	3
3rd	7.9%	2	3.9%	1	11.5%	2
4th	6.4%	1	3.1%	2	8.3%	1
5th	4.9%	4	3.1%	4	6.3%	4
6th	2.0%	5	0.0%	5	0.8%	5

Reasons:

1. lack of personnel
2. inadequate training
3. lack of treatment programmes
4. lack of public participation
5. lack of harsh punishment
6. not applicable

As Table 51 shows, there is however almost complete unanimity in the order of priority given for the reasons for poor performance

of the re-educational institutions by those who disagree that they function well. The reasons given are: lack of treatment programmes, inadequate training and lack of personnel.

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 52
How does non-institutional treatment function in controlling juvenile social maladjustment?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Well	31 (72%)	32 (55%)	63 (62%)
Badly	11 (26%)	22 (38%)	33 (33%)
No information	1 (2%)	4 (7%)	5 (5%)
Column total	43	58	101

The pattern of response regarding the functioning of non-institutional treatment facilities (Table 52) is very similar to that of re-educational institutions. Most of the professionals (61%) agree that the facilities perform well, but more in Area 1 (72%) than in Area 2 (55%).

Professionals in Area 2 seem to have less faith in the courts, re-educational institutions and non-institutional treatment facilities.

The reasons given for the poor performance of the non-institutional treatment facilities by those who declare that they function badly are also similar to those given for the re-educational institutions (Table 53):

- lack of treatment programmes
- lack of personnel
- inadequate training (Area 1) - lack of public participation (Area 2).

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 53
If non-institutional treatment functions «badly», what are the reasons?
(give three reasons in order of importance)

Ranking	A1 + A2		A1		A2	
	1st	66.3%	5	74.4%	5	60.3%
2nd	11.4%	3	8.1%	3	13.8%	3
3rd	7.9%	1	6.6%	1	8.9%	1
4th	7.2%	2	5.8%	2	8.6%	4
5th	7.1%	4	5.0%	4	8.4%	2

Reasons:

1. lack of personnel
2. inadequate training
3. lack of treatment programmes
4. lack of public participation
5. not applicable

A slight majority of professionals (55%) agree that correctional institutions (Table 54) function well in the control of juvenile social maladjustment, but more in Area 1. In fact in Area 2 less than half (45%) agree that they function well.

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 54
How do correctional institutions function in the control of juvenile social maladjustment?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Well	30 (70%)	26 (54%)	56 (55%)
Badly	12 (28%)	27 (46%)	39 (39%)
No information	1 (2%)	5 (9%)	6 (6%)
Column total	43	58	101

In Table 55, again the pattern of reasons given by those who say correctional institutions do not function well follows those of the other institutions already examined: lack of treatment programmes; lack of personnel and inadequate training.

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 55
If correctional institutions function «badly», what are the reasons?
(give three reasons in order of importance)

Ranking	A1 + A2		A1		A2	
	Percentage	Count	Percentage	Count	Percentage	Count
1st	61.4%	6	72.1%	6	53.4%	6
2nd	13.7%	3	11.2%	3	15.5%	3
3rd	9.1%	1	5.1%	2	12.1%	1
4th	8.7%	2	5.0%	1	11.5%	2
5th	5.6%	4	5.0%	4	6.0%	4
6th	1.5%	5	1.5%	5	1.5%	5

Reasons:

1. lack of personnel
2. inadequate training
3. lack of treatment programmes
4. lack of public participation
5. lack of severe treatment
6. not applicable

Of all the institutions examined so far, social welfare institutions receive the most positive assessment of their functioning by the professionals (Table 56). 74% of them declare that they function well, and more in Area 1 (88%) than in Area 2 (64%).

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 56
How do social welfare institutions function?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Well	38 (88%)	37 (64%)	75 (74%)
Badly	5 (12%)	16 (28%)	21 (21%)
No information	0	5 (8%)	5 (5%)
Column total	43	58	101

The few who do not agree that they function well give the now familiar reasons for their negative assessment (Table 57): lack of treatment programmes, inadequate training, lack of personnel.

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 57
If social welfare institutions function «badly», what are the reasons?
(give three reasons in order of importance)

Ranking	A1 + A2		A1		A2	
	Percentage	Rank	Percentage	Rank	Percentage	Rank
1st	79.2%	5	88.4%	5	72.4%	5
2nd	5.9%	3	3.5%	1	8.1%	3
3rd	5.8%	2	3.1%	3	8.0%	2
4th	5.6%	1	2.7%	2	7.2%	1
5th	3.5%	4	2.3%	4	4.3%	4

Reasons:

1. lack of personnel
2. inadequate training
3. lack of treatment programmes
4. lack of public participation
5. not applicable

It is worthy of recall that the majority of the juveniles also say that social welfare organizations contribute to solve juvenile's personal problems.

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 58
How do schools function in controlling juveniles social maladjustment?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Well	27 (63%)	23 (40%)	50 (49.5%)
Badly	16 (37%)	33 (57%)	49 (48.5%)
No information	0	2* (3%)	2 (2%)
Column total	43	58	101

How do schools function in controlling juvenile social maladjustment? The pattern of response of professionals to this question sug-

gests that they do not think very highly of their performance. 49.5% of all the professionals think that they function well. 63% of those in Area 1 say they function well, but only 40% of those in Area 2.

It will be recalled that the juveniles themselves think better of the schools.

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 59
If schools function «badly», what are the reasons?
(give three reasons in order of importance)

Ranking	A1 + A2		A1		A2	
1st	49.5%	6	62.8%	5	39.7%	6
2nd	19.0%	1	12.8%	1	23.5%	1
3rd	12.7%	3	9.3%	3	15.2%	3
4th	10.4%	2	8.5%	2	11.8%	2
5th	8.4%	4	6.6%	4	9.2%	4

Reasons:

1. overcrowded schools
2. lack of school counsellors
3. lack of enthusiasm on the part of the teacher
4. lack of co-operation between teachers and parents
5. not applicable

As Table 59 shows, the reasons for the negative assessment of the performance of the schools are completely agreed upon by the professionals. They are in order of importance: overcrowding in schools, lack of enthusiasm on the part of the teachers, lack of school counsellors.

We have noted that the professionals on the whole make a positive assessment of the performance of the various institutions, but this varies from institution to institution, social welfare organizations being the most favoured. We have also noted consensus on the reasons for poor performance by those who have a negative view. Active attention needs to be paid to these reasons.

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 60

Place in priority order the remedies listed below from the viewpoint of effectiveness for the prevention of juvenile social maladjustment

Ranking	A1 + A2		A1		A2	
	Percentage	Rank	Percentage	Rank	Percentage	Rank
1st	24.1%	1	22.0%	2	26.4%	1
2nd	20.0%	2	21.1%	4	19.5%	3
3rd	19.6%	4	20.9%	1	18.4%	4
4th	19.2%	3	18.7%	3	18.3%	2
5th	17.2%	5	17.2%	5	17.2%	5

Remedies:

1. family counselling
2. subsidizing poor families
3. increasing the number of school counsellors
4. working possibilities for juveniles
5. encouragement of community participation

When the professionals were asked to list the remedies they would suggest for the prevention of juvenile social maladjustment (Table 60), they gave these: family counselling, subsidizing poor families, and increasing the number of school counsellors. The ordering however is different in the two areas. It is striking that professionals in Area 1 gave subsidizing poor families as the first, while those in Area 2 gave family counselling the first position. The key institution here is the family and what both groups are saying is, strengthen the family. This is what they believe would be most effective for the prevention of juvenile social maladjustment and this should be seriously noted.

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 61

Place in priority order the measures listed below from the viewpoint of effectiveness for the control of juvenile social maladjustment

Ranking	A1 + A2		A1		A2	
	Percentage	Rank	Percentage	Rank	Percentage	Rank
1st	47.7%	1	46.0%	1	48.8%	1
2nd	32.5%	2	31.5%	2	33.2%	2
3rd	19.7%	3	22.5%	3	17.9%	3

Remedies:

1. improvement of institutional and non-institutional treatment
2. reinforcement of the police
3. more severe sentences

Regarding the control of juvenile social maladjustment, Table 61 shows there is agreement on the priorities given for the measures the professionals suggest. It is to be noted that more severe sentences are at the bottom of the list.

TABLE 62
Summary of results

1. Extent of juvenile social maladjustment	$A1 \cong A2$
2. Danger posed by juvenile social maladjustment	$A1 < A2$
3. Increase in juvenile social maladjustment	$A1 > A2$
4. Prediction of future rates of juvenile social maladjustment	$A1 > A2$
5. Comparison with adult criminality	$A1 \cong A2$
6. Respect for parents	$A1 = A2$
7. Perceived adequacy of parental care	$A1 = A2$
8. Male juveniles help in household chores	$A1 = A2$
9. Female juveniles help in household chores	$A1 = A2$
10. Male juveniles work with parents	$A1 > A2$
11. Family role in solving problems	$A1 = A2$
12. Parents seen as helpful when in trouble	$A1 = A2$
13. Juveniles work in support of family	$A1 > A2$
14. Constructive leisure time	$A1 = A2$
15. Free-time spent with adults	$A1 < A2$
16. Free-time spent in mixed groups	$A1 = A2$
17. Positive relations with school	$A1 > A2$
18. Positive relations with church	$A1 > A2$
19. Positive attitudes to justice system	$A1 > A2$
20. Fear of police	$A1 < A2$
21. Reliance on police	$A1 > A2$
22. Tolerance towards juvenile social maladjustment	$A1 < A2$

d) Summary and conclusions

It has been noted that even though Area 1 is older than Area 2 and slightly better physically than Area 2 in that it has fewer slums, there is great similarity in terms of socio-economic conditions of the people who live in both areas. It has been noted that some of the responses regarding the two areas are not consistent. For instance both professionals and the adult public have contradictory opinions on the extent of juvenile social maladjustment, and also on the comparison of juvenile social maladjustment with adult criminality.

Nevertheless the fact that more respondents stated both that there has been an increase in juvenile social maladjustment, and foresaw a future increase in the trend in Area 1 more than in Area 2, suggests

that Area 1 is deteriorating socially. The fact that more male juveniles work with their parents and more juveniles work in support of their families in Area 1 than in Area 2 may suggest that the deterioration in Area 1 also extends to the economic field.

Yet responses from Area 1 show that there are more positive relations with the school and religious institutions, and a more positive attitude towards the justice system than in Area 2. This may be interpreted as a measure of conservatism and of respect for authority, and may explain the fact that those in Area 1 are less tolerant towards juvenile social maladjustment.

All these observations may be the result of Area 1 being older and relatively more stable than Area 2.

When we come to the questions relating to the family, however, we find that there is practically no difference between the two areas. Respect for parents, perceived adequacy of parental care, family role in solving problems, and parents seen as helpful when juveniles are in trouble, are regarded as the same for Areas 1 and 2; as are the participation of both male and female juveniles in household chores, and the constructive use of leisure time.

It is striking that in spite of the slight differences in the two areas and in spite of the indication that Area 1 may be deteriorating socio-economically, there are two core elements which are common to both. These are the family and the culture. Even where there are some differences as in relationships with religious institutions, the positive rating is very high for both areas.

It has to be admitted that for Bombay the relationship between rapid and non-rapid urbanization cannot be demonstrated in this study, mainly because of the similarity between the two areas. What has been demonstrated is the persisting and enduring positive influence of the family and culture in providing the cohesion and solidarity necessary for the prevention, control and treatment of juvenile social maladjustment in spite of the negative influence of poverty, overcrowding, unemployment and urbanization.

It is these positive elements that should be further identified and then exploited and strengthened, especially as they cost little or nothing compared with the formal control system. Note should also be taken of the perceptions of the professionals on the efficacy of the system in which they operate and their suggestions for the improvement of their performance. The responsible authorities should demonstrate their interest by giving more attention to personnel training.

Perhaps little more than lip service has been paid to the impor-

tance of the family and some cultural practices. They are often taken for granted, and serious efforts have not been made to see how the potentialities of the family and culture can be buttressed to withstand the erosion that tends to accompany social and economic development. It would be nihilistic to accept that social and economic development must of necessity be accompanied by social maladjustment. It requires considerable courage and optimism to reject this attitude and to work hard at reinforcing positive traditional values. It is easier to follow a beaten track than to blaze a new one, but it will be more fruitful in the end to take the harder course of action to innovate and not to imitate.

CASE STUDY No. 5

DAKAR - SENEGAL

a) Background information

Dakar was a fishing village before it was developed into a naval base by the French. It later became the Headquarters of French West Africa. It also became an important deep-water port. It is a complex mixture of administrative, commercial and cultural activities, noteworthy for its importance to the nation and its rapid growth which is attributed to its attraction for migrants. More than 15% of the nation's population lived in this Dakar complex in 1973. The great majority had been born elsewhere in Senegal or in other countries. Dakar was the nation's only truly urban centre and the site of one of the great sea-ports and industrial complexes in West Africa. It is the capital of Senegal.

The population of Senegal was estimated to be about 4 million in 1973 and projected to a total of approximately 5,250,000 by 1985. While the increase in population of the country is estimated to be about 2% that of Dakar-Cap Vert urban complex is estimated to be 6%-8%. At the rate of 6% the projected population of the complex in 1985 will be 1,400,000. Dakar has 17% of the national population. About 52% of the population was under 20 years of age in 1973.

The reported fertility rate is 174 per 1,000 and national birthrate has increased from 45.9 per 1,000 to 49 per 1,000 in 1979. Infantile mortality rate has decreased from 106 per 1,000 to 92,9 in 1979 or nearly 10% of all live births. The mortality rate for the entire population has also decreased from 21.3 per 1,000 in 1970 to 20 in 1979.

a) migration

No other population change has approached in scope and significance the movement from rural villages to the town. The drought of the late 60s and early 70s intensified the movement. The main reasons for the rapid rate of increase in population of Dakar are rural-urban migration caused by continuous drought since the 1960's, natural increase of the population, industrializing of the city, increase of job opportunities.

City dwellers include minor employees of government and private

enterprise, independent artisans, skilled workers and large numbers of unskilled labourers and unemployed persons. Many have come to the city to escape dependence on agricultural occupation and social pressure. Others are temporary migrants in search of work who intend to return home eventually.

Almost all city dwellers keep in contact with their home village but in varying degrees. In many cases, the children of permanently urbanized families have never gone to the traditional homeland but then get to know rural relatives who came to visit for one reason or another, such as to attend school.

Migrants into towns usually go through a transitional phase when they are supported by their urban kin until they have found work, and are given a cushioned introduction to the ways of town. Those without relatives tend to cluster together for mutual protection and assistance in groups that are adaptation of traditional forms to a new situation. Predominantly such groups are based on ethnic affiliation, or often, on village of origin. Children in town are educated primarily by their parents and learn their skills in school.

b) health conditions

West Africa including Senegal continues to be troubled by a variety of communicable diseases and parasitic infections exceeding that of any other similar-sized region in the world. In addition to the various diet deficiency illnesses, diseases prevalent throughout most of the country in 1973 included malaria, tuberculosis, measles, trachoma, venereal diseases, trypanosomiasis, schistosomiasis, dysentery and several strains of influenza.

Four principal government hospitals were operating in 1972, three in Dakar and one in Saint-Louis. Less well-equipped hospitals were functioning in 4 other cities. Three small private hospitals also were in use. The 4 principal hospitals had a total of approximately 2,590 beds. The 4 less well-equipped hospitals had another 610 beds. Forty-six maternity centres established throughout the country added about 1,250 beds to the total and 32 local treatment stations had approximately 950 beds. This made a national total of some 5,400 beds.

With 3 of the national largest and best hospitals in Dakar, the ratio of hospital beds to people in the area of the capital city — one bed to approximately 300 people — was far above the national average. Government policies called for continuing emphasis on prevention of disease and mass medicine in the form of enlarged programme for

immunization and improved sanitation rather than expensive specialized or advanced clinics serving only limited number of people.

There is a medical school at the University of Dakar.

In 1979 the number of medical doctors in public service was 103 (57 Senegalese) and in private service 375 (211 Senegalese). In 1972 only 20 dentists and 50 pharmacists were active. Other medical personnel included about 950 nurses, 165 trained midwives and more than 260 medical and dental technicians and administrators. The majority of the doctors were concentrated in Dakar and Cap Vert Region.

There is an office of health inspection and school sanitation in the Ministry of National Education which is responsible for maintaining health standards in the schools and for administering periodic medical examination and small-pox vaccination. Each child must have been vaccinated against small-pox before he can be admitted to school, and the vaccination must be repeated at fixed intervals. Other medical facilities available for children include the Psychiatric Clinic of Dakar/Fann, the Psychiatric Hospital of Thiaroye and the Child Psychiatric Centre of Kem Khaley.

c) education system

In 1973 about 40% of school-age population attended school; roughly 25% of all elementary students and 13% of all secondary students attended private schools. Educational advancement was limited by shortage of qualified teachers, especially in vocational training. In 1970 literacy rate was estimated at between 5 and 10 per cent for population aged 14 and over, with lowest rates in rural areas.

Six years of elementary education were compulsory but the law was not enforced.

In the 1969/70 school year there were about 258,000 students in public and private elementary schools. Although this constituted an increase of about 100,000 students over enrolment figures in the early 1960s as a result of population increase, the percentage of the school-age population attending elementary school had remained constant at slightly over 40%. Not quite 40% of all elementary school students were girls. In all there were 1,312 schools and 5,722 teachers for elementary instruction.

More recent information relating to the Dakar region suggests a sharp increase in the schools and students. As of 31 October 1980 there were 251 elementary schools in Dakar attended by 145,459 students. The total number of teachers including teachers' assistants,

instructors and others in these elementary schools is 3,764. The average number of students per class is 58.

Drop-out rates for various levels were often as high as 45% and in one sector the rate was 65% during the mid 1960s. The reliance on French as the language of instruction is reported to have contributed to the failure of some students who had not been exposed to the language before entering elementary school.

Access to education was not balanced geographically and the distribution of secondary schools favoured those living in Dakar and in the vicinity of Saint-Louis. This situation can be expected to attract students from rural areas in search of secondary schools to Dakar.

Koranic schools associated with local mosques are still common. The students sometimes attend the religious schools before or after going to public school, and their absence from the latter was sometimes excused so that they might participate in some form of traditional education.

d) employment

The level of unemployment in the towns had been alarmingly high even before the drought further accelerated the exodus from the rural areas. Statistics were kept on application for employment, but it was thought that only a minority of the unemployed registered at unemployment offices. One source estimated that only about 30% of the workers in Dakar had full-time jobs.

The active population, consisting of people aged fifteen to fifty-nine inclusive, was estimated in 1973 at 2,167,871. The percentage engaged in rural activities was commonly placed at around 75% but sometimes estimated as high as 87%. Most of the active population consisted of unpaid family workers employed either on family farms or in small family commercial or artisanal enterprise in the towns. This labour force engaged in the traditional economy escaped enumeration but was thought to constitute about 90% of the active population.

e) problems of delinquency and other forms of social pathology

Information available based on the analysis of recent data of delinquent juveniles committed to treatment indicated that although 70% of the national population live in rural areas, almost 70% of the delinquent youth (age 7-25) live in Dakar and over 87% in large ur-

ban agglomerations i.e. Dakar and the regional capital cities. This confirms the concept that delinquency is an urban phenomenon. The average age of youthful offenders is 17 and females constitute less than 9%. This is explained to be due to the more strict training of females and also to the absence of residential treatment facilities for females. This induces the police and judges to file the cases of incriminated females. While Moslems make up about 90% of the total national population, 94% of the delinquent youths are Moslems.

69.57% had received some sort of education before commitment. This percentage is very close to that from demographic studies which is 65% for education rate in the Cap-Vert region. The figures indicate that 63.34% of juveniles at the national level attend Koranic schools and only 14.66% of committed juveniles attend such schools, while 36.65% attend French schools, and 85.33% of committed juveniles. This suggests over-representation of those who attend French schools among delinquent juveniles.

While 45.76% lived with their parents 49.35% were vagrants.

The commonest offences are vagrancy 60%, theft and robbery 27%, assault and battery 7%, trafficking and use of drugs 0.88%.

It was noted that a high percentage of socially maladjusted juveniles come from unstable families - families which are the victims of rural exodus phenomenon and which have not easily adapted to the new rhythm of urban life. It was also pointed out that 90% of these juveniles have no employment even though they have completed primary school.

b) Description of the two areas: Plateau (A1) and Pikine (A2)

Dakar was the administrative, economical and educational capital for French Western African colonies and in this capacity the city was developed.

The area of Plateau, designated A1, did correspond roughly to the centre, and it is the administrative and business centre of Dakar where Government offices, banking and commerce are concentrated. This part of the city is well-planned with all amenities. The buildings are multi-storey but not yet skyscrapers. All the big hotels are located there.

It can be described as a mixture of industrial and business area with most of the residences situated on the back streets which are also well served with paved roads and other amenities. In general, those



BADA INTERNA

PLAGE DU LAGON

PLAGE DES ENFANTS

PALAZZO
PRESIDENZIALL

RUE HONOREE

RUE
FAURE

RUE
KLEBER

RUE RAMPANEL

RUE DE BLAUX

RUE
SUEVE

AV. DU PRESIDENT LAMINE

AV. JEAN

AV. JEAN

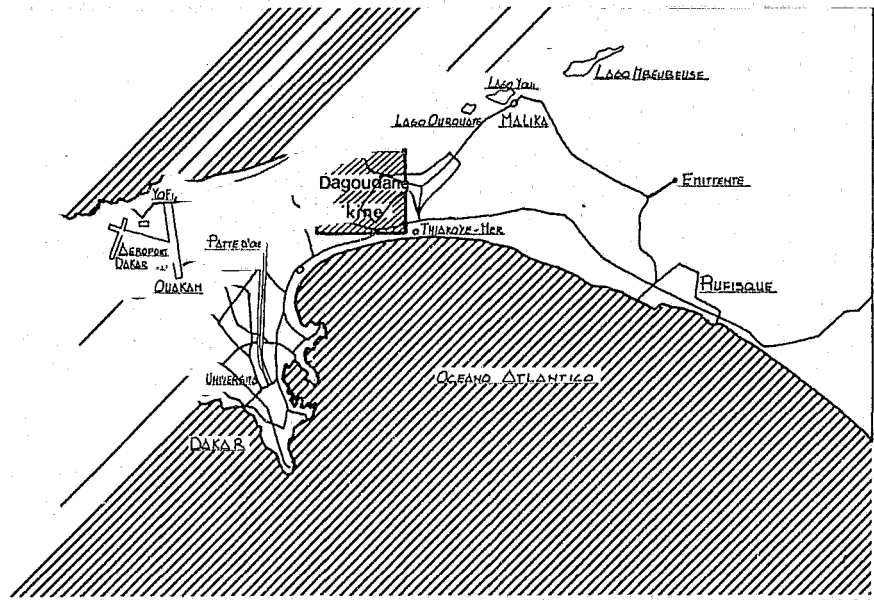
RUE JAVES

RUE

BOULEVARD

ANSE DES MADELEINES





who live in this area are of a high socio-economic level as the value of property in this area is high. Nevertheless, some traditional landlords are still living there with their families although slum pockets do exist in some parts of Plateau. Play-grounds are scarce.

Plateau is very busy during the day, especially during working hours and relatively quiet at night. Plateau is no longer the cosy residential area of Dakar which is now «Fann Residence», along the Atlantic Ocean beach.

Pikine, designated A2, (Xar Yalla and Guediawaye) on the other hand, started as suburbs of Dakar which has now expanded to encompass it. The inhabitants were displaced from the slum area which surrounded Plateau and which were renovated in the early sixties.

Pikine is not a well-planned area and does not enjoy the same amenities as the centre. Only main roads are paved. It is a mixture of buildings of different standards but generally of poor quality; the collateral roads within Pikine are narrow and hardly motorable. It is overcrowded and most of its inhabitants are migrants who came to Dakar as a result of the drought to seek employment and to seek the bright lights of the city. It is crowded day and night and not well-lit at night.

One striking feature of Pikine is the fast population growth. It is estimated that more than half of the population of Dakar live in Pikine.

c) Analysis of data

i) The extent of juvenile social maladjustment

The first question posed in the study: what is the extent of juvenile social maladjustment in the two areas of Dakar from which our samples were drawn? Given known inadequacies in official criminal statistics and because of our desire to base the project on community perceptions and beliefs, let us attempt to answer this question in terms of questionnaire results.

In Table 1, data are reported in response to the very general question asked to adult members of the public in the two areas: what is the behaviour of juveniles in this area like? We can see that overall, more than 70% of the public in the two areas view the behaviour of juveniles as problematic. It means that the majority of the public are concerned about juvenile misbehaviour in both areas. No significant

differences appear to exist between A1 and A2 in terms of public perception of juvenile delinquency.

PUBLIC

TABLE 1
What is juveniles' behaviour like?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Good	47	50	97
Bad	140	143	283
I don't know	14	8	22
Column total	201	201	402

A slightly different worded question was put to professionals working in these two areas yielding similar responses. Table 2 shows that the majority of professionals working with children in the two areas view juvenile social maladjustment as a serious problem. It seems, however, that there is a slight difference between A1 professionals and A2 professionals; the proportion of professionals who believe juvenile social maladjustment situation to be serious is slightly larger in A1 (75.8%) than in A2 (61.5%). This is contrary to our basic hypothesis.

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 2
In your opinion what is the juvenile social maladjustment situation in your area like?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Good	9 (13.6%)	16 (30.7%)	25
Bad	50 (75.7%)	32 (61.5%)	82
I don't know	7 (10.6%)	4 (7.6%)	11
Column total	66	52	118

We will discuss this apparent contradiction later.

Our data show not only a serious current problem but also a pessimistic prognosis. In Tables 3 and 4, it can be seen that the majority of the public in both A1 and A2 believe that behaviour problems of juveniles have increased during the last five years and that

they will continue to increase in the future. There is seemingly no significant difference between the two areas. A similar response was also received from professionals interviewed, as revealed in Tables 5 and 6. The majority of professionals in both areas not only report that behaviour problems among juveniles have increased, but also believe that they will continue to increase in the future. However, it seems that professionals in A1 are somewhat more pessimistic than their counterparts in A2, since the proportion of those who answered that juvenile social maladjustment will increase is slightly larger in A1 (77.3% as compared to 67.3%). Once again, we have a finding which is apparently contrary to our basic hypothesis.

PUBLIC

TABLE 3
Have behaviour problems increased over the last five years?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Yes	152	151	303
No	25	29	54
I don't know	24	21	45
Column total	201	201	402

PUBLIC

TABLE 4
Future trends of juvenile social maladjustment

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Decrease	55	44	99
Constant	17	21	38
Increase	129	136	265
Column total	201	201	402

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 5
Have behaviour problems increased over the last five years?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Increase	49 (66.6%)	43 (82.6%)	92
Constant	6 (9.0%)	5 (9.6%)	11
Decrease	11 (16.6%)	4 (7.6%)	15
Column total	66	52	118

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 6
Future trends of juvenile social maladjustment?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Decrease	12 (18.1%)	8 (15.3%)	20
Constant	3 (4.5%)	9 (17.3%)	12
Increase	51 (77.2%)	35 (67.3%)	86
Column total	66	52	118

All of the above data suggest that the people most directly affected by or involved with juveniles in both Plateau and Pikine express a considerably deep sense of concern about existing level of juvenile social maladjustment and about prospects for the future. Both public and professionals share similar opinions on this matter. However, it is found that professionals in A1 show slightly more negative and pessimistic views than their counterparts in A2. It seems therefore that Plateau (A1) is experiencing slightly more serious juvenile social maladjustment than Pikine (A2).

Now one would wish to know more specially about the reasons for these pessimistic views and one would need to have more detailed answers to specific questions concerning the attitude of the two populations. Fortunately, we have data that allow us to get closer to this issue.

With respect to the reasons for the predicted increase of juvenile behaviour problems, remarkably consistent answers were received from

both the residents of A1 and A2 and from the professionals (Tables 4 and 6). From Tables 7 and 8, the reasons given across all samples in order of priority are:

1. lack of control
2. bad family conditions
3. influence of bad company
4. lack of schooling

PUBLIC

TABLE 7
If conduct problems have increased, what, in your opinion, are the reasons?
 (give three alternatives in order of seriousness)

Ranking	A1 + A2		A1		A2	
	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
1st	22.1%	0	26.1%	0	21.4%	1
2nd	20.2%	1	19.0%	1	18.9%	6
3rd	16.6%	6	15.2%	2	18.1%	0
4th	14.9%	2	14.3%	6	14.6%	2
5th	12.9%	3	12.9%	3	12.9%	3
6th	9.1%	5	8.5%	5	9.7%	5
7th	4.2%	4	3.8%	4	4.6%	4

Reasons:

1. lack of control
2. influence of bad company
3. lack of schooling
4. indifference of neighbours
5. influence of media
0. not applicable

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 8

What, in your opinion, are the reasons for the increase of socially maladjusted behaviour?
(give three answers in order of priority)

Ranking	A1 + A2		A1		A2	
1st	22.9%	0	23.7%	0	21.8%	0
2nd	17.6%	6	16.7%	1	19.2%	6
3rd	17.2%	1	16.4%	2	17.9%	1
4th	14.8%	2	15.6%	6	14.4%	3
5th	14.0%	5	14.9%	5	12.8%	2
6th	11.6%	3	9.3%	3	12.8%	5
7th	1.8%	4	2.5%	4	0.9%	4

Reasons:

1. lack of control
2. influence of bad company
3. lack of schooling
4. indifference of the neighbours
5. influence of media
6. bad family conditions
0. not applicable

It is interesting to see a striking similarity in the reasons given for the perceived increase of juvenile social maladjustment. What we see in these findings is a widely shared belief that the principal reason for juvenile social maladjustment is a breakdown or absence of the principal socializing institutions such as family, peer groups and school. However, further analysis of data will be required before drawing firm conclusions. One needs to know more about the phenomenology of juvenile social maladjustment as perceived and understood by the residents of those areas; one would like to have more data about social and cultural forces operating at the community level. One would also need to examine the relationship of children to the principal socializing influences in their lives; their families, neighbours, peers and formal agencies of social control such as the police and the courts. Fortunately we have data which permit us to get closer to these issues.

Turning more specifically to the content of opinions concerning juvenile social maladjustment, some more specific and concrete questions are given. Table 9 shows that some 75% of the public of both A1 and A2 are prepared to say that juveniles with conduct problems live in their particular community. There is no notable distinction bet-

ween A1 and A2. Table 10 shows that the vast majority of both A1 and A2 are also ready to state that there are groups of socially maladjusted children in their particular area. Again, there is no significant difference between A1 and A2.

PUBLIC

TABLE 9
Are there juveniles with conduct problems in the area?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Yes	153	157	310
No	25	19	44
I don't know	23	25	48
Column total	201	201	402

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 10
Are there groups of socially maladjusted juveniles in this area?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Yes	52 (78.7%)	44 (84.6%)	96
No	5 (7.5%)	4 (7.6%)	9
I don't know	9 (13.6%)	4 (7.6%)	13
Column total	66	52	118

Another question was asked to members of the public and professionals in order to compare the seriousness of adult v. juvenile behavioural problems in their communities. As indicated in Table 11, the vast majority, more than 75% of the public in both areas, see juvenile maladjustment as a more serious problem than adult maladjustment. A slight tendency is also found for the public in A1 to take juvenile behaviour problems more seriously than the public in A2, although the difference between the two is not significant.

PUBLIC

TABLE 11
In which group are behaviour problems more serious?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Among adults	25	39	64
Among juveniles	168	158	326
I don't know	8	4	12
Column total	201	201	402

Table 12 shows that more than 80% of both A1 and A2 professionals believe that juveniles pose a greater problem than adults. There is no significant distinction between professionals in A1 and their counterparts in A2. Thus, it is found that the vast majority of both public and professionals believe that behavioural problems are more serious among juveniles than among adults. It is also found that there is a slight tendency that juvenile behaviour problems are even more serious in A1 as far as the public perception is concerned. In this respect, it is probably the public perception which may be more important, because it is the public and not professionals that live daily with the consequences of juvenile social maladjustment in the community.

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 12
In which group are behaviour problems more serious?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Among adults	6 (9.1%)	8 (15.3%)	14
Among juveniles	59 (89.3%)	43 (82.6%)	102
I don't know	1 (0.15%)	1 (0.19%)	2
Column total	66	52	118

Lastly, one more question was addressed to the interviewees in order to find out what the juveniles in each area were like. Table 13 shows that seemingly there are slightly more dangerous juveniles in A1 as far as public opinion is concerned. Table 14 also indicates

that, according to the professionals' opinion, juveniles in A1 are more likely to be dangerous than their counterparts in A2. From these data it seems that there are slightly more dangerous delinquent juveniles in Plateau (A1) than in Pikine (A2). Additionally, it is surprising to find that more than 70% of both public and professionals identify juveniles as «dangerous» or «troublesome»; while on the other hand only 8% of the public and 3% of the professionals see juveniles as «harmless». At any rate, one may assume from this finding, that the juvenile social maladjustment situation is considerably serious in Dakar.

PUBLIC

TABLE 13
What are the juveniles in your area like?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Harmless	12	23	35
Troublesome	71	76	147
Dangerous	69	58	127
I don't know	49	44	93
Column total	201	201	402

In this section, we have attempted to measure the extent of juvenile social maladjustment in Plateau (A1), the area of non-rapid urbanization and Pikine (A2), the area of rapid urbanization. It appears that the public and professionals in both Plateau and Pikine are deeply concerned with juvenile social maladjustment. Generally speaking, differences between the two areas are relatively slight. Precisely speaking, however, there are several data which indicate that juvenile social maladjustment is somewhat more serious in A1.

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 14
What are the groups of juveniles in the area like?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Dangerous	26 (39.3%)	11 (21.1%)	37
Troublesome	23 (34.8%)	32 (61.5%)	55
Harmless	3 (4.5%)	1 (0.19%)	4
I don't know	14 (24.2%)	8 (15.3%)	22
Column total	66	52	118

ii) Family relationships

In the preceding section, we presented data which, on the whole, tend to show that both Plateau (A1) and Pikine (A2) are experiencing serious juvenile behaviour problems and that it seems that Plateau has slightly more serious juvenile social maladjustment problems.

We shall now turn to examine some of the possible reasons for juvenile social maladjustment in the two areas. We are particularly interested in learning about the degree of social stability and the influence of primary carriers of cultural norms; i.e., the family, religious organizations, the school, work and the community.

In this section, we will focus our attention on the relations between family and juveniles. Table 15 shows that more than 30% of the public in both areas are ready to state that juveniles do not respect their parents or guardians. The proportion of residents who believe that juveniles respect their parents is slightly lower in A1 (58% as compared with 63%).

PUBLIC

TABLE 15
Do juveniles respect parents or guardians?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Yes	116	126	242
No	74	65	139
I don't know	11	10	21
Column total	201	201	402

The findings are contrary to our basic hypothesis that high rates of juvenile social maladjustment tend to be associated with rapid urbanization. There are two possible explanations as to how this contradiction appears. First, our findings may indicate that our basic hypothesis does not always hold good; that is, there is no direct or notable correlation between the extent of juvenile social maladjustment and the rapidity of urbanization itself. Second, Plateau (A1) may be experiencing some of the negative consequences of urbanization, although its urbanization is not rapid; and these negative effects might be the real causes of juvenile behaviour problems.

According to the local researchers, Plateau is described as a mixture of administrative and business area with most of the residents situated on the back streets and with very few playgrounds available for children. It is located in the centre of the city where Government administration, banking and commerce are concentrated. Its urbanization is older than that of Pikine and was deeply influenced by French culture. This influence might have affected its inhabitants weakening their own traditional values such as family and community ties. Furthermore, the anonymous nature of existence, especially during busy business hours may be conducive to juvenile antisocial behaviour.

Moreover, in Table 16, we find that the majority of the public in both areas either report that parents look after their children «badly» or they do not give their views on this matter. Only less than half of the public in both areas are ready to state that parents look after children well. It also seems that the proportion of public who give such a positive statement is lower in A1 (40% as compared with 49%).

Based upon the findings mentioned above, one can state that parent-child relations or family relationships in both areas are not so harmonious or stable.

PUBLIC

TABLE 16
How do parents look after their children?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Well	80	98	178
Badly	95	88	183
I don't know	26	15	41
Column total	201	201	402

Sociologists are of the opinion that social pathology, which finds a visible expression in overt acts of juveniles, is deeply rooted within the family. Families in which love, care and attention are not forthcoming are likely to produce acting-out behaviour on the part of juveniles. Therefore, if the public perception mentioned above is accurate (and there is little reason not to believe it), there should be no surprise in learning that both Plateau and Pikine are experiencing a serious problem of juvenile social maladjustment.

Parent-child relations are slightly better in Pikine (A2) in spite of its rapid changes, probably this is due to the fact that residents in Pikine, most of whom are new migrants from rural areas, still have a stable traditional system which keeps parent-child ties stronger. It appears that daily life style in Pikine is relatively more conservative although the population growth is very rapid.

Table 17 below shows that a larger proportion of the public in A2 are of the opinion that female juveniles help in house chores. This finding is seemingly contradictory with the other findings previously mentioned. It may not mean that parents and female juveniles in A2 have less frequent contacts with each other, it may rather mean that A2 residents set their level of expectation higher than their counterparts in A1. In other words, residents in A2 are relatively more conservative and expect that females should help more in household chores, than their counterparts in A1. The difference of expectation level could be the cause of the apparent distinction between the areas.

PUBLIC

TABLE 17
Do female juveniles help in house chores?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Yes	153	132	285
No	34	55	89
I don't know	14	14	28
Column total	201	201	402

PUBLIC

TABLE 18
Do male juveniles help in house chores?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Yes	118	112	230
No	60	71	131
I don't know	23	18	41
Column total	201	201	402

PUBLIC

TABLE 19
Who do male juveniles work for?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Parents	27	18	45
Others	10	15	25
Autonomously	20	10	30
Not applicable	144	158	302
Column total	201	201	402

We shall now turn to analysing family relationships from another angle; namely, from juveniles' viewpoint.

As is shown in Tables 20 and 21 *, the family is the principal refuge for juveniles in both A1 and A2. Table 20 shows that the vast majority of juveniles believe that the family contributes to solving their personal problems. Moreover, Table 21 shows that almost all the juveniles in both areas are likely to turn to their parents when in trouble. Only few juveniles believe that school teachers can be helpful and none of them believe that any assistance could come from social workers.

* Only 30 juveniles were interviewed in the Plateau area. The local research experts justified the dimensions of the sampling by the «representativity factors» of the universe of the area in question.

JUVENILES

TABLE 20

Do you think that the family really contributes to solving the problems of their children?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Yes	22 (73.3%)	135 (80.3%)	157
No	5 (16.6%)	28 (16.6%)	33
I don't know	3 (10.0%)	5 (0.29%)	8
Column total	30	168	198

JUVENILES

TABLE 21

When you are in trouble, who do you turn to?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Parents	29 (96.6%)	139 (82.7%)	168
Brother/sister	0 (0%)	6 (0.35%)	6
Relatives	0 (0%)	1 (0.05%)	1
School-teachers	0 (0%)	3 (0.17%)	3
Friends	1 (0.05%)	14 (0.8%)	15
Social workers	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0
Others	0 (0%)	5 (0.29%)	5
Column total	30	168	198

From the above; it could be stated that although parent-child relationships may be inadequate from the viewpoint of adult members of the community, the family survives as a fundamental social institution to which children can relate and where they can seek refuge when in trouble. No significant differences appear between A1 and A2 in terms of juvenile perception of the family.

Summing up, the importance of the family as compared to for-

mal agencies of social control, is clearly demonstrated in our data. From the juveniles' viewpoint, the family is considered as the most important helping institution available to them. It also appears, contrary to our expectations, that parent-child relations are relatively stronger in Pikine (A2), the area of rapid urbanization.

JUVENILES

TABLE 22

Assuming that you commit an unlawful action who would you like to handle your case?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Family	20 (66.6%)	112 (66.6%)	132
Neighbours	7 (23.3%)	21 (12.5%)	28
School-teachers	2 (6.6%)	11 (6.5%)	13
Social workers	0 (0%)	2 (0.19%)	2
Police officials	0 (0%)	15 (8.9%)	15
Other	1 (3.3%)	4 (2.3%)	5
I don't know	0 (0%)	3 (1.7%)	3
Column total	30	168	198

iii) Non-family relationship

Apart from interactions within the family, juveniles are socialized through contact with other adults and peers both within and outside formal structures. Work is an important socializing mechanism as it places the child in contact with adults and represents the transition from school to adulthood.

Table 23 shows the working conditions of the juveniles in Plateau and Pikine. It appears that few juveniles, namely 13% in A1 and 24% in A2 work, be it «full time», «part time» or «intermittently». The proportion of working juveniles is slightly larger in A2, this is probably due to the residents' low economic conditions. At any rate the majority of juveniles do not appear to have remunerated occupations.

JUVENILES

TABLE 23
Do juveniles in your area work full-time, part-time or intermittently?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Full-time	0	8	8
Part-time	3	22	25
Intermittently	1 (13.3%)	10 (23.8%)	11
Not applicable	26 (86.6%)	128 (76.2%)	154
Column total	30	168	198

Table 24 gives a picture of how juveniles spend their free-time and shows that the majority of juveniles in A1 spend their leisure-time meeting with friends while their counterparts in A2 spend their leisure time in cultural activities. It seems that juveniles in Plateau (A1) spend their free-time more passively than their counterparts in Píkine (A2).

JUVENILES

TABLE 24
What do you do in your leisure time?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Sports	9 (30.0%)	49 (29.1%)	58
Cultural activities	0 (0%)	36 (21.4%)	36
Musical activities	2 (6.0%)	9 (5.35%)	11
Watch TV	0 (0%)	5 (2.9%)	5
Meet with friends	16 (63.0%)	37 (22.02%)	53
Read	2 (6.6%)	18 (10.7%)	20
Loiter	0 (0%)	3 (0.17%)	3
Idle	0 (0%)	5 (2.9%)	5
Other	1 (3.3%)	6 (3.57%)	7
Column total	30	168	198

Table 25 shows that the majority of juveniles in both areas spend most of their time studying. There are no significant differences between the two areas. Interestingly, however, more than one-quarter of juveniles in A1 report that they spend their time «neither studying nor working»; while more than one-third of juveniles in A2 report that their principal activity is «working» or «both working and studying».

JUVENILES

TABLE 25
What is your principal activity?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Studying	19 (63.3%)	90 (53.5%)	109
Working	3 (10.0%)	56 (33.3%)	59
Both studying and working	0 (0%)	5 (0.2%)	5
Neither studying nor working	8 (26.7%)	17 (10.1%)	25
Column total	30	168	198

Overall, it seems that, as compared to juveniles in A2, juveniles in A1 tend to spend their time rather passively in spite of the fact that they have more free-time.

In other words, juveniles in A2 spend their time in a more constructive way as compared with their counterparts in A1. Consequently, one may state that the way they spend their leisure time is one of the intervening variables which account for the extent of juvenile social maladjustment. Once again, we find that rapid urbanization and the extent of juvenile social maladjustment are not directly or necessarily correlated with each other.

The school is an important socializing institution. For more than half of the juveniles in our sample the school is their principal non-family activity. As shown in Table 26, there are no significant differences in the level of education between the two areas.

JUVENILES

TABLE 26
Level of education of school-going juveniles

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Up to 4 years	1 (3.3%)	8 (4.7%)	9
5 - 8	13 (43.3%)	51 (30.3%)	64
Above 8 years	12 (40.0%)	61 (36.3%)	73
Column total	30	168	198

Table 27 shows that rates concerning non-attendance and dropping-out from school are the same in the two areas. The majority of juveniles in both A1 and A2 attend school for eight years and more. There are no marked differences between A1 and A2 in terms of school-juvenile relationships; both A1 and A2 juveniles have fairly stable relationships with the school.

JUVENILES

TABLE 27
Reasons for not having completed school

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
I had to support my family	0 (0%)	8 (4.7%)	8
I had difficulties in studying	7 (23.3%)	32 (19%)	39
My family was not interested in my schooling	2 (6.6%)	7 (4.1%)	9
I had problems with teachers and/or schoolmates	0 (0%)	8 (4.7%)	8
N.a.	21 (70.0%)	113 (67.2%)	134
Column total	30	168	198

PUBLIC

TABLE 28
Do juveniles participate in religious activities?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Actively	76	55	131
Passively	84	101	185
Do not participate	41	45	86
Column total	201	201	402

Apart from the school, other organizations may have an influence on children. Religious organizations are one such institution, it seems that they fill a void at least to some extent. As we can see in Table 28, according to the public perception, the majority of juveniles in both A1 and A2 participate in religious activities. Table 29 shows that the majority of juveniles in both areas are prepared to say that the

religious organizations play an effective role in solving their personal problems. According to these data, religious organizations appear to have close relations with juveniles both in Pikine and Plateau areas.

JUVENILES

TABLE 29
Do you think that religious organizations are really helpful in solving the personal problems of juveniles?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Yes	19 (63.3%)	90 (53.5%)	109
No	4 (13.3%)	55 (32.7%)	59
I don't know	7 (23.3%)	23 (13.9%)	30
Column total	30	168	198

iv) Peer and adult relationships

As shown in Table 30 below, the majority of the juveniles interviewed in both areas indicate that they participate in group activities.

We can also see that the proportion of juveniles who participate in group activities is higher in A1 than in A2; 83.3% as compared with 66.1%.

JUVENILES

TABLE 30
Do you participate in group activities?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Yes	25 (83.3%)	111 (66.1%)	136
No	3 (10.0%)	47 (27.9%)	50
N.a.	2 (6.6%)	10 (5.9%)	12
Column total	30	168	198

Tables 31 and 32 show that a vast majority of the public believe that both male and female juveniles in the two areas spend their free-time separated from adults. It seems that most children spend their free time in peer groups.

PUBLIC

TABLE 31
Do male juveniles, in general, spend their free time:

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Mixing with adults	34	31	65
Separate from adults	166	166	332
No information	1	4	5
Column total	201	201	402

PUBLIC

TABLE 32
Do female juveniles, in general, spend their free time:

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Mixing with adults	62	66	128
Separate from adults	134	131	265
No information	5	4	9
Column total	201	201	402

Table 33 also shows that male juveniles in both A1 and A2 spend their time not only in all-male groups but also in male and female mixed groups. Females follow the same pattern as is shown in Table 34. Overall, there does not seem to be substantial difference between the areas or between male and female juveniles in terms of peer relations.

PUBLIC

TABLE 33
With whom do male juveniles, in general, spend their free time?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Grouped - males only	84	95	179
Grouped - males and females mixed	108	95	203
Alone	8	11	19
No information	1	0	1
Column total	201	201	402

PUBLIC

TABLE 34

With whom do female juveniles, in general, spend their free time?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Grouped - females only	83	84	167
Grouped - females and males mixed	105	100	205
Alone	10	11	21
No information	3	6	9
Column total	201	201	402

v) Relationships with formal agencies

This section explores the quality of the relationships between children and formal institutions.

Juveniles were asked to indicate whether a certain number of formal organizations contributed to the resolution of their personal problems. Tables 35 to 39 below report the results for religious organizations, the school, social welfare agencies, courts of justice and reformatories.

Overall, the picture which emerges is the following in priority order: reformatories are considered by the juveniles as being the most helpful, followed by religious organizations and the school. However, it is surprising that only less than half of the juveniles believe that social welfare agencies and courts of justice offer constructive help to them. With the single exception of reformatories, state managed institutions are generally rated low.

JUVENILES

TABLE 35

Are you of the opinion that religious organizations contribute to solve juveniles' personal problems?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Yes	19 (63.3%)	90 (53.6%)	109
No	4 (13.3%)	55 (32.7%)	59
I don't know	7 (23.3%)	23 (13.6%)	30
Column total	30	168	198

JUVENILES

TABLE 36
Are you of the opinion that social welfare organizations contribute to solve juveniles' personal problems?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Yes	10 (33.3%)	93 (55.3%)	103
No	10 (33.3%)	52 (30.9%)	62
I don't know	10 (33.3%)	23 (13.6%)	33
Column total	30	168	198

JUVENILES

TABLE 37
Are you of the opinion that the school contributes to solve juveniles' personal problems?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Yes	20 (66.6%)	93 (55.3%)	113
No	4 (13.3%)	51 (30.3%)	55
I don't know	6 (20.0%)	24 (14.2%)	30
Column total	30	168	198

JUVENILES

TABLE 38
Are you of the opinion that courts of justice contribute to solve juveniles' personal problems?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Yes	11 (36.6%)	69 (41.0%)	80
No	11 (36.6%)	67 (39.8%)	78
I don't know	8 (26.6%)	29 (17.2%)	37
Column total	30	168	198

JUVENILES

TABLE 39
Are you of the opinion that reformatories contribute
to solve juveniles' personal problems?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Yes	20 (66.6%)	113 (67.2%)	133
No	6 (20.0%)	41 (24.4%)	45
I don't know	4 (13.3%)	14 (8.3%)	18
Column total	30	168	198

It appears that there is a gap between juveniles and the agencies established for children's benefit. This should provoke some serious thinking on the part of authorities and line-staff about the ways of filling this gap. It is also observed that juveniles in Pikine (A2) are more likely to rate the performance of government-run facilities higher than their counterparts in Plateau (A1). This probably indicates that juveniles in Pikine are more confident and respectful of the authorities.

When it comes to the police no significant differences appear between the two areas. As shown in Table 40 the majority of the juveniles in both A1 and A2 report that the police treat them severely. This finding could indicate that most of the juveniles are not very familiar with the police and therefore are likely to view it as an agency to be feared.

It would appear anyhow, that the police do not have any active service role for juveniles other than law enforcement.

In sum, it seems that the relationships are not always very close or harmonious and that there is a gap to be filled between juveniles and formal agencies.

JUVENILES

TABLE 40
How do the police treat juveniles?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
With tolerance	4 (13.3%)	28 (16.6%)	32
With indulgence	8 (26.6%)	24 (14.2%)	32
Severely	18 (60.0%)	116 (69.0%)	134
Column total	30	168	198

vi) Public and professional recommendations for policy

In this section we will examine the public confidence in formal agencies and will try to measure the opinion of the professionals about the performance of their own agencies.

Adult members of the public were asked what their reaction would be if they were a victim of a socially maladjusted act committed by a juvenile. Table 41 shows that the majority of the public in both areas would call the police and that less than 20% would not react.

More distressingly, a significant number of residents in both areas report that they would take justice into their own hands. We see in these findings the desperate situation that many interviewees believe they are in. In fact, many of them appear to have little confidence in non-punitive responses towards juvenile social maladjustment and are forced to rely upon the police.

PUBLIC

TABLE 41
If you were the victim of a socially maladjusted act, what would your reaction be?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Call the police	112	135	247
No reaction	39	32	71
Would take justice into your own hands	50	34	84
Column total	201	201	402

Table 41 also shows that a considerably higher proportion of residents in A1 believe that they would take justice into their own hands. This might mean that residents in this area are less respectful towards and less confident in the law enforcement authorities than their counterparts in A2. As mentioned above, many of the public interviewed have little confidence in non-punitive responses towards juvenile social maladjustment. This finding is reinforced by data presented in Table 42 from which it results that the majority of residents in both areas call for a more severe response to juvenile conduct problems. The «severe» responses, in this context, do not necessarily mean a lack of love and care for delinquent juveniles.

PUBLIC

TABLE 42

What should society's attitude be towards juvenile conduct problems?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
More tolerant	51	42	93
More severe	136	148	284
As it is at present	14	11	25
Column total	201	201	402

The role of the community and the family will be analysed in the following section.

Table 43 shows that according to the opinion of the professionals, the community plays a considerably more effective role in the prevention of juvenile social maladjustment as compared to five years ago. Especially Pikine, the area of rapid urbanization, shows a decided improvement.

Nevertheless, it should be noted that the present conditions in both areas are far from ideal. We see in Table 43 that only half of the professionals believe that the community at present plays a more effective role in the prevention of juvenile social maladjustment than it did five years ago.

Table 44 shows that according to public opinion the family has become in the last five years a weaker institution. The majority of the public in both areas do not believe that the family at present plays an effective role in the prevention of juvenile social maladjustment.

* PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 43
Do you think that the family and the community play an effective role in the prevention of juvenile social maladjustment? (affirmative answers)

	A1 + A2	A1	A2
Family at present	31.4%	39.4%	21.2%
Family five years ago	29.7%	37.9%	19.2%
Community at present	50.8%	53.0%	48.1%
Community five years ago	39.0%	45.5%	30.8%

PUBLIC

TABLE 44
Do you think that the family and the community play an effective role in the prevention of juvenile social maladjustment? (affirmative answers)

	A1 + A2	A1	A2
Family at present	48.5%	47.3%	49.8%
Family five years ago	58.5%	56.2%	60.7%
Community at present	47.3%	42.3%	52.2%
Community five years ago	47.5%	45.3%	49.8%

This view is also shared by the professionals. As previously stated, children believe that the family plays the most important role in helping juveniles in trouble, at least this is what they expect from this institution. In spite of their expectations it appears that the family's present condition is unsatisfactory.

These data also show the differential impact of urbanization on community life and the family. As far as the present data are concerned, urbanization is not necessarily associated with disorganized community. In the case of Dakar, it seems that urbanization is associated even with a healthy community although the present conditions in both Plateau and Pikine are still far from being ideal. On the other hand it does not seem that urbanization has had an impact on the family, since it has not undergone marked changes over the last five years.

The public interviewed were then asked another question: «What is, in your opinion, the most effective means to reduce juvenile social maladjustment?» Table 45 shows that there is almost no difference

between the two areas. The majority of residents in both Plateau and Pikine believe that the most effective measure to reduce juvenile delinquency is to increase work opportunities. It is perceived that the high unemployment rate is one of the major causes of delinquency among youths in Dakar. Also, the public believe that policies such as greater efficacy of the educational system and social welfare are very important.

As already mentioned in the chapter on Background Information, overcrowded classes and shortage of qualified teachers are among the many shortcomings of the educational system. As also reported there are few social welfare services and these appear to be inadequate.

PUBLIC

TABLE 45
What is, in your opinion, the most effective means to reduce juvenile social maladjustment?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Greater efficacy of civil justice	5	5	10
Strengthen civil justice	17	8	25
Greater efficacy of penal justice	4	5	9
Greater efficacy of social welfare system	25	35	60
Greater efficacy of educational system	37	38	75
Increase work opportunities	103	104	207
Introduce more severe sentences	10	6	16
Column total	201	201	402

It is interesting to note that only a few residents recommend the introduction of more severe sentences or greater efficacy of penal justice system; they support social welfare measures at the level of primary prevention. These measures recommended by the public are not delinquency-specific but rather would comprise a set of social intervention strategies designed to improve the welfare of juveniles in general. Overall, one may state that the public have the right percep-

tion of what direction future social policies should take..

The following section deals with the opinions of professionals as to the performance of their own agencies and recommendations for a future social policy.

Several questions were asked concerning the functioning of police, courts, re-education institutions, non-institutional treatment, welfare institutions, correctional institutions and schools (results are shown in Tables 46 to 61). Overall, professionals rate the performance of these agencies very low. This generalization tends to hold across all agencies and for both A1 and A2 professionals. There is no agency at all that has obtained a majority of positive responses. Among them, social welfare agencies and re-educational institutions are rated relatively higher in the performance of controlling juvenile social maladjustment. While on the other hand, non-institutional treatment and correctional institutions are rated very low. Even schools emerge with a poor performance rating. This is an important finding in that a professional sample was drawn from staff working in those very institutions.

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 46
Do you think that the following institutions have improved their efficacy over the last five years? (affirmative answers)

	A1 + A2	A1	A2
Police	50.0%	53.0%	46.2%
Tribunal	47.5%	53.0%	40.4%
Penitentiary system	22.0%	30.3%	11.5%

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 47
What is the reason for the improvement verified over the last five years?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Institutions have been reinforced	29 (43.9%)	30 (56.6%)	59
Social maladjustment problems are not serious	9 (13.6%)	1 (1.8%)	10
I don't know	28 (42.4%)	21 (39.6%)	49
Column total	66	53	118

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 48
How do the police services function in controlling social maladjustment?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Well	17 (25.7%)	13 (25.0%)	30
Badly	43 (65.5%)	33 (63.4%)	76
I don't know	6 (9.0%)	6 (11.5%)	12
Column total	66	52	118

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 49
If police services function «badly», what are the reasons, in order of importance?

Ranking	A1 + A2		A1		A2	
1st	38.6%	0	36.9%	0	40.6%	0
2nd	19.1%	2	19.7%	2	18.3%	2
3rd	18.6%	3	18.9%	3	18.3%	3
4th	12.3%	5	12.4%	5	12.2%	5
5th	5.8%	1	8.1%	1	7.7%	4
6th	5.6%	4	4.0%	4	2.9%	1

Reasons:

1. lack of personnel
2. inadequate training
3. lack of interest on the part of the authorities
4. tolerance on the part of the police
5. lack of public participation
0. not applicable

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 50
How do the courts function in controlling juvenile social maladjustment?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Well	29 (43.9%)	13 (25.0%)	42
Badly	23 (34.8%)	21 (40.3%)	44
I don't know	14 (21.2%)	18 (34.6%)	32
Column total	66	52	118

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 51
If the courts function «badly» what are the reasons in order of importance?

Ranking	A1+A2		A1		A2	
	Percentage	Count	Percentage	Count	Percentage	Count
1st	67.7%	0	63.6%	0	61.5%	0
2nd	20.3%	3	15.2%	3	26.9%	3
3rd	11.0%	2	15.2%	2	5.8%	2
4th	4.2%	4	4.5%	4	3.8%	4
5th	1.7%	1	1.5%	1	1.9%	1

Reasons:

1. lack of personnel
2. inadequate training
3. delay in the administration of justice
4. lack of harsh punishment
0. not applicable

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 52
How do re-education institutions function in preventing juvenile social maladjustment?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Well	20 (30.3%)	16 (30.7%)	36
Badly	35 (53.0%)	25 (48.0%)	60
I don't know	11 (16.6%)	11 (21.1%)	22
Column total	66	52	118

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 53
If re-education institutions function «badly» what are the reasons?
(give three reasons in order of importance)

Ranking	A1 + A2		A1		A2	
	Percentage	Count	Percentage	Count	Percentage	Count
1st	64.6%	0	62.6%	0	64.5%	0
2nd	11.0%	3	12.1%	4	10.3%	3
3rd	10.8%	4	11.6%	3	10.2%	1
4th	7.8%	1	5.8%	1	9.3%	4
5th	5.1%	2	5.6%	2	4.5%	2
6th	2.4%	5	2.3%	5	2.5%	5

Reasons:

1. lack of personnel
2. inadequate training
3. lack of treatment programmes
4. lack of public participation
5. lack of harsh punishment
0. not applicable

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 54
How does non-institutional treatment function in controlling
juvenile social maladjustment?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Well	9 (25.0%)	8 (15.3%)	17
Badly	36 (54.5%)	12 (23.0%)	48
I don't know	21 (31.8%)	32 (61.5%)	54
Column total	66	52	118

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 55
If non-institutional treatment functions «badly», what are the reasons?
(give three reasons in order of importance)

Ranking	A1 + A2	Reasons	A1	Reasons	A2	Reasons
1st	71.0%	0	63.4%	0	80.4%	0
2nd	9.3%	3	12.4%	3	6.1%	1
3rd	7.5%	4	9.8%	4	5.4%	3
4th	7.3%	1	8.3%	1	4.5%	4
5th	4.9%	2	6.1%	2	3.5%	2

Reasons:

1. lack of personnel
2. inadequate training
3. lack of treatment programmes
4. lack of public participation
0. not applicable

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 56
How do social welfare institutions function?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Well	16 (24.2%)	22 (42.3%)	38
Badly	39 (59.0%)	20 (38.4%)	59
I don't know	11 (16.6%)	10 (19.2%)	21
Column total	66	52	118

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 57
If social welfare agencies function «badly», what are the reasons?
(give three reasons in order of importance)

Ranking	A1 + A2	Reasons	A1	Reasons	A2	Reasons
1st	63.3%	0	59.1%	0	68.2%	0
2nd	10.3%	1	11.6%	3	10.6%	1
3rd	9.5%	3	10.1%	1	8.3%	2
4th	9.0%	2	9.6%	2	6.7%	3
5th	8.0%	4	9.6%	4	6.1%	4

Reasons:

1. lack of personnel
2. inadequate training
3. lack of treatment programmes
4. lack of public participation
0. not applicable

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 58
How do correctional institutions function in the control
of juvenile social maladjustment?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Well	8 (12.1%)	1 (1.9%)	9
Badly	48 (72.7%)	36 (69.2%)	84
I don't know	10 (15.1%)	15 (28.8%)	25
Column total	66	52	118

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 59
If correctional institutions function «badly», what are the reasons?
(give three reasons in order of importance)

Ranking	A1 + A2	Reasons	A1	Reasons	A2	Reasons
1st	41.7%	0	42.9%	0	40.1%	0
2nd	18.7%	3	18.2%	3	23.4%	2
3rd	17.5%	2	12.9%	2	19.5%	3
4th	9.6%	4	12.1%	1	9.6%	4
5th	8.7%	1	9.6%	4	4.5%	1
6th	3.7%	5	4.3%	5	5.0%	2

Reasons:

1. lack of personnel
2. inadequate training
3. lack of treatment programmes
4. lack of public participation
5. lack of severe punishment
0. not applicable

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 60
How do schools function in controlling juvenile social maladjustment?

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Well	12 (18.1%)	8 (15.3%)	20
Badly	49 (74.2%)	44 (84.6%)	93
I don't know	5 (7.5%)	0 (0%)	5
Column total	66	52	118

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 61
If schools function «badly», what are the reasons?
(give three reasons in order of importance)

Ranking	A1 + A2	Reasons	A1	Reasons	A2	Reasons
1st	34.7%	0	37.3%	0	36.0%	1
2nd	30.8%	1	28.1%	1	32.4%	0
3rd	14.5%	4	14.0%	5	15.0%	4
4th	13.0%	3	10.3%	3	14.8%	3
5th	9.3%	2	10.1%	2	8.5%	2

Reasons:

1. overcrowded schools
2. lack of school counsellors
3. lack of enthusiasm on the part of the teacher
4. lack of co-operation between teachers and parents
0. not applicable

As we have seen earlier (in Table 43) professionals in both areas report that the community and the family are more effective today than five years ago. This finding is in contrast with the low confidence rating given to the government-run agencies by professionals themselves.

These data might be suggestive of the policy options open to government. Future policy should be oriented towards the strengthening of both family and community or it should attempt to overcome weaknesses which lie in its organized structures.

Basically no big difference between public and professionals seem to exist as to what the main direction of the future policy should be. The largest number of both public and professionals call for creating more work opportunities for juveniles. Also professionals tend to call for family counselling and subsidizing poor families. It is not surprising that professional response appears to be oriented towards enhancing the professional capacity of existing agencies to cope more effectively with juveniles and families in trouble. It is disappointing however, to find that a few professionals call for increased community participation (Tables 62 and 63). ◦

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 62
Place in priority order the remedies listed below
from the viewpoint of effectiveness for the prevention
of juvenile social maladjustment?

Ranking	A1 + A2	Remedies	A1	Remedies	A2	Remedies
1st	26.4%	4	25.9%	4	27.0%	4
2nd	20.9%	1	20.6%	2	21.9%	1
3rd	20.0%	2	20.0%	1	20.1%	2
4th	16.6%	5	17.7%	5	16.6%	3
5th	16.1%	3	15.5%	3	15.3%	5

Remedies:

1. family counselling
2. subsidizing poor families
3. increasing the number of school counsellors
4. greater working possibilities for juveniles
5. encouraging community participation

PROFESSIONALS

TABLE 63
Place in priority order the remedies listed below
from the viewpoint of effectiveness for the control
of juvenile social maladjustment?

Ranking	A1 + A2	Remedies	A1	Remedies	A2	Remedies
1st	44.7%	1	43.8%	1	45.4%	1
2nd	31.7%	2	30.2%	2	37.5%	2
3rd	23.6%	3	24.5%	3	22.0%	3

Remedies:

1. improvement of institutional and non-institutional treatment
2. reinforcement of the police
3. more severe sentences

Our overall data tend to support a social policy in which emphasis is laid upon a cohesive community and stable family relationships as a fundamental socializing institution. In order to carry out such a social policy, active participation of the residents will be eagerly required. If increased professional services are accompanied by active public participation, it is possible that solutions could be found.

d) Summary and conclusions

In the theoretical introduction two working hypotheses were formulated; first, that rapid urbanization caused a high level of juvenile social maladjustment; second, that a number of intervening variables determined the degree of tolerance of a community towards juvenile social maladjustment. These intervening variables are associated with the degree of organic solidarity within the community.

One of the research strategies applied was the comparative approach between the two social areas: one that had undergone rapid urbanization (A2) and another one that had not had a rapid urban growth (A1) in order to verify the impact of rapid urbanization.

The study was conducted on the basis of the above cited hypotheses and research framework. First of all, an attempt was made to measure the extent of juvenile social maladjustment. The findings revealed that both public and professionals in the two areas show considerable concern towards juvenile social maladjustment which is perceived as being a very serious phenomenon. However, some marked differences were found between the two areas; data show that professionals in A1, as compared with their counterparts in A2, express a slightly more negative and pessimistic opinion on the present conditions and future trends of juvenile social maladjustment.

According to the public perception and contrary to the first hypothesis, juvenile delinquency at present is more dangerous and serious in A1.

Since these data tend to reject our hypothesis, it could be deduced that there is no direct causal relation between the extent of juvenile social maladjustment and the rapidity of urbanization per se.

On the basis of the second hypothesis, we will now examine some of the possible reasons for juvenile social maladjustment. Particular interest was placed on the analysis of the influences of the different intervening variables such as: relations to parents and peers; school, work, religious organizations, social welfare service agencies, etc.

Only two of these appear to be significant intervening variables which differentiate A1 from A2. Our first finding was that family relationships or parent-child ties are slightly stronger in Pikine (A2) and this in spite of its rapid urbanization. Data show that juveniles in A2 have more respect for parents and that parents take greater care of their children.

Most of the residents in this area (A2), in spite of being recent migrants from rural areas, still maintain traditional values which keep

parent-child ties relatively strong. In contrast, it appears that family relationships in Plateau (A1) are weaker because residents there have been influenced by modern Western cultural patterns which have diluted their own traditional values. Juveniles in Plateau appear to be more isolated than their counterparts in Pikine.

Our second finding was the difference between the juveniles in both areas in terms of the way they spend their leisure time. Juveniles in A1 tend to spend their free-time rather passively (e.g. meeting with friends), while juveniles in A2 tend to participate in musical and other cultural activities.

Overall, the degree to which a given community tolerates juvenile social maladjustment depends not on the rapidity of urbanization alone but upon other intervening variables. According to our findings, the key variables are: strong parent-child relations and constructive leisure-time activities.

Finally, we examined the effectiveness of formal agencies and proposed policy recommendations for the prevention of juvenile delinquency. From our analysis, it emerged that the professionals rate formal agencies very low. The public also pointed out the inefficiency of such formal institutions as schools and social welfare agencies. It appears that formal agencies are insufficient.

As regards policy recommendations, both public and professionals believe that top priority should be given to the increase of work opportunities. The public recommended greater efficiency of schools and social welfare services; while professionals put emphasis on family counselling and subsidizing poor families. It should be noted that neither public nor professionals recommended the introduction of more severe sentences.

Generally there are no marked differences between public and professionals nor between the areas. Countermeasures recommended by them are not delinquency-specific but rather would comprise a set of social intervention strategies to improve children's welfare. In addition to these countermeasures, a sort of pre-requisite should be kept in mind: that of active public participation.

Reforms could be carried out only when a significant number of residents see their own participation as a route to bettering their lifestyle. If close collaboration could be developed between professionals and these active lay persons, the vicious cycle of poverty, alienation, demoralization and delinquency could be finally broken.

GENERAL SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In each country participating and among all samples of adults, juveniles and professionals, one striking finding emerged. In developing countries (at least those involved in the study) it is the family and to a lesser extent the local school that are seen by both professionals and lay persons as the principal mechanisms that have a positive impact on juvenile social maladjustment. Formal systems of social control, i.e. police, juvenile courts and specialized institutions, are seen as much less effective.

The independent variable in our study was rapid urbanization. Originally it was assumed that there might be higher levels of juvenile social maladjustment in urban areas undergoing rapid urbanization. In fact, our data show that this does not necessarily happen. The intervening factors that seem to make a crucial difference are: a) the type of growth - planned versus unplanned; b) the cultural prescriptions against crime that exist among new arrivals, and c) the strength of family and community ties that survive the transition from rural to urban society. This is a positive finding in that it suggests that high levels of crime and juvenile social maladjustment are not the inevitable consequences of rapid growth.

Overall, public attitudes are both tolerant and sophisticated in relation to children in trouble. In practically all areas under study, the public expressed deep concern about what they see as rising levels of juvenile social maladjustment. Moreover, their prediction for the future was rather pessimistic. Nonetheless, the majority viewed juvenile social maladjustment as more troublesome than dangerous and expressed belief that adult criminality posed a more serious risk to their communities than that of young people.

A large majority of the public and many of the professionals interviewed did not see strengthening the repressive apparatus of the State as an adequate long-term solution. Rather, they would prefer a social policy which strengthened family and traditional ties, provided employment opportunities for young people and improved the capacity of the local school to deal with the social needs of children.

There was a slight tendency for most professionals to be somewhat more punitive in their response to juvenile social maladjustment than most members of the public. Our data show a considerable gap between the official agencies of social control and both juveniles and adults in the community they serve. This finding would seem to call

for serious attention to be given to closing the gap between the public and those agencies. Our data also lend support to the view that there is an unmet need to co-ordinate social programmes dealing with youth in a way which would not only bring the various agencies together but also provide opportunities for greater non-professional participation.

In general terms, our data show that it is cultural factors which influence most directly the degree to which a community will suffer from crime and juvenile social maladjustment while undergoing rapid urbanization. It would seem from this that opportunities exist to fashion appropriate social responses based on strengths which still exist among families and within local communities.

The policy implications of these findings are profoundly important. Developing countries could attempt to modernize and improve their formal systems or they could develop a social policy which would give primary emphasis to the family. While continued improvement in professional standards in formal systems would appear to be a worthy goal, our study would suggest that a family-centered social policy would be more in keeping with cultural traditions of the nations under study and would meet with public approval.

The policy choices are clear. A country could attempt to strengthen the areas in which it is weak or it could try to examine the gains to be achieved from its strengths. A wise social policy is one that pays attention to both. If priorities have to be set, our findings lend support to a government policy which reinforces informal, traditional methods of assisting young people in the transition from childhood to adult membership in society.

The social planning that is called for would encourage the development of informal, neighbourhood-based methods of handling minor cases of juvenile social maladjustment. Families, particularly extended families, would play a principal role in dealing with children and the State would use whatever resources it has at its disposal to reinforce the role of the family, elders in the community and indigenous organizations. Professionals would have to learn to work with local communities, to give their expertise to existing community groups or help create new ones and to avoid stripping families of the authority and responsibility for managing their own problems.

We are mindful of the fact that over-reliance on formal methods of social control, characteristic of many industrialized nations, not only has not worked very well in those industrialized nations but is probably beyond the fiscal capacity of developing nations to fully adopt. More importantly, by developing a social response to juvenile

social maladjustment based on traditional values within the cultures of local neighbourhoods, it might be possible to achieve gains that have so far evaded the industrialized world.

As an example, youth counselling should not be left to the professional counsellors alone. All those who interact with youth in the course of their normal duties and activities should be given some training and help to do better what in the course of this interaction they are often confronted to do — and that is counselling. In other words, counselling should not be mystified and too professionalized to the exclusion of lay counselling.

In the process of doing their routine jobs they will have developed considerable rapport with the youths and they will have acquired in an informal way, considerable personal and family histories of the youths with whom they are in contact; these two factors will facilitate acceptable counselling, without the stigma of «labelling» which professional counselling may attract. The professional counsellors are relatively few in number and can function more effectively as back-up support.

With respect to human rights it is interesting to note that the majority of professionals in the five countries studied confirmed the existence of the right to defence counsel for socially maladjusted juveniles.

While the study sought to distinguish between an area of rapid unplanned urbanization on one hand, and an area of non-rapid urbanization on the other hand, either the criteria used for the distinction or its interpretation did not attain the desired objective, or the situation in all the cities did not permit such clear-cut division. In fact, it was only in Costa Rica that such a division appeared to be relevant. Nevertheless, some attempt was made to identify differences between the two areas in each city.

Our final conclusion is one that sees some room for positive action on the part of governments. Community and family life have survived the transition from rural to urban society, despite being battered by a host of negative influences associated with urban life. The strengths which reside in these communities are to be found within families, in the schools, in religious organizations and in the community at large. Governments could build on these strengths by paying particular attention to the recommendations coming from the public reported in this study. The key to that social policy would be the role of the family.

Our data show that families that work together, stay together. Families which are tied not only by blood but by social, recreational and economic bonds produce children who make the transition from

adolescence to adulthood smoothly.

Families need to be buttressed, by economic and other measures, so that the state will not be required to take over its traditional role by providing elaborate, expensive, professional programmes. One of the ways in which this might be done is to provide economic incentives, subsidies or low-interest loans that would enable family-based cottage industries to be established.

The school is a credible institution in the eyes of most juveniles and their parents. The role of the local neighbourhood school could be reinforced by encouraging it to become more fully integrated into the community. More parent-teacher contacts, perhaps some degree of parental control and a broader perception of the role of the school in all aspects of childhood development would be helpful.

Our data should give some encouragement to those who wish to find a new path. Even within the framework of the existing social and economic order it is possible to see a way by which developing nations can avoid some of the most serious aspects of crime and juvenile delinquency experienced in the industrialized world. If this route should prove to be a successful one, the situation would be inverted, perhaps it is the developing world that has more to teach than to learn.

Consultations with the relevant decision-makers

It was appreciated from the beginning of the project that for it to make an impact, it was not sufficient for the report to be sent to the decision-makers of the different participating countries. Rather, it was felt that it was necessary to consult with the decision-makers and discuss the findings of the project with them. Even if they were already aware of the findings from experience in the field or from educated guess work, hopefully the discussion would stress the empirical facts and strengthen their resolve to take appropriate action to improve the situation affecting juveniles in the context of urban development.

The draft reports of the study were sent several weeks ahead of the consultations to enable the authorities to study them.

Consultations were held with the relevant authorities and officials of the Ministries of Justice of Colombia, Costa Rica and Senegal, the Ministry of Youth and Culture in Nigeria, the Ministry of Social Welfare in India, as well as other concerned Ministries. These consultations were often headed by the Ministers as well as local research team leaders.

In each situation the Director of UNSDRI opened the discussions with an expression of gratitude to the authorities for allowing the study to be carried out in their respective jurisdictions, and for their collaboration in the conducting of the project through their staff or national institutions. He emphasized that this attitude was a manifestation of their interest and concern in the problems of juveniles and willingness to have the situation examined.

The Director pointed out that, in spite of the problems and limitations of the study, some issues stood out which call for particular attention and action. He then proceeded to point out some of these issues regarding the respective countries.

The responses of the authorities were positive and very constructive. Questions were asked to elaborate on some of the findings and these were answered as far as data permitted. Areas of further research were identified. As in the case of Costa Rica, some authorities described activities being undertaken to answer some of the needs of juveniles and to improve juvenile conditions in the cities.

Other authorities, e.g. those from Nigeria, wish to extend the study to other cities in the country and to replicate the research carried out in Lagos regarding other areas of concern.

In Colombia the problem of the children on the streets («gamins»), which was not included in the project, was discussed and the Minister requested the strengthening of inter-ministerial collaboration with the objective of finding a solution.

In India consultation was held at both state and central government levels, and the response was enthusiastic at both levels to the extent that television and radio interviews were arranged for the Director of UNSDRI and an official of the Government to inform the public. A follow-up seminar was also contemplated, to be funded mainly by the concerned Ministry. The purpose of this seminar is to invite representatives of the relevant Ministries - Social Welfare, Education, Planning, Finance, as well as academicians, politicians, leaders in society, etc., to discuss the issue in depth and to work out a feasible and realistic programme for the prevention, control and treatment of juvenile social maladjustment.

In Dakar, the issue of the revival of the traditional form of education with the wider role of teachers was discussed, and also the education of parents in the context of urban living.

Issues common to all the countries were: the strengthening of the informal control mechanisms — the family, the schools, the traditional values and systems — as well as town planning and social welfare

authorities. This immediately suggests inter-ministerial and inter-sectorial planning and action.

In one country, when the issue of community involvement and participation in the matter of juvenile social maladjustment arose, it was suggested that the mass media could be profitably used to inform the community. Then it was pointed out by the Minister that they did not have a Ministry of Information to inform the press and the public, and that in any case the press could not be used to diffuse government information. In such a situation the authorities would need to find a way of informing the public so as to enlist their involvement and participation in their programmes.

On the whole, the study has been a catalyst to stimulate further studies, initiate appropriate action, and establish working groups to confront the problems of juveniles. It was indicated by some countries that they would need the assistance of the United Nations in order to further their plans to improve the situation not only with regard to the problems of youth, but also regarding their penitentiary and criminal justice systems.

The major achievement of the consultations was the opportunity to discuss the findings of the study, which perhaps would have otherwise just been kept in a drawer or on a shelf as one of the reports to be read sometime in the future. It gave the problem of juvenile social maladjustment a considerable measure of immediacy and importance. This was achieved without going into a profound academic discourse which would have led nowhere except perhaps up a blind alley. At least the consultations indicated that something positive and concrete can be done to ameliorate the conditions of youth and to limit the incidence of their maladjustment.

In summary, the policy implications of the findings of this study suggest two main options. One is to buttress and increase the efficiency of the formal agencies of social control which may have the boomerang effect of undermining the capability of the community, family, school and other informal agencies of social control to deal with crime and juvenile social maladjustment problems. In other words to follow the Western model which has not worked well in its own context. The other option is to build on the existing strengths of the informal social control institutions which are inherent in most of the cultures included in the study. This latter option appears to be the main choice of the decision-makers in the different countries. Work still needs to be done on how these informal control agencies can be streamlined to strengthen their capacities in the context of socio-economic changes.

EL DESAJUSTE SOCIAL JUVENIL

Y LOS DERECHOS HUMANOS DENTRO DEL CONTEXTO DEL DESARROLLO URBANO

RECONOCIMIENTOS

El presente trabajo fue financiado por el Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo (PNUD) al cual deseamos extender nuestro profundo agradecimiento por este gesto imaginativo y constructivo.

Numerosas personas han contribuido a la realización y exitosa culminación de este estudio. Giuseppe di Gennaro, quien fuera Consultor General del UNSDRI al inicio del proyecto, jugó un papel fundamental. Yasuo Hagiwara, designado por el gobierno de Japón como contribución al UNSDRI, trabajó con el Consultor General en la elaboración de las primeras versiones de los cuestionarios y viajó a los países participantes con el Director. Su interés por el proyecto continuó a pesar de su regreso a Japón, y participó a la segunda reunión de colaboradores.

Aurelio Mattei realizó el análisis estadístico, a partir del cual preparó la estructura de base de los informes nacionales preliminares.

Los encargados de los grupos nacionales de investigación organizaron sus equipos y supervisaron las operaciones en sus respectivas áreas y redactaron sus propios informes finales. Estos responsables son:

<i>Bogotá</i>	<i>Clemencia Gutiérrez Gutiérrez</i>
<i>San José</i>	<i>Luis Lachner</i>
<i>Dakar</i>	<i>Guibril Camara</i>
<i>Lagos</i>	<i>Ndidi Chibogu</i>
<i>Bombay</i>	<i>G. Pandey</i>

Agradeceremos también a los gobiernos de los países participantes por su consentimiento en la implementación del proyecto en sus respectivos países.

John Hogarth de Canadá, quien dedicó su estadía sabática en UNSDRI durante el período de redacción del informe final brindó una contribución importante al proyecto redactando la parte teórica del informe y los capítulos de Bogotá y San José. Fumio Saito redactó el capítulo correspondiente a la ciudad de Dakar.

Ricardo Ulate, investigador del ILANUD, San José, estuvo a cargo de la traducción española y Marie-Pascale Travade, experto asociado enviado por el Gobierno francés, fue responsable de la versión francesa.

Prácticamente todos los miembros del Instituto, en una u otra forma, contribuyeron eficazmente a las distintas fases del proyecto y a diferentes niveles. En forma muy especial debe reconocerse la labor

de Martha Barkunsky quien contribuyó en forma sustancial al estudio más allá de sus funciones iniciales de secretaria y traductora.

Sin la paciencia y cooperación de los jóvenes, adultos y profesionales que se entrevistaron en las diferentes ciudades, no habría sido posible recopilar los datos necesarios para la realización de este estudio.

Los ministros pertinentes que dedicaron parte de su tiempo precioso a discutir los resultados del proyecto y sus potenciales implicaciones en materias de políticas, expresamos nuestra gratitud.

A todos y cada uno de ellos deseo hacerles llegar mi sincero agradecimiento por su contribución.

Roma, octubre de 1984

Tolani Asuni
Director

PREFACIO

El presente trabajo, que contó con el financiamiento del Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo (PNUD) se realizó en cinco ciudades: Bogotá (Colombia), Bombay (India), Dakar (Senegal), Lagos (Nigeria) y San José (Costa Rica). La estrategia seguida consistió en hacer participar a los colaboradores en las diferentes etapas del estudio, no sólo para proporcionar oportunidades de capacitación en investigación donde ésta fuera necesaria, sino también para conferir al estudio un alto nivel de relevancia y credibilidad.

A estos efectos se realizó una reunión del 12 al 16 de Enero 1981 con los responsables de los grupos locales que se habían seleccionado al inicio del proyecto, con el objeto de examinar los instrumentos preliminares preparados por el UNSDRI y para llegar a un acuerdo sobre éstos y sobre la metodología general.

En precedencia a esta reunión, el Director del Instituto y el coordinador del proyecto visitaron las ciudades incluidas en el estudio con el objeto de familiarizarse con las condiciones locales y encontrarse con los responsables locales y los equipos de investigación los cuales debían ser interdisciplinarios.

Después de la reunión, el Instituto finalizó la preparación de los instrumentos y éstos fueron enviados a los distintos equipos para su implementación. Los instrumentos consistían en cuestionarios que debían ser aplicados a grupos de jóvenes, de adultos y de profesionales que trabajaban en el campo de los problemas juveniles. En cada ciudad se seleccionaron dos áreas: una donde se había verificado un proceso de rápida y reciente urbanización y otra donde este proceso no se había verificado.

Los cuestionarios fueron compilados a través de entrevistas que se efectuaron en ambas áreas.

Los cuestionarios — 2.000 para los jóvenes, 2.000 para los adultos y 500 para los profesionales — fueron procesados por los centros en los países participantes salvo en dos casos donde no se tenía acceso a procesos computerizados: esos datos, por lo tanto, se procesaron en UNSDRI. En base a los datos recibidos, UNSDRI preparó un informe analítico preliminar que fue enviado a los colaboradores con el objeto de ulterior análisis y comentarios. El material fue recopilado para una reunión que tuvo lugar en el UNSDRI con los responsables locales a fin de discutir los datos y la presentación del informe final.

De acuerdo con el programa de trabajo, los resultados del estudio debían ser discutidos con los órganos decisionales pertinentes de los distintos países incluidos en el estudio, a fin de conocer sus reacciones y adoptar las sugerencias que podrían mejorar los temas que serían incorporados en el informe final.

En el curso de las entrevistas, se individuaron muchos puntos con implicaciones en materia de definición de políticas, algunos de los cuales incluían el fortalecimiento de los métodos informales de control y prevención del desajuste social juvenil, la consolidación de la orientación familiar por parte de los servicios sociales, la creación de nuevas actividades de recreación para los jóvenes, el fortalecimiento de los programas educativos y en general, el aumento cualitativo y cuantitativo de los profesionales y el desarrollo de capacitación adecuada para los jóvenes con problemas de desajuste social.

A pesar de los problemas metodológicos y operacionales, algunos de los hallazgos fueron bastante coherentes y los temas con implicaciones en materia de definición de políticas, aceptados por los órganos decisionales, derivaron de esos hallazgos.

En algunos casos los órganos decisionales manifestaron la voluntad de realizar esfuerzos y se discutió la necesidad de realizar estudios piloto en algunos de esos campos. Por otra parte, la intención del estudio no era de comparar una ciudad con otra, pero si esto hubiera sido planeado el resultado no hubiera sido científico debido a las diferencias sustanciales en la definición de las dos áreas en cada ciudad. No obstante, la mayoría de los aspectos que están relacionados con la definición de políticas fueron comunes a las diferentes ciudades involucradas en el estudio.

Este trabajo pone en evidencia el alto nivel de cooperación inter-regional. El rol de coordinador del Instituto latinoamericano para la prevención del delito y tratamiento del delincuente (ILANUD) en la conducción del estudio en San José y Bogotá ilustra la cooperación existente entre los institutos regionales y el UNSDRI. Igualmente, un instituto académico (Instituto Tata de Ciencias Sociales) realizó el estudio en Bombay y funcionarios de los ministerios pertinentes sirvieron como coordinadores de los equipos locales en Bogotá, Dakar y Lagos.

INTRODUCCION TEORICA

a) En busca de un paradigma

El problema básico en cualquier proyecto de investigación es encontrar o diseñar el paradigma apropiado para el análisis. Esto reviste especial importancia en un estudio como el que nos ocupa, que intenta abarcar el problema del desajuste social juvenil en cinco países diferentes cuya similitud presenta un punto común: un proceso de desarrollo económico acompañado por una urbanización rápida.

En los demás aspectos no podemos asumir que sean similares. Por otra parte los responsables locales de cada país nos habían pedido de no aplicar en forma acrítica las teorías criminológicas desarrolladas en los países occidentales industrializados, aún si la aplicación de tal enfoque nos permitiría contar con esquemas teóricos ya formulados a los cuales incorporar nuestros datos.

Después de discutir con los equipos locales seleccionados para llevar a cabo el proyecto, se decidió que un enfoque cultural era el único modo de comprender como estos problemas eran percibidos por las personas directamente involucradas en cada área al estudio. Esta conclusión fué reforzada por el análisis preliminar de la literatura sobre la urbanización en los países en vías de desarrollo y por las discusiones con los expertos locales de los países participantes. Así supimos que a pesar de algunas diferencias mínimas, el patrón económico general de cada uno de los países participantes en la investigación, podía resumirse de la siguiente manera:

Las sociedades rurales tradicionales tenían, antes del período de rápido desarrollo, algunos casos de delincuencia juvenil varonil y raros casos de problemas entre las adolescentes mujeres. Los delitos violentos era prácticamente desconocidos y los delitos contra la propiedad eran relativamente pocos.

Las estructuras familiares cohesivas, las fuertes proscripciones religiosas contra el hurto, la gran vigilancia de los jóvenes, la clara definición de los roles de éstos, la aceptación universal de mecanismos informales de arreglo de controversias, las limitadas oportunidades para la comisión de delitos contra la propiedad (había muy poco que robar), la amplia y casi fatalística aceptación del status quo, eran algunos de los factores que influían en el control de los jóvenes.

La transformación de la agricultura de subsistencia, de la explotación agraria extensiva a la industria parcialmente mecanizada y los

reducidos réditos de los productos agrícolas hicieron que en una generación la población rural se sintiera superflua. La migración hacia las ciudades resultó necesaria en cuanto los países en vías de desarrollo se convirtieron rápidamente en economías de mercado efectivo. La migración interna como tal no fue un fenómeno natural y ocurrió mucho más rápidamente que en Europa occidental siglos antes.

Se ha dicho que la migración en el Tercer Mundo resultó más de la «presión rural» que de la «atracción urbana» y al mismo tiempo las ciudades atraían la población rural subocupada. La gente consideraba las ciudades como los únicos lugares donde se podía conseguir trabajo, asistencia médica, educación y distracciones. Algunas de las ciudades de nuestro estudio duplicaron su población en menos de diez años y casi la volvieron a duplicar en cada una de las décadas siguientes.

Muchas de esas ciudades no estaban preparadas para este inesperado y vasto influjo de gente de extrema pobreza; los servicios básicos como la vivienda, calles, agua y condiciones sanitarias eran insuficientes, como resultado, tugurios y barriadas florecieron generalmente en la periferia de las ciudades.

En muchas de las grandes ciudades la mayoría de las viviendas eran ilegales y construidas en terrenos invadidos que los residentes, a menos de ser removidos por la fuerza, convertían en «squatters». Aun donde los terrenos podían ser vendidos, la planificación sobre el uso de la tierra se restringía a la definición de espacio y servicios, sin prever los problemas de densidad, calidad de construcción y el poco espacio dado a las escuelas, parques y servicios sociales.

Algunos de los nuevos «llegados» eran absorbidos por la economía urbana aun que para muchos la desocupación se convirtió en un estado permanente; para estos últimos la supervivencia dependía de las mendicidad, hurtos, y otras actividades marginales.

El ingreso percapita medio era generalmente alto en las ciudades pero la distribución era más inequitativa que en las áreas rurales; en consecuencia la brecha entre ricos y pobres no era sólo real sino extremadamente visible. Debido al alto aumento de la tasa de natalidad, sumado a la disminución de la mortalidad, el promedio de edad de la población disminuyó considerablemente al punto de que en algunas áreas el grueso de la población tenía menos de 18 años.

Muchos niños eran abandonados por sus padres que no podían mantenerlos y erraban por las calles mendigando, robando en tiendas, arrebatando carteras y en otros casos sobreviviendo al margen de la sociedad.

En Colombia, por ejemplo, se estima que más de 6 millones de niños han sido abandonados en los años recientes. Conforme estos niños crecen algunos de ellos forman grupos delincuentes orientándose hacia tipos más serios de delincuencia: robos con fractura, asalto a mano armada, prostitución y tráfico de droga.

El Estado intentó solucionar este problema mediante el aumento del aparato represivo, en especial la policía y los juzgados; a las escuelas se les llamó a jugar un rol más activo con los delincuentes y predelincentes y se crearon instituciones especializadas que desgraciadamente por falta de fondos no tuvieron impacto alguno. Conforme el Estado tomó en sus manos el control social informal, hasta entonces ejercido por la comunidad, las familias, personas y organizaciones indígenas, éstas se debilitaron y prácticamente se ilegítimizaron. El monopolio se concentró en manos de instituciones vastas e impersonales orientadas hacia la aplicación de la ley. Entendemos que este esquema continúa a prevalecer en la actualidad.

A pesar de estas similitudes económicas, el desajuste social juvenil y la criminalidad adulta no han seguido un patrón uniforme. La dimensión, tipo y gravedad de los delitos varía de comunidad a comunidad, dependiendo en parte de la fuerza de las normas existentes con respecto a tales conductas que han sobrevivido a pesar de los cambios en las relaciones económicas y, en parte, del grado de capacidad de los agentes formales de control social de ganarse el respeto y la cooperación de la ciudadanía.

A nosotros nos pareció que el aspecto más interesante de este problema y el que ofrecía una mayor posibilidad de potencial de intervención constructiva a corto plazo, era el que enfocaba las diferencias culturales, éstas parecen ser las variables fundamentales de intervención que determinan el nivel de criminalidad que la comunidad podría sufrir cuando experimentaba cambios económicos traumáticos.

b) El delito como cultura

La cultura es más que entretenimiento popular, arte o literatura. En este estudio se la define en términos antropológicos; el total global de conocimientos, valores sociales y patrones de comportamiento impartidos a una raza o pueblo específico. Dentro de esta matriz, las normas sociales que gobiernan las relaciones interpersonales y los derechos de propiedad son los que pueden ser o no congruentes con las normas establecidas por el Estado. Ciertos tipos de comportamiento pueden ser proscritos por la ley pero tolerados y hasta apoyados por

algunos grupos sociales en una comunidad determinada.

Por otra parte, podría existir un brecha entre la ley establecida por la legislación, las declaraciones oficiales y decisiones adoptadas por los tribunales y la experiencia concreta de grupos e individuos localizados en los distintos niveles de la estructura social. Un punto útil para la comprensión del desajuste social y de la delincuencia juvenil o adulta dentro de un contexto social particular, sería la revisión de cómo están definidos estos conceptos y como son experimentados en la vida cotidiana por la población afectada. Esta población incluiría: los delincuentes, las víctimas, los agentes de control social que trabajan a nivel público y finalmente las personas con quienes estos grupos interactúan y dan significado social a sus conductas.

Un estudio de esta naturaleza no debería limitarse a las definiciones legales sino que debería tratar de descubrir la definición social del delito y el impacto de las fuerzas culturales sobre la etiología de la delincuencia y sobre la forma en que la sociedad responde por medios oficiales o extraoficiales.

Los cambios culturales ocurren en forma relativamente gradual y mientras son afectados por la ley, los cambios en las condiciones económicas y tecnológicas, estos cambios se ven intervenidos y moldeados por los patrones culturales existentes dentro de un país. La política gubernamental tanto por acción u omisión puede reforzar, fomentar o combatir ciertas características culturales específicas, pero los principales portadores de cultura son los grupos primarios, especialmente la familia. En pocas palabras, la cultura se transmite socialmente.

En períodos de cambio social rápido, o en una sociedad con grandes divisiones en materia económica, racial o social, los individuos y los grupos presentan una tendencia a situarse diferenciadamente dentro de la cultura dominante incluso algunos pueden encontrarse en conflicto con ciertos elementos de esa cultura. En los casos extremos en que los individuos están desarraigados del contexto cultural que les es familiar para ser expuestos a situaciones de vida radicalmente diferentes, donde incluso las posibilidades de sobrevivencia les induce a abandonar las normas de conductas aprendidas, pueden temporalmente experimentar un vacío cultural conocido como anomia. Este vacío tiende a ser rápidamente colmado por el hecho que estos individuos se agrupan con otros y colectivamente forman grupos de subcultura que proveen normas de conducta, justificaciones y técnicas para la convivencia en una situación común.

La bandas juveniles son unos de estos grupos y la dimensión,

estructura y grado de solidaridad interna de tales grupos varía según se trate de asociaciones libres o de estructuras organizadas jerárquicamente con distribución de trabajo y responsabilidades definidas. Las normas de conducta que gobiernan el comportamiento individual de estos grupos dependen en parte de las oportunidades de que se dispone para solventar las necesidades de sus miembros — dinero, estatus, socialización, etc. — y de la reacción de la sociedad en general, especialmente de la reacción oficial.

Raramente un grupo presenta un total aislamiento de la cultura general. Mientras que los individuos pueden ser marginalizados al menos desde el punto de vista de su participación en la economía legal, ellos frecuentemente tienen algunos lazos con otros grupos sociales, lingüísticos y étnicos, así como con su familia, tal vez la escuela y otras relaciones de amistad. Paradójicamente, pueden existir pequeños conflictos en los objetivos personales o en el prestigio social entre los miembros de grupos estigmatizados como delincuentes y aquéllos no tan estigmatizados. Las diferencias existentes podrían ser únicamente en relación con los medios que pueden ser usados para alcanzar objetivos universalmente aceptados.

Por ejemplo, la reacción oficial y la reacción comunitaria con respecto a un grupo de delincuentes implicados en actividades de robo pueden ser más severas como respuesta a conductas específicas de sus miembros pero al mismo tiempo puede reforzar algunos de los objetivos del grupo — la obtención de riqueza, poder y prestigio. En este sentido, los delitos contra la propiedad refuerzan el valor de ésta y en países donde su adquisición es una medida de prestigio social, el delito no es un acto revolucionario pero sí un acto que consolida el estatus quo.

A nivel de la sociedad puede existir una admiración oculta por algunas características personales que exhiben los delincuentes juveniles, independencia, audacia, iniciativa, poder físico, etc. La cultura popular puede incluso convertir en «heróes populares» a ciertos criminales cuyos actos son considerados como una diversión.

Si existe corrupción o si se piensa que exista tanto en el gobierno, como en los grandes negocios o si las agencias oficiales de control social (especialmente la policía y el ejército) pierden la legitimidad violando las normas de conducta universalmente aceptadas, la autoridad moral de los funcionarios del Estado se verá debilitada y las prescripciones de comportamiento propuestas por la cultura dominante, en gran parte neutralizadas.

Si el vecindario es nuevo, sin organización ni estabilidad y com-

puesto por «familias» en las que los patrones tradicionales de amistad se han roto, existen pocas presiones como contrapartida de las normas de conducta que deberán ser aprendidas por el grupo.

El delito en consecuencia no puede considerarse como un complejo patológico aislado de las fuerzas culturales que prevalecen en una sociedad. Incluso la noción de subcultura es algo confusa debido a que se refiere a un fenómeno un poco oscuro en contraposición con la cultura dominante. Los elementos criminogénicos están arraigados en los procesos sociales globales y no surgen mágicamente de los trabajos internos de una parte de la sociedad, mientras que los delitos cometidos por los pobres son los más visibles y más fácilmente detectables. Una explicación apropiada requiere un análisis no solamente de los factores que predisponen a los individuos y grupos a cometer delitos sino también de los factores sociales, económicos y culturales que determinan no solamente el marco dentro del cual estos delitos se cometen, sino también las razones para ello.

La evidencia sugiere que incluso en circunstancias en las que todos los elementos criminogénicos antes mencionados están presentes, el delito no es considerado como algo intrínsecamente bueno incluso por parte de aquéllos que lo cometen (a pesar de que justifican su conducta en base a necesidades económicas). La delincuencia juvenil tiende a ser un fenómeno intra-clases, es decir la mayoría de las víctimas pertenecen a la misma clase social a la que pertenecen los delincuentes.

Los resultados de investigaciones en los países en vías de desarrollo sugieren que el delito contra la propiedad no es una forma de redistribución de ingresos a los pobres sino que únicamente un reciclaje de ingresos entre los pobres. Los costos sociales son pagados por aquellos que tienen menos posibilidades: los pobres de las zonas urbanas. En consecuencia, el delito contra la propiedad es una amenaza para la precaria situación económica de los residentes de las comunidades más pobres y tiende a ser universalmente condenado dentro de esas comunidades.

Los valores tradicionales que contienen fuertes proscripciones contra el robo han sobrevivido a la transformación de la sociedad rural en sociedad urbana y son estos valores los que forman la materia prima de las estrategias de defensa social sugeridas por nuestra investigación.

Teniendo en cuenta publicaciones actuales en esta materia no pensamos que los niveles actuales de delincuencia adulta y juvenil en el así llamado Tercer Mundo sea una consecuencia inevitable de la modernización ni tampoco aceptamos el punto de vista de los que preconizan una reestructuración global de la sociedad y la eliminación de las

diferencias de clases.

Aun si se acepta que los objetivos de justicia económica y social no son sólo asequibles en sí sino que ofrecen la solución más acertada para la delincuencia juvenil a largo plazo, es en el inmediato, que las comunidades deben encontrar los medios de mejorar los aspectos más graves del problema. Lo que queremos evitar es el pesimismo inherente a toda teoría determinista sobre causalidad criminal. La eliminación de la pobreza aun si representa un objetivo muy laudable a largo plazo, no está en el horizonte inmediato de la mayor parte de los países que estamos estudiando y tampoco es realista esperar una inversión de tendencias hacia un incremento de la industrialización y urbanización.

Un enfoque cultural del problema presenta además otras ventajas: primero, explica mejor la evidencia puesto que si el crimen es la consecuencia inevitable de la pobreza, de los conflictos de clases y la corrupción oficial, entonces ¿porqué no hay muchos más delitos?; ¿porqué países con sistemas económicos y niveles de prosperidad personal similares no presentan las mismas tasas de criminalidad?; ¿porqué las tasas de criminalidad en los Estados Unidos y los países de Europa Occidental fueron acompañados en los años cincuenta y sesenta por incrementos en los niveles absolutos de prosperidad? Las explicaciones centradas en la noción de deprivación relativa que derivan de la injusta distribución de la riqueza o las que enfocan el tema de la oportunidad para cometer delitos en una sociedad rica, parecen poco adecuadas para explicar totalmente este fenómeno.

Japón, Suiza y ciertos países del Cercano Oriente, para dar sólo unos pocos ejemplos, han mantenido los valores culturales tradicionales en la fase de industrialización y conquista de la prosperidad y presentan tasas de criminalidad inferiores a otras naciones que se encuentran en niveles de desarrollo económico similar. No se sabe hasta qué punto estos países pueden mantener la situación actual desde la perspectiva de la penetración cultural en la sociedad global. Los países socialistas han obtenido un cierto éxito en la prevención de ciertos tipos de delitos relacionados en la urbanización rápida y no planificada mediante el control de la migración interna. Sin embargo, otro tipo de conducta criminal, especialmente los delitos económicos por parte de personas representantes de la autoridad, así como los delitos violentos relacionados con el alcoholismo continúan a ser preocupantes en los países socialistas.

En segundo lugar, un enfoque cultural ayuda a situar la investigación en las comunidades al estudio, permitiendo de ubicarnos den-

tro de las definiciones tal como son entendidas por los habitantes locales evitando así la tendencia al imperialismo intelectual que caracteriza numerosas investigaciones realizadas por estudios de formación occidental.

En tercer lugar una explicación cultural ofrece mayores posibilidades para la planificación de estrategias a medio plazo teniendo en cuenta la capacidad actual de los países al estudio. Mientras que las expectativas respecto al mejoramiento sustancial mediante las políticas gubernamentales deben ser modestas y con resultados reducidos, son éstos los que ofrecen objetivos realistas al límite de la revolución.

Un enfoque cultural tiene en cuenta el desarrollo de una respuesta social indígena compatible con las condiciones locales y los patrones culturales. La tendencia a adoptar patrones formales de control social desarrollados en el occidente industrializado, no sirven para cubrir las necesidades del mundo en desarrollo. De todas maneras, se intenta en vano por parte de los países desarrollados encontrar un modelo que permita un cierto éxito en el enfrentamiento de la delincuencia asociada con la rápida urbanización.

En síntesis, poniendo la criminalidad en relación con ciertas formas específicas de transformación cultural que ha sido experimentada en los países del presente estudio, se espera de identificar las principales tendencias de la política a seguir.

Volvamos ahora a la noción de desarrollo, la cual no se restringe en este trabajo a la noción de desarrollo económico, sino que usaremos la muy conocida definición utilizada por la UNESCO que establece que: ...«El desarrollo, en resumen es un proceso integral e interrelacionado que genera y requiere cambios profundos en las conquistas económicas, sociales y culturales...» Tampoco vemos el desarrollo como siguiendo inevitablemente un mismo patrón, sino que usando nuevamente el concepto de la UNESCO: ...«no es de ninguna manera un proceso unilineal que se mueve equilibrada y constantemente hacia ciertos patrones predeterminados de modelos y valores». Diferencias importantes en la forma en que las fuerzas políticas, culturales y sociales se expresan, sea en los países capitalistas que socialistas que han experimentado un desarrollo económico, debería representar una advertencia permitiendo a los países que actualmente están atravesando un proceso de desarrollo económico de evitar los errores cometidos por sus predecesores.

Incluso a nivel económico, el orden económico mundial ha cambiado rápidamente desde que Europa Occidental y América del Norte se industrializaron. La aparición de poderosas empresas transnacio-

nales, el paso de industrias con uso intensivo de mano de obra hacia la intensificación del capital, la reducción de las necesidades de mano de obra no calificada, la crisis energética, son algunos de los factores que impiden que el Tercer Mundo pueda beneficiar del proceso de industrialización experimentado por Europa occidental en el siglo XVIII y por Norteamérica poco después; aunque por supuesto existen algunas similitudes o paralelos.

La destrucción de las economías campesinas y la migración masiva hacia las áreas urbanas ha creado grupos de personas en situación marginal en relación con las nuevas economías emergentes, que están en peligro de convertirse en «marginales» permanentes. El impacto cultural sobre estos últimos es muy grande. Los nuevos «urbanos pobres» se encuentran separados de las estructuras sociales y rurales basadas en relaciones tribales y de parentela que proveían no sólo la subsistencia sino también la socialización. Por primera vez su existencia física depende de su participación en la economía de mercado al que tienen acceso muy limitado.

Finalmente no estamos en condiciones de emitir juicios de valor en el sentido de que todas las formas de desarrollo son necesariamente positivas. La desafortunada propensión a considerar que desarrollo equivale a progreso y al progreso como bueno, tiene dos implicaciones: primero, que el mundo no industrializado debería seguir el camino del mundo desarrollado y segundo, que las naciones que no han pasado por el proceso de completa industrialización, son, en muchos aspectos importantes, inferiores de aquellas que no lo han tenido.

c) Reseñación de la literatura

Esta breve reseñación se limita a aquellas publicaciones que han analizado el impacto del desarrollo económico sobre la criminalidad. Desgraciadamente, la mayoría de las obras conocidas han sido escritas por expertos europeos y norteamericanos y presentan conceptos teóricos que se limitan, en gran parte, a dar un enfoque cultural. Las mencionamos no porque jueguen un rol decisivo en nuestra investigación sino porque son las obras que dominan el panorama.

La teoría criminológica desarrollada en Europa occidental data desde los primeros trabajos de Quetelet y Lombroso. Lombroso analizó las características individuales del delincuente mientras que para Quetelet el problema más importante de la criminología era identificar los factores sociales que inciden sobre la presencia y distribución

del delito en la sociedad. Ambos enfoques, el individualista y el que analiza la delincuencia desde una perspectiva más amplia predominan aún actualmente.

El francés Guerry analizó el impacto de la edad, sexo, raza, educación, profesión y condiciones económicas sobre el delito y detectó una gran semejanza y regularidad en los patrones criminales de los países de Europa occidental llegando a la conclusión que los métodos científicos podían ser aplicados al estudio de la conducta delictiva. Guerry fue seguido por Tarde, quien constató que las tasas de criminalidad aumentaban rápidamente con la industrialización de la sociedad y desarrolló el concepto de «imitación» para explicar el aumento de la criminalidad en las ciudades de desarrollo muy rápido. Hizo especulaciones respecto al crecimiento de las áreas urbanas que servía como campo de aprendizaje de la actividad criminal donde los recién llegados aprendían a imitar a aquéllos que ya estaban orientados criminalmente. Tanto Marx como Engels comentando sobre el aumento de las tasas de criminalidad que acompañaban la industrialización, intentaron explicar el fenómeno en términos de explotación de la clase trabajadora, que resultaba en la creación del «lumpen proletariado» el cual era forzado a cometer crímenes por necesidad económica.

Al contrario de Marx y Engels, Durkheim sostuvo que era la transformación de las relaciones dentro de la sociedad, más que el sistema económico, el responsable del inesperado pasaje de tasas relativamente constantes de criminalidad a tasas aceleradas que acompañaban la rápida urbanización. La contribución teórica más importante de Durkheim a la criminología es la formulación del concepto de anomia: este concepto ha obtenido amplio apoyo ya que presenta una universalidad que no tienen otras teorías de la conducta criminal. De acuerdo con esta teoría, cuando una sociedad atraviesa un estado de transición rápida, las reglas que gobiernan la conducta se deterioran o desaparecen. Por otra parte, aumentan las aspiraciones para la conquista de bienes materiales. Ciudades que él llamó «ciudadelas de soledad» estimulan pero nunca satisfacen la ambición. La anomia crónica aparece cuando se da una importancia excesiva al progreso material sin la contrapartida de las presiones sociales que deberían regular y canalizar la conducta humana dentro de límites socialmente aceptables.

Los estudiosos norteamericanos han tomado el concepto de anomia en forma mucho más amplia. El trabajo pionero de Robert Merton representó un elemento de fondo a través del cual se desarrollaron otras explicaciones específicas. De acuerdo con Merton, la delincuencia es más factible en sociedades en las que el éxito es el objetivo

social principal pero donde la mayoría de los individuos no tiene la posibilidad de adquirir los bienes o el estatus social que representa el éxito. El se concentró en la «falsa promesa» de recompensa material en una sociedad de consumo. Los individuos que se ven imposibilitados de llegar al éxito por medio de vías socialmente aceptadas escogen medios ilegítimos para obtenerlo.

Paralelamente a la teoría de anomia de Merton, Thorsten Sellin propuso su teoría de conflicto cultural. Según Sellin ciertos tipos de delito en los Estados Unidos podrían explicarse en términos de conflicto entre las normas de códigos culturales diferentes y que causan choques en los límites de las áreas culturales contiguas; estos choques pueden encontrar su expresión en la delincuencia y criminalidad juvenil cuando las leyes culturales de un grupo se extienden dentro del territorio de otro grupo.

Edwin Sutherland, contemporáneo de Merton y Sellin, es reconocido como uno de los precursores de la criminología norteamericana y formuló la noción de la «asociación diferencial». Sutherland consideraba que la etiología provenía de los cambios económicos y sociales vinculados con la industrialización en el mundo occidental, acompañados por un individualismo muy acentuado y una apología del éxito material.

En ese universo las personas están situadas diversamente dentro de la matriz social; existen individuos que se identifican con las normas delictivas de conducta, otros que aceptan las proscripciones contra la conducta criminal. Según Sutherland un individuo presentaría una tendencia a cometer delitos si se asocia con el primero en vez de con el último. En consecuencia, la conducta criminal se aprende mediante la interacción con otros y el grado en que se adquieran los hábitos y normas criminales está determinado por la intensidad y duración de la asociación con los criminales existentes.

Un grupo o comunidad criminógena es aquél en el que existe un «exceso de definiciones favorables a la comisión de delitos». Tanto los criminales como los no criminales están motivados por el deseo de adquirir bienes materiales, sin embargo el individuo no criminal está lo suficientemente compenetrado con las normas y valores sociales como para realizar sus deseos mediante medios legítimos, mientras que los criminales lograrán sus objetivos por medios ilegítimos.

La teoría de la asociación diferencial y sus precursores presentan una serie de limitaciones. Ante todo, el razonamiento es tautológico, puesto que decir que un individuo es un delincuente porque se identifica con valores delictivos es claramente una cuestión circular. La teoría

es más descriptiva que eurística. Aún si es cierto que existen un sin fin de definiciones favorables a la criminalidad en los grupos delincuentes ¿qué es lo que esto demuestra?. El hecho de que existan individuos que eligen la vía de la delincuencia, presenta poca correlación con el sentimiento de frustración con respecto a los bienes materiales; por otra parte, esta teoría ofrece una visión limitada de los factores económicos, culturales y sociales que tienen un impacto diferencial sobre los diversos grupos sociales en el seno de la sociedad.

El punto más importante es que la acción deferenciada no brinda un esquema útil a efectos de una intervención social.

Un intento para colmar las lagunas de la teoría de Sutherland fue realizado por el profesores norteamericanos Shaw y McKay en los años 30. De acuerdo con su teoría de la «desorganización social», las áreas urbanas caracterizadas por condiciones económicas pobres (con conflicto de valores morales) y falta de organización comunitaria y alienación de parte de las agencias formales de control social, proporciona el cuadro dentro del cual el crimen es visto por muchos de los habitantes como un medio no sólo de supervivencia sino también de estatus social.

Según esta teoría, los jóvenes de áreas socialmente desorganizadas adoptan conductas delincuentes porque están alienados por sus padres y por las instituciones sociales. Cualquiera que haya sido la validez de esta teoría en los años 30, no puede ser aplicada a etapas posteriores de transformación social, caracterizadas por el descenso de la movilidad social y la organización formal de la comunidad. La teoría de desorganización social no puede explicar la perpetuación de los altos niveles de criminalidad urbana durante las fases ulteriores de desarrollo. Sin embargo, la escuela criminológica de Chicago identificada con Shaw y McKay, ha tenido un impacto duradero sobre el pensamiento criminológico norteamericano.

La idea de trabajar con las comunidades locales dentro de estructuras sociales con las cuales los residentes se pueden identificar, como un medio de prevención del delito, encuentra expresión en los programas basados en la comunidad.

Cloward y Ohlin tomaron el concepto de anomia, creado por Durkheim y desarrollado por Merton con una óptica más amplia. Según estos autores los jóvenes americanos de clases bajas perciben correctamente que sus oportunidades para lograr el éxito material y estatus social son limitadas; en consecuencia buscan otros medios para lograr sus objetivos. La diferencia entre lo que ellos desean y lo que realmente pueden esperar los empuja a buscar el éxito por medios

ilegítimos.

La sociedad norteamericana, particularmente en las grandes ciudades, proporciona tanto una estructura de oportunidades legítimas como ilegítimas. El que un individuo escoja medios legítimos o ilegítimos depende en parte del grado de bloqueo de la movilidad dentro de la sociedad.

Muchos escritores han estudiado el funcionamiento interno de la subcultura delincuente, particularmente las bandas juveniles en los Estados Unidos. Según Albert Cohen las subculturas delincuentes se presentan como una solución colectiva a la incapacidad de los individuos de superarlos dentro de las estructuras sociales existentes.

Mediante el cambio de las normas de estatus y éxito en sus propios términos, las actividades del grupo se dirigen hacia la obtención de objetivos a corto plazo, el vandalismo lo que crea es status y emoción no logros económicos. De acuerdo con Cohen, Walter Miller y otros el predominio de estos objetivos a corto plazo entre los jóvenes de clases bajas es lo que explica la generalizada delincuencia y la relativa seriedad y destructividad de sus actos delictivos.

Se ha criticado, sin embargo, que entre los jóvenes de clase media existen altas tasas de criminalidad y que cualquier teoría que tome esto en cuenta deberá ser obviamente parcial. Investigaciones recientes también han mostrado que el rechazo de los valores de la clase media por los miembros de los grupos delincuentes no es tan marcado como sugieren los teóricos de la subcultura delincuente.

El pensamiento criminológico norteamericano está atravesando por un momento de transición. Las teorías de causalidad criminal basadas en el «sueño americano» comprendido por todos los ciudadanos norteamericanos debe ser modificado a la luz de recientes evidencias de investigación que sugieren que por primera vez en la historia norteamericana, la generación actual que se encuentra en la adolescencia no busca alcanzar mayor estatus social y éxito económico que sus padres.

Debido a ciertas carencias en el pensamiento criminológico norteamericano, sería irresponsable exportarlo acriticamente hacia otros países. Todas estas teorías presentan respuestas parciales al problema de la criminalidad contemporánea, están en gran parte determinadas culturalmente y surgieron en un momento particular de la evolución de la sociedad americana y siguen siendo predicadas en muchas grandes ciudades americanas de rápido crecimiento en las que entonces existían altas expectativas de prosperidad material sin los medios adecuados de acceso a ese bienestar para todos.

Hasta cierto punto el «sueño americano» ha sido exportado a los países que actualmente están en desarrollo, pero para muchos residentes de las zonas urbanas de estos países el problema es la supervivencia y el «llegar a la cima» no es algo que interese a la mayoría de ellos.

Hasta hace muy poco las teorías criminológicas de origen occidental no hablaban de la criminalidad en los países no industrializados, sin embargo en la última década han aparecido tres libros importantes que intentan colmar esta laguna. El trabajo pionero de Clinard y Abbott «*Delincuencia en los países en desarrollo*» es un punto de partida, pero intenta adaptar datos provenientes de países en desarrollo a la teoría de la asociación diferencial enunciada por Sutherland en los Estados Unidos. Clinard y Abbott ven el delito en los países en vías de desarrollo como una réplica a fenómenos que ocurrieron en Europa occidental y en los Estados Unidos unos 100 años antes y ofrecen como posibles soluciones programas similares a los sugeridos por Shaw y McKay para Chicago en los años 30 y que tampoco produjeron los resultados esperados.

El segundo libro es el de Louise Shelley denominado «*Delincuencia y Modernización*» publicado en 1981. Una de las ventajas de este libro es que intenta integrar datos de varias regiones del mundo e incluye, por primera vez, un análisis comparativo tanto de los países socialistas que capitalistas. Su tesis no es diferente a la de Abbott y Clinard que ve el delito en los últimos 200 años como una respuesta a lo que ella llama «modernización».

En particular ella ve el sello distintivo de la modernización como la transición de una sociedad dominada por el delito violento a otra sociedad dominada por el creciente delito contra la propiedad. Los elementos críticos de la modernización son para esta autora, la industrialización y la migración masiva hacia los centros urbanos, lo cual rompe con los patrones familiares e institucionales tradicionales.

Como Clinard y Abbott, ella ve el futuro de los países en desarrollo como una imitación de lo que ya sucedió en el mundo industrializado que ahora se dirige hacia la era post-industrial. Nuestra principal crítica al libro de Shelley radica en la vaguedad del concepto de «modernización». ¿Qué es lo que se ha modernizado?; ¿los modos de producción, las relaciones sociales, el ambiente físico o las infraestructuras gubernamentales?

Han habido cambios, pero ¿en qué forma específica estos cambios producen delincuencia?; ¿cuáles son las variables que intervienen, que mediatizan su impacto y explican las diferencias entre las tasas

de criminalidad entre países con similares niveles de desarrollo económico?. La respuesta a esta última pregunta es lo que podría ayudar a una mejor comprensión de la etiología de la delincuencia en términos específicos y en formas que fuesen adecuadas para dar una respuesta social por parte de los gobiernos.

Aceptar la tesis de la autora, de que el aumento de la criminalidad es la inevitable consecuencia del paso del tiempo en toda sociedad, independientemente de su estado de desarrollo, sistema social o antecedentes culturales es demasiado determinista para que sea aceptable.

Bajo el título «*Criminalidad, justicia y subdesarrollo*» se ha publicado una interesante selección de ensayos críticos editados por Colin Summer. Con un enfoque marxista, los colaboradores a este volumen ven el delito como una consecuencia inevitable del capitalismo colonialista e intentan de mostrar cómo la ley penal y el Estado son utilizados en la transformación de las sociedades rurales indígenas en economías urbanizadas, pero dependientes con problemas crónicos de alta desocupación y subocupación como principal característica.

En la introducción, Summer hace algunas críticas severas a los dos libros antes mencionados. La criminalidad de los pobres, el desconocimiento de los delitos de los poderosos, el no reconocer el rol de la policía y el ejército en las dictaduras militares y de los cambios ocurridos en la economía mundial, alterarían las premoniciones de «repetición retardada» que hacen tanto Shelly como Clinard y Abbott.

Sin embargo, cuando se trata de hacer sugerencias de políticas sociales, el libro tiene muy poco que ofrecer, excepto por la implícita llamada a la transformación del orden capitalista en socialista. Como los otros dos libros previos, esta colección asume que el delito es consecuencia inevitable de cambios en las relaciones económicas.

Nuestra búsqueda de un paradigma nos ha empujado a salir de la ortodoxia actual, abandonando las principales corrientes criminológicas y encaminarnos, con cierta vacilación, hacia la vía inexplorada de la «criminología del Tercer Mundo». Esta primera etapa es sólo una tentativa, que el tiempo podrá decir si es correcta. Como un ciego perdido al lado de la montaña que debe escalar, cada paso aún errado, lo acercará a la cumbre.

d) Metodología

En todos los proyectos de investigación, las decisiones que se toman antes de la recolección y análisis de los datos tienen profundos

efectos en lo que se encontrará o descubrirá en el transcurso de la misma. Decisiones como la escogencia de los sujetos, las preguntas que deben formularse, la forma en la cual la información será recopilada, los instrumentos de investigación que se utilizarán, etc., pueden conducir a resultados muy diferentes.

Cuanto mejor definido esté el tema, sobre la base de investigaciones previas o el conocimiento general del fenómeno, más precisa y uniforme será la metodología. Por otra parte, si el fenómeno no se conoce bien o si no existen suficientes bases teóricas o empíricas, entonces será importante empezar por una perspectiva general, sacrificando hasta cierto punto la uniformidad, confiabilidad y repetición, en el interés de obtener información que describa válidamente el fenómeno.

En el presente caso sólo podemos asumir dos cosas sobre la base de lo que la literatura y el sentido común indican. Primero, que existe una proposición ampliamente aceptada de que las altas tasas de desajuste social juvenil están asociadas con la urbanización rápida, la cual sería una hipótesis que vale la pena de comprobar. En segundo lugar, que a pesar de ello, las tasas de criminalidad parecen ser diferentes en países con tasas similares de crecimiento. Incluso algunos autores tratan de explicar esas diferencias desde el punto de vista de las variaciones en los grados de cohesión social y en especial los lazos de parentela que sobreviven a la transformación de la sociedad rural en sociedad urbana.

Si este fuera el caso, sería entonces más importante determinar el grado y la forma en que intervienen los factores culturales.

Después de varias discusiones en el UNSDRI y de negociaciones con visitas a alrededor de 10 ciudades en países en vías de desarrollo, se incluyó en el estudio a dos ciudades latinoamericanas (Bogotá y San José, en Colombia y Costa Rica respectivamente), dos ciudades africanas (Dakar y Lagos, en Senegal y Nigeria) y un área metropolitana de la India (Bombay). Se esperaba que el nivel de diferencias culturales entre estas ciudades nos permitiría comprobar nuestras hipótesis básicas.

Dada la ausencia de investigación en el área y nuestro deseo de evitar de definir el fenómeno por adelantado se decidió que sería interesante intentar de comprender el desajuste social juvenil desde la perspectiva de los residentes y profesionales locales de las ciudades escogidas. Se decidió entonces obtener seis muestras de las opiniones y actitudes en cada ciudad. Se seleccionaron dos áreas en cada ciudad, una que era relativamente estable en términos de crecimiento demográfico (designada como A1) y otra área que había sufrido un creci-

miento demográfico rápido en los últimos años (designada como A2).

Rápidamente se descubrió que en la mayoría de los países participantes no era posible encontrar dos áreas en la ciudad escogida que fueran similares en distintos aspectos salvo en cuanto a crecimiento demográfico. Los modelos típico-ideales de comunidades urbanas emanados a través de la teoría debieron dar paso a la realidad de una compleja mezcla de factores sociales, económicos y culturales propios de cada una de las áreas finalmente seleccionadas.

Como nuestro interés se desplazaba más hacia la comprensión del impacto de factores sociales y culturales sobre el desajuste social, la dificultad inicial de la investigación no fue más un problema sino una ventaja. De cada área de las ciudades seleccionadas se obtuvieron tres muestras de opinión: 200 de adultos, 200 de jóvenes y 50 de profesionales trabajando en cada área.

Debido a la ausencia de posibilidades de un muestreo adecuado, fue necesario permitir cierta flexibilidad en la selección de los sujetos que serían entrevistados y en el caso de dos países no fue posible encontrar suficientes profesionales para completar los 50 requeridos. La dimensión de la muestra completa (aproximadamente 900 personas por país) nos dió suficiente confianza de que la opinión recogida reflejaría la población de la que fueron extraídas.

Por otra parte cuando la información fue finalmente enviada al UNSDRI para ser analizada pareció haber importantes diferencias en las características físicas de la muestra, como edad, sexo, educación y ocupación lo que debería explicar algunas de las diferencias en las respuestas a ciertas preguntas.

La sección siguiente a este capítulo se refiere a esas diferencias. Dado que se había decidido dar la máxima flexibilidad para evitar hipótesis precisas y permanecer dentro de las definiciones de la situación tal como era entendida por los residentes locales, fue necesario hacer preguntas muy generales dirigidas a la comprensión del significado cotidiano y corriente de desajuste social juvenil en la comunidad como un todo.

Se necesitaba naturalmente cierta uniformidad y por lo tanto se decidió que las mismas preguntas se harían en los diferentes países y que se usaría una combinación de preguntas abiertas y cerradas. Los cuestionarios se escribieron originalmente en inglés y debieron ser traducidos al idioma de cada uno de los países participantes. En el caso de la India y de las dos ciudades africanas, debieron ser interpretados en los idiomas locales. Debido a las diferencias en la interpretación cultural de las palabras, se produjeron ciertas pérdidas en la unifor-

midad: no obstante, las preguntas eran de tal simplicidad que se espera que tal pérdida haya estado dentro de límites aceptables.

Las preguntas formuladas pueden clasificarse en 7 grandes dimensiones del fenómeno que los asesores locales sugirieron como pertinentes para sus propios países y para el enfoque teórico requerido:

a) *descripción general* de las características sociales, económicas, demográficas de las dos áreas seleccionadas en cada ciudad; información que en su mayor parte fue suministrada por los equipos locales de investigación;

b) *los aspectos básicos sobre la vida cotidiana de los jóvenes*, información que se obtuvo mediante los cuestionarios aplicados a las tres muestras de población;

c) *el fenómeno del desajuste social juvenil*; deseábamos determinar la forma en que la comunidad define y responde al desajuste social juvenil en cada área. Se decidió no restringir el concepto de desajuste social juvenil a las categorías legales de delincuencia juvenil contenidas en la legislación nacional, sino a todas las formas de comportamiento definidas como problemáticas. Nuestro deseo era descubrir las percepciones y actitudes de la comunidad, su nivel de tolerancia y sus predicciones para el futuro, de allí que muchas preguntas del cuestionario estaban destinadas a esto;

d) *la fuerza de los lazos familiares y de amistad*; como la escasa investigación que se había realizado en los países en vías de desarrollo tendía a señalar que el grado de desajuste social juvenil que una comunidad sufre depende en parte de los controles sociales ejercidos sobre jóvenes y adultos, quienes están vinculados con ellos por relaciones familiares u otras, se decidió incorporar en el cuestionario algunas preguntas al respecto;

e) *la fuerza de los lazos comunitarios*; además de las relaciones familiares, es de esperar que la comunidad como un todo pueda tener cierta influencia sobre la conducta de los jóvenes, de manera que se consideró importante incluir algunas preguntas sobre las estructuras sociales formales e informales en la comunidad y sobre cómo los jóvenes se relacionaban con ellas;

f) *relaciones con las agencias formales de control social*; dado que la policía, tribunales minoriles y otras agencias sociales tienen responsabilidad jurídica hacia los jóvenes pareció importante conocer cómo son percibidas esas agencias por los jóvenes y sus padres y determinar igualmente cómo perciben los profesionales su rol. Finalmente, pareció útil comparar las percepciones y actitudes de esas agencias entre las tres muestras de personas;

g) *recomendaciones para políticas sociales futuras*; hicimos algunas preguntas en relación con las medidas que podrían ser tomadas por los gobiernos a fin de combatir más efectivamente el desajuste social juvenil. Esperábamos conocer el tipo de recomendaciones que deberían hacerse y el grado de acuerdo dentro y entre los tres grupos entrevistados. Pensamos que la información recopilada sería útil para los gobiernos interesados a fin de diseñar respuestas sociales apropiadas, respuestas que no sólo incluirían la experiencia colectiva de la población directamente involucrada sino que debería recibir el apoyo del público.

e) Descripción de las muestras

Una muestra representa adecuadamente a la población de la que es escogida si en todos los aspectos relevantes ésta tiene características similares o idénticas a su población de origen. Esto se realiza generalmente mediante la selección de una muestra al azar de una lista que comprende la población global de individuos o familias. En este caso no fue posible lograrlo debido a que en la mayoría de los países participantes no existe un sistema de muestreo adecuado y la única alternativa fue solicitar a los equipos locales de obtener una muestra que fuera lo más representativa posible.

No obstante, ciertos prejuicios fueron evidentes después de un rápido examen de las características básicas de las muestras, existen en cuanto a edad, sexo y ocupación entre las diferentes muestras establecidas.

Podemos suponer que algunas de las diferencias en las respuestas a las preguntas particulares del cuestionario se debieron a la composición de las muestras. Por ejemplo, se puede asumir que los asistentes sociales y los oficiales de policía consideran el desajuste social juvenil en forma más bien diferente, de la misma manera son de esperar diferencias en las respuestas de la menores mujeres y menores varones, así como entre las de los jóvenes y los adultos.

En el caso de los profesionales, la fracción de la muestra, es decir, la proporción que la muestra representa del total de la población, es muy alta y en algunos casos alcanza el 100%. El prejuicio de la muestra fue un problema, sin embargo debido a las diferencias nacionales en la composición de los profesionales trabajando con jóvenes, pueden aparecer ciertos problemas de interpretación. Por ejemplo, el número de mujeres que desempeñan trabajos profesionales varía de un país a otro y tenemos grandes diferencias en cuanto a la composi-

ción femenina de las muestras. Igualmente, algunos países tienen un sistema relativamente bien establecido de apoyo profesional de funcionarios trabajando con jóvenes, mientras que otros consideran que es necesario contar más con la policía y los tribunales.

Así, la formación de los profesionales varía en gran medida de país a país. Siendo este el caso, debe evitarse de hacer una interpretación muy amplia de los datos, particularmente si se desea hacer comparaciones. Puede ser que las diferencias en las respuestas de los profesionales a nuestras preguntas tenga que ver más con el tipo de profesionales entrevistados, que con la naturaleza objetiva del desajuste social juvenil en las áreas en las que trabaja.

Teniendo esta aclaración en mente, es necesario ser prudente respecto de los hallazgos y restringir los análisis comparativos a algunas cuestiones muy generales fuertemente apoyadas por nuestros datos y concentrarnos en los resultados de los cuestionarios cuando los datos apoyan en forma aplastante algunas conclusiones particulares.

Problemas parecidos se presentaron a la hora de seleccionar las áreas geográficas de cada ciudad. Esto fue más bien dejado en manos de los equipos locales, a quienes se solicitó seguir ciertos lineamientos establecidos durante la reunión de los equipos locales realizada en UNSDRI en Enero de 1981. Por otra parte, los lineamientos eran tan específicos y detallados como fue necesario.

Todos los equipos comprendieron perfectamente la necesidad de seleccionar dos áreas: una con una urbanización reciente y rápida y otra relativamente estable en términos de crecimiento. Ahora parece que no se entendió que era importante, desde un punto de vista científico, establecer las áreas hasta donde fuera posible, según sus características más que según la tasa de crecimiento. Esas otras características podían haber incluido factores tales como el nivel de ingreso de los jefes de familia y características demográficas de la población.

El resultado es que el contraste entre las áreas 1 y 2 varía según los países participantes. Por ejemplo, en Bogotá se seleccionaron dos áreas muy pobres, una que era un auténtico tugurio y la otra una zona vieja de bajos ingresos, contigua a la primera y al centro comercial de la ciudad. Contrariamente, en Dakar se seleccionó un área estable en el centro de la ciudad y otra más nueva pero pobre en las afueras. En Bombay fue posible aislar la urbanización rápida en términos geográficos específicos, puesto que los recién llegados se han establecido en la mayor parte de la ciudad y existen diferentes niveles de ingreso y de calidad de vivienda en casi toda la ciudad, de modo que la noción de áreas (A1 y A2) se derrumbó por completo.

En Lagos, el área de rápida urbanización seleccionada era de clase media suburbana, en contraste con una zona tugurio vieja y deteriorada en el centro.

Admitir con franqueza estas deficiencias no significa que el diseño de investigación eventualmente realizado haga que el ejercicio no tenga valor alguno sino que indica la necesidad de hacer ciertos cambios en el énfasis. Nuestro diseño no nos permite llegar a conclusiones definitivas en relación con el impacto de la rápida urbanización sobre el desajuste social juvenil. Nuestra atención se dirige más bien a intentar de conocer cómo definen el fenómeno del desajuste social juvenil las diferentes poblaciones dentro de cada área en las cinco ciudades seleccionada y el contenido de sus sistemas de valores en relación con esto.

Las diferencias en las respuestas al cuestionario, entre una ciudad y otra, no se debe simplemente al hecho de la rápida o no rápida urbanización, sino el tipo de comunidades urbanas seleccionadas y a las diferencias en las muestras de las personas entrevistadas.

Por otra parte, si se obtuvieron respuestas similares a preguntas particulares, a pesar de la heterogeneidad de los entrevistados, estas respuestas adquieren un significado mayor y puede ser de considerable importancia.

Las áreas seleccionadas en las diferentes ciudades fueron las siguientes:

CARACTERISTICAS BASICAS DE LAS MUESTRAS

	Area de urbanización no rapida (A1)	Area de urbanización rapid (A2)
Bogotá	«Paraíso»	«San Martín»
San José	«Córdoba»	«15 de Septiembre»
Bombay	«G. Southward»	«M. Ward»
Lagos	«Isale Eko»	«Surulere»
Dakar	«Plateau»	«Pikine» y «Xar Yalla»

a) Dimensión total de la muestra:

JOVENES

	Area	
Bogotá	«Paraíso»	119 entrevistados
	«San Martín»	120 »
San José	«Barrio de Córdoba»	204 »
	«15 de Septiembre»	200 »
Bombay	«G. Southward»	200 »
	«M. Ward»	203 »
Lagos	«Isale Eko»	199 »
	«Surulere»	199 »
Dakar	«Plateau»	30 »
	«Pikine» y «Yalla»	168 »

PUBLICO

	Area	
Bogotá	«Paraíso»	200 entrevistados
	«San Martín»	200 »
San José	«Barrio de Córdoba»	320 »
	«15 de Septiembre»	320 »
Bombay	«G. Southward»	266 »
	«M. Ward»	304 »
Lagos	«Isale Eko»	199 »
	«Surulere»	199 »
Dakar	«Plateau»	201 »
	«Pikine» y «Xar Yalla»	201 »

PROFESIONALES

	Area	
Bogotá	«Paraíso»	30 entrevistados
	«San Martín»	30 »
San José	«Barrio de Córdoba»	23 »
	«15 de Septiembre»	27 »
	«Alajuelita» *	52 »
Bombay	«G. Southward»	43 »
	«M. Ward»	58 »
Lagos	«Isale Eko»	50 »
	«Surulere»	50 »
Dakar	«Plateau»	66 »
	«Pikine» y «Xar Yalla»	52 »

* Debido a la imposibilidad de obtener el número requerido de profesionales (100) los expertos de Costa Rica incorporaron algunos otros provenientes de un área similar a 15 de Septiembre (Alajuelita).

El número total de entrevistados — 4.536 — se divide en las siguientes categorías:

Jóvenes	1.644
Público	2.410
Profesionales	482

y por ciudades como sigue:

Bogotá	699
San José	1.147
Bombay	1.074
Lagos	898
Dakar	718

b) Edad

La edad promedio de los 1.644 jóvenes entrevistados era de aproximadamente 15 años al momento de la recolección de los datos; los mayores eran los de Dakar (16,2 años) y los más jóvenes los de Bogotá (14,6 años), por lo tanto desde el punto de vista de la edad no se presentaron grandes diferencias como para ser tomadas en cuenta en las variaciones de las respuestas al cuestionario.

La edad promedio de los 2.410 adultos entrevistados del público era de 36,7 años, sin embargo hay más de diez años de diferencia entre el grupo más viejo (42,5 años en el área 1 de Lagos) y el grupo más joven 31,4 años en el área 2 de Dakar, diferencia que es lo suficientemente alta como para tener un impacto sobre los resultados.

La edad promedio de los profesionales como grupo es de 36,7 años, aquí también las muestras presentan diferencias significativas: el grupo más viejo tenía un promedio de 44 años (área 2 de Bombay) mientras el más joven presentaba un promedio de 32,1 años (área 1 de Dakar). Hay que ser prudente al interpretar las diferencias en las respuestas de los profesionales en Bombay los cuales, en contraposición con los de Dakar, explican (al menos en parte) las diferencias de edad.

c) *Sexo*

Esta variable arrojó serias diferencias entre las muestras seleccionadas. En el grupo de los jóvenes, las mujeres constituían una mayoría en San José (52,2%), mientras que en Dakar representaban únicamente el 19% del total de jóvenes entrevistados. En Senegal las actitudes religiosas y culturales explican la reticencia de las menores mujeres a ser entrevistadas.

Respecto al público no profesional, las mujeres representaban un 43,1% del total de la muestra, en Dakar sólo el 23,4% mientras que en Bogotá representan una clara mayoría (63,3%).

Se encontraron similares diferencias respecto al sexo en las muestras de los profesionales. En general, las mujeres constituían el 39% del total, pero en Senegal sólo llegaban a un 8,6%, mientras que en el área 2 de San José 52% de los profesionales eran mujeres.

Estas grandes diferencias en la distribución por sexos de las diferentes muestras deben tenerse en cuenta durante la interpretación de los datos.

d) *Formación profesional*

Come se señaló anteriormente los equipos locales recopilaron información de la casi totalidad de profesionales que trabajan en las dos áreas, en consecuencia no se presentaron problemas de prejuicio en la composición de la muestra. Sin embargo, las áreas estudiadas son significativamente diferentes unas de otras desde el punto de vista de la formación profesional de los entrevistados. En general, las categorías más representativas fueron:

- maestros 23%
- asistentes sociales 14%
- funcionarios judiciales 11%
- oficiales de policía 8,3%

No obstante, la policía varía desde un máximo de 16% en Bombay a un mínimo de 2% en San José, los asesores representaban un 30% en Dakar y menos de un 3% en Bombay, los maestros de escuela y profesionales similares que trabajan fuera del sistema escolar comprenden el 40% del total de la muestra en Lagos y sólo el 10% en Bombay, los asistentes sociales van desde un 35% en Bombay a 1,6 en Bogotá y los funcionarios de los tribunales oscilan entre 26,6% en Bogotá a un 9,3% en Dakar.

Dado que existen diferencias bien conocidas entre estos grupos

profesionales, los datos obtenidos pueden ser hasta cierto punto deformados por la diversidad de los profesionales que proporcionaron las respuestas.

Debido a las particulares circunstancias en las cuales las áreas de rápida y no rápida urbanización fueron escogidas, la falta de consistencia en la escogencia de las diferencias en la forma que los cuestionarios fueron interpretados y aplicados, se consideró que sería errado presentar los datos en forma comparativa. Sin embargo, la gran heterogeneidad entre las áreas presentan algunas ventajas. Lo que tenemos en este trabajo es una gama del fenómeno que refleja algunas de las muchas formas en que la urbanización afecta las comunidades del Tercer Mundo. Así, en el caso de Lagos existe lo que podría denominarse una «migración centrífuga» hacia los suburbios, en contraste con una «migración centrípeta» de los residentes hacia la ciudad, manifestándose, en nuestro estudio, en forma drámica en San José y Bogotá.

Dentro de esta última categoría encontramos mayores complicaciones. En Bombay los recién llegados tienden a dispersarse por toda la ciudad, pero el área de urbanización rápida (A2) presenta un nivel de vida marcadamente más alto que el área de urbanización no rápida. Lo contrario es cierto para otras ciudades como Dakar, Bogotá y San José. Por otra parte, el grado de planificación, condiciones físicas y organización social varía considerablemente de ciudad a ciudad.

Así, abarcamos un amplio espectro del fenómeno urbano. Esto nos permite ser más sofisticados en el tratamiento del impacto de la urbanización sobre el desajuste social juvenil. Como veremos, el simple hecho de la urbanización rápida no implica necesariamente altas tasas de desajuste social juvenil. En efecto, nuestros datos indican que en algunas ciudades las tasas oficiales de delincuencia juvenil son más bajas en el área 2.

En nuestro análisis, intentaremos de identificar algunas de las razones que explican esta situación.

ESTUDIO DE CASO No.1

BOGOTA - COLOMBIA

a) Antecedentes

Este capítulo incluye un resumen de la información básica relacionada a la situación económica, social, demográfica y criminológica de la ciudad de Bogotá, donde fué realizado el estudio. Esta información ha sido extraída del material proporcionado por el grupo local de expertos y de publicaciones oficiales especializadas. Una descripción mucho más detallada se encuentra en el informe nacional preparado por el equipo local.

La principal característica de la vida urbana colombiana es la sobrepoblación. En los últimos treinta años el flujo masivo de población de las áreas rurales hacia la ciudad ha conducido a cambios radicales en la distribución de población y en la estructura urbana nacional.

La experiencia demográfica colombiana es diferente a la de otros países en desarrollo. Colombia es un «país urbano», casi un tercio de la población vive en cuatro áreas metropolitanas: Bogotá, Medellín, Cali y Barranquilla.

Colombia tiene aproximadamente 28.700.000 habitantes, 5.200.000 de los cuales viven en Bogotá, la capital. En menos de trece años — de 1951 a 1965, que fue el período de éxodo masivo de población rural/urbana — ciudades como Bogotá, Cali, Medellín, Barranquilla, Cartagena, Manizales y Bucaramanga duplicaron su población.

Según el censo de 1973 hay alrededor de 8 millones de campesinos que deben alimentarse a sí mismos y producir alimentos para 13 millones de habitantes urbanos. En la actualidad, tres de cada cuatro habitantes urbanos son hijos de campesinos. En 1975 los habitantes de Bogotá significaban el 15% de la población, con un incremento anual de aproximadamente 250.000 habitantes. En la década de 1964-1975 el incremento alcanzó un 6,7% y en el período 1975-1980 el incremento ha sido del 6,5%. Además, de un punto de vista puramente demográfico, es importante notar el predominio económico de la capital donde el nivel promedio de ingreso es 65% mayor que en el resto del país. Sin embargo, dado que la distribución del ingreso es más problemático en Bogotá, resulta que tanto los más pobres como los más ricos miembros de la sociedad viven allí.

Más del 97% de los permisos de construcción en Bogotá son dados

para viviendas; por supuesto la información estadística no incluye los barrios marginales (que se construyen sin permiso) que nacen en los alrededores de cada ciudad. Completas barriadas de chozas son construídas de noche en lugares abandonados o lotes de terrenos sin propietario. El crecimiento y el proceso de concentración no ha sido llevado a cabo en una forma planificada y armoniosa. Bogotá no puede cumplir con sus necesidades básicas, la demanda de trabajo es mucho mayor que las oportunidades de empleo que la industria y el comercio pueden ofrecer. La desocupación y la subocupación son un problema endémico.

El problema de vivienda es uno de los más extendidos entre la mayoría de la población urbana. Hay escasez de vivienda, de servicios básicos, de facilidades de comunicación y de medidas de seguridad que afectan en todo o en parte a la comunidad y que genera grandes disparidades. El costo de la tierra, el aumento del éxodo rural crean segregación en las áreas urbanas. Existen extremos de viviendas deplorables y superlativas unas junto a las otras.

En la actualidad casi el 70% de los edificios de Bogotá no están autorizados: no cuentan con agua, servicios, rutas de acceso y otros servicios.

En Bogotá existen cuatro mercados de construcción: 1) donde viven los grupos de clase media y alta; 2) las viviendas residenciales gubernamentales para residentes de bajo ingresos; 3) tierras públicas ocupadas por ranchos a los que se denomina «áreas invadidas» y finalmente 4) construcciones privadas no autorizadas denominadas «urbanizaciones piratas». Se estima que del 45 al 60% del total de las familias de Bogotá no tienen acceso al mercado comercial de construcciones debido a sus reducidos niveles de ingreso.

a) áreas marginales

En la actualidad existen alrededor de 16 áreas marginales en Bogotá que ocupan alrededor de 78,5 hectáreas con una población de cerca de 71.100 personas.

Las áreas marginales estuvieron concentradas, desde su inicio, en las afueras de la ciudad y eran básicamente compuestas de migrantes, quienes habían estado en constante evolución, pero que tenían un cierto grado de organización informal y disciplina. Las viviendas son construídas en tierras públicas y generalmente no tienen facilidades, la vivienda es de baja calidad, construídas con material inestable y algunas veces con material de «desperdicio». Sus principales rasgos

son las condiciones insalubres y la sobrepoblación.

En algunas áreas marginales existen instituciones comunitarias con comités de educación y salud. En algunos casos incluso reciben reconocimiento legal de parte del Ministerio de Justicia, que es el encargado de ayudar a los recién llegados. Los invasores dependen considerablemente de amigos o familiares quienes son los que deciden si deben migrar y dónde se pueden establecer en las áreas metropolitanas.

b) urbanización pirata

En Bogotá, por más de cuarenta años el mayor productor de viviendas, responsable de más del 40% de las casas urbanas existentes ha sido conocido como «urbanización pirata», lo que las autoridades combaten más en teoría que en práctica. Estas áreas urbanizadas han sido el resultado de ventas ilegales de lotes por parte de especuladores urbanos ilegales, quienes venden lotes sin agua ni vías pavimentadas o electricidad. En esos lotes, las casas son construídas poco a poco, fenómeno que se conoce como «autoconstrucción». Este tipo de construcción puede durar hasta 10 años pero beneficia tanto a la familia como a la sociedad, pues ahorra gastos de administración, mano de obra y diseño. Este largo período en la construcción permite al jefe de familia parar los trabajos cuando, encontrándose sin empleo la falta de ingresos no le permite continuar con la construcción, y de reanudar cuando haya ahorrado algún dinero. Una vez que la vivienda ha sido terminada, el alquiler se lo elimina del presupuesto familiar. Por otra parte, alquilando algunos cuartos o instalando algún tipo de taller puede ayudar a aumentar el ingreso familiar.

Al tiempo y mediante el ejercicio de presiones sobre las autoridades, los nuevos propietarios pueden obtener servicios públicos y podrán luego invertir en materiales de construcción adicionales, poniendo así la fisonomía del poblado más en relación a otros poblados y de esta forma consolidando el sector.

Las urbanizaciones piratas ocupan un área de aproximadamente 1.309 hectáreas con un total de 170 poblados y 576.116 habitantes. En términos numéricos esta es una faceta más importante de la escena urbana que la construcción de viviendas en los terrenos invadidos.

Para las oficinas gubernamentales encargadas de la planificación urbana, estos poblados son vistos algunas veces como un obstáculo para llevar a cabo los programas ya establecidos como la construcción de carreteras, campos deportivos, etc.

Por otra parte, una vez que estas urbanizaciones piratas se inte-

gran al proceso productivo de la ciudad, ahorran al gobierno los costos de planificación y la creación de infraestructuras artesanales.

La mayoría de estas áreas tienen comités sociales que ayudan a los nuevos residentes en el proceso de adaptación. Por regla general el establecimiento se realiza como resultado de una sugerencia de algún familiar o amigo.

c) condiciones de salud

La tasa de mortalidad es de aproximadamente 8 por mil, pero ha descendido considerablemente en los últimos diez años (de 14 a 8 por mil). En los años sesenta y setenta las enfermedades más frecuentes eran tuberculosis, gastroenteritis y malaria, etc.

Según informaciones oficiales recientes ha habido un marcado mejoramiento de la situación con respecto a la salud, pero sin embargo continúa siendo un problema preocupante para muchos ciudadanos. Los principales problemas son: insuficientes servicios de salud para toda la población, insuficiente coordinación entre las instituciones de salud, falta de participación de las comunidades, rápido aumento en el costo de los servicios, altas tasas de mortalidad y morbilidad en relación con enfermedades prevenibles como accidentes, desnutrición y parásitos.

Una de las principales causas de la mortalidad infantil es la desnutrición, y por esta razón mueren 250 niños colombianos al día. Otras razones son: diarrea y enfermedades respiratorias. El Plan Nacional de Nutrición y Alimentación (PAN), iniciado por el gobierno fué diseñado para eliminar la desnutrición y para beneficiar el 30% de la población, pero éste solamente cubre 1.300.000 colombianos. Las deplorables condiciones higiénicas y de vivienda en las que un alto porcentaje de la población vive incrementa los problemas de salud e influye enormemente en las tasas de mortalidad infantil. Solo en 15% del agua provista es adecuadamente tratada para hacerla potable, el 27% de la población de las áreas urbanas y el 54% en las áreas rurales no disponen de agua potable. Menos del 1% del servicio de alcantarillado se suple por medio de aguas tratadas, y un 39% de la población urbana y 86% de la población rural no cuentan con ningún tipo de servicios de alcantarillado.

d) sistema educativo

El sistema educativo en Colombia se divide en tres fases, prees-

colar (2 años), primaria (5 años) y secundaria (6 años). La escuela primaria es gratuita y obligatoria, y 80 de cada cien niños ingresan a la escuela primaria, mientras que el 47% de los niños de la ciudad la completan, a diferencia del 8,7% de los de las zonas rurales; 35 de cada 100 niños ingresan a la escuela secundaria, pero sólo un 17% de ellos la terminan. En 1951 había a 3.700.000 analfabetos y 4.100.000 en 1964, pero como la población aumentó de 11 a 17 millones en ese período, la tasa de analfabetismo ha disminuído proporcionalmente. El número de estudiantes en los diferentes tipos de educación pasó de 2.700.000 en 1963 a más de 3.000.000 en 1966.

e) trabajo

La tasa oficial de desocupación fluctúa pero generalmente se dice que está por debajo del 10%. Sin embargo, dado el rápido crecimiento la estructura económica de las grandes ciudades causa la proliferación de diferentes clases de «subocupación» o «ocupaciones marginales» como lustrabotas, estibadores, vendedores ambulantes, etc. El «boom» industrial que marcó los años sesenta y cincuenta ha llegado a su fin en la actualidad. Un alto número de nuevos desocupados y subocupados está apareciendo nuevamente en escena. El resultado de lo anterior es un continuo y creciente incremento en el sector terciario urbano, que de una u otra manera produce alimentos para un amplio porcentaje de la población.

Entre los muchos aspectos negativos, encontramos un sector terciario hipertrófico, parasitario e ineficiente que absorbe el ingreso de la nación y que en algunas ciudades cubre el 60% de la población económica activa.

Tres millones de niños trabajan en una amplia gama de ocupaciones y muchos de ellos son explotados, el 47% trabajan siete días a la semana y uno de cada cuatro trabaja doce horas diarias. El fenómeno de «consignación» de niños es frecuente en Colombia. Los padres que no pueden mantener a sus hijos los «consignan» en casas de familias donde son alimentados y prestan en cambio ayuda en servicios domésticos que el niño pueda hacer. Desafortunadamente muchas de las tareas que los niños deben realizar ponen en peligro su salud física y mental.

f) problemas de delincuencia y otras formas de patología social

A pesar de que han habido grandes cambios en Colombia en los

últimos cinco años — por el mejoramiento de los servicios sanitarios y educativos que han conducido a rebajar el analfabetismo y la mortalidad y han mejorado las condiciones de vida — el fenómeno de la delincuencia junto con la inflación y la desocupación constituyen serios problemas y sus implicaciones socioeconómicas oscurece cualquier análisis.

La situación es deplorable cuando se la compara con niveles nacionales o internacionales.

a) la creciente evolución de la delincuencia es difícil de medir. Si el homicidio se toma como un indicador válido, Colombia presenta una de las más altas tasas en el mundo,

b) el proceso de urbanización ha producido condiciones de vida con serias repercusiones a nivel de salud, seguridad y vida familiar,

c) a pesar de que la tasa de mortalidad infantil ha disminuido, continúa siendo alta especialmente en algunas zonas,

d) la desocupación y la subocupación, particularmente en las áreas urbanas, constituye un serio problema.

El setenta por ciento de los delitos denunciados son cometidos en las áreas urbanas y el 40% de éstos se concentran en las tres áreas urbanizadas del país: Bogotá, Cali y Medellín. Los delitos más frecuentes, tal y como se clasifican en el Código Penal son:

— Delitos contra la propiedad	58%
— Delitos contra la persona	20%
— Delitos sexuales	5%
— Otros delitos	15%

La policía da especial importancia a los «carterazos» profesionales en la capital, que van en constante aumento. Numerosos homicidios cometidos en Bogotá han sido resultado de robos callejeros o en casas. El «raponazo» (robo callejero) es el delito más corriente cometido por los jóvenes. Consiste en el arrebato de relojes, aretes y otros objetos personales a la gente en las calles.

El contrabando es otra de las formas tradicionales de actividad ilegal, especialmente el tráfico ilegal de drogas como cocaína, marijuana y heroína, ésta última en constante aumento. De acuerdo con las fuentes policiales, las drogas son segundas solamente al café en las exportaciones nacionales. Los problemas colombianos en relación con las drogas no son únicamente los relativos al tráfico internacional sino que también incluyen el consumo interno entre los jóvenes, especialmente entre estudiantes. De acuerdo con fuentes oficiales, en 1975 el 43,3% de los estudiantes colombianos hacía uso regular de

barbitúricos, marihuana, LSD o cocaína. Este porcentaje es mucho mayor que en los Estados Unidos o Europa.

Muchas familias se ven forzadas a abandonar sus niños debido a la severa condición de pobreza en que viven, se denuncia que más de 5 millones de niños ha sido abandonados por sus padres en los últimos diez años.

En los últimos cinco años el problema del «gaminismo» (niños que viven en la calle) ha incrementado en las áreas urbanas y ha creado una gran inseguridad personal y de la propiedad.

Grupos de gamines de muy temprana edad invaden las calles para pedir limosnas, y a medida que van creciendo, para realizar algún tipo de labor mezclada con actividades ilegales de tipo marginal. Finalmente, conforme envejecen y en su lucha por sobrevivir, así como por el efecto condicionante del contexto marginal, algunos de ellos se ven envueltos en conductas criminales más serias.

En relación con el sistema penal, los jóvenes menores de 14 años que han cometido un delito son puestos bajo la custodia de sus padres hasta que cumplan los 18, y cuando están entre 14 y 18 años generalmente son enviados a un reformatorio. Los delincuentes juveniles en general presentan las siguientes características: son varones, entre 6 y 14 años de edad, tienen escolaridad mínima y provienen de situaciones económicas y familiares precarias.

Existen instituciones para jóvenes a cargo del Instituto Colombiano de Bienestar Familiar (ICBF) o del Departamento de Bienestar Social. Tres de las instituciones están localizadas en la ciudad (son para mujeres y manejadas por religiosas) y dos están situados en las áreas rurales. Estas instituciones son esencialmente para la protección, prevención y rehabilitación de jóvenes. Los menores son enviados por los tribunales juveniles, asistentes sociales y la policía.

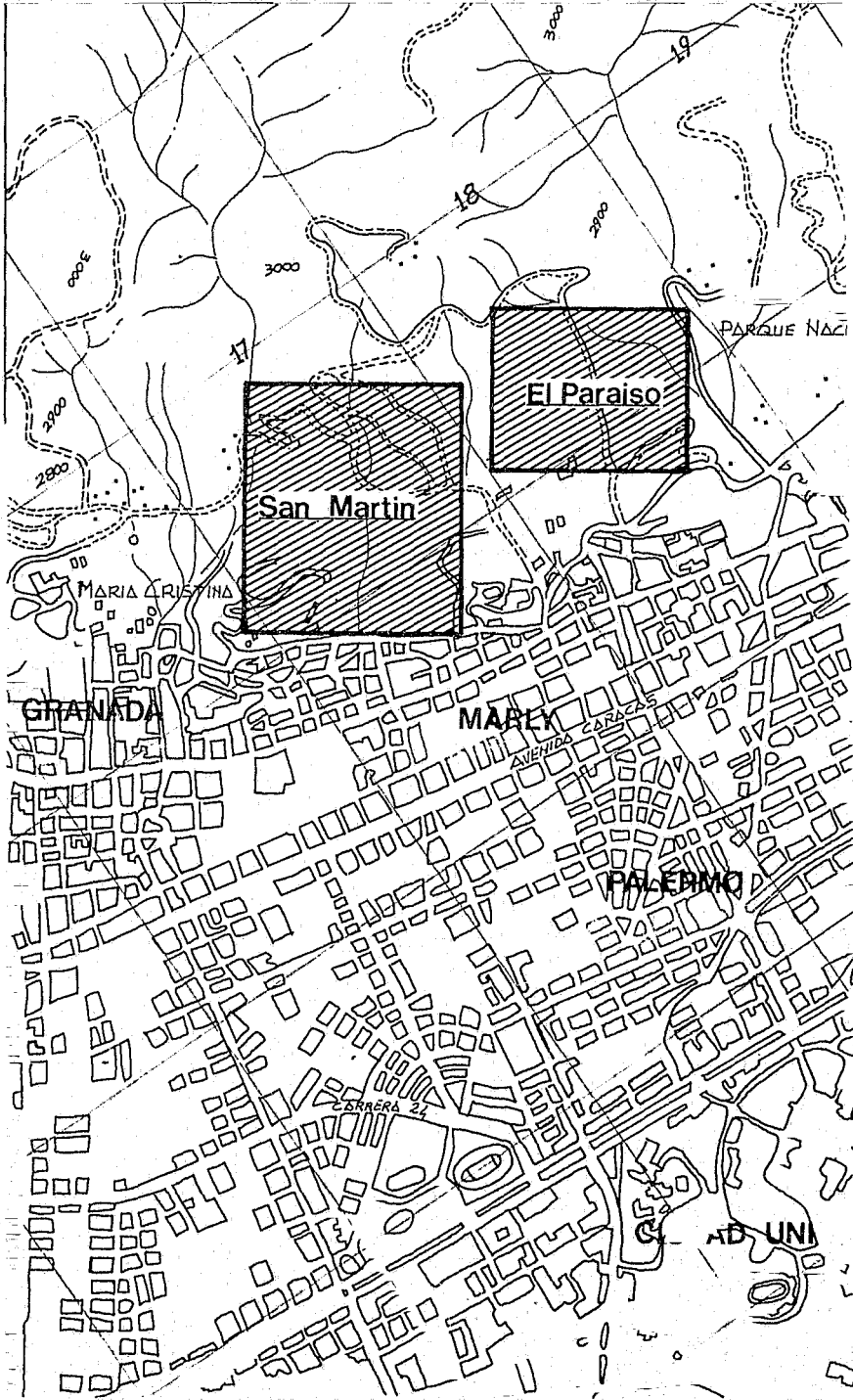
b) Descripción de las dos áreas: El Paraíso (A1) y San Martín (A2)

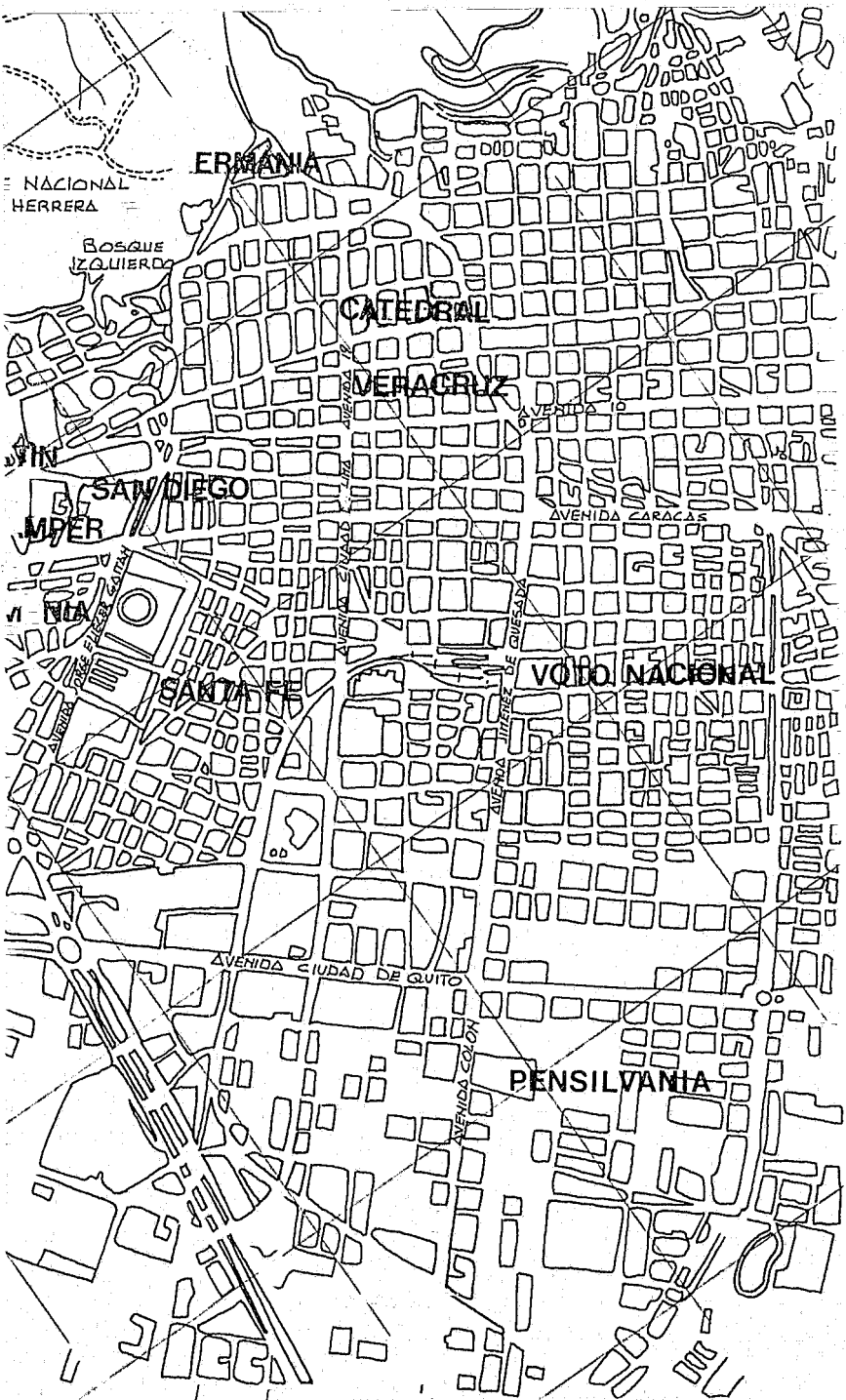
El proceso de migración de las comunidades rurales hacia Bogotá es tan complejo que no puede sujetarse a una clasificación uniforme. La mayoría de los campesinos llegaron directamente al centro de la ciudad y se ubicaron en hacinadas casas de alquiler. Sin embargo, el centro no es el único punto de entrada de los migrantes puesto que pueden encontrarse también en las «áreas piratas» o sus alrededores; aquellos que tienen familiares y amigos van directamente a las áreas suburbanas a diferencia de los que no tienen vínculos y que se ubican en casas de alquiler cerca del centro.

También pueden encontrarse áreas de transición muchas de las cuales fueron originalmente piratas o áreas invadidas pero que a través de un periodo de tiempo relativamente breve han sido solidificadas mediante el mejoramiento de los niveles de vivienda y la provisión de servicios básicos como calles, alcantarillas y aceras. Finalmente hay una pequeña migración interna hacia las mejores áreas de la ciudad que está restringida a aquellos que tuvieron la suerte de encontrar un empleo estable.

De esta manera podemos identificar cuatro formas de migración hacia y dentro de Bogotá. La primera forma es la migración hacia la ciudad por parte de campesinos sin lazos familiares o de amistades dentro de la ciudad. Dentro de este grupo hay una alta proporción de varones solteros en busca de empleo. La segunda forma es la migración rural hacia los alrededores de la ciudad, tanto hacia tierras públicas que son sencillamente invadidas pero especialmente hacia áreas suburbanas donde los especuladores venden ilegalmente los terrenos. Estas áreas tienden a crecer rápidamente y carecen de servicios, no obstante esto, la comunidad tiende a organizarse por medio de relaciones familiares y existe una cierta solidaridad comunitaria y de asistencia mutua con los recién llegados. La tercera forma de migración es del centro de la ciudad (etapa temporánea para muchos campesinos) hacia los suburbios una vez que han sido establecidos los contactos con los familiares o amigos. Esto puede ocurrir en un periodo de uno o dos años después de la llegada a la ciudad. La cuarta forma es para pocos afortunados y marca un significativo avance en el estatus socioeconómico de la familia. Estos individuos obtienen viviendas y servicios característicos de las clases medias-bajas.

Las dos áreas seleccionadas para este estudio no se ubican dentro de ninguna de las cuatro categorías mencionadas con el propósito de comprobar las hipótesis que la investigación originalmente deseaba explorar. El Paraíso (A1) es una comunidad en transición y no está creciendo rápidamente en la actualidad. No hace muchos años era un área sujeta a todas las desventajas de un área construida para la especulación inmobiliaria. Sus residentes continúan siendo pobres pero muchos tienen ocupación de un tipo u otro. No obstante que el nivel de las viviendas sea desigual presenta las características de un área de bajos ingresos: las viviendas son más amplias que las construcciones piratas o invadidas y no están tan hacinadas y generalmente han sido provistas de calles, alcantarillas y agua. Algunos servicios médicos dentales o comunitarios son provistos, aunque de no fácil acceso. Los habitantes de esta área presentan un cierto sentido de responsabili-





dad comunitaria. En esta área los habitantes reciben en cierta medida una ayuda social y económica.

Los jóvenes están algo mejor cuidados por los adultos y la comunidad ejerce un cierto control sobre los actos desviados o antisociales de los jóvenes. Hemos notado que los residentes de El Paraíso se sienten más seguros respecto de sus personas y propiedades que los habitantes de los alrededores.

San Martín (A2) es una barriada genuina pero tampoco se ubica bien en ninguna de las categorías típico-ideales enumeradas anteriormente. No puede ser clasificada ni como tierra invadida ni como área pirata. Sus habitantes han vivido allí por un tiempo relativamente corto, al menos en comparación con El Paraíso. Las viviendas son inadecuadas y hechas de materiales de desperdicio que no permite mejoramiento o reparación. Las viviendas están superpobladas y son pequeñas en cuanto los familiares y amigos llegan en continuación de las áreas rurales. Hay muy pocos caminos, no hay transporte público ni parques. El promedio de edad de la población es menor que en El Paraíso: más del 50% están por debajo de los 15 años y la comunidad carece de organización social tanto formal como informal. Las necesidades de supervivencia sofocan el sentido de comunidad y prevalecen el individualismo y el egoísmo: los habitantes se sienten desmoralizados e inseguros.

Las dos áreas son más similares de lo que la descripción anterior puede sugerir. Primero porque son contiguas y cualquier intento por separarlas mediante una línea demarcatoria en términos geográficos, sociales o demográficos sería únicamente artificial. Ambas áreas se han visto afectadas por la urbanización y las diferencias son de grado. Mientras El Paraíso parece más estable, en ésta también conviven nuevos inmigrantes junto con individuos residentes allí desde algunos años. Además El Paraíso está experimentando los efectos negativos de la urbanización debido a un aumento en la construcción comercial y gubernamental no residencial. Por estar situada cerca de San Martín sufre también de algunos de los problemas que se generan en esta área: en El Paraíso la mayoría de los delitos son cometidos por adultos y jóvenes del barrio vecino.

En segundo lugar, San Martín no presenta una total aridez social ya que existen lazos familiares o comunitarios. A nivel informal los ciudadanos proveen alguna ayuda a los recién llegados y el gobierno hace esfuerzos para proveer a las principales necesidades médicas, financieras y sociales de sus habitantes.

En síntesis, lo que encontramos en Bogotá son dos comunida-

des: una al lado de la otra, ambas pobres aunque una más que la otra, ambas afectadas por la urbanización aunque una más directa e inmediatamente que la otra, y ambas pasando por una etapa de transición aunque si una de ellas en fase de desarrollo más maduro que la otra.

Desde el punto de vista de la investigación hay margen para que exista alguna grieta en los procesos sociales que afectan a estas comunidades, que las asemejan y que hace difícil la interpretación de los datos. No obstante, las áreas seleccionadas en Bogotá proporcionan un estudio de caso particular de la absorción de campesinos en la sociedad urbana en una fase particular de desarrollo.

c) Análisis de los datos

i) Magnitud del desajuste social juvenil

La primera pregunta efectuada en nuestra investigación es: ¿Cuál es el grado de desajuste social juvenil en las dos áreas de Bogotá de donde las muestras fueron tomadas? Los criterios convencionales, las investigaciones previas y la base teórica de este proyecto sugeriría que debería existir un mayor nivel de desajuste social juvenil en A2. Dada la conocida poca credibilidad de las estadísticas criminales oficiales y debido a nuestro deseo de basar el proyecto en las percepciones y opiniones de la comunidad, intentaremos contestar estas preguntas según los resultados de los cuestionarios.

En el Cuadro 1 se encuentra la información que responde a la pregunta general hecha a los adultos y profesionales de las áreas: ¿Como es la conducta de los jóvenes en esta área? Podemos observar que más del 80% del público ve la conducta de los jóvenes en esas áreas como problemática aunque existen diferencias interesantes entre A1 y A2. El 92,5% del público de A2 percibe la conducta juvenil como mala mientras que menos de un 74% en A1 son de la misma opinión. De estos datos podemos afirmar que la mayoría del público tanto en El Paraíso como en San Martín están preocupados por la mala conducta de los jóvenes, pero el grado de preocupación es mayor en el área de rápida urbanización (A2).

PUBLICO

CUADRO 1
¿Cómo es la conducta de los menores?

	Area 1 %	Area 2 %	Total parcial %
Buena	23,2	5,8	15,1
Mala	73,9	92,5	82,6
No sabe	2,9	1,7	2,4
Total vertical	100	100	100

A los profesionales que trabajan en estas áreas se les hizo una pregunta similar obteniendo respuestas algo diferentes. La mayoría de los profesionales que trabajan con los niños en estas áreas consideran el desajuste social juvenil como un problema significativo pero la diferencia entre A1 y A2 no se refleja en el análisis; esto puede ser debido a la modalidad con la cual éstos fueron seleccionados.

PROFESIONALES

CUADRO 2
¿Cómo considera Ud. la situación del desajuste social de los jóvenes en su zona?

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
Buena	4	8	12
Mala	22	20	42
No sabe	4	2	6
Total vertical	30	30	60

De todas maneras, la percepción del público es lo más importante ya que es el público y no los profesionales quienes viven cotidianamente con las consecuencias del desajuste social juvenil.

Por otra parte la información recopilada no sólo muestra un serio problema actual sino también un pronóstico muy pesimístico. En el Cuadro 3 puede observarse que una amplia mayoría del público cree que los problemas de conducta de los jóvenes han aumentado en los últimos cinco años. Una respuesta similar se obtuvo de los profesionales entrevistados, como se aprecia en los Cuadros 4 y 5. Una vez más, los residentes de A2 son los que opinan que en su área el aumento ha sido mayor.

PUBLICICO

CUADRO 3

¿En los últimos cinco años piensa Ud. que los problemas de conducta juvenil han aumentado?

	Area 1 %	Area 2 %	Total parcial %
Sí	84,1	91,7	87,6
No	6,5	4,2	5,4
Es igual	8,0	2,5	5,4
Ha disminuido	0,7	0,8	0,8
No sabe	0,7	0,0	0,4
Total vertical	100	100	100

PUBLICICO

CUADRO 4

Tendencias futuras del desajuste social de los jóvenes

	Area 1 %	Area 2 %	Total parcial %
Disminuirán	8,0	0,0	4,3
Serán constantes	18,8	8,3	14,0
Aumentarán	62,3	89,2	74,8
No sabe	12,9	4,2	8,6
Total vertical	100	100	100

PROFESIONALES

CUADRO 5

¿En los últimos cinco años, piensa Ud. que los problemas de conducta juvenil han aumentado?

	Area 1	Area 2	Total
Sí	26	29	55
No	3	0	3
Son iguales	1	1	2
Total	30	30	60

El Cuadro 4 indica claramente que una abrumadora proporción de los residentes en A2 (96.6%) creen que los problemas de conducta juveniles seguirán aumentando en los próximos cinco años. Al contrario, menos de dos tercios de los residentes de A1 dan un pronóstico menos pesimista. En términos generales esta predicción del público es también apoyada por los profesionales, como puede verse en el Cuadro 6. Es interesante notar que tanto los profesionales de A1 como los de A2 dieron casi las mismas respuestas sobre esta cuestión.

PROFESIONALES

CUADRO 6
Tendencias futuras del desajuste social juvenil

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
Disminuirán	0	1	1
Será constante	5	3	8
Aumentará	25	26	51
Total vertical	30	30	60

PUBLICO

CUADRO 7
Si los problemas de conducta han aumentado,
¿cuáles son, según su opinión, las razones?
(Señale tres en orden de importancia)

Razones	A1 + A2	Orden	A1	Orden	A2	Orden
1	24,4%	1°	24,3%	1°	24,5%	1°
2	22,0%	3°	20,4%	3°	23,6%	2°
3	15,4%	4°	12,8%	4°	18,0%	4°
4	4,8%	6°	1,7%	7°	7,9%	5°
5	2,3%	7°	4,6%	6°	0,0%	7°
6	23,7%	2°	23,9%	2°	23,5%	3°
0	7,4%	5°	12,5%	5°	2,3%	6°

Razones:

0. no aplica
1. falta de control
2. influencia de malas compañías
3. falta de instrucción
4. indiferencia de los vecinos
5. influencia de los medios de información
6. malas condiciones familiares

PROFESIONALES

CUADRO 8

**Si los problemas de conducta han aumentado,
¿cuáles son, según su opinión, las razones?
(Señale tres en orden de importancia)**

Orden	Razones	A1 + A2	Razones	A1	Razones	A2
1°	6	43,6%	6	45,8%	6	41,2%
2°	2	23,9%	2	21,6%	2	25,4%
3°	5	12,5%	1	17,2%	5	15,0%
4°	1	10,8%	5	10,0%	3	12,2%
5°	3	8,6%	3	5,0%	1	3,8%
6°	4	1,1%	4	2,2%	4	0%

Razones:

1. falta de control
2. influencia de malas compañías
3. falta de instrucción
4. indiferencia de los vecinos
5. influencia de los medios de información y comunicación
6. malas condiciones familiares (problemas en el hogar)

Todo lo anterior sugiere que la gente que se ve más afectada por, o relacionada con los jóvenes en ambas áreas de Bogotá expresan una preocupación extrema en cuanto a los niveles existentes de desajuste social juvenil así como de sus perspectivas futuras. Las respuestas más pesimistas y negativas provienen del público que reside en el área de rápida urbanización.

Esto permite señalar que la hipótesis básica del estudio recibe un cierto apoyo empírico, es decir, que las altas tasas de desajuste social juvenil tienden a estar asociadas con la rápida urbanización. Empero, antes de optar por conclusiones definitivas sobre estos hallazgos iniciales, es necesario un ulterior análisis de los datos. Nuestro deseo sería conocer en forma más específica las razones de observaciones tan pesimistas y se necesitarían respuestas más detalladas respecto a las opiniones de las dos poblaciones. Afortunadamente disponemos de datos que nos permiten acercarnos a este problema.

En relación con las razones del aumento previsto, se recibieron puestas muy consistentes tanto de los residentes de ambas zonas como de parte de los profesionales.

PUBLICO

CUADRO 9

¿Hay en su área menores con problemas de conducta?

	Area 1 %	Area 2 %	Total parcial %
Sí hay	56,5	40,0	48,8
No hay	35,5	37,5	36,4
No sabe	8,0	22,5	14,8
Total vertical	100	100	100

Las razones dadas a través de todas las muestras fueron las siguientes, en orden de importancia:

1. Falta de control
2. Influencia de las malas compañías
3. Malas condiciones familiares
4. Falta de escolarización

Lo que podemos deducir de nuestros hallazgos es que existe un sentimiento ampliamente compartido que la principal razón del desajuste social juvenil es la ausencia o deterioro de las principales instituciones de socialización: la escuela y la familia. Se piensa que éstas tienden principalmente a ser reemplazadas por las influencias provenientes de grupos de compañeros que ya son delincuentes. Este hallazgo presenta algunas implicaciones políticas que serán discutidas en la sección de conclusiones.

Yendo más específicamente a los contenidos de los sistemas de creencias en relación con el desajuste social juvenil, surgen una serie de cuestiones sumamente interesantes. En general, nuestros datos muestran claramente que cuanto más concreta y específica sea la pregunta, más sofisticada y tolerante será la respuesta. Así, mientras el 80% del público y profesionales escogen la palabra «mala» para describir la conducta de los jóvenes en general, menos de la mitad del público indica que los jóvenes con concretos problemas viven en su comunidad.

PROFESIONALES

CUADRO 10
¿Hay en la área grupos de menores socialmente desajustados?

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
Si	29	29	58
No	1	1	2
No sabe	—	—	—
Total vertical	30	30	60

El público parece ser un poco más protectorio de los jóvenes en las comunidades locales, al menos respecto a los profesionales. Este hallazgo está reforzado por las respuestas a una pregunta que se hizo al público y a los profesionales para comparar la gravedad de los problemas de conducta de los jóvenes respecto a los adultos en sus comunidades. Más del 70% del público entrevistado parece percibir el desajuste de los adultos como más serio que el de los jóvenes. Por otra parte, es interesante notar que una alta proporción de los residentes de A2 creen que los adultos representan un mayor problema que los jóvenes (83,3% contra 58,7%).

Al contrario, los profesionales tienden a ver a los jóvenes como el mayor problema y los únicos profesionales que tienen un punto de vista diferente trabajan en A1. No es sorprendente que los profesionales que trabajan con jóvenes tiendan a ver el problema de la patología social juvenil como un problema más grave que la patología adulta.

Quizás el hallazgo más interesante es que el público no parece estar dispuesto a utilizar a los jóvenes como una vía de escape con relación a los problemas que existen en la comunidad, sino que gran parte de la responsabilidad recae en los mismos adultos.

PUBLICO

CUADRO 11

¿Entre quiénes son mayores los problemas de conducta?

	Area 1 %	Area 2 %	Total parcial %
En los adultos	58,7	83,3	70,2
En los menores	35,5	16,7	26,7
No hay problemas de conducta aquí	5,8	0,0	3,1
Igual en ambos	—	—	—
No sabe	—	—	—
Total vertical	100	100	100

PROFESIONALES

CUADRO 12

¿Entre quiénes son mayores los problemas de conducta?

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
Adultos	8	0	8
Menores	22	24	46
No sabe	0	6	6
Total vertical	30	30	60

Un mayor reforzamiento del patrón que surge de este análisis puede encontrarse en el cuadro 13, en el que podemos ver que la gran mayoría del público no percibe a los jóvenes como peligrosos para la seguridad personal o la vida comunitaria, y al contrario, más del 42% señalan la conducta juvenil como «inofensiva» y un 6,6% van más allá indicando que los jóvenes no presentan problemas de ninguna índole.

PUBLICO

CUADRO 13
¿Cómo son esos menores?

	Area 1 %	Area 2 %	Total parcial %
No aplica (no hay menores con problemas)	11,6	0,8	6,6
Inofensivos	34,1	50,8	41,9
Molestos	47,8	32,5	40,7
Peligrosos	6,5	15,8	10,9
No sabe	—	—	—
Total vertical	100	100	100

Es cierto que casi un 41% ve a los jóvenes como «molestos» pero esta es una respuesta considerablemente más tolerante de la que podría esperarse en virtud de las señaladas condiciones sociales que conducirían a la criminalidad y que existen en las dos comunidades.

Es interesante observar que más del doble de los ciudadanos en A2 están dispuestos a señalar a los jóvenes como peligrosos. El hecho de que alrededor del 16% de los residentes de A2 exprese este parecer podría ser preocupante, pues para ellos la comunidad no sólo es una área económicamente deprivada, sino que es un lugar peligroso para vivir. En esta información podemos encontrar un mayor apoyo no sólo para la hipótesis de que altas tasas, sino también de que más serias formas de desajuste social juvenil, están asociadas con la rápida urbanización.

Al contrario, los profesionales comparados con los miembros del público triplican la percepción de los niños como peligrosos, e incluso independientemente del área en que trabajan los profesionales, no se encuentran diferencias en las respuestas obtenidas.

Es posible que los profesionales que ven los peores casos de desajuste social juvenil estén influenciados por esa experiencia y tiendan a generalizarlo al total de la población. Lo que estos datos muestran en general, es que el público es más tolerante y sofisticado en su respuesta al desajuste social juvenil. El público en A2 expresó mayor preocupación y mostró más temor, pero incluso ellos tienden a aceptar más a los jóvenes que los miembros de los grupos profesionales que trabajan en sus comunidades.

PROFESIONALES

CUADRO 14
¿Cómo son esos grupos?

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
No hay	—	—	—
Peligrosos	8	7	15
Molestos	18	17	35
Inofensivos	2	5	7
No sabe	2	1	3
Total vertical	30	30	60

Con respecto a delitos específicos hay una tendencia en ambas áreas a estipular la seriedad de delitos concretos de forma similar. En términos generales, entre 7 delitos sobre los que fueron requeridos a contestar en términos de gravedad, se dió el siguiente orden:

1. violación
2. abuso de drogas
3. prostitución
4. robo en tiendas
5. robo/hurto
6. vagancia
7. fraude

Debido a la forma en que la pregunta fue formulada no parece claro si el público está respondiendo respecto a la gravedad de actos individuales, el tamaño númeroico o la amenaza puesta es suficiente la comunidad como un todo.

Son más interesantes los resultados de las preguntas hechas al público sobre el grado de seriedad respecto de las respuestas indicadas por la policía. Aparte del hurto en tiendas, respecto del cual el público cree que la policía y la comunidad reaccionarían en forma similar, para todas las demás faltas el público percibió su propia respuesta como si fuera considerablemente menos severa que la de la policía. Por otra parte, los resultados para ciertos delitos, particularmente el abuso de drogas y la prostitución mostraron diferencias dramáticas. Se podría entonces concluir que el público es consciente de que sus propias actitudes hacia los jóvenes en conflicto con la ley es considerablemente más tolerante que la de la policía. Una vez más vemos una actitud autoprotectiva hacia los jóvenes. En el capítulo de conclusio-

nes discutiremos más ampliamente las implicaciones en materia de política de estos hallazgos, por el momento es suficiente decir que estos datos muestran menos respuestas «ley y orden» o respuestas punitivas respecto a los problemas graves de la delincuencia juvenil que pueden encontrarse en muchos países desarrollados.

ii) Relaciones familiares

En la sección anterior presentamos datos que tienden a mostrar que en según la opinión del público y en menor grado de los profesionales, existe un mayor nivel de desajuste social juvenil en San Martín, área de urbanización rápida; ahora procederemos a buscar algunas de las razones que justifiquen estos resultados. En particular nos interesa conocer el grado de estabilidad social en las dos áreas y la influencia de los portadores primarios de las normas culturales, es decir; la familia, la iglesia, la escuela, el trabajo y la comunidad.

a) la familia

Nuestro primer hallazgo es que en ambas áreas los lazos familiares son fuertes. Más del 90% del público opina que los jóvenes respetan a sus padres o tutores y más de tres cuartas partes del público considera que entre los jóvenes existe un alto grado de respeto hacia los adultos en general.

PUBLICO

CUADRO 15

¿Según Ud., los menores respetan a sus padres o tutores?

	Area 1 %	Area 2 %	Total parcial %
Sí	92,0	91,0	91,9
No	5,8	6,7	6,2
No sabe	2,2	1,7	1,9
Total vertical	100	100	100

De lo anterior podemos concluir que el conflicto intra-generacional no es percibido como un gran problema por la comunidad. Casi el 80% de la muestra escogida del público considera que los padres ciudan bien a sus hijos y más interesante es el hecho de que una alta proporción del público de A2 es de este parecer (91,7% contra 68,6%).

PUBLICICO

CUADRO 16
¿Cómo cuidan, según Ud., los padres a sus hijos?

	Area 1 %	Area 2 %	Row total %
Bien	68,6	91,7	79,5
Mal	29,7	3,3	17,4
No sabe	1,4	5,0	3,1
Column total	100	100	100

Este hallazgo es contrario a nuestras expectativas y puede significar que el público de A1 espera aún mayores niveles de cuidado parental. Esto está corroborado por los datos presentados a continuación que tienden a mostrar un mayor grado de cohesión familiar en A1.

PUBLICICO

CUADRO 17
¿Las menores mujeres ayudan en las tareas de casa?

	Area 1 %	Area 2 %	Total parcial %
Sí	94,9	100	97,3
No	1,4	0,0	0,8
No sabe	3,6	0,0	1,9
Total	100	100	100

El público de A1, en mayor medida que el de A2, cree que los jóvenes varones colaboran en las tareas del hogar y debe notarse que en ambas áreas las mujeres brindan esta ayuda.

PUBLICICO

CUADRO 18
¿Los menores varones ayudan en las tareas de casa?

	Area 1 %	Area 2 %	Total parcial %
Sí	76,8	67,5	72,5
No	20,3	30,0	24,8
No sabe	2,9	2,5	2,7
Total vertical	100	100	100

Además, parece haber contactos más estrechos y frecuentes entre los jóvenes y sus padres en A1. La mayor parte de los jóvenes varones en ambas áreas trabajan después de la escuela (78,3% en A1 y 93% en A2). Un hallazgo interesante que derivó del estudio es que los jóvenes varones son mucho más anuentes a trabajar con sus padres o familiares en A1 que en A2 y cerca de dos tercios de público de A1 creen que los jóvenes están más dispuestos a trabajar dentro de esquemas familiares o amistosos.

En A2 sin embargo, más o menos la mitad de los entrevistados respondieron que la mayoría de los jóvenes encuentran trabajo fuera de estos círculos. De los datos anteriores podemos concluir que parecería que la vida cotidiana de los jóvenes y sus padres en el área más estable esté determinada por contactos más frecuentes y las familias que comparten las labores del hogar el empleo exterior están más dispuestas a fomentar lazos más estables.

PUBLICO

CUADRO 19

¿Con quién trabajan los menores varones?

	Area 1 %	Area 2 %	Total parcial %
No aplica	18,8	4,2	12,0
Con sus padres o tutores	37,0	33,3	35,3
Con otros	8,0	5,8	7,0
Por su cuenta	34,1	56,7	44,6
No se sabe	2,2	0,0	1,2
Total vertical	100	100	100

Los jóvenes entrevistados refuerzan los hallazgos que acabamos de indicar, pues más del 90% de la muestra total de 240 jóvenes consideran que sus familias contribuyen a resolver sus problemas personales, y un porcentaje muy pequeño considera que las agencias formales de control social pueden ofrecer tal ayuda. Así, los jóvenes de ambas áreas están más dispuestos a recurrir a sus padres, hermanos o hermanas u otros familiares cuando se encuentran en dificultades. Es interesante notar que una proporción mayor de jóvenes en A1 en comparación con A2, ven a la familia como una institución útil.

MENORES

CUADRO 20
¿Piensa Ud. que la familia ayuda a resolver los problemas personales de los hijos?

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
Sí	115	96	211
No	2	22	24
No sabe	3	2	5
Total vertical	120	120	240

MENORES

CUADRO 21
¿A quién recurre Ud. cuando tiene dificultades?

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
Padres	2	0	2
Hermano/a	85	72	157
Parientes	12	7	19
Maestro(a)	1	1	2
Amigos	3	5	8
Asistente social	17	23	40
Otros	0	12	12
Total vertical	120	120	240

MENORES

CUADRO 22
¿Si Ud. comete una acción ilegal, quién prefiere que se ocupe del caso?

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
La familia	92	77	169
Los vecinos	3	6	9
Los maestros	7	4	11
Asistentes sociales	7	1	8
Funcionarios de policía	11	3	14
Otros	0	29	29
Total vertical	120	120	240

De los datos anteriores se pueden deducir tentativamente los siguientes enunciados. Primero, que la familia es vista por el público y por los jóvenes como la institución más útil a disposición de los jóvenes. Esto significa que la importancia de la familia, en relación con otras instituciones de control social formal, surge dramáticamente de los datos.

En segundo lugar, la información disponible da base a la afirmación de que la familia en el área de urbanización no rápida es orgánicamente más fuerte, puesto que es en A1 donde encontramos familias con contactos más frecuentes entre sus miembros, familias que son tanto unidades económicas como sociales, y en las cuales los jóvenes pueden buscar refugio en momentos de dificultades.

De lo anterior podríamos deducir que si bien la familia permanece como una institución significativa, incluso cuando está expuesta a las presiones de los cambios económicos y sociales producidos por la urbanización (A2), tal urbanización tiene efectos negativos en la vida familiar y que ésta puede ser la fuente principal de las altas tasas de desajuste social juvenil en dicha área.

iii) Relaciones no familiares

Además de las interacciones en el grupo familiar, los jóvenes se socializan mediante la interacción con otros adultos y amigos, tanto dentro como fuera de las estructuras formales. Casi la mitad de los jóvenes entrevistados trabajan, y como se dijo antes, los jóvenes de A1 tienden más a encontrar trabajo con sus familias que los de A2.

La situación laboral es un importante mecanismo de socialización en tanto que pone a los jóvenes en contacto con adultos, y marca la transición de la escuela a la edad adulta en la sociedad. En el cuadro 23 podemos observar que una alta proporción de jóvenes en A1 trabajan, y que la proporción es alta en las diferentes categorías de trabajo: todo el día, medío día, etc. De lo anterior puede inferirse que los niños en A1 no sólo disponen de estructuras familiares sólidas, sino que también están más dispuestos a encontrar trabajo, lo que hace la transición hacia la independencia adulta más fácil.

MENORES

CUADRO 23
Tiempo que trabaja

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
No trabaja	66	79	145
Todo el día	11	12	23
Medio día	17	10	27
De vez en cuando	26	19	45
Total vertical	120	120	240

En el cuadro 24 podemos observar que la mayoría de los jóvenes de ambas áreas no están involucrados en actividades constructivas de tiempo libre, pues sólo 3 dijeron participar en deportes, todos ellos de A1. La mayor parte del grupo en ambas áreas pasa el tiempo libre con amigos, y una mayor proporción en A2 que en A1 pasan el tiempo pasivamente, viendo televisión, vagando o sin hacer nada. Se nos señaló por parte del equipo local, que en ninguna de las áreas existen facilidades para la práctica de deportes organizados.

MENORES

CUADRO 24
¿Qué hace en su tiempo libre?

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
Deportes	3	0	3
Actividades culturales	29	31	60
Actividades musicales	3	7	10
Ve televisión	1	6	7
Se reúne con amigos	41	35	76
Lee	30	10	40
Vagabundea	11	13	24
No hace nada	0	10	10
Otros	2	8	10
Sin información	0	0	0
Total vertical	120	120	240

La escuela es también una importante institución socializadora,

y para más de la mitad de nuestra muestra, la escuela significa la principal actividad no familiar. Una mayor proporción de jóvenes del área 2 trabajan y estudian, contribuyendo de esta manera al ingreso familiar y al bienestar económico de esa unidad.

MENORES

CUADRO 25
Actividad principal

	Area 1	Area 2	Row total
Estudia	63	75	138
Trabaja	13	15	28
Estudia y trabaja	39	26	65
Ni estudia ni trabaja	3	4	6
Total vertical	120	120	240

El nivel de instrucción es algo mayor en A1 que en A2, y la mayor proporción de jóvenes sin instrucción de ninguna clase la encontramos en A2. La ausencia y el ausentismo escolar es un fenómeno más frecuente en A2. Las razones para dejar la escuela refleja las diferencias entre las dos áreas, los niños de A2 están más anuentes a dejar la escuela debido a las condiciones económicas familiares o porque la familia no demuestra ningún interés respecto de sus estudios.

De lo anterior se desprende que la escuela es una institución más importante en A1, pues los jóvenes permanecen más tiempo en ella, son menos propensos a dejarla voluntariamente y a recibir apoyo de sus padres para permanecer en ella. Este cuadro muestra relaciones familiares más estrechas en el área más estable y de crecimiento más lento.

MENORES

CUADRO 26
Escolaridad de los menores que estudian

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
1-4 años	83	80	163
5-8 años	34	29	63
Más de 8 años	1	0	1
Sin estudios	1	11	12
Total vertical	120	120	240

MENORES

CUADRO 27
¿Porqué no continuó sus estudios?

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
No aplica	104	102	206
Tenía que mantener la familia	8	11	19
Tenía dificultades para estudiar	3	1	4
A la familia no le interesaba mis estudios	4	6	10
Tenía problemas con maestros o compañeros	0	0	0
Total vertical	119	120	239

Parece que hasta cierto punto la iglesia llena un vacío, pues de acuerdo con el público, los niños participan activamente en las actividades religiosas, y de acuerdo con los mismos jóvenes, las instituciones religiosas juegan un papel constructivo en la solución de los problemas personales. Una vez más observamos que la influencia socializadora de esta institución parece tener un mayor impacto en el área de urbanización no rápida.

Más del doble de los jóvenes de A1 en relación con los del A2 señalan que las organizaciones religiosas funcionan positivamente en la solución de sus problemas personales.

PUBLICO

CUADRO 28
¿Según Ud., los menores participan en actividades religiosas?

	Area 1 %	Area 2 %	Total parcial %
Activamente	84,8	91,7	88,0
Posivamente	13,0	3,3	8,5
No sabe	2,2	5,0	3,5
Total vertical	100	100	100

MENORES

CUADRO 29

¿Piensa Ud. que las organizaciones religiosas ayudan a resolver los problemas personales de los menores?

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
Sí	72	45	117
No	28	20	48
No sabe	20	8	28
Total vertical	120	120	240

iv) Relaciones con sus compañeros

Como hemos visto, tanto los adultos como los jóvenes entrevistados en el transcurso de esta investigación tienden a creer que los jóvenes de A1 son más propensos a mantener lazos fuertes con los adultos, con el sistema escolar y con la iglesia, que los de A2, y también hemos constatado que hay muy pocos, por no decir nada, grupos deportivos organizados. No obstante, una mayoría de los jóvenes entrevistados indicaron que participaban en actividades de grupo.

Estas actividades no están organizadas y comprenden básicamente interacciones no estructuradas entre los compañeros y amigos. Para los jóvenes que se desligan de sus familias, la iglesia, la escuela y los amigos son los que tienen mayor influencia en sus vidas.

En el cuadro 30 podemos observar que una mayor proporción de jóvenes de A2 participan en actividades grupales, las cuales, como se dijo anteriormente son desorganizadas y no están estructuradas. Igualmente, el cuadro 31 es interesante puesto que se puede notar que una gran proporción del público piensa que los jóvenes varones pasan su tiempo libre separados de los adultos. Igualmente puede verse que se cree que los jóvenes varones pasan su tiempo siempre en grupos de varones, tendencia que es más marcada en A2.

Las mujeres siguen más o menos el mismo patrón, pero en menor grado. De esto podemos concluir que las relaciones con los compañeros tienen una influencia más fuerte en San Martín que en El Paraíso. Dada la debilidad de las estructuras de los adultos con las cuales los jóvenes se pueden relacionar en San Martín, y dada la intensidad de la interacción entre los jóvenes del área, se dan ciertas condiciones para el crecimiento de subculturas delinquentes.

MENORES

CUADRO 30

¿Participa Ud. en actividades de grupo?

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
Si	47	95	141
No	72	25	97
Total	120	120	240

PUBLICO

CUADRO 31

¿Con quién pasan su tiempo libre los menores varones?

	Area 1 %	Area 2 %	Total parcial %
Junto a los adultos	23,9	2,5	14,0
Separado de los adultos	76,1	97,5	86,0
Total vertical	100	100	100

PUBLICO

CUADRO 32

¿Con quién pasan su tiempo libre las menores mujeres?

	Area 1 %	Area 2 %	Total parcial %
Junto a los adultos	13,0	0,8	7,4
Separadas de los adultos	86,2	99,2	92,2
No se sabe	0,7	0,0	0,4
Total vertical	100	100	100

PUBLICO

CUADRO 33

¿Cómo pasan el tiempo libre los menores varones?

	Area 1 %	Area 2 %	Total parcial %
En grupos de varones	61,6	75,0	67,8
En grupos mixtos	32,6	16,7	25,2
Solos	5,8	8,3	7,0
No sabe	—	—	—
Total vertical	100	100	100

De esta información surge un patrón bastante consistente, y es el alto nivel de desorganización social que existe en San Martín. Las instituciones más importantes de socialización como la familia, la escuela, el lugar de trabajo y las organizaciones religiosas funcionan más efectivamente y parecen tener un mayor impacto en el Paraíso que en San Martín. De lo anterior podemos intentar una explicación respecto de las altas tasas de desajuste social juvenil que se encuentran en el área de rápida urbanización. La urbanización rápida no sólo produce problemas económicos sino que tiene un efecto devastador sobre las relaciones familiares y comunitarias.

La pobreza no es un fenómeno nuevo para la mayoría de las familias de San Martín, pues eran campesinos pobres. Lo que es nuevo es el resquebrajamiento de todas las instituciones tradicionales que les eran útiles en el contexto rural. La sección siguiente se ocupará de determinar el grado en que el Estado, a través de sus instituciones formales como la policía, los tribunales juveniles y las agencias de bienestar social, ha logrado subsanar este vacío.

PUBLICO

CUADRO 34

¿Cómo pasan el tiempo libre las menores mujeres?

	Area 1 %	Area 2 %	Total parcial %
En grupos de mujeres	54,3	47,5	51,2
Grupos mixtos	29,0	11,7	20,9
Solas	15,9	40,8	27,5
No sabe	0,7	0,0	0,4
Total vertical	100	100	100

v) Relaciones con las agencias formales

Esta sección explora la calidad de las relaciones entre los jóvenes y las instituciones manejadas por el estado y establecidas por el gobierno para ayudar, controlar o rehabilitar a los jóvenes que están sufriendo problemas de una otra índole, aunque más particularmente los que los ponen en conflicto con las normas comunitarias y con la ley.

También se examinará la confianza del público en tales instituciones e intentaremos captar las impresiones de los profesionales respecto del grado de éxito de sus instituciones.

Se preguntó a los jóvenes si ciertas instituciones formales contri-

buían a resolver sus problemas personales, y los resultados para las instituciones religiosas, la escuela, las instituciones de bienestar social, los tribunales de justicia y los reformatorios, se incluyen a continuación. En general, el panorama es el siguiente: las instituciones religiosas y la escuela son vistas por los jóvenes como más útiles que cualquiera de las otras instituciones, sin embargo los jóvenes de A1 son más propensos a calificar la actuación de algunas instituciones gubernamentales más alto que los de A2.

Menos de la mitad de los jóvenes entrevistados creen que los tribunales y reformatorios ofrezcan una ayuda constructiva a los jóvenes con problemas y una considerable proporción de jóvenes en A2 parecen estar totalmente desalentados con las agencias formales. De lo anterior podemos detectar una brecha entre los jóvenes y las instituciones establecidas para su beneficio, lo que debería provocar serias reflexiones entre los oficiales del gobierno y los funcionarios respecto de las formas viables para colmar esta brecha, aspecto al que volveremos más adelante.

MENORES

CUADRO 35

¿Piensa Ud. que las organizaciones religiosas contribuyen a resolver los problemas personales de los menores?

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
Sí	72	45	117
No	28	20	48
No sabe	20	8	28
Total vertical	120	120	240

MENORES

CUADRO 36.

¿Piensa Ud. que las organizaciones de bienestar social ayudan a resolver los problemas de los menores?

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
Sí	80	79	159
No	12	19	31
No sabe	28	22	50
Total vertical	120	120	240

MENORES

CUADRO 37
¿Piensa Ud. que la escuela a resolver
los problemas de los menores?

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
Sí	117	75	192
No	0	33	33
No sabe	2	12	14
Total vertical	120	120	240

MENORES

CUADRO 38
¿Piensa Ud. que los tribunales de justicia ayudan
a resolver los problemas personales de los menores?

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
Sí	29	26	55
No	23	47	70
No sabe	67	47	114
Total vertical	120	120	240

MENORES

CUADRO 39
¿Piensa Ud. que los reformatorios ayudan
a resolver los problemas personales de los menores?

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
Sí	59	18	77
No	50	54	104
No sabe	11	48	59
Total vertical	120	120	240

Cuando se trató el tema de la policía surgió un patrón muy interesante, pues más jóvenes del A2 consideraron que la policía trata a los jóvenes con tolerancia en relación con los de A1, y al contrario, más jóvenes de A1 creen que la policía los trata severamente. Este hecho puede en parte explicarse por los resultados obtenidos en las investigaciones efectuadas en otros países, que tiende a señalar que

la policía asume un rol de colaboración en las áreas donde las instituciones de apoyo no existen o no pueden resolver la situación.

El rol de servicio de la policía se tiende a enfatizar en las áreas donde no existen otras instituciones con credibilidad a las cuales los jóvenes se puedan dirigir. También puede ser que los jóvenes de A1 no estén tan familiarizados con la policía como los de A2, y por lo tanto tienden a ver la policía como una institución que debe ser temida.

En el cuadro 21 antes analizado podemos encontrar mayores elementos para apoyar esta afirmación, donde se pudo observar que muy pocos jóvenes querrían ver a los policías involucrados en el caso de que se hubiera cometido algún delito, entre éstos la mayoría era de A1. Sin embargo el resultado más importante de este cuadro es que la gran mayoría de los jóvenes se apoyarían en sus familias cuando se encontraran en dificultades con la ley, y que los únicos niños que no buscarían a sus familias u otra organización para ayudarles, los encontramos en A2.

Estos jóvenes se dirigirían a compañeros, quizás debido a que no tienen a quien recurrir o por sus experiencias negativas con las instituciones.

MENORES

CUADRO 40
¿Cómo trata la policía a los juvenes?

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
Con tolerancia	6	27	33
Con indulgencia	27	12	39
Severamente	86	67	153
No sabe	1	14	15
Total vertical	120	120	240

vi) Recomendaciones de los profesionales y el público sobre políticas

Se preguntó a miembros del público sobre su reacción si eran víctimas de un acto socialmente desajustado cometido por un joven, y es interesante notar que las únicas personas que definitivamente no reaccionarían se encuentran en el A1 (3,3%) y que una mayor proporción de personas de A2 llamaría a la policía. Más significativo es el hecho de que alrededor del 21% de los que contestaron en A2 dijeron que tomarían justicia por sus propias manos, lo que evidencia la desesperada situación en que creen estar los residentes de A2.

Muchos de ellos parecen tener muy poca confianza en las respuestas no punitivas hacia el desajuste social juvenil y están obligados a relegar esos casos en la policía.

PUBLICO

CUADRO 41
Si Ud. fuese víctima de un acto de desajuste social,
¿Cuál sería su reacción?

	Area 1 %	Area 2 %	Total parcial %
No reaccionaría	10,3	0,0	5,4
Llamaría a la policía	59,4	75,8	67,1
Haría justicia por sí mismo	17,4	21,7	19,4
No sabe	13,0	2,5	7,7
Total vertical	100	100	100

Estos hallazgos están reforzados por la información que se presenta en el cuadro 42, de donde podemos deducir que una mayor proporción de los residentes de A2 demandan respuestas más severas en relación con los problemas de conducta juvenil.

PUBLICO

CUADRO 42
¿Cómo debería ser la actitud de la sociedad hacia los
problemas de conducta de los menores?

	Area 1 %	Area 2 %	Total parcial %
Más tolerante	22,5	5,0	14,3
Más severa	51,1	90,8	71,7
Tal como es	1,4	2,5	1,9
No sabe	21,0	1,6	11,3
Total vertical	100	100	100

Esto puede ser un poco sorprendente, y lo único que prueba es que cuando una sociedad ha fallado en proporcionar asistencia adecuada a las familias en dificultad, no puede esperar que estas familias traten de encontrar soluciones a sus problemas en instituciones que

no existen o son inadecuadas e igualmente muestra que la reacción punitiva del público se debe en parte a la frustración y desaliento, y por supuesto la tendencia es responsabilizar a los individuos, en este caso los jóvenes, quienes son mucho más victimizados por el sistema que los adultos.

Como hemos visto, solo la familia, y en menor grado la escuela y las organizaciones religiosas parecen haber obtenido el respeto de los ciudadanos corrientes. Ahora veamos cómo califican los profesionales las actuaciones de sus propias instituciones.

Para lo anterior se hicieron varias preguntas en relación con el funcionamiento de la policía, los tribunales, los reformatorios, las escuelas y las agencias de bienestar social. En términos generales sólo la escuela, y en menor grado las instituciones de bienestar social, recibieron un voto de confianza de parte de los profesionales entrevistados, lo cual es un hallazgo importante en tanto la muestra de profesionales fue seleccionada por los funcionarios que trabajan en esas instituciones. El panorama general parece ser el de una decreciente desconfianza, conforme pasamos de las instituciones con objetivos más generales que proporcionan servicios a los jóvenes (como las escuelas) hacia las instituciones más especializadas destinadas a trabajar con jóvenes más problemáticos (como los reformatorios).

También debe decirse que nuestros datos muestran que tanto el público como los profesionales entrevistados ven mayor fuerza en la familia y la comunidad que en las instituciones sociales de control formal, ambos grupos ven a la familia como más eficiente que hace cinco años, e igual sucede con la comunidad. Cuando estos resultados se contraponen con las bajas calificaciones dadas a la confianza en las instituciones gubernamentales, parece claro donde están ubicadas las fuerzas.

La información también es sugestiva respecto de las opciones de política que tiene el gobierno, pues podría trabajar sobre las fuerzas que residen en la familia y en la comunidad en general, o podría intentar superar la debilidad que caracteriza sus estructuras organizadas.

Es interesante notar la diferencia que parece existir entre la opinión del público y los profesionales, respecto a cuál debe ser la principal dirección de la política futura. La mayor parte del público demanda respuestas no punitivas y orientadas hacia los delincuentes, como el mejoramiento de los sistemas educativos y la creación de mayores oportunidades de trabajo para los jóvenes; otros demandan medidas destinadas a fortalecer los valores tradicionales y menos de 3% demandaron sentencias más severas.

PROFESIONALES

CUADRO 43

¿Piensa Ud. que la familia y la comunidad juegan un rol eficaz en la prevención y control del desajuste social juvenil? (Respuestas afirmativas)

	A1 + A2	A1	A2
La familia actualmente	90%	86,7%	93,3%
La familia 5 años atrás	38,3%	33,3%	43,3%
La comunidad actualmente	88,3%	86,7%	90,0%
La familia 5 años atrás	46,7%	50,0%	43,3%

PUBLICO

CUADRO 44

¿Piensa Ud. que la familia y la comunidad juegan un rol eficaz en la prevención y control del desajuste social juvenil? (Respuestas afirmativas)

	A1 + A2	A1	A2
La familia hoy	89,9%	85,5%	95,0%
La familia hace 5 años	75,2%	77,5%	72,5%
La comunidad hoy	90,3%	94,9%	85,0%
La comunidad hace 5 años	64,7%	58,0%	72,5%

Al contrario, los profesionales tienden a demandar servicios especializados como orientación familiar profesional, orientadores especiales para las escuelas, etc., para tratar a los muchachos difíciles, y sólo un 12% piensan que la comunidad puede jugar un papel más activo.

En otras palabras, el público parece estar demandando estrategias de prevención primaria de largo plazo, que no están dirigidas hacia la delincuencia, pero que derivan hacia el mejoramiento del bienestar general de los jóvenes; mientras que los profesionales, si bien es cierto no son abiertamente punitivos, quieren profesionalizar el problema, y por lo tanto demandan mayores recursos, mayor capacitación y especialización.

PUBLICO

CUADRO 45
¿Cuál es, según Ud., el modo más eficaz de reducir el desajuste social juvenil?

	Area 1 %	Area 2 %	Total parcial %
Reforzar los valores tradicionales	7,2	0,0	3,9
Que la justicia civil sea más eficaz	3,6	15,0	8,9
Que la justicia penal sea más eficaz	4,3	0,8	2,7
Que el sistema de asistencia social sea más eficaz	3,6	10,8	7,0
Que el sistema educativo sea más eficaz	39,9	37,5	38,8
Aumentar las oportunidades de trabajo	36,2	35,8	36,0
Introducir penas severas	5,1	0,0	2,7
No sabe	—	—	—
Total vertical	100	100	100

PROFESIONALES

CUADRO 46
¿Piensa Ud. que las instituciones citadas a continuación han aumentado su eficacia en los últimos cinco años?
(Respuestas afirmativas)

	A1 + A2	A1	A2
Policía	18,3%	20,0%	17,7%
Tribunales	11,7%	16,7%	6,7%
Sistema penitenciario	8,3%	6,7%	10,0%

PROFESIONALES

CUADRO 47
¿Cuáles son las razones?

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
Las instituciones han sido reformadas	19	23	42
Los problemas de inadaptación son menores	11	7	18
Total vertical	30	30	60

PROFESIONALES

CUADRO 48
¿Cómo funciona la policía en el control del desajuste social juvenil?

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
Bien	8	5	13
Mal	18	23	41
No sabe	4	2	6
Total vertical	30	30	66

PROFESIONALES

CUADRO 49
Si la policía funciona mal, ¿cuáles son las razones
(Dé tres respuestas en orden de importancia)?

Orden	A1 + A2		A1		A2	
1°	27,5%	0	36,7%	0	28,3%	3
2°	25,5%	3	22,8%	3	27,2%	4
3°	18,3%	2	21,7%	2	18,3%	0
4°	16,9%	4	8,3%	1	15,0	2
5°	8,1%	1	6,7%	4	7,8%	1
6°	3,6%	5	3,9%	5	3,3%	5

Razones:

0. funciona bien
1. falta de personal
2. adiestramiento inadecuado
3. falta de interés por parte de las autoridades
4. tolerancia por parte de la policía
5. falta de participación del público

PROFESIONALES

CUADRO 50
¿Cómo funcionan los tribunales de justicia en el control del desajuste social de los menores?

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
Bien	5	2	7
Mal	4	13	17
No sabe	21	15	36
Total vertical	30	30	60

PROFESIONALES

CUADRO 51
Si los tribunales de justicia funcionan mal, ¿cuáles son, según Ud., las razones? (Dé tres razones en orden de importancia)

Orden	A1 + A2		A1		A2	
1°	71,7%	0	86,7%	0	56,7%	0
2°	13,1%	3	6,1%	3	20,1%	3
3°	8,9%	2	4,4%	2	13,4%	2
4°	3,6%	4	1,6%	1	6,1	1
5°	2,8%	1	1,1%	4	4,0%	4

Razones:

1. falta de personal
2. adiestramiento inadecuado
3. lenta administración de la justicia
4. penas demasiado leves
0. han respondido positivamente a la pregunta precedente

PROFESIONALES

CUADRO 52
¿Cómo funcionan las instituciones de reeducación en el control del desajuste social juvenil?

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
Bien	1	0	1
Mal	26	28	54
No sabe	3	2	5
Total vertical	30	30	60

PROFESIONALES

CUADRO 53

Si las instituciones de reeducación funcionan mal,
¿cuáles son, según Ud., las razones? (Dé tres razones
en orden de importancia)

Orden	A1 + A2		A1		A2	
1°	39,5%	3	36,7%	3	42,2%	3
2°	27,5%	2	28,3%	2	16,8%	2
3°	14,2%	1	15,6%	1	13,9%	4
4°	10,8%	0	15,0%	0	12,8	1
5°	8,1%	4	4,5%	4	6,7%	0

Razones:

0. funciona bien
1. falta de personal
2. adiestramiento inadecuado
3. falta de programas de rehabilitación
4. penas más severas

PROFESIONALES

CUADRO 54

¿Cómo funciona el tratamiento no institucional en el
control del desajuste social juvenil?

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
Bien	3	6	9
Mal	9	9	18
No sabe	18	14	32
Total vertical	30	30	60

PROFESIONALES

CUADRO 55
Si el tratamiento no institucional funciona mal,
¿cuáles son, según Ud., las razones? (Dé tres razones
en orden de importancia)

Orden	A1 + A2		A1		A2	
1°	68,6%	0	69,5%	0	67,7%	0
2°	13,3%	3	12,8%	3	13,8%	3
3°	7,2%	2	6,1%	4	8,8%	2
4°	6,7%	4	5,6%	2	7,3	4
5°	4,2%	1	5,6%	1	2,8%	1

Razones:

1. falta de personal
2. adiestramiento inadecuado
3. falta de programas de rehabilitación
4. falta de participación del público
0. han respondido positivamente a la pregunta precedente

PROFESIONALES

CUADRO 56
¿Cómo funcionan las instituciones de bienestar social?

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
Bien	8	18	26
Mal	6	4	10
No sabe	16	8	24
Total vertical	30	30	60

PROFESIONALES

CUADRO 57

Si las instituciones de bienestar social funcionan mal,
¿cuáles son, según Ud., las razones? (Dé tres razones
en orden de importancia)

Orden	A1 + A2		A1		A2	
1°	83,3%	0	80,0%	0	86,7%	0
2°	7,8%	3	9,5%	3	6,1%	3
3°	3,9%	2	5,0%	2	2,8%	2
4°	3,3%	1	5,0%	1	2,0	4
5°	3,3%	4	4,3%	4	1,6%	1

Razones:

1. falta de personal
2. adiestramiento inadecuado
3. falta de programas de rehabilitación
4. falta de participación del público
5. falta de penas severas
6. han respondido afirmativamente a la pregunta anterior

PROFESIONALES

CUADRO 58

¿Cómo funcionan los institutos penitenciarios en el
control del desajuste social juvenil?

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
Bien	0	3	3
Mal	24	23	47
No sabe	6	7	13
Total vertical	30	30	60

PROFESIONALES

CUADRO 59

Si los institutos penitenciarios funcionan mal,
¿cuáles son, según Ud., las razones? (Dé tres razones
en orden de importancia)

Orden	A1 + A2		A1		A2	
1°	38,3%	3	38,9%	3	37,8%	3
2°	21,9%	2	22,2%	2	21,7%	2
3°	20,0%	0	20,0%	0	20,0%	0
4°	13,4%	1	8,9%	5	15,3	1
5°	10,3%	5	8,3%	1	11,0%	5
6°	1,9%	4	3,3%	1	2,2	4

Razones:

1. falta de personal
2. adiestramiento inadecuado
3. falta de programas de rehabilitación
4. falta de participación del público
5. falta de penas severas
6. han respondido afirmativamente a la pregunta anterior

PROFESIONALES

CUADRO 60

¿La escuela ayuda a controlar el desajuste social juvenil?

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
Sí	26	23	49
No	1	3	4
No sabe	3	4	7
Total vertical	30	30	60

PROFESIONALES

CUADRO 61

Si la escuela funciona mal, ¿cuáles son, según Ud., las razones? (Dé tres razones en orden de importancia)

Orden	A1 + A2		A1		A2	
	%	Nº	%	Nº	%	Nº
1º	93,3%	0	98,5%	0	89,0%	0
2º	4,2%	1	0,9%	1	6,8%	1
3º	1,5%	4	0,2%	4	2,4%	4
4º	1,0%	2	0,1%	2	1,6%	2
5º	0,7%	3	0,1%	3	1,3%	3

Razones:

1. escuelas repletas
2. falta de asesores escolares
3. falta de entusiasmo de los maestros
4. falta de cooperación entre maestros y padres
5. han respondido afirmativamente a la pregunta anterior

PROFESIONALES

CUADRO 62

Según Ud. ¿cuáles de las medidas enumeradas a continuación son más eficaces en la prevención del desajuste social juvenil? (Dé tres medidas en orden de importancia)

Orden	A1 + A2		A1		A2	
	%	Nº	%	Nº	%	Nº
1º	27,3%	4	28,0%	4	26,6%	4
2º	24,0%	2	23,3%	2	24,7%	2
3º	19,2%	1	23,3%	1	18,7%	3
4º	17,0%	3	15,3%	3	15,1%	1
5º	12,4%	5	12,6%	5	12,2%	5

Medidas:

1. asesoramiento a las familias
2. subvención a las familias pobres
3. aumento de los asesores escolares
4. mayores posibilidades de trabajo
5. aumento de la participación de la comunidad

PROFESIONALES

CUADRO 63
Según Ud., ¿cuáles de las medidas enumeradas a continuación son mas eficaces en el control del desajuste social juvenil? (Dé tres medidas en orden de importancia)

Orden	A1 + A2		A1		A2	
1°	54,8%	1	53,0%	1	56,6%	1
2°	32,8%	2	33,0%	2	32,6%	2
3°	12,0%	3	12,5%	3	11,5%	3

Medidas:

1. mejorar los programas de tratamiento institucionales y no institucionales
2. reforzar la policia
3. penas más severas

Es desalentador observar que casi una tercera parte de los profesionales ven, en el fortalecimiento de la policía, una solución, y el 12% demandan penas más severas lo que indica que la opinión de los profesionales es menos tolerante que la del público. Más de la mitad estarían de acuerdo en que el gobierno conformara instituciones de tratamiento especializadas para los jóvenes con el cuerpo profesional adecuado. Es decir, lo que están demandando los profesionales son respuestas muy caras, altamente técnicas y que probablemente supera la capacidad del gobierno de Colombia para proporcionarlas. Esta respuesta está lamentablemente orientada hacia el beneficio personal. Hay ecos en esas respuestas de las demandas hechas por funcionarios de los Estados Unidos y Europa Occidental hace unas dos décadas, en el sentido de aumentar el profesionalismo.

Si deben escogerse alternativas serias y establecerse prioridades, pareciera que el gobierno bien podría llegar a la conclusión que si bien el mejoramiento de los niveles profesionales es un objetivo plausible por derecho propio y que requiere alguna atención, según el estudio, es el público el que está probablemente más cerca para indicar las directrices generales que una política futura debería tener, pues ellos demandan medidas que fortalezcan la familia, los valores tradicionales, mejoren la capacidad de los sistemas educativos locales y aumenten las posibilidades de trabajo para los jóvenes.

Si podemos establecer alguna conclusión de nuestra información, sería que la delincuencia juvenil no es el resultado inevitable de la pobreza y la rápida urbanización, la variable de intervención clave es el fortalecimiento de las relaciones jóvenes-adultos, y especialmente las relaciones familiares.

Los residentes de El Paraíso y San Martín pueden estar interesados en conocer el hecho de que nuestros datos corroboran sus recomendaciones.

d) Resumen y conclusiones

En la introducción teórica se establecieron dos hipótesis de trabajo: la primera en el sentido de que las mayores tasas de desajuste social juvenil se encontrarían en las áreas de rápida urbanización no planificada, y en segundo lugar, que un cierto número de variables interventoras determinarían el grado en que una comunidad sufriría problemas de desajuste social juvenil. Estas variables interventoras se señalaron como vinculadas con el grado de solidaridad orgánica dentro de la comunidad, y en particular se sugirió que el rol de los grupos primarios en la socialización de los jóvenes durante el difícil período de transición de la adolescencia a la edad adulta revestía particular importancia.

Nuestra información tiende a confirmar ambas hipótesis, e incluimos un resumen de nuestros hallazgos en el cuadro 64. Todos los cuadros indicadores de la extensión del desajuste social juvenil: el nivel actual, las tendencias recientes, las percepciones de la peligrosidad y las predicciones para el futuro, muestran que el desajuste social juvenil se percibe como un problema más serio y que empeora más en las áreas de rápida urbanización.

El público como un todo expresó una actitud tolerante, y hasta quizás algo sobreprotectora con respecto a los problemas juveniles, e igualmente, parece ser más tolerante en sus respuestas a los problemas de los jóvenes que la mayoría de los profesionales que trabajan en esas comunidades.

Respecto a la segunda hipótesis, se puede encontrar un amplio apoyo en los puntos del 7 al 13, que sintetizan la información presentada anteriormente en los cuadros individuales. De los 17 indicadores de solidaridad social, 15 tienden a demostrar un mayor nivel en El Paraíso, uno no muestra ninguna diferencia entre las áreas, y el otro está en sentido contrario.

Es cierto que los padres de San Martín expresan mayor preocupación que sus contrapartes de El Paraíso acerca del cuidado parental, pero esto puede deberse a los patrones establecidos por el público para la vida familiar en ambas áreas. Igualmente, no existen diferencias demostrables entre las dos áreas, respecto de la proporción de

mujeres que colaboran en las labores del hogar, pero esto es sin duda debido a que en Colombia se espera que las mujeres participen en las labores domésticas.

Todos los restantes aspectos indican que los jóvenes de El Paraíso están mejor integrados en sus familias, escuelas e iglesias, y que están menos predispuestos a pasar largos períodos de su tiempo libre aislados de los adultos de su comunidad.

Las familias de El Paraíso están más dispuestas a dejar en manos de la policía, antes que en cualquier otra institución de beneficencia, lo que fue explicado debido a la inexistencia de cualquier otro tipo de institución con credibilidad en el área. Nuestra información también mostró que en las comunidades más estables es posible determinar una actitud más tolerante y protectora hacia los jóvenes, y que existe menos disposición a maltratar a los jóvenes en El Paraíso que en San Martín.

En relación con las políticas públicas, lo primero que se puede señalar es que una gran mayoría de los residentes de El Paraíso y San Martín apoyarían un conjunto de medidas humanitarias destinadas a mejorar la calidad de vida de los jóvenes en general. A diferencia de los profesionales entrevistados, el público tiende a demandar políticas basadas en la familia y la comunidad, y no ven cómo puede ser posible resolver los problemas del desajuste social juvenil, simplemente mediante el incremento de las medidas represivas del Estado.

Los «colaboradores profesionales» tienden a insistir en aumentar el cuerpo de funcionarios, mejor capacitación, más instituciones y penas más severas. Tanto el público como los profesionales están de acuerdo en que las instituciones de control social existentes funcionan mal.

Las organizaciones religiosas deberán ser alentadas a continuar con su papel, en tanto han sido vistas por la mayoría como instituciones útiles. De la misma manera, otras organizaciones basadas en la comunidad deben ser fortalecidas cuando existan, y creadas cuando sea necesario, también se deben fomentar los deportes organizados y se puede proporcionar medios para el desarrollo de otro tipo de actividades recreativas.

Esto puede hacerse con poco dinero proveyendo pequeños fondos a los grupos comunitarios que funcionen como «semilleros de dinero», dándoles además apoyo y aliento. En general, muchas personas no profesionales pueden jugar roles muy importantes, que en algunos países son de competencia exclusiva de los profesionales. Las personas con experiencia pueden ser identificadas y nombradas en cier-

tos puestos claves como consejeros legos, asistentes sociales, asistentes de enseñanza, etc.; y los problemas menores pueden ser manejados por consejos de vecinos.

Los profesionales también tienen un papel que cumplir, pero fundamentalmente como colaboradores de las personas legas. Para hacer todo o la mayoría de lo antes mencionado, se requiere una posición gubernamental que crea y tenga fe en las personas comunes. El diseño de una estrategia social apropiada, que sea compatible con el patrimonio cultural de su pueblo, fundada sobre la base de las fuerzas existentes y dentro de la capacidad financiera del Estado, requiere abandonar los patrones establecidos por los países occidentales, para los países en desarrollo como Colombia.

CUADRO 64 RESUMEN DE LOS RESULTADOS

1. Magnitud del desajuste social juvenil	A1 < A2
2. Peligro que significan los jóvenes desajustados sociales	A1 < A2
3. Aumento en el desajuste social juvenil	A1 < A2
4. Predicción de las futuras tendencias del desajuste social juvenil	A1 < A2
5. Comparación con la criminalidad adulta	A1 > A2
6. Respeto a los padres	A1 = A2
7. Percepción sobre lo adecuado del control paternal	A1 < A2
8. Jóvenes varones que colaboran en tareas de casa	A1 > A2
9. Jóvenes mujeres que colaboran en tareas de casa	A1 = A2
10. Jóvenes que trabajan con sus padres	A1 > A2
11. Rol de la familia en la solución de problemas	A1 > A2
12. Padres percibidos como útiles cuando se tienen problemas	A1 > A2
13. Jóvenes que trabajan para ayudar a la familia	A1 > A2
14. Tiempo libre constructivo	A1 > A2
15. Tiempo libre que se pasa con los adultos	A1 > A2
16. Tiempo libre que se pasa en grupos mixtos	A1 > A2
17. Relaciones positivas con la escuela	A1 > A2
18. Relaciones positivas con la iglesia	A1 > A2
19. Actitudes positivas respecto al sistema de justicia	A1 > A2
20. Temor de la policía	A1 > A2
21. Confianza en la policía	A1 < A2
22. Tolerancia respecto del desajuste social juvenil	A1 > A2

Nuestra conclusión final del proyecto deja entrever algún espacio para la acción positiva de parte del gobierno. La vida familiar y comunitaria ha sobrevivido la transición de sociedad rural a sociedad urbana, a pesar de haber sido golpeada por una cantidad de influencias negativas asociadas con la vida urbana.

Las fuerzas que residen en estas comunidades pueden encontrarse

en la familia, la escuela, las organizaciones religiosas y en la comunidad como un todo. El gobierno puede influir sobre estas fuerzas poniendo particular atención a las recomendaciones que derivan del público que se incluyen en este estudio, y en las cuales el rol de la familia es la clave fundamental. Nuestros datos indican que las familias que trabajan juntas permanecen juntas, y cuando no están ligadas únicamente por lazos sanguíneos, sino también recreativos, económicos y sociales, hacen la transición de la adolescencia a la edad adulta llevadera.

Las familias necesitan ser apoyadas por medio de medidas económicas y de otra índole, de manera que el Estado no requiera continuar su rol tradicional de proporcionar programas profesionales muy elaborados y costos. Una forma en que esto puede realizarse es mediante incentivos económicos, subsidios o préstamos con bajos intereses, que permitan a las familias establecer pequeñas industrias familiares.

La escuela es una institución con credibilidad a los ojos de la mayor parte de los jóvenes, y el rol de las escuelas locales puede ser fortalecido estimulándolo a integrarse completamente en la sociedad. También sería muy útil incrementar las relaciones entre padres y maestros, un mayor grado de control familiar y una más amplia percepción del rol de la escuela en el desarrollo de la infancia.

ESTUDIO DE CASO No.2

SAN JOSÉ - COSTA RICA

a) Antecedentes

Costa Rica es un país de aproximadamente 2.400.000 habitantes que presenta una de las más altas tasas de crecimiento demográfico del mundo con promedio de alrededor del 4,3% en la década 1960-1970, la cual ha disminuido a alrededor del 2,7% en la actualidad. Esta tasa de crecimiento se debe por una parte al alto grado de natalidad y por otra a una disminución de la mortalidad infantil y a un aumento del promedio de vida de los adultos.

Debido a un fuerte movimiento migratorio de las áreas rurales a los centros urbanos, la tasa de crecimiento en el área metropolitana más importante, San José, se ha mantenido en aproximadamente 5%. Una gran cantidad de los campesinos que emigran hacia San José son jóvenes en busca de empleo. En 1978 los jóvenes entre 14 y 24 años constituían el 42% de la población económicamente activa. Las estadísticas oficiales gubernamentales indican que el grupo de población menor de 14 años constituye el 39,2% del total de población; de este total el 44% residen en San José. De lo anterior se puede concluir que los jóvenes constituyen una proporción significativa del total de la población y que numéricamente tienden a dominar en la constitución demográfica de San José.

Por otra parte, San José no ha crecido tan rápidamente como otras provincias de Costa Rica. En el período 1963-1973 algunas provincias que establecieron cierto tipo de industria, como Heredia y Limón, crecieron en un 14,4% y 23,7% respectivamente. La reducción neta en las restantes provincias, especialmente aquellas rurales, debe considerarse como señal del influjo de campesinos hacia los centros urbanos. Estos centros, particularmente San José, no estaban en condiciones de absorber un influjo repentino y como resultado de ésto, muchos campesinos terminaron instalándose en ciudades-chozas denominadas «tugurios».

a) barrios marginales

Según datos proporcionados por el Instituto Nacional de Vivienda y Urbanismo de Costa Rica, la tasa de crecimiento gráfico de San José

se sitúa por encima del 5% anual y una gran parte del crecimiento se debe a la aparición de barrios marginales.

Usualmente estos «tugurios» comienzan con ocupaciones ilegales de terrenos libres en las cercanías de áreas establecidas, después de un tiempo, los ocupantes solicitan al FNVU el reconocimiento legal y el acceso a servicios públicos.

Estas áreas son difíciles de ubicar en los mapas de la ciudad puesto que se esparcen por toda la ciudad y frecuentemente son contiguas a áreas que presentan condiciones ecológicas y económicas diferentes.

Durante el censo de 1973 se identificaron 108 áreas marginales. El criterio utilizado fue el del nivel de deterioro físico en que vivían los habitantes. Específicamente, las áreas marginales tienen las siguientes características:

1. espacio físico totalmente inadecuado;
2. falta de servicios básicos como caminos, sanitarios y agua potable;
3. hacinamiento;
4. altos niveles de analfabetismo;
5. ingreso familiar por debajo del nivel básico;
6. altas tasas de desocupación y subocupación;
7. alta proporción de residentes sin vivienda propia.

En San José aproximadamente 11.500 viviendas respondían a estos criterios en 1973 y en ellas vivían aproximadamente 30.000 habitantes que comprendían más del 5% del total de población de la ciudad capital. A pesar de tener algunas características similares, estas 108 zonas difieren en algunos aspectos, por ejemplo, el ingreso familiar promedio varía entre 150 y 70 dólares o menos mensuales en las zonas más pobres. La estructura social también varía según la zona. También varían considerablemente los lugares de origen, el tamaño de la familia, el mantenimiento de contactos con la ciudad de origen, la solidaridad y el tipo y grado de organización comunitaria.

El grupo de investigadores proporcionó una descripción detallada basada en una encuesta de una área marginal de San José: Calle Chapulines, que se considera como un ejemplo típico de área marginal. Debido a la similitud del área de Calle Chapulines con una de las seleccionadas para este estudio, presentaremos a continuación un breve resumen del material descriptivo proporcionado.

Calle Chapulines nació como área residencial en 1971 como consecuencia de la ocupación ilegal de tierras. En 1977 el área tenía 201 viviendas, 98 de las cuales no tenían agua, menos del 50% tenían ser-

vicios sanitarios y la mayoría de los que tenían agua y alcantarillado compartían los servicios con los vecinos.

La población total en ese entonces era de 1.027 habitantes de los cuales, 53% eran mujeres y 47% hombres; la población era muy joven, más del 50% menores de 14 años.

Una tercera parte de las viviendas estaba ocupada por más de 7 personas a pesar de que la mayoría eran muy pequeña, los dos tercios de las casas no tenían más de dos habitaciones y casi un cuarto eran de una pieza.

El 48% de las familias que se asentaron en esta zona provenían directamente de áreas rurales mientras el 52% llegaron en dos etapas; primero a otra parte de la ciudad; en su mayoría y luego hacia Chapulines. Desde un punto de vista sociológico es interesante notar que el 22% de las familias tenían un inquilino contiguo proveniente de la misma área rural, esto significa por supuesto, que más de tres cuartos de los residentes no tenían inquilinos inmediatos con los que se pudieran relacionar en términos de experiencias compartidas.

El mayor número (56%) señaló que la razón principal para venir a Chapulines era «porque tenían parientes en el área». Otras razones dadas eran: «que no tenían que pagar alquiler» (la mayoría eran migrantes en dos etapas) y «las malas condiciones económicas de su lugar de origen».

El nivel de educación es bajo en relación con la media. En Costa Rica la Escuela Primaria es gratuita y obligatoria pero a pesar de ello muchos menores trabajan y no van a la escuela. La encuesta no identificó ninguna persona que hubiera completado la segunda enseñanza y ninguna que tuviera capacitación especializada de alguna especie.

El 40% de la población económicamente activa, por ello se entiende que se realiza algún tipo de trabajo remunerado a jornada entera o media jornada. Tres cuartas partes encontraron trabajo fuera de Chapulines especialmente en el centro de la ciudad. El ingreso promedio de aquellos afortunados que conseguían trabajo era bajo ya que el 75% recibían menos de 100 dólares mensuales.

Uno de los aspectos más interesantes de este barrio se refiere a la vida comunitaria. Existían al menos 10 organizaciones comunales presionando al gobierno para obtener servicios, sin embargo el nivel de participación comunitaria no era muy alto: sólo el 23% de los entrevistados dijo conocer el principal y legalmente establecido comité, llamado «Comité de Desarrollo Comunitario» y menos del 10% conocían la existencia de otro comité que pedía electricidad y servicios públicos.

La necesidades más comunemente señaladas por los habitantes fueron en orden de importancia las siguientes: la necesidad de tener la casa legalmente declarada y registrada a nombre del inquilino, la necesidad de agua potable, calles, caminos pavimentados de acceso a otras áreas, electricidad y alcantarillado.

La anterior descripción es típica de otras áreas marginales de San José y en particular de que es difícil hacer una generalización en relación con las condiciones económicas, demográficas y sociales de área 2 de este estudio: Barrio 15 de Septiembre.

b) condiciones sanitarias

Dada la difícil situación económica de Costa Rica, los indicadores de salud deberían haber revelado una alta tasa de mortalidad infantil, una alta morbilidad y una significativa incidencia de las enfermedades y accidentes evitables. Sin embargo, comparado con otros países latinoamericanos Costa Rica parece tener menos problemas de los esperados en el área de salud. Esto se debe en parte a la existencia de un servicio de seguridad y salud pública relativamente eficiente.

En 1978 la tasa de natalidad era alta pero no tanto como en otros países latinoamericanos: 31,8 por 100.000 habitantes. La tasa de mortalidad es una de las más bajas de América Latina y ha ido bajando sucesivamente con el paso de los años; en 1978 era de 4,1 por 100.000. La expectativa de vida es del orden de 73,4 años, una cifra altamente significativa para América Latina y que se acerca a la de Europa Occidental. Las enfermedades más importantes son la gripe, enfermedades venéreas, sarampión y paperas.

Existe un complejo sistema sanitario que comprende hospitales regionales, urbanos y suburbanos, cuatro tipos de clínicas de consulta externa y unidades de paramédicos en las áreas rurales. La situación general de la salud es mucho mejor de los niveles que generalmente se encuentran en los países en desarrollo.

c) sistema educativo

La escuela primaria es gratuita y obligatoria y en consecuencia la tasa de analfabetismo es baja para la media latinoamericana. En 1978 era del 10% del total de la población en edad escolar y del 15% en la población rural. El sistema educativo está totalmente descentralizado y está diseñado para satisfacer las necesidades, expectativas y características de las diferentes regiones del país. El Ministerio de Edu-

cación Pública establece un programa uniforme que se aplica en diferentes formas dependiendo de decisiones tomadas a nivel local.

Capacitación en oficios, instrucción técnica y educación continuada son algunas de las posibilidades en estudios post-secundarios. La Universidad Nacional y la Universidad de Costa Rica completan este panorama.

A pesar del eficaz sistema descrito aún existen algunos problemas. En algunas comunidades, como el caso de la A2 de este estudio, existen altos niveles de vagancia y además las tasas de deserción escolar son altas. Si bien el acceso a la educación post-secundaria no está formalmente restringido a las clases altas y medias, éstas tienden sin embargo a estar sobrerrepresentadas. Esto sucede a pesar de los esfuerzos por eliminar la barrera de ingresos (en términos económicos) a la educación y parece reflejar los mismos factores que producen la preponderancia de los estudiantes de las clases superiores en universidades y colegios de otros países.

d) trabajo

En 1978 la desocupación oficial para todo el país se ubicaba en menos del 8%. Esta cifra, por supuesto, no revela la ocupación ni las amplias variaciones en los niveles de ingreso. El Producto Nacional Bruto era de 3.473.000 dólares y el ingreso promedio per capita era de 1.519 dólares. En este mismo año más del 20% de la población de San José ganaba menos de 170 dólares mensuales y solo un 3% del total de la población ganaba un mínimo de 250 dólares mensuales.

Los migrantes de las áreas marginales tienden a ubicarse en los niveles más bajos de la distribución del ingreso. Un 37% de los inmigrantes de áreas marginales y no marginales de San José ganan menos de 260 dólares mensuales. En contraste, los no inmigrantes y especialmente los que viven fuera de las áreas marginales están sobrerrepresentados en los altos niveles de ingresos y, además de tener ingresos mayores de 260 dólares mensuales, tienen un porcentaje de 1.5 dependientes por asalariado. El número promedio de dependientes es mayor (4,9) entre los inmigrantes, particularmente los que viven en áreas marginales y que ganan menos de 170 dólares mensuales. Este grupo tiene también el mayor número de menores de 15 años viviendo en sus casas (4,05). En términos generales, esta información señala una considerable brecha tanto en las necesidades económicas como en los niveles de ingreso entre los miembros pobres de la sociedad. Esta mala distribución de los ingresos puede no sólo producir con-

flictos sociales sino también condiciones sociales que conducen hacia el desajuste social juvenil y a la criminalidad adulta.

e) problemas delictivos y otras formas de patología social

Las estadísticas oficiales sobre el delito registrado son vulnerables a numerosas críticas bien conocidas. No obstante, tratadas con cierta cautela, proveen alguna indicación sobre el fenómeno. La siguiente información fue suministrada por la Oficina de Estadísticas de la Suprema Corte de Justicia para los años 1974-1979:

Año	Delitos denunciados por 100.000 habitantes
1974	1.186
1975	1.210
1976	1.264
1977	1.521
1978	1.452
1979	1.406

Esta información muestra una tasa relativamente alta en términos absolutos aunque parece aumentar sólo gradualmente. El salto observado en 1977 es aparentemente debido a nuevas leyes de protección al consumidor que entraron en vigor en ese año. El descenso en 1978 y 1979 se debe principalmente a una aparente reducción en las denuncias de delitos a la Ley de Protección del Consumidor desde 1977. Teniendo todo esto en cuenta, la información señala un aumento anual de alrededor de 1% en los delitos por 100.000 habitantes.

El desglose de los delitos denunciados, cometidos por adultos varones es el siguiente: más del 83% fueron delitos contra la propiedad; (en el caso de los jóvenes esta categoría es aún mayor llegando a alrededor de 90%), las categorías restantes fueron: delitos contra la persona (11,4%) y delitos sexuales (3,3%).

De esto podemos entrever que en términos numéricos, los delitos contra la propiedad dominan el panorama. La proporción de delitos contra la propiedad denunciados en Costa Rica es algo mayor que en otros países latinoamericanos. Es opinión común que en los países en desarrollo se verifican más delitos contra la persona que contra la propiedad, al menos en las etapas iniciales del desarrollo, esta generalización no se aplica a la situación de Costa Rica.

La distribución por edades es más interesante, ya que no parece seguir los mismos patrones de la mayoría de los países desarrollados. En Europa Occidental y los Estados Unidos, los delincuentes menores de 20 años presentan las mayores tasas delictivas. Esto no es así para Costa Rica en la cual en grupo de 21 a 30 años tiene la tasa más alta de delitos registrados.

Edad	Tasa por 100.000 habitantes
17-21	148
21-30	216
31-40	149
41-50	132
51 y más	59

La práctica judicial es bastante severa. En 1977-79 hubo una tasa anual de aproximadamente 4.000 encarcelamientos en instituciones penales. Esto significa alrededor del 60% de todas las sentencias condenatorias dictadas por los tribunales y cerca de 300 sentencias correccionales por 100.000 habitantes. Es interesante notar que el 25% de las personas institucionalizadas eran menores de 20 años; el 72% eran solteros y más del 89% provenían de áreas urbanas.

La respuesta legal a la criminalidad, tanto adulta como juvenil es más compleja en Costa Rica, al menos desde un punto de vista formal, que la que existe en la mayoría de los países latinoamericanos. En 1970 había más de 6.000 policías urbanos distribuidos en los centros metropolitanos y urbanos a través de todo el país. Esto nos da un promedio de un policía por cada 350 habitantes en las áreas urbanas, que puede considerarse alta en relación con la media internacional. En los centros con mayor criminalidad esta proporción es aún más elevada, aproximadamente un policía por cada 200 habitantes.

Además, el Ministerio de Gobernación emplea alrededor de 2.000 Guardias de Asistencia Rural que desempeñan una serie de trabajos de defensa social además de controlar el delito en la forma tradicional. Sin embargo no reciben suficiente adiestramiento y su impacto en las zonas rurales es un asunto de mucha controversia. Debe señalarse que Costa Rica no tiene un ejército formalmente establecido.

El Estado a través de la Dirección General de Adaptación Social administra dos instituciones especializadas en jóvenes. Además, existen algunas instituciones privadas, financiadas parcialmente por el Patronato Nacional de la Infancia, destinadas a la rehabilitación y

protección de niños abandonados o en peligro social debido a la carencia de padres adecuados. La capacidad total de esos centros, tanto los públicos como los privados, es de aproximadamente 600 plazas para niños y la mayoría están localizados en el área metropolitana de San José y en otros centros urbanos de esa provincia. El personal de la mayoría de estos centros generalmente es profesional y existe una cierta capacidad de diagnóstico y tratamiento profesional. No obstante, es la opinión de muchos observadores en Costa Rica que las necesidades de los niños maltratados no están siendo debidamente enfocadas debido a la insuficiencia de personal y a lo inadecuado de las instalaciones para el tratamiento.

La mayoría de los niños que son ubicados en estos centros provienen de familias pobres. Una vez más los problemas de los pobres son tratados por la policía, los juzgados y las instituciones correccionales. Las clases pudientes tienen medios privados para tratar sus problemas familiares los cuales generalmente no son del conocimiento de las autoridades.

Lo que podemos observar a través de material provisto por el equipo local de Costa Rica es una muy activa y entronizada respuesta profesional hacia los jóvenes. En términos de diseño, el sistema en su integridad puede compararse con los de los países desarrollados. La magnitud del problema, el presupuesto limitado y las restricciones administrativas hacen que el sistema sea menos efectivo en la práctica.

b) Descripción de las dos áreas: Barrio Córdoba (A1) y Barrio 15 de Septiembre (A2)

El barrio de Córdoba (A1) es un área suburbana relativamente nueva que comprende familias de ingresos medios y altos que se instalaron en 1962. Alrededor del 1954 la tierra en esta área era propiedad de algunas familias ricas. En 1962 los primeros lotes fueron vendidos a una firma de contratistas, quienes subdividieron las parcelas, construyeron caminos y lograron aprobaciones para instalación de servicios. La construcción de viviendas empezó poco después y puede dividirse en dos etapas: la primera llamada FINSA I se desarrolló en la parte sur del terreno y la segunda, llamada FINSA II se empezó a desarrollar cuando FINSA I estaba por terminarse e incluía los terrenos cercanos a la carretera principal. La división en dos etapas no implicó grandes diferencias socio-económicas pero sí un proceso de desarrollo en dos etapas.

Las personas que se instalaron en Barrio Córdoba eran pequeños comerciantes, algunos profesores y maestros, abogados, ingenieros y otros profesionales. Los motivos para trasladarse a esta zona eran muchos pero principalmente porque querían estar en una zona segura y aceptable más alejada de la ciudad y de los problemas que allí se presentaban. No fue entonces una sorpresa que la comunidad se organizara rápidamente, y se creó un Consejo de Progreso que presionó al gobierno para obtener servicios públicos que fueron rápidamente provistos. Un alto grado de ayuda y solidaridad comunitaria existe en la actualidad entre los vecinos del barrio.

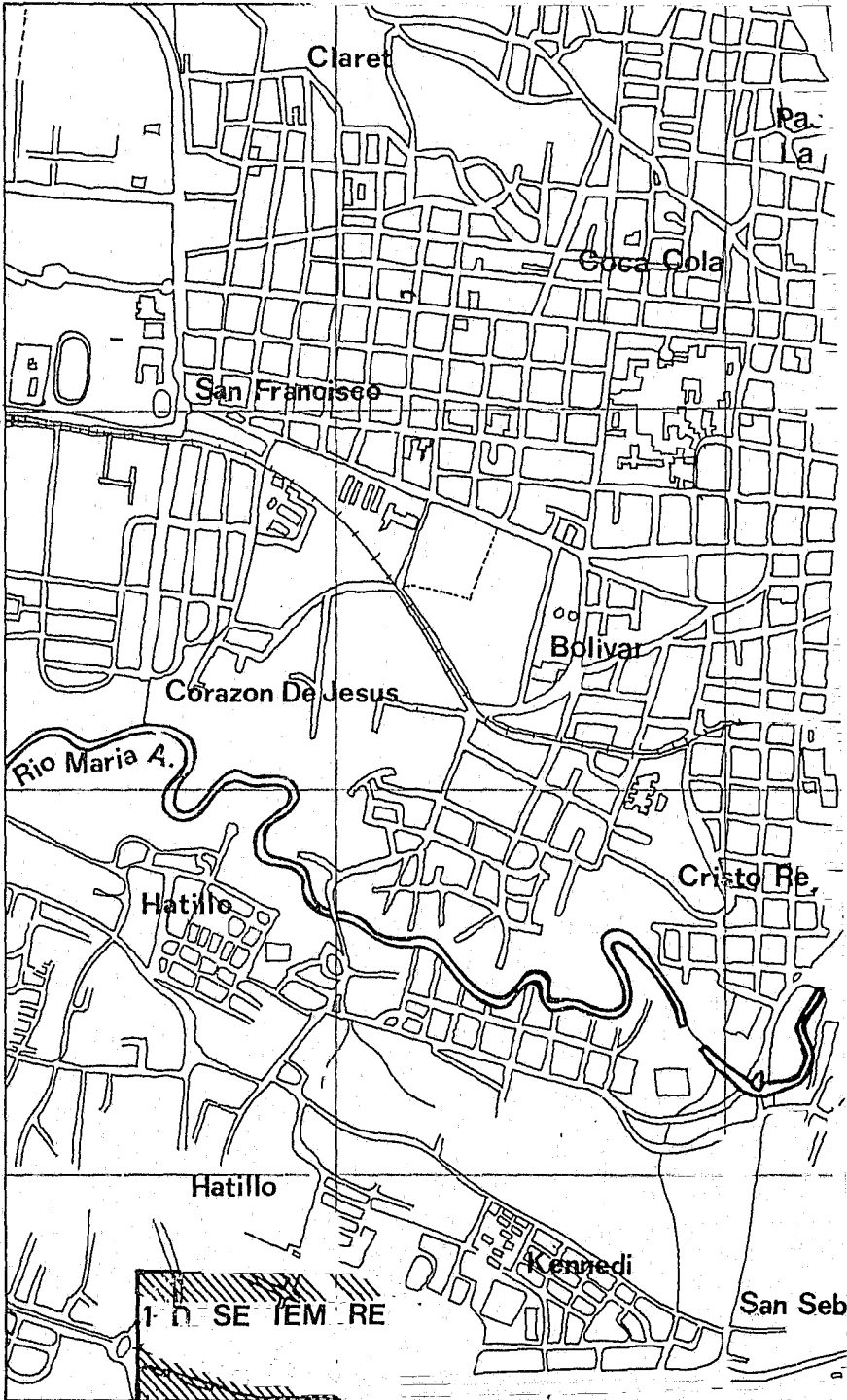
No podemos hablar de que allí existan problemas de desocupación y el único problema señalado por los residentes está vinculado con el tráfico y el uso ocasional de marihuana, un fenómeno típico de la clase media.

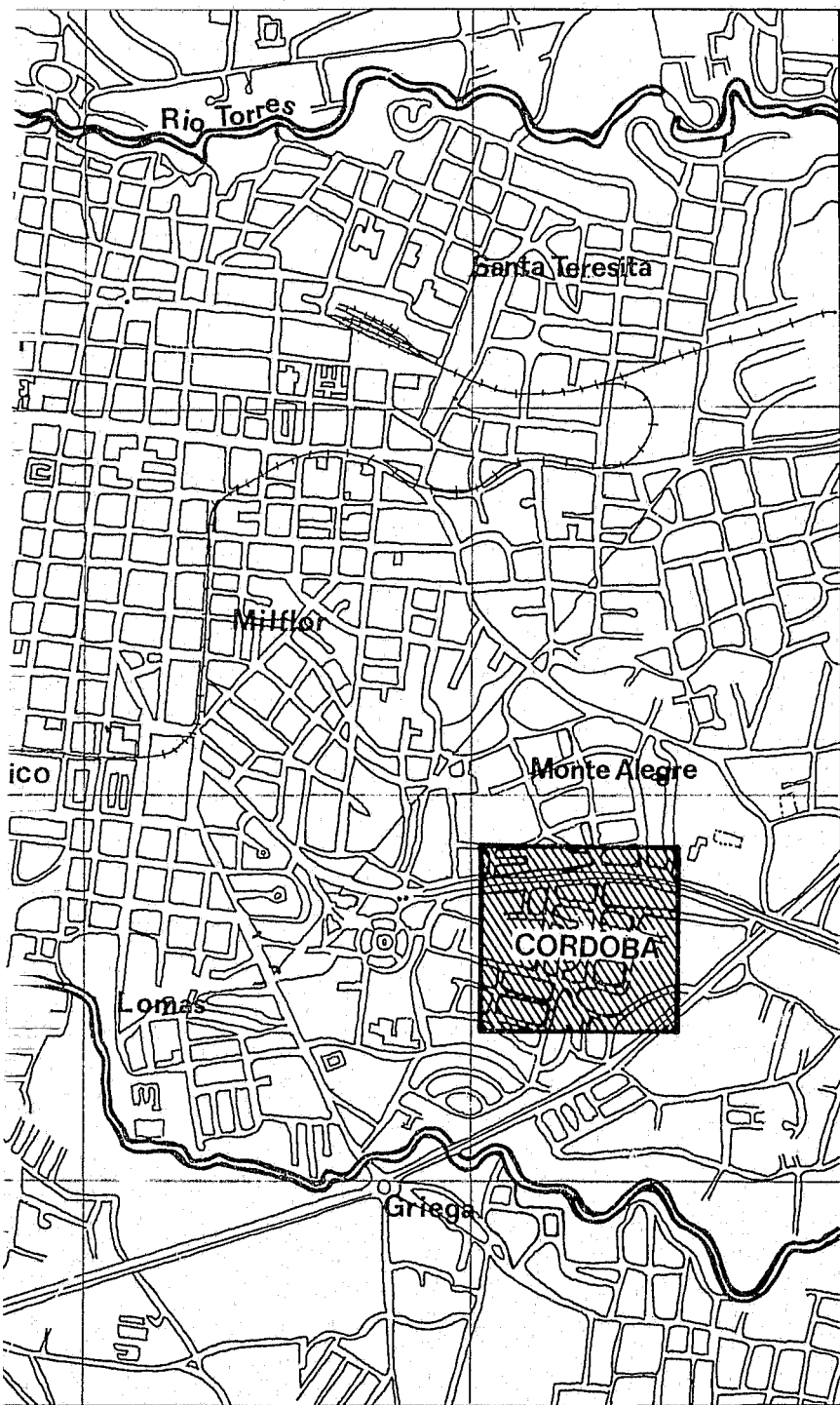
La población de 15 de Septiembre (A2) población que también está ubicada en la provincia de San José, en las afueras de la ciudad. Se creó en 1962 más o menos en el mismo período que el Barrio Córdoba, pero en los demás aspectos es totalmente distinta de la zona A1.

En sus inicios esta zona era marginal sus habitantes fueron trasladados de distritos marginales y de zonas de viviendas escuálidas cercanas a la capital. Esta área fue también urbanizada en dos etapas, en 1963 el Instituto Nacional de Viviendas y Urbanismo asignó 278 familias que habían sido trasladadas de otros barrios del sur de la capital cercanos a la ciudadela. Estas pertenecían a los estratos más bajos de San José y luego se les denominó «los de abajo». Poco después se efectuó una segunda etapa de establecimientos, pero la población no era del mismo origen, en general pertenecían al grupo de ingresos bajos con problemas de vivienda pero no fueron desalojados de los barrios peores. Serían luego conocidos como «los de arriba».

Esta división no es fácilmente reconocible para los extraños debido a que las pautas de vida y las condiciones de la vivienda son similares, sin embargo, en términos sociales «los de abajo» y «los de arriba» están claramente involucrados en un proceso de división. En 1980 se construyó una ruta periférica que sirve como límite físico entre las dos áreas, fortaleciendo así la diferenciación social que se generaba allí.

Esta zona está muy deteriorada, calzadas de tierra sirven como calles y los servicios básicos como electricidad, agua potable y servicios sanitarios o son inexistentes o deben ser compartidos. La mayoría de los habitantes no son productores de ingresos, algunos han estado excluidos del mercado de trabajo por varios años. Las actividades más típicas de ocupación son: artesanías, pequeños negocios,





lustra botas, venta de periódicos, revendedores, etc. Los que tienen algún tipo de trabajo están generalmente subocupados y el promedio de ingreso por jefe de familia es muy bajo. Un estudio realizado en 1977 señaló que el 44% de la población que podía trabajar había trabajado menos de tres meses en los años previos. La mayoría de los niños no terminan la escuela primaria y las tasas de vagancia y deserción escolar son muy altas.

A pesar de estas condiciones, existen algunos servicios pues los residentes de ambos sectores han logrado alguna unidad para luchar por la obtención de servicios públicos. Entre los servicios obtenidos mediante la actividad comunitaria figuran los siguientes: un centro de nutrición infantil y una enfermería, un centro de capacitación para costureras, mecánicos, soldadura, etc.; una lavandería, un teléfono público y una caseta policial.

La organización comercial de la zona incluye la existencia de 17 pequeñas pulperías, tres zapateros, tres escoberos y un taller de carpintería. Existe un alto nivel de desmoralización entre los residentes así como un sentimiento de desamparo, por ello no es sorprendente que los problemas de alcoholismo, pleitos entre familias y delincuencia juvenil parezcan ser endémicos en esta población.

Tenemos pues en San José dos comunidades que se desarrollaron más o menos al mismo tiempo. El problema de la rápida o no rápida urbanización está en consecuencia excluido del análisis, no obstante si la rapidez del desarrollo en sí se presume sea un factor dominante en la generación de problemas de desajuste social juvenil, sería justo esperar que ambas zonas tuvieran problemas similares de delincuencia juvenil. Si esto no se verifica deberemos entonces buscar otras explicaciones.

El área A1 es un área típica de clase media, desarrollada y planificada por empresas privadas para satisfacer las necesidades de vivienda de clases acomodadas. El gobierno respondió a las presiones provenientes de este grupo suministrándoles los servicios necesarios para mejorar el nivel de vida de estos ciudadanos de antemano privilegiados. Estos ciudadanos por otra parte se organizaron localmente para proteger sus intereses, fortaleciendo así su comunidad.

En contraste, la zona A2 es una típica zona marginal creada por el gobierno en el afán de responder a la crisis de vivienda que enfrentaban las familias más pobres de la sociedad. La reubicación se efectuó entonces sin la debida planificación. Un cierto tipo de vivienda fue provisto pero la planificación social era casi inexistente, los residentes no poseían la suficiente fuerza política para obtener servicios

gubernamentales.

En síntesis, el contraste en este caso es entre la urbanización planeada y organizada privadamente que cumplió y se excedió en las pautas estatales por una parte, y una urbanización no planificada y desordenada por otra.

c) Análisis de los datos

En este estudio se aplicaron tres cuestionarios: se entrevistaron 320 adultos residentes en el Barrio de Córdoba (A1) e igual número en la zona A2 (Ciudadela 15 de Septiembre). Igualmente se entrevistó a 200 jóvenes de la zona A1 y 204 de la A2.

No fue posible seleccionar a 50 profesionales que trabajaran en cada una de las zonas seleccionadas para el estudio. Se estimó, sin embargo, por parte del equipo local que había otros barrios marginales en San José que correspondían a las mismas características económicas, demográficas, ecológicas y sociales de 15 de Septiembre. Por esta razón se seleccionó Alajuelita como zona comparativa de la cual se podrían escoger profesionales para completar el muestreo. Así pues, la muestra del área 2 estuvo compuesta por 79 profesionales, respecto a la zona A1 se concluyó que había una insuficiente similitud con alguna otra área para seleccionar en forma segura más profesionales para la muestra, de manera que sólo fueron entrevistados 24 profesionales correspondientes a la zona A1.

Esto obviamente creó un desequilibrio y dado el menor número de profesionales de A1 debe tenerse cuidado a la hora de interpretar los datos de este cuestionario en particular. Aparte esta dificultad, la muestra de adultos y jóvenes entrevistados parece ser lo suficientemente representativa para fines estadísticos y para llegar a ciertas conclusiones.

ii) *Magnitud del desajuste social juvenil*

La primera pregunta del cuestionario es: ¿cuál es la magnitud del desajuste social juvenil en las dos áreas de San José a las que se incluyó en la muestra? El Instituto Latinoamericano de las Naciones Unidas para prevención del delito y tratamiento del delincuente realizó un estudio sobre Victimización que sirvió adicionalmente para la finalización de este proyecto: se informó que en términos de los casos denun-

ciados los residentes del Barrio 15 de Septiembre no son tan protectores y la gran mayoría ven a los jóvenes de su área como problemáticos.

PUBLICICO

CUADRO 1
¿Cómo es la conducta de los menores?

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
Buena	263	99	362
Mala	21	199	220
No sabe	5	19	24
Regular	31	3	34
Total vertical	320	320	640

PROFESIONALES

CUADRO 2
¿Cómo considera Ud. la situación del desajuste social de los jóvenes en su zona?

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
Buena	4	13	17
Mala	9	58	67
No sabe	11	8	19
Total vertical	24	79	103

PUBLICICO

CUADRO 3
¿En los últimos cinco años piensa Ud. que los problemas de conducta juvenil han aumentado?

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
Sí ha aumentado	119	180	299
No ha aumentado	91	54	145
Es igual	53	20	73
Ha disminuído	8	34	42
No sabe	49	32	81
Total vertical	320	320	640

Nuestros datos no sólo indican la percepción de un serio problema en el área A2 sino también un pronóstico pesimista. Casi la mitad de los residentes de ambas áreas (combinadas) creen que ha habido aumento de los problemas de conducta en los últimos cinco años, no obstante una mayor proporción de residentes del área A2 señalaron que tales problemas han incrementado (56,2% en A2 comparado con 37,2% en A1).

En el Cuadro 4 puede observarse que más de dos de cada tres habitantes de A2 creen que el desajuste social de los jóvenes aumentará en los próximos cinco años mientras que sólo cerca de la mitad de los residentes del A1 dan un pronóstico tan pesimista. En el caso de los profesionales se encuentra un patrón similar, ya que aproximadamente el 71% de los que trabajan en A2 indicaron que en su opinión el desajuste social de los jóvenes aumentaría. En contraste, sólo el 33% de los profesionales que trabajan en la zona A1 indicaron una perspectiva tan oscura para el futuro.

PUBLICO

CUADRO 4
Tendencias futuras del desajuste social de los jóvenes

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
Disminuirán	38	53	91
Serán constantes	46	7	53
Aumentarán	172	217	389
No sabe	64	43	107
Total vertical	320	320	640

PROFESIONALES

CUADRO 5
Futuras tendencias del desajuste social de los jóvenes

	1. Disminuirá	2. Será constante	3. Aumentará	4. No sabe
A1	5 (20,8%)	8 (33,3%)	8 (33,3%)	3 (12,5%) 24
A2	10 (12,7%)	12 (15,2%)	56 (70,9%)	1 (1,3%) 79
A1 + A2	15 (14,6%)	20 (19,4%)	64 (62,1%)	4 (3,9%) 103

Es interesante notar la gran similitud en cuanto a las razones dadas para la percepción del incremento del desajuste social juvenil. Para

todas las muestras de opinión de público y profesionales, independientemente del área, el orden de las razones dadas fue idéntico.

1. falta de control por parte de los adultos
2. influencia de las malas compañías
3. formación inadecuada
4. indiferencia de la comunidad

En pocas palabras, la opinión del público y de los profesionales de estas áreas de San José señalan como la principal causa del desajuste social juvenil la ausencia de influencias de socialización positivas para los jóvenes.

PUBLICO

CUADRO 6

Si los problemas de conducta han aumentado,
¿Cuáles son, según su opinión, las razones?
(Señale tres en orden de importancia)

Orden	A1 + A2	Razón	A1	Razón	A2	Razón
1°	29,3%	6	25,6%	2	24,9%	6
2°	26,8%	2	24,0%	1	28,3%	2
3°	21,2%	1	23,8%	6	17,9%	1
4°	11,3%	3	12,5%	5	11,5%	3
5°	7,4%	5	10,8%	3	4,6%	4
6°	3,7%	4	2,8%	4	3,4%	5

Razones:

1. falta de control
2. influencia de malas compañías
3. falta de escolaridad
4. indiferencia de los vecinos
5. influencia de los medios de comunicación
6. malas condiciones familiares

PROFESIONALES

CUADRO 7

Si los problemas de conducta han aumentado,
¿Cuáles son, según su opinión, las razones?
(Señale tres en orden de importancia)

Orden	A1 + A2	Razón	A1	Razón	A2	Razón
1°	35,5%	6	35,7%	6	35,5%	6
2°	22,6%	2	23,0%	2	22,5%	2
3°	18,9%	1	21,4%	1	18,2%	1
4°	12,5%	3	10,3%	3	13,1	3
5°	9,3%	5	9,5%	5	9,7%	5
6°	1,2%	4	0%	4	1,5%	4

Razones:

1. falta de control
2. influencia de malas compañías
3. falta de escolaridad
4. indiferencia de los vecinos
5. influencia de los medios de comunicación
6. malas condiciones familiares

Las opiniones más negativas y pesimistas las encontramos en las respuestas brindadas por el público de A2, Barrio 15 de Septiembre. Dado que A1 y A2 evolucionaron como comunidades urbanas distintas en el mismo período de tiempo, se podría pensar que el factor temporal (es decir, tiempo o velocidad de desarrollo solamente) no es una causa independiente de desajuste social juvenil. Tanto los datos oficiales como los provenientes del estudio tienden a combatir la hipótesis que la rápida urbanización conduce necesariamente a mayores niveles de desajuste social juvenil. Antes de llegar a conclusiones definitivas se requiere un mayor análisis de los datos. Es necesario conocer más acerca de la fenomenología del desajuste social juvenil tal como es percibido y entendido por los residentes de estas áreas. Sería bueno contar con mayor información sobre las fuerzas sociales y culturales que operan a nivel comunitario y se deberían examinar las relaciones de los jóvenes con respecto a los principales agentes socializadores de sus vidas: familia, escuela, compañeros y las agencias de control social formal como la policía y los juzgados. Afortunadamente tenemos datos que nos permite acercarnos a este problema.

Los cuadros 8 y 9 reflejan la marcada diferencia entre las dos áreas respecto de las tendencias de la patología social juvenil. Aproximadamente el 78% del público en A2 señalan que los jóvenes que viven

en esa zona tienen problemas de conducta; sólo el 35% del público de A1 piensa que esta es la situación de su comunidad. Una respuesta similar se obtuvo de parte de los profesionales de A2; más del 87% de los profesionales indicaron que había grupos de jóvenes desajustados socialmente en los lugares donde ellos trabajan mientras que en A1 70,8% eran de este parecer. De lo anterior parecería derivarse que el público en el A1 es mucho más protector y tiene una imagen mejor de sus jóvenes que la contraparte en A2 y también que los profesionales que trabajan en esa área. Las familias de clase media generalmente tienden a negar la existencia de delincuencia juvenil en sus casas y podría ser que los profesionales que trabajan en esta área tengan una idea más acertada de la magnitud del problema. Por otra parte, fue en A2 donde el público tendió a decir que los jóvenes tienen serios problemas.

PUBLICO

CUADRO 8

¿Hay en su área menores con problemas de conducta?

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
Sí	112	249	361
No	157	29	186
No sabe	51	42	93
Total vertical	320	320	640

PROFESIONALES

CUADRO 9

¿Hay en su área menores con problemas de conducta?

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
Sí	17	69	86
No	5	5	10
No sabe	2	5	7
Total vertical	24	79	103

Yendo más específicamente al contenido de las opiniones en relación con el desajuste social de los jóvenes surgieron una serie de cosas interesantes. Cuando se le preguntó al público sobre la comparación entre los problemas de los adultos en relación con los jóvenes, la mitad

del público respondió que los problemas de desajuste de los adultos eran más serios. Una alta proporción de adultos en A1 hicieron este planteamiento y solamente un 26% del público de A2 contestó que los problemas de los jóvenes eran tan graves como los de los adultos. Es interesante notar el alto número de personas que señalaron «no sabe» en respuesta a esta pregunta.

No parece haber diferencia alguna entre las respuestas de los profesionales de las dos áreas en relación con este problema ya que estuvieron muy divididos a la hora de comparar el desajuste de los jóvenes con el de los adultos.

PUBLICO

CUADRO 10

¿Entre quiénes son mayores los problemas de conducta?

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
En los adultos	165	155	320
En los menores	84	127	211
No hay problemas de conducta aquí	11	0	11
Igual en ambos	6	3	9
No sabe	54	35	89
Total vertical	320	320	640

PROFESIONALES

CUADRO 11

¿Entre quiénes son mayores los problemas de conducta?

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
Adultos	5	35	40
Menores	12	38	50
No sabe	7	6	13
Total vertical	24	79	103

Esos datos indican la tendencia existente entre el público y los profesionales de Barrio de Córdoba a ser mucho más tolerantes con respecto a los jóvenes, no responsabilizándolos con los principales problemas de la comunidad; lo contrario parece ser cierto para el Barrio 15 de Septiembre. En esta comunidad los jóvenes son señalados como

el principal problema, situación reforzada por los datos que se desprenden del cuadro 12 a continuación.

PUBLICO

CUADRO 12
¿Cómo son esos menores?

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
No aplica (no hay menores con problemas)	208	71	279
Inofensivos	40	36	76
Molestos	67	137	204
Peligrosos	3	73	76
No sabe	2	3	5
Total vertical	320	320	640

PROFESIONALES

CUADRO 13
¿Cómo son esos menores?

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
No aplica	7	10	17
Peligrosos	3	25	28
Molestos	6	9	15
Inofensivos	8	7	15
No sabe	2	3	5
Total vertical	24	79	103

De los 76 miembros del público entrevistados que señalaron que los jóvenes en su área eran peligrosos, 73 pertenecían a A2, al contrario 208 (70%) de los residentes de A1 eran de la opinión que los jóvenes no presentaban problema alguno. Solamente 71, es decir el 22% de los residentes de A1 eran de este parecer, no obstante, es importante notar que la mayoría del público en ambas áreas no consideran que los jóvenes sean generadores de serios problemas para la seguridad personal. La respuesta más frecuente aún en A2, es que son «algo problemáticos o molestos». Esta es una respuesta considerablemente más tolerante que la que podría esperarse dadas las difíciles condiciones económicas y sociales bajo las cuales viven estas personas.

Una situación similar se desprende de la misma pregunta hecha a los profesionales. Los profesionales de A2 fueron los que en su mayoría consideran a los jóvenes como «peligrosos». Una vez más los profesionales tienden a ser menos tolerantes que el público, probablemente esto se debe a que ellos están en contacto con los peores casos de esta problemática y se ven influenciados por ello.

Lo que se observa en general es un público que está profundamente preocupado por la magnitud y gravedad del desajuste social juvenil. En todos los indicadores éstos consideran que los problemas son graves y en aumento y que representan una amenaza real para sus ya precarias existencias. Por otra parte son más pesimistas acerca del futuro y presentan una mayor tendencia a descargarla sobre los jóvenes quienes son a la vez víctimas y victimarios. Esta tendencia a inculpar a la víctima es muy problemática puesto que crea dificultades a la hora de obtener cualquier tipo de ayuda comunitaria para los programas sociales destinados a ayudar a los menores en «peligro».

La sección siguiente se ocupará de las relaciones entre los menores y los adultos a fin de obtener un conocimiento mayor de la tendencia relativamente más punitiva observada en el Barrio 15 de Septiembre.

ii) Relaciones familiares

En la sección precedente presentamos algunos datos con miras a señalar que la opinión del público y en menor medida de los profesionales, indicaban un mayor nivel de desajuste social juvenil en la región cultural y económicamente deprivada de 15 de Septiembre. Examinaremos a continuación las posibles razones de este hallazgo y en particular, la naturaleza de las relaciones entre adultos y jóvenes y de la influencia de los portadores primarios de normas culturales, como la escuela, la familia, la iglesia, los lugares de trabajo y la comunidad.

a) La familia

Existe entre el público de ambas áreas una marcada diferencia de opiniones en relación con la calidad de la vida familiar. Más del 75% del público en A1 opinan que los jóvenes respetan a sus padres mientras que sólo un 28,6% de los residentes en A2 son de esta opinión. Por otra parte, casi un 78% de los residentes de A1 opinan que los padres de esta comunidad cuidan bien a sus hijos. De lo anterior se desprende que la patología social que encuentra expresión en los actos manifiestos de los menores está profundamente arraigada en la

familia. Las familias en las que falta amor, cuidado y atención no sólo producen actitudes negativas en los adultos sino que también general mal comportamiento de parte de los jóvenes. Si esta percepción del público es acertada (y hay pocas razones para no creerlo) no debería sorprendernos entonces que 15 de Septiembre esté experimentando serios problemas de delincuencia juvenil.

PUBLICO

CUADRO 14
¿Piensa Ud. que los menores, en general, respetan a sus padres o tutores?

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
Sí	242	92	334
No	44	190	234
No sabe	34	38	72
Total vertical	320	320	640

PUBLICO

CUADRO 15
¿Cómo cuidan los padres a sus hijos?

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
Bien	249	92	341
Mal	44	201	245
No sabe	27	27	54
Total vertical	320	320	640

Tenemos datos que tienden a señalar que los padres e hijos tienen contactos más frecuentes entre sí en el área 1 que en el área 2.

En el cuadro 16 a continuación se puede observar que según el público de ambas áreas las menores mujeres ayudan en las tareas de casa mientras que esto aplica sólo para los jóvenes varones de A1 (cuadro 17). Lo anterior indica una estructura familiar más integrada en Barrio de Córdoba.

PUBLICO

CUADRO 16

¿Las menores mujeres ayudan en las tareas de casa?

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
Sí	260	241	501
No	51	52	103
No sabe	9	27	36
Total vertical	320	320	640

PUBLICO

CUADRO 17

¿Los menores varones ayudan en las tareas de casa?

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
Sí	138	89	227
No	150	185	335
No sabe	32	46	78
Total vertical	320	320	640

Una proporción considerablemente mayor de jóvenes en 15 de Septiembre tienen algún tipo de ocupación remunerada. Aparentemente los jóvenes de Barrio de Córdoba tienden a ser ayudados financieramente por sus padres por un largo período. Es interesante notar que solamente 14 menores en ambas áreas tienen un trabajo fuera de la estructura familiar y 13 de ellos provienen de A2. En general, los datos evidencian una estructura familiar más cohesiva en A1. Estas familias no solamente tienen más posibilidades de proveer económicamente a las necesidades de los jóvenes sino que también presentan mayor cohesión social.

PUBLICO

CUADRO 18

¿Con quién trabajan los menores varones?

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
No aplica	308	271	579
Con sus padres o tutores	5	14	19
Con otros	3	2	5
Por su cuenta	1	13	14
No se sabe	3	20	23
Total vertical	320	320	640

No obstante lo anterior, en ambas zonas la familia representa el principal refugio para los jóvenes. Más del 90% del total de la muestra de jóvenes opinó que la familia contribuye a resolver sus problemas personales aunque otros señalaron que en alguna medida — obviamente menor — algunas agencias formales de control social cumplen esta función. Sin embargo, la mayoría de los menores en ambas áreas prefieren acudir a sus padres o parientes cuando se encuentran en dificultades.

De lo anterior puede deducirse que a pesar de ser un área caracterizada por las inadecuadas relaciones paterno-filiales, la falta de respeto para con los adultos y condiciones físicas y sociales pobres, la familia sobrevive como la única institución social con la que los menores se pueden relacionar y donde pueden encontrar refugio cuando están en dificultades.

MENORES

CUADRO 19
¿Piensa Ud. que la familia ayuda a resolver los problemas personales de los hijos?

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
Sí	193	185	378
No	8	10	18
No sabe	3	5	8
Total vertical	204	200	404

MENORES

CUADRO 20
¿A quién recurre Ud. cuando está en dificultades?

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
Padres	183	173	356
Hermano/hermana	3	11	14
Parientes	4	6	10
Maestro(a)	2	2	4
Amigos	8	6	14
Asistente social	1	0	1
Otros	3	2	5
Total vertical	204	200	404

MENORES

CUADRO 21

¿Si Ud. comete una acción ilegal, quién prefiere que se ocupe del caso?

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
La familia	184	179	363
Los maestros	2	2	4
Asistente social	6	5	11
Funcionario de policía	7	12	19
Otros	5	2	7
Total vertical	204	200	404

iii) Relaciones no familiares

Además de las relaciones familiares los jóvenes son socializados a través del contacto con compañeros y adultos fuera y dentro de las estructuras formales. Como hemos podido observar, los datos indican que los jóvenes de A2 son más proclives a trabajar, para ellos la adolescencia normal caracterizada por dependencia económica y emocional de sus padres es reemplazada por la necesidad de independizarse social y económicamente a una edad temprana. Debido al alto nivel de desocupación, en especial entre los jóvenes residentes en áreas similares a la de 15 de Septiembre, la mayoría de los jóvenes en ambas áreas no tienen, empleo remunerado. En Barrio de Córdoba esto es una cuestión de oportunidad mientras que en la 15 de Septiembre se debe a la inexistencia de oportunidades de trabajo. Siendo este el caso, el tiempo libre ocupa el grueso de las actividades durante las horas del día, exceptuando las actividades escolares y domésticas. Los cuadros 22 a 24 que se incluyen a continuación presentan un panorama de la forma en que los jóvenes pasan su tiempo libre.

MENORES

CUADRO 22

Tiempo que trabaja

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
No trabaja	199	181	380
Todo el día	4	14	18
Medio día	1	4	5
De vez en cuando	0	1	1
Total vertical	204	200	404

MENORES

CUADRO 23
¿Qué hace en su tiempo libre?

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
Deportes	87	69	156
Actividades culturales	3	4	7
Actividades musicales	9	8	17
Ve televisión	40	50	90
Se reúne con amigos	20	28	48
Lee	18	7	25
Vagabundea	7	1	8
No hace nada	3	5	8
Otros	6	19	25
Sin información	11	9	20
Total vertical	204	200	404

MENORES

CUADRO 24
Actividad principal

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
Estudia	189	165	354
Trabaja	2	13	15
Estudia y trabaja	3	6	9
Ni estudia ni trabaja	10	16	26
Total vertical	204	200	404

Los jóvenes de A1 indican que ellos pasan la mayor parte de su tiempo libre estudiando, mientras, los jóvenes de A2 trabajan, trabajan y estudian o ni trabajan ni estudian. Un número significativo de jóvenes de A1 indicó que pasan el tiempo libre practicando deportes o leyendo. Por otra parte, los jóvenes en A2 pasan su tiempo viendo televisión, reuniéndose con amigos o no haciendo nada en particular. Estos datos dan la impresión de que una gran proporción de los jóvenes de A2 dan rienda suelta a sus deseos cuando no están en la escuela.

Para los jóvenes de ambas áreas la escuela ocupa gran parte de su tiempo no familiar. El nivel de educación entre los jóvenes de las

dos muestras es significativamente mayor en A1. Antes habíamos señalado que el nivel de vagancia y de deserción escolar era mucho mayor en A2 y esto debe tenerse en cuenta cuando se analiza el mayor nivel académico de los jóvenes de A1. Debe notarse que las dos muestras son comparables en términos de edad, de manera que el mayor nivel medio de escolarización alcanzado en A1 se debe a un mejor rendimiento escolástico.

MENORES

CUADRO 25
Nivel de escolarización de los menores que estudian

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
No aplica	12	28	40
1-4 años	19	35	54
5-8 años	125	111	236
Más de 8 años	48	25	73
Sin estudios	0	1	1
Total vertical	204	200	404

En el cuadro 26 se observa que sólo 6 de 204 jóvenes en A1 abandonaron la escuela. Al contrario, 38 de 202 del área 2 lo hicieron tempranamente y la mayoría de ellos indicaron los «problemas en los estudios» como la principal causa. Es bastante difícil interpretar estos datos debido a que se dan muchas razones, muchas de las cuales no están relacionadas con la capacidad académica.

Estos datos indican que la escuela es una institución más importante en A1 que en A2. Los jóvenes permanecen más tiempo en ella, aprenden más y son menos propensos a abandonar los estudios. En general, existe una cierta estabilidad, tanto en las relaciones familiares como en las más importantes instituciones no-familiares de socialización, en este caso, la escuela.

MENORES

CUADRO 26
Razones por no haber terminado la escuela

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
No aplica	198	172	370
Tenía que mantener la familia	0	2	2
Tenía dificultades para estudiar	3	18	21
Familia no le interesaban mis estudios	0	1	1
Tenía problemas con maestros o compañeros	0	1	1
Quería o tenía que trabajar	1	2	3
Otras respuestas	2	4	6
Total vertical	204	200	404

Además de la escuela, otras organizaciones pueden influenciar a los jóvenes, una de las cuales es la iglesia. Más del doble de los residentes del público de A1 opinan que los jóvenes participan activamente en las actividades religiosas. Los jóvenes entrevistados confirman la opinión de los adultos y la mayoría de ellos en ambas áreas opinan que la Iglesia juega un rol importante en la solución de problemas personales, aunque la mayoría de quienes tienen esta opinión viven en A1.

Una vez más, una importante institución social (en este caso la Iglesia) parece tener lazos más íntimos con los jóvenes que viven el área de clase media de Barrio de Córdoba que con los que viven en el desordenado y barrio pobre de 15 de Septiembre. Los jóvenes de este último son más proclives a alejarse de sus familias, de la iglesia y de la escuela.

PUBLICO

CUADRO 27
¿Los jóvenes participan en actividades religiosas?

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
Activamente	115	54	179
Pasivamente	157	219	376
No sabe	48	37	85
Total vertical	320	320	640

MENORES

CUADRO 28

¿Ud. piensa que las organizaciones religiosas ayudan a resolver los problemas personales de los menores?

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
Sí	139	121	260
No	33	47	80
No sabe	32	32	64
Total vertical	204	200	404

iv) Relaciones con los compañeros

Como hemos visto, tanto los adultos como los jóvenes entrevistados en este estudio tienden a pensar que los jóvenes en A1 son mucho más propensos a tener relaciones estables y fuertes con sus familias, la escuela y las organizaciones religiosas, que los que viven en A2. También notamos que la participación en actividades deportivas es mayor en A1 que en A2. En otras palabras, los jóvenes de A1 son tratados como debe ser — como miembros importantes de la unidad familiar, como estudiantes y como «muchachos que juegan». Esto no significa que las anteriores instituciones no sean importantes para los jóvenes de A2, solamente significa que tienen menor impacto.

A pesar de esta significativa falta de contacto con las principales organizaciones socializadoras, los jóvenes de ambas áreas se interrelacionan con una gran variedad de individuos, algunos son compañeros y otros adultos. Estas interacciones pueden ser positivas, pueden proveer buenos modelos de identidad a los jóvenes y facilitar la transición a la condición de adulto, pero por otro lado pueden ser negativas y enseñar a los jóvenes comportamientos y conductas antisociales, así como proveer la oportunidad de obtener dinero y estatus por medios ilegítimos.

En el cuadro 29 se puede notar que una alta proporción de los jóvenes de A1 participa en algún tipo de actividades organizadas de grupo mientras que casi dos tercios de los jóvenes de A2 no participan. En los cuadros 31 y 32 se observa que a pesar de la ausencia de interacción de grupo organizada en A2, una gran proporción de jóvenes (varones y mujeres) de esta área pasan su tiempo libre mezclados con los adultos y en más de la mitad de los casos estos son grupos mixtos.

No tenemos información exacta que nos permita identificar el tipo de individuos que componen estos grupos, pero sabemos que las bandas y grupos de jóvenes y adultos son un fenómeno más desarrollado en la zona de 15 de Septiembre. Siendo este el caso puede seguramente asumirse que al menos algunos de estos grupos son de orientación delictiva. Dada la relativa debilidad de la familia, de la escuela y de las organizaciones religiosas y la ausencia de actividades organizadas en A2, se puede concluir que la interacción formal entre compañeros y adultos extra-familiares juega un rol más importante en Barrio 15 de Septiembre que en Barrio Córdoba. Dada la ausencia de centros recreativos, de instalaciones deportivas y otro tipo de infraestructura destinada a la realización de actividades organizadas y a las condiciones de hacinamiento de la vivienda, gran parte de la interacción que presenta A2 debe tener lugar en la calle. Debido a esto, un acto desviado, antisocial o delictivo ejecutado por un miembro de la comunidad es extremadamente visible, brindando modelos a los jóvenes. La calle, por otra parte, es el lugar donde tiene lugar el aprendizaje social, este tipo de aprendizaje puede neutralizar los valores morales y religiosos que se espera asuman el hogar, la escuela y las organizaciones religiosas. Si estas organizaciones ya son de por sí débiles a los ojos de los jóvenes, la escena callejera se convierte en el lugar dominante donde se adquiere la cultura.

MENORES

CUADRO 29
¿Participa Ud. en actividades de grupo?

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
Sí	91	76	167
No	113	124	237
Total vertical	204	200	404

PUBLICO

CUADRO 30
¿Con quién pasan su tiempo libre los menores varones?

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
Junto a los adultos	40	161	201
Separados de los adultos	270	137	407
No se sabe	10	22	32
Total vertical	320	320	640

PUBLICO

CUADRO 31

¿Con quién pasan su tiempo libre las menores mujeres?

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
Junto a los adultos	23	108	131
Separados de los adultos	280	150	430
No se sabe	17	62	79
Total vertical	320	320	640

PUBLICO

CUADRO 32

¿Cómo pasan el tiempo libre los menores varones?

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
En grupos de varones	129	118	247
En grupos mixtos	175	174	349
Solos	4	6	10
No se sabe	12	22	34
Total vertical	320	320	640

PUBLICO

CUADRO 33

¿Cómo pasan el tiempo libre las menores mujeres?

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
En grupos de mujeres	132	68	200
Grupos mixtos	167	177	344
Solos	8	30	38
No sabe	13	45	58
Total vertical	320	320	640

v) Relaciones con las agencias formales

Esta sección explora la calidad de las relaciones entre los jóvenes y las instituciones estatales para ayudar, controlar o rehabilitar a los jóvenes que tienen problemas que los ponen en conflicto con las normas de la comunidad y de la ley. También examinaremos la confianza del público en estas agencias e intentaremos de medir la visión de los profesionales sobre la actuación de sus propias instituciones.

Ya hemos notado que la familia y en menor grado la escuela y la iglesia, son consideradas por los jóvenes y el público como instituciones útiles. Sin embargo, el grado de confianza variaba en el sentido de que los adultos y jóvenes de A1 daban mayor importancia a estas instituciones que los de A2.

Se preguntó a los jóvenes sobre la contribución de ciertas instituciones formales a la solución de los problemas personales y cuyos resultados, tanto para las instituciones religiosas, escuelas, instituciones de bienestar social, policía, juzgados e institutos penitenciarios, se incluyen a continuación.

MENORES

CUADRO 34

¿Piensa Ud. que las organizaciones religiosas ayudan a resolver los problemas personales de los menores?

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
Sí	139	121	260
No	33	47	80
No sabe	32	32	64
Total vertical	204	200	404

MENORES

CUADRO 35

¿Piensa Ud. que las organizaciones de asistencia social ayudan a resolver los problemas de los menores?

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
Sí	129	147	276
No	24	20	44
No sabe	51	33	84
Total vertical	204	200	404

MENORES

CUADRO 36

¿Piensa Ud. que la escuela ayuda a resolver los problemas de los menores?

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
Sí	146	143	289
No	54	53	107
No sabe	4	4	8
Total vertical	204	200	404

MENORES

CUADRO 37

¿Piensa Ud. que los tribunales de justicia ayudan a resolver los problemas de los menores?

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
Sí	69	93	162
No	49	36	85
No sabe	86	71	157
Total vertical	204	200	404

MENORES

CUADRO 38

¿Piensa Ud. que los reformatorios ayudan a resolver los problemas personales de los menores?

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
Sí	67	79	136
No	89	104	193
No sabe	48	27	75
Total vertical	204	200	404

MENORES

CUADRO 39
¿Cómo trata la policía a los menores?

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
Con tolerancia	105	87	192
Con indulgencia	13	12	25
Severamente	51	78	129
No sabe	35	23	58
Total vertical	204	200	404

PUBLICO

CUADRO 40
Si Ud. fuese víctima de un acto de desajuste social,
¿Cuál sería su reacción?

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
No reaccionaría	10	21	31
Llamaría a la policía	247	226	473
Haría justicia por sí mismo	38	57	95
No sabe	25	16	41
Total vertical	320	320	640

PUBLICO

CUADRO 41
¿Cómo debería ser la sociedad ante los problemas
de conducta de los jóvenes?

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
Más tolerante	47	46	93
Más severa	214	237	451
Tal como es	34	24	58
No sabe	25	13	38
Total vertical	320	320	640

Lo que surge de lo anterior es lo siguiente: los jóvenes consideran positivamente a las instituciones no coercitivas como la iglesia, la escuela y las agencias de bienestar social mientras que la policía,

los tribunales y reformatorios no reciben un apoyo muy entusiasta de parte de los jóvenes en general. Hay una tendencia entre los jóvenes de ingresos bajos a ser más positivos respecto a las instituciones de bienestar social, más que sus contrapartes de la clase media. En cuanto a estos últimos una gran parte de ellos expresan opiniones positivas acerca de la escuela y la iglesia; los jóvenes de las áreas marginales opinan que la policía los trata severamente.

De lo anterior podemos concluir que los jóvenes de A1 dan mayor importancia a las instituciones que les son más familiares como la escuela y las organizaciones religiosas. Lo contrario sucede con los de A2, que dan menos importancia a la policía y reformatorios acerca de los que tienen un cierto conocimiento cuando no experiencia directa. Un número significativo de jóvenes de ambas áreas expresó opiniones negativas sobre distintos sectores del sistema de justicia. Estas actitudes están lo suficientemente difundidas como para ser preocupantes y volveremos sobre ello en las conclusiones.

vi) Recomendaciones del público y los profesionales en materia de políticas

Se preguntó al público cuál sería su reacción si fuera víctima de un acto socialmente desajustado cometido por un joven y se observaron marcadas diferencias en las repuestas en ambas áreas. Una sorprendente mayoría (77%) en A1 llamaría a la policía mientras que los del A2 que lo harían conforman una minoría (11,8%). Un número significativo de residentes A2 estarían más dispuestos a hacer justicia por su propia mano. La falta de confianza en la policía se revela dramáticamente entre los habitantes de 15 de Septiembre.

Quizás uno de los hallazgos más importantes que surgió del análisis fue la gran diferencia entre las opiniones de los residentes de A1 y A2 con respecto a la efectividad tanto de la comunidad como de la familia comparado con hace 5 años. Más del 80% de los residentes de Barrio de Córdoba creen que la familia es una institución más fuerte ahora que hace cinco años, mientras que solamente un 42% de sus contrapartes de 15 de Septiembre son de este parecer. Igualmente más del 64% de los residentes de A1 creen que la comunidad juega actualmente un rol más activo en el enfrentamiento del desajuste social juvenil, mientras que menos de la mitad (45%) de los residentes de A2 ven actualmente a la comunidad como una institución fuerte. Esta información muestra el impacto diferencial de la rápida urbanización sobre la vida comunitaria y familiar. Para los vecinos del Barrio de

Córdoba, la urbanización ha producido familias saludables y una comunidad fuerte, mientras que lo contrario es cierto para la 15 de Septiembre.

Este pesimismo que revela nuestros datos es solamente uno de los componentes de la alienación que caracteriza esa comunidad. Lo que notamos en el área 15 de Septiembre es una comunidad que no sólo ha perdido la confianza en el gobierno, sino que lo que es más importante, está un peligro de perder la confianza en sí misma.

PUBLICO

CUADRO 42

¿Piensa Ud. que la familia y la comunidad juegan un rol positivo en la prevención y control del desajuste social juvenil? (Respuestas afirmativas)

	A1 + A2	A1	A2
La familia hoy	61,5%	80,9%	42,2%
La familia hace cinco años	38,5%	19,1%	57,8%
La comunidad hoy	54,6%	64,3%	45,0%
La comunidad hace cinco años	45,4%	35,7%	55,0%

Esta sección analiza los datos provistos por el público y los profesionales sobre las posibles soluciones de los problemas antes mencionados. En el cuadro 43 se enumeran las recomendaciones del público y también figuran interesantes diferencias en la opinión del público de A1 y A2. Un considerable número de residentes de ambas áreas creen que una solución podría ser el fortalecimiento del sistema escolar. Esta es la respuesta más frecuente en A1 y la segunda en orden de importancia en A2. Es significativo notar que un gran número (87) de residentes de A1 ven el fortalecimiento de los valores tradicionales como un instrumento importante de prevención mientras que de A2 sólo 35 hicieron esta recomendación. Una vez más, encontramos a una comunidad con mayor confianza en sí misma, preparada para trabajar sobre esa base y una comunidad desmoralizada que busca las soluciones de salvación en agencias externas. De esta forma, una gran proporción de residentes A2 solicitan mejoras en los sistemas de justicia formales, tanto en lo civil como en lo penal. También propusieron aumentar las posibilidades de trabajo como una solución a largo plazo. Es importante reconocer que menos del 3% de ambas poblaciones reclamaron penas más severas.

Estos datos sugieren que una respuesta social adecuada al problema del desajuste social juvenil consistiría en una combinación de las medidas recomendadas. El público parece dispuesto a apoyar un programa de medidas humanas a nivel de prevención primaria. Estas medidas no deberían ser específicamente antidelictivas, sino que comprenderían un juego de estrategias de intervención social diseñadas para el mejoramiento del bienestar juvenil en general.

PUBLICO

CUADRO 43
¿Cuál es, según Ud., el modo más eficaz de reducir el desajuste social juvenil?

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
Reforzar los valores tradicionales	87	31	118
Que la justicia civil sea más eficaz	7	31	38
Que la justicia penal sea más eficaz	8	24	32
Que el sistema de asistencia social sea más eficaz	47	66	113
Que el sistema educativo sea más eficaz	115	74	189
Aumentar las oportunidades de trabajo	39	77	116
Introducir penas más severas	8	7	15
No sabe	9	10	19
Total vertical	320	320	640

Lo que sigue trata de las opiniones de los profesionales sobre el rendimiento de las instituciones y recomendaciones para la futura política social. En general, los profesionales consideran que sus instituciones tienen un rendimiento muy bajo, esta generalización se aplica a todas las instituciones y para los profesionales de ambas áreas. La policía, los tribunales y demás servicios de justicia relacionados, tienden a tener una evaluación muy baja. La única institución que recibió una mayoría de respuestas positivas fue la de bienestar social y esto solamente por parte de los profesionales A2. Inclusive la escuela se evalúa como de rendimiento escaso.

Cuando se trata de recomendaciones, los profesionales tienden a solicitar más servicios de tratamiento, más personal profesional mejor capacitado, y muy pocos indicaron sentencias más severas. No es sorprendente que estas respuestas tiendan al fortalecimiento de la capacidad profesional de las instituciones existentes para tratar con mayor efectividad con los jóvenes y familias con problemas. Fue un poco desilusionante notar que muy pocos profesionales solicitan una mayor participación comunitaria.

Nuestros datos tienden a apoyar una política social que permita a comunidades como la 15 de Septiembre de recuperar su orgullo y capacidad de resolver sus propios problemas, lo que implicaría una activa participación pública. La paradoja es que cuanto más efectiva es la intervención profesional menos efectiva ésta aparece a los ojos de las familias y comunidades. Para los residentes de Barrio Córdoba esto no presenta ningún problema, dada la conciencia y seguridad en sí misma revelada a través de nuestros datos, reestructurar una comunidad cohesiva en el área de 15 de Septiembre no sería una tarea fácil. Sería tentador responder a los residentes de esa comunidad prometiéndoles mayores o mejores servicios profesionales. Si se pudiese encontrar el modo de incrementar los servicios profesionales a través de la participación de la comunidad quizás entonces se podrán encontrar soluciones.

PROFESIONALES

CUADRO 44
¿Cómo funciona la policía en el control del
désajuste social juvenil?

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
Bien	5	20	25
Mal	16	51	67
No sabe	3	8	11
Total vertical	24	79	103

PROFESIONALES

CUADRO 45
Si la policía funciona mal, ¿cuáles, según Ud.
son las razones?

Orden	A1 + A2	Razones	A1	Razones	A2	Razones
1°	34,8%	2	29,8%	2	36,3%	2
2°	25,9%	3	26,7%	3	25,2%	3
3°	17,1%	1	16,0%	4	19,0%	1
4°	11,6%	4	15,1%	5	10,2%	4
5°	10,5%	5	10,8%	1	9,3%	5

Razones:

1. falta de personal
2. adiestramiento inadecuado
3. falta de interés por parte de las autoridades
4. tolerancia por parte de la policía
5. falta de participación del público

PROFESIONALES

CUADRO 46
¿Cómo funcionan los tribunales en el control del
desajuste social juvenil?

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
Bien	9	23	32
Mal	9	39	48
No sabe	6	17	23
Total vertical	24	79	103

PROFESIONALES

CUADRO 47
¿Cómo funcionan las instituciones de reeducación
en el control del desajuste social juvenil?

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
Bien	4	13	17
Mal	13	42	55
No sabe	7	24	31
Total vertical	24	79	103

PROFESIONALES

CUADRO 48
Si las instituciones de reeducación funcionan mal,
¿cuáles son, según Ud., las razones?

Orden	A1+A2	Razones	A1	Razones	A2	Razones
1°	41,8%	3	41,1%	3	49,6%	3
2°	30,8%	2	34,8%	2	32,5%	2
3°	18,1%	1	13,3%	4	18,7%	1
4°	9,5%	4	10,8%	1	9,2	4

Razones:

1. falta de personal
2. adiestramiento inadecuado
3. falta de programas de rehabilitación
4. sentencias leves

PROFESIONALES

CUADRO 49
¿Cómo funciona el tratamiento no institucional
en el control del desajuste social juvenil?

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
Bien	5	8	13
Mal	9	33	42
No sabe	10	38	48
Total vertical	24	79	103

PROFESIONALES

CUADRO 50
Si el tratamiento no institucional funciona mal,
¿cuáles son, según Ud., las razones?

Orden	A1+A2	Razones	A1	Razones	A2	Razones
1°	41,8%	3	35,2%	3	43,6%	3
2°	23,1%	4	29,6%	2	23,3%	4
3°	19,4%	2	22,2%	4	16,6%	2
4°	15,7%	1	13,0%	1	16,5	1

Razones:

1. falta de personal
2. adiestramiento inadecuado
3. falta de programas de rehabilitación
4. falta de participación del público

PROFESIONALES

CUADRO 51
¿Cómo funcionan las instituciones de bienestar social
el control del desajuste social juvenil?

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
Bien	7	29	36
Mal	14	39	53
No sabe	3	11	14
Total vertical	24	79	103

PROFESIONALES

CUADRO 52
Si las instituciones de bienestar social funcionan mal,
¿cuáles son, según Ud., las razones?

Orden	A1 + A2	Razones	A1	Razones	A2	Razones
1°	40,9%	3	41,6%	3	40,9%	3
2°	25,5%	2	33,2%	2	22,8%	2
3°	18,2%	4	16,1%	4	18,9%	4
4°	15,4%	1	9,1%	1	17,5	1

Razones:

1. falta de personal
2. adiestramiento inadecuado
3. falta de programas de rehabilitación
4. falta de participación del público

PROFESIONALES

CUADRO 53
¿Cómo funcionan los institutos penitenciarios
en el control del desajuste social juvenil?

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
Bien	4	12	16
Mal	14	40	54
No sabe	6	27	33
Total vertical	24	79	103

PROFESIONALES

CUADRO 54
Si los institutos penitenciarios funcionan mal,
¿cuáles son, según Ud., las razones?

Orden	A1 + A2	Razones	A1	Razones	A2	Razones
1°	40,1%	3	38,1%	2	43,9%	3
2°	30,4%	2	33,3%	3	27,4%	2
3°	11,3%	1	14,3%	5	12,4%	1
4°	9,4%	5	7,15%	4	9,0	4
5°	8,8%	4	7,1%	1	7,3%	5

Razones:

1. falta de personal
2. adiestramiento inadecuado
3. falta de programas de rehabilitación
4. falta de participación del público
5. falta de penas severas

PROFESIONALES

CUADRO 55
¿La escuela ayuda a controlar el desajuste social juvenil?

	Area 1	Area 2	Total parcial
Sí	6	33	39
No	16	39	55
No sabe	2	7	9
Total vertical	24	79	103

PROFESIONALES

CUADRO 56
Si la escuela funciona mal, ¿cuáles son, según Ud., las razones?

Orden	A1 + A2	Razones	A1	Razones	A2	Razones
1°	31,9%	4	33,3%	4	32,3%	4
2°	27,2%	2	24,4%	2	29,3%	2
3°	24,3%	3	23,8%	3	25,1%	3
4°	16,4%	1	18,5%	1	13,2	1

Razones:

1. escuela repletas
2. falta de asesores escolares
3. falta de entusiasmo por parte de los maestros
4. falta de cooperación de los padres

PROFESIONALES

CUADRO 57

Poner en orden de importancia las medidas eficaces que figuran a continuación, para prevenir el desajuste social juvenil

Orden	A1 + A2	Medidas	A1	Medidas	A2	Medidas
1°	28,8%	1	29,3%	1	31,0%	1
2°	23,5%	4	21,0%	4	19,5%	4
3°	19,4%	5	20,5%	5	18,7%	5
4°	16,8%	3	16,7%	3	16,7	3
5°	11,4%	2	12,5%	2	14,0%	2

Medidas:

1. asesoramiento a las familias
2. subvención a las familias pobres
3. aumento del número de asesores escolares
4. mayores posibilidades de trabajo
5. estimulación de la participación de la comunidad

PROFESIONALES

CUADRO 58

Poner en orden de importancia las medidas eficaces que figuran a continuación, para controlar el desajuste social juvenil

Orden	A1 + A2	Medidas	A1	Medidas	A2	Medidas
1°	49,1%	1	32,7%	1	49,3%	1
2°	30,0%	2	29,7%	2	30,1%	2
3°	20,8%	3	20,9%	3	20,5%	3

Medidas:

1. mejorar los programas institucionales y no institucionales
2. reforzar la policía
3. penas más severas

CUADRO 59
RESUMEN DE LOS RESULTADOS

1. Nivel de desajuste social juvenil	A1 < A2
2. Peligro del desajuste social juvenil	A1 < A2
3. Aumento del desajuste social juvenil	A1 < A2
4. Predicción de las tendencias futuras del desajuste social juvenil	A1 < A2
5. Comparación con la criminalidad adulta	A1 > A2
6. Respeto a los padres	A1 > A2
7. Percepción sobre el cuidado parental	A1 > A2
8. Jóvenes varones que ayudan en tareas de casa	A1 > A2
9. Jóvenes mujeres que ayudan en tareas de casa	A1 = A2
10. Jóvenes varones que trabajan con sus padres	A1 = A2
11. Papel de la familia en la solución de problemas	A1 > A2
12. Padres percibidos como útiles cuando en dificultades	A1 > A2
13. Jóvenes que trabajan para ayudar a la familia	A1 < A2
14. Tiempo libre constructivo	A1 > A2
15. Tiempo libre que se pasa con adultos	A1 > A2
16. Tiempo libre que se pasa en grupos mixtos	A1 = A2
17. Relaciones positivas con la escuela	A1 > A2
18. Relaciones positivas con la iglesia	A1 > A2
19. Actitudes positivas hacia el sistema de justicia	A1 > A2
20. Miedo de la policía	A1 < A2
21. Confianza en la policía	A1 > A2
22. Tolerancia del desajuste social juvenil	A1 > A2

d) Resumen y conclusiones

En la introducción teórica enunciamos dos hipótesis de trabajo: primero que las altas tasas de desajuste social se encontrarían en las áreas urbanas que habían sufrido un crecimiento rápido, y segundo, que un cierto número de variables interventoras determinaría el nivel que la comunidad experimentaría el desajuste social juvenil. Se postuló que estas variables interventoras estarían asociadas con el grado de solidaridad orgánica dentro de la comunidad, específicamente, se sugirió como particularmente importante el rol de los grupos primarios en la socialización de los jóvenes durante el difícil período de transición de la adolescencia a la edad adulta.

Los datos en nuestro poder tienden a desmentir la primera y a afirmar la segunda hipótesis. Ambas comunidades tienen rasgos similares de vida, ambas se desarrollaron recientemente y son producto de la urbanización, estas son las similitudes.

Barrio de Córdoba es una comunidad residencial para la clase media urbana, está integrada económica, social y culturalmente. En

todos nuestros cuatro indicadores sobre el grado de desajuste social juvenil, el nivel actual, las tendencias recientes, la percepción de la peligrosidad y la predicción futura, los residentes de la comunidad no se sienten amenazados y expresan una actitud tolerante y protectora hacia sus jóvenes.

En obvio contraste, los residentes de 15 de Septiembre, un poblado nuevo pero deprimido y de bajos ingresos, expresó preocupación y casi ansiedad en relación con cada uno de esos indicadores. Si existiera una relación de causalidad simple y directa entre la rápida urbanización (prescindiendo del tipo) y el desajuste social juvenil, no debería haber diferencias apreciables entre las comunidades.

No es difícil encontrar explicaciones para las demostradas diferencias en las tasas de delincuencia juvenil. Barrio Córdoba es una comunidad planificada, la planificación se efectuó como resultado de iniciativas privadas, de personas con recursos económicos, contactos sociales e influencia política para crear un habitat residencial favorable a ellos y a sus vecinos. 15 de Septiembre no sólo es un área económicamente pobre, sino que es una comunidad en la que los residentes están social y culturalmente deprivados. Este barrio empezó como una respuesta gubernamental a la crisis de vivienda experimentada en San José y las personas sin casa fueron sencillamente abandonadas dentro de una estructura en la que incluso los servicios básicos eran inexistentes. Sus habitantes carecían de los recursos personales, contactos sociales, poder político y autoconfianza para crear la infraestructura necesaria de un poblado «vivable». El gobierno hizo muy poco por medio de la planificación social. Si este estudio demuestra algo es que la planificación física en ausencia de planificación social producirá resultados negativos.

Los resultados negativos se expresan en la vida cotidiana de los habitantes de 15 de Septiembre. Las familias no sólo acarrean el cúmulo de problemas producto de sus experiencias pasadas, sino que están sometidas a nuevas presiones lo que conduce a un rompimiento en el esquema sano de interacción familiar. Nuestros datos demuestran ampliamente que la cohesión familiar tiende a encontrarse menos en esta comunidad que en Barrio Córdoba. No es sólo la familia la que funciona menos efectivamente en 15 de Septiembre, todas las otras instituciones de socialización sobre las que se puede contar y que brindan apoyo a los padres tienen menos impacto aquí que en la otra comunidad. De los 17 indicadores de solidaridad social, 16 muestran un mayor nivel en Barrio Córdoba. Dado el patrón consistente que resulta de nuestro análisis, podríamos concluir que la segunda hipótesis del

estudio está ampliamente confirmada por los datos. El grado en que una comunidad se verá afectada por el desajuste social juvenil no depende solamente de la rápida urbanización, las variables interventoras cruciales son la solidez de la familia y el grado de solidaridad dentro de la comunidad.

Las implicaciones para la definición de políticas que emergen del estudio son múltiples; no es posible enumerarlas todas aquí y en todo caso las políticas de desarrollo en términos concretos deberán incrementarse localmente. Lo que podemos recomendar, sin embargo, son algunas directrices generales que podrían tomarse en consideración.

Costa Rica es un país en vías de desarrollo relativamente exitoso. Ha alcanzado logros en salud, educación y prestación de servicios sociales que no han sido posibles en otras naciones de situación similar desde la obtención de la independencia. La mayoría de los ciudadanos gozan de los beneficios de una sociedad relativamente abierta con oportunidad de movilidad vertical hacia estratos sociales superiores. No obstante, muchos focos de pobreza existen particularmente en San José. Los residentes de comunidades como 15 de Septiembre se sienten atrapados en un círculo de pobreza del cual no pueden salir.

Nuestros datos evidencian que las instituciones tradicionales y los organismos gubernamentales no están logrando sus objetivos. Los altos niveles de desajuste social juvenil en áreas como ésta pueden verse como un síntoma de males sociales más profundos.

El Gobierno debería considerar dar las más alta prioridad a estas comunidades con miras a un programa completo de asistencia social, económico y cultural. Nuestros datos muestran que a pesar de las grandes presiones, la familia y en menor grado la escuela juegan roles positivos e importantes en el trato con los jóvenes en dificultad. Una política social centrada en la familia parecería desprenderse de nuestros datos. La escuela podría jugar un rol más efectivo solamente si trabaja en estrecha armonía con los padres, debería considerarse algún tipo de participación de los padres dentro del ámbito de la escuela.

La comunidad necesita organizarse incluso si esto significara la creación de un grupo de presión con capacidad para luchar por servicios gubernamentales. La apatía que en la actualidad existe debería ser eliminada. Esto requiere paciencia y esfuerzo y podrá lograrse sólo cuando un significativo número de personas vea la participación comunitaria como un camino para el mejoramiento de sus vidas.

Existen problemas particulares en las actitudes del público hacia la mayoría de las instituciones formales. Las razones de estas actitudes negativas no son totalmente claras pero debe prestarse seria aten-

ción para eliminar la brecha que existe actualmente. Si se encuentra la forma para desarrollar una asociación entre profesionales y público el círculo vicioso de la pobreza, alienación, desmoralización y delincuencia podrá ser vencido. Si se logran objetivos significativos en esta dirección, Costa Rica podrá levantar alta su cabeza en la comunidad internacional como país que no sólo ha alcanzado logros económicos, sino que también ha encontrado soluciones al angustiante problema del delito y de la delincuencia juvenil que muy a menudo acompaña el crecimiento económico.

RESUMEN GENERAL Y CONCLUSIONES

En cada país participante y en todas las muestras de adultos, jóvenes y profesionales, emergió un resultado sorprendente. En los países en vías de desarrollo (al menos aquellos incluidos en el estudio) la familia y en menor medida, la escuela, son considerados como los principales mecanismos que tienen un impacto sobre el desajuste social juvenil. Los sistemas formales de control social como la policía, los juzgados de menores e instituciones especializadas son percibidas como poco eficaces.

La variable independiente de nuestro estudio era la rápida urbanización. Originalmente, se asumió que los niveles de desajuste social juvenil debían ser más altos en las áreas de rápida urbanización. En efecto, nuestros datos indican que esto no sucede necesariamente. Los factores que intervienen son: a) el tipo de crecimiento-no planificado; b) las proscipciones culturales contra el delito que existen entre los recién llegados; c) el vigor de los lazos comunitarios y familiares que sobreviven a la transición de la sociedad rural a urbana. Este es un hallazgo positivo en cuanto sugiere que el nivel de delincuencia y desajuste social juvenil no es una consecuencia inevitable del crecimiento rápido.

En términos generales, las actitudes del público son tolerantes y sofisticadas hacia los jóvenes en dificultad. En casi todas las áreas estudiadas, el público expresó una profunda preocupación respecto a los crecientes niveles de desajuste social juvenil; además la predicción del futuro es más bien pesimista. No obstante la mayoría ve a los jóvenes desajustados sociales como problemáticos más que peligrosos y piensan que la criminalidad adulta significa un mayor riesgo para la comunidad.

Una gran mayoría del público y numerosos profesionales no consideran que reforzar el aparato represivo del Estado sea, a largo plazo, una solución adecuada. Al contrario, preferirían políticas sociales que fortalecieran los lazos tradicionales y familiares, diesen trabajo a los jóvenes y mejorasen la capacidad de las escuelas para responder a las necesidades sociales de los jóvenes.

Gran número de profesionales presentaban una tendencia a ser en sus respuestas más punitivos que el público, frente al problema del desajuste social juvenil. Nuestros datos muestran una diferencia considerable entre las agencias oficiales de control social y los jóvenes y adultos de la comunidad. Esto requirió una mayor atención a fin

de colmar el vacío entre público e instituciones. Igualmente se encontró que existe urgente necesidad de coordinar los programas sociales relacionados con los jóvenes, de manera que no sólo reúna y consolide las diferentes instituciones sino que también dé mayores oportunidades de participación profesional.

En términos generales, nuestros datos indican que son los factores culturales los que tienen una influencia más directa sobre el grado en el cual una comunidad, que atraviesa una fase de rápida urbanización, sufrirá de delincuencia y desajuste social juvenil. De esto parece desprenderse que existen algunas oportunidades de definir respuestas sociales adecuadas sobre las fuerzas existentes en la familia y dentro de las comunidades locales.

Las implicaciones de políticas que derivan de estos resultados son extremadamente importantes. Los países en vías de desarrollo podrían intentar de modernizar y mejorar sus sistemas formales o bien desarrollar una política social que colocase a la familia en primer plano. A pesar de que el mejoramiento continuo de los niveles profesionales en los sistemas formales podría ser un objetivo básico, nuestro estudio sugiere una política social centrada en la familia; ésto estaría más en concordancia con las tradiciones culturales de los países estudiados y contaría con la aprobación del público.

Las opciones políticas son claras. Un país podría tratar de fortalecer las áreas más débiles o intentar de evaluar los ventajas que podrían resultar de este fortalecimiento. Solamente una política social atinada tiene en consideración estas dos alternativas. Si deben establecerse prioridades, nuestros resultados brindan un apoyo a una política gubernamental que fortalezca los métodos informales y tradicionales de asistencia a los jóvenes en el período de transición de la adolescencia a miembro adulto de la sociedad.

La planificación social adecuada sería aquélla que fomentaría el desarrollo de métodos informales basados en la comunidad para los casos menos graves de desajuste social juvenil. Las familias, especialmente aquellas extensas, deberían jugar un papel fundamental en el trabajo con los jóvenes y el Estado debería utilizar todos los recursos a su alcance para fortalecer el rol de la familia, de las personas mayores dentro de la comunidad y de las organizaciones indígenas.

Los profesionales deben aprender a trabajar con las comunidades locales, para brindar sus conocimientos a los grupos existentes o ayudar a crear nuevos grupos, evitando de quitar a la familia la autoridad y responsabilidad para resolver sus propios problemas.

Estamos convencidos que la sobreevaluación de los métodos for-

males de control social, característica de muchos países industrializados, no sólo no han sido positivos, sino que probablemente sobrepasan la capacidad fiscal de los países en vías de desarrollo como para ser adaptados plenamente.

A fin de dar una respuesta social al desajuste juvenil basada en los valores tradicionales de las culturas locales, debería ser posible de realizar los objetivos que, desde hace mucho tiempo, el mundo industrializado no ha logrado alcanzar.

Por ejemplo, la orientación juvenil no debe dejarse únicamente en manos de los asesores profesionales. Todos aquéllos que están en contacto con los jóvenes en el transcurso de sus funciones y actividades cotidianas deberían recibir algún adiestramiento para ayudarles a enfrentar mejor su tarea de orientación. En otras palabras, la orientación no debe mistificarse o profesionalizarse en detrimento de otros miembros de la comunidad. Durante la realización de sus trabajos rutinarios, ellos han desarrollado una relación considerable con los jóvenes, y han adquirido de esta manera informal, una gran cantidad de historias familiares y personales de los jóvenes con quienes están en contacto, estos dos factores podrán facilitar una orientación aceptable sin el estigma del «etiquetamiento» que puede suponer la orientación profesional. Los asesores profesionales son numéricamente pocos y pueden funcionar más eficazmente como sostén.

Respecto de los derechos humanos, es interesante notar que la mayoría de los profesionales en los cinco países incluidos en el estudio, confirmaron la existencia del derecho a la defensa de los jóvenes socialmente desajustados.

Aun si el estudio deseaba distinguir entre un área de rápida urbanización no planificada por una parte y un área de desarrollo urbano no rápido por otra, o bien los criterios utilizados para su definición o interpretación no logró el objetivo deseado o la situación en todas las ciudades no permitió una división neta. En efecto, fue sólo en Costa Rica que tal distinción pareció pertinente. No obstante, se intentó de identificar diferencias entre las dos áreas de cada ciudad.

Nuestra conclusión final del proyecto evidencia un cierto espacio para una acción positiva de parte del gobierno. La vida comunitaria y familiar ha sobrevivido a la transición de la sociedad rural en sociedad urbana, a pesar de haber recibido un sinnúmero de influencias negativas asociadas con la vida urbana.

Las fuerzas internas de estas comunidades residen dentro de las familias, la escuela, las organizaciones religiosas y la comunidad en general. El gobierno podría aprovechar de estas fuerzas poniendo espe-

cial atención a las recomendaciones provenientes del público y que surgen de este estudio. El rol de la familia sería la clave de esta política social.

Nuestros datos muestran que las familias que trabajan juntas permanecen juntas pues las familias que están ligadas no sólo por lazos sanguíneos sino también por lazos sociales, recreativos y económicos, gestan hijos que pasan sin dificultad de la adolescencia a la edad adulta.

Las familias necesitan ser fortalecidas por medio de medidas económicas y otras medidas, de manera que el Estado no deba substituirse al rol tradicional de la familia proporcionando programas profesionales elaborados y costosos. Una de las formas en que esto puede llevarse a cabo sería dando incentivos económicos, subsidios o préstamos a intereses bajos que permitan el desarrollo de actividades familiares productivas.

La escuela es una institución creíble a los ojos de la mayoría de los jóvenes y sus padres. El papel de las escuelas de barrio podría consolidarse fomentando una mayor integración suya en la comunidad. Sería valioso incrementar los contactos entre padres y maestros, quizás también sería útil un cierto grado de control familiar y una concepción más amplia del rol de la escuela en todos los aspectos del desarrollo de los jóvenes.

Nuestros datos podrían ser un aliciente para aquéllos que desean encontrar una vía nueva. Incluso dentro del esquema del orden social y económico existente es posible encontrar una forma mediante la cual los países en vías de desarrollo pueden evitar los aspectos más graves de la criminalidad y la delincuencia juvenil experimentados por los países industrializados. Si esta vía demuestra tener éxito y ser útil, la situación podría invertirse: quizás el mundo en vías de desarrollo tenga más para enseñar que aprender.

Consultaciones con funcionarios pertinentes

Se consideró desde el inicio del proyecto que para éste tuviera un impacto no era suficiente enviar un informe a los encargados de los órganos decisionales de los distintos países participantes, sino que se creyó necesario consultar con ellos y discutir los resultados del proyecto. Incluso si ellos eran conscientes de los resultados, debido a su experiencia en el campo o a su formación, la discusión subrayaría los datos empíricos y reforzaría su resolución de emprender acciones adecuadas para mejorar la situación que afecta a los jóvenes en el contexto del desarrollo urbano.

Los proyectos de informe final fueron enviados semanas antes de las consultaciones a fin de permitir a las autoridades de estudiarlos.

Las consultaciones se efectuaron con las autoridades pertinentes y funcionarios del Ministerio de Justicia en Colombia, Costa Rica y Senegal, Ministerio de Juventud y Cultura en Nigeria, Ministerio de Bienestar Social en India y otros Ministerios interesados en el estudio. Los directores de los equipos locales de investigación asistieron al Director del UNSDRI durante todas las consultaciones.

En cada una de las ocasiones, el Director del UNSDRI abrió la discusión agradeciendo a las autoridades por permitir que el estudio se llevara cabo en sus respectivas jurisdicciones y por su colaboración en la dirección del proyecto a través de los funcionarios de instituciones nacionales, subrayando que esta actitud era una manifestación de interés y preocupación por los problemas juveniles.

El Director señaló que a pesar de los problemas y de las limitaciones del estudio, emergen algunos hallazgos que necesitan atención y acción. Luego procedió a señalar algunos de estos aspectos en relación con cada uno de los países.

Las respuestas de las autoridades fueron positivas y muy constructivas y se formularon preguntas para explicar en detalle algunos de los hallazgos, éstas fueron contestadas hasta donde los datos lo permitía. Se identificaron también áreas que requieren una ulterior investigación. En el caso de Costa Rica, se señalaron ciertas acciones que están siendo llevadas a cabo para responder a algunas de las necesidades de los jóvenes y mejorar las condiciones de éstos en las ciudades.

Otras autoridades, como las de Nigeria, señalaron su deseo de ampliar el estudio a otras ciudades del país y replicar la investigación llevada a cabo en Lagos a fin de incluir áreas geográficas que más preocupan. En Colombia, se discutió el problema de los niños callejeros («gamine») que no estaba incluido en el proyecto y el Ministro solicitó el incremento de la colaboración inter-ministerial con el fin de encontrar una solución al problema.

En la India las consultaciones se efectuaron tanto a nivel central como estatal y a ambos niveles se obtuvo una respuesta entusiasta al punto que se programaron entrevistas de radio y televisión con el Director del UNSDRI y funcionarios a fin de informar la opinión pública. También se contempló la posibilidad de proseguir con un seminario financiado por el ministerio pertinente, con el propósito de invitar representantes de los Ministerios involucrados — Bienestar Social, Educación, Planificación Economía, etc.; profesores, políticos, líderes

sociales, etc. — para discutir el asunto más profundamente y determinar un programa factible y realístico de prevención, control y tratamiento del desajuste social juvenil.

En Dakar fue discutido el reestablecimiento de las formas tradicionales de educación en el cual los maestros tendrían un papel más amplio, así como la educación de los padres en el contexto de la vida urbana.

Los aspectos comunes a todos los países fueron: la consolidación de los mecanismos informales de control: familia, escuela, sistema y valores tradicionales, etc. Esto sugiere la necesidad de planificación y acción interministerial e intersectorial para el control del desajuste social juvenil.

En uno de los países, cuando se trató el tema de participación de la comunidad en el problema del desajuste social juvenil, se sugirió que los medios masivos de comunicación podrían ser usados positivamente para informar a la comunidad. El Ministro indicó que no tenían un Ministerio de Información y que la prensa no podría ser utilizada para dar información gubernamental. En situaciones como estas, las autoridades necesitarían encontrar un modo de informar el público a fin de asegurarse su participación en los programas.

En general, el estudio ha sido un catalizador para estimular ulteriores investigaciones, iniciar acciones apropiadas y establecer grupos de trabajo destinados a los problemas juveniles. Se señaló por parte de algunos países que necesitarían la asistencia de las Naciones Unidas a fin de realizar sus planes y actividades y para mejorar la situación no sólo respecto del problema de los jóvenes sino también respecto de sus sistemas penitenciarios y judiciales.

El principal logro de las consultas fue la oportunidad de discutir los hallazgos del estudio, el cual de otra manera hubiera quizás caído en el olvido o hecho parte de un informe más para ser leído eventualmente en un futuro. Esto da al problema del desajuste social juvenil una considerable dosis de inmediatez e importancia. Las consultas coadyudaron a puntualizar algunas de las variables vinculadas que afectan a los jóvenes en general y a los jóvenes socialmente desajustados en particular.

Esto se logró sin entrar en profundas discusiones académicas que podrían haber conducido a un callejón sin salida. Al menos las consultas indicaron que se puede hacer algo de positivo y concreto para mejorar las condiciones de los jóvenes y para limitar la incidencia del desajuste.

En resumen, los hallazgos con implicaciones políticas de este estu-

dio brindan dos opciones. Una es de fortalecer y aumentar la eficiencia de las agencias formales de control social, lo que tendría efecto contraproducente y minaría las capacidades de la comunidad, la escuela, la familia y otras instituciones informales de control social para luchar contra la delincuencia y el desajuste social juvenil. En otras palabras, esto implicaría seguir el modelo occidental el cual no ha probado su eficacia ni siquiera dentro de su propio contexto. La otra opción es trabajar sobre las fuerzas actuales de las instituciones informales de control social inherentes a la mayoría de las culturas comprendidas en el estudio. La última opción parece ser la más adecuada para los órganos decisionales en los distintos países. Sin embargo, aún hay mucho para hacer en lo que concierne la eficacia de las agencias informales de control a fin de fortalecer su capacidad en el contexto de los cambios socioeconómicos.

L'INADAPTATION SOCIALE DES JEUNES

ET LES DROITS DE L'HOMME DANS LE CONTEXTE DU DEVELOPPEMENT URBAIN

AVANT-PROPOS

Ce projet a été généreusement financé par le Programme des Nations Unies pour le Développement. Nous sommes reconnaissants pour ce geste imaginatif et constructif.

De nombreuses personnes ont contribué à la réalisation couronnée de succès de cette étude. Mr. Giuseppe di Gennaro qui était Conseiller Général à l'UNSDRI au début du projet, a joué un rôle important. Mr. Yasuo Hagiwara, envoyé par le Gouvernement japonais à l'UNSDRI en tant que contribution en nature, a travaillé avec Mr. di Gennaro sur l'élaboration des questionnaires et s'est rendu dans les pays participants avec le Directeur. Son intérêt pour le projet s'est poursuivi malgré son retour au Japon, et il a participé à la deuxième réunion des collaborateurs.

Mr. Aurelio Mattei réalisa l'analyse statistique, à partir de laquelle il prépara la structure de base des rapport préliminaires nationaux.

Les responsable des groupes de recherche nationaux organisèrent leurs équipes et supervisèrent les opérations dans leurs zones respectives, pour réaliser ensuite leurs propres rapports. Ces responsables sont les suivants:

<i>Bogotá</i>	<i>Mme Clemencia Gutiérrez Gutiérrez</i>
<i>San José</i>	<i>Mr. Luis Lachner</i>
<i>Dakar</i>	<i>Mr. Guibril Camara</i>
<i>Lagos</i>	<i>Mr. Ndidi Chibogu</i>
<i>Bombay</i>	<i>Mr. G. Pandey</i>

Nous sommes reconnaissants aux gouvernements des pays participants d'avoir autorisé la réalisation du projet dans leur pays respectif.

Mr. John Hogarth du Canada, a passé son année de congé sabbatique à l'UNSDRI au moment de la rédaction du rapport final et a apporté une importante contribution en rédigeant la partie théorique du rapport et les chapitres relatifs à Bogotá et San José. Mr. Fumio Saito rédigea le chapitre relatif à la ville de Dakar.

Mr. Ricardo Ulate, chercheur à l'ILANUD, a réalisé la version espagnole et Marie-Pascale Travade, expert associé envoyé par le Gouvernement français à l'UNSDRI, la version française du texte.

Pratiquement tous les membres de l'Institut, d'une manière ou d'une autre, ont contribué efficacement aux diverse phases du projet et à différents niveaux. Il faut reconnaître plus particulièrement le travail de Mlle Martha Barkunsky qui a contribué substantiellement au projet, bien au-delà de ses tâches initiales de secrétaire et traductrice.

Sans la patience et la coopération des jeunes, des adultes représentant le public et des professionnels interviewés dans les différentes villes, nous n'aurions pas pû recueillir les données nécessaires pour la réalisation de cette étude.

Aux Ministres intéressés qui ont bien voulu consacrer une partie de leur précieux temps pour discuter des résultats du projet et des implications politique potentielles, nous exprimons toute notre gratitude.

A tous et à chacun, je voudrais exprimer mes sincères remerciements et mes félicitations pour leur contribution.

Rome, le 8 octobre 1984

Tolani Asuni
Directeur

PREFACE

Cette étude, financée par le PNUD, a été réalisée dans cinq villes: Bogotá (Colombie), Bombay (Inde), Dakar (Sénégal), Lagos (Nigeria) et San José (Costa Rica). La stratégie de cette étude a été de faire participer les collaborateurs locaux à tous les stades du projet, non seulement pour fournir des occasions de formation en recherche, mais aussi pour conférer à l'étude un haut niveau de pertinence et de crédibilité.

A cette fin, une réunion des directeurs de recherche locaux a été organisée au début du projet, du 12 au 16 janvier 1981, pour examiner les instruments de travail préparés par l'UNSDRI et parvenir à un accord sur l'ensemble de la méthodologie.

Avant cette réunion, le Directeur de l'Institut et le coordinateur du projet ont rendu visite aux villes participant à l'étude afin de se familiariser avec les conditions locales et rencontrer les responsables locaux et leur équipe de recherche qui devait être multidisciplinaire.

Après la réunion, l'Institut a finalisé les instruments envoyés aux divers responsables pour leur mise en application. Ces instruments de travail consistaient en des questionnaires pour les jeunes, adultes et professionnels travaillant dans le domaine des problèmes juvéniles. Dans chaque ville, deux zones furent sélectionnées: l'une ayant subi un phénomène d'urbanisation rapide et récente, et l'autre n'ayant pas été atteinte par cette croissance rapide. Les questionnaires furent remplis, au moyen d'interviews, dans les deux zones.

Les questionnaires, soumis à 2.000 jeunes, 2.000 personnes faisant partie du public et 2.000 professionnels, furent traités par tous les pays participants, exception faite de deux villes ne disposant pas de centre d'ordinateur. Par conséquent, c'est l'UNSDRI qui a réalisé le traitement par ordinateur des données de ces deux pays. Un rapport analytique préliminaire fut préparé par l'UNSDRI et envoyé aux collaborateurs locaux pour commentaires et analyse ultérieure.

Le matériel fut rassemblé pour une réunion avec les responsables locaux à l'Institut afin de discuter des données et de la présentation du rapport final.

D'après le programme de travail, les résultats du projet devaient être discutés avec les organes décisionnels concernés des différents pays participants, de façon à connaître leur opinion et avoir leur contribution qui devait être intégrée dans le rapport final.

Au cours des débats, les résultats concernant la politique à sui-

vre furent mis en évidence. Quelques-uns avaient trait au renforcement des méthodes traditionnelles informelles de prévention et de contrôle de l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes, au renforcement des conseillers familiaux relevant des services du Ministère du Bien-Etre Social, à la création de nouvelles activités pour aménager le temps libre des jeunes, au renforcement des systèmes d'éducation et à l'accroissement, en qualité et en quantité, des travailleurs professionnels et au développement de formation adéquate pour les jeunes inadaptes.

En dépit de problèmes méthodologiques et opérationnels, certaines réponses furent sans équivoque, et les résultats mentionnés ci-dessus, acceptés par les organes décisionnels, découlèrent de ces réponses.

Dans certains cas, les organes de décision ont manifesté leur volonté de faire des efforts et les discussions ont porté sur la nécessité pour les projets-pilote d'approfondir certains problèmes.

L'intention de cette étude n'était pas de comparer les villes entre elles. Même si cela avait été prévu, le résultat n'aurait pas été scientifique étant donné les grandes différences dans le choix des deux zones. Cependant, la plupart des problèmes relatifs à la politique à suivre étaient communs à toutes les villes concernées par la recherche.

L'étude met en évidence un haut niveau de coopération interrégionale. Le rôle de coordination joué par l'ILANUD entre San José et Bogota montre aussi la collaboration existant entre l'Institut régional et l'UNSDRI. Un Institut académique — l'Institut Tata des Sciences Sociales — a réalisé l'étude à Bombay et le personnel des Ministères concernés a fourni le chef de recherche des équipes locales de Bogota, Dakar et Lagos.

INTRODUCTION THEORIQUE

a) Recherche d'un paradigme

Dans toute recherche, le problème principal consiste à trouver ou modeler un paradigme d'analyse approprié.

Ce problème revêt une importance cruciale dans une étude telle que la nôtre qui tente de comprendre le problème de l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes dans cinq pays différents ayant seulement un point commun: à savoir le développement économique accompagné d'une urbanisation rapide.

Sous d'autres aspects, nous ne pouvons pas affirmer qu'ils sont similaires. En outre, les responsables locaux de chaque pays nous avaient demandé de ne pas appliquer les théories criminologiques non critiques qui avaient été développées dans l'Occident industrialisé, bien que cette approche soit très attrayante dans le sens qu'elle nous permettait de disposer d'un cadre théorique tout prêt dans lequel nous pouvions ajuster nos données.

Après les entretiens avec les équipes locales choisies pour réaliser la recherche, il fut décidé qu'une approche culturelle était la seule façon de comprendre comment ces problèmes étaient ressentis par les personnes directement concernées dans chaque zone étudiée.

Cette conclusion fut renforcée par l'analyse préliminaire de la littérature sur l'urbanisation des pays en voie de développement et par les discussions avec les experts locaux des pays participants. Nous avons ainsi appris qu'en dépit de quelques différences minimales, le modèle économique général de chaque pays étudié pouvait être résumé comme suit: sociétés rurales traditionnelles ayant, avant la période de développement rapide, quelques cas de délinquance masculine et parfois de rares cas parmi les adolescents. Les violences n'étaient pas fréquentes ou peu connues alors que les crimes contre la propriété étaient relativement rares. Structures familiales cohésives, très fortes proscriptions religieuses envers le vol, contrôle intensif de la jeunesse, rôles des jeunes bien définis, mécanismes informels de conciliation universellement acceptés, opportunités limitées de commettre des crimes contre la propriété (car il y avait très peu de chose à voler) et vaste diffusion et acceptation presque fataliste du statu quo étaient les principaux facteurs culturels encadrant la jeunesse.

La transformation de l'agriculture extensive et de subsistance en une industrie partiellement mécanisée et le bas revenu des producteurs

agricoles ont entraîné un excédent de la population rurale. L'exode vers les villes devint nécessaire quand les pays en voie de développement se convertirent à l'économie de marché. Ainsi, la migration interne n'était pas un phénomène naturel et eut lieu beaucoup plus rapidement qu'en Europe Occidentale quelques siècles auparavant.

Il a été dit que la migration du Tiers-Monde était due davantage à une «poussée rurale» qu'à une «force d'attraction urbaine». En même temps, les villes attiraient la population rurale sous-employée, et les gens considéraient ces villes comme les seuls endroits où l'on pouvait trouver du travail, des soins médicaux, des écoles et des distractions. Dans notre étude, plusieurs villes ont doublé leur population en moins de dix ans et la doubleront encore pratiquement dans les années à venir.

La plupart de ces villes n'étaient pas préparées à cet influx énorme et soudain de gens frappés par la pauvreté. Les services de base tels que le logement, les voies publiques et les conditions sanitaires étaient insuffisants. Par conséquent, des taudis et bidonvilles poussèrent et ce, en général, à la périphérie des villes.

Dans beaucoup des villes les plus importantes, la plupart des constructions étaient abusives dans le sens qu'elles étaient bâties sur des terrains pris d'autorité; et les habitants, à moins qu'ils ne soient expulsés de force, devenaient des «squatters». Même dans les cas où les terrains pouvaient être achetés, il n'existait aucune sorte de planification concernant le contrôle de la densité de population, la qualité de la construction; de même les écoles, les espaces verts et les services sociaux étaient peu pris en considération.

Quelques-uns des nouveaux arrivants étaient absorbés par l'économie urbaine, alors que pour beaucoup le chômage devenait un état permanent; pour ces derniers, la survivance dépendait de la mendicité, du vol à la tire et d'autres activités marginales.

Le revenu moyen pro capita était généralement plus élevé dans les villes, mais la répartition était plus inégale que dans les zones rurales; par conséquent, l'écart entre le riche et le pauvre était extrêmement visible.

L'âge moyen de la population a décliné considérablement du fait de la croissance très rapide du taux de natalité et de la baisse continue de la mortalité infantile, de sorte que dans certaines zones, le noyau de la population avait moins de 18 ans.

De nombreux enfants étaient abandonnés par leurs parents qui ne pouvaient pas s'occuper d'eux et ils erraient dans les rues en mendiant, volant à l'étalage, à la tire et autrement survivant en marge de

la société.

En Colombie, par exemple, on estime qu'environ 5 millions d'enfants ont été abandonnés au cours des dernières années. Au fur et à mesure que ces enfants grandissaient, certains d'entre eux formaient des groupes de délinquants et s'orientaient vers quelques formes graves de délinquance comme le vol à main armée, le cambriolage organisé, la prostitution et le trafic de drogue.

Le Gouvernement tenta de contrôler ce phénomène en renforçant l'appareil répressif, notamment la police et les tribunaux; on demanda aux écoles de jouer un rôle plus étendu vis-à-vis des délinquants et des futurs délinquants; des institutions spécialisées et des programmes furent mis en place mais, par manque de fonds, leur impact fut insuffisant. Au fur et à mesure que l'Etat prit en main le contrôle social exercé précédemment de manière informelle au sein de la communauté. Les familles, les prophanes et les organisations indigènes s'affaiblirent et devinrent illégitimes. Le monopole se concentra alors entre les mains d'institutions larges, impersonnelles et orientées vers l'application de la loi.

Nous fûmes informés que la situation générale décrite ci-dessus existe encore actuellement.

En dépit de ces similitudes économiques, l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes et la criminalité des adultes ne suivaient pas une voie unique. La dimension, le type et la gravité des délits variaient de communauté à communauté; cela était dû en partie à la force des normes existantes concernant de telles conduites, ces dernières survivant en dépit des changements dans les relations économiques, et en partie au degré de capacité des agents formels de contrôle social à gagner le respect et la coopération des citoyens.

Il nous a semblé que l'aspect le plus intéressant de ce problème et celui offrant le majeur potentiel pour une intervention sociale constructive à court terme devait être focalisé sur les différences culturelles; ces dernières semblaient être les variables cruciales déterminant le niveau de crime qu'une communauté pourrait subir lors d'un changement économique traumatisant.

b) Le crime comme culture

La culture est davantage que la distraction populaire, les arts ou les lettres. Dans notre étude, elle est définie en termes anthropologiques comme le montant global des connaissances, des valeurs sociales et des modèles de comportement instruit de toute période spécifi-

que, race ou peuple. Au sein de cette matrice, on trouve des normes sociales gouvernant les relations interpersonnelles et les droits de la propriété qui peuvent être ou non conformes avec les normes légales établies par l'Etat. Certains types de comportement peuvent être ou non conformes avec les normes légales établies par l'Etat. Certains types de comportement peuvent être proscrits par la loi, mais tolérés sinon supportés par quelques groupes sociaux dans une société particulière.

En outre, il peut y avoir un écart entre la loi, c'est-à-dire ce que l'on trouve dans les législations, les déclarations officielles et les décisions des tribunaux, et l'expérience concrète des individus et des groupes situés aux différents niveaux de la structure sociale. Un point de départ utile pour comprendre la déviance sociale, la délinquance juvénile ou la criminalité des adultes dans un contexte social précis devrait être l'examen de la façon dont ces concepts sont définis et expérimentés dans la vie quotidienne de la population directement concernée. Cette population devrait comprendre: les délinquants, les victimes, les agents de contrôle social travaillant dans les rues et le public avec lequel ces groupes interagissent et donnent un sens social à leur conduite.

Ainsi, une telle étude ne devrait pas être contrainte par des définitions légales mais devrait essayer de découvrir la définition sociale du crime et le vaste impact des forces culturelles sur l'étiologie de la déviance et sur la façon de répondre de la société, et cela sur le plan officiel aussi bien qu'officieux.

Les changements culturels surviennent de façon relativement graduelle; mais tandis qu'ils se heurtent avec la loi, la technologie et les changements des conditions économiques, ils sont façonnés par les modèles culturels existants dans un pays. La politique gouvernementale, intentionnellement ou par inadvertance, peut soutenir, encourager ou combattre ces traits culturels spécifiques, mais les porteurs principaux de la culture sont avant tout les groupes primaires et notamment la famille. En d'autres termes, la culture est transmise socialement.

En période de changement social rapide ou dans une société présentant des divisions très nettes d'un point de vue économique, racial ou social, les individus et les groupes ont tendance à être situés différemment au sein de la culture dominante, et l'on peut même trouver des situations conflictuelles avec certains éléments de cette culture. Dans les cas extrêmes où des individus sont arrachés de leur contexte culturel habituel pour être exposés à des situations de vie radicalement différentes, face auxquelles ils doivent abandonner leurs règles de con-

duite, ils peuvent temporairement ressentir leur vide culturel comme une anomie. Cependant, ce vide se comble assez rapidement, par le fait que ces individus se regroupent et forment une sous-culture de groupe fournissant des normes de conduite, des justifications et des techniques leur permettant de venir à bout de la situation.

Les gangs de jeunes sont un de ces groupes. La taille, la structure et le degré de solidarité interne de tels groupes sont variables selon qu'il s'agit d'associations libres ou «groupes d'amis» ou de structures organisées ayant une hiérarchie, des divisions des tâches et des modèles de réponses au monde extérieur. Les règles comportementales régissant la conduite individuelle au sein du groupe dépendent en partie des opportunités offertes pour satisfaire les besoins de ses membres — argent, statut, socialisation etc. ... — et de la réaction de l'ensemble de la société, notamment de la réaction officielle.

Un groupe peut rarement se permettre d'être totalement isolé de la culture d'ensemble. Tandis que des individus peuvent être marginalisés en ce qui concerne leur participation à l'économie légitime, ils ont fréquemment quelques liens avec d'autres groupes sociaux, linguistiques et ethniques, leur famille, peut-être leur école et autres relations d'amitié. Paradoxalement, il peut y avoir un léger conflit entre les buts personnels ou les mesures de prestige social entre les membres des groupes étiquetés comme délinquants et ceux qui ne sont pas stigmatisés. Les différences existantes peuvent être seulement dans les moyens utilisés pour atteindre des buts universellement acceptés.

Par exemple, les réactions officielles et de la communauté envers un groupe de jeunes délinquants impliqués dans un vol peuvent être sévères envers les comportements spécifiques de ses membres, mais en même temps envers certains des buts du groupe — l'obtention de la richesse, du pouvoir et du prestige —. Dans un certain sens, les délits contre la propriété renforcent la valeur de la propriété et, dans des pays où l'acquisition de la propriété est une mesure de valeur sociale, le délit n'est pas un acte révolutionnaire, mais un acte qui soutient le statu quo.

Au niveau de la société, il peut y avoir une admiration cachée de quelques caractéristiques personnelles des délinquants: indépendance, audace, esprit d'initiative, prouesses physiques etc. ... La culture populaire peut même faire de certains criminels des «héros folkloriques» dont les actes sont considérés comme des amusements.

Si la corruption existe, ou si l'on croit qu'elle existe, au sein du gouvernement ou dans le monde des affaires, ou si les agences officielles de contrôle social (notamment la police et l'armée) perdent leur

légitimité en violant des normes de conduite universellement acceptées, l'autorité morale des fonctionnaires est affaiblie et les prescriptions de conduite proposées par la culture dominante sont dans une large mesure neutralisées.

Si le voisinage local est nouveau, manque d'organisation et de stabilité et est composé de «familles» dont les modèles traditionnels de parenté ont été apprises au sein du groupe.

Par conséquent, le délit ne peut pas être considéré comme un phénomène isolé ou pathologique, indépendant et étranger aux forces culturelles dans une société. Même la notion de sous-culture de la délinquance peut induire en erreur dans la mesure où elle suggère un phénomène souterrain en opposition à la culture dominante. Les éléments criminogènes sont enracinés dans des processus de société globale et n'émergent pas magiquement des travaux internes d'une tranche de la société. Tandis que le délit du pauvre est plus visible et plus facilement identifié et dénoncé, une explication adéquate requiert une analyse, non seulement des facteurs prédisposant les individus et les groupes à commettre un délit, mais aussi une analyse des facteurs sociaux, culturels et économiques en général fournissant non seulement le cadre au sein duquel le délit est commis mais aussi ses raisons.

L'évidence suggère que même dans des circonstances où les éléments criminogènes ci-dessus mentionnés existent, le délit n'est pas considéré de manière positive, même par ceux qui le commettent (bien qu'ils justifient leur comportement par un besoin économique). La délinquance juvénile tend à être un phénomène «intra-classe»: ainsi, la majorité des victimes appartient à la même classe que les délinquants. Le résultat de la recherche dans les pays en voie de développement suggère que le délit contre la propriété n'est pas un moyen pour redistribuer le revenu au pauvre; il le fait plutôt recirculer parmi les moins favorisés. Les coûts sociaux sont à la charge des plus défavorisés en milieu urbain. Par conséquent, le délit contre la propriété est une menace pour l'existence économique précaire des résidents des communautés pauvres et tend à être universellement condamné au sein de cette communauté. Les valeurs traditionnelles résistent à la transformation de la société rurale en société urbaine. Ce sont ces valeurs qui forment la matière première de stratégies de défense sociale suggérées par notre recherche.

Au vu des publications actuelles en la matière, nous ne pensons pas qu'il faille prendre en considération le point de vue selon lequel les niveaux actuels de la criminalité et de la délinquance juvénile dans le «Tiers-Monde» sont la conséquence inévitable de la «modernisa-

tion», ni l'idée d'une restructuration totale de la société et l'élimination d'une différence de classes.

Même si l'on accepte que les buts de la justice économique et sociale ne sont pas seulement désirables en soi, mais offrent aussi la meilleure solution au crime et à la délinquance juvénile, c'est dans l'immédiat que les communautés doivent trouver des voies d'amélioration des plus graves aspects du problème. On veut avant tout éviter le pessimisme inhérent à toute théorie déterministe des causes du crime. Cependant, l'élimination de la pauvreté, même si c'est un but louable, ne représente pas l'horizon immédiat pour la plupart des pays étudiés. Il n'est pas non plus réaliste de s'attendre à un renversement de la tendance à l'accroissement de l'industrialisation et de l'urbanisation.

Une approche culturelle du problème présente d'autres avantages: premièrement, elle explique davantage l'évidence. Si le crime est la conséquence inévitable de la pauvreté, du conflit de classes et de la corruption officielle, pourquoi n'y a-t-il pas davantage de crimes? Pourquoi des pays ayant des systèmes économiques et des niveaux de revenu semblables n'ont-ils pas le même taux de criminalité? Pourquoi le taux de criminalité, en Amérique et en Europe Occidentale vers les années 50-60, a-t-il suivi la même augmentation que le niveau absolu de la prospérité? Des explications centrées sur la notion de privation relative résultant de la distribution inégale du revenu ou d'autres, focalisées sur les opportunités accrues de commettre des crimes dans une société riche, semblent peu capables d'expliquer totalement ce phénomène.

Le Japon, la Suisse et certains pays du Moyen-Orient, pour donner quelques exemples seulement, ont conservé les valeurs culturelles traditionnelles face à l'industrialisation et à l'augmentation de la prospérité et ont des taux de criminalité bien inférieurs à d'autres pays ayant des niveaux de développement économique identiques. On peut se poser la question de savoir si, oui ou non et pour combien de temps ces pays pourront conserver leur position actuelle en vue de l'interprétation culturelle dans notre société globale. Les pays socialistes ont remporté un certain succès dans la prévention de certains types de crimes liés à l'urbanisation rapide et planifiée au moyen du contrôle de la migration interne. D'autres formes de comportement criminel, notamment la criminalité économique commise par des personnes représentant l'autorité et les violences liées à l'alcoolisme, continuent à être une préoccupation pour les pays socialistes.

Deuxièmement, une perspective culturelle nous aide à situer la recherche dans les communautés étudiées, et nous permet de nous pla-

cer au sein des définitions de la situation données par les habitants; nous pouvons ainsi éviter la tendance vers un impérialisme intellectuel caractérisant de nombreuses recherches menées dans les pays en voie de développement par des chercheurs de formation occidentale.

Troisièmement, une explication culturelle offre davantage de stratégies à moyen terme pour les possibilités actuelles des pays étudiés. Alors que les attentes en vue d'une amélioration significative à travers les politiques gouvernementales doivent être modestes et ne peuvent permettre que des résultats réduits, ce sont les gains marginaux qui offrent des buts réalistes, à la limite de la révolution.

Une approche culturelle tient compte du développement d'une réponse sociale indigène sensible aux conditions locales et aux modèles culturels. La tendance à adopter des modèles formels de contrôle social, modèles développés dans l'Occident industrialisé, n'est pas adaptée aux besoins des pays en voie de développement.

De toute façon, il est vain de chercher dans les pays développés un modèle efficace pour combattre la criminalité en relation avec les formes spécifiques de la transformation culturelle des pays étudiés; on espère arriver à identifier les tendances principales de la politique à suivre.

Revenons maintenant à la notion de développement. Dans notre étude, ce dernier n'est pas limité au développement économique. La définition donnée par l'UNESCO se rapproche davantage de celle que nous voudrions retenir: «Le développement, en somme, est un processus intégrant et d'interaction, nécessitant et accélérant à la fois l'extension des changements sociaux, politiques, culturels et économiques». Nous ne devons pas non plus croire que le développement suit toujours la même voie. Si nous reprenons encore la définition de l'UNESCO: «c'est certainement un processus unilinéaire qui va lentement et doucement vers un ensemble pré-déterminé de valeurs et de modèles». Les différences marquées dans la façon selon laquelle les forces culturelles, politiques et sociales se sont exprimées, autant dans les pays socialistes que capitalistes ayant expérimenté un développement économique, devraient représenter un avertissement permettant aux pays actuellement sous processus d'industrialisation rapide d'éviter les erreurs commises par leurs prédécesseurs.

Même au niveau économique, l'ordre économique mondial a rapidement changé depuis que l'Europe occidentale et l'Amérique du Nord se sont industrialisées.

La montée de puissantes compagnies supra-nationales, le déplacement du travail intensif vers l'intensification du capital, la réduc-

tion des besoins en main-d'œuvre non qualifiée et la crise énergétique font partie des facteurs qui empêchent le Tiers-Monde de profiter des bénéfices de l'industrialisation expérimentée par l'Europe durant le 18ème siècle et par l'Amérique peu de temps après. Il y a bien entendu quelques similitudes. La destruction des économies paysannes et la migration massive vers les centres urbains ont créé un large groupe de personnes en situation marginale vis-à-vis des nouvelles économies, mais aussi en danger de devenir «marginalisées» en permanence. L'impact culturel sur ces derniers est très fort. Le nouveau «pauvre urbain» se trouve séparé des structures rurales et sociales basées sur les relations tribales et de parenté qui prévoyaient non seulement la subsistance mais aussi la socialisation. Pour la première fois son existence physique dépend de sa participation à une économie de marché à laquelle il a un accès limité.

Finalement, nous ne pouvons pas dire que toutes les formes de développement sont nécessairement positives. La tendance malencontreuse qui tend à considérer que développement équivaut à progrès, et que progrès est égal à bon, a deux conséquences: premièrement, que le monde non industrialisé doit suivre de manière inextricable le chemin du monde développé, et deuxièmement que, à tous égards, les nations qui n'ont pas eu une industrialisation complète sont inférieures à celles qui l'ont eue.

c) Recensement de la littérature

Notre recensement s'est limité aux publications ayant analysé l'impact du développement économique sur le crime. Malheureusement, la plupart des ouvrages connus sont ceux écrits par des experts européens et nord américains: il ressort de ces ouvrages des concepts théoriques qui sont, dans une large mesure, limités à une approche culturelle. Nous les avons mentionnés ici, non car ils jouent un rôle central dans notre étude mais car ces ouvrages sont les plus importants dans ce domaine.

La théorie criminologique s'est développée en Europe occidentale avec les premiers travaux de Quetelet et Lombroso. Lombroso avait choisi de se concentrer sur les caractéristiques individuelle du délinquant tandis que pour Quetelet le problème principal de la criminologie était d'identifier les facteurs sociaux agissant sur l'existence et la répartition du crime dans la société. Ces deux approches existent encore aujourd'hui.

Le savant français Guerry a analysé l'impact de l'âge, du sexe,

de la race, de l'éducation, de la profession et des conditions économiques sur le crime. Il a noté une similitude et une régularité frappantes dans les modèles criminels dans les pays d'Europe occidentale; par conséquent, il en a conclu que les méthodes scientifiques pouvaient s'appliquer à l'étude du comportement criminel. Guerry fut suivi par Tarde qui constata que le taux de la criminalité augmentait de pair avec l'industrialisation de la société. Il développa le concept d'«imitation» pour expliquer l'augmentation de la criminalité dans des villes à croissance rapide. Il supposa que la croissance des zones urbaines était un bouillon de culture de l'activité criminelle où les nouveaux arrivants apprenaient à imiter ceux ayant déjà un comportement criminel. Marx et Engels, à propos de l'augmentation du taux de criminalité accompagnant l'industrialisation, tentèrent d'expliquer ce phénomène en terme d'exploitation économique de la classe ouvrière aboutissant à la création d'un groupe de «lumpen proletariat» devant commettre des crimes par seul besoin économique.

Durkheim, en opposition à Marx et Engels, déclara que c'était la transformation des relations dans la société, plus que dans le système économique, qui était responsable du passage soudain d'un taux relativement constant de la criminalité à des taux accompagnant l'urbanisation rapide. La plus importante contribution théorique de Durkheim dans le domaine de la criminologie est la formulation du concept d'anomie; ce concept a été appliqué dans différentes sociétés afin d'expliquer la déviance sociale sous tous ses aspects. Ce concept a été largement admis car il présente une universalité que l'on ne trouve pas dans d'autres théories du comportement criminel. Selon cette théorie, quand une société est en transition rapide, les règles régissant le comportement se dégradent ou disparaissent. D'autre part, les aspirations à l'acquisition de biens matériels augmentent. Les villes, qu'il a appelé «citadelles de solitude», stimulent mais ne satisfont jamais l'ambition. L'anomie chronique se manifeste quand une importance exagérée est accordée aux progrès matériels sans contrebalancer les pressions sociales qui devraient régler et planifier le comportement humain selon les normes socialement acceptables.

Les experts américains sont allés au-delà dans le concept d'anomie. L'ouvrage de base de Robert Merton a fourni un élément de fond par lequel plusieurs autres explications spécifiques furent développées. Selon Merton, la déviance est plus probable dans les sociétés pour lesquelles le succès est l'objectif principal, mais où la majorité des habitants est incapable d'acquérir des biens matériels ou le statut social qui représente le succès. Il se concentra sur la «fausse promesse» de

récompenses matérielles dans une société de consommation. Les individus qui ne peuvent arriver au succès d'une manière socialement acceptable utilisent des moyens illégitimes pour atteindre leur but.

Parallèlement à la théorie de l'anomie de Merton, Thorsten Sellin proposa sa théorie sur le conflit de culture. Selon lui, certains types de crimes aux USA pourraient s'expliquer en termes de conflit entre les normes de codes culturels différents entraînant des heurts à la frontière des zones culturelles contiguës; ces heurts peuvent trouver leur expression dans la criminalité et la délinquance juvénile quand les lois d'un groupe culturel s'étendent sur le territoire d'un autre.

Edward Sutherland, contemporain de Merton et Sellin, est considéré comme l'un des pères de la criminologie américaine. Sutherland formula la notion d'«association différentielle». Il considérait que l'étiologie du crime était issue de transformations sociales et économiques dues à l'industrialisation du monde occidental et accompagnées d'un individualisme pervers et de la lutte pour le succès matériel. Dans cet univers, les individus sont placés différemment au sein de la matrice sociale: certains adoptent un comportement criminel et d'autres pas. Selon Sutherland, un individu aura tendance à commettre un délit s'il s'associe davantage aux premiers qu'aux seconds. Par conséquent, le comportement criminel s'apprend par l'interaction avec les autres. L'étendue d'acquisition des normes et habitudes criminelles est déterminée par l'intensité et la durée de l'association avec les criminels existants.

Un groupe criminogène est celui dans lequel on trouve un «excès de définitions favorables à la commission d'actes criminels». Tant les criminels que les non-criminels sont motivés par le désir d'acquérir des biens matériels. Cependant, l'individu non criminel est suffisamment engagé dans les valeurs de la société pour réaliser ses désirs par des moyens légitimes, tandis que le criminel utilisera des moyens illégitimes.

Il y a un certain nombre de limitations à la théorie de l'association différentielle. Avant tout, le raisonnement est tautologique. Dire qu'un individu est un délinquant car il s'identifie à des valeurs criminelles est clairement circulaire; la théorie est plus descriptive qu'euristique. Bien qu'il soit vrai que l'on trouve un excès de définitions favorables à la criminalité dans les groupes délinquants existants, qu'est-ce que cela prouve? Le fait que des individus choisissent la voie de la délinquance est en très légère corrélation avec un sentiment de frustration vis-à-vis des biens matériels; par ailleurs, cette théorie offre un aperçu limité des facteurs économiques, culturels et sociaux qui

ont un impact différentiel sur les divers groupes sociaux au sein de la société. Le point le plus important est que l'association différentielle ne fournit pas un cadre d'intervention sociale.

Une tentative pour combler les lacunes de la théorie de Sutherland fut faite par les experts américains Shaw et McKay vers les années 30. Selon leur théorie de «désorganisation sociale», les zones urbaines caractérisées par des conditions économiques pauvres (ayant des conflits de valeurs morales), le manque d'organisations communautaires et l'aliénation par les agences formelles de contrôle social, fournissent le cadre au sein duquel le crime est perçu par beaucoup comme un moyen de survie et de statut économique et social. Selon cette théorie, les jeunes de zones socialement désorganisées adoptent un comportement délinquant car ils sont aliénés par leurs parents et les institutions sociales. Même si cette théorie a connu un certain succès durant les années 30, elle ne peut pas être appliquée aux étapes postérieures de transformation de la communauté, caractérisées par la baisse de la mobilité sociale et l'organisation formelle de la communauté. La théorie de désorganisation sociale ne peut pas expliquer la perpétuation du haut niveau de criminalité urbaine au cours des phases ultérieures de développement.

Cependant, l'École de criminologie de Chicago, s'identifiant à Shaw et McKay, a eu un impact durable sur la pensée criminologique américaine. L'idée de travailler avec les communautés locales dans les structures sociales en voie de développement avec lesquelles la population peut identifier un moyen de prévention du crime, trouve son expression dans les programmes actuels basés sur la communauté.

Cloward et Ohlin reprirent le concept d'anomie, créé par Durkheim et développé par Merton, dans une optique plus large. Selon ces auteurs, les américains de la classe inférieure comprennent que leurs possibilités d'obtenir des succès matériels et un certain statut social sont limitées. Par conséquent, ils prennent en considération des moyens différents pour atteindre leurs objectifs. Le décalage entre ce qu'ils désiraient et ce qu'ils peuvent obtenir les pousse à utiliser des moyens illégitimes.

La société américaine, surtout dans les grandes villes, fournit en même temps des possibilités de structure légitimes et illégitimes. Qu'un individu choisisse des moyens légitimes ou des méthodes illégitimes pour obtenir la richesse matérielle dépend en partie des stimulations offertes par les groupes de délinquants et en partie du degré de blocage de mobilité au sein d'une société.

Un certain nombre d'écrivains ont étudié le fonctionnement

interne d'une sous-culture de délinquants en Amérique, notamment de gangs de jeunes. Un des facteurs en contradiction avec les théories précédentes est que la majorité des jeunes commettent des délits sans en obtenir un bénéfice économique. Selon Albert Cohen, les sous-cultures de délinquants se présentent comme une solution collective à l'impossibilité des individus de réussir au sein des structures de la société. En changeant les normes de statut et de succès, les activités du groupe tendent vers l'obtention d'objectifs à court terme. C'est le statut et l'agitation que le vandalisme peut créer, davantage que le bénéfice économique. Selon Cohen, Walter Miller et d'autres, la prédominance de ces valeurs à court terme parmi les jeunes de la classe inférieure explique leur vaste délinquance ainsi que la dureté et le caractère destructif de leurs actes criminels.

Cependant, des critiques ont avancé le fait qu'il existe parmi les jeunes de la classe moyenne un taux certain de criminalité et que, par conséquent, toute théorie ne tenant pas compte de ce facteur était erronée. Une récente recherche a montré que le rejet des valeurs de la classe moyenne par les membres des groupes de délinquants n'est pas aussi marqué que les théories de sous-culture le prétendent.

La pensée criminologique américaine est actuellement à un tournant. Les théories des causes du crime basées sur l'échec de «l'idéal américain», attendu par tous les citoyens américains, doivent être modifiées au vu des résultats de récentes recherches qui mettent en évidence que pour la première fois dans l'histoire de l'Amérique, la génération actuelle ne cherche pas à obtenir un statut social plus haut et un succès économique plus grand que leurs parents. Quelle que soit la faiblesse de la pensée criminologique américaine dans son propre contexte, il serait dangereux de la considérer globalement valable pour les autres pays.

Toutes les théories américaines sur le comportement criminel représentent des explications partielles du problème de la criminalité contemporaine. Elles sont, dans une large mesure, limitées à une approche culturelle d'une phase particulière de l'évolution de la société américaine. De plus, ces théories sont basées sur les conditions de l'époque où les villes américaines étaient en phase d'expansion rapide et émergeaient les perspectives d'accroissement de la prospérité matérielle, sans que des moyens adéquats soient mis en place pour pouvoir permettre à tous d'atteindre ce bien-être social. Dans une certaine mesure, «l'idéal américain» a été exporté dans les pays actuellement en voie de développement, mais pour la plupart des habitants de ces pays, le problème est celui de la survivance. «Atteindre le sommet» n'est

pas le problème de beaucoup.

Jusqu'à une époque très récente, les théories criminologiques occidentales ne parlaient pas de la criminalité dans les pays non industrialisés. Trois écrits importants ont tenté de combler cette lacune durant la dernière décennie. Le premier, réalisé par Clinard et Abbott: «*La criminalité des pays en voie de développement*», fournit un point de départ, mais essaie d'adapter les données d'un certain nombre de pays en voie de développement à la théorie de l'association différentielle développée précédemment par Sutherland aux Etats-Unis. Clinard et Abbott considèrent la criminalité dans les pays en voie de développement comme la réplique exacte de celle survenue en Europe occidentale et aux Etats-Unis il y a environ 100 ans. Ils proposent donc comme solution les programmes préconisés par Shaw et McKay pour Chicago en 1930, et qui n'ont pas apporté les résultats espérés.

Le second livre: «*Criminalité et modernisation*», de Marie-Louise Shelley, fut publié en 1981. Un des avantages de ce livre est qu'il tente de regrouper les données de différentes régions du monde entier et, pour la première fois, présente une analyse comparative des sociétés socialistes et capitalistes. La thèse de M.L. Shelley n'est pas différente de celle de Clinard et Abbott. Elle considère la criminalité des 200 dernières années comme une réponse à la «modernisation». En particulier, elle considère l'empreinte de la modernisation comme la transition d'une société dominée par la violence à une société caractérisée par l'atteinte à la propriété. Pour cet auteur, les traits dominants de la modernisation sont l'industrialisation et la migration en masse vers les centres urbains, ces facteurs entraînant une dislocation de la famille traditionnelle et d'autres modèles institutionnels. Comme Clinard et Abbott, Shelley pense que l'avenir des pays en voie de développement sera la réplique exacte de ce qui s'est passé dans les pays actuellement industrialisés et qui sont entrés maintenant dans la phase post-industrielle.

La principale critique du livre de Shelley tient dans l'imprécision du concept de «modernisation». Qu'est-ce qui est «moderne»: les modes de production, les relations sociales, l'habitat ou les infrastructures gouvernementales? Il est certain que des changements sont intervenus, mais dans quelle mesure entraînent-ils la criminalité?

Quelles sont les variables qui interviennent et expliquent la différence entre le taux de criminalité de pays ayant un niveau de développement économique identique? C'est en répondant à cette dernière question que nous pourrions comprendre l'étiologie du crime en termes spécifiques et savoir quelle devrait être la réponse sociale spécifi-

que des gouvernements. La thèse de l'auteur déclarant que la criminalité est la conséquence inévitable de l'écoulement du temps, sans considérer leur phase de développement, de système social et de base culturelle, est bien trop déterministe pour pouvoir être acceptée.

Un important recueil d'essais critiques édité par Colin Summer vient juste de paraître sous le titre «*Crime, justice et sous-développement*». Dans une perspective marxiste, les auteurs de ce volume considèrent la criminalité comme la conséquence inévitable du capitalisme colonialiste et leurs études essaient de démontrer comment le droit pénal et l'Etat sont utilisés dans la transformation de sociétés rurales en sociétés urbanisées mais dépendant strictement de l'économie avec comme caractéristique principale un haut niveau de chômage ou de sous-emploi chronique. Dans l'introduction, Summer fait quelques critiques énergiques des deux travaux sus-mentionnés: concentration de la criminalité sur les moins aisés, ignorance de la criminalité des plus puissants, non reconnaissance du rôle de la police et de l'armée dans les dictatures militaires, et non reconnaissance des changements fondamentaux dans l'économie mondiale qui devraient prévenir les hypothèses selon lesquelles les pays en voie de développement referont à retardement les mêmes «erreurs» que les pays développés, hypothèses émises par Shelley, Clinard et Abbott.

Cependant, quand l'ouvrage arrive au problème des suggestions pour une politique sociale, il fournit peu d'informations, mis à part l'appel implicite pour la transformation de l'économie capitaliste en économie socialiste. Comme les deux livres précédents, cet ouvrage émet l'hypothèse que la criminalité est la conséquence inévitable des changements des relations économiques.

Notre recherche d'un paradigme nous a poussé à nous écarter de l'orthodoxie existante, à abandonner le courant principal de la théorie criminologique et à nous déplacer, avec une certaine hésitation, le long d'une voie inexplorée, vers «une criminologie du Tiers-Monde». Cette première étape est seulement une petite tentative, et seul le temps prouvera si elle est juste ou non. Comme un aveugle qui prend pied sur la pente d'une montagne qu'il doit escalader, chaque pas, même si la direction est mauvaise, le rapprochera du sommet.

d) Méthodologie

Dans toute recherche, les décisions prises avant le rassemblement et l'analyse des données, auront de profonds retentissements sur ce qui sera trouvé ou «découvert» au cours de cette recherche. Les déci-

sions concernant le choix des sujets, les questions, les données devant être rassemblées, les instruments de recherche à utiliser etc. ... peuvent produire des résultats très différents.

Plus le sujet sera défini, sur la base de recherches précédentes ou de la connaissance générale du phénomène, plus la méthodologie sera précise et standardisée. Par ailleurs, si le phénomène n'est pas bien compris ou s'il n'y a pas de base théorique ou empirique, il est alors important de partir dans une perspective plus générale en renonçant à la sécurité, la standardisation et la répétition dans l'intérêt d'obtenir des informations décrivant de façon valable le phénomène.

Dans cette étude, nous nous étions préparés à faire seulement deux hypothèses basées sur la littérature et la «connaissance» commune. Premièrement, on trouve une proposition largement acceptée selon laquelle les taux importants d'inadaptation sociale des jeunes sont liés à l'urbanisation rapide. Cela semblait être une hypothèse méritant d'être prouvée. Deuxièmement, en dépit de cela, le taux de criminalité semble être différent dans des pays ayant un taux de croissance identique. En outre, beaucoup de spécialistes expliquent ces différences en terme de variations des degrés de cohésion sociale, notamment la survie des liens de parenté à la transformation d'une société rurale en une société urbaine. Si cela est vrai, il serait utile de découvrir l'étendue et la façon dont ces facteurs culturels interviennent.

Après de longues discussions au sein de l'UNSDRI et après les négociations et les visites à dix villes de pays en voie de développement, deux villes latinoaméricaines (Bogota et San José), deux villes africaines (Dakar et Lagos) et une métropole indienne (Bombay) furent incluses dans cette étude. On espérait que la gamme de différences culturelles dans ces pays nous permettrait de tester notre hypothèse de base.

Etant donné l'absence de recherche précédente dans la zone et notre désir d'éviter une sur-définition anticipée du phénomène, il fut décidé qu'il serait important d'essayer de comprendre l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes à travers les résidents locaux et les professionnels habitant dans les deux zones de chaque ville sélectionnée. Il fut décidé de rassembler les opinions et les attitudes de six échantillons dans chaque ville.

Dans chaque ville, deux zones furent sélectionnées: à savoir, une zone relativement stable du point de vue croissance de population (Z1) et une zone ayant subi une urbanisation rapide au cours des dernières années (Z2).

Très vite, nous avons découvert que, dans la plupart des pays par-

ticipants, il était impossible de trouver deux zones identiques, excepté pour la croissance de population. Les modèles «idéaux-typiques» des communautés urbaines issus de la théorie avaient cédé à la réalité d'un mélange complexe de facteurs sociaux, économiques et culturels unique à chaque zone finalement choisie. Comme notre intérêt se déplaçait davantage vers la compréhension de l'impact des facteurs sociaux et culturels sur la déviance sociale, la difficulté de la recherche initiale devint non plus un problème mais un avantage.

Dans les deux zones choisies, trois échantillons d'opinion furent recueillis: 200 adultes, 200 jeunes et 50 professionnels travaillant avec les enfants, dans les deux zones.

Etant donné l'absence de cadres d'échantillonnage adéquat dans certains cas, il fut nécessaire de permettre une certaine flexibilité dans la sélection des sujets devant être interviewés et, dans le cas de deux pays, il ne fut pas possible de trouver suffisamment de professionnels. La grandeur de l'échantillon global (900 personnes pour chaque ville environ) nous permettait de croire que les opinions recueillies devaient représenter l'opinion générale de la population. Par ailleurs, quand les données furent finalement soumises à l'UNSDRI pour être analysées, elles nous apparurent se différencier davantage par les caractéristiques de base des échantillons comme l'âge, le sexe, l'éducation et l'occupation, ce qui pouvait justifier les quelques différences dans les réponses à certaines questions. La section suivante de ce chapitre rapporte ces différences.

Etant donné qu'il fut décidé de maintenir le maximum de flexibilité, pour éviter des hypothèses précises et pour rester au sein des définitions de la situation perçue par les habitants, il fut nécessaire de poser des questions très générales dirigées vers la compréhension de la signification quotidienne de l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes dans la communauté au sens large.

Bien entendu, une certaine standardisation était nécessaire et, par conséquent, il fut décidé que les mêmes questions seraient posées à tous les pays participants et qu'un mélange de questions ouvertes et fermées devrait être utilisé. A l'origine, les questionnaires furent rédigés en anglais. Ils furent traduits dans les langues des pays participants et, dans le cas de l'Inde et des deux pays africains, les questions furent traduites dans la langue de la population locale. Etant donné les différences dans l'interprétation culturelle des mots, quelque «défaut» de standardisation fut nécessaire. Cependant, les questions étaient plutôt simples, et l'on espérait que de tels «défauts» pourraient être acceptés.

Les questions posées pouvaient être regroupées autour de 7 dimensions du phénomène qui semblaient importantes pour les conseillers locaux et d'un point de vue théorique:

a) *une description générale* des caractéristiques économiques, sociales et démographiques des deux zones sélectionnées. La plupart des informations concernant ce point furent fournies par les équipes locales de recherche;

b) *les aspects de base de la vie quotidienne des jeunes*: les informations concernant ce point furent fournies par les questionnaires soumis aux trois échantillons de population;

c) *le phénomène de l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes*: nous voulions savoir comment la communauté définit et répond à l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes, dans chaque zone. Il fut décidé de ne pas restreindre la définition de l'inadaptation sociale aux catégories juridiques de délinquance juvénile données par la législation nationale. Plus exactement, toutes les formes de comportement socialement défini comme gênant devait être examiné. Notre but était de découvrir les attitudes et perceptions de la communauté, son niveau de tolérance et ses prédictions pour l'avenir. Plusieurs questions de notre questionnaire traitaient de ce sujet;

d) *la solidité de la famille et des liens de parenté*: depuis qu'une recherche réalisée dans les pays en voie de développement a montré que le taux de l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes qu'une communauté subit dépend en partie des contrôles sociaux exercés sur les enfants par les adultes, membres de la famille ou autres, il fut décidé d'inclure un certain nombre de questions concernant ce problème dans notre questionnaire;

e) *la force des liens communautaires*: à part les relations familiales, on peut s'attendre à ce qu'une communauté puisse avoir une influence sur la conduite des enfants. Par conséquent, on a jugé important de poser quelques questions sur les structures sociales formelles et informelles au sein de la communauté et sur leurs relations avec les jeunes;

f) *relations avec les agences formelles de contrôle social*: depuis que la police, les tribunaux pour enfants et les diverses agences sociales ont une responsabilité juridiques vis-à-vis des enfants, il semblait important de comprendre comment ces agences sont vues par les jeunes et par leurs parents. De même, il était intéressant de savoir comment les professionnels travaillant dans ces agences considèrent leur rôle. Finalement, il pouvait être utile de comparer les attitudes et les opinions, concernant le rôle de l'agence, des trois échantillons de population;

g) recommandations pour une future politique sociale: nous avons posé quelques questions concernant les mesures qui pourraient être prises par les gouvernements pour combattre de façon plus efficace l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes. Nous espérons apprendre les types de recommandations qui devraient être faites et l'étendue de l'accord au sein et entre les groupes interviewés. Notre souhait était que les informations recueillies soient utilisées par les gouvernements pour mettre en place une réponse sociale appropriée — une réponse qui non seulement incorpore l'expérience collective de la population la plus directement impliquée dans le problème, mais aussi qui devrait recevoir un support public.

e) Description des échantillons

Un échantillon représente réellement une population si, dans tous ses aspects significatifs, les caractéristiques de l'échantillon sont identiques à celles de la population d'origine. Cela est généralement réalisé en sélectionnant un échantillon fortuit parmi une liste comprenant une population globale d'individus ou de familles. Dans notre étude, il n'a pas été possible de réaliser cela car, dans la plupart des pays participants, il n'y avait pas de cadre d'échantillonnage adéquat. La seule alternative était de demander aux équipes locales d'essayer de former des échantillons aussi représentatifs que possible.

Néanmoins, quelques préjugés dans certains de nos échantillons semblent évidents après un examen rapide des caractéristiques de base de ces échantillons. Il y a des différences significatives du point de vue de l'âge, du sexe et des occupations entre les divers échantillons sélectionnés. On peut supposer que certaines différences de réponse aux questions particulières de nos questionnaires étaient dues à la composition des échantillons. Par exemple, on devrait supposer que les officiers de police et les travailleurs sociaux considèrent l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes de façon plutôt différente. De même, on devrait s'attendre à quelques différences dans les réponses des hommes et des femmes, ou dans celles des jeunes et des adultes.

Dans le cas des professionnels, la fraction d'échantillonnage, c'est-à-dire la proportion que l'échantillon représente sur le total de la population, est très haute et dans certains cas, atteint presque 100%. Le préjugé d'échantillon n'était pas un problème dans cette zone. Cependant, étant donné les différences nationales dans la composition des professionnels travaillant avec les enfants, d'autres problèmes d'interprétation se présentèrent. Par exemple, le nombre de femmes ayant

une profession varie de pays à pays. Nous avons de grandes différences dans la composante féminine de nos échantillons professionnels. De même, quelques pays ont un cadre de soutien des professionnels travaillant avec les enfants relativement bien établi, alors que dans d'autres pays, il est nécessaire de compter davantage sur la police et les tribunaux. Ainsi, la formation professionnelle varie considérablement de pays à pays. Cela étant, il faut éviter de faire une surinterprétation des données, notamment si l'on espère en tirer des comparaisons.

Il se peut que les différences dans les réponses des professionnels à nos questions soient davantage dues au type de professionnels interviewés qu'à la nature objective de l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes dans les zones où ils travaillent.

En tenant présente cette mise en garde, il est nécessaire d'être prudent et de restreindre l'analyse comparative à quelques généralisations fortement soutenues par l'analyse et de nous concentrer sur les résultats des questionnaires où les données soutiennent de manière écri-sante des conclusions particulières.

Des problèmes identiques survinrent lorsqu'il s'agit de sélectionner les zones géographiques dans chaque ville. Cela fut laissé largement aux équipes locales à qui l'on demanda de suivre les lignes de conduite dégagées lors de la réunion de toutes les équipes locales, à l'UNSDRI en janvier 1981. En rétrospective, ces lignes de conduite étaient aussi spécifiques et détaillées qu'elles auraient dû l'être. Toutes les équipes comprirent parfaitement la nécessité de choisir deux zones: une à urbanisation récente et rapide et l'autre à croissance relativement stable. Il semble maintenant qu'il n'était pas compris qu'il était important d'un point de vue scientifique, d'assortir les deux zones autant que possible selon leurs caractéristiques, plus que selon leur taux de croissance. Ces autres caractéristiques pouvaient comprendre des facteurs tels que le niveau de revenu de chefs de familles et les caractéristiques démographiques de la population.

Le résultat est que le contraste entre Z1 et Z2 varie selon les pays participants. Par exemple, à Bogota, deux zones très pauvres ont été sélectionnées: un véritable bidonville et une zone ancienne d'économiquement faibles, contiguë à la première zone et au centre commercial de la ville. Au contraire, à Dakar, une zone stable du centre de la ville et une zone nouvelle mais pauvre de la périphérie furent choisies. A Bombay, il était impossible d'isoler l'urbanisation rapide en termes de zones géographiques spécifiques. Les nouveaux arrivants se sont installés dans la plupart des zones de la ville et ainsi des niveaux

différents de revenu et de standard de vie existent. Par conséquent, la désignation d'origine de Z1 et de Z2 s'écroula presque complètement.

À Lagos, la zone à urbanisation rapide choisie était une zone de classe moyenne en banlieue, contrastant avec le vieux bidonville du centre.

Admettre sincèrement ces déficiences ne veut pas dire que le plan de recherche éventuellement réalisé rende l'exercice sans valeur. Cependant, cela pousse à mettre l'accent sur certains changements. Notre plan ne nous permet pas d'aboutir à des conclusions solides sur l'impact de l'urbanisation rapide sur l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes. Notre attention devrait plutôt s'attacher à comprendre comment les diverses populations, au sein de chacune des cinq villes choisies, définissent le phénomène de l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes et le contenu de leur opinion à ce propos.

Les différences selon les villes concernant les réponses aux questionnaires peuvent ne pas être dues au simple fait de l'urbanisation rapide ou non rapide, mais aux types de communautés urbaines choisies ou aux différences d'échantillonnage des personnes interviewées. D'autre part, si des réponses similaires sont reçues en réponse aux questions particulières, en dépit de l'hétérogénéité des interviewés, ces réponses revêtent une signification plus grande et peuvent être très importantes.

CARACTERISTIQUES DE L'ECHANTILLON DE BASE

	Zone à urbanisation non rapide (Z1)	Zone à urbanisation rapide (Z2)
Bogotá	«Paraiso»	«San Martín»
San José	«Córdoba»	«15 de Septiembre»
Bombay	«G. Southward»	«M. Ward»
Lagos	«Isale Eko»	«Surulere»
Dakar	«Plateau»	«Pikine» et «Xar Yalla»

a) Total de la taille de l'échantillon:

JEUNES

	Zones	
Bogotá	«Paraíso» «San Martín»	119 interviewés 120 »
San José	«Barrio de Córdoba» «15 de Septiembre»	204 » 200 »
Bombay	«G. Southward» «M. Ward»	200 » 203 »
Lagos	«Isale Eko» «Surulere»	199 » 199 »
Dakar	«Plateau» «Pikine» et «Yalla»	30 » 168 »

PUBLIC

	Zones	
Bogotá	«Paraíso» «San Martín»	200 interviewés 200 »
San José	«Barrio de Córdoba» «15 de Septiembre»	320 » 320 »
Bombay	«G. Southward» «M. Ward»	266 » 304 »
Lagos	«Isale Eko» «Surulere»	199 » 199 »
Dakar	«Plateau» «Pikine» et «Xar Yalla»	201 » 201 »

PROFESSIONNELS

	Zones	
Bogotá	«Paraíso» «San Martín»	30 interviewés 30 »
San José	«Barrio de Córdoba» «15 de Septiembre» «Alajuelita» *	23 » 27 » 52 »
Bombay	«G. Southward» «M. Ward»	43 » 58 »
Lagos	«Isale Eko» «Surulere»	50 » 50 »
Dakar	«Plateau» «Pikine» et «Xar Yalla»	66 » 52 »

Le nombre total des interviewés, 4.536, est divisé selon les catégories suivantes:

Jeunes	1.644
Public	2.410
Professionnels	482

et par ville, ainsi:

Bogotá	699
San José	1.147
Bombay	1.074
Lagos	898
Dakar	718

* A cause de l'incapacité d'atteindre le nombre prévu de professionnels (100), les experts du Costa Rica ont inséré des sujets appartenant à une zone similaire de «15 de Septiembre» (Alajuelita).

b) Age

La moyenne d'âge des 1.644 jeunes interviewés était, au moment du recueil des données, d'environ 15 ans; les jeunes les plus âgés étaient ceux de Dakar (16,2 ans) et les plus jeunes ceux de Bogotá (14,6 ans). Du point de vue de l'âge seulement, il ne semble pas qu'il y ait de grandes différences pouvant influencer sur les variations dans les réponses aux questionnaires.

La moyenne d'âge des 2.410 adultes faisant partie du public était de 36,7 ans; cependant, il y a plus de dix ans de différence entre le groupe le plus âgé (Z1 à Lagos - 42,5 ans) et le groupe le plus jeune (Z2 à Dakar - 31,4 ans). Cette différence est suffisamment grande pour avoir un impact sur les résultats.

La moyenne d'âge des professionnels était de 36,7 ans. Là aussi, il y avait des différences significatives entre les échantillons. Le groupe le plus âgé (Z2 à Bombay) avait une moyenne d'âge de 44 ans, le groupe le plus jeune (Z1 à Dakar), de 32,1 ans. Il faut être prudent dans l'interprétation des différences dans les réponses des professionnels de Bombay et de ceux de Dakar, qui peuvent être dues (au moins en partie) aux différences d'âge.

c) Sexe

Cette variable dégage de remarquables différences entre les échantillons sélectionnés. Dans le groupe des jeunes, les femmes représentent la majorité à San José (52,2%), tandis qu'à Dakar, elles représentent seulement 19% des jeunes interviewés. Au Sénégal, les positions religieuses et culturelles peuvent expliquer la réticence des jeunes femmes à être interviewées.

En ce qui concerne le public, les femmes représentent 43,1% de l'échantillon total. A Dakar, elles représentent seulement 23,4%, alors qu'à Bogotá le pourcentage est de 63,3%.

Des différences de sexe semblables dans notre échantillon existent dans le groupe des professionnels. Dans l'ensemble, les femmes représentent presque 39% de l'échantillon total des professionnels, mais à Dakar elles représentent seulement 8,6%. Au contraire, dans la zone 2 de San José, on trouve 52% de professionnels féminins.

Ces grandes différences dans la répartition par sexe des divers échantillons doivent être tenues présentes pour l'interprétation des données.

d) Formation professionnelle

Comme nous l'avons déjà mentionné, les équipes locales ont recueilli des informations d'à peu près tous les professionnels travaillant dans les zones 1 et 2 et, par conséquent, des problèmes de préjugé d'échantillonnage ne se sont pas posés. Cependant, les zones étudiées sont très différentes du point de vue de la formation professionnelle des personnes interviewées. Dans l'ensemble, les catégories les plus représentatives sont:

- enseignants 23%
- travailleurs sociaux 14%
- officiers judiciaires 11%
- officiers de police 8,3%

Cependant, la police va d'un maximum de 16% à Bombay à un minimum de 2% à San José; les conseillers représentent presque 30% à Dakar et moins de 3% à Bombay; les enseignants et les professionnels apparentés travaillant hors du système scolaire représentent 40% des professionnels à Lagos, mais seulement 10% à Bombay; les travailleurs sociaux vont de 35% à Bombay à 1,6% à Bogotá et les officiers judiciaires vont de 26,6% à Bogotá à 9,3% à Dakar.

Etant donné que des différences connues existent parmi ces grou-

pes de professionnels, les données obtenues peuvent être, dans une large mesure, dénaturées par le mélange particulier de professionnels fournissant les réponses.

Vu la façon particulière selon laquelle les zones à urbanisation rapide et non rapide furent sélectionnées et étant donné le manque de consistance du choix des divers échantillons d'individus interviewés, ainsi que les différences d'interprétation et d'administration des questionnaires aux interviewés, il fut décidé qu'il serait erroné de présenter les données sous une forme comparative. Cependant, l'hétérogénéité entre les zones sélectionnées présentaient certains avantages.

Ce que nous avons dans cette étude est une étendue du phénomène reflétant quelques-unes des façons par lesquelles l'urbanisation influe sur les communautés du Tiers-Monde. Ainsi, dans le cas de Lagos, il y a ce que l'on peut appeler une «migration centrifuge» vers la périphérie, en contraste avec la «migration centripète» des résidents urbains vers la ville, représentée de façon dramatique à San José et Bogotá. Au sein de cette dernière catégorie, nous trouvons davantage de complications. A Bombay, les nouveaux arrivants tendent à se disperser dans la ville, mais la zone 2, à urbanisation rapide, est considérée comme ayant un niveau de vie légèrement plus haut que la zone à urbanisation non rapide. Le contraire est vrai pour d'autres villes comme Dakar, Bogotá et San José. De plus, le degré de planification, de conditions physiques et d'organisation sociale varie considérablement selon les villes.

Ainsi, nous couvrons un large spectre du phénomène urbain. Cela nous permet d'être plus sophistiqués dans notre traitement de l'impact de l'urbanisation sur l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes. Comme nous le verrons, le simple fait de l'urbanisation rapide n'entraîne pas nécessairement les taux élevés d'inadaptation sociale des jeunes. En effet, nos données montrent que dans quelques villes, les taux officiels de criminalité et de délinquance juvénile sont plus bas dans Z2 que dans Z1. Notre analyse tentera d'en identifier les raisons.

ETUDE DE CAS No.5

DAKAR - SENEGAL

a) Informations générales

Dakar, capitale du Sénégal, était un village de pêcheurs avant d'être transformé en base navale par les français. Plus tard, la ville devint le quartier général de l'Afrique Occidentale française, ainsi qu'un port très important. On y trouve un curieux mélange d'activités administratives, commerciales et culturelles, importantes au plan national, et sa croissance rapide est due en grande partie à la immigration. En 1973, plus de 15% de la population nationale vivait à Dakar, la grande majorité venant d'autres régions du Sénégal ou d'autres pays. Dakar est le seul centre vraiment urbain possédant les principaux complexes industriels de l'Afrique Occidentale.

La population du Sénégal était, en 1973, d'environ 4 millions, et les statistiques prévoient 5.250.000 pour 1985. Alors que le taux d'accroissement de la population globale est d'environ 2%, celui du complexe urbain de Dakar-Cap Vert est estimé à 6-8%. En se basant sur ces chiffres, la population du complexe urbain atteindra en 1985 1.400.000 habitants. Dakar représente en fait 17% de la population nationale. En 1973, 52% de la population était âgée de moins de 20 ans. Le taux de fertilité est de 174 pour 1000 et le taux de natalité est passé de 45,9 pour mille à 49 pour mille en 1979. La mortalité infantile a décliné dans les proportions de 106 pour mille à 92,9 pour mille en 1979. Pour la population globale, le taux de mortalité est passé de 21,3 pour mille en 1970 à 20 pour mille en 1979.

a) Emigration

Le mouvement le plus important et le plus significatif a été celui de la campagne vers les villes. La sécheresse des années 60-70 a intensifié ce mouvement. Les différentes raisons du taux d'accroissement de la population de Dakar sont donc la venue des populations rurales, l'accroissement naturel, l'industrialisation de la ville, l'augmentation du nombre d'emplois.

On trouve des employés du gouvernement et d'entreprises privées, des artisans, des ouvriers spécialisés ainsi qu'un grand nombre d'ouvriers non spécialisés et de chômeurs. Beaucoup sont venus en

ville pour échapper à la dépendance de l'agriculture et à la pression sociale. D'autres sont là temporairement à la recherche d'un emploi, mais envisagent de retourner éventuellement dans leur région d'origine.

Presque tous ces émigrants restent en contact avec la famille d'origine. Dans de nombreux cas, les enfants des familles urbanisées ne connaissent pas leur village d'origine, mais ont des contacts avec les membres de la famille qui sont restés dans les zones rurales.

Généralement, les émigrants doivent passer, à leur arrivée, une phase de transition durant laquelle ils sont aidés par leur parenté «urbaine» jusqu'à ce qu'ils trouvent un emploi, et sont introduits dans le système de vie en milieu urbain. Ceux qui n'ont aucun parent ont tendance à se regrouper pour s'aider mutuellement et adapter leur vie traditionnelle à la situation nouvelle. La plupart du temps, de tels groupes ont pour base l'affiliation ethnique ou le village d'origine. Les enfants sont éduqués principalement par leurs parents et formés à l'école, en vue d'une profession.

b) Conditions sanitaires

Dans toute l'Afrique Occidentale on trouve une grande variété de maladies contagieuses et d'infections parasitaires dépassant ce que l'on peut rencontrer dans d'autres régions similaires. En plus des différentes maladies dues à la mauvaise alimentation, d'autres affections se sont répandues dans presque tout le pays en 1973 telles que malaria, tuberculose, rougeole, trachome, maladies vénériennes, trypanosomiasis, schistosomiasis, dysenterie ainsi que différents types de gripes.

En 1972, quatre principaux hôpitaux étaient en fonction: trois à Dakar et un à Saint-Louis. Des hôpitaux moins bien équipés fonctionnaient dans quatre autres villes, ainsi que trois cliniques de dimension réduite.

Les quatre hôpitaux principaux avaient une disponibilité d'environ 2.590 lits, ceux moins bien équipés de 610 lits. Quarante-six maternités réparties sur tout le pays pouvaient accueillir 1.250 personnes au total et 32 centres de soins environ 950 malades. Ce qui donne un total de capacité d'accueil de 5.400 malades.

Avec trois des meilleurs hôpitaux à Dakar, la proportion de lits par rapport à la population de la capitale (environ 1 lit pour 300 personnes) était bien supérieure à la moyenne nationale. Les politiques gouvernementales continuaient à insister sur l'importance de la prévention de la maladie et de la médecine sociale sous la forme de pro-

grammes élargis pour l'imunisation et avantageaient l'amélioration de l'hygiène au détriment de la mise en place de cliniques spécialisées ne pouvant s'occuper que d'un nombre limité de personnes.

L'Université de Dakar a une faculté de médecine.

En 1979, le nombre de médecins des services publics était de 103 (dont 57 Sénégalais) et de 375 dans les services privés (dont 211 Sénégalais). En 1972, seulement 20 dentistes et 50 pharmaciens étaient en activité. Le reste du personnel médical était composé de 950 infirmières, 165 sage-femmes et plus de 260 techniciens médicaux et dentaires ainsi qu'administratifs. La majorité des médecins étaient concentrée dans la région de Dakar et de Cap Vert.

D'un point de vue géographique, les écoles étaient mal réparties et la distribution des écoles secondaires favorisait les habitants de Dakar et de la région de Saint-Louis. On peut supposer que cette situation a attiré les élèves des zones rurales vers les écoles secondaires de Dakar.

Les écoles du Coran associées aux mosquées locales étaient encore fréquentes. Parfois, les élèves fréquentaient les écoles religieuses avant d'aller à l'école publique, et leur absence à cette dernière était excusée car on leur concédait de participer à des formes d'éducation traditionnelle.

c) Emploi

Le taux de chômage dans les villes était alarmant même avant l'arrivée en masse des personnes venant des zones rurales. Les statistiques étaient prises en considération, mais l'on pensait que seulement une minorité de chômeurs étaient inscrits aux agences pour l'emploi. Une des sources de statistiques estimait qu'environ 30% des travailleurs à Dakar avaient un emploi à mi-temps.

La population active, composée de personnes âgées de 15 à 59 ans, s'élevait en 1973 à 2.167.871. La proportion de celle ayant des activités rurales était de 75% et a parfois atteint 87%. La majorité de la population active était composée de travailleurs familiaux non payés, employés soit dans des fermes familiales, soit dans de petites entreprises familiales commerciales ou artisanales dans les villes. Cette force de travail engagée dans l'économie traditionnelle échappe aux statistiques, mais représente plus ou moins 90% de la population active.

d) Problèmes de délinquance et autres formes de pathologie sociale

L'analyse des données récentes sur les jeunes délinquants soumis

à un traitement indique que presque 70% de la population nationale habite dans les zones rurales, environ 70% des jeunes délinquants (7-25 ans) habite à Dakar et plus de 87% dans de grandes agglomérations urbaines comme Dakar et les capitales régionales. Cela confirme l'idée selon laquelle la délinquance est un phénomène urbain. La moyenne d'âge de la jeunesse délinquante est de 17 ans et le sexe féminin représente moins de 9%. Cela s'explique par l'éducation plus stricte des femmes ainsi que par l'absence de possibilité de traitement résidentiel. Cela a poussé la police et les magistrats à classer les cas des femmes incriminées. Alors que les musulmans représentent environ 90% de la population nationale, 94% des jeunes délinquants sont musulmans.

69,57% ont reçu un semblant d'éducation avant d'être inculpés pour la première fois. Ce pourcentage est très semblable à celui des études démographiques qui parlent de 65% comme taux d'éducation dans la région de Cap-Vert. Alors que ces chiffres montrent que 63,34% des jeunes, au niveau national, fréquentent les écoles du Coran, seulement 14,66% des jeunes inculpés en font partie; en ce qui concerne les écoles françaises, 36,65% des jeunes les fréquentent au niveau de la population générale et 85,33% des jeunes inculpés. Cela démontre une sur-représentation des jeunes fréquentant les écoles françaises parmi les délinquants.

45,76% vivent avec leurs parents contre 49,35% de vagabonds.

Les délits les plus fréquents sont le vagabondage (60%), le vol (27%), les menaces et voies de fait (7%), le trafic et la consommation de drogues (0,88%).

Il faut noter qu'un très fort pourcentage de jeunes inadaptés est issu de familles instables — victimes du phénomène de l'exode rural et qui ont eu du mal à s'adapter au rythme de vie urbain. A remarquer enfin que 90% de ces jeunes sont sans emploi bien qu'ayant fini l'école primaire.

Il existe un Bureau de la Santé et de l'amélioration de l'hygiène scolaire au Ministère de l'Education Nationale qui est responsable du contrôle des règles sanitaires dans les écoles et de l'organisation des visites médicales et des vaccinations antivarioliques. Chaque enfant doit être vacciné contre la variole pour pouvoir fréquenter l'école et les rappels de ce vaccin sont obligatoires. La médecine infantile est exercée à la Clinique Psychiatrique de Dakar/Fann, l'Hôpital Psychiatrique de Thiaroye et le Centre Psychiatrique pour Enfants de Kem Khaley.

e) Système d'éducation

En 1973, 40% environ de la population d'âge scolaire fréquentait l'école: environ 25% à l'école primaire et 13% à l'école secondaire. Les progrès dans l'enseignement étaient limités à cause de manque de professeurs qualifiés, notamment dans la formation professionnelle. En 1970, le taux d'alphabètes était évalué entre 5 et 10% pour la population âgée de plus de 14 ans, avec des taux plus bas dans les zones rurales.

La loi rendait obligatoire six ans d'école élémentaire mais cela n'était pas respecté. Durant l'année scolaire 1969-70, il y avait environ 258.000 élèves dans les écoles élémentaires publiques et privées. Bien que cela représente une augmentation d'environ 100.000 élèves sur les listes d'inscription par rapport au début des années soixante, cela est dû à l'augmentation de la population. Ainsi, le pourcentage de la population des écoles élémentaires est toujours resté légèrement au-dessus des 40%. Moins de 40% des élèves des écoles élémentaires étaient de sexe féminin.

En tout, on compte 1.312 écoles et 5.722 enseignants dans les écoles élémentaires.

Des informations plus récentes concernant la région de Dakar prouvent une nette augmentation des écoles et des élèves. Ainsi, au 31 octobre 1980, il y avait 251 écoles élémentaires à Dakar fréquentées par 145.459 élèves. Le nombre total d'enseignants s'élevait à 3.764. Cela nous donne une moyenne de 58 élèves par classe.

L'abandon des études, à tous les niveaux, atteignait 45%, avec un sommet de 65% vers 1965. Le choix du français comme langue d'enseignement semble avoir contribué au départ de quelques élèves n'ayant pas été préparés avant leur entrée à l'école élémentaire.

b) Description des zones: Plateau (Z1) et Pikine (Z2)

Dakar était la capitale administrative, économique et d'enseignement pour les colonies françaises de l'Afrique de l'Ouest. Ainsi, la ville a eu la possibilité de se développer.

La zone de Plateau (Z1) correspondait grossièrement au centre et était le noyau administratif et financier de Dakar; les bureaux gouvernementaux, les banques et le commerce y étaient concentrés. Cette partie de la ville est assez luxueuse: On y trouve des immeubles à plusieurs étages mais pas de grattes-ciel, ainsi que tous les grands hôtels.

C'est en fait un mélange de zone industrielle et d'affaires, avec la plupart des demeures situées à l'arrière-plan, bien desservies par des rues pavées et possédant tout le confort. En général, les habitants de cette zone font partie de la classe socio-économique élevée, les prix des propriétés étant très hauts dans cette partie de la ville. Néanmoins, quelques propriétaires traditionnels habitent encore là avec leur famille, bien que l'on trouve quelques bidonvilles dans la zone de Plateau. Les terrains de jeux sont rares.

Plateau est très vivant durant la journée, surtout pendant les heures de travail, mais relativement calme la nuit. Cette zone n'est pas aussi étendue que la partie confortable de Dakar qui est maintenant «Fann Residence», située au bord de la mer.

Pikine (Z2) (Xar Yalla et Guediawaye) commence dans les faubourgs de Dakar et encercle maintenant pratiquement la ville. Les habitants viennent des bidonvilles qui entourent Plateau et qui furent rénovés vers les années soixante.

Pikine n'est pas une zone bien organisée et l'on n'y trouve pas les mêmes commodités qu'au centre. Seules les artères principales sont pavées. C'est un mélange d'immeubles de différent standing, mais pour la plupart pauvres; les rues secondaires sont étroites et difficilement carrossables. Cette zone est surpeuplée et la majorité des habitants viennent de Dakar où ils n'ont pu trouver un emploi. Très vivant jour et nuit, le quartier n'est cependant pas bien famé de nuit.

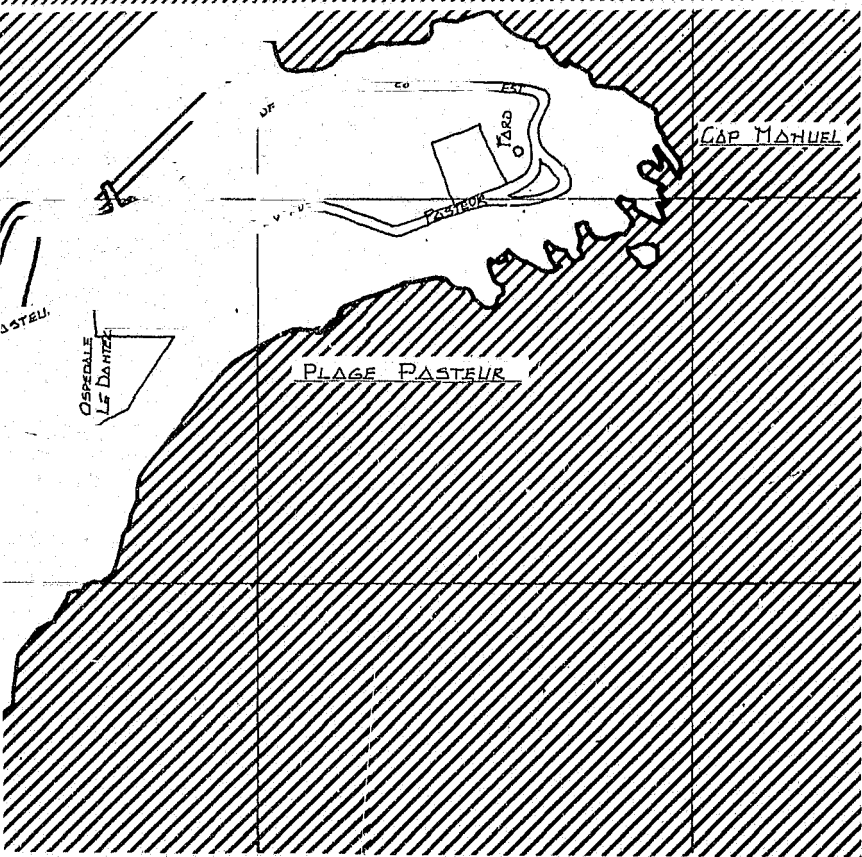
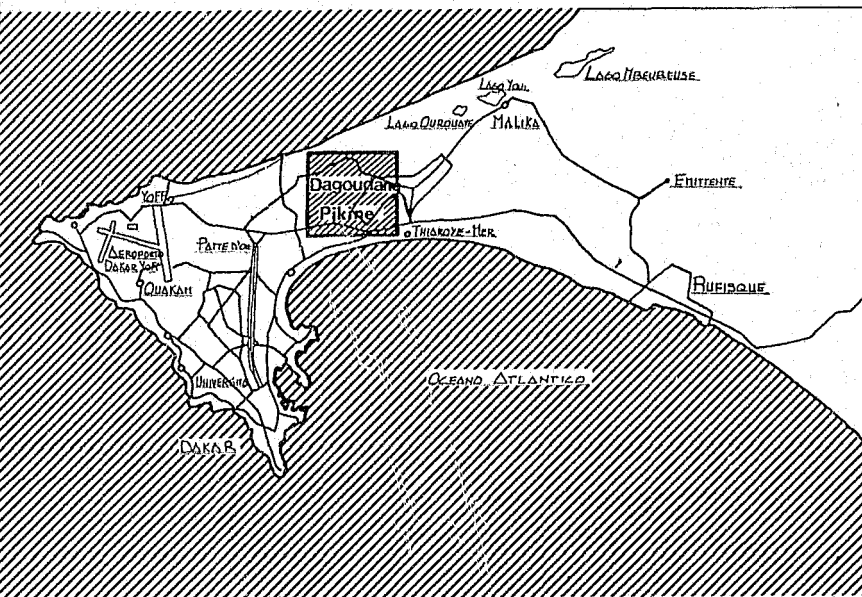
Un des traits frappants de Pikine est la croissance rapide de la population. Les statistiques montrent que plus de la moitié de la population de Dakar vit à Pikine.

c) Analyse des données

i) *L'étendue de l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes*

La première question de cette étude est: quelle est l'étendue de l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes dans les deux zones de Dakar d'où proviennent nos échantillons? Etant donné les insuffisances des statistiques criminelles officielles et vu notre désir de baser le projet sur les perceptions et les croyances de la communauté, tentons de répondre à cette question à partir des résultats des questionnaires.

Sur le tableau 1, les données reportées sont la réponse à la question très générale posée aux adultes faisant partie du public dans les deux zones: quel est le comportement des jeunes? Nous pouvons cons-



tater que plus de 70% du public dans les deux zones considèrent que le comportement des jeunes est problématique. Cela signifie que la majorité du public est concernée par la mauvaise conduite des jeunes dans chaque zone. Il ne semble qu'il y ait de différences significative entre la zone 1 et la zone 2 en ce qui concerne la perception de la délinquance juvénile par le public.

PUBLIC

TABLEAU 1
Que pensez-vous de la situation en ce qui concerne l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes?

	Zone 1	Zone 2	Total horizontal
Bonne	47	50	97
Mauvaise	140	143	283
Ne sait pas	14	8	22
Total vertical	201	201	402

Une question légèrement différente soumise aux professionnels travaillant dans les deux zones a donné des réponses semblables. Le tableau 2 montre que la majorité des professionnels travaillant avec des enfants dans les deux zones considère l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes comme un problème grave. Cependant, il semble qu'il y ait une légère différence entre les professionnels de la zone 1 et ceux de la zone 2: ainsi, la proportion des professionnels jugeant la situation de l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes sérieuse est un peu plus élevée dans la zone 1 (75,8% Z1; 61,5% Z2). Cela est contraire à notre hypothèse de base.

PROFESSIONNELS

TABLEAU 2
Que pensez-vous de la situation en ce qui concerne l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes?

	Zone 1	Zone 2	Total horizontal
Bonne	9 (13,6%)	16 (30,7%)	25
Mauvaise	50 (75,7%)	32 (61,5%)	82
Ne sait pas	7 (10,6%)	4 (7,6%)	11
Total vertical	66	52	118

Nous reparlerons de cette apparente contradiction plus loin.

Ces données font apparaître non seulement un problème grave, mais aussi un pronostic pessimiste. Sur les tableaux 3 et 4, on peut constater que la majorité du public dans les deux zones pense que les problèmes comportementaux des jeunes ont augmenté au cours des cinq dernières années et que cette croissance continuera. De ce point de vue, il n'y a pas de différence significative entre les deux zones. Comme le montrent les tableaux 5 et 6, les professionnels interviewés ont fourni une réponse semblable. La seule différence est que les professionnels de la zone 1 semblent être moins pessimistes que ceux de la zone 2, dans le sens où 77,3% des professionnels de la zone 1 pensent que l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes s'accroîtra au cours des années à venir, alors que le pourcentage des professionnels de la zone 2 est de 67,3%. Ici encore, nous obtenons un résultat apparemment contradictoire avec notre hypothèse de base.

PUBLIC

TABLEAU 3
L'inadaptation sociale des jeunes a-t-elle
augmenté par rapport à il y a 5 ans?

	Zone 1	Zone 2	Total horizontal
Oui	152	151	303
Non	25	29	54
Pareil	24	21	45
Total vertical	201	201	402

PUBLIC

TABLEAU 4
Quelle sera la tendance de l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes?

	Zone 1	Zone 2	Total horizontal
Baissera	55	44	99
Demeurera constante	17	21	38
Augmentera	129	136	265
Total vertical	201	201	402

PROFESSIONNELS

TABLEAU 5
Quelle est la tendance de l'inadaptation sociale
des jeunes par rapport à il y a 5 ans?

	Zone 1	Zone 2	Total horizontal
A augmenté	49 (66,6%)	43 (82,6%)	92
Est la même	6 (9,0%)	5 (9,6%)	11
A baissé	11 (16,6%)	4 (7,6%)	15
Total vertical	66	52	118

PROFESSIONNELS

TABLEAU 6
Quelle sera la tendance de l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes?

	Zone 1	Zone 2	Total horizontal
Baissera	12 (18,1%)	8 (15,3%)	20
Demeurera constante	3 (4,5%)	9 (17,3%)	12
Augmentera	51 (77,2%)	35 (67,3%)	86
Total vertical	66	52	118

Toutes les données sus-mentionnées indiquent que les personnes les plus concernées par les jeunes dans les zones de Plateau et de Pikine éprouvent une grande inquiétude au sujet du niveau de l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes ainsi que pour les perspectives futures. Public et professionnels ont la même opinion en la matière. Cependant, on a vu que les professionnels de Z1 sont légèrement plus pessimistes que ceux de Z2. Par conséquent, nous pouvons supposer que Plateau a un problème d'inadaptation sociale des jeunes plus grave que Pikine.

Maintenant, il serait utile d'étudier plus en détail les raisons de ce pessimisme d'une part, de même qu'il serait bon d'obtenir des réponses plus précises aux questions spécifiques concernant l'attitude des deux populations. Heureusement nous possédons des données nous permettant de réaliser ces exigences.

En ce qui concerne les raisons permettant de prédire un accrois-

ement des problèmes d'inadaptation juvénile, des réponses très semblables ont été fournies tant par le public de Z1 et de Z2 que par les professionnels (voir tableaux 4 et 6).

Sur les tableaux 7 et 8, les raisons avancées étaient, dans l'ordre, les suivantes:

1. manque de contrôle
2. mauvaises conditions familiales
3. mauvaises fréquentations
4. manque d'éducation.

PUBLIC

TABLEAU 7
Si le niveau d'inadaptation sociale a augmenté,
quelles en sont les raisons? (Donnez trois
réponses par ordre de priorité

Rang	Z1 + Z2		Z1		Z2	
	pourcentage	nombre	pourcentage	nombre	pourcentage	nombre
1°	22,1%	0	26,1%	0	21,4%	1
2°	20,2%	1	19,0%	1	18,9%	6
3°	16,6%	6	15,2%	2	18,1%	0
4°	14,9%	2	14,3%	6	14,6%	2
5°	12,9%	3	12,9%	3	12,9%	3
6°	9,1%	5	8,5%	5	9,7%	5
7°	4,2%	4	3,8%	4	4,6%	4

Raisons:

1. manque de contrôle
2. influence de mauvaises fréquentations
3. manque de scolarité
4. indifférence des voisins
5. influence des «média»
6. mauvaises conditions de famille
7. n'ont pas fourni de réponse ou considèrent que l'inadaptation sociale n'a pas augmenté

PROFESSIONNELS

TABLEAU 8
Si le niveau d'inadaptation sociale des jeunes
a augmenté, quelles en sont les raisons?
(Donnez trois réponses par ordre de priorité)

Rang	Z1 + Z2		Z1		Z2	
1°	22,9%	0	23,7%	0	21,8%	0
2°	17,6%	6	16,7%	1	19,2%	6
3°	17,2%	1	16,4%	2	17,9%	1
4°	14,8%	2	15,6%	6	14,4%	3
5°	14,0%	5	14,9%	5	12,8%	2
6°	11,6%	3	9,3%	3	12,8%	5
7°	1,8%	4	2,5%	4	0,9%	4

Raisons:

1. manque de contrôle
2. influence de mauvaises fréquentations
3. manque de scolarité
4. indifférence des voisins
5. influence des «média»
6. mauvaises conditions de famille
7. n'ont pas fourni de réponse ou ne pensent pas que l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes ait augmenté

PUBLIC

TABLEAU 9
Y-a-t-il des groupes de jeunes socialement
inadaptés dans la zone de...?

	Zone 1	Zone 2	Total horizontal
Oui	153	157	310
Non	25	19	44
Ne sait pas	23	25	48
Total vertical	201	201	402

PROFESSIONNELS

TABLEAU 10
Y-a-t-il des groupes de jeunes socialement
inadaptés dans la zone de...?

	Zone 1	Zone 2	Total horizontal
Oui	52 (78,7%)	44 (84,6%)	96
Non	5 (7,5%)	4 (7,6%)	9
Ne sait pas	9 (13,6%)	4 (7,6%)	13
Total vertical	66	52	118

Une autre demande fut faite au public et aux professionnels de façon à comparer la gravité des problèmes de comportement parmi les jeunes d'une part, et parmi les adultes d'autre part. Comme nous l'indique le tableau 11, plus de 75% du public pense que l'inadaptation des jeunes est un problème plus grave que celle des adultes. Parmi le public de Z1, on constate une légère tendance à considérer le problème de l'inadaptation juvénile plus grave que celui de Z2; mais cette différence n'est pas significative.

PUBLIC

TABLEAU 11
Pensez-vous que l'inadaptation sociale se rencontre plus:

	Zone 1	Zone 2	Total horizontal
Chez les adultes	25	39	64
Chez les jeunes	168	158	326
Ne sait pas	8	4	12
Total vertical	201	201	402

Le tableau 12 nous montre que plus de 80% des professionnels des deux zones pense que les jeunes posent de plus graves problèmes que les adultes. Il n'y a pas de différence notable entre les professionnels de Z1 et ceux de Z2. Ainsi, on a vu que la majorité des personnes interviewées, tant parmi le public que parmi les professionnels, croient que les problèmes comportementaux sont plus graves chez les jeunes que chez les adultes. On a aussi trouvé une légère tendance à dire que

les problèmes de comportement des jeunes sont plus sérieux dans Z1, cela selon l'opinion du public. A ce sujet, on peut probablement considérer que la perception du public est plus importante, puisque c'est le public et non les professionnels qui vit quotidiennement les conséquences de l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes dans la communauté.

PROFESSIONNELS

TABEAU 12
Pensez-vous que l'inadaptation sociale se rencontre plus:

	Zone 1	Zone 2	Total horizontal
Chez les adultes	6 (9,1%)	8 (15,3%)	14
Chez les jeunes	59 (89,3%)	43 (82,6%)	102
Ne sait pas	1 (0,15%)	1 (0,19%)	2
Total vertical	66	52	118

Enfin, une question supplémentaire a été adressée aux interviewés afin de savoir comment étaient les jeunes de chaque zone. Le tableau 13 montre qu'apparemment, selon l'opinion du public, les jeunes sont plus dangereux dans la zone 1. Le tableau 14 indique aussi que, selon l'opinion des professionnels les jeunes de Z1 semblent plus dangereux que ceux de Z2. En plus, il est surprenant de constater que plus de 70% du public et des professionnels considère les jeunes «dangereux» ou «gênants»; tandis que seulement 8% du public et 3% des professionnels les juge «inoffensifs». De toute façon, il résulte de ces données que la situation de l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes à Dakar est un problème très sérieux.

PUBLIC

TABEAU 13
Comment sont les groupes de jeunes socialement inadaptés?

	Zone 1	Zone 2	Total horizontal
Pas dangereux	12	23	35
Gênants	71	76	147
Dangereux	69	58	127
Ne sait pas	49	44	93
Total vertical	201	201	402

PROFESSIONNELS

TABLEAU 14
Comment sont les groupes des jeunes socialement inadaptés?

	Zone 1	Zone 2	Total horizontal
Dangereux	26 (39,3%)	11 (21,1%)	37
Gênants	23 (34,8%)	32 (61,5%)	55
Pas dangereux	3 (4,5%)	1 (0,19%)	4
Ne sait pas	14 (24,2%)	8 (15,3%)	22
Total vertical	66	52	118

Il est intéressant de noter une similarité frappante dans les raisons avancées comme cause de l'augmentation de l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes. Nous pouvons voir qu'il existe une conviction commune très profonde selon laquelle la principale cause de l'inadaptation juvénile serait l'absence ou la défaillance des principales institutions de socialisation comme la famille, les groupes d'amis et l'école. Cependant, une analyse plus approfondie des données est nécessaire avant d'aboutir à des conclusions sûres.

Tout d'abord, il nous faut savoir davantage sur la perception et la compréhension de la phénoménologie de l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes par le public des deux zones; il serait utile de posséder des données supplémentaires sur les forces sociales et culturelles opérant au niveau communautaire. Ensuite, il faudrait examiner les rapports des jeunes avec les principales influences de socialisation: leur famille, leurs voisins, leurs amis et les institutions formelles de contrôle social comme la police et les tribunaux. Heureusement, nous avons des données nous permettant de répondre à ces questions.

En ce qui concerne le contenu des opinions relatives à l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes, quelques questions plus spécifiques et plus concrètes ont été faites. Le tableau 9 nous montre que 75% du public des deux zones est prêt à dire que les jeunes ayant des problèmes de comportement vivent dans leur communauté. Il n'y a pas de différence notable entre Z1 et Z2. Le tableau 10 montre que la grande majorité pense qu'il y a des groupes de jeunes socialement inadaptés dans leur zone. Là encore, on ne note pas de différence significative entre les deux zones.

Dans cette section, nous avons essayé de mesurer l'étendue de l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes à Plateau (Z1), zone à urbanisation non rapide, et à Pikine (Z2), zone à urbanisation rapide. Il semble que le public et les professionnels, dans les deux zones, se sentent profondément concernés par l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes. Les différences entre les deux zones sont assez légères. Cependant, nous avons obtenu quelques données indiquant que l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes a tendance à être plus grave dans Z1.

ii) Relations familiales

Dans la section précédente, nous avons présenté des données qui, dans l'ensemble, ont tendance à montrer que les deux zones de Plateau et de Pikine ont de graves problèmes de comportement parmi les jeunes; il semble cependant que Plateau ait des problèmes plus sérieux d'inadaptation sociale des jeunes.

Nous allons maintenant tenter d'examiner les raisons possibles d'inadaptation sociale des jeunes dans les deux zones. Il serait particulièrement intéressant d'étudier le degré de stabilité sociale et l'influence des institutions principales des normes culturelles: la famille, les organisations religieuses, l'école, le travail et la communauté...

Dans cette section, nous voudrions centrer le problème sur les relations des jeunes avec leur famille. Le tableau 15 nous montre que plus de 30% du public dans les deux zones pense que les jeunes ne respectent pas leurs parents ou leur tuteur. La proportion de résidents pensant que les jeunes respectent leurs parents est légèrement plus basse dans Z1 (58% contre 63%).

PUBLIC

TABLEAU 15
Les jeunes gens respectent-ils en général
leurs parents ou tuteurs?

	Zone 1	Zone 2	Total horizontal
Oui	116	126	242
Non	74	65	139
Ne sait pas	11	10	21
Total vertical	201	201	402

Les résultats sont contraires à notre hypothèse de base selon lesquelles l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes serait liée à l'urbanisation rapide. On peut proposer deux explications à cette contradiction. Premièrement, nos résultats peuvent indiquer que notre hypothèse de base n'est pas confirmable ici : c'est-à-dire qu'il n'y a pas de corrélation directe entre l'étendue de l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes et la rapidité de l'urbanisation elle-même. Deuxièmement, Plateau (Z1) peut avoir subi quelques-unes des conséquences négatives de l'urbanisation, bien que son urbanisation ne soit pas rapide; et ces effets négatifs peuvent être les causes réelles des problèmes de comportement chez les jeunes.

Selon les chercheurs locaux, Plateau est une zone où l'on trouve un mélange d'administration et d'affaires, et où un grand nombre de personnes vivent dans des rues tranquilles, avec plusieurs zones de jeux pour les jeunes. La zone est située au centre de la ville où sont concentrés l'administration gouvernementale, les banques et les commerces. Son urbanisation est plus ancienne que celle de Pikine et fut profondément influencée par la culture française. Cette influence peut avoir affecté les habitants, en affaiblissant leurs valeurs traditionnelles comme la famille et les communautés. Par ailleurs, le caractère anonyme de l'existence, surtout durant les heures de travail, peut provoquer un comportement antisocial chez les jeunes.

En outre, le tableau 16 nous montre que la majorité du public dans les deux zones pense que les parents surveillent mal leurs enfant, ou alors cette majorité ne se prononce pas sur la question. Pas même la moitié du public des deux zones est prêt à affirmer que les parents surveillent bien leurs enfants. Il semble encore que la proportion de personnes donnant un jugement positif est plus bas dans Z1 (40% contre 49%).

En nous basant sur les résultats précédents, nous pouvons affirmer que les relations parents-enfant ou les relations familiales en général ne sont pas bonnes, ni dans Z1 ni dans Z2.

PUBLIC

TABLEAU 16
Comment les parents s'occupent-ils en général de leurs enfants?

	Zone 1	Zone 2	Total horizontal
Bien	80	98	178
Mal	95	88	183
Ne sait pas	26	15	41
Total vertical	201	201	402

Les sociologues pensent que la pathologie sociale qui s'exprime par des inconduites des jeunes trouve son origine dans la famille. Les familles où il n'y a ni amour, ni attention ni soin sont aptes à produire des comportements antisociaux chez les jeunes. Par conséquent, si l'impression du public interrogé est exacte (et il n'y a aucune raison pour qu'il n'en soit pas ainsi), nous ne devons pas être étonnés d'apprendre que Plateau et Pikine se ressentent de graves problèmes d'inadaptation sociale des jeunes.

Les relations parents-enfants sont légèrement meilleures à Pikine (Z2) en dépit de ses changements rapides; cela est probablement dû au fait que les habitants de Pikine, dont la plupart viennent des zones rurales, ont encore un système traditionnel stable liant plus fortement parents et enfants. Il semble que le style de vie quotidienne à Pikine soit relativement plus conservateur bien que la croissance de la population soit plus rapide.

Le tableau 17 nous montre qu'une grande proportion du public dans Z2 pense que les jeunes filles participent aux travaux ménagers. Ce résultat semble être en contradiction avec les résultats mentionnés précédemment.

PUBLIC

TABLEAU 17
Les jeunes filles aident-elles en général leur famille?

	Zone 1	Zone 2	Total horizontal
Oui	153	132	285
Non	34	55	89
Ne sait pas	14	14	28
Total vertical	201	201	402

Cela pourrait ne pas signifier que les parents et enfants de sexe féminin de Z2 ont des contacts moins fréquents entre eux; cela signifierait plutôt que les habitants de Z2 placent leur niveau d'attente plus haut que ceux de Z1. En d'autres termes, les habitants de Z2 sont relativement plus conservateurs et s'attendent à ce que leurs filles les aident plus dans les travaux de la maison que ceux de la zone 1. La différence du niveau d'attente pourrait être la cause de la différence apparente entre les zones.

PUBLIC

TABLEAU 18
Les jeunes gens aident-ils en général leur famille?

	Zone 1	Zone 2	Total horizontal
Oui	118	112	230
Non	60	71	131
Ne sait pas	23	18	41
Total vertical	201	201	402

PUBLIC

TABLEAU 19
Avec qui travaillent les jeunes en général?

	Zone 1	Zone 2	Total horizontal
Avec leur parents	27	18	45
D'autres personnes	10	15	25
Seuls	20	10	30
Ne sait pas	144	158	302
Total vertical	201	201	402

Nous pouvons maintenant reprendre l'analyse des relations familiales sous un autre angle, c'est-à-dire du point de vue des jeunes.

Comme nous le montrent les tableaux 20 et 21 (*), la famille est le principal refuge pour les jeunes des deux zones. Le tableau 20 montre que la grande majorité des jeunes croit que la famille peut les aider à résoudre leurs problèmes personnels. En outre, le tableau 21 prouve que presque tous les jeunes des deux zones sont prêts à retourner chez leurs parents quand ils ont des problèmes. Quelques jeunes seulement

pensent que l'école est plus apte à les aider, alors que certains autres s'adresseraient aux travailleurs sociaux.

JEUNES

TABLEAU 20
Pensez-vous que la famille contribue réellement
à résoudre les problèmes personnels de leurs enfants?

	Zone 1	Zone 2	Total horizontal
Oui	22 (73,8%)	135 (80,3%)	157
Non	5 (16,6%)	28 (16,6%)	33
Pas de réponse	3 (10,0%)	5 (0,25%)	8
Total vertical	30	168	198

(*) Seulement 30 jeunes furent interviewés à Plateau. Les chercheurs locaux justifient les dimensions de l'échantillon par les «facteurs de représentativité» de l'univers de la zone en question.

JEUNES

TABLEAU 21
Quand vous avez des problèmes, à qui demandez-vous de l'aide?

	Zone 1	Zone 2	Total horizontal
Parents	29 (96,6%)	139 (82,7%)	168
Frère/sœur	0 (0%)	6 (0,35%)	6
Famille	0 (0%)	1 (0,05%)	1
Instituteur	0 (0%)	3 (0,17%)	3
Amis	1 (0,05%)	14 (0,8%)	15
Travailleurs sociaux ou autres fonctionnaires	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0
Autre	0 (0%)	5 (0,29%)	5
Total vertical	30	168	198

Au vu des éléments précédents, on peut affirmer que, bien que les relations parents-enfants soient insuffisantes du point de vue des adultes de la communauté, la famille reste une institution sociale fondamentale à laquelle les enfants peuvent s'adresser et où ils peuvent trouver refuge quand ils ont des problèmes. Il ne semble pas y avoir de différences entre Z1 et Z2 en ce qui concerne la perception de la famille par les jeunes.

En résumé, l'importance de la famille par rapport aux autres formes de contrôle social est démontrée clairement par nos données. Du point de vue des jeunes, la famille est considérée comme l'institution la plus capable de leur apporter une aide. Il semble aussi, contrairement à nos attentes, que les relations parents-enfants sont relativement plus fortes dans la zone de Pikine (Z2), celle à urbanisation rapide.

JEUNES

TABLEAU 22
Supposons que vous commettiez un acte illégal,
qui désirez-vous voir chargé de votre cas?

	Zone 1	Zone 2	Total horizontal
La famille	20 (66,6%)	112 (66,6%)	132
Les voisins	7 (23,3%)	21 (12,5%)	28
Les instituteurs	2 (6,6%)	11 (6,5%)	13
Travailleurs sociaux	0 (0%)	2 (0,19%)	2
Fonctionnaires de la police	0 (0%)	15 (8,9%)	15
Autre	1 (3,3%)	4 (2,3%)	5
Ne sait pas	0 (0,3%)	3 (1,7%)	3
Total vertical	30	168	198

iii) Les relations en dehors de la famille

En dehors des interactions familiales, les jeunes sont socialisés à travers les contacts avec d'autres adultes et jeunes aussi bien à l'extérieur qu'à l'intérieur des structures formelles. A l'occasion du travail

et de contacts avec d'autres personnes, les jeunes sont socialisés. C'est un important mécanisme de socialisation dans la mesure où il place les jeunes en présence d'adultes et représente donc une transition entre l'école et la vie d'adulte.

Le tableau 23 nous montre les conditions de travail des jeunes à Plateau et Pikine. Il semble que quelques jeunes (13% dans Z1 et 24% dans Z2) travaillent, soit à plein temps, soit à mi-temps, soit par intermittence. La proportion de jeunes travailleurs est légèrement plus élevée dans Z2; cela est probablement dû au bas niveau économique des habitants. De toute façon, il semble que la majorité des jeunes n'aient pas une occupation rémunérée.

JEUNES

TABLEAU 23

Travaillez-vous: à plein temps, à mi-temps, de temps à autre?

	Zone 1	Zone 2	Total horizontal
A plein temps	0	8	8
A mi-temps	3	22	25
De temps à autre	1 (13,3%)	10 (23,8%)	11
Ne concerne pas	26 (86,6%)	128 (72,2%)	154
Total vertical	30	168	198

Le tableau 24 décrit la manière dont les jeunes emploient leur temps libre et montre que la majorité d'entre eux, dans Z1, le passe avec des amis, alors que ceux de Z2 ont des activités culturelles. Il semble que les jeunes de Plateau (Z1) aient une utilisation plus passive que ceux de Pikine (Z2).

JEUNES

TABLEAU 24
Que faites-vous en général pendant votre temps libre?

	Zone 1	Zone 2	Total horizontal
Du sport	9 (30,0%)	49 (29,1%)	58
Activités culturelles	0 (0%)	36 (21,4%)	36
Activités musicales	2 (6,0%)	9 (5,35%)	11
Regarde la télévision	0 (0%)	5 (2,9%)	5
Retrouve des amis	16 (63%)	37 (22,02%)	53
Lit	2 (6,6%)	18 (10,7%)	20
Déambule sans but	0 (0%)	3 (0,17%)	3
Demeure oisif	0 (0%)	5 (2,9%)	5
Autre	1 (3,3%)	6 (3,57%)	7
Total vertical	30	168	198

Le tableau 25 ci-dessous montre que la majorité des jeunes des deux zones passe leur temps libre à étudier. On ne note pas de différence significative entre les deux zones. Cependant, il est intéressant de voir que plus d'un quart des jeunes de Z1 déclarent utiliser leur temps libre «en étudiant et en travaillant», tandis que plus d'un tiers des jeunes de Z2 «travaillent» ou «étudient et travaillent en même temps».

JEUNES

TABLEAU 25
Quelle est votre activité?

	Zone 1	Zone 2	Total horizontal
Etudier	19 (63,3%)	90 (53,5%)	109
Travailler	3 (10,0%)	56 (33,3%)	59
Etudier et travailler	0 (0%)	5 (0,2%)	5
Aucune	8 (26,7%)	17 (10,1%)	25
Total vertical	30	168	198

Dans l'ensemble, il semble que les jeunes de Z1 ont un «emploi du temps» moins chargé, et donc ont plus de temps libre que ceux de Z2.

En d'autres termes, les jeunes de Z2 utilisent leur temps libre de façon plus constructive. Par conséquent, on pourrait dire que le mode d'utilisation du temps libre représente une des variables de l'étendue de l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes. De nouveau, nous pouvons constater que l'urbanisation rapide et l'étendue de l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes ne sont pas directement ni nécessairement liées.

L'école est un élément important de la socialisation. Pour plus de la moitié des jeunes de notre échantillon, l'école est la principale activité «non-familiale». Comme nous le montre le tableau 26, il n'y a pas de différence significative entre les deux zones en ce qui concerne le niveau d'éducation.

JEUNES

TABLEAU 26
Pendant combien d'années avez-vous été à l'école?

	Zone 1	Zone 2	Total horizontal
4 ans ou moins	1 (3,3%)	8 (4,7%)	9
5 à 8	13 (43,3%)	51 (30,3%)	64
Plus de 8 ans	12 (40,0%)	61 (36,3%)	73
Pas de réponse	4	48	52
Total vertical	30	168	198

Le tableau 27 montre que les pourcentages concernant le manque d'assiduité et l'expulsion de l'école sont les mêmes dans les deux zones. La majorité des jeunes des deux zones fréquente l'école pendant huit ans ou plus. Il n'y a pas de différence notable entre Z1 et Z2 du point de vue des relations école-jeunes: elles sont assez stables dans les deux zones.

JEUNES

TABLEAU 27
Si vous n'avez pas fini l'école, quelles en ont été les raisons?

	Zone 1	Zone 2	Total horizontal
Je devais soutenir financièrement ma famille	0 (0%)	8 (4,7%)	8
J'avais des difficultés à étudier	7 (23,3%)	32 (19,0%)	39
Ma famille ne s'intéressait pas à mes études	2 (6,6%)	7 (4,1%)	9
J'avais des problèmes avec mes professeurs et/ou camarades	0 (0%)	8 (4,7%)	8
N'est pas concerné	21 (70,0%)	113 (67,2%)	134
Total vertical	30	168	198

PUBLIC

TABLEAU 28
Les jeunes participent-ils aux activités religieuses?

	Zone 1	Zone 2	Total horizontal
Activement	76	55	131
Passivement	84	101	185
Ne participent pas	41	45	86
Total vertical	201	201	402

A part l'école, d'autres organisations peuvent avoir une influence sur les jeunes. Les organisations religieuses en font partie et il semble qu'elles soient importantes, au moins dans une certaine mesure. Comme nous pouvons le voir sur le tableau 28, et selon l'opinion du public, la majorité des jeunes des deux zones participent aux activités religieuses.

Le tableau 29 montre que la majorité des jeunes dans chaque zone sont prêts à dire que les organisations religieuses jouent un rôle effectif pour les aider à résoudre leurs problèmes personnels. En accord avec ces données, les organisations religieuses semblent avoir des rapports très étroits avec les jeunes et cela tant à Pikine qu'à Plateau.

JEUNES

TABLEAU 29
Pensez-vous que les organisations religieuses aident vraiment à résoudre les problèmes personnels des jeunes?

	Zone 1	Zone 2	Total horizontal
Oui	19 (63,3%)	90 (53,5%)	109
Non	4 (13,3%)	55 (32,7%)	59
Ne sait pas	7 (23,3%)	23 (13,9%)	30
Total vertical	30	168	198

iv) Relations avec les amis et avec les adultes

Comme nous le montre le tableau 30 ci-dessous, la majorité des jeunes interviewés dans les deux zones participent à des groupes d'activités.

Nous pouvons constater que la proportion de jeunes participant à des groupes d'activités est plus forte dans Z¹ que dans Z²: 83,3% contre 66,1%.

JEUNES

TABLEAU 30
Participez-vous à des activités organisées de groupe?

	Zone 1	Zone 2	Total horizontal
Oui	25 (83,3%)	111 (66,1%)	136
Non	3 (10,0%)	47 (27,9%)	50
Pas de réponse	2 (6,6%)	10 (5,9%)	12
Total vertical	30	168	198

Les tableaux 31 et 32 montrent que la majorité du public pense que les jeunes des deux zones, garçons ou filles, passent leur temps libre sans la compagnie des adultes, mais la plupart du temps avec des groupes d'amis.

PUBLIC

TABLEAU 31
Comment les jeunes gens dans la zone de... passent-ils en général leur temps libre?

	Zone 1	Zone 2	Total horizontal
Mêlés aux adultes	34	31	65
Séparés des adultes	166	166	332
Ne sait pas	1	4	5
Total vertical	201	201	402

PUBLIC

TABLEAU 32
Comment les jeunes filles dans la zone de... passent-elles
en general leur temps libre?

	Zone 1	Zone 2	Total horizontal
Mêlées aux adultes	62	66	128
Séparées des adultes	134	131	265
Ne sait pas	5	4	9
Total vertical	201	201	402

Le tableau 33 met en évidence que les jeunes garçons des deux zones passent leur temps libre non seulement avec des groupes d'amis de même sexe, mais aussi avec des groupes mixtes. Les jeunes filles sont dans le même cas, comme nous le montre le tableau 34. Dans l'ensemble, il ne semble pas qu'il y ait de différence significative entre les deux zones ou entre les filles et les garçons du point de vue des relations avec les amis.

PUBLIC

TABLEAU 33
Avec qui les jeunes gens passent-ils en general,
leur temps libre?

	Zone 1	Zone 2	Total horizontal
En groupe - seulement de jeunes gens	84	95	179
Jeunes gens et jeunes filles mélangés	108	95	203
Seuls	8	11	19
Ne sait pas	1	0	1
Total vertical	201	201	402

PUBLIC

TABLEAU 34
Avec qui les jeunes filles passent-elles en général leur temps libre?

	Zone 1	Zone 2	Total horizontal
En groupe - seulement de jeunes filles	83	84	167
Jeunes gens et jeunes filles mélangés	105	100	205
Seules	10	11	21
Ne sait pas	3	6	9
Total vertical	201	201	402

v) Relations avec les institutions

Dans cette section, nous étudierons les relations des jeunes et des institutions.

On a demandé aux jeunes si certaines des institutions les aidaient à résoudre leurs problèmes. Les tableaux 35 à 39 rendent compte des résultats pour les organisations religieuses, l'école, les institutions d'assistance sociale, les tribunaux et les maisons de correction.

Dans l'ensemble, les résultats sont les suivants: les maisons de correction sont considérées par les jeunes comme les institutions les plus utiles, suivies par les organisations religieuses et l'école. Cependant, il est surprenant de voir que moins de la moitié des jeunes pensent que les institutions d'assistance sociale et les tribunaux peuvent les aider. Exception faite des maisons de correction, les institutions étatiques sont généralement mises en dernière place.

JEUNES

TABLEAU 35
Pensez-vous que les organisations religieuses aident vraiment à résoudre les problèmes personnels des jeunes?

	Zone 1	Zone 2	Total horizontal
Oui	19 (63,3%)	90 (53,6%)	109
Non	4 (13,3%)	55 (32,7%)	59
Ne sait pas	7 (23,3%)	23 (13,6%)	30
Total vertical	30	168	198

JEUNES

TABLEAU 36
Pensez-vous que les organisations d'assistance sociale aident vraiment à résoudre les problèmes personnels des jeunes?

	Zone 1	Zone 2	Total horizontal
Oui	10 (33,3%)	93 (55,3%)	103
Non	10 (33,3%)	52 (30,9%)	62
Ne sait pas	10 (33,3%)	23 (13,6%)	33
Total vertical	30	168	198

JEUNES

TABLEAU 37
Pensez-vous que l'école aide vraiment à résoudre les problèmes personnels des jeunes?

	Zone 1	Zone 2	Total horizontal
Oui	20 (66,6%)	93 (55,3%)	113
Non	4 (13,3%)	51 (30,3%)	55
Ne sait pas	6 (20,0%)	24 (14,2%)	30
Total vertical	30	168	198

JEUNES

TABLEAU 38
Pensez-vous que les tribunaux aident vraiment à résoudre les problèmes personnels des jeunes?

	Zone 1	Zone 2	Total horizontal
Oui	11 (36,6%)	69 (41,0%)	80
Non	11 (36,6%)	67 (39,8%)	78
Ne sait pas	8 (26,6%)	29 (17,2%)	37
Total vertical	30	168	198

JEUNES

TABLEAU 39
Pensez-vous que les institutions habilitées pour
les jeunes aident vraiment à résoudre les problèmes
personnels des jeunes?

	Zone 1	Zone 2	Total horizontal
Oui	20 (66,6%)	113 (67,2%)	133
Non	6 (20,0%)	41 (24,4%)	45
Ne sait pas	4 (13,3%)	14 (8,3%)	18
Total vertical	30	168	198

Il semble qu'il y ait un grand fossé entre les jeunes et les institutions mises en place pour eux. Cela devrait donner à penser aux autorités sur la conduite à tenir pour combler ce vide. On a aussi observé que les jeunes de Pikine (Z2) ont tendance à évaluer de façon plus positive la performance des institutions gouvernementales que ceux de Plateau (Z1). Cela signifie probablement que les jeunes de Pikine ont davantage de confiance et de respect pour les autorités.

En ce qui concerne la police, il n'y a pas de différence significative entre les deux zones. Comme nous le montre le tableau 40, la majorité des jeunes des deux zones trouve que la police les traite sévèrement. Cela peut indiquer que la plupart des jeunes ne sont pas très familiers de cette institution et la considère donc comme une institution qu'il faut craindre.

De toute manière, il semble que la police ne joue pas de rôle actif pour les jeunes au-delà de l'application de la loi.

En résumé, les relations ne sont pas toujours étroites ou harmonieuses, mais il semble qu'il y ait un fossé profond entre les jeunes et les institutions.

JEUNES

TABLEAU 40
Comment la police traite-t-elle les jeunes?

	Zone 1	Zone 2	Total horizontal
Avec tolérance	4 (13,3%)	28 (16,6%)	32
Avec douceur	8 (26,6%)	24 (14,2%)	32
Sévèrement	18 (60,0%)	116 (69,0%)	134
Total vertical	30	168	198

vi) Recommandations des professionnels et du public sur la politique à suivre

Dans cette section, nous étudierons la confiance du public dans les institutions et l'opinion des professionnels sur l'efficacité de leurs propres institutions.

On a demandé aux adultes faisant partie du public quelle serait leur réaction s'ils étaient victimes d'un acte d'inadaptation sociale commis par un jeune. Le tableau 41 nous montre que la majorité d'entre eux, dans les deux zones, appelleraient la police et que moins de 20% ne réagiraient pas.

Plus angoissant est le fait qu'une grande partie d'habitants des deux zones ont avoué qu'ils feraient justice eux-mêmes. Nous pouvons voir dans ces résultats la situation désespérée dans laquelle de nombreuses personnes interviewées pensent être. En fait, nombre d'entre elles croient très peu aux réactions non-punitives à l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes et sont obligés de compter sur la police.

PUBLIC

TABLEAU 41
Si vous étiez victime d'un acte dû à l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes, quelle serait votre première réaction?

	Zone 1	Zone 2	Total horizontal
Faire appel à la police	112	135	247
Ne pas réagir	39	32	71
Faire justice vous-même	50	34	84
Total vertical	201	201	402

Le tableau 41 nous montre aussi qu'une très grande proportion d'habitants de Z1 pensent qu'ils feraient justice eux-mêmes. Cela peut signifier que les habitants de cette zone ont moins de respect et de confiance dans la justice que ceux de Z2. Comme nous l'avons dit précédemment, une grande partie du public interviewé a peu confiance dans les réactions non-punitives à l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes. Cela est renforcé par les données présentées au tableau 42, desquelles il ressort que la majorité des habitants des deux zones désire une réaction plus sévère aux problèmes de conduite des jeunes. Dans ce contexte, les «réactions sévères» ne doivent pas nécessairement signifier un manque d'amour et de soin pour les délinquants.

PUBLIC

TABLEAU 42
Pensez-vous que l'attitude de la société
vis-à-vis de l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes devrait être:

Zone	Zone 1	Zone 2	Total horizontal
Plus tolérante	51	42	93
Plus répressive	136	148	284
Comme elle est à présent	14	11	25
Total vertical	201	201	402

Le rôle de la communauté et de la famille sera analysé dans la section suivante.

Le tableau 43 indique que, selon l'opinion des professionnels, la communauté joue un rôle considérablement plus efficace pour la prévention de l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes qu'il y a cinq ans; et cela est encore plus évident à Pikine, la zone à urbanisation rapide.

PROFESSIONNELS

TABLEAU 43
Pensez-vous que la famille et la communauté jouent un rôle
efficace dans la prévention et le contrôle de l'inadaptation
sociale des jeunes? (Réponses affirmatives)

	Z1 + Z2	Z1	Z2
Famille aujourd'hui	31,4%	39,4%	21,2%
Famille il y a cinq ans	29,7%	37,9%	19,2%
Communauté aujourd'hui	50,8%	53,0%	48,1%
Communauté il y a cinq ans	39,0%	45,5%	30,8%

Néanmoins, il faut noter que les conditions actuelles sont loin d'être idéales, et cela dans les deux zones. Nous pouvons voir sur le tableau 43 que seulement la moitié des professionnels pensent que la communauté actuelle joue un rôle plus efficace qu'il y a cinq ans.

Le tableau 44 montre que, selon l'opinion du public, la famille est devenue au cours des cinq dernières années une institution plus faible. La majorité des personnes interviewées parmi le public dans les deux zones ne pense pas que la famille actuelle joue un rôle effectif dans la prévention de l'inadaptation sociale.

PUBLIC

TABLEAU 44
Quel serait, à votre avis, le remède le plus efficace
pour prévenir ou réduire l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes?

	Zone 1	Zone 2	Total horizontal
Rendre le système de justice civile plus efficace	5	5	10
Renforcer le système de justice civile	17	8	25
Rendre le système de justice pénale plus efficace	4	5	9
Rendre l'assistance sociale plus efficace	25	35	60
Rendre le système scolaire plus efficace	37	38	75
Augmenter les possibilités de travail	103	104	207
Introduire des peines plus sévères	10	6	16
Total vertical	201	201	402

La question suivante a ensuite été posée au public: «Quel est, selon vous, le meilleur moyen pour réduire l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes?»

Le tableau 45 nous montre qu'il n'y a pratiquement pas de différence entre les deux zones. La majorité des habitants de Plateau et de Pikine pense que le moyen le plus efficace pour réduire la délinquance juvénile serait d'augmenter les possibilités de travail, car le fort taux de chômage serait une des causes principales de la délinquance juvénile à Dakar. Aussi le public pense-t-il que des politiques telles que la plus grande efficacité du système d'éducation et du système d'assistance sociale sont très importantes.

Comme nous l'avons précisé dans le chapitre consacré aux informations générales, les classes surpeuplées et le manque de professeurs qualifiés sont deux des défauts du système d'éducation. De même, il n'y a que quelques services d'assistance sociale et cela est une grande lacune.

Il est intéressant de noter que quelques habitants seulement recommandent l'introduction de peines plus sévères ou une plus grande efficacité du système de la justice pénale; ils pensent que les mesures d'assistance sociale doivent jouer au niveau de la prévention. Ces mesures recommandées par le public ne concernent pas spécifiquement la délinquance, mais devraient plutôt être comprises comme un ensemble des stratégies d'intervention sociale destinées à améliorer le bien-être des jeunes en général. Dans l'ensemble, le public a une opinion très précise de la direction que les futures politiques sociales devraient prendre.

La section suivante est consacrée aux opinions des professionnels sur l'efficacité de leurs propres institutions et leurs recommandations pour une future politique sociale.

Quelques questions ont été posées concernant le fonctionnement de la police, des tribunaux, des institutions de rééducation, des traitements non institutionnels, des institutions de bien-être, des institutions correctionnelles et des écoles (tableaux 46 à 61). Dans l'ensemble, les professionnels jugent le niveau d'efficacité de leurs institutions très bas. Cette opinion est valable pour toutes les institutions et pour les professionnels des deux zones. En effet, aucune institution n'a obtenu une majorité de réponses positives. Parmi elles, les institutions d'assistance sociale et de rééducation sont jugées relativement bien du point de vue du contrôle de l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes. Tandis que par ailleurs, les institutions correctionnelles et les traitements non institutionnels sont placés très bas. Même les écoles sont jugées relativement mal. Ceci est un important résultat d'autant que l'échantillon des professionnels provenait du personnel travaillant dans ces institutions.

PUBLIC

TABLEAU 45

La famille et la communauté jouent-elles un rôle efficace dans la prévention et le contrôle de l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes?

	Z1 + Z2	Z1	Z2
* La famille aujourd'hui	48,5%	47,3%	49,8%
* La famille il y a 5 ans	58,5%	56,2%	60,7%
* La communauté aujourd'hui	47,3%	42,3%	52,2%
* La communauté il y a 5 ans	47,5%	45,3%	49,8%

* Réponse: jouent-elles ou jouaient-elles un rôle efficace.

Cette opinion est partagée par les professionnels. Comme nous l'avons dit précédemment, les jeunes croient que la famille est l'institution la plus capable de leur apporter une aide, ou du moins c'est ce qu'ils souhaiteraient. En dépit de ces attentes, il semble que la condition actuelle de la famille soit insatisfaisante.

Ces données montrent aussi l'impact différentiel de l'urbanisation sur la vie de la communauté et sur la famille. Autant que les présentes données soient concernées, l'urbanisation n'est pas nécessairement liée à la désorganisation de la communauté. Dans le cas de Dakar, il semble que l'urbanisation soit liée au caractère sain de la communauté bien que les conditions actuelles de Plateau et de Pikine soient loin d'être idéales. Par ailleurs, il ne semble pas que l'urbanisation ait eu un impact sur la famille, vu que l'on ne note pas de changements frappants au cours des cinq dernières années.

PROFESSIONNELS

TABLEAU 46

Les institutions suivantes ont-elles amélioré leur efficacité au cours des cinq dernières années (Réponses affirmatives)

	Z1 + Z2	Z1	Z2
Police	50,0%	53,0%	46,2%
Tribunaux	47,5%	53,0%	40,4%
Systèmes de détention	22,0%	30,3%	11,5%

PROFESSIONNELS

TABLEAU 47
Quelles sont les causes de cette amélioration?

	Zone 1	Zone 2	Total horizontal
Les institutions ont été renforcées	29 (43,9%)	30 (56,6%)	59
Les problèmes concernant l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes sont devenus moins sérieux	9 (13,6%)	1 (1,8%)	10
Ne sait pas	28 (42,4%)	21 (39,6%)	49
Total vertical	66	53	118

PROFESSIONNELS

TABLEAU 48
Comment pensez-vous que les services de police fonctionnent en ce qui concerne le contrôle de l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes?

	Zone 1	Zone 2	Total horizontal
Bien	17 (25,7%)	13 (25,0%)	30
Mal	43 (65,5%)	33 (63,4%)	76
Ne sait pas	6 (9,0%)	6 (11,5%)	12
Total vertical	66	52	118

PROFESSIONNELS

TABLEAU 49

Si vous avez répondu «mal» à la question précédente quelles en sont les raisons? (Donnez trois réponses par ordre de priorité)

Rang	Z1 + Z2		Z1		Z2	
1°	38,6%	0	36,9%	0	40,6%	0
2°	19,1%	2	19,7%	2	18,3%	2
3°	18,6%	3	18,9%	3	18,3%	3
4°	12,3%	5	12,4%	5	12,2	5
5°	5,8%	1	8,1%	1	7,7%	4
6°	5,6%	4	4,0%	4	2,9%	1

Raisons:

1. manque de personnel
2. formation inadéquate
3. manque d'intérêt de la part des autorités dans la prévention de l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes
4. tolérance de la part de la police
5. manque de coopération du public
0. ils ont répondu affirmativement à la question précédente

PROFESSIONNELS

TABLEAU 50

Comment pensez-vous que les tribunaux fonctionnent en ce qui concerne le contrôle de l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes?

	Zone 1	Zone 2	Total horizontal
Bien	29 (43,9%)	13 (25,0%)	42
Mal	23 (34,8%)	21 (40,3%)	44
Ne sait pas	14 (21,2%)	18 (34,6%)	32
Total vertical	66	52	118

PROFESSIONNELS

TABLEAU 51

Si vous avez répondu «mal» à la question précédente quelles en sont les raisons? (Donnez trois réponses par ordre de priorité)

Rang	Z1 + Z2		Z1		Z2	
1°	67,7%	0	63,6%	0	61,5%	0
2°	20,3%	3	15,2%	3	26,9%	3
3°	11,0%	2	15,2%	2	5,8%	2
4°	4,2%	4	4,5%	4	3,8	4
5°	1,7%	1	1,5%	1	1,9%	1

Raisons:

1. manque de personnel
2. formation inadéquate
3. lenteur de la justice
4. sévérité des peines insuffisante
0. ils ont répondu affirmativement à la question précédente

PROFESSIONNELS

TABLEAU 52

Comment pensez-vous que les institutions de rééducation fonctionnent en ce qui concerne la prévention de l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes?

	Zone 1	Zone 2	Total horizontal
Bien	20 (30,3%)	16 (30,7%)	36
Mal	35 (53,0%)	25 (48,0%)	60
Ne sait pas	11 (16,6%)	11 (21,1%)	22
Total vertical	66	52	118

PROFESSIONNELS

TABLEAU 53

Si vous avez répondu «mal» à la question précédente quelles en sont les raisons? (Donnez trois réponses par ordre de priorité)

Rang	Z1 + Z2		Z1		Z2	
1°	64,6%	0	62,6%	0	64,5%	0
2°	11,0%	3	12,1%	4	10,3%	3
3°	10,8%	4	11,6%	3	10,2%	1
4°	7,8%	1	5,8%	1	9,3%	4
5°	5,1%	2	5,6%	2	4,5%	2
6°	2,4%	5	2,3%	5	2,5%	5

Raisons:

1. manque de personnel
2. formation inadéquate
3. manque de programmes de traitement
4. manque de participation du public
5. manque de peines sévères
0. ils ont répondu affirmativement à la question précédente

PROFESSIONNELS

TABLEAU 54

Comment pensez-vous que le traitement hors institutions (liberté surveillée, liberté conditionnelle, etc.) fonctionne en ce qui concerne le contrôle de l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes?

	Zone 1	Zone 2	Total horizontal
Bien	9 (25,0%)	8 (15,3%)	17
Mal	36 (54,5%)	12 (23,0%)	48
Ne sait pas	21 (31,8%)	32 (61,5%)	54
Total vertical	66	52	118

PROFESSIONNELS

TABLEAU 55

Si vous avez répondu «mal» à la question précédente quelles en sont les raisons (donnez trois réponses par ordre de priorité)

Rang	Z1 + Z2		Z1		Z2	
1°	71%	0	63,4%	0	80,4%	0
2°	9,3%	3	12,4%	3	6,1%	1
3°	7,5%	4	9,8%	4	5,4%	3
4°	7,3%	1	8,3%	1	4,5	4
5°	4,9%	2	6,1%	2	3,5%	2

Raisons:

1. manque de personnel
2. formation inadéquate
3. manque de programmes de traitement
4. manque de participation du public
0. ils ont répondu affirmativement à la question précédente

PROFESSIONNELS

TABLEAU 56

Comment pensez-vous que les institutions d'assistance sociale fonctionnent en ce qui concerne la prévention de l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes?

	Zone 1	Zone 2	Total horizontal
Bien	16 (24,2%)	22 (42,3%)	38
Mal	39 (59,0%)	20 (38,4%)	59
Ne sait pas	11 (16,6%)	10 (19,2%)	21
Total vertical	66	52	118

PROFESSIONNELS

TABLEAU 57

Si vous avez répondu «mal» à la question précédente
quelles en sont les raisons? (Donnez trois raisons
par ordre de priorité)

Rang	Z1 + Z2		Z1		Z2	
1°	63,3%	0	59,1%	0	68,2%	0
2°	10,3%	1	11,6%	3	10,6%	1
3°	9,5%	3	10,1%	1	8,3%	2
4°	9,0%	2	9,6%	2	6,7%	3
5°	8,0%	4	9,6%	4	6,1%	4

Raisons:

1. manque de personnel
2. formation inadéquate
3. manque de programmes de traitement
4. manque de participation du public
5. manque de peines sévères
0. ils ont répondu affirmativement à la question précédente

PROFESSIONNELS

TABLEAU 58

Comment pensez-vous que les institutions pénitentiaires fonctionnent
en ce qui concerne l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes?

	Zone 1	Zone 2	Total horizontal
Bien	8 (12,1%)	1 (1,9%)	9
Mal	48 (72,7%)	36 (69,2%)	84
Ne sait pas	10 (15,1%)	15 (28,8%)	25
Total vertical	66	52	118

PROFESSIONNELS

TABLEAU 59

Si vous avez répondu «mal» à la question précédente quelles en sont les raisons? (Donnez trois réponses par ordre de priorité)

Rang	Z1 + Z2		Z1		Z2	
1°	41,7%	0	42,9%	0	40,1%	0
2°	18,7%	3	18,2%	3	23,4%	2
3°	17,5%	2	12,9%	2	19,5%	3
4°	9,6%	4	12,1%	1	9,6%	4
5°	8,7%	1	9,6%	4	4,5%	1
6°	3,7%	5	4,3%	5	5,0%	2

Raisons:

1. manque de personnel
2. formation inadéquate
3. manque de programmes de traitement
4. manque de participation du public
5. manque de peines sévères
0. ils ont répondu affirmativement à la question précédente

PROFESSIONNELS

TABLEAU 60

Comment pensez-vous que les établissements scolaires fonctionnent en ce qui concerne la prévention de l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes?

	Zone 1	Zone 2	Total horizontal
Bien	12 (18,1%)	8 (15,3%)	20
Mal	49 (74,2%)	44 (84,6%)	93
Ne sait pas	5 (7,5%)	0 (0%)	5
Total vertical	66	52	118

PROFESSIONNELS

TABLEAU 61

Si vous avez répondu «mal» à la question précédente quelles en sont les raisons? (Donnez trois réponses par ordre de priorité)

Rang	Z1 + Z2		Z1		Z2	
1°	34,7%	0	37,3%	0	36,0%	1
2°	30,8%	1	28,1%	1	32,4%	0
3°	14,5%	4	14,0%	5	15,0%	4
4°	13,0%	3	10,3%	3	14,8	3
5°	9,3%	2	10,1%	2	8,5%	2

Raisons:

1. écoles surchargées
2. manque de conseillers scolaires
3. manque d'enthousiasme de la part des professeurs
4. manque de coopération entre professeurs et parents
0. ils ont répondu affirmativement à la question précédente

Comme nous l'avons vu précédemment sur le tableau 43, les professionnels des deux zones pensent que la communauté et la famille sont plus efficaces aujourd'hui qu'il y a cinq ans. Ce résultat est en contradiction avec le taux de confiance très faible accordé aux institutions gouvernementales par les professionnels eux-mêmes.

Ces données pourraient être des suggestions pour les options politiques ouvertes au gouvernement. Une politique future devrait être orientée vers le renforcement de la famille et de la communauté ou devrait essayer de vaincre la faiblesse de ces structures organisées.

A la base, il n'y a pas de grande différence entre le public et les professionnels sur la direction qu'une politique future devrait prendre. La majorité du public et des professionnels demande la création de nouveaux emplois pour les jeunes. Aussi les professionnels ont-ils tendance à demander des conseillers familiaux et des allocations pour les familles pauvres. Il n'est pas surprenant que la réponse des professionnels soit orientée vers l'intensification de la capacité professionnelle des institutions existantes pour collaborer de façon plus efficace avec les jeunes et les familles ayant des problèmes. Cependant, il est surprenant de noter que quelques professionnels souhaiteraient une augmentation de la participation de la communauté (tableaux 62 et 63).

PROFESSIONNELS

TABEAU 62
Choisissez dans la liste ci-dessous, en les classant
par ordre de priorité, les moyens les plus efficaces
pour contrôler l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes

Rang	Z1 + Z2		Z1		Z2	
1°	44,7%	1	43,8%	1	45,4%	1
2°	31,7%	2	30,2%	2	37,5%	2
3°	23,6%	3	24,5%	3	22,0%	3

Raisons:

1. amélioration des programmes de traitement en milieu fermé et en milieu ouvert
2. renforcement de la police
3. peines plus sévères

PROFESSIONNELS

TABEAU 63
Choisissez dans la liste ci-dessous, en les classant
par ordre de priorité, les moyens les plus efficaces
pour prévenir l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes:

Rang	Z1 + Z2		Z1		Z2	
1°	26,4%	4	25,9%	4	27,0%	4
2°	20,9%	1	20,6%	2	21,9%	1
3°	20,0%	2	20,0%	1	20,1%	2
4°	16,6%	5	17,7%	5	16,6%	3
5°	16,1%	3	15,5%	3	15,3%	5

Raisons:

1. aide psychologique aux familles
2. aide financière aux familles nécessiteuses
3. augmentation du nombre de conseillers scolaires
4. possibilités de travail pour les jeunes
5. encouragement à la participation de la communauté

Dans l'ensemble, nos données ont tendance à supporter une politique sociale dans laquelle l'accent est mis sur une communauté cohésive et des relations familiales stables, institutions de socialisation fondamentales.

Pour mettre en place une telle politique sociale, la participation active des habitants est nécessaire. Si l'augmentation des services professionnels est accompagnée par la participation active des habitants, il sera possible de trouver des solutions au problème.

d) Résumé et conclusions

Dans l'introduction théorique, deux hypothèses de travail étaient formulées: premièrement, que l'urbanisation rapide entraînait un haut niveau d'inadaptation sociale des jeunes; en second lieu, qu'un certain nombre de variables déterminaient le degré de tolérance d'une communauté face à l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes. Ces différentes variables sont liées au degré de solidarité organique au sein de la communauté.

Une des stratégies de la recherche appliquée était l'approche comparative entre les deux zones sociales: l'une à urbanisation rapide (Z2) et l'autre à urbanisation non rapide (Z1) de façon à vérifier l'impact de l'urbanisation rapide.

L'étude fut menée sur la base des hypothèses précitées et du cadre de la recherche. Avant tout, on a tenté de mesurer l'étendue de l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes. Les résultats révélèrent que le public et les professionnels des deux zones se sentaient considérablement concernés par l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes, perçue comme un problème très grave. Cependant, quelques différences notables existaient entre les deux zones; les données montraient que les professionnels de Z1, par rapport à ceux de Z2, étaient légèrement plus pessimistes au sujet des conditions actuelles et des tendances futures de l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes.

Selon l'opinion du public, et contrairement à la première hypothèse, la délinquance juvénile actuelle est plus grave dans la zone 1.

Vu que ces résultats tendent à rejeter notre hypothèse, on pourrait en déduire qu'il n'y a pas de relation causale entre l'étendue de l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes et la rapidité de l'urbanisation en soi.

Sur la base de notre seconde hypothèse, nous examinerons maintenant quelques-unes des raisons possibles de l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes. Particulièrement intéressante était l'analyse des influences des différentes variables intervenantes telles que les relations avec les parents et avec les amis, l'école, le travail, les organisations religieuses, les services sociaux etc. ... Seulement deux d'entre elles semblent être significatives et différencier Z1 de Z2. Notre premier résultat fut que les relations familiales sont légèrement plus fortes à Pikine (Z2) et cela en dépit de l'urbanisation rapide. Les données montrent que les jeunes de Z2 ont davantage de respect pour leurs parents et que les parents prennent plus soin de leurs enfants.

Plusieurs des habitants de cette zone (Z2), bien qu'ils soient arrivés récemment des zones rurales, conservent encore les valeurs traditionnelles qui maintiennent relativement forts les liens parents-enfants.

Au contraire, il semble que les relations familiales à Plateau (Z1) soient plus faibles car les habitants ont été influencés par les modèles de la culture occidentale moderne qui ont estompé leurs valeurs traditionnelles. A Plateau, les jeunes semblent être plus isolés qu'à Pikine.

Notre second résultat était la différence entre les jeunes des deux zones du point de vue de l'utilisation du temps libre. Les jeunes de Z1 ont tendance à utiliser leur temps libre de façon assez passive (par exemple, rencontres avec des amis), tandis que les jeunes de Z2 ont tendance à participer à des activités culturelles musicales ou autres.

Dans l'ensemble, le degré selon lequel une communauté donnée tolère l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes ne dépend pas seulement de la rapidité de l'urbanisation, mais aussi d'autres variables. Au vu de nos résultats, les différentes variables sont: les relations étroites parents-enfants et l'utilisation constructive du temps libre.

Finalement, nous avons examiné l'efficacité des institutions formelles et proposé des recommandations pour une politique de prévention de la délinquance juvénile. Il est ressorti de notre analyse que les professionnels donnaient un niveau très bas à leurs institutions; de même, le public a mis en évidence l'inefficacité d'institutions telles que les écoles et les organismes d'assistance sociale. Il semble là aussi que les institutions soient insuffisantes.

En ce qui concerne les recommandations, public et professionnels sont d'accord pour donner la priorité à l'augmentation des possibilités d'emploi. Le public voudrait une plus grande efficacité des écoles et des services sociaux, tandis que les professionnels mettent l'accent sur les conseillers familiaux et les allocations aux familles pauvres. Il faudrait noter que ni le public ni les professionnels n'ont recommandé l'introduction de peines plus sévères.

Généralement, il n'y a pas de différence notable entre le public et les professionnels ni entre les deux zones. Les contre-mesures qu'ils ont proposées ne regardent pas spécifiquement la délinquance, mais devraient être comprises davantage comme un ensemble de stratégies d'intervention sociale pour améliorer le bien-être des jeunes. En plus de ces contre-mesures, une sorte de pré-condition devrait être prise en considération: la participation active du public.

Des réformes pourront être mises en place seulement quand un nombre suffisant d'habitants comprendront que leur participation est un mode d'amélioration de leur style de vie. Si une collaboration plus étroite pouvait se développer entre les professionnels et ces personnes, le cercle vicieux de la pauvreté, l'aliénation, la démoralisation et la délinquance pourraient finalement être combattus.

RESUME GENERAL ET CONCLUSIONS

Dans chaque pays participant et parmi les échantillons d'adultes, de jeunes et de professionnels, on peut noter un résultat frappant. Dans les pays en voie de développement (au moins dans ceux concernés par la recherche), la famille et l'école sont considérés par les professionnels et par le public comme les principaux mécanismes ayant un impact positif sur l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes. Les systèmes formels de contrôle social, tels que la police, les tribunaux pour enfants et les institutions spécialisées semblent être beaucoup moins efficaces.

La variable indépendante de notre étude était l'urbanisation rapide. Originellement, il était admis que les niveaux d'inadaptation sociale des jeunes étaient plus hauts dans les zones à urbanisation rapide. En fait, nos données montrent que cela n'est pas toujours le cas. Les facteurs pouvant intervenir sont: a) le type de croissance-planifiée ou non planifiée; b) les prescriptions culturelles contre le crime existant chez les nouveaux arrivants; c) les liens familiaux et communautaires qui survivent après le passage du milieu rural au milieu urbain. C'est un résultat positif dans la mesure où il montre que le niveau du crime et de la délinquance juvénile n'est pas automatiquement la conséquence de l'urbanisation rapide.

Dans l'ensemble, l'attitude du public est tolérante et sophistiquée envers les jeunes ayant des problèmes. Dans pratiquement toutes les zones étudiées, le public se sent profondément concerné par l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes. En plus, il est assez pessimiste pour l'avenir. Néanmoins, la majorité des personnes interviewées considère l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes davantage comme une réalité gênante que dangereuse et pense que la criminalité des adultes pose des problèmes plus graves pour la communauté.

Une grande majorité du public et de nombreux professionnels ne voient pas le renforcement de l'appareil répressif de l'Etat comme une solution à long terme adéquate. De plus, ils préféreraient une politique sociale renforçant davantage les liens familiaux et traditionnels, prévoyant une augmentation des emplois pour les jeunes et améliorant la capacité des écoles pour répondre aux besoins sociaux des jeunes.

De nombreux professionnels avaient tendance à être légèrement plus punitifs dans leurs réponses que le public, face à l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes. Nos données montrent un écart considérable entre les institutions officielles de contrôle social et les jeunes et les adultes

de la communauté. Ces résultats devraient rappeler l'importance de l'effort à faire pour combler cet écart entre le public et ces institutions. Nos données servent aussi de support au point de vue selon lequel il est absolument nécessaire de coordonner les programmes sociaux concernant les jeunes de manière à ne pas se contenter de réunir et renforcer les institutions, mais aussi d'augmenter la participation des non-professionnels.

En termes généraux, nos données montrent que ce sont les facteurs culturels qui influencent le plus directement le degré selon lequel une communauté en voie d'urbanisation rapide souffrira de l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes. Il semblerait donc que des opportunités existent pour mettre en place des réponses sociales appropriées basées sur le resserrement des liens familiaux au sein de la communauté locale.

Les implications politiques de ces résultats sont extrêmement importants. Les pays en voie de développement pourraient essayer de moderniser et d'améliorer leurs systèmes formels ou bien développer une politique sociale mettant au premier plan la famille. Alors que l'amélioration continue des standards professionnels dans les systèmes formels pourrait sembler un objectif respectable, notre étude conseille une politique sociale centrée sur la famille; cela serait plus en accord avec les traditions culturelles du pays étudié et obtiendrait l'approbation du public.

Les choix de politique sont clairs. Un pays pourrait essayer de renforcer les zones faibles ou pourrait tenter d'examiner les avantages devant résulter de ces renforcements. Seule une politique sociale sage tient compte de ces deux alternatives. Si des priorités doivent être exposées, nos résultats donnent un support à la politique du gouvernement pour renforcer les méthodes traditionnelles et informelles d'assistance des jeunes au cours du passage de l'état de jeunes à celui d'adulte membre de la société.

La planification sociale appropriée serait celle qui encouragerait le développement des méthodes informelles basées sur la communauté, et cela pour les cas les moins graves d'inadaptation sociale des jeunes. Les familles, en particulier les familles élargies, devraient jouer un rôle principal dans le traitement des jeunes et l'Etat devrait utiliser toutes les ressources qu'il a à sa disposition pour renforcer le rôle de la famille, des personnes âgées dans la communauté et des organisations indigènes. Les professionnels devraient apprendre à travailler avec les communautés locales, pour conseiller les groupes existants au sein de la communauté ou aider à en créer de nouveaux et éviter d'enlever à la famille autorité et responsabilité pour résoudre leur propres problèmes.

Nous sommes conscients du fait que l'excès dans les méthodes formelles de contrôle social, caractéristique de beaucoup de pays industrialisés, non seulement n'a pas été très positif dans ces mêmes pays, mais est probablement en dehors de la capacité budgétaire des pays en voie de développement pour pouvoir être adopté pleinement. Pour donner une réponse sociale à l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes basée sur les valeurs traditionnelles au sein des cultures locales, il devrait être possible de réaliser les buts qui, il y a longtemps, ont échappé au monde industrialisé.

Par exemple, la tâche de conseiller les jeunes ne devrait pas être laissée seulement aux professionnels. Tous ceux qui ont à faire avec la jeunesse au cours de leurs activités quotidiennes devraient aider les jeunes et les conseiller. En d'autres termes, le fait de conseiller ne devrait pas être trop professionnalisé au détriment des autres membres de la communauté.

En faisant leur travail de routine, ils développeront des rapports avec les jeunes et ils apprendront, par cette voie informelle, les histoires personnelles et familiales des jeunes avec lesquels ils seront en contact. Ces deux facteurs pourront aider à donner des conseils, en évitant «l'étiquetage» que le conseil professionnel peut entraîner. Les conseillers professionnels étant en réalité peu nombreux, ils pourraient avoir davantage un rôle efficace de support.

Conformément au respect des droits de l'Homme, il est intéressant de noter que la majorité des professionnels, dans les cinq pays étudiés, confirment l'existence d'un droit à la défense pour les jeunes.

Alors que l'étude essayait de distinguer la zone à urbanisation rapide correspondant au développement urbain non planifié d'une part, et la zone à urbanisation non rapide d'autre part, tant le critère utilisé pour la distinction que l'interprétation du critère n'ont pas atteint l'objectif escompté. La situation dans les différentes villes n'a pas permis de faire une division claire et nette. En fait, au Costa Rica seulement, une telle division a été importante. Néanmoins, quelques tentatives ont été faites pour mettre en évidence les différences entre les deux zones dans chaque ville.

Notre conclusion finale laisse une place à l'action positive des gouvernements. La famille et la communauté ont survécu au passage de la société rurale à la société urbaine, en dépit des influences négatives de la vie urbaine. Les forces de ces communautés doivent être recherchées au sein de la famille et de l'école, dans les organisations religieuses et dans la communauté au sens large du terme. Les gouvernements pourraient jouer sur ces forces en tenant compte des recom-

andations particulières faites par le public et que nous avons rapportées dans cette étude. La clé de cette politique sociale devrait être le rôle de la famille.

Nos données montrent que les familles travaillent ensemble, restent ensemble. Familles liées non seulement par le sang, mais aussi par des liens sociaux et économiques qui élèvent des enfants qui font doucement la transition entre l'adolescence et l'âge adulte.

Les familles ont besoin d'être soutenues, par des mesures économiques et autres, de sorte que l'on ne demande pas à l'Etat de reprendre son rôle traditionnel en fournissant des programmes professionnels coûteux et élaborés. Une des voies à suivre pour réaliser cela est fournir des encouragements économiques, subventions ou prêts à faible taux d'intérêt permettant de mettre sur pied des industries familiales.

L'école est une institution crédible aux yeux des jeunes et de leurs parents. Le rôle des écoles de la communauté pourrait être renforcé en les intégrant davantage au sein de cette communauté. Plus de contacts parents-professeurs, un contrôle parental plus fort et une plus vaste compréhension du rôle de l'école dans tous les aspects du développement de la jeunesse seraient très utiles.

Nos données devraient encourager ceux qui espèrent trouver une telle voie. Même au sein de la structure de l'ordre social et économique actuel, il est possible de trouver une voie selon laquelle les pays en voie de développement peuvent éviter les plus graves aspects de la délinquance juvénile expérimentée dans les pays industrialisés. Si cette voie était couronnée de succès, les cartes seraient renversées. Peut-être le monde industrialisé a-t-il plus à apprendre qu'à enseigner?

Consultations avec les organes de décision

Dès le début de la recherche, on considérait que, pour avoir un impact, il n'était pas suffisant que l'étude soit envoyée aux organes de décision des différents pays participants. Il faut, en plus, que les résultats du projet soient discutés avec ces mêmes organes de décision. Même s'ils étaient conscients des résultats tirés de l'expérience sur le terrain, la discussion était nécessaire pour souligner les faits empirique et les aider à améliorer la situation des jeunes dans le contexte du développement urbain.

Les projets de rapport de l'étude furent donc envoyés plusieurs semaines avant la consultation pour permettre aux autorités d'en prendre connaissance.

La consultation eut lieu avec les autorités concernées - Ministère de la Justice à San José et à Dakar, Ministère de la Jeunesse et de la Culture à Lagos, Ministère du Bien-Etre Social à Bombay et en présence des secrétariats du Ministère et d'autres Ministères concernés, présidés par les Ministres en personne, ainsi que les directeurs des groupes de recherche locaux.

Le Directeur de l'UNSDRI ouvrait les débats par des remerciements aux autorités pour avoir permis que l'étude soit réalisée dans leurs juridictions respectives, et pour leur collaboration dans la réalisation du projet par l'intermédiaire de leur personnel et des institutions nationales. Il a mis l'accent sur le fait que cette attitude était la manifestation de leur intérêt pour les problèmes des jeunes et leur empressement à voir la situation examinée.

Le Directeur a montré que, en dépit des problèmes et des limites de l'étude, quelques résultats pouvaient retenir l'attention. Il poursuivit en indiquant quelques-uns des résultats par rapport à chaque pays.

Les réponses des autorités furent positives et très constructives. Quelques précisions furent demandées sur les résultats et les réponses furent aussi complètes que le permettent les données. Des zones de recherche supplémentaires furent identifiées. Dans le cas de San José, les autorités décrivent les activités devant être réalisées pour répondre aux besoins des jeunes et pour améliorer les conditions de la jeunesse dans les villes.

D'autres autorités, comme celles du Nigeria, voulaient étendre l'étude à d'autres villes du pays et voulaient répéter la recherche à Lagos de façon à inclure les zones géographiques concernées.

En Colombie, le sort des enfants dans les rues («gamines») dont le projet ne s'occupait pas, fut discuté et le Ministre demanda le renforcement de la collaboration inter-ministérielle pour trouver une solution au problème.

En Inde, la consultation eut lieu au niveau central et la réponse fut très enthousiaste à tous les niveaux. Des interviews à la télévision et à la radio furent organisées pour le Directeur de l'UNSDRI et un membre officiel fut chargé d'informer l'opinion publique. On a aussi prévu d'organiser un séminaire sous la responsabilité du Ministère concerné, où auraient été invités les représentants des ministères intéressés — Bien-Etre Social, Education, Planning, Finances etc. ... — académiciens, politiciens, leaders sociaux, pour discuter du problème et aboutir à un programme de prévention de contrôle et de traitement de l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes possible et réaliste.

A Dakar, le problème du renouveau des formes d'éducation traditionnelles avec un rôle élargi des enseignants fut discuté, ainsi que l'éducation des parents dans le contexte de la vie urbaine.

Les problèmes communs à tous les pays participants sont: le renforcement des mécanismes informels de contrôle — famille, écoles, valeurs et systèmes traditionnels — et les autorités chargées des problèmes de l'urbanisation et du bien-être social etc... Cela nécessiterait immédiatement une planification interministérielle et intersectorielle et une action de contrôle de l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes.

Dans l'un des pays participants, quand le problème de l'engagement et de la participation de la communauté s'est présenté en matière d'inadaptation sociale des jeunes, il fut suggéré que les mass media pouvaient être utilisés de manière profitable pour informer le public. Le Ministre a avancé qu'il n'existait pas un Ministère de l'Information pouvant donner à la presse et au public des informations pertinentes, et que la presse ne pouvait pas être utilisée pour donner des informations gouvernementales. Dans une telle situation, les autorités auraient besoin de trouver un moyen d'informer le public, afin d'inclure leur engagement et participation dans les programmes.

Dans l'ensemble, l'étude a été un moyen de stimuler des études ultérieures, d'initier une action appropriée, de mettre en place des groupes de travail et de soulever le problème des jeunes. Certains pays ont déclaré avoir besoin de l'aide des Nations Unies pour réaliser leurs plans d'action et pour améliorer la situation, non seulement du problème des jeunes, mais aussi de leurs systèmes pénitentiaires et de justice criminelle.

Le principal résultat de la consultation fut l'opportunité de discuter des résultats de la recherche qui, peut-être, seraient restés dans l'oubli ou auraient fait partie des rapports à lire éventuellement dans l'avenir. Cela a donné au problème de l'inadaptation sociale des jeunes un aspect d'urgence et d'importance.

Ce travail fut achevé sans tomber dans de longs discours académiques qui n'auraient mené nulle part. Les consultations ont indiqué que quelque chose de positif et de concret pouvait être fait pour améliorer les conditions de la jeunesse et réduire leur inadaptation.

En résumé, les implications politiques des résultats de cette étude suggèrent deux options principales. L'une d'elles est de soutenir et d'accroître l'efficacité des agences formelles de contrôle social, ce qui pourrait avoir un effet boomerang et saper la capacité de la communauté, de la famille, de l'école et autres agences informelles de contrôle social à résoudre les problèmes du crime et de l'inadaptation

sociale des jeunes. L'autre option est basée sur les forces des institutions informelles de contrôle social et qui sont inhérentes à la plupart des cultures incluses dans la recherche. Cette dernière option semble être le choix principal des autorités dans les différents pays.

Il faut encore étudier la façon dont ces institutions informelles de contrôle doivent être dirigées pour renforcer leur efficacité dans le contexte des changements socio-économiques.

LIST OF UNSDRI PUBLICATIONS AND STAFF PAPERS

1966-1985

- 1969 Publ. No. 1 Tendencias y necesidades de la investigación criminológica en América Latina (1) F. Ferracuti
R. Bergalli
- 1970 Publ. No. 2 Manpower and training in the field of social defence. Personnel et formation professionnelle dans le domaine de la défense sociale. Mano de obra y capacitación en el campo de la defensa social F. Ferracuti
M.C. Giannini
- 1971 S.P. No. 1 Co-ordination of interdisciplinary research in criminology (1) F. Ferracuti
- 1971 Publ. No. 3 Social defence in Uganda: A survey of research (1)
- 1971 Publ. No. 4 Public et justice: une étude pilote en Tunisie (1) A. Bouhdiba
- 1972 S.P. No. 2 The evaluation and improvement of manpower training programmes in social defence (1) R.W. Burnham
- 1972 S.P. No. 3 Perceptions of deviance. Suggestions for cross-cultural research (1) G. Newman
- 1973 S.P. No. 4 Perception clinique et psychologique de la déviance F. Ferracuti
G. Newman
- Sexual deviance. A sociological analysis G. Newman
- Aspetti sociali dei comportamenti devianti sessuali (1) R. Lazzari
- 1973 S.P. No. 5 Psychoactive drug control. Issues and recommendations. Contrôle des drogues. Résultats et recommandations. Control de fármacos psicoactivos. Problemática y recomendaciones J.J. Moore
C.R.B. Joyce
J. Woodcock
- 1973 Publ. No. 5 Migration. Report of the Research Conference on Migration, Ethnic Minority Status and Social Adptation, Rome, 13-16 June 1972
- 1973 Publ. No. 6 A programme for drug use research. Report of the proceedings of a workshop at Frascati, Italy, 11-15 December 1972 (1)

- 1973 S.P. No. 6 Un programma di ricerca sulla droga. Rapporto del seminario di Frascati, 11-15 dicembre 1972 (1)
- 1974 Publ. No. 7 A world directory of criminological Institutes B. Kasme (1)
- 1974 Publ. No. 8
- 1974 Publ. No. 9 Economic crisis and crime. Interim report and materials (1)
- 1974 Publ. No. 10 Criminological research and decision-making. Studies on the influence of criminological research on criminal policy in The Netherlands and Finald (1)
- 1976 Publ. No. 11 Evaluation research in criminal justice. Material and proceeding of a Research Conference convened in the context of the Fifth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders
- 1976 Publ. No. 12 Juvenile justice. An international survey, country reports, related materials and suggestions for future research (1)
- 1976 Publ. No. 13 The protection of the artistic and archaeological heritage. A view from Italy and India
- 1976 Publ. No. 14 Prison architecture. An international survey of representative closed institutions and analysis of current trends in prison design. (A commercial publication, available from The Architectural Press, 9 Queen Anne's Gate, London SW1H 9BY)
- 1976 Publ. No. 15 Economic crises and crime. Correlations between the state of the economy, deviance and the control of deviance (1)
- 1976 Publ. No. 16 Investigating drug abuse. A multinational programme of pilot studies into the non-medical use of drugs J.J. Moore
- 1978 Publ. No. 17 A world directory of criminological institutes (2nd edition) (1)
- 1978 Publ. No. 18 Delay in the administration of criminal justice - India S.K. Mukherjee
A. Gupta

- 1979 Publ. No. 19 Research and drug policy J.J. More
L. Bozzetti
- 1981 The effect of Islamic legislation on crime prevention in Saudi Arabia.
(This publication is a combined effort of the Government of Saudi Arabia and UNSDRI and contains the proceedings of a symposium on the above topic. UNSDRI was responsible for the English, French and Spanish editions which were distributed according to UNSDRI standards)
- 1982 Publ. No. 20 A world directory of criminological institutes (3rd edition)
- 1984 Publ. No. 21 Combatting drug abuse F. Bruno M.D.
- 1984 Publ. No. 22 Juvenile social maladjustment and human rights in the context of urban development
- 1984 Publ. No. 23 The phenomenology of kidnappings in Sardinia I.F. Caramazza
U. Leone
- 1984 Publ. No. 24 The rôle of the judge in contemporary society (2)
- 1985 Publ. No. 25 Crime and Criminal Policy - Papers in Honour of Manuel Lopez-Rey (3) P. David & Others

(1) Out of Print

(2) In collaboration with the International Association of Judges

(3) In press