Urbana 26/ Caracas 2000, pp. 63-72.

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ARTÍCULOS

DRUG DEALING AND STREET VIOLENCE AMONG INNER-CITY LATINO YOUTH

RESUMEN

Se estudia la situación de los jóvenes latinos en una inner-city americana, encontrando similares características en la socialización de la calle y de la esquina a las existentes en los barrios de las metrópolis latinoamericanas.

La esquina, la calle, el drug dealing y la violencia es la alternativa que encuentran estos jóvenes, ante la dificultad de acceder a un mercado de trabajo que exige el manejo de las nuevas tecnologías de información.

Incorporarse al mercado de trabajo ilegal de la droga, dominando el territorio de la calle, y sobreviviendo la violencia, empiezan a ser características universalmente vividas por la mayoría de los jóvenes de bajos ingresos en las metrópolis de hoy.

ABSTRACT

In this article, the situation of Latin youths in the American inner-city is studied. Their socialization on the street and street corner is found to share similarities with the existing "barrios" in the Latinamerican metropoli.

The street corner, the street, drug-dealing and violence are the means that these youth find, given the difficulties presented by a job market that requires new technological formation. Involvement in the illegal world of drug trade, life on the street and violence have started to become universal characteristics shared by the majority of the low-income youths throughout today's metropolis around the world.

Palabras clave:
Jóvenes-barrios centrales de la ciudad, tráfico de drogas, violencia, socialización de la calle.

Key-words:
Youth-neighborhoods, inner-city, drug dealing, violence, street socialization.

Recibido: 11-05-2000
Aceptado: 01-06-2000

Generally speaking, the globalization of society on our planet has brought with it the globalization of problems. Social inequality and growing processes of social exclusion characterize metropolis and urban areas around the world. The differences from one country to another are expressed by different proportion of social inequality, and by the population excluded from the highly specialized job market.

One of the most striking and characteristic problems in today's metropolis is that of the youth who live in barrios,[1] ghettos, and inner-cities. These young people are confronted with the deficiencies of the system and its inability to incorporate them into it. As a result, the youth are obligated to opt for other means, all of which are related to socialization on the street, and the sale of drugs as a means of work.

The problem can be understood in relationship to recent structural changes in the information society which reverberate in the high-tech world and in the job market. These changes, in turn, generate a social exclusion and an exhaustion of today's integration mechanisms. Therefore, many young people become involved in illegal and unconventional activities which require skills and dexterities of a different kind: those learned through experience on the streetcorner and through life and socialization on the street. At no time do we deny the structural components of social differentiation or inequality, and we distance ourselves from any interpretation based on personal or psychological behavior.

The topic we are dealing with presents a series of difficulties, one of the most important being violence. How can we understand the violence that is born on the street? As part of a socialization process that contains it? In the space of the street, as opposed to the already formalized spaces (such as work, school, the university), the law and order (or better yet, the chaos) is administered solely and exclusively by those who live there, that is to say, by those involved.

Life on the street, as those who study the topic know, implies a level of autonomy and territorial rights. The control of this territory, no matter its objective, implies its defense. Consequently, with defense comes fighting. A street corner will be fought over by the groups that consider it important. This may be because it is considered a prime selling location or because it represents a limit or a border. The conflicts that arise as a result for the control of the street space imply violence. This violence may be the result of a repressive police presence, or the tragic and bloody confrontations of younger gangs.

Whatever the reason may be, at no time can we justify violence, and much less the increasing loss of young lives in today's cities around the world. But it is also essential that we study and understand why young people are progressively living more on the street, why this is where they are socialized, and why they are there and not in school, at work or at home.

In understanding this presence on the street objectively, without pre-determined stigmas, we will one day be able to arrive at more adequate solutions to the social exclusions that society is generating. Finding the youth guilty, punishing them, incarcerating them, and repeating the known cycle, is not productive.

Socialization on the street, illegal activities carried out by young people, and the tragic violence inherent in this lifestyle is the result of a process that is being repeated throughout the world, in all of its cities. From Caracas to Rio de Janeiro, Bogota, Dakar, the Bronx, Kensington and St. Petersburg, the reality is the same. With this in mind, we will try to approach the problem by viewing it through a different interpretive lens.

RECENT HISTORICAL CHANGES

New forms of technology, new economies, and new cultures of social organization have affected societies in an asymmetric fashion. Moreover, the fundamental relationships of power, technology, and

1/ "Barrios" are the areas of homes and infrastructures self-constructed by the population that lives in them. At first, the *barrios* begin with invasion and progressively, with time, become stable and toughened in physical terms, as well as densified. The *barrios* in Caracas today, account for approximately 65% of the urban population.

standards of living are leading to the growing social exclusion of important population sectors and substantial urban zones in the developed societies of both Europe and North America. The same development processes also exist in the hearts of sizable metropolitan regions in Latin America and Asia. These processes relate to equally dynamic centers of the world economy in developed nations, breaking the functional and cultural articulations with social sectors and territories excluded from the development process (Castells, 1998).

As we find ourselves at the end of this century, and the beginning of a new one, the dynamics of development and exclusion is doubled, accelerated, and amplified by the potential of new technologies.

Recently, the information society has had globalization tendencies, expressing a movement towards bipolarization between groups that incorporate technological development and those that have been completely excluded from the process. Certainly, criminal activities have continued to be a growing tendency and practically an essential characteristic of the end of the century. Using financial markets and the newest technologies in communication, the existing network of criminal organizations in all countries has established strategic alliances for collaboration and maintenance of lines of production without losing its activity and autonomy. Despite the difficulty of quantitative evaluations, in 1994 the United Nations issued an estimate that drug trafficking (only as a component of the criminal economy) was increasing by about $500 billion per year, more than the global petroleum trade. The sum of earnings of all criminal activities combined was estimated to be approximately $750 billion per year, equal to 70 percent of the total global electronics trade today (Castells, El País, feb. 1997).

In Philadelphia, the expansion of the informal activity of drug trafficking is explained as the result of recent technological changes and the transition from a dominant industrialist economy to a dominant information network. The industrial sectors that have massively incorporated manual labor suffered structural transformations in the new globalization of the economy such as industrial decentralization to peripheral countries where manual labor is paid relatively low salaries. This process excludes an important part of the working class that has low levels of education and knowledge.

Clearly, in areas such as American inner cities —where industrial ex-workers come together and compete with groups of young people who have few or no professional skills— the tendency towards innovation and carrying out of informal and/or illegal activities is extremely significant. The lack of work for unskilled sectors of the population is a characteristic of social exclusion today. This exclusion is fundamentally determined by the fact that the social sector in question has neither the knowledge nor the means to acquire the new information technologies.

In this sense, the transformation of urban markets associated with the process of increasing stratification, exclusion, and hyperghettoization, has truncated fields of employment and career opportunities for poor urban youths, particularly blacks and Latinos. With the decline of industrial bases, most work opportunities for young people are in the lower end of the services sector of the economy. In this sector, wages are generally low, benefits are minimal or non-existent, job security is tenuous, unions are absent, and non-economic rewards are limited. Young blacks, Latinos, and other young people without a high-school education must struggle even to find such low quality work. The spatial locations, work expectations, and discriminatory hiring practices of most service sector workplace, magnify the effect of marginalization and social exclusion for poor black and Latino youth (Klinenberg, 1997:12).

Frustrated with low-quality schooling, marginalized within or excluded from segregated mainstream labor markets, and constrained by the limits of a degraded local ecology, many poor youth turn to the booming informal street economy to find work, dignity, adventure, and social networks. The American informal economy —the markets unregulated by mainstream social and legal institutions— is both enormous in size and scope. It is multi-segmented, serving the interests of the wealthiest urban residents as well as the most impoverished. For poor young people, however, the informal economy functions largely as a labor market and a drug

market. It is an alternative space that generates income, fulfills attempts at self-realization, and supplies recreation.

While the erosion of industrial based jobs and the elimination of popular government job programs —particularly summer work programs for students— has deprived millions of young workers of opportunities in traditional occupations, it has done so disproportionately for blacks and Latinos. Underground markets for drugs, weapons, or sex have moved in to fill the void. Young people willing to enter the street markets can find more steady and lucrative work there. Sometimes, if the local economy is sufficiently depressed, it is the most tenable means of survival (Klinenberg, 1997:14).

With respect to the drug market, while the crack epidemic appears to have diminished in Philadelphia, the heroin market has flourished in the neighborhood of Kensington. Heroin, known as "Manteca," has displaced crack in terms of sales. According to police, the heroin available in the local market is actually of the highest level of purity available in the nation. This fact reverberates in the proliferation of the activity for its potential supply of the product (Sunrise Policy Intervention, City Paper, July 1998:14-22).

DRUG DEALING

We have been studying drug dealing and street violence among latino children and teenagers in inner-city neighborhoods in Kensington Philadelphia.

Although the study it is not yet finished, we can examine some of the most characteristic elements and that also show similarities with other realities in which we have been working. Two basic structural elements shape the experiences of these youth. On one hand, the precarious conditions of poverty have effects on children. On the other hand, both the youth and the adults who raise them are increasingly experiencing the impact of the global economy when they seek to find and sustain employment. Both factors tend to produce youth, and in turn adults, who are increasingly excluded from formal sector employment and from mainstream culture. For poor inner-city Latino youths, the underground economy may offer one of the only viable forms of employment.

Our primary interest is, to understand what it is that participation in the drug economy offers children and youth, and how do they perceive the risk that virtually always accompanies such participation. In the course of a series of interviews and field observations with a heterogeneous subset of these youth, we tried to learn what factors young men consider when they initially engage in the drug trade, what they think about such work as they mature and become more experienced, and how such work shapes other aspects of their lives. We want to understand both the objective rewards (i.e., money) and risks (i.e., incarceration, injury, death) of drug dealing as well as subjective rewards (e.g., peer codes of power, respect, courage, and honor) and risks (e.g., violating social and family codes).

Anecdotal evidence suggests that the drug trade profoundly shapes the lives of those who participate in it. Both journalistic and ethnographic accounts portray inner-city children and teenagers who drop out of school to become involved in one way or another in dealing drugs on street corners in their neighborhoods.[2]

A parallel study of adult men who are either current or past participants in the trade revealed that family poverty provides a strong incentive for youths to make money, either to assist with household expenses or to cover personal expenses (typically, the adult males told us that they began to take responsibility for purchasing their own clothing, shoes, transportation, and entertainment in their early teens). When young men become fathers, this research showed that the pressures to help provide for their child financially are often quite

2/ "The school drop-out rate has been shrinking over the last decade, although many urban high schools continue to lose a staggering number of their students before graduation. According to Census Bureau tabulations, the annual school dropout rate fell from 6.3% in 1973 to 5.2% in 1983. Among 16- to 17-year-olds in October 1985, 91.6% of whites, 91.7% of blacks and 84.5% of Hispanics were enrolled in school". Youth from minority backgrounds and from disadvantaged homes will make up a significantly larger percentage over the decades. Between 1980 and 2005, the number of black youth will rise slightly from 5.8 to 6.4 million, while the number of Hispanic youth will double from 3.1 to 6.2 million" (The William T. Grant Foundation, 1988; p. 11).

strong (Edin, Nelson & Clampet-Lundquist, 1999). Yet, the recent transformation of the economy means that there are fewer and fewer options for finding a way to satisfy such pressures through conventional means (Wilson, 1996; Castells, 1998).

In recent work in both Latin America and Europe, Sánchez R. and Pedrazzini (1992-1998) have argued that the conditions of poverty create a unique sense of urgency[3] among inner-city youths. Their work shows that this sense of urgency gives rise to alternative forms of socialization. For the boys that Sánchez R. and Pedrazzini observed and interviewed, the socialization provided by the street supplanted the socialization traditionally supplied by the family, school, and community.[4] Traditional schooling becomes increasingly irrelevant when boys see few opportunities in the formal sector of the economy and a plenitude of opportunities in the underground economy. The family can no longer give boys the tools they need to survive and subsist in the conventional world, in part because the adults who raise these children are themselves becoming increasingly disconnected from the economic and social mainstream. Thus, youths look for role models among their peers. These peers value a set of behaviors and beliefs that undergird a new mechanism for social mobility, that of informal work. Sánchez R. and Pedrazzini's respondents offer powerful evidence that it is in the company of their "buddies" that boys from the barrios of Latin America and the banlieaux of Europe learn the tricks of the only trade they see available to them. It is on the streets of the barrio and banlieu that adolescents are first introduced to the potential attractions of this new form of social mobility, and it is on these streets that they move through adolescence and into adulthood.[5]

Important studies by Elijah Anderson, showed the same characterization of socialization process, in Afro American youths, when he mentioned and referred to the street code people (Anderson, 1999).

We argue that this "street socialization" is profoundly different from the socialization experienced by previous generations. Street socialization is marked by immediacy and urgency, and promises neither security nor stability (Sánchez R. and Pedrazzini, 1992-1998). The degree of risk to which these youths are exposed while out on the street plying their trade is enormous. If a youth does not get injured or die in a confrontation, he is likely to get arrested. If he escapes both injury and arrest, he must then confront the lure of the drug he plies. Thus, he faces risk on at least three fronts. Yet, despite these risks, anecdotal evidence suggests that the drug trade continue to attract large numbers of inner-city youth (Sánchez Jankowski, 1991). In some cities and neighborhoods, gangs rule the drug trade, offering a form of social organization that can sometimes minimize the risks to individuals. Gangs also offer some solidarity and support to youths. In other cities and neighborhoods, smaller, more loosely organized groups operate in an entrepreneurial market largely devoid of formalized gang control. Whatever form the drug economy takes, we suspect that early involvement in the drug trade has profound influences on the shape of individual lives as youths move from childhood to adulthood and from dependency to parenthood.

We are particularly interested in whether involvement in drug dealing activities during adolescence spawns an alternative set of norms and values, whereby life and death acquire different (i.e., non-traditional)

3/ *The culture of urgency* is the ensemble of practices, values, rules, and norms which arise out of the urgent situation created by urban destructuration in Caracas and also in other metropolis.

4/ This is also true of the young people of the poor neighborhoods in Latin America, as well as the youth of the suburbs of European cities.

5/ It is important to mention that by the 12th century, during the time of the Ancient 5 This is also true of the young people of the poor neighborhoods in Latin America, as well as the youth of the suburbs of European cities. Regime, there existed other forms of sociability and models of socialization, which were based in affective interchange and sociability outside the conjugal family. These models were displaced during the 16th century by a bourgeois model, which was based in the conjugal family, school, and industrial work (Ariès, 1993b).

meanings. This new meaning and life orientation would mandate choosing the present, with its promise of high financial rewards and creature comforts, over all else, even though there are extremely high risks to the "crazy and fast-paced life" of the drug trade (Rodríguez, 1994).

VARIATIONS OVER THE COURSE OF LIFE

Recent fieldwork conducted in the area has shown a series of emerging characteristics related to school dropout rates as well as the importance of "hanging out" in the street for the purposes of socialization and consequent recruitment into drug dealing from an early age.

The process that we have called the new model of socialization has its origin in structural causes. Dropping out of school at a young age may be explained by the contrast of two different processes. In one sense, the amount of information that we can get in ways other than the traditional school formation, and obviously more attractive option of drug dealing as a job. Because income in the drug trade is earned in cash, it is much more valued than any professional salary earned by any job in the formal market.

This movement from the formal institutional sector, such as school, to the informal illegal sector of drug dealing, is also explained —as we mentioned— by the incongruities generated at the institutional level regarding change and transformation in society. In other words, the large quantity of information generated and publicized by different means in the information society makes the lessons taught in traditional school boring and irrelevant in the short term. The value associated with the necessity "to study in order to be somebody and earn a salary" becomes less feasible and more intangible when combined with the pervasive problem of being unable to pay for college. One's earning potential with low levels of human capital investment is a extremely insignificant when compared to the amount of cash involved in street corner drug dealing.

Another important point to take into consideration is that of family structure and cultural values: recent variations over time, the decomposition or transformation of the nuclear unit, the cultural upheaval caused by migration processes, and processes of identity and cultural readjustment imposed upon generations of Latinos born in the United States (i.e., the identity of New Yorican and PhilaRican youths). These factors and other socioeconomic characteristics that are related to recent transformations in society may essentially be the causes found at the origin of this new model of socialization that emerges and imposes itself on new generations of inner city Latino youth.

Obviously, other institutional factors should be taken into consideration such as the importance of information disseminated through the media under various domains: sports, music, appearance, brand names, and images.

Socialization in the streets is essentially characterized by the transmission of knowledge and information about its members. Its values stem from the harshness, difficulty and risks implied by its reality, as well as from experience in the "turf". This socialization establishes a springboard for the involvement in illegal jobs in the drug trade.

The violence that is characteristic and inherent to the drug trade turns out to be one of the most paradoxical elements of the model. This violence is fundamentally linked to the permanent uncertainty of the young dealer who is always at risk of being robbed of his merchandise or his earnings. The other level of violence is related to the very illegality of the sale of the product that is controlled by systems of politice repression.

Why is an activity that involves such high levels of risk and violence so attractive to young people? Why is it as important to earn respect and admiration through the exercise and control of these life-threatening activities? Respect and prestige earned by the control of the street drug business is more important than the respect and prestige reserved for more traditional spheres of society.

Active staying power in drug dealing on the street corners allows a young person a definite mobility regarding the power and control over

the product. However, this very power and control pushes some younger Latinos in American Inner cities, to the limit through the consumption of drugs.

In contrast previous research (Sánchez R. and Pedrazzini, 1998), specifically in Caracas, has shown that many young people who sell drugs in the barrios do not reach the point of consumption and dependency. To consume drugs means to completely lose the power and control of the drug dealer's territory. The quality of the product is tested and evaluated, but the young dealer will never actually reach the point of regular consumption. In addition, having power over a territory implies having perfect health, fitness, and form. One need be in good physical shape.

We find, in this study, that the factors that motivate Latin youths in American inner-cities—specifically Puerto Ricans— to switch from the business of drug dealing as a job, source of income, source of local power and respect, to a situation of alienation, consumption, and finally total loss of power and control over the activity could be related to a cultural identity conflict.

For Puerto Rican youths, they experience a paradoxical identity crisis; they are American yet at the same time, a Latino colony. Expecting to be accepted as American citizens, and to be treated as Latinos, might be produce some type of alienation that has repercussions in their lives.

The consequent cycle of the process turns out to be rather sad and unsettling. Youths just barely twenty-five years old can face a life marked by drug dealing, drug consumption, and inherent loss of territory control, personal downfall, and never-ending prison sentences. In addition, they may become contaminated by the use of dirty syringes during drug consumption.

These characteristics suggest that after such life experiences as those described above, he who lives beyond the age of 25 and who is able to leave prison and enter society, has the potential to be incorporated into society. It so happens that there are an innumerable amount of informal and survival activities all over the poor areas of the inner city. Individuals do the best they can, helping themselves by finding odd jobs and making use of the assistance programs in the area. They become involved in unconventional activities related to the construction of floors and platforms, roofing, and other existing maintenance projects that arise because of the poor housing conditions in the area. Another important activity is what is called yunkear (junking). It basically involves collecting scrap metal and trash to be sold for recycling. The purchase and re-sale of alcoholic beverages, which capitalizes on the differences in prices across state lines, also creates an unofficial business.

Concluding with this point, we would like to indicate that we are directly interested in researching the passage from childhood to adolescence and adulthood and showing how the informal drug trade is incorporated into these stages of life. We are also interested in studying how, in many cases, young people who are involved in drug dealing quit upon the birth of a child. It is interesting that drug dealing is rejected not for moral or ethical reasons, or its very illegality, but rather for the risk and uncertainty related to the violence associated with the drug activity that they have already lived and experienced. The young people do not want their children to experience the danger and violence that has been a part of their lives.

This fact may be an important variable that would explain the change in attitude brought on by the presence of a child. It would be wise to verify if, in fact, it is possible to abandon drug activity, or if it is only an act in front of the mother of the children. The intention to quit may exist, but in the same way, there may also exist the impossibility of moving to other spheres of employment that generate enough income to live and maintain a family. Attempts by the Latino man to change at a certain age after young adulthood are intimately related to his capacity for re-adaptation to society, far from the street corner and the drug trade, but always in the street where odd jobs arise.

American inner-cities are not socially homogenous territories; but rather they are composites of different social sectors. Precisely what seems important for us to study are: the implications of social

exclusion; the consequences of youth without professional training; the involvement of youth into the illegal drug trade; and finally, the possible move from the street corner and the drug trade to other subsistence-level unconventional activities.

SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACHES

Generally speaking, criminologists and psychologists have conducted studies of children and teenagers in American inner cities. Early criminologists viewed criminals as fundamentally different from other people, less bound by culture and less rational in their behavior. Crime was attributed to low intelligence and defective personalities. These theorists explained crime as the result of individual-level traits, rather than as the result of economic and social forces affecting particular groups in particular ecological contexts (Sullivan, 1989). Clearly, many current intervention policies are implicitly based on these theories, in that they try to lower crime rates by increasing the punishment to which offenders are subject.

Research that seeks to understand the processes whereby youths are involved in "deviant" activity within particular ecological and social contexts is a critical cap in current research. If young people feel they cannot be incorporated into established social structures of opportunity, they may participate in other structures of opportunities as a substitute. The tendency of today's poor inner-city youth to drop out of school seems incomprehensible in today's advanced and highly technical society, where the premium on education has risen dramatically (i.e. those men without high school diplomas have far less earning potential than in previous decades). Dropping out of high school has serious consequences for urban youth, consequences many of their parents understand. But parents' admonitions to "stay in school" may be met by deaf ears if the youth feel locked out of traditional forms of economic activity and social mobility. Thus, we should consider the possibility that families and schools in inner-city neighborhoods can no longer perform the socialization functions traditionally assigned to them. Indeed, young men may turn to peers, buddies, and pals for socialization precisely because the processes of deindustrialization have left poverty-stricken areas bereft of "legitimate" employment opportunities. Street corner peers may offer youth a set of socialization experiences they feel are far more accessible than those heralded by parents and schools.

Without attempting an exhaustive review of all the literature on this theme, we will mention those scholars whom we consider to have made contributions most relevant to the subject.

First, several scholars have investigated the importance of the street as a place where the youth are socialized by their peers. Elijah Anderson, in The Code of the Streets (1999), shows that:

> ...The street culture has evolved a "code of the street", which amounts a set of informal rules governing interpersonal public behavior, particularly violence. The rules prescribe both proper comportment and the proper way to respond if challenged. They regulate the use of violence and so supply a rationale allowing those who are inclined to aggression to precipitate violent encounters in an approved way. The rules have been established and are enforced mainly by the street oriented; but on the streets the distinction between street and decent is often irrelevant... At the heart of the code is the issue of respect-loosely defined as being treated"right" or being granted one's "props", or the deference one deserves... (pp. 32-33).

Anderson's qualitative analysis of street socialization, based on field observation, demonstrates the importance of the code of respect which sought by impoverished African American youth as a substitute for the status others may gain through participation in formal sector work and other mainstream activities. Previous research by Sánchez R. and Pedrazzini (1998) has revealed the existence of this type of code among children and youth in the barrios of Latin America. "Snake" (culebra) is the popular phrase for a cycle involving the ongoing loss of self-respect and dignity as well as their restoration through acts of revenge. Preliminary field observation in Kensington indicates that similar forms of socialization may exist among Latino youths there.

Philippe Bourgois (1998) conducted ethnographic research in a Latino neighborhood ("barrio") in New York City. In this neighborhood, crack and cocaine dealing was a major form of employment for the youth, and the search for "respect" was a way of maintaining power and

control in the streets. Addiction was among the most immediate and brutal facts shaping daily life on the street (p. 2). Bourgois also showed how what he calls street culture,

> ..."Offers an alternative forum for autonomous personal dignity. In the particular case of the United States, the concentration of socially marginalized population into politically and ecologically isolated inner-city enclaves has fomented an especially explosive cultural creativity that is in defiance of racism and economic marginalization" (p. 8).

He argues that,

> ...The street culture of resistance, is not a coherent, conscious universe of political opposition but, rather, a spontaneous set of rebellious practices that in the long term have emerged as an oppositional style" (p. 8).

According to Bourgois,

> Although street culture emerges out of a personal search for dignity and a rejection of racism and subjugation, it ultimately becomes an active agent in personal degradation and community ruin" (p. 9).

He concludes his analyses by proposing that public policies confront racial and class inequality, instead of the crime that results. He shows that drugs are not the root of the problems in inner-cities; rather, they are the expression of deeper structural dilemmas.

Ethnographic and other sociological studies have related street culture or street socialization to the accumulation of various types of "knowledge" or "trade secrets" which constitute survival tools for street dealers. Because this knowledge is so vital to their ability to survive street life, peers, cliques, and gangs become essential socializing agents, at the expense of family and school (Sánchez Jankowski, 1994; Moore et al., 1978; Virgil, 1988).

In Cocaine Kids (1990), Williams demonstrated how the trade secrets of the successful street dealer are of central importance in the lives of many impoverished urban children and youth. For Williams's respondents, dealing represented a realistic alternative "lifestyle". In The Crack House (1992), Williams also introduces us to the marginal world of the crack addict —one who cannot resist the lure of the product he sells.

Sullivan (1989) likewise draws on ethnographic data to develop a comparative analysis of three inner-city neighborhoods in New York. In analyzing the relationship between the lack of job opportunities and involvement in criminal activities, he points to an economic need which motivates young men's criminal behavior. The young men that Sullivan studied spoke of their criminal activities as "getting over" and "getting paid"—terms that refer directly to economic motivation and reflect the perception of a social structure of restricted opportunity. "Getting paid" equates crime with work. "Getting over," means beating the criminal justice system. In Sullivan's account, youth in all three neighborhoods were assigned the most risky and least remunerative tasks.

CONCLUSION

The forms of socialization linked to the street, peers, and drug-dealing as economic activity are similar both in the ghettos and in the barrios. It is possible that the social exclusion arising from the new model of the Information Age's technological development is felt and seen more readily in the ghettos of the American innercity. On the other hand, in the barrios of the Latinamerican metropoli, the crisis results from the state of public services and the poverty and deterioration in which these barrios have found themselves for many generations. In both cases, whether due to a new social exclusion, or long-standing poverty and the crisis of public services, we find that a new model of socialization is being induced. The same characteristics are seen in the realities of each society: the young people of the barrios and ghettos become involved, from a young age, in mechanisms of survival and in the practice of values, rules, and behaviors that have to do evermore frequently with the street and illegal, informal spaces. Less and less, do these youths have contact with the formal spaces of integration in a society that does not represent them.

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