THE SOCIOLOGY OF YOUTH BETWEEN A SATURATED APPROACH AND A RENEWED ANALYSIS

Faradji Mohamed Akli

Prof., Department of Sociology, University of Bejaia, ALGERIA, Emails: faradji_makli@yahoo.fr
and: mohamedakli.faradji@univ-bejaia.dz

Abstract

Among the very important question of sociological studies all over the world, the phenomena of young is the major thematic developed in the same paradigm from the classical studies to the new sociological studies of this changed thematic .

The evolution of scientific knowledge particularly that of sociology, leads us to consider the notion of youth not according to the "why of youth" proposed by philosophy, the "function of youth" advocated by functionalist doctrine, nor to consider the definition in vogue during the 1950s which takes a purely biological look at this period of an individual's life. It is rather a question for us in sociology of focusing on the how of this notion, through the analysis of the social process of the constitution of youth and the different interactions which take place with social institutions such as the family, school, work and other questions.

Youth is a concept that has evolved since societies began to take an interest in this category. Some research stops the invention of youth with bourgeois society, while others believe that it goes back a long way in the past. In this section we will briefly present the major stages experienced by youth and the process of its emergence as an object of sociological study.

In this communication, we try to explain the evolution of the sociological studies from the research of explication factors to the deeper sociological comprehension.

Keywords: sociology, youth, concepts, approach, renewed analysis.

1. INTRODUCTION

The phenomenon of youth today raises a number of questions about its definition. At what age does it begin, at what age does it end? Instead of dabbling in the search for a definition based on 'biological and natural' age that is objective but necessarily arbitrary, sociological knowledge must explain how age is a social production that has evolved over the course of history and varies according to social contexts.

The weakening of rites of passage, the lengthening of professional transitions and the extension of the time of experiences which always tend to postpone the age of access to the other social status which is adulthood, are all factors, causes and variables which have accentuated this uncertainty surrounding the definition of youth. Thus, thinking about youth, or rather trying to understand how it has been thought about throughout history, on the one hand, and starting from the principle that sociology is a scholarly way of thinking about the social, and therefore cannot claim to escape the influence of a very specific socio historical context, on the other hand, if we choose to do the historical sociology of youth, we must also do history in such a way as to think about youth' (Galland, 2001, p.7).

Whether in all simplicity it is a life cycle or a social fact, the fact remains that at today, the issue of youth, with all its divergences and similarities, is one of the most pressing challenges facing the world today.

2. THE DIFFICULT EPISTEMOLOGICAL RECOGNITION OF YOUTH

An examination of scientific research focused on youth reveals that this group was neglected by the social science disciplines, including sociology, which only showed interest in it relatively late. In anthropology, for example, "Youth was not in itself an interesting field of study. Anthropologists tended to conform to this tradition and, receiving their information from the elders, showed little concern for taking young people as an object of observation. Most studies neglected youth as such, treating them as a negligible subject, of little importance both politically and in daily life.

The first sign of interest in studying youth appeared in the United States, in works on delinquent subculture, which was then interpreted as a form of practical and symbolic rejection by young people of middle-class values. Margaret Mead's studies on adolescents organized into cultural subgroups are also part of this literature. With the generalization of schooling, experiments analyzing juvenile delinquency among two social groups at school revealed not personalities but subcultures, according to the culturalist approach.

Talcot Parsons was among the researchers inaugurating a tradition of research on age and the life cycle in the *American Sociological Review*. For Parsons, youth culture "as a whole is a functional process facilitating the transition from the security of childhood in the family of orientation to full adult status in marriage and professional life." Moreover, the author emphasizes that youth culture is profoundly opposed to that of adults, in addition to being irresponsible and sexualized.

S.N. Eisenstadt, for his part, analyzes youth from the perspective of the spaces that allow its emergence. He considers that "the development of specific youth organizations takes place when the role of age in general and of youth in particular as a criterion for role allocation weakens." Thus, young people will occupy a more important place in society when the criteria for role distribution in the division of labor and social qualities such as wisdom no longer depend on age.

In France, although Durkheim was a pioneer in the study of youth through his work *Education and Sociology* (1922), in which he presents education as a form of socialization for young people, the development of the sociology of youth occurred only belatedly. Focused on emphasizing social determinism, Durkheim overlooked the reality of youth and left to psychology the task of understanding the nature of childhood and adolescence. For him, society can shape the socialization and future of the child at will, the child being devoid of any human reality and/or personality, or predispositions that could be inherited, as long as they have not yet internalized social norms and constraints. His legacy thus caused a considerable delay in the French sociology of youth.

In the same of this option, the sociological study suggested approaching children's education by considering them as infra-social beings living in a state of passivity comparable to that in which a hypnotized person is artificially placed. This state of mind facilitates educational action, with the use of authority if necessary, to produce a "completely new" being.

In a study conducted in 1961, *Cohen* attempted to highlight a cultural conflict experienced by children from working-class backgrounds who were forced at school to undergo a socialization process of the middle class, which differed from their own. They were therefore subjected to two contradictory socialization processes: familial and school-based.

In 1966, *Jean-Claude Chamboredon* criticized what he called "speculations on the rise of youth." He targeted "two illusions." One concerned the idea that youth shared a homogeneous culture, and the other claimed that this culture was of a new kind. "For Chamboredon, adolescent culture is merely a conformism adopted to live through a state of statuary indeterminacy. For culturalists, it would be the original symbolic expression of a system of values and a prestige hierarchy breaking with adult norms and roles."

On the eve of the May 1968 events, Edgar Morin gave greater importance to youth culture, which he believed was capable of overwhelming the dominant adult model. The promotion of youth culture could lead to modernity and cultural change. This youth counterculture, driven by modernity and revolution, was the triggering element of the May 1968 events. Despite this, *Morin* considered that young people formed a homogeneous social group and constituted a relevant sociological object.

In what seems like a clarification, Bourdieu, in *"Youth Is Just a Word,"* denies any sociological relevance to the study of age categories, which he considers a form of class struggle. "The sociologist's professional reflex is to remind that divisions between ages are arbitrary. In fact, the boundary between youth and old age is, in all societies, a matter of struggle. What I want to remind is simply that youth and old age are not given

facts but are socially constructed in the struggle between the young and the old. The relationship between social age and biological age is very complex."

Since then, *Olivier Galland* is often cited as the sociologist who revolutionized the sociology of youth. Since *Morin*, he is the only one to approach young people as a category in their own right. He highlighted the lengthening of the youth period, which he attributes to the difficult socioeconomic conditions of young people and the mass unemployment that affects them particularly. This influences the extension of studies with the democratization of education and the delayed construction of a family unit.

The growing importance of the sociology of youth in the scientific research field has led to national and international studies such as those by *Cécile Van de Velde* and the collective led by Kairos Future, conducted from the perspective of comparing socialization models, modes of transition to adulthood, the influence of the economic model on youth values, young people's relationship to work and other social institutions, etc.

Today, some authors even go so far as to consider the literature produced around youth issues exaggerated, arguing that the social discourse about family and youth is constructed from minority phenomena. "It is the most disadvantaged young people and the most deprived families who have shaped the view of adolescents and their families. In other words, less than 20% of the youth populations have been the basis of discourse concerning 100% of a generation." It is thus denounced that the atypical behavior of a minority of troubled youth is elevated to a rule concerning all youth, making them a specific category requiring specific treatment, to the point of harming the image of youth and their families.

3. YOUTH: DEBATE AROUND A DEFINITION

Despite the epistemological importance that youth has gained since the events of May 1968, sociologists still face difficulty in clearly defining it. Is youth an age category, a biological transition or a simply a social representation?

Since youth is an intermediate stage, some researchers propose defining the surrounding notions (namely childhood and adulthood) in order to better understand and delimit its scope.

International law limits childhood to 18 years old, and UNESCO considers young people to be individuals between 15 and 24 years old. While the boundaries of youth differ from one institution to another and from one society to another, its practice is even more ambiguous. Between childhood and youth, adolescence appears as an intermediate stage, and the boundaries among these three notions are neither fixed nor consistent—they vary according to individuals and socio-cultural context. The difficulty in distinguishing between adolescence and youth arises from the fact that for a long time these two stages were considered as one.

Youth was born from a Western conception of education that responds to the need for secondary socialization. It represents a phase of preparation for adult life. Youth as a social group endowed with a subculture did not affirm itself as a social and collective force until after the events of May 1968. Since then, it has been characterized by a lengthening of the period leading to delayed completion of studies, entry into employment, marriage, etc.

As for its boundary with adulthood, the latter seems to be defined in terms of stability and physical and mental maturity, during which an individual reaches a certain level of development that, enables them to assume responsibilities. Youth then ends as soon as the individual attains maturity and becomes capable of self-sufficiency.

Furthermore, the transformations experienced by industrial society—especially in the organization of work relationships, which increasingly require mobility and adaptability—make adulthood more fluid and the boundaries between adulthood and youth harder to grasp. School socialization, as a space for developing individual potential, and the dominance of individualism in social work relations complicate the definition of youth as a social subgroup. Youth is prolonged, while the threshold for entering adulthood changes according to various parameters (socioeconomic and cultural), along with the weakening of rites of passage.

In summary, the difficulty in defining youth stems not only from the existence of a multitude of individual pathways to adulthood but also from the fact that the references to stability and establishment, which were characteristic of adulthood in the era of wage-earning society, are no longer relevant. Thus, "can youth still be thought of as a transition when we know that this transition can now be extended throughout life?

Cécile Van de Velde believes that the definition of youth as a transitional period leading to adulthood is borrowed from the wage-earning society, during which this process was linear and organized around professional activity. With job stability and security, and a strongly institutionalized family, the boundary

milestones with adulthood were: the end of studies and access to the first job, marriage, residential autonomy, etc. This transitional approach perceives youth as a preliminary stage to a stable and linear adult life.

Galland puts forward the idea that the extension of youth, due to delays in studies, entry into employment, marriage, and defamiliarization, contributes to the emergence of a "new life stage" in the form of intermediate situations of "young adulthood." These situations of material and residential dependence are, according to Galland, the most similar to the experience of young Europeans today.

However, traditional criteria for adulthood can no longer prevail; hence the need, to understand youth as an object of study, to consider it "only as a category of observation whose duration varies according to the fluctuations of its boundary indicators, but also and above all as a fundamentally evolving process of individuation." *Van de Velde* reveals the existence of identity markers that surpass traditional and statutory thresholds once used to define youth in terms of reference to adulthood.

Today, becoming an adult is a prospect that seems very distant to young people; the path separating them from it is characterized by back-and-forth movements, while the definitive crossing often occurs very late in their trajectories. The transition from youth to adulthood has thus undergone a profound change from material independence to be acquired toward autonomy to be constructed. Finally, the definition of youth can be considered not in relation to thresholds previously established by society, but according to a process of self-construction.

4. YOUTH AS A SOCIOLOGICAL OBJECT OF STUDY

When we try to give a specific definition deeper object of sociology, we can certainly understand that social facts and social phenomenon must be considered as the basic concepts of this discipline compared to the other social sciences. This is why we can also consider the youth phenomena as a basic structure of the majority of social changes produced especially in nowadays societies.

Youth is a concept that has evolved since societies began to take an interest in this category. Some research situates the invention of youth with bourgeois society, while others believe it dates back far into the past. In this section, we will briefly present the major stages experienced by youth and the process of its emergence as a sociological object of study.

5. GENESIS OF THE NOTION OF YOUTH

The evolution of scientific knowledge, particularly in sociology, leads us to consider the notion of youth not according to the "why of youth" proposed by philosophy, nor the "function of youth" advocated by functionalist doctrine, nor to adopt the definition popular in the 1950s that takes a purely biological view of this life stage. Rather, from a sociological perspective, the focus is on the *how* of this notion, through the analysis of the social process of the constitution of youth and the various interactions it establishes with social institutions such as family, school, work, etc.

In the present research, the aim is to focus on the relationship of young people with one of the major institutions of society: work. But before that, it is important to highlight that the interest aroused by the study of youth in societies and across epochs is motivated by the fact that, as several studies emphasize, not only is youth as a life period characterized by fuzzy boundaries, but also the mechanisms governing its constitution and its relations with different social institutions are fluid and transitional.

To illustrate this importance, let us now examine the historical movement of the constitution of youth as it is known today and the significant stages of its formation, which was often confronted, as we will see, with difficult social recognition.

Philippe Ariès's thesis situates the discovery of childhood and adolescence at the advent of bourgeois society. This thesis has been contested by numerous medieval historians who, in a special issue of *Annales de l'Est* published in 1982, argue that childhood and adolescence have always existed despite the glaring lack of schooling which would have made this class a homogeneous category. However, some among them point out that the minority of those who were schooled never missed an opportunity to make themselves heard, thus attesting that youth did indeed exist during this period. Finally, *Olivier Galland* clarifies that "the feeling of childhood and the idea of education are not absent in the Middle Ages, but due to many conditions, professional establishment was precocious and prevented adolescence from socially developing."

If these points inform us of anything, it is that the relationship of young people to work has always been decisive for their condition and has profoundly changed since that time. Hence the interest of our research on the relationship of Algerian youth to work in a particular context for Algeria, which marks a change in the

place of youth in societies and its relations with various social institutions on a global scale.

Three crucial periods can be distinguished that have characterized the process of constructing youth or the different ways of thinking about youth throughout history. The first concerns the time before the bourgeois revolution.

6. YOUTH IGNORED

The characteristic traits of youth in this period were the dominance of the collective over the individual. Thus, despite the fact that in old France, for example, young people were the most structured age group, they were not recognized as such on an individual level. Proof of this is that society showed no interest in the education and training of children and adolescents. The existing studies on this period are as vague as they are ambiguous. The practices and characteristics attributed to young people of that time actually only concern those from the wealthy classes belonging to the court or the bourgeoisie, thereby excluding the majority of young people from the lower classes.

"According to Philippe Ariès, traditional society poorly represented the child and even more poorly the adolescent. The child was very early mixed with adults; from a very young child, he immediately became a young man without passing through the stages of youth that may have been practiced before the Middle Ages and which have become essential aspects of developed societies today."

According to Olivier Galland, two institutions prevented the emancipation and autonomy of young people: negotiated marriage and the right of primogeniture. The latter allowed families with property to avoid its fragmentation among their offspring. As for those who did not own property, such as artisans and merchants, the child was destined to take over the father's employment. "Childhood prepares not so much for the freedom and autonomy that an independent condition permits but rather for a possible renunciation of love or fortune or acceptance of a predetermined condition."

The legal organization of society in late medieval Europe was crossed by two types of legal currents.

It concerns, for the first, a written law, inherited from the Roman *patria potestas* and followed in Italy and Southern Europe in general. The second concerns customary law typical of Northern Europe and England; France, due to its geographical position, was divided between the two. Customary law sanctifies lineage relations in inheritance transmission and establishes their precedence over education (lineage determines the child's future and rank. Education is only a means to better occupy and assume this rank and set an example, and it cannot in any way serve as a means of transcendence). Emancipation is acquired through marriage, and the blood heir cannot be dispossessed. Written law, on the other hand, entirely suspends children's lives to parental authority. The father has the right to oversee the choice of his children's partners, decides at will whether or not to emancipate young people regardless of their age, and can even disinherit them, bequeathing his property to an outsider.

It should be noted that the youth period, although customary law is more egalitarian towards young people than written law, is marked by a relatively long waiting time under both systems. This is because young people from noble families undergo often long education and preparation before reaching the promised rank (generally for the eldest; younger siblings have less chance of attaining it and often indulge in pleasure and adventure during this time). For those from less prominent families such as merchants and artisans, the wait is longer and the transition to command may be delayed until the father retires or dies.

The end of the 17th century marks the beginning of a new era for youth, where, under the influence of several authors such as Jean Pic, Abbé Bordelon, and John Locke, a reconsideration of the father-child relationship was advised. "A reasoned management of paternal love began to be advocated, which would participate in a system of rewards and sanctions indexed on educational objectives… the child must cease to be a distraction or a nuisance, he must become a being to be educated; the entire parental attitude was transformed: it was no longer a matter of behaving towards children according to instinctive reactions of amusement, weariness, or anger, but rather to control one's attitude and orient it towards an educational aim." Moreover, there was a growing interest in girls' education, notably with Fénelon, who asserted that girls' education was a general interest as important as boys' instruction.

At the beginning of the 18th century, under the impetus of Enlightenment thinkers starting with Louis-René Caradeuc de La Chalotais, who made the fight for national education his own through his book *Essay on National Education*, the questioning of previously unshakable principles began to appear on the horizon. In his project presented to parliament, he emphasized the social utility of education and its importance in training for state professions. Merit by blood was contested and supplanted for the first time by training and competence. The representation of youth also evolved, earning praise from Enlightenment philosophers such as Diderot in his *Encyclopedia*, who considered this stage the most lovable and brilliant of life,

preferring it to all other periods, especially old age, which was formerly associated with wisdom and maturity.

For his part, Rousseau, in *Émile*, argued that education, which must be systematic, is first and foremost beneficial to the child before society. Through this individualistic and personal fulfillment perspective, expressed in *Émile*, Rousseau anticipated the characteristics of youth in the following century and laid the foundations of modern Western education.

7. THE REBELLIOUS YOUTH

Youth's perspectives of freedom and personal fulfillment clashed with the rigidity of moralizing laws deployed by society to regulate them. "The time of absolute fathers is over; the time of institutional fathers has come," as Émile Légouvé pointed out in *Fathers and Children in the 19th Century*. This is the very reason Olivier Galland considers the 19th century the century of contradictions. According to him, these manifest in the violence that erupted between this group and the rest of society throughout the century and extended up to the events of May 1968 in France. The 19th century is also "the century that, while placing the family at the heart of its morals, inaugurated the modern form of the generation conflict." It marks the emergence of a completely different contradiction within youthful thought itself, driven by the revolutionary and egalitarian dream, which sees one of the foundations of its emancipation individualism contradicted.

All the literature produced around the theme of youth during this period accuses young people of idleness, materialism, insubordination, and dilettantism. In one of the most developed essays on this theme, Charles Wagner, in his book *Jeunesse*, considers that the attitude of young people expresses the depth of the crisis that French society was going through at the end of the 19th century. He believes that it is an entire generation, once driven by religion and knowledge, that has been overtaken by skepticism and dilettantism and obsessed with "the sole concern of 'making it'" without thinking about implementing the means to achieve it. According to him: "Utilitarianism destroys man; it restricts all our conceptions of practical life. This so-called good disposition of a respectable, selfish bourgeois is worse than all vices…"

In the 19th century as well, the youthful segment was divided between those from the bourgeoisie on one side and those belonging to the popular classes on the other. Thus, both the interest shown toward youth and its criticism were essentially directed toward bourgeois youth, whose "prestige of idleness would persist for a long time and for many men… The bourgeois was one who lived off his rents, but at the same time, the virtues of work and individual success through effort and talent would quickly impose themselves in the most active and modern portion of the bourgeoisie as one of the fundamental principles guiding its attitude in life and its morality."

On the other hand, popular youth, as denounced by Jules Simon in *L'ouvrier de huit ans*, entered the labor market at an early age, around 14, benefiting only from a brief adolescence—except for some sporadic initiatives of youth supervision by religious associations established by the bourgeoisie to preserve its interests and fight social ills. Society's intervention on the youthful segment resulted, by the end of this period, in a reinforcement of the supervision of bourgeois youth within the family sphere. As for popular childhood, it was subjected both to early labor and to moral and social supervision by religious institutions, and later by the school system.

Ultimately, if we illustrate the path covered by youth up to this 19th-century period, we will notice that although this segment became more visible, the interest shown by society—particularly through supervision—considerably reduced its freedom.

8. A DISENCHANTED YOUTH

The early 20th century heralds an even greater interest in youth, insofar as it is represented as a distinct social group at the forefront of society, through the first surveys (Agathon, *Les Jeunes Gens d'Aujourd'hui*, Plon Paris 1913) aimed at showing the degree of youth mobilization during the First World War. Then, a change in youthful behavior was observed at the beginning of the century. One notes the shift of this group from a militant, rebellious category engaged in improving its condition (at least according to its ideals) toward an excess of inwardness and idealism. This character most often leads to dissatisfaction, melancholy, and frustration when the real world proves not to match the dreamed life. It is in fact a "contradiction in the socialization process between aspirations formed in a given context and the itinerary of real life, and the social frustration that may result."

The consolidation of youth's role as a distinct social group and the new problems faced by this category— both on the macro level in its interactions with society in general and, especially, on the micro level with the new character by which this segment of society distinguished itself (idealism, inwardness, and detachment from the real world)—encouraged the development of social sciences such as sociology and psychology,

which were booming at the time. Moreover, the psychological upheavals experienced by youth during this era provided fertile ground for psychology researchers.

Youth was now approached with an analytical attitude (no longer seeking to dictate how youth should be or to condemn its negative attitudes), with the intent of scientific knowledge through the invention of adolescence (the development of youth sociology was delayed in France, as we will see). Adolescence became a new life stage with nothing to do with previous representations of youth, which negatively associated it with an age when one is no longer a child but not yet established. The adolescent acquired a social status with the generalization of schooling, reinforcing this distinction, which, according to the founder of adolescent psychology Stanley Hall, is considered a "new birth." According to the same author, the traits that characterize adolescence, the result of a profound change in adolescent personality, distinguish it from childhood, adulthood, and even from youth proper.

It should be noted that throughout this historical evolution of the notion of youth, it went from complete ignorance by society during the Middle Ages to an interest not only in the social group it constitutes but also in a profound individual psychological analysis of the young person.

Finally, school and education seem to constitute the essential element in the distinction and constitution of youth as a social category with its specific properties, and as highlighted by various studies, it now represents the core of society's interest toward young people. This observation, in our view, justifies focusing on the role of school in the socialization of youth.

9. SCHOOL AND SOCIALIZATION

The role of school in the socialization process continues to grow in importance in modern societies. Thus, from the end of early childhood, school takes over from the family in the socialization of children. The importance of primary socialization depends on the orientation given to secondary socialization (particularly that of school), insofar as it can either continue or oppose the work done by the family.

According to François De Singly in *The Sociology of the Contemporary Family*, the decline of the family's role in the socialization of individuals is due to multiple reasons. Among the most important, one can cite the intervention of the state in the family through the schooling of children, justified by their best interests. This allows the state to generalize schooling and impose it on parents from an early age, even initiating a preschool education period, which leaves little time for family socialization. Other less impactful reasons include the shrinking size of the modern family, which pushes intrafamilial relationships to become more individualized, giving greater importance to the child's education.

For Bernard Petré, this evolution stems from "dismissing" parents, notably those from middle and disadvantaged classes. The existence of intermediary socialization means, such as media, conveys models of success that are difficult for these parents to achieve, generating a certain lack of self-confidence. Furthermore, they draw little norms or references from society with which to guide their children, leading them to abdicate their parental role and leave it to various institutions like school or these intermediary agents.

According to temporary sociology "the transition from the 'old' family to the 'modern' family occurs through a change in the relationship to the child. This evolution stems from forms of education. Above all, education used to be through apprenticeship. School creates a particular idea of childhood. Today, school exerts influence from birth through adolescence, even post-adolescence."

The role that school occupies in the socialization of children is, according to Bourdieu, due to the fact that the value of a family is defined by the educational capital held by its members. De Singly agrees, adding that this capital, which individuals aspire to, is distributed according to the rules of the school, hence its increasingly important position in society.

The holistic approach to socialization aligns with Bourdieu's position that socialization reproduces the norms and values of the class that controls the means of production, i.e., the dominant class. Socialization institutions, both school and family, prepare the individual to accept their future position and social role, whether assigned to positions of responsibility or subordination. "School, particularly through its mode of functioning and organization, prepares individuals for what happens in the labor market. School socialization legitimizes the hierarchy, compartmentalization, and differentiation of practices and tasks that students will later experience when they enter the labor market."

The education system or teaching system in general, can participate directly or indirectly in shaping young people's vision of work as well as their integration into working life. The example of Denmark is revealing in this regard. Indeed, the Danish education system allows young people to temporarily suspend their studies

to dedicate themselves to work. As a result, studies on Danish youth's relationship to work show that young people in Nordic countries generally and Danes in particular, have a particular relationship with work. Thus, the international survey by Kairos Future revealed that these respondents engage in work from an early age, regardless of their families' socioeconomic situation, and their age of disengagement from family dependence is the lowest in the world due to their early need for autonomy.

10. CONCLUSION

We can consider that the issue of the sociological study of youth is very renewed. Today In the field of the forefront of social science research, particularly sociological investigations has been largely neglected; it was not until the early 1940s that we really began to talk about youth as a life cycle.

The sociological interest of American researchers in the social status of young people, their manifestations and expressions, and the content of the experience of youth is relatively recent.

Following the publication of Margaret Mead's From the South Seas in 1939 (Mead, 1939), Ralph Linton pointed out the theoretical interest in studying the categories of age and sex as part of a study of the social structure of a modern society (Linton, 1940). Two years later (1942), when *Talcot Parsons* published an article in the American Sociological Review inaugurating a tradition of research into age and the life cycle, as part of his 'structural-functionalist' theory of American society attached great importance to the categories of age and sex, alongside other significant social facts (Parsons, 1942). For him, youth manifests itself as 'a way of life that results from tensions with adults' (Parsons, 1955, cited by *Galland,* 1997, p.48) characterized by uncertainty reactions toward a contemporary societies.

REFERENCE LIST

Bernier, Léon. (1992). Jeunesse et sociologie utopique. Éditions Albert Saint-Martin,Quebec.

Bourdieu, Pierre. (1984). « La jeunesse n'est qu'un mot », Questions de sociologie, Paris.

De Maupeou Nicole, (1996). « La sociologie de la jeunesse aux États-Unis » In Revue française de sociologie, 7-4

Edgar Morin, (1962). « Jeunesse », L'Esprit du temps, Paris.

Halbwachs, Maurice. (1972). Classes sociales et morphologie, Paris.

Lascoumes, Pierre et Le Galès, Patrick (2012). Sociologie de l'action publique, Armond Collin, 2é éditions, Paris.

Linton, Ralph. (1940). « A neglected aspect of social structure ». The American Journal of Sociology 45 (6), May.

Mead, Margaret, (1939). From the South Seas, studies of adolescence and sex in primitive societies, New York, W. Morrow

Mustapha Medjahdi, La jeunesse algérienne et les télévisions satellitaires, usages et formes l'interprétation, article du CRASC.

Parsons, Talcott. (1942). "Age and sex in the social structure of the United States" American sociological Review 7 (5), October.

Touraine, Alain, (1965). La sociologie de l'action, Les Éditions du Seuil, Paris.

https://www.larousse.fr/encyclopedie/divers/%C3%A9v%C3%A9nements_de_mai_1968/131140