

Sociological reading of the phenomenon of child abduction in Algeria between the positivist trend and the comprehensive approach

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ABSTRACT

Child abduction is a social phenomenon that has spread in Algeria and many other societies. Victims, who are mainly vulnerable individuals characterized by physical weakness and lack of maturity, are a growing concern among families, as evidenced by the crowding of school entrances. This phenomenon has attracted the attention of public opinion, then specialized scientific research, in order to better understand its causes and mitigate its effects, especially psychological and social. However, such an undertaking requires a description and analysis of this phenomenon in the light of the interpretative positivist trend as well as the hermeneutical approach, which is the main focus of this article. The latter concludes that social phenomena, such as child abduction, have their origins mainly in the motivations, convictions and rational calculations of individuals, which it is necessary to understand, and not exclusively in specific social causes or economic determinisms that should be explained.

Keywords

child abduction, positivist tendency, hermeneutical approach.

Introduction

Child abduction is a social phenomenon that has become widespread recently. The importance of this subject lies in the fact that the child victim is characterized by physical and mental weakness, which facilitates the task of the kidnapers to carry out this heinous act, threatening the security and stability of society. In approaching this study of a particular social phenomenon, which has a unique epistemological status, it appears both as objective, regulated by causal and deterministic relations as a stable material system independent of the consciousness of individuals, while also being subjective, impregnated by nature with meanings, ideas and rationality. Thus, it is essential to answer a central question : is the appropriate sociological method to address the phenomenon of child abduction based on explanation or understanding? This study attempts to answer this question by relying on the descriptive method, which seems the most suitable for studying the nature of the relationships between the variables and their analysis, through three axes :

- A conceptual approach to the phenomenon of child abduction
- The phenomenon of child abductions from an explanatory positivist point of view

- The phenomenon of child abductions from an understanding and interpretative point of view

1. Conceptual Introduction

1.1. Definition of the child

In the Convention on the Rights of the Child of 20 November 1989, the term "child" refers to any human being who has not yet attained the age of eighteen years, unless he has attained majority earlier under the law applicable to him. In addition, the African Charter, in its Article 2, paragraph 1, stipulates that the term "child" means any person who has not yet attained the age of eighteen years. As for Algerian legislation, Article 442 of the Code of Criminal Procedure states: "majority is reached at the age of eighteen", which means that anyone who has not yet reached this age is considered a child (Nikia, 2017, p. 938). The term "childhood" is generally used to refer to the period from birth to majority or maturity (Arafa, 2005).

1.1.1. Kidnapping – linguistic definition:

The term "abduction" is derived from the words meaning to seize, steal, or take by force, taking something away quickly, in order to increase the chances of success of the operation. In this context, we observe that abduction has specific characteristics, the speed of which is the most striking.

2.1.1. Removal – technical definition:

It is the transportation, detention, arrest or captivity of a child under the age of eighteen, whether permanently or temporarily, using force, threat, seduction or deception.

2.1. Characteristics of the abduction phenomenon:

The phenomenon of kidnapping has characteristics that distinguish it from other crimes. A crime based on a single action is a simple crime, while a crime that arises from multiple actions is a complex crime, usually more damaging, both materially and morally.

1.2.1. Speed of execution:

The phenomenon of kidnapping is distinguished by its speed of execution. The act of kidnapping is carried out in the shortest possible time, as it is a socially reprehensible action. Social feeling exerts its power over the author, regardless of his situation or belonging. Thus, the author adopts speed in execution to avoid being discovered on the one hand, and on the other hand, to escape social disapproval and avoid, as much as possible, personal disapproval.

2.2.1. Intentionality:

The abduction of children is an intentional crime, which means that its realization requires a criminal intent, that is, the perpetrator acts with knowledge and will. This intent is general and there is no need to prove a specific intent. It is sufficient that the perpetrator is aware that he is committing an abduction or deportation of a minor, according to the laws in force in most Arab countries, including Algeria. It is useful here to distinguish between general criminal intent and specific criminal intent in the context of child abduction, according to the following two elements:

- **General criminal intent:**

Criminal intent in abduction exists if the perpetrator acts voluntarily to remove the victim from his or her family or entourage, or anyone with the right to keep him or her, and removes him or her by severing any connection with them. The perpetrator must be aware that his act is punishable by law. The perpetrator must also know that the victim is under 18 years of age. If the perpetrator proves that he was unaware of the victim's age, the general criminal intent is discarded, replaced by error or negligence.

- **Specific criminal intent:**

Kidnapping also requires the presence of a specific criminal intent, regardless of the motive for the crime. Sexual assault or seduction of the victim is not a necessary condition to establish the crime. The act of abduction, that is to say the removal of the victim from his usual place, is sufficient. According to Algerian law, the motives for the crime can be revenge, sexual reasons, blackmail or extortion of money, or even a "noble" motive like getting the child out of a corrupt environment. However, the motive has no impact on the judge's conviction or discretion to determine or mitigate the sentence (Salha, 2023). It should be noted here that the Algerian legislator has clearly opted for a methodological approach based on positivist interpretation, as shown by its insistence on the intention to commit the act, and not on the motive of the crime. In the case of kidnapping, the emphasis is on the fact that the act is knowingly committed, regardless of the intentions or meanings behind the act. This methodological approach, inspired by French interpretative law, is followed by many Arab and Western countries, and deserves to be examined in the light of the results of this study.

3.2.1. Complex crime:

The crime of kidnapping, as defined, consists of quickly seizing the victim, which in itself constitutes an independent objective act. Removing the victim from the crime scene is also a separate act. This crime is only realized with these two actions, and if one of them is missing, it cannot be classified as a kidnapping. Thus, it can be said that complex crime is a crime composed of several actions, where each action constitutes a separate crime, but these crimes are merged to form a single crime, subject to a single qualification and a single penalty.

4.2.1. Crime of harm:

Kidnapping crimes are considered harm crimes because it is inconceivable that such a crime would occur without causing harm to the victim. This crime entails material consequences resulting from a criminal act committed by the perpetrator, and this damage affects the victim by removing or forcibly moving him/her, against his/her will. The harm inflicted on the abducted child affects his or her freedom or physical and psychological

integrity, while also affecting his or her family and society as a whole (Fawzia, 2013, p. 208).

3.1. Real situation of the child abduction phenomenon

1.3.1. Worldwide:

On May 25, 1979, the American child Etan Patz was kidnapped on his way to school. Four years after this event, the United States proclaimed this day as an official day of annual commemoration. More than twenty countries around the world, such as the United States, Great Britain, Canada, Brazil, and Germany, are currently commemorating this day to remember these children. According to the International Centre for Missing and Exploited Children, approximately eight million children are reported missing each year. This figure includes conflict-related kidnappings, as well as kidnappings by relatives. Although 90% of these children are found, this does not mitigate the fact that children separated from their families are exposed to abuse, exploitation or even human trafficking networks, with some of them disappearing forever. In the United States, about half a million children go missing each year, compared to about 140,000 in the United Kingdom and 100,000 in Germany. With the influx of migrants into Europe, Europol (the European Police Agency) reported that nearly 10,000 refugee children had gone missing for unknown reasons. On the other hand, accurate statistics on the abduction of minors in Arab countries are lacking (Al Jazeera, 2016).

2.3.1. In Algeria :

The phenomenon of kidnappings, which has increased in recent years, has been described by some sociologists as a phenomenon foreign to Algerian society, historically known for its harmony and civic values. According to statistics from the Algerian Network for the Defence of Children's Rights, 30 cases of child abduction were reported in 2020, with one death recorded. This demonstrates the growing scale of the phenomenon, especially with the tragic events of kidnappings of minors, boys and girls, which shook Algeria, some ending in tragedies, especially during the second half of 2023. The president of the Algerian Network for the Defence of Children's Rights provided figures on the phenomenon, stating that "at the end of 2016, we

mastered the phenomenon. From 2011 to 2016, 220 abduction attempts were recorded, while in 2019, only 83 cases were reported, and in 2020, we recorded 30 cases with one death. " It should be noted that the fight against kidnappings in Algeria was previously conducted through ministerial procedures, until the introduction of the monitoring and reporting of kidnappings project in 2013. The new 2020 law was seen as a significant step forward in the fight against this dangerous phenomenon (Islam, 2020). It is also important to mention that the Algerian social structure, imbued with Islamic culture, firmly rejects these acts. Although this phenomenon is not widespread, it is still present and exerts pressure on the collective conscience, especially since the victims are children. A single case of kidnapping followed by murder or rape is enough to terrorize an entire society. This phenomenon therefore raises concerns and captures the attention of public opinion, which requires a thorough analysis to identify the most appropriate methods of study in order to explain it and, thus, contribute to its reduction in society.

The phenomenon of child abduction between interpretation and understanding

2.1. Psychological benefits

It can be put forward as an assumption that any social phenomenon is governed by both causes and determinisms, while carrying meanings and ideas in its contents. A combined approach of the two perspectives, ordered in a specific way, could allow an objective sociological reading of the phenomenon of child abduction. It can be stressed here that trying to combine interpretative and understanding approaches is an important epistemological challenge. Indeed, interpretation implies considering the social phenomenon as an autonomous material system, independent of individual consciousness. This positivist approach risks emptying the phenomenon of its symbolic dimension. On the other hand, understanding, which aims to grasp meanings and interpretations, opens the door to the subjectivity of the researcher and the intrusion of his personal convictions. Thus, the phenomenon studied becomes a part of one's own

consciousness.

In this context, interpretation is a mental process aimed at discovering the constant causal relationships between two or more phenomena, in order to determine the causes and the laws that govern them. Understanding, on the other hand, is an intellectual effort to extract the values, meanings, and ideas suggested by social behavior in a certain context. Thus, if every social phenomenon has causes, determinisms and laws, it deserves to be explained. But while it also includes subjective values, meanings, and intentions, it also deserves to be understood and interpreted. Each of these approaches has its own epistemic and scientific justifications.

1.2. Reading the social phenomenon according to the positivist interpretative approach

Supporters of the positivist approach believe that the social phenomenon must be explained and not understood, because positivist sociology is based on rigorous scientific observation, precise experimentation and the comparative method, as well as on experimental determinism based on causal relationships between independent and dependent variables. The natural sciences are considered a model to be followed by positivist sociologists, especially supporters of the interpretative approach (Hamdaoui, 2015, p. 14).

2.2. The social phenomenon can be explained by:

It is important to note that the interpretative model of the positivist school is both mechanical and deterministic. It is mainly a question of identifying the laws and rules that influence phenomena through linear and regular causal relationships. According to this theory, as soon as the causes are brought together, the results occur. The existence of one phenomenon inevitably leads to the appearance of another, in a fixed and recurring order. One of the main defenders of this school is Émile Durkheim.

3.2. The explanatory method at Durkheim

Émile Durkheim is one of the founders of Western sociology. He established the foundations of this discipline based on several principles, including that of considering social phenomena as "things" having an independent existence, material objects that can be subject to external observation. In this regard, Durkheim states: "Social phenomena must

be studied from the outside, as things separate from us, because everything that is given to us or imposes itself on our observation is considered as a thing. Therefore, the study of social phenomena must be done in themselves, independently of conscious individuals who perceive them intellectually." This principle applies both to the phenomenon of child abduction and to the whole of social reality without exception (Hamdaoui, 2015, p. 13).

Durkheim thus adopts the method of explanation for the study of all social phenomena, based on the deterministic causal relationship between observed phenomena, whether natural or social. He states on this subject: "All that this science requires is that people recognize that the law of causation also applies to social phenomena, because, after proving the validity of the law of causation in other aspects of nature and gradually extending its power from the natural world to the psychic world, it is legitimate to assume that it also applies to the social world. We can now add the following truth: research based on this principle tends to confirm its validity" (Hamdaoui, 2015, p. 14).

In short, proponents of this explanatory theory in sociology start from the idea that the social phenomenon is governed by a structure of fixed relations and that it develops within a framework of social determinisms. In addition, external factors exert a form of coercion and coercion on individuals and groups. This makes the social phenomenon susceptible to explanation, as it is the product of fixed elements that can be objectively revealed during the study. Moreover, the social phenomenon can be objectified when it is considered as a material system or as a pure "thing", according to Durkheim's expression. It is then possible to abstract it from the preconceived concepts associated with it and study it in isolation, away from individual consciousness, will or intentionality. In other words, the basis from which the researcher in sociology, according to Durkheim, begins assumes no metaphysical concept, no philosophical, ethical or subjective consideration in the reality of social phenomena (Hamdaoui, 2015, p. 14).

With this positivist hypothesis, the phenomenon of child abduction can be explained and

constructed scientifically, according to its main characteristics, such as externality, stability, obligation and generality. These characteristics are essential to affirm the scientificity of the truth obtained by interpreting and analyzing the contents of this phenomenon within the positivist framework that frames it.

In addition, the conditions of the scientific explanatory approach, which are well known in the exact sciences, are also present in sociological studies of social phenomena. This indicates the possibility of achieving the same scientific model that allowed experimental sciences to build its methodological foundations. However, it is essential to take into account the peculiarities of the social phenomenon and its singularity, in accordance with its human nature, which distinguishes it from natural phenomena by its essence and existential reality. It is also important to emphasize here that Auguste Comte, belonging to the same school of thought, considers that scientific exploration in sociology, as in biology or chemistry, is based on three fundamental principles: observation, experimentation and the comparative method.

Advocates of this approach conclude by drawing researchers' attention to social problems such as child abduction, on the assumption that every action has a reaction. This involves understanding the external causes that put pressure on kidnappers and offenders in general, whether economic, social, or psychological, among others. At the same time, it is necessary to analyse the extent to which society offers its members, from all social classes, the means to achieve their objectives and meet their needs – whether psychological, social or economic – in a legal and accessible way. Otherwise, these individuals may be tempted to choose illegal alternatives, such as theft or fraud. When society ensures that individuals' basic needs, such as those identified in Maslow's Pyramid, are met by legal means accessible to all social classes, individuals will be less inclined to resort to illegal methods.

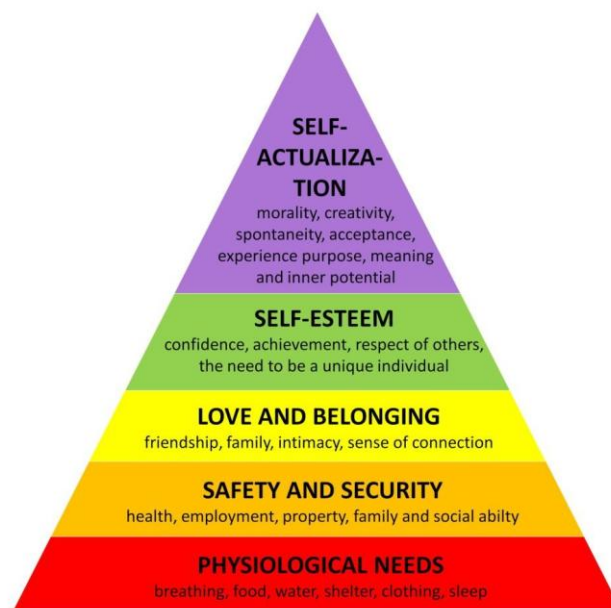


Figure 1. Belonging needs Maslow

Thus, the satisfaction of sexual needs through legitimate and accessible means will eliminate or reduce deviant behaviors aimed at obtaining sex, such as the kidnapping of minors for this purpose, for example. The same goes for the satisfaction of physiological, social, safety, recognition needs, etc. This shows us that the difference between a normal person respecting legal norms and societal values, and a deviant person – according to the positivist perspective – is that the latter has not had the opportunity to achieve his goals by accessible means to become a normal person. Proponents of this approach therefore draw the attention of policymakers and planners to the need to develop programs that enable every individual, regardless of social class, to achieve their culturally valued goals through legitimate and accessible means (Semlouti, 1989, p. 256).

After this presentation, it can be said that the positivist position is not free of defects and has not escaped the criticism of researchers and philosophers, critics who question the epistemological value of the explanatory method in sociology. Studying social facts as things, according to Goldman, is an extremely difficult bet, almost impossible from an epistemological point of view. How can we understand a social fact from the outside, when it is at the same time the product of the collective consciousness of individuals? How can we accept that it is subject

to a series of external determinisms and non-subjective necessities when it is fundamentally a human construction? Are social facts really opposed to individual facts, or are the latter a part of them, since the social fabric is formed and shaped according to the identity, ideology and cultural values of the society? If this is the case, then we are faced with a problem of separation of the whole and its parts, a cognitively arduous task. It can then be concluded that trying to explain human phenomena leads to emptying them of their meaning and essence, because they are neither fixed material systems nor immutable static structures. This could lead us to conclusions contrary to science, such as focusing on the search for economic or social causes, when they contain a world of meanings and interpretations. The human sciences, because of their unique epistemological position, require reflection on a method adapted to the specificities of human phenomena, in order to understand their dynamism and their intellectual and cultural life. To achieve this objective, it would not be wrong to draw inspiration from different scientific models and methodological standards, whatever their nature, field or philosophy, within the framework of the legitimacy of methodological pluralism.

The real scientific issue then focuses on the method capable of studying the phenomenon of abduction in the context of the specificity of social reality. In light of the relativity of the positivist thesis, as it seems increasingly obvious, and the low scientific relevance of the explanatory method, especially with regard to the study of social phenomena, could the comprehensive method then meet this challenge?

Read the social phenomenon through the comprehensive hermeneutical approach

3.1. Teamwork skills development

Contrary to the positivist explanatory approach, Wilhelm Dilthey argues that the position of the natural sciences is fundamentally different from that of the humanities — which he calls "the sciences of the mind". While the objects of the natural sciences are characterized by their

exteriority and independence from the consciousness of individuals, as well as by their stability, human phenomena are always imbued with meanings and symbols in the cultural and social context of the human being. Therefore, they are constantly changing and are never constant. For these objective reasons, it is impossible to study them according to the same explanatory methodology as before.

3.1 Human act is understood, not explained

While the explanatory method has proven its worth in the field of physics and natural sciences in general, where systems are purely material and independent, subject to determinisms of a universal nature, it is extremely difficult to apply it to the "sciences of the mind", where human phenomena are changing and imbued with the values of social actors. They also reflect the social positions and cultural affiliations of individuals. According to Dilthey, the only way to understand these phenomena is to try to interpret them to extract the meanings of the lived world and the psychological and social dimensions of man (Amchnok, 2015).

This intuition begins, according to Weber, with an observation of the external manifestations of the phenomenon, until one understands its internal functioning. Indeed, human behavior, whether external or internal, always reflects intentional relationships, conscious motivations and specific regularities, which can be the subject of a hermeneutical understanding. Understanding, in this context, involves grasping the meaning and objectives of human behavior, without neglecting its rational aspect. Human actions always have meaning, purpose and rationality. In the humanities, according to the hermeneutical school, no knowledge of a phenomenon can be achieved apart from the understanding of its meanings and objectives.

Thus, understanding consists in following and analyzing the meaning of human action in society, by revealing its meanings, intentions, objectives and purposes, that is to say by deconstructing the consciousness and intentionality of the actor. This is done by following the logical process that drives a social actor to perform an action or make a conscious decision in a given situation (Hamdaoui, p. 16).

To understand an individual's act, actions or social behaviour from the point of view of its meaning, it is necessary to examine the motivations, intentions and interests of the individual as well as the subjective meanings he attributes to his acts. It is therefore necessary to understand the meaning of the act or behaviour, and in our case, the abduction, from the point of view of the individual himself as the perpetrator of this intentional social act.

In addition, it is important to take into account that human action is voluntary and conscious, unique and non-repetitive. Therefore, it is difficult, if not impossible, to find appropriate methodological tools to study it in a scientific, explanatory and generalizable way. It is therefore preferable to focus first on the understanding and interpretation of human action, considering it as a meaningful phenomenon, rather than a simple physical or experimental fact to be studied objectively. Human action must be studied in its meaningful context, not within a framework of physical systems (Hamdaoui, p. 17).

It can be concluded that Wilhelm Dilthey is among the most influential German philosophers to have criticized positivist science. He was one of the first researchers to distinguish the objects and methods of the sciences from the interpretation of the objects and methods of the sciences of understanding, while defending hermeneutics. He was inspired by Nietzsche's famous phrase: "There are no facts, only interpretations". Thus, Nietzsche also criticized the position of Auguste Comte and Durkheim. This contrast between understanding and explanation is clearly visible in Max Weber, one of the main representatives of the understanding school, who made the famous statement: "We explain nature, but we understand psychic life".

3.2 Max Weber's comprehensive method

Max Weber is one of the most important German sociologists who has adopted the comprehensive method. According to him, the objective of sociology is to understand and interpret social action, while causally explaining this action by linking it to its effects and results. It is important to note here that the action in question refers to the behaviour of the individual or human being within society, whether explicit or implicit,

resulting from a free will or dictated by an external factor. Thus, this action takes, in the context of communication and interaction, a subjective meaning for the other or others, as long as this social action is subjective and intentional. Therefore, it answers an essential question: How do individuals perceive and interpret their own behavior? This leads us to the idea that, for Weber, human action is a behaviour that carries meaning, purpose and rationality (Hamdawi, p. 21).

From the above, it can be said that, if Durkheim's sociology is based on social determinism and if Karl Marx's, when mentioned, can be classified as structuralist, centered on the social actor and giving great importance to material factors (the ideological superstructure being determined by the economic base), Max Weber, meanwhile, focuses on social action. He considers that what is material stems from the superstructure, that is, ideas, consciousness, rationality, religious and cultural values.

Thus, Max Weber shifted sociology from an object-centered approach to a subject-centered approach, thus moving from the world of material objects to human actions. In summary, it has evolved from the study of the thing to that of the human, moving beyond the search for causes to focus on intentions, objectives and consciousness. He sought to achieve a form of understanding based on the following truth: human beings possess consciousness, intentionality and rationality when constructing their actions. Indeed, individuals act according to their values, their motivations and rational calculations. The latter refer to the rationality of the means used to achieve a goal (Sorani, 2021).

Child abduction falls within this framework which seeks to understand and interpret human action within a given social structure. In other words, trying to understand the motivations, objectives and rational calculations of child abductors, as well as the meanings that these acts have for them, could be more relevant – as part of the attempt to approach this phenomenon methodologically – than focusing on attempts to identify causes and external, material and social factors. The latter represent only secondary pressures, at least from the perspective of the comprehensive school,

notably Weber, who rejects the pure material and social determinisms, respectively hailed by Marx and Durkheim. These two theorists lock the human being into a network of unconscious and irrational social and economic pressures. Weber considers that these determinisms are only relative and secondary causes in the phenomenon of child abduction, and that they cannot be erected into absolute or generalizable laws. Indeed, the presence of certain material, psychological or social factors, etc., does not necessarily lead individuals to commit kidnappings or any other deviant behavior.

Weber's understanding perspective also indicates that this social act can only be understood by taking into account the specific historical context and the particular culture in which it takes place, a culture linked to a set of recognized values and variables, such as moral, religious values, as well as customs, traditions and law. Other factors of a psychological nature should also be taken into account, such as love, hatred, resentment, etc.

Regardless of the factor driving this behavior, whether it is one of these patterns or another, the true social act, according to Weber, as he expressed it in his ranking of ideal types of social action, is a rational act with precise objectives and clear means, associated with calculated planning and rationalization. This means that the actor - the kidnapper - plans before acting, compares the means and tools available to achieve his goal, and analyzes the expected results of his act. Thus, it is possible to differentiate the means and objectives from one abduction to another, which explains the diversity of child abduction methods. Each social actor has its own rationality, objectives and way of defining specific methods to accomplish the abduction of children, according to their social, psychological, cultural and economic contexts, etc. However, as mentioned above, the latter are only secondary factors, which in one way or another support the rational perceptions and calculations of the abductors. This means that child abduction or other deviant behaviour begins with the individual – the abductor or deviant – and ends with an attempt to understand their motivations, the meaning of their act and their goals. According to Weber, the social act is the product of man's ideas, convictions and rational

calculations, and not merely a reaction to specific social circumstances or economic determinisms.

Conclusion

The theory of economic determinism does not clarify, through its assumptions, how material factors lead individuals to commit child abductions, considered criminal behavior. If we accept the hypothesis of the proponents of this theory, all members of poor societies, for example, should be characterized by deviance, criminality and a large number of kidnappings of minors. However, it is observed that rates of child abduction and crime in general are higher in European societies than in developing or poor societies, not to mention the type of crime and its content.

If Emile Durkheim, founder of the positivist explanatory approach, studied society, its structures and social phenomena on the basis that society is the strongest element that controls individuals and whose norms dominate, then the individual is the weakest element. Therefore, responsibility for the act of abduction lies primarily with the influential element - society - and not with the influenced element - the individual. For example, in his book "The Suicide", Durkheim concludes that, although suicide is an individual act, it is not a psychological or individual phenomenon, but a social phenomenon, linked to the division of labour in industrial capitalist society. As a result, the suicide rate is determined by the degree to which the group influences the level and nature of individuals' integration, a direct causal relationship.

This means that there is a correlation between the degree of social homogeneity and compliance with collective norms, which Durkheim believes reflect his theory of social constraint. As a result, his analysis of social phenomena is closely linked to the notion of social control – the laws and moral values of society and not those of the individual – which constitute a set of shared beliefs and emotions. As a result, the higher the degree of social homogeneity, that is, the more similar the behaviors of individuals, and the more class conflicts of all kinds (economic, values,

interests, etc.) fade, the more the violation of these norms by individuals decreases. This results in a reduction in deviant behaviors, such as child abduction, thus contributing to security and stability within the group, while strengthening its cohesion (Samlouti, 1989, p. 255).

On the other hand, Max Weber, from the comprehensive school, is interested in the individual and his individual activity, focusing on the meaning of individual action. For Weber, the true social act is a rational action with precise objectives and clear means, combined with rational planning and rational calculation. Thus, the abduction of children or any other deviant behavior has its origin in the individual. Therefore, for Weber, the role of the individual is more important and stronger. Responsibility for child abduction therefore lies primarily with individuals, as they are the ones who make up society. The company is only the product of individual activities. From this, it can be

concluded that the phenomenon of child abduction is linked to several variables, including contractual, ethical and cognitive commitment, which build consciousness or superstructure as a whole, whether at the level of society, the group or individuals. Of course, there are other factors, economic and social, which play the role of conditions conducive to kidnapping or any other deviant behavior, but which cannot be the exclusive causes. This conclusion could be a clear and strong indication to be taken into account by the bodies involved in the fight against this phenomenon, in particular the Algerian legislator, whose security approach, as in many other countries, is almost the only way to deal with such phenomena. Therefore, the inclusion of the sociological perspective in the development of various programmes, policies and approaches to combat the phenomenon of child abduction in particular, and negative social phenomena in general, could be a suggestion to consider.

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