

PERCEPÇÃO DE TRABALHADORES SOBRE O ADOLESCENTE EM CUMPRIMENTO DE MEDIDA SOCIOEDUCATIVA DE INTERNAÇÃO*

Perceptions of workers on the adolescent in compliance with socioeducative measurement of internation

Percepción de trabajadores sobre el adolescente en cumplimiento de medida socioeducativa interna

Resumo

O presente estudo teve como objetivo conhecer a percepção de trabalhadores do sistema socioeducativo sobre o adolescente em cumprimento da medida de internação, considerando que essa percepção influencia diretamente na maneira como a medida é executada. Trata-se de um estudo exploratório de campo, com abordagem qualitativa, que utilizou como instrumento para a coleta de dados uma entrevista semiestruturada, na qual os resultados foram tratados com a análise de conteúdo na modalidade temática. Como resultados foram elencadas três categorias temáticas: 1) Motivos que levam ao ato infracional e os responsáveis por esses adolescentes; 2) O trabalho nas medidas socioeducativas de internação; 3) Entre a vítima e o vilão: A percepção dos trabalhadores sobre a efetividade das medidas socioeducativas de internação. Os trabalhadores percebem o adolescente sob a ótica do estigma de infrator. Acredita-se que essa percepção, que destacou a família como a grande responsável pelo rompimento social do adolescente, influencia diretamente no curso do cumprimento da medida, inclusive na efetivação. É necessário ampliar essas discussões sobre os trabalhadores que participam da execução da medida socioeducativa de internação, para contribuição e reflexão sobre o seu processo de trabalho e sua interferência no direcionamento de vidas.

Palavras-chave: Percepção; Adolescente; Justiça; Terapia Ocupacional.

Abstract

The present study had as objective to know the perception of workers of the socioeducative system on the adolescent in fulfillment of the hospitalization measure considering that this perception directly influences in the way the measurement is executed. It is an exploratory field study, with a qualitative approach, which used as a data collection instrument a semi-structured interview, in which the results were treated with the content analysis in the thematic modality. As results were listed three thematic categories: 1) Motives that lead to the infraction and those responsible for these adolescents; 2) Work on socio-educational measures of hospitalization; 3) Between the victim and the villain: The workers' perception about the effectiveness of the socio-educational measures of hospitalization. The workers perceive the adolescent from the perspective of the stigma of the offender. It is believed that this perception, which highlighted the family as the major responsible for the social disruption of the adolescent, directly influences the course of compliance of the measure, including its effectiveness. It is necessary to broaden these discussions on the workers who participate in the implementation of the socio-educational measure of hospitalization, for contribution and reflection on their work process and their interference in directing lives.

Key words: Perception; Adolescent; Justice; Occupational Therapy.

Resumen

El presente estudio tuvo como objetivo conocer la percepción de trabajadores del sistema socioeducativo sobre el adolescente en cumplimiento de la medida de internación considerando que esa percepción influye directamente en la manera como la medida es ejecutada. Se trata de un estudio exploratorio de campo, con abordaje cualitativo, que utilizó como instrumento para la recolección de datos una entrevista semiestructurada, en la cual los resultados fueron tratados con el análisis de contenido en la modalidad temática. Como resultados se enumeraron tres categorías temáticas: 1) Motivos que llevan al acto infraccional y los responsables de esos adolescentes; 2) el trabajo en las medidas socioeducativas de internación; 3) Entre la víctima y el villano: La percepción de los trabajadores sobre la efectividad de las medidas socioeducativas de internación. Los trabajadores perciben al adolescente bajo la óptica del estigma de infractor. Se cree que esa percepción, que destacó a la familia como la gran responsable por el rompimiento social del adolescente, influye directamente en el curso del cumplimiento de la medida, incluso en la efectividad. Es necesario ampliar esas discusiones sobre los trabajadores que participan en la ejecución de la medida socioeducativa de internación, para contribuir y reflexionar sobre su proceso de trabajo y su interferencia en el direccionamiento de vidas.

Palabras clave: Percepción; Adolescente; Justicia; Terapia Ocupacional.

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TXH RV IDWRUHV FRPXQV HQWUH RV DGROHVFHQWHV VmR D YXOQH

DXVrQFLD GH PHPEURV GD IDPtOLD PDMRULWDULDPHQWH SDLV VH
FDV VmR SRQWXDLV QR SHUILO GRV LQWHUQRV

³ QR JHUDO D JHQWH SHUFHEH TXH VmR DGROHVFHQ
WDP XPD YXOQHUDELOLGDGH VRFLDO PXLWR JUDQGH I
ORV IDPLOLDUHV PXLWRV QmR WrP UHIHUrQFLD VHP U
JUDQGH PDLRULD H WDPEpP WHP D TXHVWmR GD IDOWD
ULGDGH H PXLWDV IRUDP FULDGRV RX SRU DOJXP IDPL
TXHVW}HV HQYROYHP R HQWRUQR GHVVH DGROHVFHQWH
R DWR LQIUDFLRQDO (8,0

\$ LGHLD GH TXH R DGROHVFHQWH FRPHWHX R DWR LQIUDFLRQ
JXUDQoD \$FUHGLWDP TXH RV DGROHVFHQWHV Mi YrP FRP D SHUV
FDXWHORVR p XPD PHGLGD HVVHQFLDO SDUD PDQWHU D VHJXUDQoD

\$ SHUFHSoM R GH TXH PXLWRV DGROHVFHQWHV WrP XP SHUIL
PHVPR p FDSDJ GH HQJDQDU SRU PHLR GD RUDWyULD H GH Do}HV
GHVDFUHGLWDU QD SRVVLELOLGDGH GH UHWRUQR D XP FRQYtYLR V
PHQWR SUHVHQWH p GH GHVFRQILDQoD R TXH WRUQD R WUDEDOKR

³ WHPRV TXH WRPDU FXLGDGRV OyJLFR FDGD SDO
IDOD H R TXH HODV GLJHP HQJDQDP HODV PHVPDV

3DUD D UHFxSHUDomR GR DGROHVFHQWH DIFLORGR DTXH R DM
SRLV Vy D SDUWLU GR UHFRQKHFLPHQWR GD JUDYLGDGH GR DWR L
SRGHUi FRPSUHHQGHU D QHFHVVLGDGH GH PXGDQoDV SDUD UHWRU
LVVR XVDP XP LQVWUXPHQWR GH GRPLQDomR EDVWDQWH XVDGR H

³+i GLVFLSOLQD DTXL (ODV WrP R KRUiULR GHODV SUD
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\$SHVDU GD SHUGD GD OLEHUGDGH D SHUFHSoM R GRV WUDED
FHQWHV VmR EHQHILFLDGRV QD PHGLGD VRFLRHGXFDWLYD GH LQ
WUDJ XPD JDPD GH RIHUWdV TXH HOHV QmR WLQKDP DQWHULRUPHQ

³ HX DFKR TXH DWUDYpV GD LQWHUQDomR HODV Ym
PHOKRU SRUTXH DTXL HODV YmR VHU UHHGXFDGDV H
GDV PRVWUDU DV FRLVDV R TXH p FHUWR (8,)

2 GLVFXUVR IUHTXHQWH p R GH TXH DSyV R FXPSULPHQWR GD P
LQWHUQDomR D JUDQGH PDLRULD GRV DGROHVFHQWHV QmR LUi FRQV
YtYLR VRFLDO HP GHFRUUrQFLD GH VHU XPD SHVVRD TXH QmR WHP P

31D YHUGDGH p R VHJXLQWH DOJXQV WrP FRQGLomR GH
YROWDU SUD YLYHU HP VRFLHGDGH RXWURV QmR \$OJX
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6HJXQGR RV HQWUHYLVWDGRV D VRFLHGDGH SHUFHEH R DGROHVFHQ
GH LQWHUQDomR FRPR XP VHU SHULJRV H QmR FRQVLGHUDP D SRVV
WFLSDomR VRFLDO 6HQGR DVVLP UHVSQRVDELOLGDGH GRV WUDEDO
FDU HVVDV LGHLDV

3 FRPR D PDLRULD GRV PHXV DPLJRV 3DK FRPR YRFr WUD
TXH D VRFLHGDGH FRQGHQD e GLItFLO SDVVDU SUD VRFLHG
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\$OJXQV WUDEDOKDGRUHV DFUHGLWDP TXH p SUHFLVR HQ[HUJDU
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'LDQWH GD IDOD GRV HQWUHYLVWDGRV IRUDP LGHQWLILFDGDV
OHVFHQWH HP FXPSULPHQWR GD PHGLD VRFLRHGXFDWLYD GH LQWH
PHGR GD LQVHJXUDQoD H GD GHSUHFLDomR GR RXWUR R VHQWLGR p
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1R JHUDO VRE D yWLFD GRV VXMHLWRV SDUWLFLSDQWHV GHVWH
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UDELOLGDGH VRFLDO SHOD IUDJLOL]DomR HQWUH R WUDEDOKR H DV
GHVFULWDV SRU &DVWHO

&RP UHODomR DRV DVSHFWRV VRFLRHFRQ{PLFRV GR DGROHVFHQ
FRPR QR HVWXGR GH)HQDyPDLRULD GDV YH]HV VHJXQGR RV HQWUHY
YHQV SHUWHQFHP D XPD FODVVH VRFLDO EDL[D VHP PDLRUHV UHFxu
DLV H DV RFXSDo}HV GRV PHPEURV IDPLOLDUHV UHIOHWHP XP WUDED
HVSHFLDOL]DGR FRP SRXFD UHPXQHUDomR \$VVLP 3R MRYHP VHMD S
EUH]D H[WUHPD HQWUDULD SHOR FDPLQKR GD LQIUDomR FRPR IRUPD
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2XWURV SRQWRV D DXVrQFLD GR (VWDGR QD FULDomR GH SROtW
OLGDGH H D GHVDVVLVWrQFLD j IDPtOLD FRORFDP R DGROHVFHQWH
DOYR GD GHVDJUHJDomR VRFLDO FRP LPSHGLPHQWR SDUD H[HUFHU S
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2 DUWLJR ž GR (&\$ GLVS}H VREUH RV GLUHLWRV IXQGDPHQWDLV
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FRQIHULQGR WRGD UHVSQRVDELOLGDGH DR JUXSR IDPLOLDU FRPR D
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\$OpP GLVVR p LPSRUWDQWH SHUFHEHU H UHFRQKHfHU TXH DSH
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GD GH FDGD SHVVRD 1R HVWXGR FIR FOR JH[HPSORHWR D DGROHVFHQWHV
QDUDP DV UXSWXUDV GDV UHODo}HV IDPLOLDUHV j DXVrQFLD GD ILJX
IkQFLDV RX RXWURV DFRQWHFLPHQWRV PDUFDQWHV RFRUULGRV GHQV
IRUDP DQWHULRUHV DR HQYROYLPHQWR HP DWRV LQIUDFLRQDLV

6HJXQGR 6FKHQNHU HGHLODWR DV IDPtOLDV TXH YLYHQFLDP FRQ
TXH RV FRQIOLWRV D Pi FRQGxWD H R DEXVR SRU SDUWH GRV PHPEU
WLQXDPHQWH H UH SRQPHUHQWIP LWLWU FRQGxWDV GHVYLDQWHV SRU P
FRPSRUWDPHQWR GRV SDLV SDUD RV ILOKRV (VVHV SUREOHPDV GH Y
PDLRULD GDV YH]HV GD IDOWD GH FRQGLo}HV SDUD D FULDomR GRV
GH WUDQVPLVVMR HIHWLYD GH QRUPDV VRFLDLV VDXGiYHLV

2 XVR GH GHWHUPLQDGRV WHUPRV FRPR ³PHQRU LQIUDWRU´ TX
WH[WR GDV PHGLGDV VRFLRHGXFDWLYDV DWXDLV IRUDP SUHVHQWHV
TXH HYLGHQFLD R HVWLJPD H RV HVWHUHyWLSRV GH VHU DGROHVFHQ
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TXDQWR QDV ELEOLRJUDILDV TXH WUDWDYDP DV FEULBQR DWHPIDD RVH DGRLO
FHQWHV PHQRUHV GH DQRV VHP UHFRQKHFLPHQWR GH YDORU GH S

F 'HFUHW R QžD GH GH RXWxEUR GH TXH LQVWLWXLX R &yGLJR GH OHQRUHV

“menor”, pós-ECA, não deve mais ser usada, pois diminui, menospreza e estigmatiza sujeitos que possuem direitos, e devem, pois, ser identificados como tais: crianças e adolescentes, como pessoas em desenvolvimento, que precisam ver garantidos seus direitos para uma vida adulta digna e saudável¹¹.

Para Goffman¹³, o estigma é definido com alusão a um atributo pejorativo, uma fraqueza ou desvantagem. O estigmatizado é visto como aquele que tem uma característica diferente da que é aceita pela sociedade, sendo tratado, portanto, de maneira diferenciada pela mesma.

Assim também, a cautela de se trabalhar com os adolescentes, em cumprimento de medida socioeducativa de internação, existe pelo medo e insegurança desses trabalhadores, já que muitos, mesmo evidenciando boas relações entre trabalhador e adolescente, mantêm a ideia de que o adolescente é imprevisível, e todo cuidado é pouco. Nessa perspectiva, “ao ser visto através do estigma de “infrator”, a tendência é percebermos qualquer um de seus atos na ótica de “infração”¹⁴ (p.84).

Para o citado autor, a maior dificuldade é a de técnicos e educadores, que trabalham com adolescentes no cumprimento de medidas socioeducativas, superarem o estigma carregado por esses jovens.

Em nosso estudo, talvez como forma de não aproximação dos trabalhadores com a vida do adolescente em cumprimento de medida socioeducativa de internação, os trabalhadores falaram não ser importante saber qual o ato infracional cometido pelo adolescente que foi determinante para a sua internação. Acreditam, pois, que essa informação não faria diferença no atendimento. Enquanto que, para Goffman¹⁵, a informação sobre o indivíduo serve para definir a situação, colocando os outros capazes de conhecer antecipadamente o que ele esperará deles e o que dele podem esperar. Assim, tendo esse conhecimento prévio, saberão qual melhor modo de agir.

Por outro lado, essas medidas são realizadas por meio de tecnologias disciplinares executadas pelos trabalhadores das unidades, ao corpo de cada indivíduo, que deve ser disciplinado, vigiado, treinado e utilizado. Logo, essas tecnologias têm como objetivo tornar os “corpos dóceis” no sentido de tornar o adolescente capaz de conviver em sociedade¹⁶.

Em concordância à referida ideia, a disciplina foi muito citada pelos pesquisados, na percepção dos mesmos, se o adolescente cometer dentro da unidade um ato indisciplinar, ele é recolhido e posto em isolamento para “refletir” sobre o ato cometido, com objetivo de que se ele possa perceber que errou e, posteriormente, não vir a cometer o mesmo “erro”, os trabalhadores enfatizam que essa reflexão é essencial para manter a ordem do serviço. Foucault¹⁶ (p. 164) afirma que “o poder disciplinar é, com efeito, um poder que, em vez de se apropriar e de retirar, tem como função maior 'adestrar'.”

'H PDQHLUD VHPHOKDQWH D SUIWLF D GH LVRODU H FRORFDU R D
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QD QR FRQWH[WR GDV PHGLGDV VRFLRHGXFDWLR R DR RR LQ V \$VU XPSLQHWRI
QRUWH DGRU SDUD R VXFHVVR SHGDJyJLFR H QmR DSHQDV FRPR XP L
PDQXWHQomR GD RUGHP QHVHVH ORFDLV

OHVPR FRP R FRQKHFLPHQWR GH TXH D LQVWLWXLomR GLVFLSOLG
HQWUHYLVWDGRV DSRQWDUDP TXH D UHVWULomR GD OLEHUGDGH GHY
FXUVR UHVVRFLDOLJDGRU H GHYH WHU FDUWHU LQWHLUDPHQWH SHC
WHVH DRV LQGLYtGXRV SULYDGRV GR H[HUFtFLR GH VXD OLEHUGDGH
WRV H JDUDQWLDV IXQGDPHQWDLV SUHFRQLJDGRV SHOR (&\$ GH PDQH
EUH RV PRWLYRV GD SULYDomR GH VXD OLEHUGDGH

2V PRWLYRV TXH OHYDP j SUIWLF D GR DWR LQIUDFLRQDO SHOR D
WUDEDOKDGRUHV GDV XQLGDGHV GH LQWHUQDomR HVWmR UHODFLRG
IDPLOLDUHV H FRPXQLWULRV H j FRQGLomR VRFLRHFRQ{PLFD ,VWR p
PHQWR FRP IDPLOLDUHV GHVHPSUHJR IDPLOLDU IDOWD GH LQYHVWL
SHFWLYD SURILVLRQDO WDPEpP GHWHUPLQDP HQYROYLPHQWR FRP D
WH LQFOXVLYH XVR H WUILLR GH GURJDV

*RQoDOYHPR VHX HVWXGR DSRQWD XPD DWXDO GLVFXVVmR VREUH
UHVSRQVDELOLJDomR GH DGROHVFHQWHV SHORV DWRV LQIUDFLRQDLV
HP SDXWD DWUDYpV GRV PHLRV GH FRPXQLFDomR HP GLYHUVRV HVSD
D LQIRUPDomR GH TXH MRYHQV FRPHWHP 'FULPHV' SRU HVWDUHP LVH
UHVSRQVDELOLJDomR SHORV VHXV DWRV 7DO IDWR SRGH WHU UHODo
GDV PHGLGDV VRFLRHGXFDWLYD VQFLRQULDSM XDUYER D

\$LQGD TXH IDWRUHV FRPR D UHODomR IDPLOLDU H D SUHFUULD DV
SUHVWDU VHUYLomRV LQIOXHQFLHP QD SUIWLF D GR DWR LQIUDFLRQDO
HVVD DomR p UHVXOWDGR GH XPD VpULH GH IDWRUHV H SULQFLSDOP
VLVWvRQLDV TXH DFRPHWHP XPD WUDMHWyULD GH YLGD

1HVVD FLUFXQVWkQFLD RV WUDEDOKDGRUHV SHUFHEHP D GHV
SURSRU PHGLGDV TXH PLQLPL]HP H RX HYLWHP D PDUJLQDOLJDomR G
GR SDUD VXD LGD jV PHGLGDV VRFLRHGXFDWLYDV TXH GHYHULD VH
XP GDQR HYLWzYHOPR DXWRU DSRQWD TXH DOJXQV IDWRUHV SRGHP
R HQYROYLPHQWR GRV DGROHVFHQWHV FRP R PXQGR GD FULPLQDOLG
VXPR H SRU FRQVHJXLQWH GR WUILLR GH GURJDV DopP GR FUHVFI
RQDOG DV JUDGHV FLGDHV HBYDGR D GHMJXDG M H LWMQM 'HMDFD VHD LGHD TXH
DR (VWDGR QmR FDEH VRPHQWH 'SXQLU' RX UHVSRQVDELOLJDU RV D
SHORV DWRV FRPHWLGRV PDV JDUDQWLU TXH VHXV GLUHLWRV EIVLF
WRUQDUHP DXWRUHV GH DWR LQIUDFLRQDO 1HFHVViULDV PHGLGDV G

&RPR IRL FRQILUPDGR SRU 3HUHLDDYXSDHUBELFLVGDGH VRFLDO G
HQYROYLGRV FRP R PXQGR GD FULPLQDOLGDGH HVWi GLUHWDPHQWH
FREDUWXUD GH HTXLSDPHQWRV H VHUyLORV S~EOLFRV QR WHUULWyU
QD SURYLVmR GH GLUHLWRV VRFLDLV EivLFRV

(P FRQWUDSDUWLGD RV WUDEDOKDGRUHV DSRQWDP TXH PHVPR
GR D IDPtOLD H D VRFLHGDGH RIHUFHP WRGR VXSruWH DR DGROHV
PHVPR YHQKD D FRPHWHU XP DWR LQIUDFLRQDO VHQR HVVH FRPSR
PHVPR XP VHU LUUHFXSHUiyHO 6H IRUPRV HQ[HUJDU QHVVD yWLFD
XPD SHUVRQDOLGDGH HVWDJQDGD DFUHGLWduHPRV TXH R WUDEDOK
GHVQHfHVViULR H TXH QmR KDYHUi QHQKXP UHVXOWDGR SRVLWLYR
WH (QWmR TXH VHQWLGR IDULDP DV PHGLGDV VRFLRHGXFDWLYDV" 'I
SXQLU"

\$ SDUWLU GHVWD YDSRQWDPSTXV VmR FULDGDV WHRULDV TXH VH
VHQVR FRPXP SDUD H[SOLFdu D YLROrQFLD H D QDWXUHJD KXPDD
D PRUDO D JHQpWLFD H D SUIHUrQFLD SHOR 'PDO' TXH HVWi VHPSU
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\$ IDOWD H IUDJLOLGDGHV GDV SROtWLFDV S~EOLFDV YROWDGDV
GDV SHORV WUDEDOKDGRUHV GDV XQLGDGHV GH LQWHUQDomR (P FR
FRPSUHHQGHFXH DV SROtWLFDV S~EOLFDV VH FDUDFWHUL]DP SRU GH
ID]HU FRPR ID]HU HVVDV TXH YmR QRUWHDU D DomR S~EOLFD TXH D
oRV GLUHFLRQDP D LQWHUDomR HQWUH RV DJHQWHV GD SROtWLFD H

\$GHQWUDQGR QDV GLILFXOGDGHV HP WUDEDOKDU QDV LQVWLWX
PHGLGDV VRFLRHGXFDWLYDV IRUDP DSRQWDGRV GLYHUVRV PRWLYRV
WDPHQWH QDV FRQGXWDV GHVVHV SURILVVLRQDLV TXH VHJXQGR RV
H DSRLRV GH VHxV \$XSHUQRIUHV DomR GHVVH SDQRUDPD UHTXHU HQV
R HQJDMDPHQWR GRV JHVWRUHV S~EOLFRV D JDUDQWLD GH LQYHVW
GRV SURILVVLRQDLV TXH DWXDP GHQWUR GR FRQWH[WR VRFLRHGXFD

\$ EDL]D UHPXQHUDomR VDODULDO D IDOWD GH UHFxUVRV PDWHU
UD SUHGLDO H DXVrQFLD GH SHUVSHFWLYD GH PHOKRUDV IXWXUDV I
OKDGRUHV HP XPD]RQD GH GHVSUHVWtJLR RQGH GHOHV VmR H[LJLG
WUDEDOKR WLGR FRPR PHFDQLFLVWD TXH SRGHULD H GHYHULD VHU
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3DUD PHOKRULD QR DWHQGLPHQWR VRFLDIDGRFDWLYDORGHMDMDRD
DWXDOL]Do}HV FRQVWDQWHV VREUH DV SUIWLFDV VRFLRHGXFDWLYDV
QHfHVVLGDGH GH IRUPDomR FRQWtQXD GRV SURILVVLRQDLV FRP WUH
Do}HV PDLV HVWDELOL]DGDV GHQWUR GDV XQLGDGHV GH LQWHUQDom
HTXLSH SRVLELOLWDQGR GH IRUPD PDLV VLJQLILFDWLYD R GHVHQ
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DGROHVFHQWH HP FXPSULPHQWR GH PHGLGD VRFLRHGXFDWLYD GH LO
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2V WUDEDOKDGRUHV SHUFHEHP R DGROHVFHQWH VRE D yWLFd GR HVV
DR DWR LQIUDFLRQDO FRPHWLGR H DR FXPSULPHQWR GH XPD SHQD P
FDXVDGR \$FVHGHKWDHVVD SHUFHSomR TXH GHVWDFRX D IDPtOLD FRP
ViYHO SHOR URPSLPHQWR VRFLDO GR DGROHVFHQWH LQIOXHQFLDGL
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UHV HQWHQGHP TXH GLYHUVRV IDWRUHV SRGHP GHVHQFDGHDU XP SH
DGROHVFHQWHV TXH SDUD PXLWRV IDOWDP RSRUWXQLGDGHV SHOD
SUHVWDU VHUYLoRV j IDPtOLD R TXH LPSDFWD QD YLGD GHVVHV MRY
WUXtGD H UHIRUoDGD SHOR VHQVR FRXP H WDPEpP GLVVHPLQDGD S
FHQWH p UHVSROViYHO SHORV VHxV DWRV LQGHSHQGHQWHPHQWH GH
(P UHODomR DR FDUiWHU SHGDJyJLFR GD PHGLGD RV WUDEDOKDGRUH
HVWUDWpJLD GR (VWDGR HP RIHUHFHU DRV DGROHVFHQWHV R TXH DQ
DR PHVPR WHPSR HP TXH UHWLUDP D OLEHUGDGH GRV DGROHVFHQWH
GRV DWRV SRU YH]HV YLROHQWRV FRPHWLGRV SRU HOHV 6REUH R X
FDGD FRPR LQGLVSHQViYHO SDUD R DOFDQFH GD HILFiFLD SHGDJyJLFR
j ILQDOLGDGH GH SXQLomR

\$ UHODomR HVWDEHOHFLGD HQWUH RV VXMHLWRV GHVWH HVWXGR H P
KDUP{QLFD VHP TXDLVTXHU SUREOHPDV FRPSUHHQGLGD FRPR XP SR
ERP IXQFLRQDPHQWR GR VLVWHPD (P UHVXPR IRL LGHQWLILFDGR UH
DSHVDU GH H]LVWLU VHQWLPHQWR GH PHGR TXDQWR DR LPSUHLYLVtYH

\$ SHUVSHFWLYD GRV WUDEDOKDGRUHV VREUH RV DGROHVFHQWHV DS
VRFLRHGXFDWLYD GH LQWHUQDomR p GH TXH SRXFRV LUmR FRQVHJXL
WHU QRYDPHQWH DWRV LQIUDFLRQDLV UHIRUoDQGR D LGHLD GR HVW
OHL GR VHP VROXomR GR VHP VDtGD ,VVR QRV LQVWLJD D UHIOHWL
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EDOKRV FLHQWtILFRV VREUH D WHPiWLFD Q R H V T X D I G R V W H \$ O D W X R O R F R M
WULEXD FRP D PDLRU HIHWLYDomR GDV SROtWLFdV YROWDGDV SDUD
DGROHVFHQWH HP FXPSULPHQWR GD PHGLD VRFLRHGXFDWLYD GH LC
RV WUDEDOKDGRUHV GHVVHV ORFDLV

3RU ILP p QHFHVViULR DPSOLDU HVVDV GLVFXVV}HV VREUH RV W
SDP GD H[HFXomR GD PHGLD VRFLRHGXFDWLYD GH LQWHUQDomR SD
VREUH R VHX SURFHVVR GH WUDEDOKR H VXD LQWHUIHUrQFLD QR GLU

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*DOOR \$(\$WXDomR GR SVLFyORJR FRP DGROHVFHQWHV HP FRQIOLW
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]HV

%DUGLQ / \$QiOLVH GH FRQWH~GR ž HG 6mR 3DXOR

&DVWHO5 \$ GLQkPLFD GRV SURFHVVRV GH PDUJLQDOL]DomR GD YX
&DGHUQR &5+ -

)HLMY 0& \$VVLV 6* 2 FRQWH[WR GH H[FOXVmR VRFLDO H GH YXOQH
WRUHV H GH VXD(WDXPGOISDV FRO -

6DQWRV '5)HGJHU \$0 2 WHUDSHXWD RFXSDFLRQDO QR SURFHVVR
DGROHVFHQWHV HP FRQIOLWR FRP D OHL SULYDGRV GH OLEHUGDGH
SDomRHY WHU RFXS 6mR 3DXOR-

0HJJLDWR -5 \$ 0HGLGD VRFLRHGXFDWLYD GH LQWHUQDomR SRVLF
SHFWLYDV GH DYDQoRV j 'RXWULQD GH 3URWHomR ,QWHJUDO >7HVH@
)HGHUDO GH 6DQWD &DWDULQD

6FKHQNHU 0 0LQD\R 0&6 \$ LPSOLFDomR GD IDPtOLD QR XVR DEXVL
VmR FUT&LrQD 6D~GH &ROHW -

*RIIPDQ((VWLJPD QRWDV VREUH D PDQLSXODomRž GD L&HGWLGDG
(GLWRUD/7&

9LGDO \$6 \$GROHVFHQWHV HP PHGLD VRFLRHGXFDWLYD XP HVWXGR
>7HVH@ 3RUWR \$OHJUH 8QLYHUVLGDGH)HGHUDO GR 5LR *UDQGH GR

*RIIPDQ(\$UHSUHVHQWDomR GR HX QD YLGD FRWLGLDQD 5LR GH -D

)RXFDXOW 0 9LJLDU H SXQLU R QDVFLPHQWR GD SULVmR 5LR GH

6FLVOHVNL\$&& HW DO 0HGLGD VRFLRHGXFDWLYD GH LQWHUQDomR
YD'3VLFRO 6RF -

%RUJHV .(\$ PHGLGD VRFLRHGXFDWLYD GH LQWHUQDomR WHQVmR
R SXQLWLYRH@ 6mR 3DXOR 3RQWLitFLD 8QLYHUVLGDGH &DWyOLFD G

*RQoDOYHV 09 3(X QHP VDELD TXH SRGLD HQWUDU DTXL' SURPRor
FRPR H[SHULrQFLD GH UHVVLJQLILFDomR GH LGHQWLGDGH &DIGGH MRYHQV
%UDV 7HU 2FXS

%RUED 3/2 -XYHQWXGHV PDUFDGDV UHODo}HV HQWUH DWR LQIUDF
6mR &DUORV >7HVH@ 6mR 3DXOR 8QLYHUVLGDGH)HGHUDO GH 6mR &

3DGRYDQL \$6 9R]HV DSULVLRQDGDV VHQWLGRV H VLJQLILFDGRV C
FHQWHV DXWRUHV GH DWRV LQIUDFLRQDO >7HVH@ 6DOYDGRU 8QLY
WXWR GH 3VLFRRJLD

3HUHLUD 7&6 5HLV -1 &RVWD /\$ \$XWRU H YtWLPD D YXOQHUDELC
FRPHWHUDP DWRV LQIUDFLRQDL \$HP WHHOR R-RXS] \$QW BDXOR

/RSHV 0'& 6LJQLILFDGRV DWULEXtGRV SRU DJHQWHV VRFLRHGXFDV
YDomR GH OLEHUGDGH IHPLQLQD >7HVH@5LR *UDQGH GR 6XO 8QLYHU
ULD 8)60

%HOOX]]R / 9LFWRULQR 5& \$ -XYHQWXGH QR 6mR & BDXORV SHU \$omR
SHFW

3DGRYDQL \$6 5LVWXP 0 \$ HVFROD FRPR FDPLQKR VRFLRHGXFDWL
YDGRV GH OLEHUGDGH HV 6mR 3DXOR -

\$OYHV 3% HW DO ,QVWLWXLo}HV GH DWHQGLPHQWR VRFLRHGXFDW
GH ULVFR GR 'LVWULWR)HGHUDO SDQRUPD H SHUVSHFWLYDV 5HY

\$UWLJR DSUHVHQWDGR DR FXUVR GH 7HUDSLD 2FXSDFLRQDO GD 8QLYHUVLGDGH (VW
81&,6\$/±FRPR UHTXLVLWR SDUD D FRQFOXVmR GR FXUVR H REWHQomR GR WtWXOR GH
QDO

&RQWULEXLomR GRV DXWRUHV -RVp --QLRUGDHRUGB QD]VLDYDRQFHSomR FROHWD V
omR H DQiOLVH GBJGDGRV QDQGD /RSHV GH 2OLYRULD \$QW BDXOR SHFRQFHSomR H UHYLVmR
WH[WR

6XEPHWLGR HP
\$SURYDGR HP
3XEOLFDGR HP