

Why do Children Rape? Some Considerations of Violent Sexual Behavior in Adolescents Qualitative Data from a Scientific Field Study in Buenos Aires

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Abstract

Adolescents' discursive characteristics were studied through open interviews. Main issues were: sexuality, sources of sexual information received, violence and violent sexual behavior. Primary data were collected to analyze and compare, from a gender perspective, the discursive productions. In addition, sensitive information was collected from a group of experts from different disciplines related to the subject under study.

Objective: to analyze if there is any connection between sexual information received (from school, parents, peers, etc.) in adolescents living in the City of Buenos Aires and violent sexual behavior, in the context of other intervening variables.

Methodology:

Subjects: Male and female adolescents ages 13 - 19 who were attending school, with residence in the City of Buenos Aires.

Sampling: intentional.

Instruments for data collection:

- a) Open individual and group interviews (with a brief guide of explored topics), with adolescents of the mentioned age range and place of residence.
- b) Open interviews (also with a brief guide of the main explored topics) with key informants, task experts and professions related to the researched subject.
- c) Updating and deepening the theoretical corpus in indexed databases of scientific journals and international and local events abstracts.

These methodological strategies were very useful to develop a Measurement Instrument (Pilot Survey) that contemplates variables of two broad categories under study: Sexual Information and Violent Sexual Behavior-in addition to other sociodemographic, educational, family and attitudinal variables-whose indicators will allow us to measure the phenomenon under study, and will be applied and analyzed in the next qualitative-quantitative stage of the research.

Results: Violent sexual behavior appears to be related to the sexual information received.

Keywords: Violent sexual behavior, adolescents, qualitative methodology

Introduction

Regarding public policies for childhood, adolescents and youth, one of the key areas we should be currently concerned with is sexual education, aiming at raising awareness among the mentioned population, given that consequences constitute a problem of public health that calls for non-traditional interventions.

Despite efforts made for decades, cases of sexual violence have been on the rise at an alarming rate, which could be reduced by supplying accurate information and facilitating greater access to the objectives drafted in article number 3⁸⁰ of the National Law No. 26,150 of Integral Sexual Education (hereinafter ISE). Studies that have tried to explain the effect variables related to sexual information and/or sexual formation have on violent sexual behavior are scarce (Gogna, 2001, 2004; Della Mora, 2013; Kornblit, & Adaszko, 2007).

Most of the research that takes into account the above factors has only tried to show how these are interrelated. However, the present study focuses on the role of the ISE (understood as "... *that which articulates biological, psychological, social, affective and ethical aspects*", as expressed in article number 1 of Law 26,150) in children as in adolescents and young people in the registry and deployment of violent sexual behaviors, in the context of other influential variables.

Another objective of our study is to describe adolescents' difficulties in telling when a sexual behavior is violent, both as victims and as perpetrators. The model of care carried out in the main care services (not exclusively educational or health care) in public and private institutions is also explored.

Difficulties in adopting healthy and responsible sexual behavior in adolescents may be due to multiple causes depending both on the youth themselves and the peers, parents, and professionals and non-professionals of the institutions that directly or indirectly interact with them.

⁸⁰ "... to incorporate integral sexual education into the educational proposals oriented to the harmonious, balanced and permanent formation of the people; ensuring the transmission of relevant, accurate, reliable and up-to-date knowledge on the various aspects involved in comprehensive sexuality education; promoting responsible attitudes towards sexuality "

Some considerations with regard to the present study are as follows: when it comes to violent sexual behavior inflicted upon them and/or others, can adolescents perceive that or else, can they be aware of it? Is there any link between violent sexual behavior and the sexual information received? Where do they take and / or privilege the information they receive about sexuality issues (e.g., health professionals, parents, school, peers, internet, mass media, etc.)?

Sexual information and sexual training

Sex education is an ongoing process that begins in the intimate relationship with the most significant referents of infancy and childhood and consolidates as well as accompanies the changes in adolescence, adulthood and old age.

In order for sexual information to be an allied agent of prevention, it must be an integral part of permanent education as a way of facilitating a process of transformation (not exclusively school, but also parental, cultural, historical-social, pairs, etc.) and structurant of the personality; the information itself does not act on cognitive psychic structures, nor does it create resources, skills or mechanisms at the service of the resolution of the different situations that reality permanently summons the individual to solve (Della Mora, 2005; Fridman, 2007). Therefore, emphasis will be laid on (in values with respect to) sexual formation (Bianculli, Berner, Vázquez & Calandra, 2000).

Violent sexual behavior

In a recent publication, Unicef defines sexual violence as "the act of bringing under a person to the will of an aggressor, taking advantage of the impotence and helplessness of the victims, with the intention of damaging it, causing pain and suffering (physical or mental disorders), depersonalize it and dominate it by subjecting it to sexual acts without its authorization or consent" (Unicef, 2017 p.2).

Violent sexual conduct means sexual abuse in all its manifestations and forms, for example: sexual abuse, harassment and intimidation; physical, verbal and emotional violence; abandonment, carelessness and neglect; grooming or cibergrooming (which is sexual harassment via telematics), among others.

Violent sexual behavior entails that accurate prognosis value can not be attributed to a sexual behavior in this stage of the life course, without taking account of both historical and cultural facts; in addition, the scientific

literature evidences the prevalence that some pathologies of the act have been taking lately, that is to say material actions expressed by doing away with the symbolic mediation of the word.

On the other hand-given the age range-in most cases they are subjects whose psychic apparatus is still under construction, thus a structure diagnosis is not possible, and any intervention on it will be a determinant factor to prevent or favor the process of subjectivation (Batres Méndez, 1999, Della Mora, 2013, Disanto, 2009, Geldstein, Pantelides, Calandra & Vázquez, 2001, Janin, 2012, Maddox, 1999 and Mc Dougall, 2004).

Taking Finkelhor's (1994) viewpoint, for an act of sexual abuse to actually take place, four preconditions are necessary: 1) the motivation to abuse, either by traumatic experiences or by the inability to interact with other adults; 2) failures in internal inhibitors such as consciousness, morale, and self-control; 3) failures in external inhibitors, such as social control, judicial action, family and community; and (4) access to a vulnerable minor person, whether due to lack of information, isolation or because their rights were not recognized.

Venegas Cardenas (2012), on the other hand, states pertinently that "... in deepening the space of sexual offenses, we find that child sexual abuse presents a wide range of manifestations that greatly hinder early intervention and prevention (...) Not all victims have the same level of risk of victimization (...) and in relation to the perpetrators, there is not a single pattern of aggression on the part of the victims, not a single age preference, or personality characteristics that identify them with clarity".

Adolescences and Violence

Adolescence is a subjective construction in which both the micro-social context (families, in their various conceptions) and macro-social, historical and cultural aspects participate; therefore, we think it is more appropriate to speak of different kinds of adolescence, since they are linked to a subjective experience and a particular history.

The word *adolescence* comes from the latin verb *adolescere*, which means to grow up, to develop towards maturity. The increasingly rapidly changing spirit of the times and accelerated transformations in all areas support the variation of "social clocks" and their increasing relativity. Each phase of development contributes in a particular way to a healthy consolidation of the personality, however flexible and changing the biological and socio-cultural realities might be.

It is important to pinpoint that adolescence is a stage in life full of

changes, characterized by a distancing of the parental figures, a closer approach to the peer group, a growing interest in sexuality and a great feeling of invulnerability, which can cause them to engage in risky sexual conducts. In this sense, the ISE would be one of the fundamental pillars of prevention, however, in many cases education is insufficient (Di Segni Obiols, 2010, Schwartz & Della Mora, 2013). Nonetheless, any classification of life by stages tends to lose importance, since cultural and biological landmarks are increasingly inaccurate and unexpected, in which case, we would be talking about the course of life, rather than the cycle of life.

The review of the scientific literature forces one to rethink the condition of those who, while still children or adolescents, exert violence, and also to review the varied responses and approaches that institutions and society itself adopt in terms of a defined clinical structure or as behavior patterns linked to sociocultural issues.

For example, Andre (1999) or Iacuzzi (2011) are of the idea that those who commit some kind of violent sexual behavior are not necessarily perverse but borderliners, adolescents in an ongoing process who in many cases seem to be perplexed. So, it is about holding them responsible, adscribing some symbolic meaning to their acts and reflecting upon them. The aforementioned authors' proposal is to consider institutional treatment devices, as well as a legal device, where the transit through legal sanction will humanize the subject.

If there is not an elaborate profile on these subjects, how could we even consider an appropriate treatment? Let alone the effectiveness of one when we are unaware of what the starting point is, which leads one to reflect on what is being treated and who.

Over the last couple of years, in our society, violent dating has presented itself with more virulence. An abuser is someone who engages in violent sexual conduct more deliberately against another person, but there have been cases where the abuser is involved, and it is not a record of violent action and symbolic regulation; of course in the eyes of the majority that is a violent sexual action (Rostagnotto & Yesuron, 2011).

Violent sexual behaviors are mostly, but not exclusively, masculine. From the clinical point of view, they take the pathologies of the act: which means material actions that are expressed by destroying symbolic mediation, that is to say the word (Grande, 2008; Gérez Ambertin, 2004 Kristeva, 1988; Lacan, 1963; Di Segni Obiols, 2010).

Generally speaking, the sexuality of the young is only just being aroused, going through initial stages, uncertainties, curiosity, that is why the environment where crowding and intimacy have different places than they

can have for the middle class stereotype is so heavy. There are cases, too, of incestuous consummate behaviors, lived with naturalization which supposes that it is not a practice so rare.

In the case of adolescents and young people, condemning them with a specific diagnosis - and some subsequent and irreversible course - is a wrong attitude. There are those who argue that such people are hopeless and propose very hard figures, such as chemical castration. In all aspects, one would have to evaluate whether the adult has a recorded history of such nature so as to be able to address these situations early. These issues need to be placed on political, educational and health agendas that involve society as a whole.

Finally, what should be highlighted is the importance of exposing the problems more openly in more spaces, in order to broaden viewpoints, raise awareness about this complex subject, that will in turn allow us to overcome the prejudicial discourse, to generate doctrine in the different academic spaces and contribute to the interdisciplinary scientific study, to participate in workspaces and commitment to fight for the rights of all people.

The challenge of analyzing qualitative data

To work in / with human sexuality, with all the complexity it entails, involves (dis)covering somber aspects that for some (conscious or unconscious) reason remain hidden under the mantle of amnesia, which confronts us to the commotion that many children and adolescents are perpetrators or victims of violent sexual behavior from the close emotional and / or family circle. In several stories, abusive sexual behaviors and situations of violence in adolescence were found; life histories in which there are repeated abandonment and humiliations that account for links with potential abusive behavior; findings that coincide with other studies and other field experiences that arise from the specialized international literature consulted.

The bibliography also makes reference to some data that calls our attention: precocious early awakening of the active sex life; unplanned sexual intercourse (hereafter SI) occurring in inappropriate places and situations, coupled with a lack of knowledge about sexuality and insufficient information on contraceptive methods (hereinafter CM), sexually transmitted infections (hereinafter STIs) and their prevention; continuous changes of couple (promiscuity) whose incipient relationships of courtships are characterized by forms of violence, aggression, mistreatment and / or abuse. Therefore, in the context of the present study, it is relevant to investigate more deeply the relationship between sexual information and violent sexual

behavior in a random and representative sample of adolescents of both sexes of the City of Buenos Aires, aged 13 to 19⁸¹ years old, attending secondary school.

In spite of the fact that our research has a strong quantitative component, in this first stage of the research we incorporate tools of a qualitative aspect of the methodology of the social sciences to have information *prima fascie* from the point of view of the protagonists of the topic to be investigated.

We worked with open and individual interviews with young men and women; this strategy provided detailed information on young people's concern about sexuality and its most violent variants from the very discourse of their actors, and allowed us to draw a more specific axis for group interviews with adolescents. In addition, a large number of experts from related disciplines were interviewed individually whose important contribution enriches and broadens the research. In light of these methodological strategies, a detailed analysis was made that laid the groundwork for the construction of an *ad hoc* questionnaire⁸² whose indicators will allow us to measure the most relevant variables under study in the next stage.

General objective of the research

- To analyze if there is any connection between the information and sexual training received (mainly from the school, parents, peers, etc.) in adolescents between ages 13 -19 of schooling in the City of Buenos Aires and violent sexual behavior by others and / or exercised to others), in the context of other intervening variables.

Specific objective of the qualitative research phase

- To analyze adolescents' discourse regarding concerns about sexuality issues, sources of sexual information, violence and violent sexual behavior, and whether there are referents to whom they could resort to, to talk about issues -related to his study- of their concern.

⁸¹ The World Health Organization (WHO) defines adolescents as people between the ages of 10 and 19. The word youth defines it as people between the ages of 15 and 24. The youngsters of the present study are a combination of the two previous groups, which overlap and span the ages between 13 and 19 years, since this is the age range comprising secondary school students.

⁸² The term questionnaire, survey or instrument is used interchangeably to collect qualitative and quantitative data in the next stage of the research.

- To analyze the discourse of professionals from related disciplines linked to the fields of teaching, justice, clinical assistance and scientific research with adolescents, whose solid experience constitutes an added value to research.

Both objectives converge in the elaboration of the Pilot Questionnaire constructed *ad hoc*.

Methodological section. Materials and Methods

Subjects

- Male and female adolescents ages 13 - 19 from secondary schools (from first to fifth year) of public and private schools under official management, with residence in the City of Buenos Aires.

- Professionals from related disciplines connected to teaching, justice, clinical assistance and field scientific research with adolescents, whose proven experience (in the opinion of the researcher) redound an added value to this study, and whose trajectory exceeds 15 years in the professional practice.

Sampling

The selection of the adolescents who participated in the study was made through an intentional sampling, whose selection criteria was based on the indicated age range and gender, as secondary students in progress and with residence in the City of Buenos Aires. The criteria of selection of the educational establishments was based in judgmental of the investigator with the idea that they belonged to Educational establishments of different social, economic and territorial characteristics. The selection of the group of experts whose career exceeds 15 years of professional practice was also based on the author's judgment.

Instruments for data collection

a) Open, individual and group interviews to young men and women

This strategy provided detailed information about young people's knowledge, actions and feelings about sexuality to think about some categories to construct the Survey.

In some group interviews, men and women were included to foster the deployment of opinions from a gender perspective. This made it possible for us to explore more deeply the subject under study, since it was the very

people under investigation who provided sensitive data, their care and prevention behaviors, questions, their unique positions in situations of violence (not exclusively sexual), and their Opinions about sexual information received by parents, educators and peers, etc. In addition, they are privileged informants with respect to their feelings and thoughts, which could not be accessed otherwise.

b) Interview with experts

Interviews were conducted with key informants, experts on the subject: physicians specialized in hebiatrics; psychologists whose clinical work is part of the care of adolescents; social workers of the Adolescents Team of public hospitals of the City of Buenos Aires; lawyers specializing in children and adolescents' rights; prosecutors and defenders of minors; professionals working in reception, evaluation and location centers (closed institutions) and centers of reference; researchers of similar themes who are working in other universities, sociologists, sexologists, criminologists and middle school teachers. Because of their proven experience, these professionals gave a broad overview of the subject, which, in addition to providing data of great wealth, provided a significant benefit in allowing access to a wider range of related phenomena, not restricted solely to the researchers' experience.

c) Survey

The mentioned methodological strategies were very valuable for the construction of the Questionnaire that contemplates variables that measure the phenomenon under study, and others: sociodemographic, educational, family, attitudinal, etc.

The main variables are grouped into three broad categories and explore:

1. - Situations of violence in / among adolescents;
2. - Violent sexual behavior in teenage relationships;
- 3.- Sexual (in)formation received.

These variables are, in fact, broad categories that will be deployed in the quantitative stage of research. The instrument constructed for this purpose contains structured, closed, precoded and self-administered elements, although some open questions are incorporated for a better evaluation of the subjects that are investigated in the present field scientific study.

In the survey some previously defined categories will be:

a) Socio-demographic data: age, sex, schooling, coexistence, activity and approximate income level of the referring parents / adults (or head of household).

b) General topics of sexuality: pubertal awakening, changes in the body, choice of sexual partners, first sexual relations, type of attachment, fears, taboos, inhibitions; social pressures, myths related to violent behavior.

c) Sources of sexual information: sexual information received from the parental nucleus, educators, friends, videos, talks, media; Sexual attitudes and practices; Basic notions of anatomy and physiology of sexuality.

d) Referents: with whom / are adolescents talk about concerns related to sexuality: parents, peers, educators, health agents, other relatives and / or non-relatives.

e) Data related to the phenomenon of sexual violence: situation of couple, look and decision male / female in the continuity of courtship, registration and deployment of violent sexual behaviors (passive-suffered and / or active-acted), etc.

f) Other categories: for example, gender and identity, and others that are likely to emerge after the pilot test of the instrument.

Procedure

Group interviews lasted approximately one hour. With the consent of the interviewees, who were explained the purpose of the study; interviews were recorded and later transcribed. The requisite was that adolescents taking part did not have friendly ties with each other so as to allow greater freedom in the issuance of their judgments and that therefore their opinions and comments could flow without restrictions. The groups (although small in number) were previously and deliberately divided into two age ranges: 13-15 and 16-19 since it was conjectured that according to the stage of development they were going through, they would have different concerns, which would enable a better level of production.

Statistical procedure

The interviews were transcribed in full. In order to facilitate the identification of preliminary categories, the *Atlas.ti* program was used, based on Glaser & Strauss (1967) theory, which relies on a method to construct theories, concepts, hypotheses and propositions starting directly from the data and not of a priori assumptions or of existing theoretical frameworks.

Data analysis

A previous axis was delimited that contemplates the following three categories:

Category 1: Situations of violence in / among adolescents

As a guideline, the key questions that fostered self-reflection were: *"Have you ever had to face / listen / address / litigate situations of violence in / among adolescents? If so, what kind of violence (physical, verbal, psychological, etc.) was used and how often? What is your opinion on violent behavior in the youth population?"* In both adolescents and young people, the guiding questions were: *"Do you remember if you have ever had to face some situation of violence in / among adolescents? If so, what kind of violence (physical, verbal, psychological, etc.) and how often? What is your opinion on violent behavior in teenagers? "*

Some of the responses of professionals and young people surveyed are transcribed below:

"In the health service department, there are several consultations related to situations of physical violence in teenage couples and also violence in school, especially from a greater dissemination of bullying," said a psychologist, a member of a health team, and added: *"I believe that violence is a form of domination over the other's field, over the body of the other (...) cases of abuse are discussed more in the consultations or in the treatments."*

Another psychologist says:

"Violent behavior in the youth population is reactive to violence from adults (parents, school, and institutions)."

In the same vein, another family psychologist says:

"... Recurrent lies are a form of violence in adolescents ... very common in abandoned boys who "lie because they were lied to."

These opinions seem to coincide with an operator in social psychology who works in community-based devices for adolescents:

"... Violent behavior stems from social conflict and is a family consequence ... the young person who incites and provokes violence has a history of having suffered violence of different kinds."

A prosecutor says:

"... violence is installed in our society in all sectors ... we can not bias a sector and try to achieve success in management, because the problem is structural ... we must shuffle the cards and give out a new hand, as it were, to put pride back into education, family and ethical values ... it will not be

easy, but we better start fast."

Experts seem to agree that violence among adolescents is a complex cross-linking of variables, as can be seen in the words of another professional:

"... in the private practice, it was common for some adolescents to have this problem, but not as central, that is to say it did not appear as a reason for consultation ... it seems to me that macrosocial aspects (postmodernity, lack of meaning in the projects, empty), microsocial (Families in which this is the privileged interaction) and personal (among which I include issues related to the singular subjectivity and the age group) ... I consider that it is a stage of (...) I have participated in an investigation of young people (aged between 11 and 18 years) accused or convicted of crimes against sexual integrity ... within this group there were who also presented violent behavior with their peers, whether physical or verbal ... "

Points of contact between the opinions of experts, such as that of a lawyer interviewed:

"... my concern is juvenile criminal justice ... all types of violence, which become more specific as criminal offenses, physical, but also moral or psychic ... but also in the environment, in the vital context of the Young victims and perpetrators, there is often a lot of abuse of all kinds ... most of the youth population does not seem to be especially violent ... I note that physical violence generally responds to the social and cultural modes of power of the population More distant from inclusion and stripped of all other social and interpersonal power and social modes consistent with it ... violence is a way of solving personal, group, family conflicts, as well as property appropriation or even status element, in some case ... "

Another of the consulted professionals says:

"... Every day, I listen and see situations of violence between subjects, and subjects and the institution, since I work in a penitentiary unit, where violence comes under different nuances and forms ... it is an everyday challenge to deal with and try and turn these into meaningful, subjective experiences that can be inscribed in subjectivity as a healthy way of living the bonds ... "

Adolescents, too, have a say in the matter. For instance,

"... it takes a few swear words to get us all started, then, if it gets uglier, we might even engage in a fight, anyway, it's just cool with my friends and I. What is more, it is very rare for us to go to such lengths and when we do, we all try to hold our horses. Eventually, things cool down and all is left behind. There are times when a riot breaks out if one of the guys is bothering

or playing nasty jokes on another and they get to the point of fighting badly, sometimes we let them fight ... we all laugh while the one who is angry gets even angrier till they blow their top.

Other opinions that seem to align in the thinking and feeling of the young, as in this story:

"... We usually play tournaments with our team in different places. We do not usually fight with other teams, but it does happen. Sometimes, you play against teams that insult you or talk back to you while playing, which makes you go nuts. I remember once when we beat a team by one goal and they totally lost it. We could hear four-letter words, there was a lot of shoving and pushing and the like, but fortunately, the organizers and a group of parents who had just that time come with us, helped to keep it all down. If you come to think about it, it's crazy, it's something I could never understand, since it was the parents screaming things like 'kill him!', 'Break his leg' ... "

It can be inferred, from discursive productions, powerful concepts are taken into account that, taken from the context, allow us to speak of tensions, conflicts, epocal difficulties and representations that limit, impede, impel and / or brake, but always form part of the common sense that circulates in Speeches and show what they think and what representations they build on topics that interest them, worry, occupy.

Open and in-depth interviews allow the rescue of the actor, the subject that decides, moves, acts, relates, from certain social conditions. These strategies for collecting information are far from considering everyday situations in isolation, but also enable us to capture-and to look at-relationships with other social groups; Therefore, promotes a relational look.

Category 2: Violent sexual behavior in teenage relationships

- What is your opinion on violent sexual behavior in teenage ties? - Key informants were asked; including an official from the area of Childhood and Adolescence, responded:

"We still have to move forward in terms of building up the patriarchal model together with the construction of the masculine identity. I firmly believe it is high time all institutions engaged in the task, especially the young. I believe that the violence comes from children and soon turns into sexual with the advent of puberty. Women also inflict their violence, invisible to some paradigms. Obviously, these ideas, senses, wide range of emotions and incorporated practices-lived and acted-are true individual and social constructions, always contextualized within the framework of economic, social and cultural processes".

-Do teenagers dare to put into words their situation of sexual violence? Are they ever aware of this situation? (this was another question in this category, among which we find these answers):

"The young people I have seen in situations of individual or group deprivation of liberty can talk about what they do and what they have suffered, but it is essential that we wait for the moment when they can genuinely pull it thru. They feel the urge to talk about their causes and history, however, some professionals lack the proper training and thus the encounter between patient and therapist rarely takes place at all."

Another interesting answer that forced us to open up even more questions for the measurement instrument we prepared was:

... Adolescents generally speak freely of situations that concern them with people with whom they have established a bond of trust and affection, a secure bond. They are also likely to talk among peers, which results in adults finding out thru friends' narrations. The record of how serious the situation is usually calls for external help. In other words, the situation is analysed with another peer thru a process of problematization and denaturalization, therefore, the decoding is with another."

Again, the bond, the social bond, is a privilege from the experts, who also point out something of the order of rhythm that is necessary to wait.

Evidently these ideas, senses, emotions and practices incorporated, lived and acted, are true individual and social constructions, always contextualized in the framework of economic, social and cultural processes.

he opinions of key informants helped to think that in everyday practice other forms of violence in teens and youths are raised; What they said gave an account of the representations that are most prevalent in the social imaginary, and there is a hopeful message of carrying forward processes of transformation, each one, from their space, that help to look, analyze, assume, and change.

Just by looking under the expressions collected during the interviews, one can clearly sense that those who agreed to participate were not just passive spectators of the world outside, but one whose opinions expose their subjective positions.

Category 3: sexual (in)formation received

In order for adolescents to talk about sexuality, trust and credibility are indispensable. From the discourse of the young people who participated in the individual and group interviews it emerges that the privileged area for

any type of queries and doubts, especially those related to sexuality is that of the peers. However, in the second place, the parental nucleus or at least the closest referents are privileged. Third, there are educators, and then comes a great category occupied by doctors, psychologists, other relatives, anonymous questions to social networks, radio programs, etc. But on a smaller scale, both adolescents and school institutions and parents claim sex education, however, respondents report that adults evade their questions or refer them to other adults whom adolescents do not trust. In this way they express these young people:

"My dad gave me a half-hour class to explain to me what would happen when it came to sexual excitement and told me that I should also have to wash more frequently and to be careful if an adult molested me. In all, that is everything they taught me. Luckily, Gastón, an older neighbor of mine, was a bit more broad-minded and gave me some useful tips. Also, I came up with questions to my biology teacher but she just blushed and felt embarrassed."

A teenager reports on this experience:

"Parents may not talk to us due to the fact that they were not talked to either. Of course, they have already been thru "all that stuff" and it's a natural thing, right?", in addition, my mom says that "for now I'm way too young to ask and receive info and adds that my only concern should be to study and not think about "that" so I resorted to my sister, who explained to me everything I needed to know, nonetheless, she wanted to know if I had already had sexual intercourse." (laughs)

Added to this opinion:

"I think it's vital that our parents be clear in connection with the accuracy of the information they provide us with because sometimes it feels as though they would speak to you in some sort of foreign language. It so happened one day I asked my dad about sex and he started lecturing me on the subject as though he was actually delivering a class at University.

To which the students adds:

"... and if you ask a genuine question, we demand that they do not be dumfounded by our queries since the perception we get is that the topic really gets to them and we are left with the feeling that we have done or asked something wrong. At times, what we want is for them to be closer-just like a friend would- and speak to us in a clear language, fostering closeness and reliability.

The point of view of one of the experts consulted illustrates this issue in the following way:

"Let's start with the fact that the parents do talk about sexuality with their

children, whatever the discourse is, what they know and how they think it is most convenient ... but obviously for parents, sexuality is still a Taboo subject and prefer not to refer to it unless their children ask them ... children perceive this kind of barrier by parents and decide not to entrust everything they think or feel, sometimes for fear of being prejudiced, this is given More in girls ... it's like parents think that if their daughters present their sexual doubts automatically it's because they've already been involved in a situation similar to what they're asking ... "

Unfortunately, young people are recipients of all the myths about sexuality and contraception that the elderly have been spreading: "*if you come outside, there is no risk*", therefore, adolescents believe they can resort to wearing a condom at any point of the sexual relation. It is a well known fact that preseminal fluid occurs in intercourse. The spermatozoa can live up to seven days inside the vagina.

Most of these different ways of saying, feeling, doing, expressed by adolescents, are part of a record that allowed us to get to know in depth how they are doing, what they dream of, what they expect from the institutions in which professionals work, the school where teenagers and young people attend, codes of the neighborhood, of the community. It also allowed us to see what their fears are, their expectations, their joys and sorrows, their interpretation of everyday social reality, as one way in which this reality is read, interpreted, learned, lived and acted.

Conclusions

From the analysis of the comments of the adolescents considered above it is evident that the adolescents do not have enough concepts for the deployment of a healthy and mainly responsible active sexual life.

To learn what young people know about sexuality, what their concerns are and who their valid referents are constitutes a valuable source of information for the design of public policies aimed at preventing disabling consequences and to promote healthy sexual behaviors, free of prejudices, myths and false beliefs.

These policies should include not only the education sector but also the whole community: social networks, clubs, development associations, canteens, waiting-rooms of health centers and units, religious faith institutions and, of course, parents.

The adolescents of our study, whose primary source of knowledge is their peers, end up somewhat confused as to the extent and quality of information received, given that it is slanted by their not-always-succesful-

previous experiences. Avid for knowledge, they are still at a lost.

In addition, they resort to their parents and educators. Surprisingly enough, however, the way adults transmit their knowledge is rudimentary. According to experts, these shortcomings are due to still existent taboos in society-as far as sexuality is concerned-, which translates into lack of confidence and security for young people to clear up doubts and concerns.

In some cases, parents compete with their own children and see in them the youth and possibilities they are losing, which brings about a genuine generational conflict.

It is in discursive productions-if they are heard at all-where new experiences and new knowledge take place, thus, enabling brand new changes in subjective positions. Discourse does not occur in an existential vacuum, rather, it is constructed in a sociohistorical context that re-produces dominant discourses: some classists, sexists, stigmatizers, demonizers, culprits and naturalizers. The phrases collected do not speak of "reality", but of how it is lived, understood, acted by its actors and / or its effectors.

Having summoned the voice of specialists from different areas was a very valuable contribution at this stage of the research, considering they work with adolescents from different walks of life and that many times, researchers stick to raw data reported in papers by other colleagues. If we take into account the discourse of the young participants as well as the specialists consulted, it is evident the scores of true social holes that have come into being, of which somehow we are all responsible.

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