"DATA AND HYPOTHESES ON THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN VIOLENCE AND AGGRESSIVENESS IN CHILDREN AND ADOLESCENTS: A VISION FROM PUBLIC OPINION"

Agustín Canzani

Below is the document "Data and Hypotheses on the Relationships between Violence and Aggressiveness in Children and Adolescents: A Vision from Public Opinion," produced for the Consultation Seminar on "Violence and Aggressiveness in Children and Adolescents" organized by the National Institute for Minors (INAME).

The document's approach is from the point of view of an analyst of public opinion; it identifies some aspects considered to be central for the formation of attitudes and opinions and analyzes the state of current public opinion about some key issues related to children, adolescents and violence. It also makes a general interpretation of what might be the logic behind these configurations. Finally, there is a primary identification of suggestions for action.

Point 2 alludes to certain references that are simply the public's views on family, children and adolescents, and involves assessments that must be borne in mind as a general framework.

Point 3 analyzes the social perception of violence, considered to be the public's opinion on the issue, in specific aspects as well as in particular questions that link children and young people in perspectives of victims and victimizers.

Finally, point 4 interprets the information and establishes some general explanatory hypotheses, based on which we can deduce certain general suggestions. 🖉

SOME POINTS OF REFERENCE: THE PUBLIC'S VIEWS ON THE FAMILY, CHILDREN AND ADOLESCENTS

The importance of general references

One of the basic questions of the study of phenomena from the point of view of the public, is that the issues do not exist in and of themselves; rather, they exist when a certain set of actors – be they organizations or persons – assign them a certain level of importance and characteristics. The position of these actors is far from being definitive, or existing once and for all. Rather, it is clear that the social dynamic itself affects them in a decisive manner.
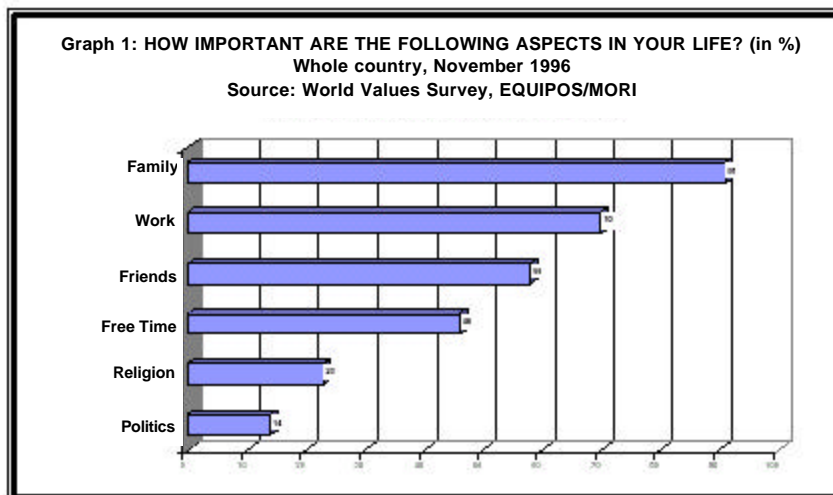
Addressing a subject such as this from this perspective, it seems important to give an account of the situation of some social values and beliefs that, in one way or another, surely condition a great part of the attitudes and, consequently, the behaviors that are important to this issue.

A "family" society in apparent transition

One of the central aspects that must be taken into account as basic characteristics of opinion is Uruguayan society's strong, particular valuing of the family. Although this characteristic is not unique to Uruguay (especially in the Latin American context), it does seem clear that the level of importance assigned is relevant and is not comparable to other kinds of questions. Some examples illustrate this statement. Data from a comparative study[1] show that more than nine out of ten Uruguayans (91%) consider the family to be very important in their lives, which is 21 points higher than those who accord this much importance to work, and more than 30 points higher than those who accord this much importance to friends. Even lower are the points given to other aspects such as religion and politics. (*Graph 1.*)

Graph 1: HOW IMPORTANT ARE THE FOLLOWING ASPECTS IN YOUR LIFE? (in %)
Whole country, November 1996
Source: World Values Survey, EQUIPOS/MORI

In fact, all of the results of the studies point to the same thing. And although this might not call our attention, *a priori,* we should ask ourselves whether the level of relevance that Uruguayans attribute to the family clearly
matches other social behaviors that have been noted in recent times.

Certain recent demographic indicators could cast doubt on this assessment.

The growing number of divorces, the increase in the number of single-parent households, and the dissemination of the "single condition" are some social behaviors that could be interpreted in a way that is opposed to the widespread dissemination of the assessment of the family established in the above paragraph.

The discussion, even from a primary point of view, exceeds the scope of this paper. But it is reasonable to affirm that, in an extended and relatively accepted social assessment of the family in its most traditional version (in terms of its structure and basic characteristics[2]), there is a progressive inclusion of forms of families that differ from the traditional model.

The differences between values and practices on this issue in some way demonstrate a relevant aspect that should be kept in mind when addressing issues relative to children and adolescents.

Among other things, they indicate that the majority of society continues to see the family as playing an

essentially integrating role, or, by contrast, they can see certain family behaviors that do not match this model, disintegrating logics that in some way explain social behaviors and even deserve some kind of punishment.
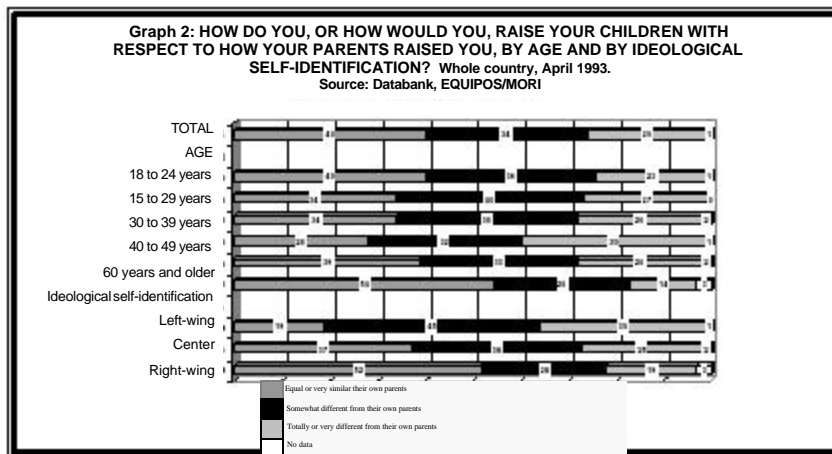
A society inclined to maintain family features that are traditional, yet open to exogenous factors of change

The second aspect also has to do with the family, but goes a bit beyond its "formal" structure and bears in mind the relationships of the family roles according to gender, the transmission of values through the generations and the acceptance of dissimilar behaviors. It attempts to call attention to the coexistence of traditional views of the family with a generalized pragmatism in accepting changes introduced in an exogenous manner.
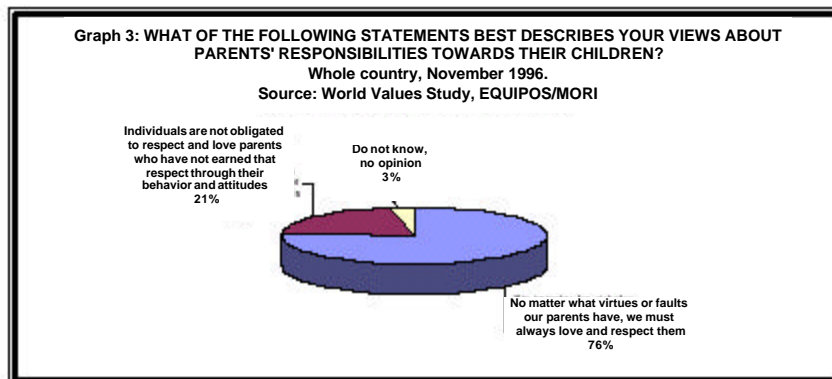
As regards the first aspect, there is an abundance of information available for us to affirm that a good many Uruguayans also tend to have a more or less traditional vision of the assignment of roles in couples. Various studies show that a good proportion of the population (and even more among young people) agree with the gender distribution of roles which involves women being more devoted to household tasks and child-rearing.

The data also show a clear tendency toward maintaining the child-rearing guidelines inherited from parents, which are subjected to only minor modifications. (*Graph 2.*)

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[2] Various studies carried out by EQUIPOS/MORI describe the vision of the perfect family present among Uruguayans, whose structure reflects the more or less classic model of "family type" made up of the father, mother and two children – preferably one of each sex.

Graph 2: HOW DO YOU, OR HOW WOULD YOU, RAISE YOUR CHILDREN WITH RESPECT TO HOW YOUR PARENTS RAISED YOU, BY AGE AND BY IDEOLOGICAL SELF-IDENTIFICATION? Whole country, April 1993.
Source: Databank, EQUIPOS/MORI

TOTAL
AGE
18 to 24 years
15 to 29 years
30 to 39 years
40 to 49 years
60 years and older
Ideological self-identification
Left-wing
Center
Right-wing

Equal or very similar their own parents
Somewhat different from their own parents
Totally or very different from their own parents
No data

And finally, we can also make the empirical argument that love and respect for parents is seen by most Uruguayans as an inherent feature of their role, more than something that is related to behavior and attitudes in performing this role. (*Graph 3.)*

Graph 3: WHAT OF THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS BEST DESCRIBES YOUR VIEWS ABOUT PARENTS' RESPONSIBILITIES TOWARDS THEIR CHILDREN?
Whole country, November 1996.
Source: World Values Study, EQUIPOS/MORI

Individuals are not obligated to respect and love parents who have not earned that respect through their behavior and attitudes
21%

Do not know, no opinion
3%

No matter what virtues or faults our parents have, we must always love and respect them
76%

Described in this way, Uruguayan society could appear to be relatively traditional, unwilling to accept changes in family roles, and thus offering little variation in the social places of its members.

However, a relatively broad set of factors that are exogenous to the family, coming from outside environments, put a significant part of these orientations into question, if not definitively overcoming them.

Things like this occur when phenomena such as the need for income make people use as much of the labor available in the family as possible, which ultimately generates profound changes in the assignment of gender roles. Another example is when the dislocation of original nuclear families makes necessary the establishment of new responsibilities for the couple. Or when the penetration of the new mass media supplants or modifies part of the transmission of value guidelines, which used to reside in the family.

In practice, these are no more than individual examples that allow us to affirm that Uruguayan families theoretically share a more or less generic vision of the ideal characteristics of the family, which could be called relatively traditional, but at the same time engage in pragmatic behavior when they must overcome conditions that challenge their biological and social reproduction.

A society with a "non-specific" vision of children and adolescents

Another relevant social perception to keep in mind is that which we could call the "non-specificity" of child and adolescent issues in Uruguay.
This aspect, which has been cited in previous studies,[3] comes from a predominance of what we could term a "structuralist" diagnosis of many of the country's problems. In other words, there is a relatively generalized opinion that the major

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[3] "Study of the Institutional Image of UNICEF in Uruguay." EQUIPOS Associated Consultants, 1993.

national problems have to do with economics, the absence of a clear plan for the country, and the political system's ineffectiveness in resolving these and other issues.

Consequently, child and adolescent problems are in fact a mere reflection of the other major national problems. Poor children are the result of a country that cannot grow economically or adequately distribute wealth; children with behavioral problems are those whom the ineffective state system cannot control or "re-educate"; children who suffer from family violence are victims of complex social situations that the country does not solve; and thus it continues.

As is the tendency, the "structuralist" diagnosis puts many of the causes of the problem outside the problem's specificity, thus reducing the importance of the problem itself. This lesser importance is reflected in its absence from the public agenda as a relevant issue. In the last fifteen years not a single public opinion survey showed the problems of children and adolescents as one of the most important in the country, even when the criterion for inclusion is only 5% of mentions.

It is also evident that the non-specificity of the issue involves other consequences, including some institutional consequences that may be relevant. The most important seems to be the fact that, to the extent that the structuralist diagnosis also puts solutions far out of the reach of the institutions working on the subject, we can then quickly deduce significant consequences for the visibility, perceived relevance, and level of power of an institution such as the INAME.

THE SOCIAL PERCEPTION OF VIOLENCE THE RELATIONSHIP TO CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE

Social concern about delinquency: children and young people as victimizers.

It is obvious that violence can take many different forms, and it is also evident that not all of them have the same level of visibility or generate the same level of concern. The visibility and concern vary according to the type of society and stage of history. From the same point of view as the analysis assumed at the beginning, we can affirm that society's basic vision of the level of violence often translates into social concern about delinquency.

Although it is far from being exclusively violent, and much further from being the only form of violence, what people commonly tend to call delinquency is a certain type of behavior that is often identified with violence. For this reason, the avatars of this perception represent a significant question.

The phenomenon has been measured many times in the last ten years. Its serious comparison, however, is a bit tricky, since the fact that it is not a stable indicator of opinion, it may be affected by short-term circumstances that could lead to mistaken conclusions.

But some recent systematic studies[4] give a general basic overview of the current level of concern. The results show that concern about public security appears on the second level, immediately following economic problems. This is surely influenced by what is a relatively generalized perception of a rise in delinquency, associated to a certain extent with a basic lack of trust in the effectiveness of those in charge of combating delinquency. The study also shows that, to a significant extent, this is a certain "generic insecurity" that is felt by most of the population. The concept emerges from the fact that general indicators of insecurity are more critical than specific ones, such as neighborhood security or specific levels of victimization.

The identified causes follow the course of the structuralist diagnoses mentioned above, but in certain cases they incorporate some data that directly refer to the population covered in this study, and are cause for concern. Almost one out of seven Montevideans (14%) feels that the increase in drug addiction is the main cause of the increase in delinquency levels. But the question does not end there: one out of 20 interviewees in the metropolitan area (5%) feels that "young people" are one of the most dangerous groups of the population, who cause the most insecurity; 1% mention "street children," who are also seen by a similar proportion of the population as being associated with other offenses.

This creates a situation in which public opinion is increasingly concerned about the level of delinquency and expresses a significant sensation of insecurity, an environment in which some groups perceive young people – and sometimes minors – as potentially threatening to their security.

The visibility of domestic violence: children and young people as victims.

Society's vision of violence and its relation to children and adolescents would not end here if we did not analyze existing ideas about domestic violence, an area where these groups are victims.
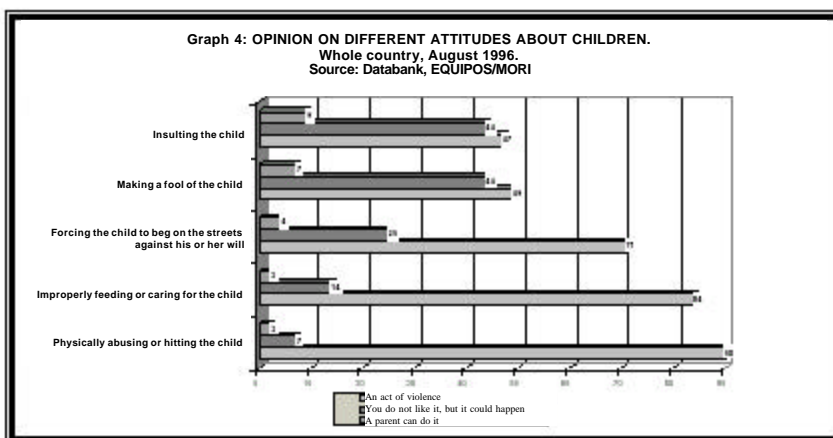
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[4] "First Public Opinion Survey on Citizen Security." EQUIPOS/MORI, August 1999.

The different studies on the issue suggest that a significant proportion of the population considers the phenomenon to be relatively frequent, but from with a relatively limited concept of domestic and physical violence and a certain inclination to accept the phenomenon as a "private" matter.
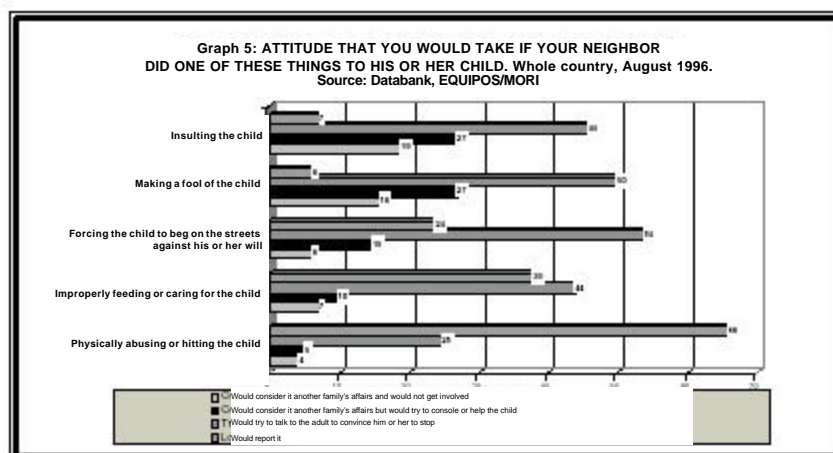
The data show that more than half (60%) of Uruguayans feel that children's rights are little respected or not at all, but they also show a relatively marked tendency to accept, as violence, only those things that directly influence the child physically, or situations in which an adult forces a child to do something, for the benefit of the adult. 90% of Uruguayans defined physical abuse or hitting of children as acts of violence; 84% also included, as violent, inadequate feeding or caring for the child; and 71% held the same opinion about obligating a child to beg against his or her will.
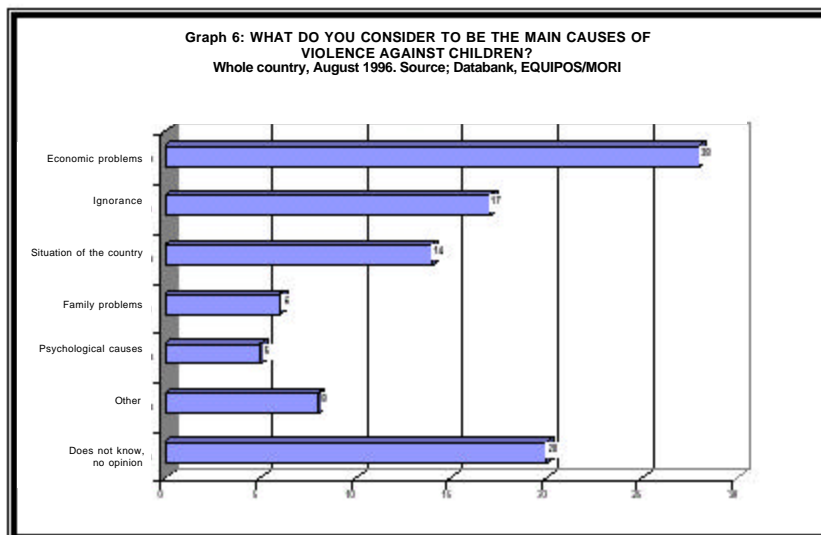
But less than half (49%) believe that it is an act of violence to make fun of a child; a similar percentage of the population (47%) feels the same way about insulting a child. (*Graph 4.*)

Graph 4: OPINION ON DIFFERENT ATTITUDES ABOUT CHILDREN.
Whole country, August 1996.
Source: Databank, EQUIPOS/MORI

The qualification of this situation as violent ensures that the population has incorporated a behavior that is oriented to reporting offenses. In practice, only two-thirds of the people (66%) say that they would report it if they saw a neighbor hit a child. fewer than four out of ten (38%) would report a case of inadequate feeding or care of a child. Only half (24%) would report people who force their children to beg against their will. (*Graph 5.*)

Graph 5: ATTITUDE THAT YOU WOULD TAKE IF YOUR NEIGHBOR
DID ONE OF THESE THINGS TO HIS OR HER CHILD. Whole country, August 1996.
Source: Databank, EQUIPOS/MORI

It is reasonable to think that many of these attitudes are supported by a relatively "structuralist" explanation of domestic violence against children. In fact, more than one-fourth (28%) of adult Uruguayans believe that the main cause of violence against children is economic difficulty; another 14% believe that it is "the situation of the country"; and an additional 17% blame it on "ignorance," a factor that can be easily added to the package of structural motives. (*Graph 6.)*

Graph 6: WHAT DO YOU CONSIDER TO BE THE MAIN CAUSES OF VIOLENCE AGAINST CHILDREN?
Whole country, August 1996. Source; Databank, EQUIPOS/MORI

Category	Value
Economic problems	30
Ignorance	17
Situation of the country	14
Family problems	6
Psychological causes	5
Other	6
Does not know, no opinion	20

PRIMARY INTERPRETATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR ACTION

• Available data and analyses up to now have shown that Uruguayan public opinion is characterized by a certain vision of the family in which there is a coexistence between giving significant value to the models that are closest to the traditional vision, and engaging in practices that involve, if not its specific rejection, then at least the acceptance of alternative forms that are not specifically in adapted to this ideal.

• In this framework, it is reasonable to think that any deviation in behavior by and toward children and adolescents may be cause for concern. This concern is formally transmitted in two dimensions: that of children and adolescents as victims (domestic violence) and that of children and adolescents as victimizers (delinquency). Obviously, both behaviors are widely censored. In the first dimension (children as victims) it is because of they confront a deeply-rooted humanistic idea of human rights in general and children's rights in particular; in the second dimension, it is because they reflect a social behavior that brings negative consequences, and, moreover, that is difficult to explain in a simple way.

• Faced with this situation, Uruguayan society seems to react in diverse manners. In the case of domestic violence, it is considered inadmissible but frequent; however, it is relativized in at least two ways. First, because it reduces the concept of physical violence or relatively extreme manifestations of what we could call child abuse. Second, because it assigns "structural" bases that make the phenomenon difficult to combat. These interpretations are the ones that very likely allow us to explain that society also shows a low level of mobilization with respect to the issue. In a behavior that probably seeks to minimize conflict, it seems to accept a certain level of the family's right to engage in these behaviors privately, and seems to only partially accept mobilization through reporting.

• In the case of delinquency, the "structuralist" diagnosis is repeated, but the fact that it is perceived as an increasing and potentially more threatening behavior, it is giving way to more "benevolent" interpretations. This explains why a good part of society supports "example-making" measures to deal with certain offenses. It also explains how high levels of social stereotypes gradually develop, associating crime with the poor and, more specifically, with the marginalized, and progressively place responsibility with young people who engage in "pathological" behavior (such as drug addiction) and children who are not under the appropriate family controls (such as street children).

• In the case of domestic violence, the results suggest that it would be necessary to act in at

least three very different fields. First, the dissemination of a set of criteria that specify the daily behaviors that could be considered to be violence. Second, the generation of an awareness that shows that there are no valid reasons to violate rights in general, and that this reasoning is no different in the case of children. Third, the generation of a social awareness that makes a pro-reporting attitude into a potential way to stop the spread of these behaviors.

• In the first and second cases, it is reasonable to think that progress can be made on the basis of consciousness-raising in the style of some previous UNICEF campaigns, although in a more marked manner and possibly with some component of personalization, as has been done in the past by some parts of the *Rede Globo* with children's rights. In the second case, everything seems to indicate that the most appropriate way is to intensify the campaign to stimulate reporting of these behaviors, accompanied by the channels that offer guarantees. Telephone hotlines are, without a doubt, the most appropriate instruments. Also, reasonably, we should seek to make sure the Police (an institution that is far from enjoying the full trust of the population) is not the body in charge of receiving and taking care of the preliminary processing of these reports, although it does ensure the use of force, if necessary.

• In the case of delinquency, the question is much more complicated. Everything seems to indicate that we should attack the levels of social stereotypes that are growing with respect to the identification of children and adolescents with delinquency. The dissemination of statistical information is a reasonable input, but surely it is insufficient. But because no one doubts the role of the mass media on this point, it would be important to think about specific levels of communication to interact with media authorities. In practice, what is emerging is the creation of a *"positive lobby"* style to ensure that the media use an appropriate focus when reporting news on crime. Also, the Office of the Attorney-General for Children or its equivalent, as well as NGOs working in the field, could exert some kind of control and make comments on the information on the issue. To measure the space and analyze the content of this information is relatively easy to do and not too costly.

• Finally, everything seems to indicate that, beyond these questions, it is necessary to make a determined effort to overcome the structuralist explanation that is behind child and adolescent affairs, and that takes away their specificity. The public dissemination of the complexity that lies behind these questions is necessary. We could try responses that are more academic or more "media-oriented," but perhaps it would be most reasonable to include a specifically political

dimension. The construction of an "item on children and adolescents" with issues to be regularly included by political parties and pertinent social organizations could be a good attempt to begin achieving this specificity – as elusive as it is necessary.

Commentary:
Maria Elena Laurnaga

More than a commentary on the clear presentation given by Agustín Canzani and the compelling data that he proposes for reflection, I prefer to share questions that these data have provoked with respect to the background problem.

• *What is the relationship between the data gathered through analyses of public opinion and effective social practices that we can identify behind these expressions?*

I agree about the importance of public opinion gathering as an instrument for the characterization of the expressions that respondents rationally express, but we have to decipher its social real social meaning, what we mean in a certain social context when we respond in one way and not in another. And this is perhaps the main challenge that Agustín Canzani has presented to us in his presentation.

• *The socially shared images and their contradictions with practice.*

Agustín Canzani proposes the characteristics of some concepts that are important to the public, such as the idea of "family" as a privileged and valuable space for socialization, beyond the different family arrangements that in which Uruguayans find themselves in practice. The family becomes one of those integrating, de-stigmatizing elements in social life, although practices do not correspond to the traditional formats. Thus, it is possible to think that public opinion reflects more *what should be* and less what *is*.

Thus, among the "integrated," appears a valuing of the traditional family model in a context of non-traditional coexistence, since Uruguayans have concretely modified traditional family arrangements. Among the "non-integrated" adolescents who do not have a family or a support reference of this kind, there is, logically, a "narrative" or "story" seeking to adjust itself to the traditional model, fundamentally as a way to create a "history that is socially accepted."

• *Violence is a code that is learned, and that has different meanings.*

In these meanings, we have to trace the reproduction of violence as a daily practice, the legitimization of violence as an "effective" strategy for surviving or obtaining recognition, to "be in the world"; violence as a form of communication (when, for many, it has been the only way to communicate); and violence as the only way to "be something for someone." And finally, violence as a social construct that victimizes and imposes on some subjects, a load and a responsibility that, as we have said here over and over, is the responsibility of the collective.

I would like to make reference to one case. In a study that I did among prostituted children and adolescents, with the collaboration of Sergio Migliorata and the support of many individuals from the INAME, we found that in many cases, the prostituted girls who were in the worst conditions – who had never had a no family, who were abandoned – built fantasy stories about their families and constructed their ideal families. These were imaginary families that, through the telling, "equalized" these girls with others, who were integrated. In this imaginary that they reproduced, there seemed to be no situations of violence like those that they had experienced. However, in this same context, there were several cases of young mothers who, with their own children, repeated the violence they themselves had experienced at different moments and stages. Why?
Because this was the relationship code that they had established and it was a way to reaffirm their own history: to be something for someone, at least at the moment of being a victim of violence, it was a "value." From there, emerge expressions as terribly real as "he hits me because he loves me" – which as been said by so many women.

• *Between the consideration of violence as an individual act and a social responsibility.*

When can an act of violence (and another, and another, continuing) be considered an individual fact, "a case," and when does it become a "social fact"?

We may derive different considerations about responsibility for violence, and diverse attitudes about the necessary collective response about which we have spoken in this Consultation Group.

• *Interpretations of violence particularly cover responsibility.*

On one hand, there is a social tendency to stigmatize – and even to blame the violent individual – as if these actions were strictly individual, a product of disenfranchisement, pathologies or deficits whose particularity prevents them from being a "social question." On the other hand, the factors most frequently mentioned to explain violence also cover up social responsibility and operate as mechanism that re-victimize the victims.

In this same study, society came up with diverse structural and cultural explanations for the problem of prostitution: the moral deterioration of the prostituted individuals or their adult references; the consumer market that exacerbates expectations and faced with which all kinds of economic strategies are developed; unemployment; poverty; family breakdown; etc. All of these are without a doubt explanatory variables, but no one thought to ask about the customers, the consumers of adolescent prostitution, the "buyers" of sexual services.

• *The impenetrable opacity of anonymity often seems to exonerate responsibility from those who are really at fault, and contributes to re-blaming the victims, who are unavoidably visible, tangible, and can be evaluated.*

With this logic, the objective of UNICEF to make visible what was invisible, seems to be the first step toward adequately repairing the modal-social deterioration expressed by these facts.

Other examples clearly demonstrate "blaming the victims" as a strategy to exonerate social responsibility. In a recent, highly publicized case, in which neglect by the family was past of the basis for a situation that ended in the death of a little girl, the mother was put in prison. Faces with the social situation of the neighbors who accused, and the criminal charges brought against the mother on grounds of neglect – did a single person ask about the girl's absent father, the "irresponsible" father, this person with a first and last name, who simply was not socially or legally held responsible, because he "was not there," because he had not assumed the duties of parental authority?

Does not know/does not answer

In this sense, the data on reality managed by public opinion, their manifestations, are actually the data that we may have knowledge of, or of the reality in which we want to believe, or of the reality that we are socially prepared to assimilate.

• *The meaning of violence is very delicate, and thus so is the public construction of the subject of violence.*

The great challenge that we have here is to link concrete actions with these meanings, interpret them, and find points of contact. And I believe that this Seminar is fundamentally that: thus the multiplicity of perspectives, sensibilities and reactions that this debate has provoked.

For me, it is very difficult and moving to speak after some of the people who have already spoken. In the Seminar, there have been emotional tones or cycles in the discussion process between yesterday and today, which I believe have been creating links between the *issues being presented*, and the *ways in which they are being presented* and the *moments at which they are presented*. But they are also linked to *those who are presenting them, and their respective positions*: academics and professionals who have provided their expert knowledge; policy-makers, who are doing what can be done and anguishing over what cannot be done. It is a synthesis that impacts us very much because we have to find a common thread because, in reality, there are two types of sensibilities: we consultants fulfill our intellectual duties on the subject, but the policy-makers have to be responsible for the "operational anguish" of touching the subject with their hands and distancing themselves to be able to think about it, to adjust contributions to management.

I wish to make reference to the information provided yesterday by Mr. Julio Hurtado, representative of UNICEF in Uruguay, when he cited the study done by the CIFRA company on children's opinions about domestic violence. In this study, 39% of the children said that they had been victims of some kind of violence within their families (psychological, physical, emotional, etc.). But what Hurtado did not mention, is that the majority of these children consider this treatment by adults to be appropriate.

How are children supposed to know that they are being abused? How will they accept that a loved one is using a code that will be negative for them, unfair to them? And afterwards, we blame the children because they have not complained (they will probably not complain when they grow up, either), or we blame the mother because she observes the punishment that the father or male companion inflicts on the child, or hits the child herself on the orders of the father or male companion, etc. Violence is a vicious cycle in which the need for a reference means that often, the immediate reference – often the aggressor – is legitimized. And it is for this reason that the children protect their aggressors (because they are loved ones), and it is for this reason that the women do not report the aggression, or repeat it (because they are also victims of other violence, because of fear, because of their inability to question their own reference). For these reasons, the circle of violence is not made explicit.

• *The voice of the voiceless. A political responsibility.*

The invisibilization of the problem presented by Canzani is thus a substantive question. But it is also made invisible because society wants those involved to put the problem on the public agenda. And those involved are often the most invisible, the weakest in social relations, the most subordinate.

Thus, as UNICEF states, today it is our responsibility, and the responsibly of policy, to give a voice to the voiceless. Other questions: from what moral stature, from what perspective, from what institutional responsibility, must we interpret the best interest of the child? The so-called crisis of values: it is a crisis of children, of family units, of socialization institutions, of society as a whole? Who is responsible, whom are we defending, and against what? And how to go about it?

Perhaps this Seminar is slightly confusing; it is not violence and aggressiveness "in" children and adolescents, but rather the violent and aggressive response to violence suffered by children and adolescents. I will again take up the reference that Cecilia Zaffaroni made to Hirschmann:

• What is the exit in relation to these contexts of violence and aggressiveness that our children experience and suffer? The exit is often the marginalizing reaction of the system itself. Children and adolescents are not able to get out of the system unless it is through a form of marginalization; they have no ability to choose while they are in the process of biological and social growth and development.

• What is the "voice" – what voice? The voice of the child who has been hurt in many ways, or the voice of the society that defends itself against the "danger" of the violent/aggressive child/adolescent? The voice of the interpreters? Who, and with what responsibilities, must exercise the political responsibility of being the voice of the voiceless? In the words of the Convention, who expresses the best interests of the child, and how are these interests interpreted?

• Loyalty: to what kind of loyalty does a behavior respond? To what solidarity, what subculture? From what standpoint can we understand it, evaluate it, re-signify it?