

When Pedagogy meets the *punhetódromo*: masturbation in the Community of Social Assistance in Salvador¹

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Abstract

The text analyzes how masturbation, carried out by adolescents and young people in a situation of deprivation of liberty, in a unit of the socio-educational system of Salvador, constitutes an important focus for thinking about the control of collective security, reiteration and subversion sexuality norms within the accommodation and other living spaces. Therefore, it is argued that masturbation can be used by a pedagogy that considers eroticism as a fundamental part of people's lives, without neglecting the existence of sexual practices in the context of deprivation of liberty and how they can establish bonds that go beyond the place of violence and generate solidarity, pleasure and learning.

Keywords

Sexuality. Pedagogy. Socio-educational.

Quando a Pedagogia encontra o *punhetódromo*: masturbação em uma Comunidade de Atendimento Socioeducativo de Salvador

Resumo

O texto analisa como a masturbação, realizada por adolescentes e jovens em situação de privação de liberdade, em uma unidade do sistema socioeducativo de Salvador, constitui-se em um importante foco para pensar sobre o controle da segurança coletiva, a reiteração e a subversão das normas de sexualidade dentro dos alojamentos e demais espaços de convivência. Por isso, argumenta-se que a masturbação pode ser utilizada por uma pedagogia que considere o erotismo como parte fundamental da vida das pessoas, sem negligenciar a existência das práticas sexuais no âmbito da privação de liberdade e como elas podem estabelecer vínculos que ultrapassem o lugar da violência e gerem solidariedade, prazer e aprendizado.

Palavras-chave

Sexualidade. Pedagogia. Socioeducativo.

¹ English version originally translated from English by Marina Lima Pompeu.

**Quando la Pedagogía se encuentra con el *punhetódromo*:
la masturbación en una Comunidad de Asistencia Social de Salvador**

Resumen

El texto analiza cómo la masturbación, realizada por adolescentes y jóvenes en situación de privación de libertad, en una unidad del sistema socioeducativo de Salvador, constituye un foco importante para pensar en el control de la seguridad colectiva, la reiteración y la subversión de las normas de sexualidad dentro del alojamiento y otros espacios de sociabilidad. Por ello, se sostiene que la masturbación puede ser utilizada por una pedagogía que considere el erotismo como parte fundamental de la vida de las personas, sin descuidar la existencia de prácticas sexuales en el contexto de privación de libertad y cómo ellas pueden establecer vínculos que van más allá del lugar de la violencia y generar solidaridad, placer y aprendizaje.

Palabras clave

Sexualidad. Pedagogía. Socioeducativo.

1 Introduction

This article deals with the findings of the research (CORREIA, 2020) that identified and analyzed the gender and sexuality issues experienced by teenagers and youths institutionalized in two Socio-Educational Assistance Communities in Salvador (Case), one for males and another for females, both managed by the Foundation for Children and Adolescents (Fundac), an agency linked to the Bureau of Justice, Human Rights and Social Development of the State of Bahia.

Through interdisciplinary dialogue between cultural, gender, and sexuality studies, interviews² with professionals from different areas of activity at Fundac were conducted, and also with the work experience of one of the authors of this text at the institution, the research demonstrated how gender and sexuality that exist in an environment of deprivation of liberty arise from the original, essential and univocal conceptions of sex/gender/sexuality perpetrated, throughout history, by a culture impregnated by hierarchies, inequalities, ignorance and sexual and gender taboos.

We looked out at how, in the socio-educational system, sexual and gender rights are still afterthoughts, secondary or superfluous, and are far from being effectively guaranteed as fundamental human rights, revealing profound contradictions between the

² For this article, we used statements from only three professionals, identified with the acronyms PA, PE, and PB. The interviews were conducted in 2019.

legal advances in promoting and guaranteeing sexual rights and the maintenance of punitive technologies, which serve, above all, to reify the masculinist, cisheteronormative (VERGUEIRO, 2018) and lgbtphobia order.

The main problems identified, in both Fundac units, consist of maintaining binarisms and normativity of sex/gender/sexuality; the infantilization, and neglect of the sexual activity among the interns; institutional prohibition of mutually consented homosexual practices; the use of perverse rituals of domination and exploitation on those considered to be the most subordinate; the estrangement and pathologization of trans people; the denial of the legitimate existence of LGBT + people and the underutilization of all these issues as generating themes for deconstructing hierarchies and intersectional inequalities.

On the other hand, we also have seen the emergence of life impulses among the interns through the set in of cooperative, loving, and transgressive relationships, as well as among professionals, through the implementation of programs that recognized, promoted, and guaranteed human rights as well as sexual and gender rights. This reveals the predominantly pedagogical, political, and radically ethical paths that take into account the gender and sexuality issues of young people and teenagers deprived of their freedom as opportunities for change, development, and life change for socio-educators, interns, and institution.

In this article, we will problematize only a section of the research: the practice of masturbation in the male Case. First, we will address, through well-known studies, how masturbation started to be controlled and then we will analyze how surveillance and subversions occur in the institution concerning the so-called “solitary sex” (LAQUEUR, 2007)³. Finally, we propose that these experiences can be used to think of pedagogical instruments that promote the socialization of goods among people, cultivate generosity, peaceful coexistence, the development of autonomy, and the right to pleasure, intimacy, privacy, and freedom of inmates who are subjects of socio-educational measures in institutions.

³ Throughout the text, we will see that, in fact, masturbation is far from being a wholly solitary sexual practice, inside or outside the socio-educational system. Therefore, we will always keep the quotation marks in that expression.

2 The history of masturbation

Foucault (2010) defended the thesis that, from the 17th century, “masturbation” was among the three figures representing human anomaly disseminated by the knowledge and power duo of the legal, medical, and religious institutions, together with the figures of the “monster” and the “person who needs to be fixed”. This is because these three figures would contradict the laws of men, nature, and divinity:

Effectively, the monster contradicts the law. They are the infraction, and the infraction is taken to the maximum. [...] What makes the monster's strength and capacity for concern are that, while violating the law, it leaves the monster speechless. They set a trap for the law they are breaking. [...] It is the principle of intelligibility of all forms - which circulate in the form whispers - the anomaly. (FOUCAULT, 2010, p. 48).

It's from the very existence of the monster that medicine and the legal system of the classical age are going to be questioned since they won't be able to handle the hybridism, the contradiction, and the mixture that nature brings to the civilized world, which intends to compartmentalize human beings into unique specie with fixed and essential identities and behaviors proper for representation. The Siamese, the hybrids, those who were called hermaphrodites, are therefore seen as figures of opposition to the constituted legal-natural-divine system. The hermaphrodites, then, will torment medical and legal knowledge, disturb the binary order of the sexes, the natural and divine laws that presuppose that only a man or woman is born.

Countless hermaphrodites, now called intersex, were condemned to death, burned, and hanged in a public square simply because they were discovered with this sexual ambiguity, considered abnormal and without rights until nowadays (GARBELOTTO; COLLING, 2018).

The individual that needed to be fixed, the second type of representation of the abnormal, a figure whose image was strengthened between the 17th and 18th centuries, would be of a more limited and closer context than the hermaphrodite, no longer universal or cosmological. It emerged from the environment closest to the neighborhood institutions. This figure appears in the context of the dispute over control of power and knowledge existing between family, community, school, workshop, church, street, neighborhood, clinic, police, State. If “[...] the monster is, by

definition, an exception, the individual to be corrected is a prevailing phenomenon” (FOUCAULT, 2010, p. 49).

The individual to be fixed will, systematically, occupy the interests and investments of control of the society in the following centuries. And it's a continuation of the strategies of identification, control, and correction of deviant behaviors that, in the period between the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th, the phenomenon of masturbation will become a central theme for the interests of the dominant culture.

The masturbator, the child that masturbates, is a whole new figure in the nineteenth century (it's actually the end of the eighteenth century), and the family is the stage of this new character. We can even say that is something narrower than the family: its reference context is no longer nature and society as [in the case of] the monster, it's no longer the family and its surroundings as [in the case of] the individual to be fixed. It's a much narrower space. It's the bedroom, the bed, the body; it's the parents, the immediate caregivers, the brothers, and sisters; it's the doctor - a whole kind of microcell around the individual and his body. (FOUCAULT, 2010, p. 50).

For Foucault (2010), this is how onanism will be constructed as a universal secret. It's in between, in the friction of family relationships that this practice will give individuals possibilities of freedom, autonomy, desires, and enjoyment, but it will also suffer the impacts of interdictions, monitoring, blaming, punishments, and correction strategies on the subjects: "I think we can say, to situate this sort of archeology of the anomaly, that the 19th-century abnormal is a descendant of these three individuals, the monster, the incorrigible and the masturbator" (FOUCAULT, 2010, p. 51). And it is in this way that this construction of knowledge-power by medicine and by the legal, religious, pedagogical, moral, and cultural systems will continue for centuries and still have an influence on the subjects, regardless of class, generation, race, sex, gender, infraction, as we will see shortly.

Laqueur (2007) argues that masturbation is one of the most democratic and universal sexual phenomena. Universal for its ability to reach all individuals, from all places, nationalities, and cultures. And democratic due to the opportunity to access the domain of one's own body, the pleasure, and intimacy that is available to everyone. For Laqueur (2007), one of the main powers of masturbation consists of questioning the heterosexual order, patriarchy, and sexism. In this sense, the author defends the

feminist nature of the masturbatory practice, since it frees, especially, women from the assumption that men are needed for female sexual satisfaction, and vice versa. By dissociating sex from the reproductive function, masturbation frees both men and women and universally legitimizes non-reproductive enjoyment. Masturbation undermines the presumption of marriage for the existence of sexual activity, frees the subject from the need to get married, questions the patrimonialist perspectives of marriage, and decentralizes sexual satisfaction from the male sphere, making sexual pleasure accessible to all, regardless of gender.

Unlike men, who have always been encouraged to go to brothels, it's with the practice of masturbation that women, for example, will have sexual experiences besides the need for marriage, that is, their first and reiterated extramarital sexual experiences. Masturbation reinforces feminist ideals using the perspective of liberation from confinement to domestic space and celibacy before marriage, stimulating women's self-knowledge and self-realization through possible trips through erotic landscapes populated by subjects with whom they establish sensorial contacts, using their fantasies, memories, and imagination.

As Laqueur (2007) shows, this, however, didn't exclude the need for the cruelest and harmful persecutions for control, correction, and punishment of those considered abnormal and deviant. On the contrary, the emergence of medicine and anthropology as sciences in modernity, in conjunction with the knowledge-power of the theological and legal system, contributed enormously to transform sex, sexual practices, and sexuality into preferential targets for control, interdiction, and correction. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the ethical and moral role of medicine over the bodies of individuals, compulsory heterosexuality, vigilance over female celibacy, mandatory marriage, sexual practice conditioned to the reproduction of the species, the Protestant and Christian analogy of heterosexual sexual erotic energy as the image and likeness of the powerful connection between angels and God promoted the legitimation of the need for the allocation of sexual energy for procreation, and not for pleasure. Thus, arguments were constructed for inhibiting, blaming, correcting, and punishing individuals who practiced acts considered deviant or abnormal, such as masturbation.

The problem with masturbation wasn't that the act was a form of pleasure, but what it wasn't. As it was, it was a false pleasure, a perversion of the real. Generally, medical naturalism and speculative anthropology supported the correction and moral innocence of the heterosexual relationship. Even non-marital love wasn't so bad, in the opinion of certain medical circles; some even proposed prostitution as a possible cure for the habit of solitary sex. (LAQUEUR, 2007, p. 227).

The libertarian, autonomous, self-managed potential of “solitary” sexual practices has frightened and frightens, even today, those who intend to control the behaviors, impulses, and subjective desires of individuals and collectivities. We still suffer the reflexes of the pathologizing, punitive, and blaming the culture of “solitary sex”, at the same time that we contradictorily live with the multiple libertarian stimuli of the neoliberal capitalist consumer market, which legitimize, sensitize and persuade bodies and minds for the eroticization of bodies and senses, whose main objective is the search for individual uninterrupted pleasure, capable of realization at their fingertips. Not only using anatomy but through infinite biochemical and cybernetic extensions, a profusion of dating apps, sex shops, sexual goods, and services of all kinds. As everyone has gone through puberty, it is not difficult to understand this. All of us, as beings with desires, experience, in different ways, the tensions and spasms that go through masturbation and enjoyment in society. Each of us, certainly, has a case to tell emblematic of these dramatizations of normative and controlling forces over our bodies and minds.

Of course, puberty, the warming of humours at that time, the development of sexual organs, the accumulation of fluids, the tension in the walls, the general irritability of the nervous system, all of this can explain very well that the child practices masturbation, but the very nature of the child in its development must be excused from masturbation. (FOUCAULT, 2010, p. 211).

With that in mind, even though there are some social, cultural, economic, generational, and sexual variations among the public, puberty is similar to everyone, which couldn't be different in the socio-educational system. The physiological and hormonal aspects, especially in this peculiar phase of development, associated with the imperative of enjoyment worshiped by the hedonistic consumer society, could exempt from blaming the “solitary sex” practiced by these adolescents. They don't, however, make them immune to surveillance, correction, and punishment on sexual practices learned in their childhood and adolescence. This is what we will discuss going forward.

3 Masturbation in the male Case

In the male Case, the old prohibitions and regulations experienced by the residents in their families tend to be reproduced inversely in the deprivation of liberty, that is, what Foucault (2010) declared as the cause of the control of child sexuality, the protection of the child against the acts of the external context and the adults' contacts with their bodies, it's manifested in the opposite direction in the socio-educational system, since, in this condition, the teenagers themselves are the ones who watch over each other to supposedly not desecrate the adults. Perhaps in an attempt to repair possible damage suffered in intra-family relationships, these adolescents use mechanisms to control and discipline the bodies of their peers so that they don't erotically explore the images of their adult relatives. Through codes of conduct, pacts of behavior, and the establishment of rules for the exercise of the right to "solitary sex", adolescents oversee, authorize and disallow masturbation practices in the context of deprivation of liberty.

This control is exercised to contain the supposed perversities that adolescents imagine about the relatives of others. Possible fictitious perversities of adolescents about family members. Fetishes about the bodies of family members and professionals. Therefore, masturbation, in the male unit, is prohibited on days when family members visit. This attempt at the symbolic mastery of the bodies, virtues, and purities of the few affections that remain for those whose affective and family relationships were weakened by the very condition of being removed for hospitalization or even by previous internal damages.

Similarly, some professionals also try to control the desires and fetishes that the adolescents have for socio-educational professionals, trying to deprive their freedom and even their thoughts and fantasies. Residents are constantly warned about the possible arrival in the accommodation of women who work there. Therefore, they shouldn't masturbate at any time and place. Also, the "solitary" sexual practice is never seen with good eyes after the departure of a female worker whose sensual aspects stimulate erotic thoughts. To suppose this, this kind of thought was sensorially encoded by the adults.

Among adolescents who are fulfilling socio-educational measures at the institution, these expectations about masturbation are inevitable. The very break with the outside world, where they probably already experienced continuous, occasional, or ephemeral sexual relations, leads them to intensify this “solitary” practice during the deprivation of liberty to make up for the absence of in-person relationships. In fact, adolescents who enter the socio-educational system, those between 15 and 18 years of age, for the most part, are sexually active. There is evidence of past sexual experience.

The younger ones, from the age of 12, on the other hand, the history and the social context in which they are inserted - involvement in thefts, robberies, and trafficking - show an economically autonomous and, consequently, independent life in several aspects, including activity sexual, since this factor is decisive for the proof of masculinity and the ability to assume responsibilities in the world of crime. Culturally, sexual activity is a rite of passage, a milestone for entering adult life. Becoming an autonomous adult presupposes making use of your own body with whoever suits you, and sexual activity in adolescence is decisive in this rite of passage. In the case of men, especially, it has always been a determining factor in the constitution, affirmation, and recognition of their male and adult identity.

Therefore, expecting that masturbation, within the male Case, to be something easily controlled, inhibited, restricted is unlikely. As Foucault (2010) would say, it would be anachronistic cheating of the State with the socio-educational agents. Thus, masturbation, in socio-educational care, isn't prohibited but controlled by professionals and, especially, by the adolescents themselves. Rules instituted by the students themselves and supported by several professionals standardize the practice of “solitary sex” within the socio-educational units, as is the case of masturbation not being allowed on the days of family visits.

According to professionals' reports, this norm was instituted by the students themselves to promote respect to their relatives, given the possibility of some adolescents objectifying the relatives of others during their erotic practices. Thus, on visiting days, the practice of “solitary sex” isn't allowed anywhere in the accommodations, including the bathroom - where there is usually a space reserved for this practice, called *punhetódromo*. Failure to respect this rule can lead to loose support

by breaking the rules⁴ and violent punishment for that adolescent who masturbated, even though he might argue that he didn't think of any family member or a colleague. Often, the person who breaks the rule is segregated, punished, and required to change accommodation before suffering further violence.

This brings us to the right to privacy and intimacy, expressed in the Federal Constitution (article 5, item X), as well as to the right to pleasure, guaranteed in the regulations of Fundação da Criança e do Adolescente (Fundac) through the "Ties Program: Health and Sexuality in the Socio-Educational System (MSE), in its article 1, in addition to the right to freedom of thoughts, fantasies and harmless desires regarding the use of sensory memories involving other people, given that we desire those for whom we have some admiration, being aesthetic or erotic. It's noteworthy the ability to interdict their freedom of thought and autonomy over their own peers in an environment where they are already deprived of physical freedom. In addition to the deprivation of liberty imposed by the judicial system, they impose on themselves a ban on freedom of thought and the use of their own bodies under patrimonial and moralistic rationalizations.

What can be seen is that the pathological effects on the practice of masturbation don't directly affect these students, but the moralizing repercussions on sexual practices and the involvement of family members in them, especially female figures, like mothers, aunts, sisters, and cousins were under the aegis of the Christian deity of the Virgin Mary and should be exempt from any eroticizations. The argument used is generally to protect the symbolic integrity of female relatives, since most adolescents are in fact visited by women; certainly, due to the reflection of the culture that gives women the role of caregivers. Let's see what a person who works at the institution has to say:

It's very complex; I see this as a complex thing, because, in fact, you are planning days and times for you to feel pleasure and desire. I see it as a crazy thing, actually. Many residents who want their mother's respect here, when they are out there, do not respect their mother, understand? I've seen reports of mothers who said that the son came home with the girl and had sex right there! Did you understand? So, like this, it is complex; very complex. Of course, there are cases

⁴ Breaking or supporting the rules are decisions that are often made among the residents on issues that affect them collectively. This happens, generally, from a signal to stop, which consists of the immediate stop for the holding of a debate and decision making on an issue, a kind of meeting not previously scheduled or authorized by the institution.

and cases, but when you hear it, you are faced with such an account, you take it and open your mind and you say: 'What kind of respect is this? What love is that? How's that being respectful?'. So, it's complicated. (PE).

In addition to the prohibition of masturbation on visiting days, there are other forbidden behaviors, for example, they're not allowed to look at another adolescent's relative when the relative is inside the unit. Thus, when teenagers are moving in the units and they encounter a female relative of another teenager, they must stop where they are and become a "statue". If they are on their way to an appointment, playing a sport, participating in an activity or art education, they must stop and lower their heads, look at the floor, look away from the visit, submit to the rule.

Although this compulsory discipline on the bodies and minds of adolescents is widespread using the argument that the family must be respected, we ask whether it's really effective. Far from considering it disrespectful to masturbate thinking of another human being, what is the possibility of this rule working at any other time, the next day, for example, any one of them can masturbate thinking about the other's family member at any point in time. In fact, there is no guarantee that fantasies can be controlled.

Another question is whether the socio-educational system predisposes itself to construct an ideal micro-society with the structure of a socio-educational unit, to foster possibilities for reframing the infractions and the development of skills through creative, productive, legal, and peaceful community life. As socio-educational agents, we can no longer question the effectiveness of such methods of disciplining and controlling bodies if, in any society, they can't be forced to erase their old, recent, or immediate memories produced by the established dalliances and relationships with several other people in the community?

It seems to us allegorical and irresponsible to encourage or even support such codes of conduct within socio-educational communities, since, at the very least, it can contribute to the construction of wrong and unsustainable behaviors in social life. Such attempts to moralize sex promoted by adolescents must be used to problematize the place of sexuality, desire, autonomy, ethics, and freedom of expression concerning living with other people. These behaviors demand ethical strategies, such as not publicly exposing their erotic desires and fantasies for others who are not authorized by them, restraining manifestations of public desires that expose family members and

adolescents that can cause humiliation, ridicule, hypersexualization, misappropriation, objectification, and sexual exploitation of the other. It's necessary to value privacy, memory, imagination, autonomy, and freedom of thought among these subjects, especially because they are already the target of numerous social, cultural, economic, legal, and judicial interdictions.

However, an important relaxation of masturbation on visiting days was reported by PA, who works there. According to him, it's possible to masturbate on a family visit day as long as the teenager hasn't received a visit or had contact with family members of another resident that day. So, as long as these criteria are met, the practice of "solitary sex" without punishment is allowed on the day of the family visit. Although such acceptance doesn't problematize the most relevant issues of autonomy and freedom of thought and desire, this negotiation, in our view, opens up space for problematizing the practice and seeking new understandings that value the adolescent's subjectivity and ethical commitment to other subjects in society.

It's important to highlight how the conflict - in this case, masturbation - is a fertile ground for problematizing basic issues for building critical, free, and solidary personalities. It's important not to waste this opportunity, even if it's thorny, complex, or delicate because it's a chance to contribute to the individual's understanding about themselves, about the society that constitutes them culturally, and about the possibilities of emergence of non-violent, democratic and ethical coexistence with others, either within the socio-educational units or when they leave the units.

Another important issue regarding strategies to regulate masturbation in deprivation of liberty is the creation of a specific space, which was already mentioned called punhetódromo, intended for the act of masturbation inside the bathrooms in the facility. The bathrooms were chosen because the bedrooms, in general, have railings at their entrance for a panoramic view of the interior and, consequently, don't ensure any privacy for the teenagers. "Too much privacy can cost a life," says PB.

The punhetódromos were created to limit the practice of masturbation in the spaces of collective living, since professionals often circulate in them and, some of them are women, such as social workers, psychologists, social educators, teachers, among others, and they could be caught off guard by the "obscene act", which is considered a serious fault in the Socio-Educational Service Communities, as stated in

its Internal Regulations: “Art. 63 - It is considered a disciplinary fault of a serious nature: XIV - to practice obscene acts, sexual violence, and coercion for sexual practice” (BAHIA, 2017).

Thus, public masturbation is configured as a serious disciplinary offense practiced by adolescents, including the possibility of aggravating the offense for which they were admitted, due to the accumulation of acts analogous to outrage at decency, by explicit sexual practice within a public establishment, and this can affect the resident's evolution in compliance with the Socio-Educational Internment Actions (MSEI) and compromise their release in a short time or progression to a halfway house or assisted freedom, if applicable, in addition to, at least, some form of sanctions imposed by the socio-educational unit like not participating in activities or they may lose rewards for good behavior.

A strategy adopted by teenagers to masturbate outside the bathroom, although infrequent, is to have the collaboration of "scouts", who position themselves at the entrance to the room and warn when any of the workers is approaching. However, among adolescents themselves, some don't want to be exposed to the masturbatory practices of others and, eventually, these acts can lead to conflicts between students. So, this strategy, the “punhetódromo” serves the individual and collective interests of adolescents, as well as the control of collective security inside the accommodation. It promotes, to a certain extent, freedom of sexual expression and peaceful coexistence within the socio-educational unit.

A frequent feature of the punhetódromo is the presence of walls that delimit its space: generally, a stall with a Turkish-style toilet, with collages of pornographic materials. However, these materials are prohibited in the Socio-Educational Unit, as determined by the prohibition on servers to “[...] port, supply or facilitate the entry of pornographic material”, expressed in article 114, item VIII, of the Internal Regulations. This constitutes a serious fault subject to the sanction, expressed in the same document: “Art. 121 - Serious Faults: I - to carry, supply or facilitate the entry of weapons of any kind, cell phones, non-institutional radio transmitters, pornographic material, and other materials prohibited by the Case” (BAHIA, 2017).

The fact is that the rule, in this case as in many others, doesn't correspond to the reality of the socio-educational unit. Once again, the impotence in what we want to

control is apparent and it erases the norm and destabilizes attempts to repress what is considered immoral, superfluous, and dangerous. Immoral for the condition occupied by pornography in our culture descended from Judeo-Christian beliefs, in which sex is made following the mold of monogamy, reproduction, and heterosexuality. In this perspective, sex has to be clean, pure, innocent, non-promiscuous, and monogamous, which pornographic magazines deconstruct in general due to the multiple visuals and the presented possibilities of collective associations to reach pleasure.

Superfluous, above all, for the argument of the possible “perk” that those who should be punished to such an extent that deprivation of liberty wouldn't be enough, but should affect and interdict their own thoughts, fantasies, fetishes, and enjoyments, as we have already seen concerning the taboo with the family visit day. It's dangerous because it's a valuable asset in a situation of deprivation of liberty, coveted by so many and that, consequently, it could become a “bargaining chip” among the residents, who, in their daily economy, could promote gambling to obtain pornographic materials.

Desire, however, always finds ways to break the rules, especially in a society in which pleasure is imperative. Eventually, a new magazine appears in the accommodations, not always brought by the family, but by people who recognize the power of eroticism on the behavior of these subjects and which made available in a "controlled" way and "in solidarity" to provide some relaxation, "loosening of mind" and pleasure for teenagers. This shows that prohibition doesn't guarantee that the misuse of pornographic material will be avoided since its use in a negotiated way can be an important pedagogical instrument for the socialization of belongings with others, generosity, peaceful coexistence, development of autonomy, and guarantee of access to the right to pleasure, intimacy, privacy and freedom of the individual in a socio-educational unit.

The forces of the universe, of nature, managed to get a magazine in the boy's hand and that magazine is kept there and, when they want, each one goes there, takes it, relieves themselves and put the magazine back, you know, and it stays. So, it's complicated, it's like: 'Oh, you can't, but I don't see anything. For all intents and purposes, if something happens: 'Ah, it can't!' If you're here, you'll comply with the sanction, you're breaking the rules. (PE).

Due to the inevitability of the presence of these pornographic materials within the socio-educational units, many times, to guarantee the collective use and not to make

them into exchange currency, socialization strategies are adopted, ranging from the workers allowing the magazines on a case-to-case basis to collages on the walls of the punhetódromo for the collective enjoyment of all.

4 To conclude: Pedagogy

Given all of the above, although there are countless challenges regarding the democratic exercise of masturbation in the context of deprivation of liberty, it can be seen how the manifestations of the not at all “solitary” sex practices within the scope of socio-educational units, in some way cause, a break, a blurring of the binary boundaries between what is allowed or prohibited, between good and evil, especially when they lead both adolescents and professionals to become temporary allies and transgressors of institutional norms, to promote conditions, equipment and instruments that assist the exercise of sexual citizenship, which is fundamental for the subjective, collective and integral development of the teenagers, in the perspective those dialogues, negotiations, and agreements that can contribute to guaranteeing rights and access to autonomy, pleasure, and freedom of intimacy.

Although we are inserted in a hedonistic consumer society, in which the imperative of enjoyment is manifested by diverse social and biochemical persuasions between different generations and sexes, not even pleasure through masturbation is free from vigilances, controls, regulations, and punishments. Through the theme “solitary sex”, we problematize how the permission for the practice of masturbation, in the male socio-educational environment, demands the articulation of several devices of control and regulation made up by the residents themselves, at the same time that, generally, it is also legitimized by social-educational workers.

We can't forget, however, that this and the other problems of gender and sexuality that we identified in our research happened in a socio-educational unit and that the people we endeavor to re-educate, in the specific case of this text, are adolescents and young people who have committed infractions, are in conflict with the law, and confined to a socio-educational unit being deprived of liberty, which have already blurred the boundaries between legal and illegal, which constituted their identities based on deviant acts and behaviors, which they channeled or were led to

channel, by contexts of multiple vulnerabilities, their most vital energies for survival in a mercantilist world, where consumption power is a basic prerequisite for survival. They are, for the most part, black, peripheral people, and often abandoned and abused by those who should provide them with shelter and protection. Adolescents and young people who have broken, in a way, with different social standards, including sometimes ties with their blood families.

For these people, therefore, we must keep in mind a perspective of pedagogical action for the re-signification of lives and distance from the infraction based on the use of this peculiar transgressive power of youth, which is sometimes aggressive, passionate, challenging, creative, inventive, in the sense to reflect through dialogue on their social place of race, class, sex, gender, sexuality, among other social markers of the differences that characterize them paradoxically as citizens/inhumans.

In this way, we will be able to effectively encourage these young people and adolescents to seek other more conscious means of existence, which will lead them to rethink the perspective and break with compulsion involvement histories in misdemeanors, especially through the encouragement of autonomy, shared protagonism, dialogue, freedom, and legitimate transgressions.

And, pedagogically, how can this be achieved? bell hooks⁵ (1999) nos ensina And, pedagogically, how can this be achieved? bell hooks (1999) teaches us that eros and eroticism cannot be overlooked in any pedagogical process, on the contrary, it points us in the direction of a queer pedagogy (RIOS; CARDOSO; DIAS; 2018); defends the proposal of an education that teaches to transgress (hooks, 2017), dialogues with the philosophical thought of Paulo Freire (2019), and explains to us that education for freedom presupposes to be present in an integral way, with body, mind, and spirit, in a perspective beyond material/immaterial binarism. It's a teaching and learning process in which students and professionals must be co-responsible in the relationships they establish, with availability, openness, commitment, sensitivity, reciprocity, alterity, and ethics.

⁵ For the writer, educator, black and feminist activist, the spelling of her name in lowercase is a political decision to value "ideas and knowledge" more than people, their names and surnames themselves (PORTAL GELEDÉS, 2019).

Antonio Carlos Gomes da Costa (1997), when proposing his Pedagogy of Presence, also prioritizes the relationship of affective and dialogical complicity between educator and student, valuing, above all, in the learning process, the experiences of those adolescents and young people "in difficulty", dissidents, transgressors or offenders who, invested in possibly emergency and vital demands, claim social participation and human rights in ways that aren't always peaceful, harmonious or legal: "The truth of the educator-educating relationship, from the point of view of Presence Pedagogy, is based on reciprocity, understood as the interaction in which two presences reveal each other" (COSTA, 1997, p. 53).

Thus, how is it possible not to consider the multiple identities that cross and constitute these subjects? How not to consider your color, your class, your economic, emotional, and sexual needs? How to neglect masturbation and the emergence of other sexual practices in the context of deprivation of liberty, the bonds established that go beyond the place of violence, but in fact constitute opportunities for the reframing of interests, desires, and, consequently, connections with another level of pleasure beyond the consumerist and heteronormative order? How to prepare them for legitimate and legal social interaction without considering the demands and claims of their subjectivities? Concerning the theme developed in this text, why not use regulation, surveillance, standardization, and also the subversion of masturbation as a pedagogical tool capable of historicizing and problematizing the norms that affect all people?

It's in this context that it is essential to consider the issues of sex, gender, and sexuality, in addition to other intersectional markers that impact the development of their identities, in the project of re-education of young people and adolescents in situations of deprivation of liberty, to encourage the exercises of citizenship fully and the promote and guarantee human and sexual rights essential to sustain their trajectories with self-esteem, autonomy, and freedom.

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