Transformations and stays in defined as violent in the school space (1993-2011) *

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A BSTRACT

The present work analyzes the changes and permanencies of defined as violent in the school space, in the press in Argentina during the period 1993-2011. Given the characteristics of the object of inquiry, the methodological approach was qualitative, and the information is analyzed in the framework of the educational discourse analysis. Among the results obtained we note that during the 18 years become visible, eleven thematic linking violence to the school space. Well, it was identified that displacement associated violence to school from different referents. For its originality, this study constitutes a precedent for future inquiries on media representations of violence in the school space and its mutations of sense.

K EYWORDS

School, mass media, violence, discourse, stigmatized.

Transformaciones y permanencias en lo tipificado como violento en el espacio escolar (1993-2011)

R ESUMEN

El presente trabajo analiza las transformaciones y permanencias de lo tipificado como violento en el espacio escolar, en la prensa argentina, durante el período 1993-2011. Dadas las características del objeto de indagación, el abordaje metodológico fue cualitativo y la información se analizó en el marco del análisis socioeducativo del discurso. Entre los resultados obtenidos observamos que durante los dieciocho años se visibilizan once temáticas comunes que asocian las violencias al espacio escolar. Así también, se identificaron desplazamientos de sentido que asociaron las violencias a la escuela desde diferentes referentes. Por su originalidad, este estudio constituye un antecedente para futuras indagaciones sobre las representaciones mediáticas de las violencias en el espacio escolar y sus mutaciones de sentido.

P ALABRAS CLAVE

Escuela, medios de comunicación, violencia, discurso, estigmatización.

E DUCACIÓN

Transformações e permanência no que é classificado como violento no espaço escolar (1993-2011)

R esumo

O presente trabalho analisa as transformações e permanências do tipificado como violento no espaço escolar, na imprensa argentina, durante o período de 1993-2011. Dadas as características do objeto de indagação, a abordagem metodológica foi qualitativa e a informação foi analisada no contexto da análise socioeducativa do discurso. Entre os resultados obtidos, observamos que, durante os dezoito anos, são visíveis onze temas comuns que associam violência ao espaço escolar. Além disso, foram identificados deslocamentos de significado que associaram a violência à escola de diferentes referentes. Por causa da sua originalidade, este estudo constitui um precedente para futuros inquéritos sobre as representações da mídia na violência no espaço escolar e suas mutações sensoriais.

Palavras-chave

Escola, mídia, violência, discurso, estigmatização.

Introducción

Violence in school took center stage within the last few years in the public opinion in Argentina: in the mass media, in the academic field and in the education policies.

The mass media occupy strategic positions in the struggle for the social meanings, whereas they produce, legitimize and discredit discourses and representations over reality. The press field possesses a monopoly over the fabrication instruments and dissemination on a large scale of the information. Thus, they locate themselves as social opinion-forming since the exercise of the symbolic power. They can even become a manipulation tool and a "formidable instrument of domination" (Bourdieu, 2005, p.79).

Nowadays the violences are a value- news mandatory in the Latin-American press agendas (Consejo Nacional de Televisión de Chile, 2002; Herrera, 1998; López y Cerda, 2001; Comité Federal de Radiodifusión, 2005). One of the ways of analysis on this phenomenon is to considerate that the perceptions over the violence are linked to a lower tolerance to certain practices that in the past were experienced as natural and now break what we suppose the interpersonal bonds should be. As the mass media produce symbolic goods provide a significant supply to the individuals for the construction of their imaginary (Ford, 1999). Therefore, the press information and the social/collective imaginary stimulate and contaminate mutually (Baczko, 1991). These, through the power of the construction of reality (Verón, 1987), provide the subjects with the knowledge of the social world. The mass media contribute to the construction of a society crossed by multiple violences, a symptom of an incivilization that bursts into the normal developing of a society thought as troubled (Garriga Zucal y Noel, 2010).

Due to these precedents, it is relevant to analyze the transformations and continuities in what is typified as violent in school space by the media discourses. In so far as we hold up as an initial hypothesis that the aforementioned mediatization is the significant supply for the study of this age sensitivity and it has its symbolic effects on the school space. What is thought and said publicly about the education has an impact on the everyday schoolwork and contributes to the conformation of social identities.

Theoretical framework

Every social practice is shaped by a series of moments, some of which are discursive, and some others aren't (Fairclough, 2008). In this work, we will state that some social practices are eminently discursive and among them we place the press practices. This way, we understand the already mentioned practices cross the conjunctions in particular ways, in this way they construct, some of the discursive moments of every practice. Although, the basis for this work is the analysis of the discourse of the mass understood as "machinery of production of social reality" (Verón, 1987, p.7). We do not intend to state that the ones that are presented in the media coverage are mere press fiction. Neither we state that the press practices approach us daily to a true copy of the reality of the facts. In any case, it comes to that they produce that, that we consume daily as present. A proof of that is that only some events become into news (Ford y Verón, 2006). On the contrary, it seems that only once the media "make" news of a certain event, that one transcends its own time-space limits: its practices and protagonists become public and this "publicity" arouses other discursive practices and non-discursive practices. It is also assumed that the social representations that the media offer are not even nor stable (Raiter y Zullo, 2008). Through their discoursive practices the media explain,

order and label the events. Varied investigations highlight that they tend to visibilise the topics about school and its actors from their lack (Iglesias 2015, Saez 2016) in a vague and contradictorily form (Núñez, 1999). The media create and recreate a way of specific sensitivity to cope with the violence (Kaplan, 2011a).

They foster representations which include the youth in violent events that occur or are associated to the school scene, prevailing the sensation of a school crossed by rising violence in the public opinion (Míguez y Noel 2006, United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund y Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, 2011). The perceptions the society has about violence are linked to a sensitivity of the period. For authors such as Norbert Elias (2009) and Carina Kaplan (2011b) the concern for violence is cultural and it is linked in its genesis to the civilizing processes of pacification in the beginning of the state societies and the urbanization processes. It is important to explain that with civilizing process it is referred to the conceptualization developed by Norbert Elias (2009)[1] who in a long-term investigation reconstructs the connections among the individual psychologist structures and the social structures. The central thesis is that since the rising of the interdependence chains and the progressive centralization of the social organization forms, with the formation of the modern states, to concentrate the physical violence monopoly, the pacification of the human relations to the inside of societies is produced (Kaplan y Silva, 2016). This civilizing process implies a dynamic that has crossed a great part of the occidental culture for several centuries, moderating the aggression levels among the society members (Miguez 2008).

This doesn't mean that violence has disappeared from the interpersonal bonds, but there was a process of shifting of the physical violence expressions through other "subtler" forms of violence, but not least effective. Along these lines, as the result of the civilizing process, some practices that were indifferent or conceived as natural to us in other times, now have become cruel and worthy of social disapproval. The senses on violence vary as time passes, in the space and according to different social contexts, since they are socially, culturally and historically situated (Garriga, Zucal y Noel, 2010).

Thus, a sociohistorical and processual perspective (Elias, 2009) is suitable for the inquiry of the transformations and continuities of what is typified as violent in the school scene, understanding that, the media discursive practices fund their significations in culture. We state that there is an interrelation among the perceptions about violences and the sensitivity walls. In this interrelation the media have a central role.

Metodology

From a socioeducative perspective we consider that violences in school aren't directly related to the social violence, although it is there where they originate and develop their deepest sense. Some mediations intervene in school, so it enables something different to the most brutal behaviors that the savage capitalist societies promote (Kaplan, 2009). The objective of this work consisted in analysing and interpreting the transformations and continuities of what is typified as violent in the school scene in the "platense"[2] press during the period 1993-2011. This work is not about showing what happened but reconstructing the ways some newspapers we chose presented the information. To search for the discursive forms of construction of these particular events.

The analysis units were the discourses in the coverages of violence events in schools by the newspapers El Día, Hoy, Extra y Diagonales from La Plata city in the 1993- 2011 period. The corpus is formed by 3581 news. The year of the beginning of the assessment was chosen since in 1993 the Education Federal Law 24.195 was sanctioned. This normative constitutes a milestone because it is the first law that regulates the argentine educative system as a whole, and establishes ten years of mandatory education for all citizens, from five-year-old kindergarten to the ninth year of primary school.

It is necessary to highlight that the paper media are chosen, since they are a dominant reference and they define informative tendencies to the rest of the media (Bonilla Vélez y Tamayo Gómez, 2007) and because the nature of newspapers is of interest and the potential of the written text to observe the different forms of nomination of the phenomenon. Some media of the city of La Plata were chosen since it is the capital of the Buenos Aires province and it is considered its principal political, administrative and educative spot. These characteristics make it significative for the present studio, and because it is a social space from which decisions that affect all provinces of the Argentina Republic are taken.

The methodologic approach is qualitative, and the investigation design assumes an exploratory character. The sampling is finalistic: the discursive practices that bring information of interest in relation to the objective settled were selected. The studio allowed us to analyze the object of inquiry in the period between 1993 and 2011. It intended to analyze how the media representations have been modifying throughout the period chosen and observe the continuities in the characterization of the typified as violent in the media discourses referring to the school space. That gave us the connotative basis to describe the phenomenon.

We have addressed every section of each newspaper. We found a large amount of similarities and a few differences, that is the reason why an analytic distinction by newspaper wasn't done.

Having said that, it was proved in previous works (Saez, 2015) there are tensions and debates in the studios on the media which approach social topics. From the Critical Linguistics (Raiter y Zullo, 2008) and the Critical Discourse Analysis (Van Dijk, 2007) they evidence that there isn't an only way to approach the media discourses and they show their concern for the reproduction of inequality. In line with this concern but separating from a linguistic-discursive approach with the methodological frame of the Critical Discourse Analysis and the Critical Linguistics, this investigation had a socioeducative analysis of discourse perspective. This methodology is of relevance to

> …elucidate the game of tensions and ambivalences in which move practices and discourses (…) and see the symbolic strategies to legitimate or delegitimate the different subjects and their practices – therefore the emphasis in locating every discourse in a certain space of discourses and every statement in the general strategy of presentation of itself. (Martín Criado 2014, p. 133)

The analysis states an interrelationship between the news and the social practice that produces them, that is why we refer to the discursive practice. From this perspective the use of certain ways of naming and classifying in the news will be determined by the socially accepted conventions for the discourse in which it is added. In turn, the limits of this discourse will be related to the reproduction/transformation conditions that enable the existing social structures. The challenge consisted in establishing dimensions of description and analysis to elucidate the sense continuities and shifting in the media discourses on the episodes of violence in schools.

Regarding the contextualization of the discourses, it is important to mention that the news analyzed were crossed by a particular educational temporality, during that period mandatory education for argentine youth was extended. In 1993, the Federal Educational Law 24.195 extended the obligation to the ninth year. And in 2006, with the National Educational Law 26.206 the education became mandatory from pre-school to secondary school, that situation increased the school enrollment all along the country[3]. These aspects are relevant in the symbolic fight for the representation of school and students. As a part of the purposes of the investigation, there is the intention of contribute to a theoretical and practice alternative facing those stigmatizing that carry and operate from a perspective that conceives school and students as dangerous places and subjects from whom we should protect ourselves.

Violences in school from the representational field of the media

In this article it is presented the results of the identification, characterization and analysis of the situations that are typified as violent in school spaces in the written press of La Plata, Buenos Aires Province.

The socioeducative analysis of the discursive practices focused on the topics that associated violences to school space. This work constitutes a specific contribution to the analysis on the ways that the written press shows the data and episodes that enforce a series of social beliefs that conform a practical sense of the punitive doxa (Kaplan, 2006). Reconstruct these procedures allows us to retrace on one's steps on the naturalization, which is a characteristic of the doxa (Bourdieu and Eagleton, 2000), to set light critically over some of the most important mechanisms in the social construction of the feelings of insecurity in the schools based on the episodes of violence and its consequences in the treatment of the facts.

The appearance in print media of the phenomenon of violence in school fluctuated during the period assessed. In Figure 1 the news per year.

Cantidad de notas por año

Figure 1: Paper news per year.
Source: Self elaboration using the data of this present investigation.

The peak of news was in 2004, since the great impact of the case that the media called "the Carmen de Patagones[3] massacre", the incident occurred on September 28th in 2004 in the Institute N° 202 Islas Malvinas of Carmen de Patagones, in the southwest of Buenos Aires Province, Argentina, in which a student, Rafael Solich, shot against his classmates, causing three fatal victims and five injured.

In 2002 it was registered the lowest quantity of news about violence in school spaces. The agenda topics that year shifted towards the institutional crisis in December 2001 that caused the renunciation of President Fernando de la Rúa, on December 20th that year. In this political- economical unpromising context some social difficulties started to increase, these left most argentine children without various rights (United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund y Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe, 2006).

However, in the discursive practices analyzed cases of violence with different origins are put in the same level in the school space. The category of violence is vague since it includes phenomenon with unalike characteristics. As Castorina and Kaplan (2006) point out:

> An important aspect to highlight is that the violence is a term which is usually used to define almost everything that refers to school, therefore it is no table to understand its significance and consequences (…) The lack of systematic distinction among the types of practical violence causes the incapacity to interpret its differential social effects, thus, we consider it is an epistemological obstacle that researchers have to face. (Castorina and Kaplan, 2006, p. 21)

This polysemic nature doesn't allow to make relevant distinctions and stops the construction of an analytical descriptive concept. That is why, in this work the categories adopted allowed to differentiate phenomenon with different logics: the educational crisis, the education reform, violence towards the school building, the indiscipline of students, the generalized presence of violence in school, student resistance, violence from students to teachers, violence among students, violence from teachers to the student and violence from the students' relatives towards teachers, violence among teachers.

From the beginning of the research, school is associated with a topic that became visible: the educational crisis. This nomination associates the violence to the school space linking it a «terminal crisis of public education» (El Día, 15-03-1994), referring only to public management schools.

It becomes visible that «the education system does not answer the needs of youth in Argentina. » (Hoy, 23-09-1994). The labels point out the cause of the educational crisis: the moral crisis, the mistaken public policies and a wrong teaching activity.

In second place, the education reform category can be understood in the social context of a State Reform triggered by the international organizations (International Monetary Fund and World Bank Group). In the educational area consisted of a bundle of laws and measures (The Federal Education Law 24.195, The Transference Law 24.049, among others). To ensure that Argentina pays the external debt, the signing of the Plan Brady with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in 1991 demanded the decrement of expenses through the transference of educational and health services to the provinces.

In third place, the violence category towards the school building reveals the existence of a series of intrusions to the school building. The school is analyzed as the receiver of violence acts and these are characterized as vandalism episodes.

In fourth place, the indiscipline emerges as a classificatory act that refers to "behavior problems" or episodes labelled as aggressive or violent, carried out by students in the school sphere. Along this line, there is an interrelationship between the "noncompliance of the school rules": "with the Word 'noncompliance' I simply point out behaviors that do not adjust to the expectations and activities structured by the adult authorities in schools" (Levinson, 1998, p.64)

In fifth place, the generalized category of violence in school refers to those coverages that aim to the "violence" in the school space and gather a series of phenomenon of a very diverse nature. These typifications intend to reduce this extremely complex phenomenon into something homogeneous. This way, the alteration of the status quo in school space is perceived as violence.

In sixth place, the term student resistance refers to the movements and force measures that students and relatives carry out as a response to different situations in the school space. Within the measures carried out by students the emphasis is specially placed on the school occupation and the protests.

Having said that, during the period studied some associations to school violences were classified according to the actors who participate: The violence among students, the violence from students to teachers, the violence from teachers to students and violence from the students' relatives towards teachers.

Violence from students to teachers refer to the aggressions of one student or group of students to a teacher. For its part, the category of violence among teachers allude to the situations of violence among adult people. Particularly it alludes to the cases in which a member of the group of teachers is the target of a behavior that affects its integrity within the educational institution and as a consequence of its profession. The situations of violence that were introduced were: intimidating behavior and physical violence.

It is important to state that the category of violence among students make different situations equivalent: quarrels, intimidations, killings, bullying cases and cyberbullying. The discourses represent the bonds among classmates in terms of victim and aggressor. In the characterization of the last ones, the emphasis is on the way these groups operate as threaten collectives.

As well as, in naming the violence of teachers towards students heterogeneous situations such as, episodes of mistreatment and authoritarism, discrimination, abuse and political party defense. Finally, the category of violence from the students' relatives towards teachers refers to the episodes in which the relatives of students threaten or assault teachers. The reasons that the media discourse displays were two: the previous mistreatment of a teacher to a student and/ or the disagreement with the grade in tests.

These topics that converge in the association of violence to the school space, during the eighteen years, aren't naive, they are limited by "magic borders" (Bourdieu, 1987, p. 16) which separate and distinguish territories from the social space. These operations of social magic are revealed in the discourses and in the use of the language, supported by the legitimacy socially conferred to whom broadcast them. The magic is related to the effects on the forms of relations produced since the forms of symbolic power as an invisible power.

The discoursive practices analysed in this investigation are a record on how the concept of violent has changed related to school, building and actors (students, teachers, families, etc.) In Figure 2 the relevant topics of every year are exhibited.

Every Interval of the period formed a semantic net where the modifications of the magnitude that each defined topic took was displayed. In the following section. We will go in depth into the transformations and continuities more significant identified.

Continuities and ruptures in the ways of naming the violence in schools

In the characterization and interpretation of the discoursive practices of the mediatization of the violence phenomenon
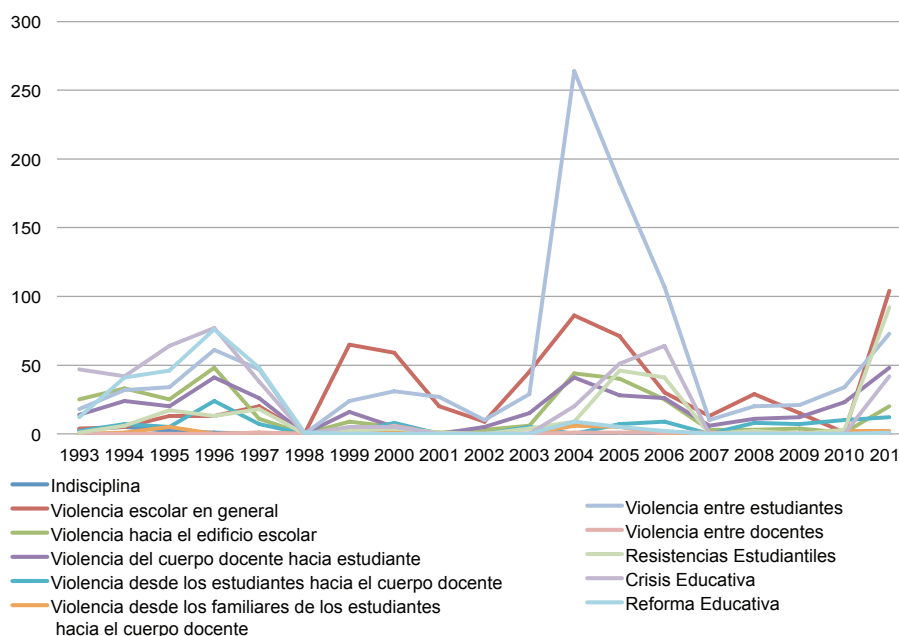

Figure 2: Relevant topic per year
Source: Self elaboration using the data of this present investigation.

at school the situations typified as violent in school spaces and their discursive shifting were identified during the eighteen years of the research.

In the period, the type of violence among students prevailed, and became more visible since the Carmen de Patagones massacre. It is needed to clarify that the category of violence among students was the one which prevailed, and it was also fluctuating in the period explored. In each period different senses and discursive shiftings intensified over the relations among the students and the episodes of violence in school space. To the beginning of the period, when these episodes present in the media discourse, they arise making equivalent to situations such as: quarrels, intimidations and killings. From the coverage of the case in Patagones the visibilization of the violences among students focused in the presence of jokes and mocking as the reason of the violent episodes.

From 2008 the bullying and cyberbullying emerge as an international phenomenon. With this term an unknown form of violence among peers surfaced. The names of the social things are the target in the symbolic fight; therefore, it is necessary to examine the process of constitution and legitimization of certain forms of classification which operate in the social world, and it the particular analysis of the print media, as practical and common forms of distinction.

From a cross-wise perspective of the mediatization it is noted that the topics that refer to the discursive practices start to shift, and under the label of "school violence" different models are represented. The categories that associate the violences to the school institution since 1993 to 1997 were the educational crisis, the educational reform and the violence towards the school building. With the educational reform it was emphasized on the consequences of the Federal Educational Pact, the Federal Education Law 24.195 and the transference process of schools, while when the educational crisis was mentioned it referred specially to a terminal state of the public management school, particularly the secondary level, showing the youth as a risk group more than as subjects of rights.

The presentation of the violence towards the school building was associated to an expressive violence that "seeks to hurt" and with the vandalism acts, making deprived social sectors responsible. Even though violence from students towards teachers and the indiscipline was reduced within this time lapse, it is during this period where it gains more visibility. As for the appearance of violence from students towards teachers in the media discourse, three reasons are conferred: the school grades, school location and the psychological condition of the student. In their coverages

prevail the representations of stressed and mistreated teachers, this evidences the difficulty for the representation of the educational workers.

Since 1998 to 2003, the senses of violences in school space will shift towards violence among students and the simplified approach of violence at schools. In these media coverages school space was staged as a place with "more violence tan before", and public management school was represented as devastated and dangerous. Nevertheless, violence among teachers was reduced in this period, yet is more visible. It referred to intimidatory behavior and physical violence.

As previously mentioned, 2004 was the year of the "Carmen de Patagones Massacre"4, it was the reference point for La Plata press in order to emphasize on violences in school sphere. The aforesaid episode represented a milestone in media coverage of the school violences phenomenon for several reasons: it was the only case which had a continuation for three years in the media press; since this event diverse school violence facts started to mediatize in the whole argentine territory, in many cases focusing on an imitation phenomenon; when the national press labels violence episodes at international scale it alludes to this case as a reference. Since this milestone there was a change in the map making of violence in school space limiting a before and an after in the media coverage on school violences. The senses of violences in school space shifted to violence of teachers towards students and continued increasing the visibilization of violence among students, focusing on jokes and mocking as the reason of violence. Despite that violence from students' relatives towards teachers was reduced, it is since 2004 when it gains visibility.

The last sense is identified since 2008, when violences in school space are associated with the student resistance and bullying, as it was mentioned at the beginning of this section.

In the discoursive practices of the print press cases of violence which have a different origin are ratified in the school space. These analyisis seem to show a sliding of the tolerance wall of what is considered as violent at school. In Figure 3 we can see the slidings of sense and continuities visibilised in the chosen period:

The studied in this article is interpreted in the frame of the historical transformations in social sensitivity. It is possible to think that this contributes to increase the number of situations that are labelled under its nomination. The extension of the violence phenomenon in our contemporary societies could be explained for the semantic expansion of the concept, this is, for the multiple situations that are labelled with this concept (Rifiotis, 1997).

Violencia entre estudiantes

Figure 3: Sense sliding
Source: Self elaboration using the data of this present investigation.

In this work there were analyzed the representations which are constructed in the press about violences in school, understanding the written press, as a part of the mass media, settles relevant episodes into the public debate. In this process, they hierarchy, select and develop topics and events that will form the reality that is experienced from the report.

In the different periods "school violence" is mentioned presenting violence as something inherent to school. Some significant headlines are:

 "School violence spreads out. Unbelievable students and parents fight in the ex-Normal N° 3" (Hoy, 15-09-1999)
"Greater numbers of teenagers are victims of school violence" (Hoy, 05-06-2005)
"Teachers' concern about school violence" (Diagonales, 28-07-2011)
"School violence is everybody's problem" (El Día, 17-07-2008)

These discoursive practices emphasize the fear and discomfort of school space:

"Classrooms could have turned into a non-healthy space and a permanent discomfort for educators" (El Día, 17-07-2008)
"Danger in the classroom" (El Día, 23-11-2008)
"Because of fear one hundred and forty-five students were absent in ex Normal N° 3" (Diagonales, 25-06-2011)

"Violence lies in wait for the school space. It is in the hallways, classrooms, school sidewalks" (Hoy, 20-09-2008)

Despite of nominating the facts as" school violence", these events seem to occur on the outside of the school building, aspect which is specified in the corpus of the news.

"The attackers will not be sanctioned because the episode occurred out of the building" (Diagonales, 01-10-2010)
"The teacher treated him as a junkie. (…) The principal highlighted that the episode didn't occur inside school" (El Día, 03-04-2008)
"After a fight, a student cut his mates throat with a knife. They met at the corner and, after getting into a fist fight, one of them drew a knife" (Hoy, 20-09-2008).

As it mentioned in other works (Sáez, 2017), there is a symbolic border between the inside and the outside of school that becomes vague in the media discourse. Media has turned violences in school into eye-catching headlines. The labelling is centered in the most spectacular and extraordinary violence, hiding the tiny daily violences that are practiced everyday over the deprived. Appealing to the instant emotions, supporting in shock and scandal, they sometimes leave reflection apart (Brener, 2009). Let observe some cases:

"shock in the region". (El Día, 22-03-2011)
"Astonishment. Bewilderment. Necessity to un-

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derstand. These are some of the reactions that strike the educative communities when they are hit with a violent episode of such singular and unexpected characteristics". (El Día, 27-03-2011)

The press notice specifies that violences in school have been increasing their expresive action, that means the sense is focused in the exhibition and show, at the expense of violence as a mean. The coverages analyzed do not recover the historical aspect of the case, in the discoursive level the living conditions are not reflected. Thus, the media tend to introduce the phenomenon without context and information that let us know the personal circumstances that led each person to commit certain actions that are narrated and visualized.

These forms of naming have a specific discoursive style, which delimits the treatment of the topic, conditioning the effect and the answer of the readers, like the structuring of our thinking. It is important to bring the concept of "Reading contract" (Verón, 1987)[5] it is the bond between the mean and its receptors, with ideological basis. As that is expository, it involves ways of saying of a text that are adequate and legitim, and that respond to a certain perspective of the world. This contract includes specially the classificatory systems of news in the different agendas.

Thus, some exchanges of senses of violences at school and methafors were identified. As we can see, these assigned singularities to the phenomenon. The comparisons and the presence of lexical from the semantic field of epidemiology, war, nature and, in general, death – all of them with the semantic characteristic of "violence, destruction, they are useful to recall a threaten content of situations experienced at school".

Since 1998, violences among students is presented associated to a warlike space. The experiences are reduced to the pair victim- agresor. This position favors some punitive solutions. The complexity is reduced and solutions in context aren't favored (Brener, 2009). The episodes are linked to images of vandals attacking schools favoring the prevailing sense of young person- vandal- savage, suggesting the image of barbarian attacking school.
By the way, in the visibilization of violence the metaphors of "calamity" and "wave", associated to biology and nature, suggest a way of looking the phenomenon out of control. Devastating and continuous like waves, the incident introduced is going to have an impact in the research of medical and psychological solutions.

Since 2008, in the visibilization of bullying the comparison of great expressive force, appreciative adjectives or a vocabulary with extreme intensity seem to move a series of

resources that act as measures of a reality that is experienced as "social illness". These forms of naming evidence a determinist- biologists perspective to approach the phenomenon. This is how, the causes of violence tend to situate in an individual who appears to lack of history and out of context. The media discourse appeal to the hegemonic common sense of penalization and stigmatization towards youth, as the determinist- biologist theories of racist roots that legitimate it (Kaplan, 2011b).

The analysis helped to identify the generalisation and creation of collective identity characteristics between schools and its actors. It seems the situations of violences at school are a problem of a certain group or collective not differentiated, without mentioning the singularities of each case. Despersonalization of the phenomenon turns them into anonymous facts. The phenomenon is turned into a savage and threaten collective, where the persons have disappeared, and violence becomes into an independent entity. The phenomenon impersonalizes, until presenting schools, teachers and students as a homogeneous whole, without differentiation in each case.

Teachers and students are usually presented as uniform. Even though in violence among students there is a difference with some institutions which have they own names such as "Colegio Nacional Rafael Hernández de la Universidad Nacional de La Plata" and the "Liceo Víctor Mercante". The non-differentiation of schools difficult to get to know how each institution Works and which is the difference between them. Many appear in the newspapers (where they are differentiated in the media space) when there is an episode (generally, linked to conflicts).

A continuity in the media study is the appearance almost exclusive of episodes in public management schools. However, since the report of the Argentine Observatory of Violence in Schools (2014) they state that in this type of schools the episodes of violence are slightly superior to the private management schools. This trend isn't supported in categories such as "damage threat" and "hit and injuries by a peer" since they are slightly superior in private management schools.

Finally, there were identified and analyzed the media discourses on the violences at school, related to the intervention of school. Another continuity along the period is that throughout the discourses and images the school as a decision agent is invisibilized. This way, it is represented with no posibility of giving an answer to its own problems and the security forces intervention is highlighted. Nevertheless, it is presented as vulnerable but with a great autoresponsibilization in the search of solutions. Still school is being represented as a progress and social justice path.

Conclusions

This study allowed the advance on the conceptualization of violence in school. From a socioeducative perspective it has been characterized and analyzed the transformations and continuities of what has been typified as violent in the school space, by the argentine press during the period 1993-2011. The contribution of the identification and analysis of the shifting of sense over what is conceived as violent in the lapse of eighteen years. The socioeducative analysis of the discourse constitutes a privileged tool to study the way social discourses, in this case the press, support a classification and organization of the world, its events and its participants. In this line, the actual investigation gathers the press notices as an expression of a discourse that circles beyond the media. The notices, as a group of discursive ocurrences, gain sense in the existence conditions that determined the own materiality of statement (Foucault, 2004) and are considered as specific practices in a regimen of historical conditions of emergence of statements, enrolled in a heterogeneous net of relations that cross over to join discursive practices and the episteme of a time.

The media discourse is a record and a place of symbolic fight in the construction of the sensitivity for the violences in school. Thus, it is relevant to address this phenomenon considering them as sources. The names of the social things are object of representational dispute; therefore, it is necessary to examine the process of constitution and legitimization of certain forms of classification that operate in the social world. The press information forms a privilege source for the emotional configuration analysis in a specific historical and social time. The discourses of the media on violences at school ring the educational bell. There are discourses that circle inside and outside school (Lahire, 1999). What is thought and said openly about education not only indicates the looks of whom comment on it but also, turned into the pedagogical common sense of principals, teachers, parents, students, and crosses over the daily decisions of school (Finocchio, 2009). The education is a political social and cultural practice, and that is why the tensions that are produced between that outside (the media, the authorized voices) and the distinctive characteristics of the (Giroux, 1997). That's the reason why we state as an interpretative hypothesis that the media participate in the construction of the social identity of school and its actors and the recognition of a certain configuration, emotional over the phenomenon of violences in school.

From a longitudinal we show how the media appearance of the phenomenon of violence in school was fluctuating during the period assessed. The Carmen de Patagones massacre was identified as a milestone in the conformation of the representational field in the Platense press, since it was the case with the major continuity on press coverage.

Since this episode the mediatization of different violence facts in schools increased in all argentine territory.

A series of thematics were identified as continuities during the lapse of eighteen years, they formed analysis categories that allowed to differentiate phenomenon that arise from diverse logics: the educational crisis, the educational reform, the violence towards the school building, the lack of discipline of students, the generalized appearance of violence in schools, the student resistance, violence from students towards teachers, violence among students and violence from the students' relatives towards the teachers. When "the problem of violence" is mentioned, the field reduces, because of a semantic shifting, that turns visible those forms of violence related to the individual and with the familiar, and turns invisible those which are related with the institutional and with the instituted socially. The place of media on the contemporary social configurations, gains significance to reflex the place that they occupy in the construction of the sensitivity for the violences in school.

It was analyzed as the nomination of "school violence" were associated to different models. Through the identification of four lapses, in the period assessed, they were observed condensations of sense in what has been typified as violent in school: 1993 to 1997, 1998 to 2003, 2004 to 2007 and 2008 to 2011. Each of them formed a semantic net where it was visibilized the predominance of some thematics over others.

In the first moment (1993- 1997) the thematics that associate violences to school were the educational crisis, the educational reform and the violence towards the school building. Violence is linked to the deficient performance of public school and the presence of students "in social" risk. These discourses travel in an educative temporarily of transformation of the educational system produced by the implementation of the Education Federal Law 24.195 in Buenos Aires Province and the resistances processes of some actors involved. In 1997 the "Carpa Blanca" in front of the National Congress, that became into a symbol of the struggle of the education workers that caught great repercussion in the national public (Tenti Fanfani 1999)[6].

The second moment (1998-2003), the senses of violences in school condensed in the violence among students, teachers and emphasized the approach of violence in schools.

The third moment (2004-2007) the visibilization of violence among students continued to rise and there was a major

return of the violence of teachers towards students and also violence from students' relatives towards teachers. These shifting towards episodes of violence having adults in leading roles seemed to show the mutation on the intergenerational relations. As part of changes in the sociocultural dynamics dissolve the modern attributions of the adult role: protection, providing, future projection and transmission (Balardini 2013). This way, we explore the senses associated to the episodes of violence in schools to approach to the sensitivity threshold present in each moment of the period.

The forth moment (2008-2011) we observed a strong association of violences to school space with the student resistances and the bullying introduced as a different form of violence among peers. These mutations in the sense visibilize episodes of violence starred by children and youth. Therefore, it is important to mention that a continuity along the eighteen years analyzed is the prevailing presence of the violence among students, that became more visible since the Carmen de Patagones massacre. In a crossed way the discourses condense the bonds among mates in terms of victims and aggressors. In the characterization of these lasts the emphasis is on the way of acting in groups as threaten collectives. The category violence among students is the one which had a major repetition during the eighteen years and in which the shifting of sense became visible. These mutations seem to show a sliding of the tolerance threshold of what is considered violent at school.

The coverages were also analyzed figuring out the net of discourses present in the press notices which print a high emotional and cognitive impact in the construction of the social identity of school and its actors. From the press logic the possibility of a more complex analysis about facts like this one closes, appealing to lineal and individualizing explanations. This form of presenting the episodes is part of a stigmatizing social dynamics and visibilizes the damage on the quality of the information.

In the discursive practices violence cases are marked as equal even if they have a different origin. There is a narrative where the historicity of the particular case isn't recovered, there is an equality in the conditions of the individuals in the discursive level which isn't reflected in the living conditions. This way, the "platense" press tends to introduce the phenomenon of the violences in school without contextualizing neither offering the information that allows to know the personal circumstances that lead each actor to carry out the actions that are narrated and visualized.

Another continuity along the period is the association of violence in schools as inherent to this social space. In addition to previous studies it is tend to visibilize the school space from its lacks (Núñez, 1999) and teachers also from their lacks (Iglesias, 2015; Saez, 2016).

This happens in an educational temporality of the expansion of the obligatory nature. As it was already mentioned in previous sections, since 1993 there was a change in the obligatory educative policy in Argentina. With the sanction of the 24.195 Federal Educational Law, and later with the National Educational Law in 2006 the years of obligatory school for students expands. With this change in the educational policy, there is a first generation of many young people who have the possibility to achieve to more years of official school. Distributed unequally, the expansion arises the importance of constructing specific tools for the expansive processes of the systems, considering not only the budget but also revising problems related with the pedagogy of this level, and also the matters tied in with the institutional organization and the teacher work positions. (United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, 2014). The joining of some sectors to secondary schools which never before have been able to gain access and to whom it is necessary to reconsider the organizational formats of the secondary school. The tradition of the secondary school in Argentina is selective and destined to educate the middle class, to go to university or to form for specific types of work (with the consequent transmission of values associated to discipline, use of time, individual effort, among others), it crashes against the massive admission of other groups with other cultures, life trajectories and expectations.

Thus, these shifting of sense rise up in a context where the school institution goes through a transformation and crisis, framed in the mutation of the institutional (Dubet, 2004) it is necessary to find new ways to run school. The sensitivity for violence is biographical and historical and it is in the structural framework where it expands its deepest sense (Kaplan, 2011b).

Finally, we believe it is significant to highlight the relevance of this investigation since it extends the empirical base of the forms of presentation of violences in school in the media discourse. It is important that the media participate in the development of new sensitivities and dispositions towards the educational institution as a social space for transformation and social improvement, contributing to the social agreement renewal with a more democratic and fair society

Conflict of interests

The author states not having any conflict of interests.

Notes

1. Principalmente los desarrollos plasmados en una de sus obras más importantes: El proceso civilizatorio. Investigaciones Sicogeneticas y sociogenéticas. Su investigación analiza las transformaciones del comportamiento de las clases altas de Europa occidental: los guerreros nobles y la nobleza cortesana, estableciendo un recorte temporal desde la baja Edad Media y el Renacimiento hasta la Edad Moderna. Elias (2009) señala que a partir de la baja Edad Media se desarrolla un aumento paulatino del autocontrol individual.

2. Refers to La Plata city

3. According to data provided by the National Directorate of Educational Information and Statistics, the Ministry of Education and Sports of the Nation total student enrolment in the year 2007 was 11,262.362, while, in the year 2015, this sum amounted to 12,536.492.

4. Refers to a city named Carmen de Patagones

5. The Observatory of Violences at school dependent of the National Education Ministry was created after that event. This organization investigates, teaches and is in charge of spreading topics related to violence in school, and also has the objective of training professionals in the educative sphere and the elaboration of public policies that tend to the prevention.

6. In the particular case of newspapers, the contract could include the name, format, Font, presentation, layout, metaphors, etc.

7. In this tent 1.400 fasting teachers stayed. The 1.003 days of fasting (from April 2nd, 1997 to December 30th 1999) came to an end with the incorporation of 660 million of pesos to the national Budget in concept of the Educative Financement Fund to pay what was known as "teacher's incentive" (around 60 pesos a month was the salary increase in the whole territory).

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