DIFFERENT MEANINGS OF THINKING VIOLENCE AT/FROM SCHOOL

UM PANORAMA DE SIGNIFICADOS PARA PENSAR A VIOLÊNCIA NA/DA ESCOLA

UN PANORAMA DE SIGNIFICADOS PARA PENSAR LA VIOLENCIA EN LA/DE LA ESCUELA

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ABSTRACT: In the search for collaboration, within and with other researches, it is possible to produce analytical tools that are operational to postgraduate research. This article intends to present 'thoughts' that, acting as tools, mobilize ways of thinking, and produce different meanings on the theme of violence at/originating from school. Methodologically, through documental research, a corpus was obtained, consisting of academic researches, governmental programs, and statistical data, from which it was attempted to systematize discourses about violence at/originating from schools in Brazil. It was concluded that, although the discussions on the theme have gained relevance, there are still many deadlocks and challenges to understand its complexity, to the same extent that it is necessary to expand the epistemic models in which different meanings of violence at/originating from schools are produced.

KEYWORDS: Violence. School. Production of meaning.

RESUMO: *Na busca de colaboração, em e com outras pesquisas, tem-se a possibilidade de produzir ferramentas de análise que se constituem operacionais em uma pesquisa de pós-graduação. Este artigo objetiva apresentar 'pensamentos' que, como ferramentas, mobilizam modos de pensar e produzir um panorama de significados na temática violência na/da escola. Metodologicamente, através da pesquisa documental, obteve-se um corpus, constituído por pesquisas acadêmicas, programas de governo e informes estatísticos, a partir do qual se buscou sistematizar discursos sobre a violência na/da escola no Brasil. Concluiu-se que, apesar das discussões sobre a temática terem ganhando relevância, ainda há muitos impasses e desafios para entendimento da complexidade, na mesma medida em que é necessário ampliar os modelos epistêmicos nos quais se produzem significados sobre a violência na/da escola.*

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: *Violência. Escola. Produção de significado.*

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RESUMEN: *En la búsqueda de colaboración, en y con otras investigaciones, se tiene la posibilidad de producir herramientas de análisis que se constituyen operacionales en una investigación de posgrado. Este artículo tiene como objetivo presentar 'pensamientos' que, como herramientas, movilizan formas de pensar y producir un panorama de significados en la temática violencia en la/de la escuela. Metodológicamente, a través de la investigación documental se obtuvo un corpus, compuesto por investigaciones académicas, programas de gobierno y datos estadísticos, a partir del cual se buscó sistematizar los discursos sobre la violencia en la/de la escuela en Brasil. Se concluyó que, a pesar de las discusiones sobre la temática han ganado relevancia, aún existen muchos impasses y desafíos para entendimiento de la complejidad en la misma medida en que es necesario ampliar los modelos epistémicos en los cuales se producen significados sobre la violencia en la/de la escuela.*

PALABRAS CLAVE: *Violencia. Escuela. Producción de significado.*

Introduction

> The task of researchers is to demonstrate - often with a sense of fatigue, due to repetition - that we have to resist the temptation to seek exaggerated security, which feeds on single incidents that put public opinion and politicians in a state of alert. More than a simple alternative qualification of these new episodes, trying to put them in short and long term perspective, there is an attempt to show that violence has a history, that it does not appear suddenly and that it [...] is socially constructed (DEBARBIEUX, 2002, p. 23).

The theme of violence at/from school [3] has instigated important debates about the importance of rethinking education, its policies, actions, and educational practices, starting with the school climate; coexistence programs; strengthening the networks that protect children and adolescents; fighting truancy; dialogue with young people; safety and protection against hate speech, besides the 'famous' conflict management programs that have become a product in the educational market.

As stated by Debarbieux (2006, p. 24), "[...] violence at school has its own identity" and, therefore, should not be treated as a simple phenomenon. Although it expresses itself in more visible ways, such as physical and verbal aggression or indiscipline, its scope and complexity affect all possible relationships in the school environment.

In this regard, it is possible to state that violence at school is no longer a particular event in the daily lives of educators and students or only related to a possible 'bad' educational management. It is a complex phenomenon, multi-causal and difficult to define (CHARLOT apud ABRAMOVAY; RUA, 2002). To this end, studies, research, programs, and statistical

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[3] The use of the expression "at/from school" is not used to think in opposite poles of a violence in society/at school or of the violence that happens from the performance of the school, but to think of violence as structural to society, institutions, and subjects.

reports have been produced that attempt to explain this phenomenon, searching for possible causes and pointing out possible solutions. This identification led to a question that mobilized our thoughts while writing this article: would it be possible to define in a single concept such a complex phenomenon?

Methodologically, the study presented here was characterized as a documentary research, using materials that could receive an analytical treatment (GIL, 2007). These materials comprised a corpus of academic research, government programs and statistical reports that could be reworked in order to produce a panorama of meanings about the theme of violence at school.

The documentary research was used to build a panorama of meanings in order to, from a central point, as Boff (1997) says, "the head thinks from where the feet step", identify a multiplicity of meanings in a panorama that has possibly operated to characterize and, who knows, produce violence at/from school.

In the choice of materials (works, texts and authors, programs and statistical reports), we chose to bring to this analysis some of them that appear more frequently within the materials themselves. For the analytic, a critical perspective was assumed, understanding it as a posture and ethical decision, not as a replacement of one epistemic order by another (FOUCAULT, 2010).

The organization of the *corpus* happened with the reading of the materials and the application of a script that guided the removal of statements that could undergo the analysis and that attributed meanings of violence at/in the school, which could be used to interpret and produce realities interpreted as violence at/in the school. Still, in the analysis we tried to show, in an articulated way, the meanings constructed considering the **conceptual tensions** and the constitution of violence at/from school as an **object of study and research** in Brazil.

Based on the contributions of different perspectives, such as researchers and scholars - Debarbieux (2006); Vasconcellos (2018); Segal (2014); Abramovay (2002); Sposito (2001), among others -, of academic research, federal government programs, and statistical reports that have been produced in Brazil, we sought to produce an overview of the meanings about the theme of violence in/at school in an attempt to expand the knowledge and relationships that have been established about this phenomenon.

Violence at/from school: a field of conceptual tensions

In Brazil, the phenomenon of violence at school has received special attention from fields such as Education, Social Sciences and Psychology, and is also the target of concerns from public policies and the media (ABRAMOVAY, 2002). In many of the studies, the concern with how violence is defined, its trivialization and silences is highlighted. A connection between violence and exclusion by school practice is also highlighted, as discriminating, disrespectful and humiliating actions are not always recognized as violent, which makes it relevant to discuss the aspects related to the definition and delimitation of violent acts in schools, based on the understanding that the theme also disrupts the social representations that have a founding value.

However, it is important to point out that there is no consensus among experts on the subject about what should be understood as violence at school, because this is a heterogeneous phenomenon and difficult to conceptualize, especially when its *locus* is the school, where power relations and the *status* of those who speak (teachers, principals, or students) must be considered.

> These relativizations are particularly important when discussing violence at school, because violence often does not appear in our lives as a real aggression, but as a kind of ghost that threatens us all the time and everywhere. In other words, violence is not always based on crimes and offenses, but it permeates our daily lives, our minds and souls in the form of a feeling of insecurity. [...] not necessarily evidence, bodies are necessary to configure something as violence, and this is when we violate ourselves, changing tastes, habits and pleasures, cultural practices, that is, disciplining ourselves by fears. Violence is re-signified according to times, places, relations, and perceptions, and does not occur only in material acts and practices. This is when we must refuse the perspective of framing violence only as acts that are carried out and punished are forgotten, but be alert to processes, constructions, which requires being aware of transits between conflicts and violence in everyday school life (ABRAMOVAY, 2005, p. 54-55).

Thus, it is possible to realize that there is no unity of meaning on the subject. What do exist are several studies, in several areas of knowledge, whose definitions are sometimes close to each other and sometimes far from each other, such as:

> [...] in France (DEBARBIEUX, 2002; 2006), England (SMITH, 2002; FARRIGNTON, 2002), Spain (ORTEGA RUIZ, 2000), Portugal (CARVALHOSA, 2007; CAMPOS, 2005), Italy (ZANETTI, RENATI, BER RONE, 2009), Greece (ARTINOPOULOU, 2002), and Luxembourg (GEORGES, 2009), Germany (SCHÄFER, 1996), Canada (TUR COTTE, LAMONDE, 2004) and Japan (MORITA, 2002; TAKI 2001), in Brazil (ABRAMOVAY, RUA, 2002; SPOSITO, 1998) [. ...] (SEGAL, 2014, p. 57).

Important considerations have also been made on this theme by the authors Sposito (2001) and Abramovay (2002). Sposito (2001) defines violence as an action that originates inside the school or as that which has a close relationship with the school. Thus, the author deals with violence at school from its characterization, recognizing it as actions that damage school property and interpersonal relationships, involving students and their peers in conflictive actions. However, Abramovay (2002, p. 73) conceives violence as "[...] the physical intervention of an individual or group against the integrity of another or groups and also against themselves, ranging from suicides, beatings of various kinds [...] and all forms of verbal, symbolic and institutional violence".

According to Sposito (2001), an attempt was made to delimit the phenomenon of violence at school from the 1980s, a decade in which modalities of violence were registered around the educational space, such as actions against the patrimony, involving graffiti and depredations. The debate about violence at school, in this period of redemocratization of the country, was focused on case studies and was limited to research developed by the academy.

> It is in the context of a broad demand for security by the residents of the outskirts of urban centers that the phenomenon of violence in schools becomes visible and starts to accompany the routine of the public school system in Brazil, since the early 1980s (SPOSITO, 2001, p. 90).

With these readings, it is possible to put in suspension a definition about violence at school, starting to understand it as a "[...] web of recursively interconnected phenomena" (VASCONCELLOS, 2018, p. 115), relative to a certain time, to a social environment, to particular circumstances; dependent on social, legal and political codes of the times and places where it makes sense (DEBARBIEUX, 2006); which cannot be reduced to urban violence, to a crisis coming from the neighborhood or an innate or natural violence.

> To think about [school violence], we need to change very basic beliefs: instead of believing that we will have as an object of study the element or individual, and that we will have to delimit it very well, we need to start believing that we will study or work always with the object in context. To contextualize the object or the problem, we have to do an exercise in broadening our focus, which leads us to see broad systems. The first questions will always be: under what conditions does the phenomenon that I am interested in happen? How do I see it related to other elements of the system? In this way we will be taking the exclusive focus off the element and including a focus on relationships. However, it is good to remember that broadening the focus will not guarantee that we will focus on relations. And it is clear, then, that context does not simply mean environment, but refers to the relationships between all the elements involved (VASCONCELLOS, 2018, p. 112).

In this regard, it is possible to state that what matters is not only the question of establishing and defining the concept of violence at school, but, beyond concepts, the mechanisms of operation of violence that are propagated in the school environment are relevant, that is, the mechanisms that produce, legitimize, and reproduce violence at school.

> [...] violence at school is mainly accumulation, repetition, attrition and oppression. This is how it must be understood and fought, and first of all because of its consequences on the victims. This is a fundamental step in understanding what school violence is and what it does (DEBARBIEUX, 2006, p. 130).

Violence at school is part of a network of intersystemic connections (VASCONCELLOS, 2018), in which it gains meaning, and configures it into one of the great challenges of today. The relationship between violence and the processes of social exclusion are becoming increasingly evident and, based on this, the effects on school, where exclusion is not only a category of the system and global processes, but one of the dimensions of the school experience of students and, likewise, of teachers.

> Violence represents a challenge to democracies: the challenge of the war against exclusion and social inequality. This inequality does not only refer to "sensitive neighborhoods", it exists on a planetary scale: there is a global community of problems, because, if this thing called globalization does exist, it is the globalization of inequality, which affects working class neighborhoods in both developed and struggling countries. Mobilization must therefore be at the international level (DEBARBIEUX; BLAYA, 2002, p. 85).

In the wake of this thought, statistical reports released by different agencies and institutions have been showing some threads that weave the networks of the phenomenon of violence at school and its connections. According to those released by LCA Economic Consulting, in 2018, Villas Bôas (2018) states that the "[...] number of people in extreme poverty in the country rose from 13.34 million in 2016 to 14.83 million last year, which means an increase of 11.2%." According to the research Synthesis of Social Indicators (SIS), in 2017, the highest poverty rate in Brazil was found in the Northeast Region, where 43.5% of the population falls into this situation. The picture is even more serious if we take into account the statistics of the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) involving children aged zero to 14 years old. In the country, 42% of children in this age group fall into these conditions and survive on only US$5.5 per day (IBGE, 2017).

With regard to income distribution in the country, data reports from the SIS 2017 survey indicate that the unemployment rates of the black or brown population were higher than those of the white population at all levels of education. Among the people with the lowest 10%

incomes in the country, the share of the black or brown population reaches 78.5%, compared to 20.8% of whites. They also indicate that the percentage of young people who neither work nor study increased by 3.1 percentage points between 2014 and 2016, going from 22.7% to 25.8%, affecting, above all, young people with the lowest level of education, black or mixed race people, and women. With regard to income distribution, Menezes and Januzzi (2018), based on statistical data reports from IBGE (2017), state:

> [...] if we consider the mass of real monthly household income per capital, of R$ 255.1 billion, in 2016, we see that the 10% of the population with the highest incomes concentrated 43.4% of this total, while the 10% with the lowest incomes were only left with 0.8%. In a country where the average monthly labor income, in 2016, was R$2,149.00, this degree of inequality becomes clearer if it is observed that the 1% with the highest labor income received, on average, R$27,085.00 monthly, which corresponds to 36.3 times of what the half with the lowest income received and, even worse, 371 times of what the 5% with the lowest income received.

Social inequality, poverty, the lack of life perspectives in face of the economic-social models of consumption that have governed life relationships in contemporary times; ethnic and gender issues, added to the conservative and colonizing model of the majorities in a model of privilege and inequality, arrive at the school gates and enter the school spaces.

And, based on this model, studies and research on violence at/from school are not very complex from the point of view of social construction and reconstruction that complement each other and that could put in evidence some mechanisms - the moral or institutional violence, the repeated micro-violences; the offenses and climate of the institutions; the feeling of violence and insecurity linked to a victimization survey and its effects on the victims; the aggressors and the social body - to obtain some less partial understandings about the theme.

Increase analytical possibilities to broaden the panorama of meanings and thus think that violence can be seen as the 'expression of an unjust country'; that violence is more than a relationship that puts at risk the models of purity and obedience, making it, also, a form of resistance or a way to access what, by desire and subjectivation, the consumption model itself has generated as ways of living. In this sense, to analyze it as a model that invents the possibility of supremacy and other forms of legitimated exclusion when it uses inequality or relations of knowledge and power to name subjects that suffer and practice violence, or even a relationship that has generated, from choices of social-economic development, ways to project prejudice, inequality, poverty and, from what they provoke, to narrate violence, the violent and those who suffer violence.

Violence at/from school as an object of study and research in Brazil

In Brazil, violence at school has occupied an important space in the media, social networks, and educational discussions, drawing the attention of several governmental instances, international organizations, and civil society, constituting, from the live information and texts, a public concern and a great challenge for managers, teachers, and other professionals from several areas.

According to Sposito (2001), the State has been searching for answers to school violence since the 1980s, when this issue started to be treated as a disciplinary issue, characterized by the aggressions that people from outside the school practiced in school establishments, occurring during idle periods in the buildings.

> In those early years of the 1980s we observe a certain consensus around the idea that school units needed to be protected, in their daily lives, from strange elements, the residents of the peripheral neighborhoods, attributing to them the condition of marginal or delinquents. [...] a conception of violence expressed in the actions of depredation of public property, especially, and, to a lesser extent, in the fear of invasion of the buildings by teenagers or young residents, apparently with no connection with the school unit (SPOSITO, 2001, p. 90).

In the 1990s, the practices of interpersonal aggression, especially among the student public, began to gain greater prominence, being discussed both in the field of research and in the field of policies. Some data fostered the creation of projects in partnerships with Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) or with civil society movements.

> As the most violent practices among students become more widespread, by the end of the decade, there is an interest in conducting research on victimization in the school environment [...]. Among these is UNESCO, which undertakes, in partnership with several institutions, a national research on young people in Brazil, involving the capitals. Such researches are born particularly after 1997, which clearly configures a concern in deciphering certain violent conducts of young people [...]. This is a period marked by public initiatives concerned with reducing violence in schools. Some of them occur in partnership with non-governmental organizations - NGOs - or civil society movements (SPOSITO, 2001, p. 93-94).

If the theme of violence at/from school occupies a prominent place in the media and NGOs, it is important to understand the movement of the theme in scientific research. The consultation to the website of the Dissertations and Theses Bank of the Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel (CAPES) and to the Repository of the Federal University of Santa Maria (UFSM) made it possible to know the perspectives, the aspects and the dimensions that have been highlighted on the theme of violence at school and its proliferation in the Brazilian educational context, to configure a panorama of meanings about the theme violence at school.

With the descriptor 'violence at school' 250 productions were found in the Capes Bank, from 1998 to 2018, distributed among the areas of Education, Psychology, Sociology and Health. It is important to highlight that most of the papers were produced between 2010 and 2018, demonstrating the proliferation of the theme in this last decade.

Table 1 – Academic productions on the theme of violence at/from school

Capes' Thesis Bank - 1998 to 2018			
Decade	Dissertations	Thesis	Total number of productions
1990	03	--	03
2000	73	07	80
2010	135	32	167
Total			250

Source: Prepared by the authors

Something that drew attention in these productions was the emphasis given to the negative aspects of violence produced on/by the subjects. Most of the works approach violence inside the school as one of the factors that can make the teaching and learning process unfeasible, focusing on the students' actions and mobilizing the search for practices to face this phenomenon, as well as on the need to correct the students and their subjection to the school rules.

In general, reading the conclusions of the papers had little impact on the composition of the panorama of meanings about the theme of violence at school, as the emphasis of most of the productions analyzed was on identifying (behavior, attitudes and actions) how violence has been manifesting itself at school, instead of problematizing the conceptual matrix and the meaning of such a complex phenomenon. Furthermore, the researches were focused on finding or describing what would be the best actions to face violence, focusing on teaching practices, instead of questioning the genesis that makes violence in/at school a contemporary challenge for the school institution.

Thus, to constitute the panorama of understanding about violence in/of the school, another movement to compose the corpus proved to be interesting and this was to look at public policies, especially the Program "Escola que Protege" (BRASIL, 2008), an outstanding program in relation to its scope in the country. It has been developed since 2004 as an inclusive policy that is organized through a network of protection and guarantee of children and adolescents' rights.

The program aims to prevent and break the cycle of violence against children and adolescents by training teachers to act in a qualified way in situations of violence identified or experienced in the school environment. Currently, the program is also part of the federal government's actions that contemplate the National Education Plan (BRAZIL, 2014), linked to the strategy:

> 7.23 Ensure policies to combat violence at school, including by developing actions aimed at training educators to detect the signs of its causes, such as domestic and sexual violence, favoring the adoption of appropriate measures that promote the construction of the culture of peace and a school environment endowed with security for the community (BRAZIL, 2014).

Given the complexity and scope of the program's general objective, it was subdivided into specific objectives, in order to make it possible to set up the training programs. Thus, there are three specific objectives:

> Training education professionals to identify evidence of situations of exploitation of child labor, physical and psychological violence, neglect and abandonment, abuse and commercial sexual exploitation against children and adolescents, and confronting them in the educational environment, from a preventive perspective. - To raise awareness in the school community about the damage caused by the various forms of violence (physical, psychological, sexual, neglect, abandonment, exploitation of child labor) to the bio-physical-psychosocial development of children, adolescents, and to the family as a whole. - Strengthen relations and integrate the school systems to the flow of notification and referral to the Network of Defense, Accountability and Protection of children and adolescents (BRAZIL, 2006, p. 06-07).

The importance of the program and actions to protect children and adolescents seem to be evident in a country and society that is structurally constituted by discriminatory models that project inequality, as is the case of gender, racism, poverty, and authoritarianism. The program prioritizes and finances projects presented by institutions that, through joint actions and shared responsibility, aim at the continued training of education professionals from the public basic education network, in addition to the production of didactic and paradidactic materials on the

project's themes, fostering strategic resources in the pedagogical approach on the theme of violence at school, in order to mediate the work with students.

However, looking at the program and its objectives also makes it possible to understand, at least in part, the panorama of meaning of violence at/in the school that is inside the public policies in education because, a meaning and conceptualization of violence remains in the harmful aspect of the effect and the individualized consequences of it (exploitation, neglect, abandonment, abuse...); based on the effect, it sizes up the sensitization and awareness of the school and the damage of the effects of violence on the subjects. But what about the genesis? But what about the problematization of the complexity of what produces this effect? What about the problematization of the rationalized structures with which, objectively and subjectively, these discriminatory models project inequality and, therefore, violence?

The issue about how the school, from structural models of rationality, leads to think a panorama that can tension a system that is produced by the:

> [...] social exclusion, but which takes place in the interactions of avoidable micro-exclusions (class division, unequal punishments). Violence at school is often an accumulation of micro-violences and symbolic violences, which unite groups of individuals in a game of estrangement into them/us, friends/enemies (DEBARBIEUX, 2006, p. 211).

The complex dimension of a panorama of significance of violence at/from school can still be added to a reflection based on other statistical reports.

With regard to the production of statistical reports on violence at/from school in Brazil, some information can be found in the questionnaires of Prova Brasil, answered by teachers and principals, which are organized in the Qedu Education Portal (2017). In addition, in the surveys: a) "Participatory diagnosis of violence in schools: young people speak" (ABRAMOVAY, 2016), which heard students from seven Brazilian capitals on the topic; and b) the Teaching and Learning International Survey (TALIS), coordinated by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development - OECD (INEP, 2019).

According to the survey of responses made by the portal, the teaching staff in Brazil is faced with a hostile environment within the institutions, considering that more than 22.6 thousand teachers have been threatened by students and more than 4.7 thousand have suffered attempts on their lives in the schools where they teach. Most teachers (71%), which equals 183.9 thousand, also said they have known about physical or verbal aggression from students to other students in the school (QEDU, 2017).

In the survey "Participatory Diagnosis of Violence in Schools: What Young People Say" (OUR TRANSLATION), conducted in 2016 by the Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences (FLACSO), in partnership with the Ministry of Education and the Organization of Inter-American States (OEI), students between 12 and 29 years old were interviewed in seven Brazilian capitals - Maceió, Fortaleza, Vitória, Salvador, São Luís, Belém and Belo Horizonte. This survey showed that 42% of public school students had already suffered some type of verbal or physical violence in a 12-month period, and the classroom was the place described with the most occurrences of violent episodes (25%), followed by school hallways (22%) (ABRAMOVAY, 2016).

At TALIS [4], coordinated by the OECD, which investigated the teaching and learning environment in basic education schools in 34 countries during the years 2012 and 2013, it is possible to find some data reports related to the school climate, highlighting issues such as: vandalism and theft; intimidation or verbal offense between students; physical damage caused by violence between students; intimidation or verbal offense to teachers or school staff members; use/possession of drugs and/or alcoholic beverages. According to this survey, bullying or verbal offense among students gains prominence in Brazilian schools, reaching 34% of the indexes (INEP, 2019).

The production of academic research and statistical reports on violence in/at school is increasingly drawing the attention of various governmental bodies, international organizations and civil society in the search for actions aimed at identifying mechanisms to prevent this phenomenon. But what has not been highlighted in these data reports is some of its possible connections with issues such as social exclusion, labor market, social participation, and plurality of dimensions, whether institutional (school and family), social (gender, color, employment, socio-spatial origin, religion, schooling socioeconomic *status*) and behavioral (information, sociability, attitudes and opinions), which implies considering that a panorama of meaning of violence in/at school has not yet become complex enough, perhaps, for violence to be dimensioned as a structural part of rationality based on inequality and exclusion.

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[4] Teaching and Learning International Survey

Final considerations

Returning, at this point, to the question that mobilized the problematization of this text: would it be possible to define a single concept for such a complex phenomenon? And the answer to this question can be yes or no, and even yes and no.

By looking at what has been produced about violence in/at school, from different perspectives, it is considered that thinking about violence is directly related to how forms and ways of thinking are contributed. In how, at school, a way of knowing and interpreting has been established and, thus, producing meanings for the things that happen, understanding that the choices of how one knows also produce the meanings for violence at/from school. The choices made to interpret the real and produce a reality constitute the discourses about violence(ies) in one or other panoramas of meanings that are available, through the epistemes, which circumvent and form it (them).

The option to show the limit of a single meaning and concept and point to the complexity in/of violence at school leads to a panorama in which violence is constituted as an effect of the processes of social exclusion that are also (re)produced at school. Exclusion that is not only a spatial or functional category, but where are implicit the dimensions of experience and production of the students' existence, inside and outside school, in which the inside and outside are constituted without defined and definitive boundaries.

There is still, in the panorama, a possibility of not being satisfied with the identifications of the effects and individualized consequences of violence, in view of the fact that the school may put into tension the social, cultural, economic, religious, in short, dimensional and structural genesis of violence.

Violence at/from school, as it gains more and more relevance, either in studies and scientific research, or in the production of statistical reports, or in governmental initiatives, at the same measure needs to expand the epistemic models in which discourses, meanings and conceptualizations are produced. More than that, it expands the responsibility of a critical attitude, questioning the rationalities that, in effect, (re)produce themselves as forms of violence in/of the school.

Violence at/from school, beyond the panorama of meanings that this text has sought to provide, continues to be a phenomenon of multiple definitions and manifestations and, therefore, research about it needs to be implicated with the possibilities of abandoning deterministic understandings - schools located in violent places will necessarily be more violent, or schools in neighborhoods considered safe will not have violence - realizing that to

understand this phenomenon more than concepts will be necessary, since understanding violence in/at school presupposes analyzing it as an effect of the production of a social reality, of a conjuncture, of a structural rationality that becomes of the school, from aspects that are external to it.

It is illusory to think that it will be possible to have total knowledge about the subject or to find a solution. It becomes more and more fanciful to expect something new, a miracle, a recipe. There is no such thing. There is no magic program or absolute policy. Actions regarding violence in/at school cannot be effective without analyzing the conditions in which they are formed and operate. And, concerning the school, specifically, a necessary "[...] political courage [...] because it implies questioning the depth of institutions and educational conceptions" (DEBARBIEUX, 2006, p. 236).

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