

Educational social policy and school violence: gaps in their attention

Política social educativa y violencia escolar: brechas en su atención

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The present work sends a critical analysis to the Cuban educational social policy, in the treatment of school violence, with a view to its improvement and to make visible this problem. The proposed research takes triangulation as a methodological strategy and assumes the basic secondary education of the Santiago de Cuba municipality as empirical references for its development. From the analysis of the results it is highlighted that, although the country is on a clear path towards the visibility of this scourge, the nullity of the term in the ministerial decrees and resolutions of the educational policy favors its ignorance. In it, the tangential approaches to the subject are limited to students' antisocial behaviors and their contexts of vulnerability; leaving out the rest of the actors involved in its construction. Likewise, in the development of strategies for their attention, the alienating participation of retail groups distant from school reality tends to prevail, and they swarm fissures in the training guidelines that are implemented.

PALABRAS CLAVE

Naturalization,
educational policy,
school violence.

El presente trabajo brinda un análisis crítico a la política social educativa cubana en el tratamiento a la violencia escolar, en aras de contribuir a su perfeccionamiento y a visibilizar dicha problemática. La investigación realizada asume como estrategia metodológica la triangulación de metodologías, y tiene como unidad de análisis 4 centros escolares de la enseñanza secundaria del municipio Santiago de Cuba. Del análisis de los resultados se destaca que, si bien el país se encuentra en un franco recorrido hacia la visibilidad de este flagelo, la omisión del término en los decretos y resoluciones ministeriales de la política educativa favorece al desconocimiento que sobre la misma persiste. En ella, los acercamientos tangenciales al tema se circunscriben a conductas antisociales del estudiantado y a sus contextos de vulnerabilidad; no teniendo en cuenta ni a profesores, familiares o demás actores escolares que participan en su construcción. Igualmente, en la elaboración de estrategias para su atención, se tiende a preponderar la participación de grupos minoristas distantes de la realidad escolar, y proliferan fisuras en las directrices de capacitación docente que se implementan.

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1. INTRODUCTION

One of the pillars of Cuban society, from the revolutionary triumph, has been to ensure the full development of Cubans, linked to the contextual realities of each era; with emphasis on the care and protection of children, adolescents and youth. In this process, both the educational system and the educational social policy occupy a primary place. His first successes, in order to cross the barriers of inequality of access and discrimination of black schoolchildren and impoverished sectors of the previous period, were evidenced by the massive insertion in the classrooms, without distinction of race or creed and from the promotion of equality in educators and schoolchildren (Constitution of the Republic, 1976; Chávez and Deler, 2013; Labacena, 2015). In addition to the elimination of private schools, schools and teachers were increased to accommodate the emerging student body, as well as for the preparation of teachers (García, 1998; Fabregat, 2016). However, educational fissures of the old Spanish educational model survived, such as physical punishment and other violent procedures to students in some schools, with very similar corrective typologies emerging during the nineteenth century and present in the twentieth (Cordoví, 2009, 2012). Likewise, racist and classistic vestiges appeared on the school stage and favored unequal and exclusive treatment of students (Zabala, 2008; Cala, 2019).

In order to address these underlying realities under the school discipline and raise the quality of our education system, the country has gone through several stages of improving its organizational structure and political guidelines (Ministry of Education, 2015). Add, also, the creation of institutions (centers for diagnosis and attention to minors), the signing of international political agreements and educational regulations valid for the attention of schoolchildren, as well as the anomalous (violent) behaviors that lacerate school relations. Being disposed towards the education sector, 13% of the country's gross domestic product, according to the World Bank report (Borroto, 2016, p.78). At the same time, in recent years and in view of the socio-economic, political, demographic and cultural changes that Cuban society is pilgrimage, studies of violence that account for significant fissures in the guidelines of said policy for treatment are beginning to emerge explicitly. (Regueira, 2008; Rodney, 2010a and b; Santiesteban, 2013; Rodney, and García, 2014; Rodney, Lorenzo, Cruz and Muñoz, 2015; Sampederro, 2017; Campañat, 2017; Cala y Caraballo, 2017; Rodríguez and Ramos, 2018 ; Cala and Benítez, 2018; Torres et al., 2019; Benítez 2019, and others²).

² Other investigations, in addition to the exposed ones, are located in Havana, Las Tunas, Villa Clara, Santiago de Cuba and Guantanamo. Among them: Romero, 2008; Aguilera et al., 2011; González and Aramayo, 2011;

This refers to the emergence of discrimination, physical, verbal, psychological aggression and harassment between students and teachers to them as cultural practices naturalized in school dynamics. However, the country is still in a certain veil towards its recognition. The nullity that accompanies it, as an expression of school violence, can be associated with high levels of schooling (100%), school promotion (92.5%) (National Office of Statistics and Information, 2019, p.62) and low levels of repetition of those that the country enjoys internationally; in addition to the weak treatment of the subject and its construction within the educational policy.

This research aims to perform a critical analysis of social policy in the educational field regarding the treatment of school violence; taking as reference schools of secondary education in the municipality of the Santiago de Cuba. With this, it is intended not only to make visible the problem in Santiago's territory and to address its unforeseen consequences for school relations and the educational system, but also to promote a set of actions that contribute to outlining the guidelines, particularly on educational policy.

It should be noted that, when talking about social policy, we refer to this type of public policy –decisions, actions and inactions of public authorities to solve or prevent a situation defined as problematic (Velásquez, 2009, p. 156) –, responsible for ensuring for the quality of life of human beings "through the materialization of their social, economic, cultural and other rights, through redistribution, social inclusion and the generation of opportunities" (Vargas, 1999, p. 6 in Velásquez, 2009, p. 186).

Within the framework of education, these are related to the social development of our country that, together with other Latin-American nations, today face substantial challenges for “economic growth and social equity” (Borroto, 2016, p. 77). The structural complexity from which it results, in our scenario, implies to overcome the constant attacks of the economic blockade and the inequalities increased in the nation (Espina, 2014; Domínguez, 2016, Zabala et al, 2018), in interconnection with the increase in work by own account, high rates of migration and population aging, and the financial crisis of recent times (National Statistics Office, 2017; Naranjo, Figueroa and Cañizares, 2015; Labacena and Tamayo, 2018). Even so, its axis of action is framed in promoting the integral and full development of the human beings, under the principles of:

Santiesteban, 2013; Campañat, 2013; Lambert, 2013; Balcindes, 2014; Rodney, Rodríguez y del Valle, 2015; Rodríguez, Rodríguez. and Ledón, 2015; Garcés, 2015; Díaz, Santiesteban and Matos, 2015, 2016; Isalguí 2015; Rosabal, 2015; Leyva, 2015; Guevara, Ferrer, Norman, Suz, 2016; Cala, et al, 2016; Hernández, 2016; Dexie, 2016, Women's News Services of Latin America and the Caribbean, 2016; Manreza, Barriel, and González, 2017; Lotti, 2017; More, 2018; Hernández, 2018; Suárez et al., 2018; Cala et al 2018a and b; Cala, 2019; Arlet, 2019.

gratuitousness, compulsory of the primary and secondary education, link of the work with the study, promotion of the investigation and the relation theory-practice (Chávez and Deler, 2013) who together pay tribute to the integral formation of the schoolchildrens.

In the case of school violence, in the present investigation this is assumed as that “qualitatively new reality resulting from the reciprocal relations between actors, individuals and / or groups in the school framework, which emerges in forms of physical, verbal, psychological damage or economic of one against the other or against both at the same time, self-organized by means of communicative vehicles that guide the actions of the subjects during their exchanges” (Cala, 2019, p. 20). According to our study, although we take the socio-normative system of educational social policy as the basis of the relational matrix of its emergency, we recognize that in its construction, other systems such as family, symbolic-communicative, power systems converge, cultural, community, etc.

2. METHODS AND MATERIALS

The research responded to a prospective, descriptive correlational study that had triangulation as a methodological strategy (Denzin, 1970). It relied on the triangulation of methodology and data because it is intended to prove that the tendency to make invisible the existence of school violence within the guidelines and projections of Cuban educational policy, as well as inadequacies in its implementation, contribute to naturalization and legitimization of this scourge in secondary schools of the Santiago de Cuba municipality.

The sample selection will correspond to a non-probabilistic sampling for the techniques derived from the qualitative methodology (participant observation, interview to key informants and document analysis) and a random probabilistic sampling for the quantitative methodology (questionnaire to students, family and teachers) . These allow, from the perceptions of school subjects and the educational reality they collectively build in their interaction, to identify the various forms of emergency of school violence in their relationships in interconnection with the guidelines and projections of educational policy. In summary, the sample consists of 4 educational centers corresponding to diverse contexts of the municipality, 176 teachers, 330 family members and 425 students.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

The silenced paths between educational policy and school violence.

In the materialization of the care and protection of the child in the school environment, there are several regulations, resolutions and decrees created as guarantors of their sexual education and integral training. However, within the preventive work and the prophylactic matrix that must derive from them, there is still a lack of attention to school violence. Expressed in the absence of the term in its articles and subsections.

In this sense, its tangential approaches to the subject tend to minimize its magnitude and social significance, subsuming it into cautious and subtle categories of tort, such as: *serious indisciplines, antisocial behaviors and antisocial facts of high social danger* (Article 2, Decree Law 64 / 1982), discrimination based on gender (Ministerial Resolution 139/2011) and *very serious, serious and less serious behaviors* between and of schoolchildren (Ministerial Resolution 11/2012). Fissure that is extrapolated to the projections of the social educational policy, until 2021, where its presence must be inferred under the dimension of the improvement of the teaching system, *depending on the elevation of the quality and rigor of the educational teaching process* (Guidelines of the Economic and Social Policy of the Party and the Revolution for the period 2016-2021, p.22); moreover, by not having indicators that allude to this scourge, their attention goes unnoticed from school relationships.

Likewise, from its directional matrix of conception and emergency, these antisocial practices (which expression is violence) limit their interactive spectrum to the relationships between students and scarcely teachers to these. Reality that leaves out the rest of the individual and collective actors that participate in its construction and reproduce international views on this particular, where bullying takes a primary place (Olweus, 2011; Pérez, 2017; Astor, 2017, Unesco, 2019).

In the analysis of preventive action, in accordance with the aforementioned normative instruments, there is a certain tendency to diagnose and characterize the vulnerability scenarios that affect the school, but far from assuming the center itself as a space for the construction and reconstruction of violence in its interior. In this sense, the looks at the school refer to the psychosocial diagnosis of the subject (student), but not to the relational structures that are formed in them, and that derive from them (Ministerial Resolution 111/2017; Violence Protocol, 2017).

From the framework of the training of the faculty, the basis of guideline 120 of the projection of educational social policy for 2021, it is valid to highlight the willingness to introduce school violence in methodological seminars nationwide, between 2016-2017 (interview to key informants, head of the municipal team of attention to preventive work). However, they breach



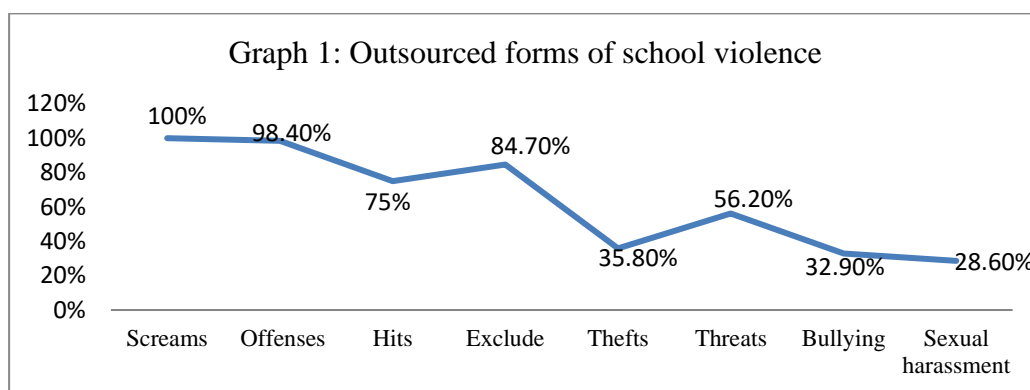
operational gaps in their implementation in the centers, as well as cognitive gaps in their conception.

Regarding the operational gaps, their fissures germinate before the precarious reference of indicators for their control and evaluation in the emergent prevention strategies in each school, for the attention to this scourge. Hence, they go unnoticed in the dimensions of preventive work at the municipal level and in the comprehensive evaluation of the teaching-learning process. Specifically, they tend to be reduced to the quantification of smoking students, those who drink alcoholic beverages, those from dysfunctional families, pregnant female students, etc. Meanwhile, in the integral evaluation, they are framed in the control of the actions directed towards the capacity of direction, management of direction, operation of the school council, and the treatment and follow-up of the students who fail to fulfill the school duties (Municipal Directorate of Education, 2019). Such dimensions, in its phenomenal matrix, by not addressing the relational and emergency forms of violence in schools, indirectly contribute to its legitimacy. In addition, these elements give account of the professed ignorance in their conception of the phenomenon, by reducing their expression to peer aggression (96.5%) and from teachers to students (67%) - questionnaire to teachers and family members-.

In this same order of ideas, within the framework of participant observation, there is a certain tendency to banalize the existence of school regulations, since their governing regulations are regularly violated. Likewise, their safekeeping at the hands of the directors of the centers pays tribute to the persistence of their ignorance on the part of the school actors, which is almost always present when violent situations break through these enclosures.

The indirect consequences of the aforementioned, together with other socio-school realities (intra-family and community violence, socio-economic crisis, etc.), pay tribute to the cognitive deficit of school actors regarding violence in the entity. So it is that, only 35% of these, among students, teachers and family alleges the existence of violence in their center, but refer, to them as: the screams, humiliations, threats and others that are reflected in the following graph, constitute a daily life in schools.





Source: Author's elaboration based on the questionnaire data for students and teachers.

Regardless of whether they are intentional or not, their repeated presence is mainly configured in the relations between schoolchildren (84.70%), from teachers to students (76.9%), from these to teachers (57.40%) and from family members to teachers (47.9%) in classrooms, halls and bathrooms. Recurring practices that, for the most part, are received with blushes or which form of grievance between them during their interactions (student questionnaire). This reality, in turn, accounts for the distance between studies of the subject in the country and the political aspects that support it.

From a look at the new Constitution of 2019 with the “transit of that state-centered socialism towards a multiactoral vision and a decentralized organization of society” (Espina, 2017, pp.3-4 in Rojas and García, 2017), the challenges from preventive work still persist (Espina, 2014; Zabala, 2015a). In the school sector and social policies, these emanate from the deficiencies to make violence visible from school actors and codes that shape it. Although the recognition of domestic violence and the accentuated protection of children is significant, in accordance with articles 85, 86, 87 and 88 of chapter III, and the guarantees of subsection (a), article 94 e (i) of 95, both in chapter VI, the distinctive symbols of school violence are not placed in them and continue to be defined according to foreign influences, far from the school space, thus patenting the preventive fissures for their eradication.

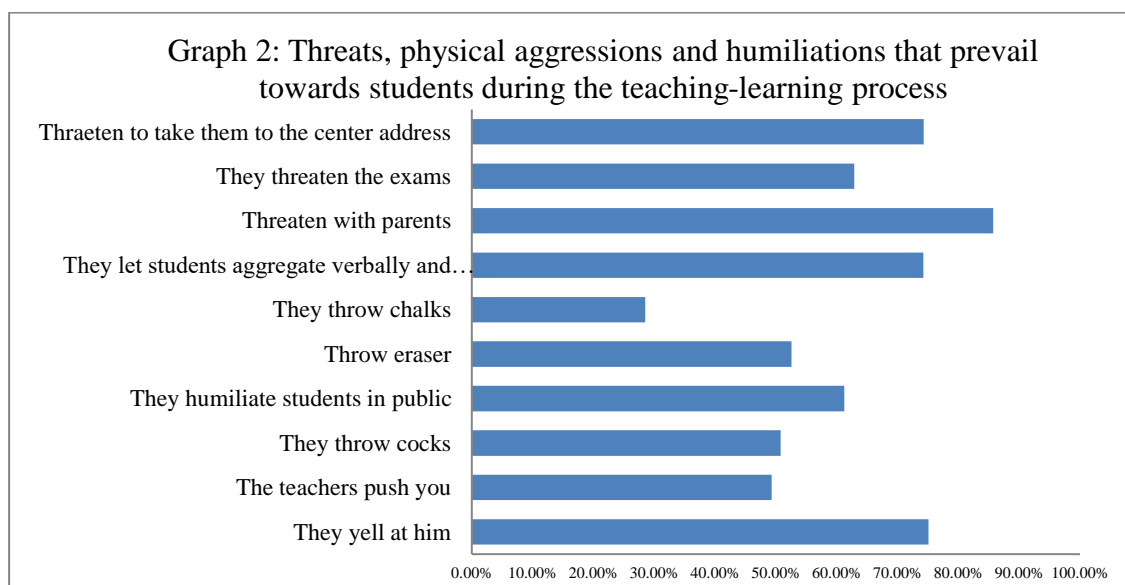
Other incongruities point to the permanence of political dispositions opposed to contemporary socio-school reality. We especially refer to the “concentration for almost 8 hours in the schools, the character of the teachers' social worker, the insertion of the teleclasses³, among others” (Ministry of Education, 2004, p.5). The same, at the beginning, towards the beginning of the 21st century, even when they were pertinent to promote greater attention to the student and face the teacher deficit that society experienced, tend to be, at times, counterproductive to the

³ Term used to refer to the classes taught by the national channels of Cuban television.

contemporary school dynamic itself. Among its unforeseen consequences, it is noted, regardless of the repeal of “teleclasses” at present, the overload of teaching work by promoting a certain disengagement from its main role, inadequacies in the attention to the student, a deterioration of the role of the teacher in the centers, as well as a distancing in their link with schoolchildren.

Indirectly, they, accompanied by teacher demotivation in the absence of incentives and recognition of their work, together with the economic dissatisfaction they experience (even with the salary increase) has favored the germination of negligent practices in them. Thus, letting "do or leaving the student's pedagogical", even promoted by their rapid transit through the center to graduate them, more if it is typified as problematic, temporarily legitimizes space in the school dynamics. The above is reaffirmed from the speech of some teachers, who refer as: “You are doing social work that this child has problems, that this child has behavior that is not acceptable [...], and in the end the child graduated with the same problems ”(interview with key informants, woman, black, tutor, 34 years of experience). In addition, they allege that "the teacher does not have, as it was before, a place in the society of respect” (teacher, black, 40 years of experience).

Others, on the other hand, reinforce repressive mechanisms learned and constructed in interactions with schoolchildren, based on the hierarchical surveillance of the infant, interconnected with forms of physical aggression (blows, kicks, shoves), verbal and psychological (screams, teasing, offenses , humiliation, discrimination, etc.); which guarantors of control and institutional order. Elements reflected in the following graphic.

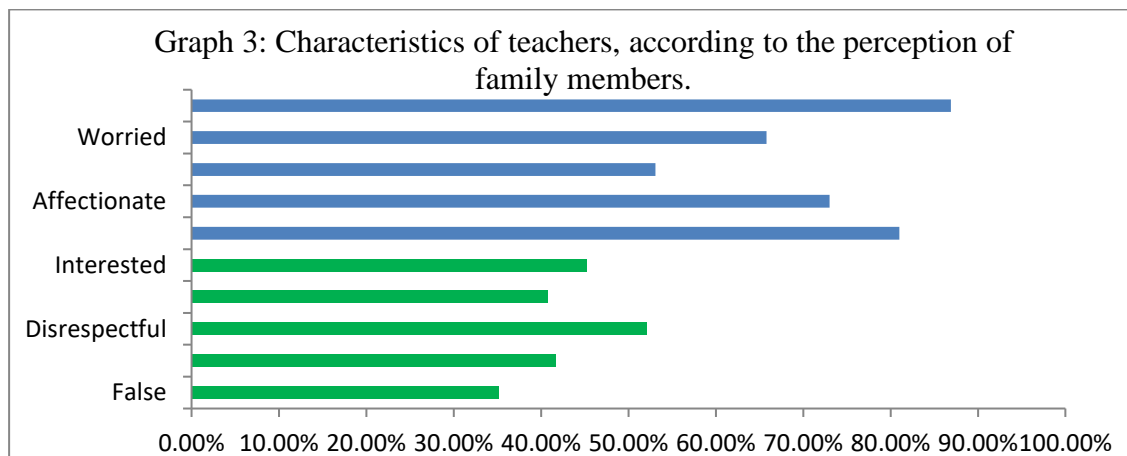


Source: Author's elaboration based on the questionnaire data for students and teachers.



The significance of the constructive cycle of violence in the center, given the naturalization with which these practices are perceived, comes from the irruption of attempts of aggression and threat of parents to teachers before the practices implemented towards their children. In corollary, it is affirmed by 55% of the teachers as they delegate in them all the training and preparation of the school. Reality that is reversed when the informal norms of socialization and education articulated during the exchange process are breached. Thus, parents "[...] when there is a situation with a ward, they rush to attack the teacher [...], and that is the same thing that children do with teachers" (interview with key informants, teacher mestizo, 58 years old). Faced with this reality, and as part of the biased views on violence, teachers do not have a constitutional support to ensure the protection and care of their integrity.

Within the framework of the questionnaire to family members, it should be noted, on the other hand, a change in the perceptions that teachers have, which tend to be based, in addition to what is stated by the informal institutionalization of teacher royalties during the day of the educator. Thus, as shown in figure 3, and in the event of a sustained breach of Ministerial Resolution 506/14, on its prohibition, write the royalties; the differential treatment of schoolchildren whose form of discrimination, psychological and symbolic violence is placed tangentially in the ordering of school dynamics.



Source: Author's elaboration based on the questionnaire data for students and teachers.

Finally, it should be noted that, although one of the achievements of our educational policy comes from promoting the participation of subjects in the construction of their school reality, the sectorization with which it is presented and “its alienating character” (Rivero, 2013 , p. 45) alert of important challenges to be overcome. In this regard, one might ask, how is a process of participation of the subject conceived, in the construction of his school system, if he does not

participate in the conformation of the political guidelines that institutionalize it? Or in what direction and sector is participation encouraged in education policy?

A look at the results of the questionnaires could initially send a social rejoicing, as 100% of school actors stand out as their direct constructor actors of their teaching system. Nevertheless, the social demands for which they advocate and that imply a rearrangement of their organizational structure, and of the control strategies of the teaching process, show us important gaps in their behavior.

Among the main findings is the need to eliminate the existence of a single section of the teaching process (from 7:30 am to 4:00 pm) where the school snack is included. Reality in everyday practice, according to the interviewees, which generates more overload for the teacher and fails to fulfill its initial social function of “keeping the student brought from the street, given the demotivation present in these as part of the new demands and social opportunities outside the center ”(teacher, white, 58 years of work). In turn, the precarious quality in the training of graduated professors, lacking in skills and motivation for the exercise of the teaching profession, pays tribute to violent practices towards schoolchildren as described, but regardless of this, their permanence is necessary as a consequence of teachers dropping out, which still persist. Add up, the survival of the small partitioning of the family in the problems that affect their children, with all the attention of the infant on the teacher and the school.

In summary, as it is reinforced in research towards education and the processes of participation of school actors, symbolic violence in the Cuban educational scenario is implicitly patented in the vertical, authoritarian and asymmetric communication characteristic of the teaching process (Urguila, 2007; Castillo, 2008; Rivero, 2013). Supported element, in the valid dynamics of being the Ministry of Education, which develops the directives, regulations and resolutions established by the national educational policy, outside the dialogue with the citizens (Rivero, 2013; MINED, 2004, 2015). However, the critical readings exposed do not detract from the quality of our educational system, as it does not constitute a generality, but they warn of unforeseen fissures in its concretion and of the guidelines required for its attention.

4. CONCLUSIONS

The exposed critical view, alerts of the challenges to be faced in the reordering of social policies in the educational field, from which lies a reconfiguration of school relations in which school violence takes place. Express violence in the physical, verbal, psychological and symbolic damage



that emerges in school exchanges and that, at times, borders on fraudulent practices and corruption in the center.

In this sense, it is urgent to elaborate or incorporate in the school statutes (decree and resolutions) the categorical and conceptual positioning of this problem, from the various actors involved, along with their evaluation indicators and sanction mechanisms for teachers and families that engage in violent practices in schools. In addition to promoting training processes that reflect the multidirectional dimension in which such violence is built.

From another order of ideas, it is necessary to recognize and converge research trends with the views of social policies in the educational field, in order to address the underlying processes that are interconnected with school violence. The support of the media, along with the political will to address this issue, requires paraphrasing our Commander in Chief Fidel Castro to change everything that must be changed; but from the school realities where the subject is constructed, it shapes violence and school dynamics.

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