Juvenile Cultures and Student Identities: Narratives of Violence

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I base by analysis on the theoretical hypothesis that various kinds of tension and conflict (a kind of social unease, boredom, collective disappointment and even loss of sense and breaking of meanings), are taking place with some young people and in educational institutions (secondary schools, high schools, technical schools and universities), and likewise, with social actors which make up the school and university community: authorities, teachers, students and workers.

Juvenile cultures, divergent expressions.

ABSTRACT

This article presents a theoretical analysis and a correlation of the well-known "juvenile cultures" and "student identities". It talks about the conflict and tensions which take place in subjective relations among members of the same group. The author approaches on one hand the adult group, the professors, and on the other hand the juvenile group, the students. The focal point of this tension is found in three layers in time and space: the student, the social use of drugs and the meanings of the body. On this the author builds

three analytical frameworks or narratives that give voice to students and teachers in relation and their experiences from the perspective of the social role that each one plays.

Key words: adult group, juvenile cultures, student identities, narratives and body.

INTRODUCTION AND APPROACH

The purpose of the present article is to formulate certain social aspects which come into play in what in the Anthropology which focuses on young people is known as juvenile cultures and also so-called student identities. The scenario is public spaces in the street and school and the central theme of analysis follow the recreation of violence—among students, and professors towards students--, the social use of substances, legal (alcohol) as well as illegal (marijuana,[1] and cocaine)—and the meaning of the body—its alteration and decoration with tattoos and piercings.

My theoretical-methodological stance is social science, so what I see when I look at juvenile cultures and student identities is build on and measured by (Martín-Barbero, 1987) social psychology (more sociology than psychology), studies of groupality (the mechanism of operative groups), and cultural anthropology (the symbolic).

I base by analysis on the theoretical hypothesis that various kinds of tension and conflict (a kind of social unease, boredom, collective disappointment and even loss of sense and breaking of meanings), are taking place with some young people and in educational institutions (secondary schools, high schools, technical schools and universities),[2] and likewise, with social actors which make up the school and university community: authorities, teachers, students and workers. However, I will focus on social traumas of the students and the image of the professor.

I believe that these tensions and conflicts are representative of the asymmetrical relationship of power that in one of its attitudes turns into violence, especially, the so-called symbolic violence. (Bourdieu, 2000)[3] which is carried out and materialized in concrete school spaces: the classroom, the schoolyard, the conference rooms, offices and meeting places used for meeting and socializing, by both professors and students.

In order to prove this hypothesis, I have put together three vignettes of juvenile cultures and student identities which are interconnected as qualitative incipient empirical evidence, and qualified by the socio-cultural environment and activities which traverse the school or university community. First is the adult world versus the juvenile worlds; second, from the social outside of schools to the cultural inside of university campuses; and third, corporal performativities, problems between youth and adults.

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1 The discussion on the legalization of the use of marijuana which is taking place in the Federal District and other parts of the country is interesting. See "Mariguana a debate," Confabulario, El Universal, Epoca II, No. 13, Sunday, August 18, 2013.
2 A profound depiction of the ties brought on by the crisis between young people and the educational institution in our country may be found in the article by María Herlinda Suárez (2010).

3 To Bourdieu (2000), symbolic violence has to do with insensitivity, softness, spirituality, invisibleness (of those who suffer from it) and is manifested through shrewdness, lies and passivity. It is exercised through communication (we will emphasize: the word, language, speech), and knowledge. From what we have been able to read, the material nature of symbolic violence is in found in verbalization, in what is said: threats, insults, defamation (in this imaginary case it would be these aspects carried out between students, students towards teacher and the latter towards the former in the case of teaching and in the school space).

First vignette: adult worlds versus juvenile worlds

Adult worlds will be understood to be the worlds of parents, policemen, religious figures and teachers. In broad terms these figures are dominant and hold the power which they impose through the configuration of conceptions of a world instrumented via norms, values, rules, representations[4] and prejudices which support the construction of the sense and imposition of meaning in certain geographies and in the coordinates of adult social and cultural life.[5]

In general, adult worlds are anchored and situated in the past, and the matrixes of meaning which define their social actions are wearing thin and empty, which means a growing delegitimizing with respect to the matrixes of juvenile worlds which run in another direction within the temporality of the here and now in which they are built and within which young peoples' existence take place. The anthropologist Margaret Mead (2002) talks about this inter-generational situation. She talks about the construction of socio-generational time and holds the idea that nowadays, in general, adult worlds have very little to teach and transmit to the younger generations, since the latter tend to learn fundamentally from their peers (friends, pals, buddies), that is to say, from other young people who are like them, with respect to their social worries, experiences, affectivity and dilemmas.

With respect to juvenile worlds (the various ways of being young),[6] we will characterize them as alternate, bases on their praxis divergentes (Brito, 2002) which are formed through their multiple social actions and cultural expressions in resistance, situate in a specific historic time and place. These usually materialize in public spaces (street, neighborhood, school, city) and above all in places of socialization (of entertainment—parties, musical events, festivals, night clubs, disco techs, bars). These worlds also some into conflict in the creation of their sense and of their presence (Díaz, 2002) in private spaces (family, couple, intimacy) and essentially anywhere that there is a perfomativity[7] of their corresponding affiliations.

The construction of juvenile identities is one of its aspects which takes place in counter position to "the others," different from the grouping of affiliation. That is to say, juvenile identity will be shaped by what is represented by the non-juvenile, and the perfect model of what is not juvenile are the adult worlds—their institutions and families, for example--, and that is what the majority of adolescents and

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4 We think about these from the cognitive point of view, that is, the ways in which they interpret the social worl and reconstruct it; its contents are the images, information, opinions and attitudes about something or someone. See De Alba (2007) and Montero (1994).

5 This does not deny the heterogeneity of the adult worlds, it recognizes that more democratic attitudes may be found, however, quantitatively and qualitatively, these are a minority. It must be mentioned that this also applies to certain professors and teachers who tend to knit horizontal ties. The situation of professors is very difficult since the circumstances under which they carry out their job are very unfavorable.

6 Some of the routes involved in juvenile construction are gender, social class and ethnicity, to mention only a few of the dimensions of analysis. I would recommend reading one of the more serious anthropologists studying youth, Maritza Urteaga Castro-Pozo (2010).

7 In relation to perfomativity, we must mention that this is not an independent act of the subject since it is standardized and acquires the quality of reiteration of the norm, a kind of repetitive ritualizing, and is not only theatrical. In the words of Judith Butler (2002, 18),

> "(…) performative should be understood, not as a singular and deliberate "act", but rather, as a reiterated and referential practice through which the discourse produces the effects its name suggests. What (…) will clearly shown in what follows is that the regulatory norms of "sex" act in a performative way in building the materiality of the bodies (…) in materializing the sex of the body(…)"

This leads to reiterating that young people, in building their group identities, are not governed by their simple desire, nor remote from the norms which regulate their social actions and cultural expressions.

young people[8] least want to be like, their parent figures, their mommies and daddies.

With the understanding that young people are not homogeneous, but rather different, this also applies to the analysis of the affiliation with juvenile identifiers. In this sense there are different kinds of belonging (punk, hip-hp, hipster, student, rock and roll, "cholillo", grafittiers, "mirrey", rasta, skateboarder, emmo, and on the dark side-"darketo", gothic, vampire), and the situation is played out inside these affiliations, that is, there are different ways of being punk, for example, neo-punk, cyber-punk, happy-punk, anarch-punk or as a secret, underground or institutional grafittier.

This urgency for cultural differentiation with respect to "the others" is a mechanism of legitimization in the identity constitution of the young being versus the adult worlds. Therefore the tensions and conflicts between the two configurations tend to be inevitable. From a instrumental hegemonic aspect, there is an idea going around that adolescents and young people are the property of their mothers and fathers because they gave them life. In these fantasies, they believe that they belong to them and therefore they can make decisions for them (about their bodies, sexuality, the design of their aesthetics and their daily life). We would not be exaggerating to say that nowadays juvenile bodies[9] have become the battlefield between those who live inside and posses them, in this case the young people, and those who try to controlthem and make their decisions for them: the dominating adult world and its corresponding institutions (the Roman Catholic Church, based on Judeo-Christian discourse).

Such situations of tension and conflict are being reproduced in some educational and family environs, since it seems in the adult-centered imaginary that students are the property of schools also, of school authorities and therefore of teachers, which makes for relations defined by high levels of violence, discrimination and social exclusion marked by abuse of power of these adult worlds and educational institutions.[10]

The following account of a group of professors from CONALEP (National College of Professional Technical Education) In southern Mexico City is very eloquent in demonstrating what we have been talking about.

> "The young people are docile and malleable (...) over the past two or three years tattooing and piercings have increased (...) Some professors ask students not to use them, others scold them and, abusing their power, remove them. After making regulations and telling parents, they accept but (...) parents won't become involved. The school rules say nothing about this.[11]

This testimony is very valuable since it casts many aspects for analysis. One of them is the transparency of the educational spirit and the vision of school based on the disciplining of students, controlling them and repressing their behavior and decisions with respect to the designs of body aesthetics which are contrary to what school authorities and profes-

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8 Adolescence is a biological age, and therefore changes in the body and ability to reproduce the species explain their social behavior, that is, the unit of analysis is the adolescent individual. On the other hand, youth is a social age characterized by young peoples' practices in public spaces and the category of analysis is collective youth. For a more comprehensive discussion, see Nateras (2004).

9 There is an article by Gabriela Rodríguez, "The Body in Dispute", in which is discussed the how and why of the existence of ultra-right wing, conservative, clerical youth groups which talk about abstinence from sex, favor gender inequality, back lifelong marriage, and extol heterosexuality as the only correct relationship in love. See, La Jornada, August 27, 2010.

10 This does not deny the fact that some students assault and exercise violence against their teachers.

11 Extract from a reflection group which I coordinated with professors of middle level education, November 2007.

sors think they should be. Another element is that, of course, within the educational institution rules and regulations are necessary for regulating social relations among those who make up the school community, but students are not considered valid interlocutors; they are not taken into account and are not included in defining rules and regulations, but quite the contrary, they are excluded.

Likewise, in some secondary and high schools, there have been cases of professors who have removed dangling earrings from the students' earlobes, or even sent the students out of the classroom if their identity aesthetics and styles are thought by the teachers or school authorities to be too striking. This dispute over the creation of the presence (Díaz, 2002), is not only carried out in opposition to adult worlds, but also among groups with respect to other consolidated and different identity aspects with a high degree of intolerance which provokes violence (for example "cholos" against "emos"). To further complicate things, these disputes also may take place within a group, that is to say, within the juvenile identity ("reggaetoneros" vs "reggaetoneros").

This is very revealing since it casts interpretive keys and irrefutable clues to understanding, on behalf of deidealizing and deromanticizing certain juvenile cultures, in relation to what was the common belief that due to their social condition the young people in the most unprotected popular areas are tolerant, vanguardist, democratic or "cool", when the truth, based on the empirical evidence which we have and are familiar with, has shown us that this is not true. Let us look at the testimony of a sixteen year old high school student[12] "emo".[13]

They don't like my style, nor my way of thinking. You arrive somewhere and they call you "gay". Depressive and homosexual I am not and many others aren't, and what if I were? They are resentful towards us. We've never done them any harm. And even normal people join the others, the punks, the "cholos" and they want to beat us up. My classmates discriminate me and some throw things at me, but I don't pay any attention. But since I have "emo" friends in high school, I hang out with them and that's it.[14]

We are facing diversity and heterogeneity in the construction of the matriz of meaning of juvenile identities. Thus we take up once more the theoretical proposal of the Catalan Anthropologist, Carles Feixa (1998, 60), who defines juvenile cultures form two point of view, one broad and one brief.

In a broad sense, juvenile cultures refer to the way in which the social experiences of young people are expressed collectively through the construction of distinctive lifestyles, which take place, fundamentally, in their free time, in interstice space of institutional life. In the strictest sense, they define the appearance of "juvenile microsocieties" with a large amount of autonomy with respect to "adult institutions", which provided with meaningful time and space, and which taken shape historically in the Western world following World War II, coinciding with the great processes of social change in the economic, education, labor and ideological fields.

I would like to highlight some aspects of the previous definition, related to distinctive "lifestyles"--culturally differenti-

12 The reader may remember that in early 2008, in various cities throughout the country, centered in one of the most conservative and religious places, Queretaro, there was aggression against an identity group, the "emos", by consolidated juvenile groups. See Nateras (2008).

13 This juvenile micro group dates from the '80s with mu-

sical origins in the hardcore scene. Its name comes from emotional and its philosophy is based on the expression of feelings and frames of mind of sadness, depression, melancholy, happiness and rejoicing.

14 Group interview which took place in the Glorieta de Insurgentes, Mexico, D.F., Wednesday, March 24, 2008.

Building distinctive styles, juvenile experiences.

ated--, free time--related to social enjoyment--, interstice spaces of institutional life—the formal part, that which is instituted--, tied to other socio-cultural registries crossing juvenile identity ascriptions.

Lifestyles which mark contrasts is not something unique to juvenile cultures, but rather something which characterizes any collective group in their effort to become visible (Díaz, 2002), and to distinguish themselves from "the others" on the path from I to us. Therefore lifestyles are going to be confined to the configurations of specific social identification (in the case at hand, the youth). In this a way we would be facing the possibility of locating certain features which would also be characterizing student cultures and identities.

What we will call "student adscriptions and identities"[15] are all specific forms of being and of self-recognition of a group from a social standpoint such as students, and also recognized as such by "the others", distinct and different, associated with specific practices which define them, in contraposition fo the configurations of style and the use of space of other groups contrary to themselves, as for example the group of teachers or workers or authorities, imagining the school community in its broadest sense, and by extension the university community.

15 Since the emergence of the political movement, #Yo Soy 132, in May 2012, affiliation of students has acquires a social place of prestige and respect.

In relation to free time, meaning time for fun and rest, it must be anchored where performativities of various adscriptions take place (Butler, 2002), since without the space and the real appropriation of this space as symbolic said configurations of student identities cannot be understood, because spaces make or live in the identification as identities live in and construct these spaces. Therefore, the most important thing about spaces is their symbolic value, what they represent and characterize for public users in the identity constitution and in the imaginary which is build.

IN this sense, and from an elastic rapprochement, we find a distinction in the use of spaces with respect to adult worlds and juvenile worlds, that is to say, usually for adults space and time are more constrained and compressed, less extended in the social scene and in cultural territories, and in contrast, in what we call juvenile worlds, they expand and spread, that is to say, time and space have more socio-cultural longevity and acquire the characteristic of being more extensive and intense at the same time.

With reference to interstice spaces in institutional life, we want to highlight school spaces, centering on the university, since we believe this educational territory is also appropriated and used by juvenile cultures to which it is affiliated with the nuances, tones and frame of mind of forming part of student adscriptions, in other words, there is a kind of interplay between the constitution of juvenile cultures, and at the same time the configuration of student identities.

Second Narrative: from the social outside of schools to the cultural inside of the university campus

The space of schools and universities are open, plastic and crossed by the social and cultural whole. What we are interested in is making links between, on the one hand, juvenile cultures, and on the other, student identities, in order to mark what is shared as well as the specificity of the differences in the coordinated of their social actions, cultural demonstrations and the use of public space, be it in school, on the street, in the neighborhood or recreational areas.

School and university spaces acquire symbolic value since it is marked for what it means for the majority of students and young people: not be excluded, be within, be a part or member, have a social place and the possibility of a future, even if only in his imaginary. Likewise, as territories of sociality, it helps young people, both men and women, to incorporate, to learn strategies as students for inter-subjective ties: working in teams, probable the first experience of love and sex, drawing closer to or further away from teachers and authorities, the multiple meanings of yes, and the passage from the adolescent and youthful "I", to the "we" of the group, the drawing of the configuration of student identities.

The experience of and at school and the experience of being a student, in the broadest sense of the word, whether it is secondary school, high school, or even university, are defined by the existence of a social path as a stage in transition from the juvenile condition towards adulthood, with all of its ups and downs, problems and risks: dropping out of school, suicide, early parenthood—teenage pregnancy--, becoming part of the work force (normally in the field of underemployment, poorly paid, informal and bordering on illegal), shortages, not only material, --deprivation and poverty--, but also symbolic (deficit of socil-cultural capital and strategies to confront it). The following account by a young university student in Mexico City is more than convincing.

Student identities: inclusion and exclusion.

I'm a student at the UNAM, doing under-graduate studies in Political Science. I live in a popular neighborhood. I'm 23 years old. I think of myself as a young person. I am not affiliated to any juvenile group like "skatos", "cholos" or "reguetoneros". I work reading poetry on buses and doing odd jobs that come up (...) whether we're "emos", "punketos", "skatos" or whatever, we're all poor, we're all screwed. I don't know any rich kid who is an "emo" or "cholo" or "skato".[16]

It is clear that students become tied to the significant moment in their lives which re-fers to the construction of what is juvenile, that is, of what has been called junvenile cultures (Feixa, 1998). They consider these to be transitory identities, since youth like any other stage is a moment in the social life which passes and in which one cannot remain forever (Valenzuela, 1997), although nowadays this phas has extended its reach in time and socio-cultural space, from bout 14-16 year until 32-33.

This is the field and space of inter-sections between transition stages: what it means to be a student (high school and university) and what corresponds to ju-venile identity adscription to which he or she is affiliated or building. This intersec-tion has the quality of activating a process

16 Individual interview at the Glorieta de Insurgentes in Mexico, D.F., Wednesday, March 26, 2008.

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of "hybridization", in relation to mixtures made between the configuration of juvenile cultures and the frame of mine, tones and nuances in the design of a specific student identity, taking place outside (public spaces) as well as inside the school.

The pitch is given by the conflicts and since we are facing the staging of juvenile performativities (Butler, 1992) and the creation of the presence (Díaz, 2002), in a dispute over the imposition of senses between adult worlds versus juvenile worlds, we may ask the following, From what vantage point can the professor establish ties with these student identities and juvenile cultures? It would probably be based on the ignorance of "the other", that is, from not understanding the diversity and heterogeneity which his or her students are demonstrating.

Staging student identities and juvenile cultures passes through real appropriation as symbolic of the diverse spaces used on school grounds and university campuses which account for this socio-cultural heterogeneity under the discursive logic that: Tell me what spaces you use and live in and I will tell you adscription you belong to. Tell me where you are and I will tell you the nuances of the student identity to which you belong. The same applies to life outside of school and university, that is, to public spaces used by and which appropriate the various adscriptions of juvenile identity.

In this interplay of outside and inside the school or university space, there is a kind of reappropriation taking place based on the juvenile culture which the student belongs to depending on the particular configuration of his or her student identity. Therefore this will define the actions and cultural expressions which are made visible in various spaces under the incredulous eye ofl the authorities, professors and workers.

For example at the Univerisdad Autonmae Metropolitana-Iztapalapa (Metropolitan Autonomous University-Iztapalapa) the students pertaining to the juvenile group of the dark scene (darketos, goticos, vampires) are usually seen in the spaces between the buildings while the kids from the Pastoral Cristiana normally are to be found singing in the green areas in front of building H belonging to Social Science and Humanities. Those who are involved in some kind of political activity are located at the entrance to the buildings and cafeteria and the gay group (lesbians, homosexuals) whose affective ties are very strong, wander around the teachers' offices and the academic-administrative areas.

Within the practices and expressions of this interplay inside and outs the school-university is the social use of drugs,[17] legal (alcohol and tobacco) as well as illegal (marijuana, cocaine, design) carried out by part of the student identities and juvenile cultures (and not only these).[18] Some of the parking lots at high schools, the National Polytechnical Institute, schools belonging to the Bachilleres system and other univeristys (UNAM, UAM, UACM, Ibero, ITAM, TEC de Monterrey) look like open bars, and some teachers' offices, with all due respect, look like the outside of bars where the regular patrons do not pay a cover charge.

The social consumption which part of the young people are involved in acquires a symbolic value. The drug is used for what it represents and what it means: a cultural accessory and artifact which favors group

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17 Such use is placed on the side of collective and symbolic values, and therefore we take distance from any interpretation of individual behavior of the discourse of health-illness and of the psychopatholization of this behavior.
18 It is well known that the use of legal and illegal drugs is also a social practice carried out by some academic authorities, workers and university professors, stated honestly and knowingly.

Sociocultural heterogeneity: school.

affiliation, be these high school or university students or a specific juvenile identity ad-scription, or both at the same time. Said con-sumption enters into the nuances of meaning with different values and senses than in the adult world (the experience of the body, for example). In accordance, it serves a identity recognition in the face of "the others", differ-ent one from another such as might be the professors (who as was previously mentioned in generic terms use quite a bit of alcohol and one drug or another, too).

For some of these young people the consumption of substances does not imply a problem although it may cause difficul-ties in inter-subjective relations and have an impact on their corporality, that is, de-spite that fact that the excessive use, espe-cially of cocaine, acids and ecstasy -design drugs, may wreak havoc. In adult world, consuming illegal substances such as what

is done by some young people, as well as school authorities and professors makes for serious difficulties, beyond school rules, challenging norms, values and morals, meaning within the way of thinking of mo-dernity in crisis: reason, order, productivity and efficiency.

The social use of illegal substance has two faces: demand, consumers with their matrix of meanings and offer, drug dealers. In the case of schools, we know that nar-coretail has penetrated the grounds, espe-cially, at secondary school and high schools levels. With respect to university spaces, there are other dynamics established by a new actor and young social subject in the drug market, the dealer.

Dealers are new figures at schools, poorer students and those belonging to what is left of the middle class who sell all kinds of drugs based on commercial and

"entrepreneurial" logic, which is translated into their concern for offering very good service, payment plans, and above all discretion and quality products as a way of surviving, of paying for his or her studies and every for economically helping out their families. From the plane of what it means to be a dealer, the value goes beyond what he or she obtains materially, and has a symbolic meaning: it gives the student social standing, certain prestige and status.

School and university space, in this interplay or inside towards outside, and outside toward inside, also acquires serer significant qualities. One of these is its expansion in time and the other its extension in the socio-cultural territory of student identities, that is to say, the social time of fund, parties, pleasure, usually starts on Thursday in it prolongation to places around the school and university, in cheap restaurants with all kinds of furnishings where they can drink beer and listen to music, houses adapted as bars, usually on second floors, places rented out like party rooms or warehouses, students rooms as discos (which are rented by out-of-state students) in which sociabilities take place along with the open social use of substances, legal as well as illegal. Something similar, though within another framework, rhythm and tone, happens with juvenile cultures in what is related to space for free time, leisure time and fun which extends and expands since it takes place on the weekend and begins even earlier, on Thursday, and in general ends on Monday when students have to return to school, go to work or come home or to their boarding house.

Third Narrative: corporal performativities, problems between young people and adults

Besides their student identity, what little is left for students, due to its symbolic and material value is school as a place for making groups and weaving adscriptions. Everything indicates that what little is possessed by juvenile cultures and left for them are their bodies. One of the territories and spaces in which tensions and conflicts between juvenile worlds and adult worlds is being played out is the sphere of corporal altering and decoration as well as the decisions to say yes to sexuality including abortion in the exercise of their rights on femininity and motherhood.[19] Let us listen to the following account by a young girl of 22, a student of graphic design from Durango, Mexico. "Our body is a means which allows us express and perceive sensations; it is like the wrapping of our soul."[20]

It is clear that juvenile bodies are a space and territory of relative decisions about whether and where fights for meaning and sense between juvenile worlds and adult worlds are being recycled, especially when part of the school authorities and teachers still do not understand, in most cases, the collective behavior and cultural expression of their students, be they men or women.

In the battle over juvenile bodies, there are various hermeneutic clues to understanding the imposition of power by the hegemonic cultures (adults) on the subordinate cultures (young people) in the face of lack of understanding to specific group answers and manifestations by its students, while the codes and matrixes of meaning of the adult worlds can go no further, they are empty of meaning and disqualified with respect to matrixes in the direction taken by juvenile worlds.

This battle has to do with control over ones' bodies and with the desire to impose

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19 In legislation, the Federal District is characterized by its progressive laws. A law which allows abortion under certain circumstances was passed on April 24, 2007.

20 Interview via Internet in two sessions on June 7 and 8, 2008, after a preliminary guide was sent.

determined codes and certain moral values in relation to the sexuality of young people due to a lack of understanding of new ways of living and experiencing it by some of those who make up student identities and juvenile cultures. The differentiated forms question the values and norms of certain adults such as "free" relationships, in which the kind of ties are designed depending on emotional states and the occasion; sexual couples at parties; open affective relations on weekends; sexual relations with someone of the same sex, men or women without questioning their auto-definition as heterosexuals; or in their eagerness to be seen and be popular with the other kids or other juvenile and school groups, oral sex is filmed using cellular phones in order to upload the images onto facebook, twitter and digital networks.

The other battle takes place and is played out in corporal changing and decorating, carried out by part of the young people who tend to redesign their aesthetics. This modification of the body is expressed by tattoos, piercings, incrustations and certain extreme alterations such as microsurgery to implant plaques of metal objects, in the approach to cyborg (body and technology. Let us again hear from the young university student from Durango, quoted in the previous footnote.

> I had a piercing for the first time when I was 18 (...) I removed it (...) because I couldn't stand the pressure and later, about a year later, I had it done again (...)

> Piercing is means that allows us to anchor a situation in our lives, either important or very disagreeable and to a certain extent, always have it present; this means is as valid expressions through painting or sculptures (...) It is worth mentioning that there are people who only do it because it is in fashion, which is also valid.

Such technologies of modifying the body are aimed at questioning dominant aesthetics head on, especially those which the adult worlds use to decorate their bodies, through cosmetology, permanent linings, surgery to alter the body (breast implants, liposuction, facial reconstruction and nose jobs, for example. See Elsa Muñiz, 2010 and 2011).

In school spaces and classrooms violence breaks out, on the one hand students against teachers and on the other, certain teachers against their students, since they try to impose a certain form of aesthetics based on traditions codes of being bodies in modernity: clean, neutral and without "strong or hard" modifications. This tension and conflicts, when badly resolved, lead to exercising symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 2000), through language and words: defamation, aggression and offenses which they hurl back and forth with material violence which takes place when a teacher pulls the pieces off of some part of the body, such as earrings off the earlobe or even from lips, situations which are unacceptable in public as well as private schools take place, blatantly violating the human rights of "the others".

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