The fears in times of crisis according to teachers and students of Argentina

Los miedos en tiempos de crisis según docentes y estudiantes de Argentina

Eduardo Langer
Deputy Researcher Conicet
UNSAM/UNPA
langereduardo@gmail.com
Código Orcid: https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7946-7129

Abstract

This paper address the meanings and the sense that secondary teachers and students of urban poverty schools in the suburbs of Buenos Aires (Argentina) assign to their fears in times of crisis. The goal is to describe the tensions between fear and hopes contained in those meanings and senses, whether inside or outside of the school context. The central question of this paper is how and why, despite living –and surviving– in a state of societal crisis which produces many fears in people, both teachers and students value the school as useful, and have hopes about their education and training, and also about their future. The paper answers to this question within the framework of a multiple research methods process which includes interviews and in-depth observations to students and teachers; audiovisual productions in a secondary school; and action and intervention with all secondary schools of the San Martin District of Buenos Aires. The results of the discussion are that in spite of the fears, the uncertainty, and the dis-orientation that seems to prevail in the school; teachers and students also have hopes, wishes, dreams, and projects, even in conditions where it seems there is no place for them.

Keywords

Fears, crisis, school, teachers, students, poverty.

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Resumen

En este artículo se propone trabajar sobre los sentidos que docentes y estudiantes de escuelas secundarias en contextos de pobreza urbana del conurbano de Buenos Aires (Argentina) dan a los miedos en tiempos de crisis. El objetivo es caracterizar las tensiones de esos sentidos entre miedos y esperanzas de adultos y jóvenes, dentro y fuera de la escuela. El interrogante que se propone trabajar es cómo y por qué a pesar de (sobre) vivir en una sociedad en crisis y que produce múltiples miedos, tanto docentes como estudiantes otorgan valor y utilidad a la escuela, tienen esperanzas en la formación y en el futuro. Se propone abordar esta pregunta en el marco de una investigación en la cual se realiza una propuesta metodológica múltiple en la que se realizan entrevistas y observaciones en profundidad con estudiantes y docentes, producciones audiovisuales en una escuela secundaria y por último a través de resultados de una acción de extensión en la que se trabaja con todas las escuelas secundarias del partido de San Martín. Los resultados que el artículo muestra es que a pesar de los miedos, las incertidumbres y la desorientación que, muchas veces, parece imperar en la escuela, hay docentes y estudiantes que además tienen esperanzas, deseos, sueños y proyectos aún en condiciones que no dejan lugar para ello.

Palabras clave

Miedos, crisis, escuela, profesores, estudiantes, pobreza.

Introduction

> "Fear of the crowd, fear of loneliness, fear of what was and what can be, fear of dying, fear of living" (Galeano, 2010).

Galeano (2010) describes global fear, to the crowd and loneliness, what was and what will be, the fear of dying and living, the fear of those who work to lose their jobs and those who do not work find never work. We are living in "times of fear" (Bauman, 2014, p. 11) and in a society that is produced through the fear of others, of those from outside and inside, which varies according to fears from before and from those who can come.

In this article we propose to work on the meanings that teachers and students of secondary schools in urban poverty contexts of the suburbs of

Buenos Aires (Argentina) give to fears in times of crisis.[1] The fears are those with which the subjects face both outside and inside the school and at the same time motorize the hopes in the world in general and in that of education in particular. If fear paralyzes, immobilizes and stops, here we hold that it also mobilizes, generates and produces. The central hypothesis that we will develop is that despite the uncertainty and the disorientation that often seems to prevail in the school, the political and normative contradictions[2], the twists and turns, fears, anguish and losses, we find teachers and students who, besides talking about and having fears, also have hopes, wishes, dreams and projects even in conditions that leave no room for it. From the meanings offered daily by students and teachers, the school continues to be a space for interpretation and integration, project structuring and life expectancy. There they can think and think through recourse to feelings such as love, loneliness and the anguish that comes from repeatedly encountering paths with no way out or from the negative views of others. This article proposes to characterize the tensions that are in those meanings, in the stories of their difficulties and their hopes inside and outside the school.

The meanings described here are considered as not individual or personal, as Deleuze (1994) says, but rather they are the emissions of the singularities that are the true transcendental events and that preside over the genesis of individuals and people, as well as the sense "would then be irreducible to the states of individual things, and to particular images, and to personal beliefs, and to universal and general concepts" (p.20). Here we stop at the displacements of the meanings (Barthes, 1981), that is, those meanings in their specific dynamics in schools that express personal and general beliefs about fears and evaluations in times of crisis, exclusion and/or unemployment. If people are the ones who experience fears, it is society that constructs them and generates standardized response modes according to different historical periods. Therefore, according to Reguillo (2000), fears are always an experience individually experienced, socially constructed and culturally shared.

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1 When we mention the notion of crisis, we think about Argentina's crisis periods as it was, for example, 2001, and we also take the notion in broad terms to think about the social, economic, labor and educational transformations that are taking place in the country since a few decades ago.

2 We refer to the disorientations and contradictions resulting from the successive educational reforms of the country in the 70s, 80s, 90s and 2000s that leave the subjects in situations of fragility and loneliness. For a development of these disorientations and contradictions that develop in the education system (see Grinberg and Langer, 2014).

Some of the answers that will be worked on here are directed, returning to Deleuze (2005), the powers of life and the ways of living and being, the meanings about fears, worries, fears as well as the wishes of the subjects in condition of poverty. The central question that is proposed to work is how and why in spite of (over) living in a society in crisis, without work or with very precarious jobs, and despite there being deep fears in these conditions, both teachers and students give value and usefulness to the school, they have hopes in the formation and in the future that can come to come. It is proposed to address this question in the framework of an investigation[3] in which a qualitative and multiple methodological proposal is made in which in-depth interviews were conducted with teachers and students of the secondary level, as well as observations in an audiovisual workshop[4] that has been carried out since the 2008 to the present in a secondary school of the *partido* of San Martin and finally through results of an action of extension in which it works with all the secondary schools of the *partido* of San Martin[5].

State of the issue about fears in times of crisis

We refer to fears in times of crisis focusing attention on contexts of urban poverty that are developed by the emergence of settlements and slums[6]. There the precariousness of housing tenure is the norm that prevails since the last decades of the twentieth century. This is because statistics

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3   In the framework of CEDESI (Center for Studies on Inequality, Subjects and Institutions) of the National University of San Martín, Province of Buenos Aires, Argentina, interviews were conducted with students and teachers from eight secondary schools according to georeferencing criteria and based on a socio-geographic vulnerability index of schools from 2011 to the present.

4   The workshop "is a space that aims to produce audiovisuals by students in order to promote situations of thought and problematization of reality through documentary realization, while generating debates and exchanges of neighborhood issues in the school space "(Carpentieri, Dafunchio, Langer, Machado, 2015, p. 1). The workshop is carried out from 2008 to the present, once a week, with secondary school students between 12 and 19 years of age from a school located a few blocks from two shantytowns of the Metropolitan Area of Buenos Aires and that in each year It ends with the production of short documentaries. Here are some brief snippets of some of them.

5   We refer to the Fair of Human and Social Sciences and the Festival of Audiovisual Shorts for all the secondary schools of the Partido de San Martín organized by the National University of San Martín, which I am coordinating. For more information see http://www.unsam.edu.ar/escuelas/humanidades/I-Feria/

6   It is a form that in Argentina is used to denominate to degraded territories in which the services of light, water, sewage and gas are very precarious as well as the construction of the houses that there are being installed

show that the worst victims and affected by the multiple processes of violence and, therefore, by the fears that are generated, are the poor. Even more exposed than anyone else are the young inhabitants of marginal neighborhoods (Rotker, 2000). The neighborhoods in which the present research is carried out and the extension actions, grew in the heat of the processes of impoverishment and precarization of the "liminal" population (Foucault, 2006) that is not exclusive of our territory but of all the big cities from Latin America.[7]

This type of misery is not new. Neither is the relationship between poverty and fear. In fact, Duby (1995) recounts its appearance in the twelfth century in the suburbs of cities where "the uprooted" are piled up (p.25) and how the fear of it is formed. But what did not exist is "the appalling loneliness of the miserable we see in our days" (p 27) by certain aid mechanisms that avoided, in that society, the terrible misery we know today. There was no exclusion of a part of society, "it was very poor, but together with others" (Duby, 1995, p. 28). At the same time, scarcity was for governments the event that should be avoided centrally for a number of reasons, but the most important was revolt (Foucault, 2006).

Today this comes into tension and the issue is that governments, whether from Argentina or almost anywhere else in the Latin American region, no longer impede scarcity, stop it, eradicate it or prevent it. If the most feared fact that people revolt is no longer prevented, with Foucault (2006) we ask ourselves "How are things (...) when we try to dismantle that system?" (P.50). The current fears point out and make responsible those who rebel, through them the "poor" is blamed for their fate. Therefore, there is a transfer of the fears of the rulers to the subjects themselves. If in ancient societies the rich were afraid of the poor because they were too numerous and disturbing (Duby, 1995, p. 46), today that threshold was exceeded. What happens today? In any case, this article tries to describe those transformations from the level of discourses in the school world and how those changes have as a strategy to intimidate, that is to say "instill fear, take exemplary measures, intimidate. Act, as it is said in such expressive terms, about the white population, which is mobile, disintegrating, uncertain, and which could one day become disturbing: unemployed young people, university students, secondary students "(Foucault, 2012, p. 205). Here, the relationship between crisis, fears and schooling from this theoretical

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7   See a more exhaustive development of the research site, see Langer (2016).

perspective becomes relevant. In any case, describing fears at present allows us to understand the new ways of inhabiting the world in general and the school in particular, they are expression of a generalized cultural anguish that comes from several factors (Barbero, 2000) that we will synthesize next some from them.

The existence of fears of the internal and permanent dangers of society, such as crime or crimes, following Foucault (2014), is one of the conditions of acceptability of the control system. Therefore, this explains why in the media space is granted as much as if it were a novelty every new day. Thus, fear occurs and is updated in the very event of the exercise of power (Useche Aldana, 2012). In fact, political regimes have resorted to fear as an instrument for the domination of privileged groups over those relegated (Korstanje, 2010). The hypothesis is that a society with fear is plausible to be dominated, implies submission, exclusion and injustice.

What is fear? Following Bauman (2014), fear is uncertainty of the future, even for Useche Aldana (2012) sharpens the deterioration of coexistence modes, results in an accelerated and widespread degradation of the treatment of conflicts between human beings, leads to mistrust of everything and everyone, establishes a wide field of nonsense, can be expressed in the incubation of violent outbursts. Fear is a force that dramatizes the passions, which hinders or enhances the ways of acting, fractures or consolidates trust, makes it difficult to recognize the other and social relations of solidarity. Fear, for Croce (2005), is a mechanism whose main consequence is to "paralyze", it is about "not moving" from the situation in which it finds, "fear is a very powerful mechanism regarding the actions of people" (p.84). Fear in current societies, especially any of the large Latin American cities, is manifested in the extensive capillarity of the social body through "the fears of being poor, being excluded, losing your life, becoming unemployed or being sick by Emerging epidemics, perhaps not counting on one's family or the disappearance of parents, in short there are different fears "(Salazar Pérez, 2011, p. 25). There is a fear of old age and youth, of men and women, of violence and peace, of death and life, of hunger, of crowds and of loneliness. We live in a world that promotes fear and States are proactive agents that move on that ship (Salazar Pérez, 2011). This social fear justifies the look of danger (Kaplan, 2012), fundamentally of young people in poverty. Hence, one of the central fears is, precisely, not being able to control the energies of the youth that operates as a backdrop both outside and inside the school.

It is from here that we sustain that the production of a society with fears at the present time develops hand in hand with the processes of labor, economic, political, social and, also, educational crises. We refer to the crisis of society in general and also the crisis of the wage society in particular throughout the region. These crises involve transformations: the destruction of the idea of the world of work as an integrating element of life, the lack of protection and insecurity or of a social question to a question of insecurity (Castel, 2004), subjective changes and identities of the subjects towards the "Nothing in the long term" (Sennett, 2000, p. 64). Crises agitate us, dislocate us, push us, subject us, disrupt our lives and, as if that were not enough, make us feel guilty of "our failure" (Sennett, 2000). In this framework, the fears and uncertainties of young people and adults are a permanent aspect of the problem to understand the process of displacement of social conflict towards the same individuals. These fears, we hold as hypothesis, are deployed with greater force in the educational systems of the entire region because it is from where we must give answers to a population that is second or third generation unemployed and that at the same time may never have access to a stable employment.

Therefore, here it is proposed to describe the forms that acquire the fears in the school daily life and the meanings that from there express hope to break the inexorable destinies in contexts of urban poverty. From our perspective, fears release, following Reguillo (2000), a type of energy that tends to constitute a defense against the perceived threat, react to these threats through differential expectations in the subjects. Therefore, there is no fear without hope, nor hope without fear (Useche Aldana, 2012). In fact, Spinoza (1980) already defined fear in relation to hope. We do not believe that, as Bauman (2014) says, fears take over entirely from expectations. Without a doubt, the subjects in poverty face the humiliations in which they live (Benjamin, 1987). In this sense, fears are not only a way of feeling and talking about the world, it is also a way of acting (Reguillo, 2000) because each fear produces some responses. Through fears, the population acts with caution in its future and clinging to signs of the past (Salazar Pérez, 2011).

Therefore, to dispel fears involves actions, relationships and interactions of exchange, confrontation, listening as is what we will describe between teachers and students in the school day. We argue, that these relationships and exchanges become a political issue. The possibilities of sharing fears between teachers and students entail political words to go beyond the

determinisms that conditions and places of life that are marking. Making visible the political dimension of fear, as Reguillo (2000) says, is a crucial issue in our time because, as we continue below, many times they work as possibilities to think about what is coming. It is there where the school becomes a place where both young and old can think and problematize their lives, can put words and hope forward.

Analysis of the results: the meanings about fears in schools

The compulsory nature of the secondary level in Argentina is a right that expands towards the popular sectors during the last decade, specifically with the new educational reform carried out in 2006[8]. That is, sectors that previously did not enter the school now entered. And in a society that is oversensitized by the problems of violence or insecurity, following Croce (2005), the fears move towards the educational system because prejudices lead to conceive these young people who are first generation of entrants as potential criminals . There is "fear for the institutional consequences of inclusion. Many managers are afraid that the inclusion of young people with problems can cause good kids to leave school or that some parents of good families react against their lack of authority" (Croce, 2005, p. 85). Undoubtedly, the "fear of exclusion" is a global process (Bauman, 2014, p. 31) and it is from there that the mandate for inclusion in secondary school, as a recipe that come from international organizations for countries in development as Latin Americans, joins the ship of fears in times of crisis. This may be one of the main and permanent discussions that take place in the schools, even more so when faced with periods of educational reform, as formulated by a director:

> I am not afraid of the crisis. On the contrary, the crisis gives you challenges of how do you overcome the crisis? If you are all tight, do not believe anything. Always apply the same game, the same tactic and give the same result. Do not believe, the crisis makes you create. I'm not afraid to talk about the school being in crisis. If it is for growth, I welcome the crisis. I am not afraid of the crisis. We have made a change here in a school of economics, and now have economy, natural, communication, with a transformation in

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8   We refer to the National Education Law No. 26.206 of 2006.

subjects, teachers who changed their workload and subjects and are still in school. And the fear was of losing the laburo. They were inside (Director, secondary school, José León Suárez, San Martín, Province of Buenos Aires, May 2014).

The first association, as we have been insisting, is between fears and crises. Immediately, the director thinks about his improvement. He perceives and experiences the crisis of the school, but at the same time he thinks of it as a challenge through creativity and the transformation of what was. In any case, this is the argument of this text, precisely, the association fears, crisis and the possibilities of overcoming through the hopes, the answers, the actions of the subjects in the schools. In the formulation of the fears, following Reguillo (1996), the opposition between the before and the now is clear from the director's speech. From this point of view, there is no distinction between the inside and the outside of the school which, in contrast, does happen when inquiring with young people about what defines and constitutes current fears. They "leave" outside the school to be able to explain them, as they appear in these two observation records:

> [A student writes first the word "fears" on the blackboard, in the central part of it. Then he writes what defines him and constitutes]: "economic crisis, crime, street, future, death, illness, work, natural disasters, family problems" (Observation record, secondary school, Villa Ballester[9], San Martín, Province of Buenos Aires Aires, August 2017).

The young person locates the fears in terms external to the school. They predate it, but he thinks them from the institution. That which generates more fear of everything he wrote on the blackboard are economic crises, as he says:

> The economic crises because we can stay in poverty and staying in poverty we would have to start living on the street, we would not have a future, there would be many diseases, there would be no work, we would have many family problems because when generating few things there will be problems with people who want it and what they do not want. What scares me the

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9   Although this school is located in Villa Ballester, a place where a population that can be considered from middle socioeconomic sectors lives, the school receives population that moves from the periphery, such is the student who thinks about the fears of the quote.

most is the economic crises. What makes me less afraid is death. It reaches all people at some point. That is what gives me the least fear (Student, male, Villa Ballester, San Martín, Province of Buenos Aires, August 2017).

Just as the director of the previous quote made the association fears and crisis, here the student manifests the same relationship justifying how with crisis what is produced is more poverty, less future, less work and more family problems. And this contrasts it with something natural like death. Something that can happen to everyone at some point. Fears occur in the face of crises because it is something unnatural and that, in any case, can be avoided. Young people as well as teachers try to denaturalize fears, crises and their ways of being in the world and in school.

Through these ways of desacralizing the abject and denaturalizing the natural, in the young people of another school they set themselves the objective of recognizing in the local urban space the material transformations resulting from the economic, social and cultural changes in the context of the crisis of the last decades to the present. There, the students identified decadent, new and refunctionalized sites and thought about those contexts through: "Lack of work, disintegration, worry, lack of opportunity, inequality, discrimination, class difference" (Class Observation Record), secondary school, Loma Hermosa, San Martín, Province of Buenos Aires, September 2017).

Again, the axis places it in the structural variables that make and produce inequality in today's society and that they live on a daily basis. They are young people living the effects of the bankruptcy of a large part of the factories in the area. The party of San Martin, called "the city of industry", is dismantled and it is the families of the young people and themselves who suffer and are being affected by these processes. Unemployment, underemployment and occupation in flexible conditions, caused the deterioration of working class neighborhoods and the growth of precarious settlements, contributing to the gentrification (Glass, 1964) of these places. In this way, the fears arise, from these meanings, more than with the reduction of the State, with its transformation in the forms of government and the loss of centrality that the public entity had in society (Salazar Pérez, 2011, p. 31). The market does not usurp the role of the State, but it gives it more space and thus feeds the source of uncertainty and fear that is marked as a bar code trace in the subjects of the 21st century. In this framework, relations between teachers

and students occur, marked by fears of each other, by fears of others, by fears of what may happen, as a teacher says:

> The children perceive how we get up, how we are, how we talk, if we hesitate ... They ... Like dogs. Did you see that a dog attacks you when it perceives that you are afraid? Well, the boys are a bit like that. They perceive all that. How do you move in the classroom? How long it takes to get your things inside the bag, how long it takes to write the book of topics. You are giving the boy a better chance of doing what he wants. That is, they are things that you as a teacher have to administer. Your time, their time, the knowledge you want to convey (Teacher, secondary school, José León Suárez, San Martín, Province of Buenos Aires, August 2016).

Thus, schooling develops in constant tension between past, present and future fears. Fears account for the confrontations more than the meetings in the classroom. Precisely, the daily tension is between that "doing what you want" of the student and how "you want to transmit the knowledge" of the teacher. The fears and/or fears may be the center of what happens there, of the schooling currently in contexts of urban poverty. Thus, a group of students asks a group of their teachers "What were your fears during adolescence?" Faced with this question, teachers tell them about their fears, but at the same time they talk to them and set an example to their students. They know that they are listening to them and at the same time producing a short film[10]. There is no confrontation but encounter. One of the teachers answers:

> Today probably the fears are others. (...) There is always the fear of making decisions. It is not so easy to say ... well to respect dreams. To respect what one feels. Finding what one feels is not easy. It is not at all easy to make a decision. And say what I'm going to do with my life. (...) Many times you are afraid of doing certain things. And sometimes you have to beat it. (...) I think one has to try not to be afraid. To respect their own desires, to play for something they think is worthwhile and that is very important because when you take away that possibility then they take away the possibility of having a good life (Teacher, high school, Villa Maipú, Partido de San Martín, province of Buenos Aires, September 2016).

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10 Short audiovisual presented within the framework of the 1st Fair of Human and Social Sciences of the UNSAM in 2016.

Contextualize fears in the first place. And then, he talks about the fears he had in his teens. Fears to make decisions or to respect dreams. Immediately, locate the improvement or the possibility of going beyond them to have a good life. And it is precisely these ways of life that account for the general forms and not of individual or particular situations, the conditions to which teachers and students are accustomed to live and deal with every day of their lives in contexts of urban poverty. Although we could think that to some degree they constitute "barriers to education" (Salvia, 2008, p. 1197), in conditions, also, as we said, it is these same conditions that allow them to continue thinking about the possibilities of school and, therefore, in their life chances through, as Deleuze (2009) says, their desiring production. Faced with the current social and educational reality, the challenge is placed on the question of the possibility: the possibility of living, the possibility of what to do, as the teacher said in his story, the possibility of producing knowledge that recognizes the place of the subjects not captured by their negativity but by their potentiality, the possibility of forming identities. The teacher locates fear and its improvement in the field of possibility. But this group of teachers interviewed by their own students go further and differentiate the individual fears of the collectives and locate these fears in relation to the imprint in people and their training processes:

> We have to differentiate between the individual fears we all have. In my case I believe that the greatest fear is death or a disease that cannot be overcome and that makes you unable to do everything you want to do. And then there are the collective fears that have to do with the times, that's why they keep changing. So, one thing is the collective fear in the dictatorship that if you ran from the norm you paid with your life. And that leaves an imprint. And it leaves a type of formation in the people that lived that time that is quite different from those that happened others. But then there were other times that also generated terrible fear. In 2001, for example, people were afraid of losing their jobs. And those who were unemployed could not survive. Not to be able to subsist. That is why there are collective fears and individual fears (Teacher, secondary school, Villa Maipú, Partido de San Martín, Province of Buenos Aires, September 2016).

The teacher, like the other teacher, contextualizes these "collective fears" in relation to the time. The fears of the dictatorship are not the same as those of moments of crisis like in 2001 or when work is lost. Fears bring

suffering to those who perceive it (Salazar Pérez, 2011) and those fears that are changing leave an identity imprint, according to the teacher who is responsible for differentiating individual, more personal fears, from those that are the product of social situations or collective.

By listening to young people about what they have to say about their lives in their neighborhoods and schools, about their present and future lives, about their present and future fears, unlike teachers, their fears appear in relation to their own lives, to be left alone, to violence or to have or not future, as they say:

> To be left with my son alone and to be left without my mom.

> I am afraid of being kidnapped and force to prostitute myself. And that they rape you because me and leave a mark in life.

> Have a future that is not equal to how you thought or anything (Students, wo-men, audiovisual workshop in high school, Jose Leon Suarez, Partido de San Martín, Province of Buenos Aires, 2011, "Things as we see them[11]").

Fears assume the face of any student and teacher in any Latin American city or even the world, they relocate. Thus, staying alone, kidnapping and trafficking, having a future different from the one imagined are the three specific fears that occur in students of the Buenos Aires suburbs but who could be students from anywhere. Fears that are different and worked differently with respect to teachers. These positions that, at present, young students assume in relation to fears in different ways, are without a doubt, a way of resisting the idea that reality is not discussed or transformed. Nobody can tell you where to go and how to get there, or at least they feel and say that. We return to the idea they feel and can see paths even if they do not know how they are going to do it. Those meanings about life in general and school in particular no longer anticipate the inevitability of destiny, failure, but are struggles against that inevitability. Faced with these struggles of the students, the teachers place the fears in direct relation to the dreams and the possibilities of facing them to overcome them and be able to fulfill them:

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11   Audiovisual production that can be seen at https://vimeo.com/29752122

It is very important to overcome fears for the realization of dreams considering that it is the challenge. The challenge just to fight for what you want and that sometimes you are not as much fear as limits that you put yourself. Then you start to say I can not do this. This is not for me. Because I was once, I was wrong twice. Did not pass such a test. Or do not try it out of fear that it will go wrong. That is what must be overcome. That must be overcome because there is nothing worse than looking back in time and saying I did not do this out of fear, I did not do this because I did not encourage myself. Because you look back and say that fool I lost the chance to risk myself. Then if it goes wrong or you cannot do it is another thing. But you tried. So you do not have the bitter taste that you have left pending in the agenda. And that life is short so you have to try to do everything you want (teacher, high school, Villa Maipu, partido de San Martin, Province of Buenos Aires, September 2016).

The teacher is the one who speaks to students about overcoming fears to fulfill dreams, fight for what you want, try to face those limits imposed on you from the outside. Fear is associated with dreams and challenges. If there is something that characterizes our times of crisis, it is precisely to fight to overcome the fears, to overcome them, to take risks, as these two other professors affirm:

But I still followed, I did not care. In other words, dreams are good to have, it's good to fight for them, get them and overcome fears. That is the most important thing (Director, September 8, 2016, High School, Villa Maipú, partido de San Martín).

At present and the truth is that fears have to be faced. Day to day. Every day you have to face them and not lose the opportunity to say this I could not do it out of fear. You do not have to be paralyzed. We must continue (Teacher, secondary school, Villa Maipú, partido de San Martín, Province of Buenos Aires, September 2016).

Also, as the teacher of the previous quote said, the overcoming of fears comes from the hand of crossing the limits that social prejudices install, as suggested by this other teacher:

Do not be afraid of what you feel, because in my case music or art is not something that is highly valued in society today. Maybe someone wants to study to be an actor, the theater career, and then they tell you that you are going

to study the acting career and then they tell you what are you going to work on? (Teacher, audiovisual workshop in high school, José León Suárez, "I will give you a pencil to write your future[12]", 2014).

This teacher associates the overcoming of fears for what one feels and desires in contrast to social evaluations and places the question in the utility and social function that each formation has in each social context. From these meanings, the debate is opened about what type of knowledge prevails and which are prioritized in the school and how the transmission of this knowledge takes place inside and outside the classroom, taking into account how the fears or fears of the times that we live are permeating our identity formations. In any case, what we want to do here following the criticism made by the teacher is to challenge those discourses and theories -such as human capital- that think only the instrumental sense of education, the social utility of training and therefore the degree of assessment of knowledge. In this way, teachers perceive that students assume the few guarantees that society offers them for their lives, visualizing an unstable path towards their adulthood, marked by the threat of violence, unemployment and poverty.

> The problems that I perceive at the level of the boys is a lot of lack of affection. A lot of lack of affection. They go to school unconsciously or consciously to look for what they lack. Not having confidence with anyone to be able to speak them. Being afraid, the fear of doing something, do you understand? that could harm them in their health or that could end up marking them as ... "Uh look what he did, he does not have a heart". I notice them quite ... as they say when you do not have any hope. When you do not trust yourself (...) They are extremely frightened, they feel incapable, and I told them that there is no worse failure than not trying. The issue is not to give up, the issue is that they know they are capable. Obviously, they were born in a place where things are defended differently. Do you understand? They defend to: we are going to stop and this is mine, and you do not take it (Teacher, Woman, School of San Andrés, Party of San Martín, Province of Buenos Aires, October of 2016).

Being afraid, not searching, not trusting, not being able, being scared is what characterizes the young forces inside and outside of school. The theme for this teacher - and here I want to risk saying for young people living in

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12   Audiovisual production that can be seen at https://vimeo.com/29752122

urban poverty - is to try, not give up, defend. As has been maintained, these conditions always involve tensions, cracks and possibilities of desire. In their stories, teachers give a prominent place to both the feared and expected for dreams and desires. And it is in this sense that we meet daily with students who express what they want and expect in their future. A longing that at times seems to be despair, disenchant and momentarily has a hopeful thrust that surprises. It would seem that there are things that worry them a lot and they are encouraged to show them and to show themselves next to them. There are topics that excite and passion. Perhaps, they are not necessarily relevant issues from the point of view of the modern school space. They bet defending their rights to be in schools as well as to project a different future in their neighborhood. They demand to be equal, as a student told us "why do we have to be silent? We have the same rights ", in a world that condemns them. They do not forget the difficulties they face on a daily basis, they know that these bets are difficult in their living conditions. We meet the "I would like", "dream" and "I want". These concerns again put in tension the discourse that weighs on these social groups.

Young people are not "limited" to think negatively about their future world, but also see their possibilities. Nothing or nobody prevents them from having hopes, dreams, projects. In spite of all the fears that circulate around them, these positions that, at present, young students assume, in different ways, is, without a doubt, a way of resisting the idea that reality is not discussed nor is it transformed. The students with whom we meet are subjects that appear "in the order of another temporality, future, imaginary and not tangible that their efforts are meant in the present in their link with the school" (Redondo, 2004, p. 122). They are students who, as Deleuze (2008) says, resist "the present, not for a return, but for, I hope, a future time, that is, turning the past into something active and present outside, so that Finally, something new arises, so that thinking always takes place in thought "(p. 155).

Conclusions

The relationship of fears, crises and schooling have particularities to explore and continue to do in terms of the daily dynamics that take place in schools in the context of urban poverty in Argentina. This is because this

relationship expresses many of the singularities of current school problems as well as social problems. Fears, following Salazar Pérez (2011), must be studied, explained, modified and "even annulled in order to think about a better society" (p 27).

As described in the text, there are many fears and when these fears are assumed within the school space, evicting them is not the concern of others but is the teachers themselves along with their students. As Salazar Pérez (2011) says:

> Each attempt to put the fight on the street, reveal it in the eyes of others, link it with other affected actors, invite self-conveners, assume rebellion as a priority objective of the subject is the platform for fears to fly and leave the collective subconscious and just that episode fear the great potentates of the world, they are frightened and burdened with fear when those below say enough is enough (p.30).

In any case, the daily task that teachers are assuming with their students is to dislodge these fears through the imprints that the school can have, through the relationships and the formation processes that take place there, as hopes and forms of structure future dreams, to empower and enable the construction of better futures that living conditions are demarcating.

In this journey, we mark some differences and similarities between the generations. Young people more than adults in schools think and contextualize fears from outside the institutions. Another difference between them is that teachers think about individual and collective fears more explicitly than students. However, although we encounter students who think and relate their fears in relation, fundamentally, to their own lives, they also relate to crisis processes. Thus, students as teachers try to denaturalize fears, crises and their ways of being in the world and in school.

Finally, we also want to think about the relationship between fear and subjectivity, or the particular ways in which the subjectivity of individuals is produced to face the environment, with its doubts, uncertainties and fears (Useche Aldana, 2012). Fears develop new forms of subjectivity (Rotker, 2000) and it is these fear policies that produce frightening experiences that constantly update uncertainties and affect the bodies of both students and teachers who suffer somatizing more and more frequently. Fears have the power to affect individuals through individual and collective anxieties, permanent threats, the feeling of loneliness and distrust (Useche Aldana,

2012). Therefore, the power of the bodies are diminished and, as Salazar Pérez (2011) says, fear "sows risks in the subjectivity of human collectives" (page 32). But fundamentally what we observe is that the fears of young people and adults in the school no longer anticipate the inevitability of the destinies, they do not entail failure, but they are struggles against that inevitability, struggles that become a task for the whole life facing its roots (Bauman, 2014) and involve reactions and responses to uprooting because they are struggles against injustice and various forms of exclusion (Barbero, 2000). The meanings that teachers and students produce about fears are realized together with the possibilities of facing them, overcoming them and insisting in order to fulfill their own dreams and desires, they ask themselves, as Rotker (2000) says, by the ways of how to overcome them, " from body to body or from body to body "(p.22).

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