Contents

List of Illustrations xi
Series Editor’s Preface xiii
Anthony Green
Acknowledgments xxix

Introduction: Exploring the Role of Education and the Pedagogical in Pathways to Twenty-First-Century Socialism in Latin America 1
Sara C. Motta

Part I  On the Philosophies, Theories and Histories of Emancipatory Education in Latin America

1 Naming the World: Situating Freirean Pedagogics in the Philosophical Problematic of Nuestra América 17
Jon L. Mansell

2 Marxism and Popular Education in Latin America 35
Liam Kane

3 On the Pedagogical Turn in Latin American Social Movements 53
Sara C. Motta

Part II  Education Struggles and/in Left Governments

4 Nicaragua: Deprivatizing Education, the Citizen Power Development Model and the Construction of Socialism in the Twenty-First Century 71
Thomas Muhr
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>A Critical Theoretical Perspective on Education and Social Change in Bolivia: A Contested Alternative Pedagogy</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Mieke T. A. Lopes Cardozo</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Epistemic Independence Struggles: A Comparative Analysis of Two Indigenous Universities in Peru and Ecuador</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Lenin Arturo Valencia Arroyo</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Education for the Creation of a New Venezuela</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Francisco Dominguez</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Hugo Chávez, Social Democracy and Twenty-First-Century Socialism in Venezuela: An Alternative to the Neoliberal Model</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Mike Cole</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Interlude: Some, Our Leaves of Fall</strong></td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Angela Martinez Dy</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Part III Education and Pedagogy from Below</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Movement Methodologies and Transforming Urban Space</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Jennifer L. Martinez</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Which Education for Which Democracy?: The Case of the Penguins’ Revolution in Chile</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Ivette Hernandez Santibañez</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Experiential and Relational Dimensions in the Pedagogical Practice of Solidarity Economy: Insights from Brazil</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Ana Margarida Esteves</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Colombia: Education and Gender Equity in Context</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Glory Rigueros Saavedra</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Cali’s Women in Collective Crossing for Three Worlds: Popular Education, Feminisms and Nonviolence for the Expansion of the Present, Memory and for Nurturing Life</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Norma Lucia Bermúdez</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CONTENTS

Conclusion: The Current Crisis in Capitalism and the Role of Education  261
  Mike Cole

List of Contributors  267

Index  271
Introduction: Exploring the Role of Education and the Pedagogical in Pathways to Twenty-First-Century Socialism in Latin America

Sara C. Motta

The horizons of political imagination and practice in Latin America are expanding as witnessed by the election to power of governments to the Left such as Chávez in Venezuela, Morales in Bolivia, Correa in Ecuador and Ortega in Nicaragua and the emergence of a plethora of popular social movements that are contesting and creating alternatives to neoliberal capitalism. In the praxis of this reinvention of emancipatory popular politics the role of education and the pedagogical are central (see also Motta, 2014a, b, c). We are using “pedagogical” in its wide sense here to refer not just to teaching methods but also to an articulation of educational aims and processes in social, ethical and affective as well as cognitive terms.

Struggles over education policy are concrete sites of contestation over development models, cosmologies, and alternatives to capitalism. Educational policy and practice is a space where new forms of mass intellectuality and engaged critical scholarship connected to the realities of marginalized and excluded communities are emerging, and movements are developing both informal and formal pedagogies of everyday life, which expand the practice of social and political change. They also create multiple pedagogical innovations that forge alternatives in the here and now. Arguably the politics of knowledge—who controls the production of knowledge, what is considered knowledge, how that knowledge is produced and who that knowledge is for—is a central political problematic in the struggle for alternatives to capitalism in the twenty-first century.

Situating this politics of knowledge within its philosophical context is an important task in our engagement with, and ability to learn from, these struggles for social and political alternatives. For
it enables the framing of these processes through the lens of a distinctly Latin American philosophical tradition. This tradition, as Jon Mansell in chapter 1 in this volume argues, speaks from the position of exteriority/margins and in opposition to the epistemological politics of capitalism and colonialism. He develops this analysis through a contextual situating of Paulo Freire’s *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* suggesting that this enables us to better understand the centrality of the ethical and the embodied as foundations of liberatory pedagogical practice.

We can therefore read the emergence and development of traditions of popular education, the praxis of critical scholars such as Freire, and the everyday pedagogical construction enacted by educators, movements and communities in struggle as paradigmatic of the forging of a distinct Latin American tradition. It is in the praxis of new popular forces be they social movements or leftist governments that a theoretical and philosophical renovation and revolution is unfolding (see Mignolo for a similar analysis in relation to Zapatismo, 2002). This is a praxis in which those historically silenced and spoken over by dominant articulations of theory, political power and political categorization appear on the historical and political stage as political subjects. Their praxis therefore presents a profound assertion of the ways in which the creation of alternatives to capitalist coloniality is deeply pedagogical and how these pedagogies enable the uniting of education with everyday life, theory with practice, the private with public and the mind with the body.

This philosophical situating of the key thematic of this collection also indicates the importance of historiography in our understanding and analysis of the role of education in processes of social transformation in the region. As it is argued in chapter 8 of this volume, it is important to make a distinction between education as a liberatory process on the one hand and schooling to reproduce and ideologically sustain compliant workers, on the other. The former describes the actualities of educational practice in the countries under discussion in this book; the latter the realities of practice in the capitalist heartlands. Liam Kane in chapter 2 in this volume engages with history through opening a dialogue between popular education as practiced in Latin America and Marxism of the twentieth century. He therefore creates a bridge between those on the exteriority of Latin America and those on the exteriority in the West who produced critical theorizations out of their experiences of revolutionary and popular struggle. Kane’s contribution foregrounds the importance to not essentialize the political and pedagogical praxis of Latin American popular
politics but rather create a double and reciprocal reading of Marxism through popular education and popular education through Marxism. In this, he spotlights the tensions and the resonances between these traditions and suggests ways forward through which Marxism might learn from popular education.

Of particular salience is a questioning of the need for intellectual vanguards and rather a focus on the collective construction of knowledge by the oppressed and excluded in relation to their lived experience; the need to open from a monological and universalistic conceptualization of revolutionary strategy and revolutionary subjects toward engagement with multiplicity and plurality in strategies and subjects; and the importance to not only focus on the content of theory for social transformation but also the way that that theory is produced. As Mignolo continues: “Thus it is not about thinking ‘theories’ that help us to understand ‘reality,’ but to find theory in and through reality.”

Such analysis raises important questions in relation to the differences between twentieth-century socialism (20 cs) and twenty-first-century socialism (21 cs) and the political categories that are relevant and able to engage meaningfully with such struggles.

At this point, it is important to make a distinction between 20 cs and 21 cs.

Twentieth-century socialism tended to have the following features:

- (White, male) organized working class,
- Top-down control as Stalinism became entrenched,
- Atheism (except some varieties of Christian social democratic socialism),
- Lack of ecological awareness,
- A general belief that the end justifies the means. (Cole and Motta, 2011)

Twenty-first-century socialism, on the other hand is characterized by:

- Women of color playing a central role,
- The involvement of the informal economy,
- Genuine attempts at participatory democracy,
- A central focus on the spiritual, in particular, in Latin America, Roman Catholic liberation theology and indigenous religions,
- Ecological awareness,
- Central processes viewed as ends as well as means. (Cole and Motta, 2011)
As Enrique Dussel (2008, p. xvi) argues in relation to these new forms of popular politics: “These movements and events represent signs of hope, in the face of which we must begin to create a new theory. This new theory cannot merely respond to the presuppositions of the last five hundred years of capitalist and colonialist modernity. It cannot set out from bourgeois postulates or from those of real ‘socialism.’”

In chapter 3 I open a dialogue between the Open Marxist tradition and the pedagogical and epistemological praxis of social movements, including the CTUs (Venezuela), MST (Brazil), autonomous piqueteros (Argentina), Universidad de la Tierra (Mexico) and the Escuela Política de Mujeres Pazíficas (Colombia) as a means of engaging with these questions. In using the Open Marxist framework she seeks to bring visibility to the role of the pedagogical in the politics of knowledge of movements, the construction of integral liberation through the development of affective and embodied pedagogies, the importance of place in the emergence and formation of alternatives, and the openness and plurality at the heart of the reinvention of pathways toward 21 cs. In so doing she foreground how this differs from 20 cs, in a similar way to Kane’s (in chapter 2 in this volume), but also rereads Open Marxism through the pedagogical praxis of movements. This rereading is an act of critical reflection from within and a way to suggest processes of epistemological decolonization of this theoretical tradition, which still often produces theory outside and above movements reproducing elements of the politics of coloniality in its practice.

From this philosophical, historiographical and theoretical grounding the book moves to the concrete educational and pedagogical practices, struggles, and experiences of Left governments and social movements. These contributions enable us to identify and systematize key questions and problematics in the struggle to construct an educational and pedagogical praxis, which enable the flourishing of popular alternatives to neoliberal capitalism.

**Education Struggles and/in Left Governments**

*Multiscalar Nature of Counter-Hegemonic Education Struggles*

Particularly important in the analysis of Left governments offered in this volume is that an analysis and evaluation of education struggles and policy cannot be adequately addressed if: (i) education struggles
are disconnected analytically from an understanding of their relationship with broader counter-hegemonic struggles; and (ii) political economy analysis of such counter-hegemonic struggle remains at the level of the nation-state. Rather as Mieke Lopes Cardozo, Thomas Muhr, Lenin Valencia Arroyo and Mike Cole demonstrate in their contributions to this volume, an analysis of the limitations and potentials for the development of alternative and popular educational strategies, policies and practices can only be understood by analyzing the dialectical relationships between popular movements and governments, and by situating this analysis within the broader class dynamics of the state and international class coalitions.

Thomas Muhr (chapter 4) accordingly shows how the development of an innovative educational program in Nicaragua is not only the result of the election to power of a Left leaning government but also the favorable regional conjuncture within which this election occurred. Through the creation and consolidation of ALBA, conditions have been fostered for the successful design and legalization of educational policy that seeks to democratize and expand access and transform curricula in a way that enables learning which aims to foster the self-liberation of Nicaragua’s popular classes. However, Muhr ends with a question about how such constitutional and policy commitments will be put into practice, suggesting further research is needed into the relationships and balance of power among popular movements, the Nicaraguan government and the Nicaraguan state.

Similarly, Mieke Lopes Cardozo (chapter 5) combines a neo-Gramscian analysis with a postcolonial theorization to foreground the importance of fostering the conditions for the creation of popular organic intellectuality in the creation of counter-hegemonic alternatives and of ensuring that this is embedded within a decolonizing educational philosophy and practice. She uses this to evaluate the Morales government’s commitment to a decolonizing educational policy and its prospects for realization particularly in relation to Normales—teacher training institutes that produce the country’s teachers. She demonstrates how there are struggles over the meaning of decolonizing and indigenous epistemologies within popular movements resulting in ambiguous support for the reform program. She also importantly highlights the difference between a government and the state, demonstrating the conservative nature of the educational institutions of the Bolivian state and therefore the barriers to realization of this policy program represented by Bolivia’s teachers and the institutions that produce them. Lopes Cardozo also notes that there is a sense that promises of change and development are not being met.
However, she concludes, this does not fully take into account the discursive shift of Bolivia’s new education reform, which incorporates elements of cultural recognition and political representation.

Lenin Valencia Arroyo (chapter 6) in his analysis of the development of two indigenous universities in Peru and Ecuador demonstrates how the prospects for realizing the decolonizing potential of educational policy are achieved when popular movements are organized and participants are active in shaping and giving meaningful content to its implementation and development. Thus in the case of the Peruvian Intercultural University of the Amazon (UNIA) in which only formal participation of indigenous groups and movements occurred, the decolonizing and radical potential of the university project has not been realized. Rather popular demands and energies have been co-opted and displaced. While the Ecuadorian Intercultural University of Nationalities and Indigenous People of Ecuador—“Amaway Wasi” (UINPI)—is the direct result of organizations linked to indigenous social movements in Ecuador. It is therefore part of a broader counter-hegemonic struggle in which the correlation of forces and levels of articulation of indigenous communities resulted in the implementation of decolonizing curricula, critical pedagogies and development of engaged (multiscalar) critical scholarship that presents a challenge to elements of the colonial capitalist structure and practice of Ecuadorian educational institutions.

Francisco Dominguez’ contribution (chapter 7) demonstrates that when there is a favorable conjuncture of social forces that are able to both occupy the state and articulate with movements in society then a radical rupturing with the logics of capitalist coloniality in the national level educational system can occur. This involves not only occupying the bourgeois educational institutions of the state but also creating new parallel, decentralized and democratized educational institutions, curricula and practices and ensuring the democratization of educational material. In the Venezuelan case, the democratization of educational institutions via initiatives such as Infocentres, the redevelopment of curricula, the development of education missions, changes to the constitution and democratization of access to educational materials and information is fostering the self-education of the masses. This is resulting in a historically and political significant intellectual transformation that is becoming the engine of agency that is bringing to reality the Bolivarian Revolution.

Mike Cole (chapter 8) also stresses the importance of parallelism. He argues that while the revolutionary inspiration of Chávez is pivotal, often the official socialist statements from political figures, such
as Chávez, and official state documentation on education are not put into practice in the formal education system. He examines revolutionary socialist practice in an alternative school, arguing that it is here that anticapitalist critical pedagogy is a reality. The processes at the school involve a lived critique of capitalist society, both educationally and socially, the forefronting of social justice, and socially productive labor with revolutionary socialism at the core. All this is in direct opposition to schooling to produce obedient workers. In tandem with the 2013–2019 Socialist Plan, the cofounder of the school, Miguel Cortez, concludes by stressing the importance of democratizing history—of the centrality of local history to bridge the gaps between generations. For the development of participatory democracy and 21 cs, the barrios need to be organized, and a discourse has to be constructed. The students at the alternative school in Barrio Pueblo Neuvo are actively involved in this construction, thus providing an exemplar for the resolution of the major contradiction between the progressive policies of the government and schooling as practiced in Venezuelan schools.

**Education and Pedagogy from Below: “Changing not only the Content of the Conversation but the Terms of the Conversation”**

As Mignolo argues (2009), developing alternatives to colonial capitalism involves not only changing the content of the conversation, or producing new emancipatory knowledges, but also changing the terms of the conversation, so transforming the way we produce such emancipatory knowledges. This involves shifting our focus to the subjects of knowledge construction and reconceptualizing the nature of intellectual production in a way that overcomes the epistemological politics of capitalist coloniality in which the letter and word become the anchor of knowledge that entails a divorcing of the word from the world. This has historically posited a particular type of knowledge (the written and conceptual), particular form of knowledge creation (abstract, individualized and often masculinized) and particular content of knowledge as the pinnacle of epistemological development.

Such a questioning in practice is being actively developed by social movements and collectives across the continent. Collective processes of knowledge production, building on traditions and histories of popular education, are important ways in which movements and communities are developing their own theoretical and strategic readings of the world. Such readings begin from the lived experiences and
oppressed bodies of the excluded and enable not only deeper understanding but also the development of tools to change their conditions. This involves bringing dignity and agency to those otherwise written over by dominant intellectual and political discourses, challenging the divisions between thinkers and doers and mind and body, which characterizes capitalist coloniality.

As Jennifer Martinez (chapter 9) demonstrates in relation to the Comité de Tierra Urbana in Venezuela, the methodology developed is used in preparation for all national meetings. It aims to forge without eradicating difference and the placedness of individual CTUs, the development of CTU strategy across scales and spatialities. Such a collective process of systematization and theorization is produced through facilitating individual and collective reflection on the lived practise and struggles of CTUs. It is resulting in communities becoming agents in their self-liberation through the democratization and transformation of their conditions of everyday life.

Or as Ivette Hernandez (chapter 10) demonstrates in relation to the development of strategies, projects and objectives by the Penguins Student movement in Chile, this has been based on an open, plural and creative process. It has involved the reoccupation of spaces in schools and publics and their organization along lines of horizontality and participation. This has fostered the time and space necessary to develop critical analysis of their struggles for a democratization of education on the basis of a dialogue between multiple knowledges; reflection on lived experience, critical theorization produced in textual forms and visual materials, for example, produced by other collectives. It has resulted in the flourishing of a plurality of perspectives and analysis of the education system in Chile, the limits of neoliberal democracy and the strategies and objectives of the student movement.

Ana Margarida Esteves’ contribution (chapter 11) on the pedagogies of the Solidarity Economy movement demonstrates how the use of critical pedagogy in workshops about political economy and gender enable the female participants to reread their experiences of multiple oppressions. This is facilitated with the use of pedagogical materials developed by the movement out of previous pedagogical experiences and collective reflections and used as a means to give critical depth to women’s experiences, struggles, and agency. One result is to provide participants with the technical skills and critical understanding of how to set up a cooperative; however these pedagogical processes also enable a politicization of the private sphere. This challenges the dualisms between the public and private of colonial patriarchal capitalism.
and results in women transforming conditions of gender oppression in their communities and lives. These transformatory processes have led participants to seek and access further educational opportunities in which, as Ana argues, they become world travelers who are able to bridge epistemological worlds and so deepen their capacity to transform their individual and communities’ conditions of exclusion.

Pedagogies of Possibility: Creating Movements and Political Subjectivities

However there is another area in which the pedagogical plays an important role. This is in the (re)construction of sociabilities, political subjectivities and collectivities, so in the very creation of movements themselves, out of the ashes of destruction neoliberal capitalism wrought in communities’ lives. The pedagogical is here not merely understood as practices and methodologies that enable the creation of collective readings of the world that can shape political strategy and analysis. Rather the pedagogical becomes an essential part in the coming into being of popular political subjectivities and organizations. Here pedagogies of reoccupying and re-creating space as well as affective pedagogical processes become central.

As Jennifer Martinez (chapter 9) demonstrates in the case of the CTUs, the very act of coming together and sharing space, time, and experiences in a way in which all have the right to speak is a pedagogical process that creates solidarities, collectivities, affinities, and shared histories of co-construction. It offers moments of self-reflection, which often do not result in immediate outcomes or decisions but rather create alternate temporalities from those of the constant demands of political organizing. This fosters conditions for deeper collective understanding and connection within individual CTUs but also between multiple CTUs across space. These are the implicit pedagogical processes from which sustainable movements in struggle and new relationships built on trust, reciprocity and respect are built. However, as she also notes there are tensions in maintaining the sustainability of these processes and space due to contradictions with the increasing bureaucratization of the state and resulting uneven and politicized access to resources.

Ivette Hernandez (chapter 10) demonstrates similar pedagogical processes in the Penguins movement. These helped create the conditions of possibility for the emergence of a new popular and plural political actor on the previously depoliticized and disarticulated terrain of Chilean democracy. In particular, the logics of reoccupying
commodified and disciplined school spaces, public buildings and open spaces and challenging the way those spaces were created through horizontal forms of organizing and relating created the conditions for a weaving together of previously atomized students into a web of new relationships, ways of relating and commitments. This fostered the opening of political imaginaries and development of collective horizons of understanding out of which new, popular political subjectivities emerged, which not only challenged the marketization of Chilean education system but also of Chilean society.

Ana Margarida (chapter 11) demonstrates the importance of solidarities and friendship in building the groundwork for the emergence and sustainable reproduction of nonalienated economic formations, nonalienated community relationships and emancipated subaltern women. Here it is not only in the public space of the workshop or the meeting that the pedagogical plays a role. Rather, it is in the social space in which friendships, connections, histories, and relationships are forged that affective noninstrumental pedagogical processes are enacted. These blur the boundaries between the political (public) and social (private) and between educator and educatee creating the conditions of possibility for the overcoming of internalized forms of oppression. It also creates fertile terrain for the public spaces of the movement to overcome informal raced, classed, and gendered hierarchies; create horizontal relationships; and individual and collective voice. However, the forming of affective relationships and deep friendships can also be exclusionary and reinforce classed and raced hierarchies. As she demonstrates, the “inner circle” of the movement tended to become de facto leaders despite aiming to transgress such hierarchies.

These pedagogies intertwine the processes that enable the emergence (and sustainability) of new, popular political actors and institutions with the development of movements’ strategy and understanding. They suggest that affective pedagogical processes, and reoccupations and re-creations of space, which overcome the dualism between the public and private and between friendship and politics, are key in creating the conditions for the emergence and sustainability of new forms of popular politics in the region. They also illustrate the uncertain, creative and fragile nature of these popular political processes of transformation.

**Decolonizing Pedagogies of Everyday Life**

Just as our contributors highlight that the pedagogical processes of movements do not separate the ends from the means for social and
political transformation so do movements expand the practice of social transformation and the pedagogical means that enable such transformation. The praxis of popular politics moves away from a monological closure toward a dialogical opening to multiple forms of knowledge, multiple ways of creating knowledge for social transformation and multiple subjects of social transformation. Paradigmatic of such pedagogical and emancipatory plurality and creativity is the work of the Escuela Política de Mujeres Pazíficas in Cali, Colombia—a feminist autonomous education center that combines nonviolent, feminist philosophies with popular education in their work with women. Norma Bermudez cofounder and participant in the project tells us the story of the school’s history and practice through the lens of a journey in four stages: earth (grounding and roots), air (taking flight into the new), water (flowing in calm and turbulent waters of discovery) and fire (individual and collective transformation). The form of her chapter mirrors the ritual pedagogical practices with which the diplomas offered to women from diverse backgrounds and experiences begin.

The politics of knowledge of the school presents an affirmative challenge to the epistemologies of colonial patriarchal capitalism by embracing and nurturing a dialogue of knowledges—from the women’s everyday lives, activist practice, feminist philosophers, to legal experts that weaves a rich tapestry of understanding and agency. The emancipatory practices of the School are also therefore multiple: conceptualizing the workings of power as through the construction of docile gendered bodies, subjectivities and social relationships, which invisibilize the knowledges and wisdom of the subaltern, and particularly of excluded women, the subaltern of the subaltern. Social and political transformation therefore involves the reoccupation and remaking of the space of public politics but also of our everyday lives and brutalized bodies.

The pedagogical practices of the School are also therefore multiple. In seeking to overcome the separations between mind and body and emotions that characterize the militarized patriarchal capitalism of Colombia and more globally, the body becomes both a site of transformation but also the font of embodied pedagogies. Pedagogies that include ritual, dance, theater, sacred touch and embrace enable the unlocking of the embodied traumas experienced by subaltern women. This opens the door to a deepened consciousness of their possibilities and agency. They bring a connection to that deep erotic knowing of which Audrey Lorde (2000) speaks, which once felt cannot be re-imprisoned and creates women who no longer consent to be silenced, oppressed, and marginalized. These pedagogical
practices create the possibilities of individual and collective voice and joy, which as Norma Bermudez writes “re-enchants the world and awakens the powers of the periphery” (chapter 13, in this volume).

**Pathways to Twenty-First-Century Socialism?**

Our contributors paint a portrait of the educational and pedagogical practices of Left governments and popular social movements in the region, which foreground the multiplicity, creativity and radicality of these political and social processes. They demonstrate the central role of the politics of knowledge—who controls the production of knowledge, what is considered knowledge, how that knowledge is produced and who that knowledge is for—in the creation of alternatives to colonial, patriarchal capitalism (whether that be explicitly named 21 cs or not).

Educational struggles in Left governments occur at multiple spatial scales and encounter multiple contradictions in the relationship among state, government and movements. They involve attempts to occupy and transform national educational institutions, curriculum and teacher training, and also attempts to develop popular decentralized and democratized educational institutions that transgress the logics of the capitalist state. When movements are articulated and combine with a consolidated national government, they are able to create radical openings toward mass intellectuality and the creation of new subjectivities and a new society. When movements are fragmented and governments embedded within a hostile state, counter-hegemonic educational struggles often remain marginalized and at risk of criminalization or co-optation.

The pedagogies of movements across the region expand the practice of emancipation to include the subjective, embodied and affective; they develop decolonizing pedagogies of everyday life in which popular education is combined with feminist and postcolonial traditions and they transform not only the content but also the process through which we create the conditions for the emergence of new emancipatory subjects and sustainable alternatives. These experiences suggest that the pedagogical is at the heart of creating the conditions of emergence and the conditions of sustainability of popular politics that reimagines the nature, content and objectives of revolutionary struggle in the twenty-first century.

Both those struggling within Left governments for counter-hegemonic and decolonizing educational alternatives and those constructing such practices in the everyday struggles of social movements
INTRODUCTION

and community struggles are enacting a theoretical and political revolution in which those silenced, criminalized and invisibilized by colonial patriarchal capitalism are raising their voices. It is wise for those of us engaged and committed to a world beyond capitalism that we learn to listen to these voices and begin to dialogue across borders so that we might sustain each other’s struggles and strengthen each other’s voices.

References


Index

alienation, 55, 57, 64, 246
alternatives, 1–12, 65, 67, 83, 90, 204, 217
Anzaldúa, Gloria, 65, 67
Barrio Pueblo Nuevo Alternative School (Venezuela), 147–9, 151, 153–4
border-thinking, 33, 54, 96–7, 105
capital relation, 55, 58
capitalism
   colonial, 7
crisis in, 261
   neoliberal, 1–9, 61–7, 139, 261–9
   patriarchal, 8–13
Chávez, Hugo, 123–4, 139, 153, 158–60, 262–3
Caracazo, 123, 141
CEAAL (Latin American Council for Adult Education), 45–9, 86
classes
   popular, 5, 84, 99, 141, 204, 249
   ruling, 111, 114
   working, 3, 36, 37, 38, 39, 41, 43, 48, 56, 113, 139, 141, 148, 153, 262, 264
Cole, Mike, 5, 6, 139, 158, 261
Comité de Tierra Urbana (CTU), 59–68, 167–83
community
   academic, 224
   activist, 148–9, 170, 265
   agency, 59
   center, 149
   councils, 143, 146
devolution project, 43, 204, 211–2, 214, 258
dignity, 59
experience, 59
experimentation, 141
leaders, 82–3
organizer, 211
projects, 132
struggle, 13
vision, 151
conscientization, 40, 75, 83, 149, 171, 250, 264
counter-hegemonic
culture, 94, 96
educational struggle, 4
governance, 75
project, 96
institutions, 93
struggles, 5–7, 150–4
war-of-position, 71
counter-hegemony, 37, 87, 91–6, 100, 244, 270
critical
   consciousness, 42
   race theory, 142
   reflection, 4, 145, 210
   scholarship, 1–6, 91
   theorist, 65
theory, 102, 269
   thinking, 40, 47
de Sousa Santos, Boaventura, 20, 29, 32, 242, 251, 258

de-alienation, 56–8
de-colonizing
educational philosophy, 5
educational reform, 95–6
epistemology, 5
pedagogies, 10–12
democracy
direct, 75–7, 93, 192–3
participatory, 3–7, 41–8, 59, 75–7, 127, 145–54
popular, 141, 159
revolutionary, 71–8, 87
social, 45, 76, 139, 188
dialogical, 11, 19, 29, 41, 49, 205
see also monological
Dussel, Enrique, 4, 13, 18–9, 27–9, 32, 33

education
adult, 45–6, 49, 52, 269
banking, 40, 43, 149, 210, 242
formal, 7, 101, 133, 144, 145
ideology of, 84
informal, 49, 53
policy, 1, 79, 87, 90, 99, 112, 157, 158, 159, 186, 221, 224, 265
political, 48
practice, 45, 176–8
Marxist, 40–2, 52
missions, 6, 47
neoliberal, 186, 191
radical, 53, 267
reform, 6, 91, 95, 97, 99, 100, 103
revolution, 72–3, 76, 78–9, 81, 84, 224
struggles, 4, 69
system, 7–8, 10, 72, 82–4, 91, 96–100, 109–10, 146, 185, 189–91, 199, 226, 229
epistemology
decolonizing, 5
see also decolonizing
ethical, 28
indigenous, 5
see also indigenous epistemology
living, 65
epistemological margins, 30
politics of colonality, 27, 54, 65–6
practices, 4, 54, 64, 66–7
privileging, 18
worlds, 9
erotic (the), 11–13, 63, 68
see also Audre Lorde
Escuela Politica de Mujeres Pazificas, 4–5, 11, 59–63, 250–1
ethical commitment, 30
ethics of politics, 196
everyday forms of resistance, 38, 62
life, 1–2, 8, 10–2, 17, 65, 148, 242
organisation, 191, 248
pedagogies, 2
see all pedagogies of everyday life
religiosities, 56, 61–2
struggles, 12
exteriority, 2, 18, 27, 30
feminism, 245–56
feminist analysis, 38
organisation, 207, 212, 216
position, 247
Freire, Paulo, 2, 17–8, 28–32, 38–44, 48–9, 54, 58, 66, 97–8, 103–4, 149, 155–7, 170–1, 174, 203–5, 209–10
see also pedagogies
INDEX 273

gender
  equity, 221, 223, 230–1
  oppression, 9
  perspectives, 244
  relations, 257
  studies, 246, 251, 270
governments(s)
  Bolivian, 89, 94–5, 100
  Colombian, 232, 240
  Left, 4, 12, 69, 188
  Neoliberal, 96
  Venezuelan, 47, 126, 154
Gramsci, Antonio, 37, 41, 90–6, 98–102, 107, 109–11, 121
hegemonic
  agenda, 116
  culture, 98
  paradigm, 245
  practices, 242, 252
  projects, 111, 114
  hegemony, 37, 91–4, 101, 112, 139, 142, 186, 199
Hill, Dave, 261, 262
Intercultural University of
  Nationalities and Indigenous
  People of Ecuador—
  “Amawtay Wasi” (UINPI)—
education, 6, 108, 120
indigenous
  cosmologies, 61
  history, 146
  knowledge, 84, 97, 98, 100, 116, 118
  languages, 81
  movements, 6, 92, 95, 97, 101, 108–11, 113–4, 115–6, 251
  peoples, 6, 37–8, 108, 119, 120, 127, 140, 144, 149, 240, 247
  religions, 3
  rural communities, 269
  university (ies), 6, 106–9, 117, 119
intellectual
  counter-hegemonic, 245
  elite, 254
indigenous, 109
  non-indigenous, 109
  organic, 5, 37, 41, 43, 102, 145
  popular, 99, 102
  transformations, 6, 123
  vanguard, 3, 59
  internalised oppressions, 205–6
knowledges
  abstract, 18, 29
  collective, 177
  disembodied, 18, 67
  ecology of, 242–6
  European, 20–1, 31
  immanent, 205, 208–10, 217
  indigenous, 84, 97–8, 117–8
  see also indigenous
  politics (of), 1, 4, 11–2, 54, 58, 64, 66–7, 97, 106, 242, 269
  popular, 39, 48, 176, 250
  theory (of), 40, 246
La Pacha Mama (Mother Earth), 95
Lefebvre, Henri, 167–8, 175–7, 182, 202, 195
liberation
  integral, 4, 62, 67
  theology, 3, 30, 37, 49, 61, 140, 155
literacy
  campaign, 73, 74, 78, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84
  classes, 82
  education, 28
  European models of, 20
  method, 75, 81
  question of, 18
Lorde, Audre, 11–3, 63, 68
Mariátegui, José Carlos, 53, 112–3, 121
Marxism
  Autonomous, 38, 41
  Open, 4, 17, 38, 54, 57–60, 62, 64–6, 121
  Orthodox, 41, 44, 54, 149

Copyrighted material – 9781137380678
Marxist
analysis, 37
perspective, 142, 153
praxis, 55
tradition, 4, 17, 53–5, 66
mass intellectuality, 1, 12, 53, 59, 66
Mesa Amplia Nacional Estudiantil (MANE or Nationwide Students’ Platform), 227–30, 232, 236
methodology
of democratic practice, 8, 59, 62
of integral and harmonic development, 205–6, 210
popular education, 41–2, 44, 167–8, 170–2, 176–7, 179–81, 203
Mignolo, Walter, 2–3, 7, 13, 18–21, 29, 33, 97, 105, 119, 121
Mistica, 61–3
monological, 3, 11, 17, 19, 21, 25, 28–9, 60
see also dialogue, dialogical
Motta, Sara, 17, 38, 46, 190–1, 196, 198–9, 200–2, 205, 207, 215, 219, 241, 258
MST (Brazilian Rural Landless Workers), 4, 48, 59–61, 63, 173
Neoliberal
agenda, 185
decentralization, 73, 79
education, 186, 191
ideas, 98
model, 95, 101, 139, 199
policies, 107
reforms, 115, 187–8
Nonviolence, 239, 244–5, 247, 248, 251–6
Other, (the), 248, 19, 23, 28–9
parallelism, 6, 141
Participatory Action Research (PAR), 150
pedagogical, 1, 2, 4, 8, 9, 10–12, 30, 53–9, 61–7, 83, 97–9, 100, 118, 146, 149, 203–5, 211–4, 245, 249, 253–4, 264–5
pedagogies
alternative, 89
affective, 4, 9–10, 62–3, 67
of the body, 63
border, 203, 209, 217
critical, 6–8, 18, 28, 53, 90–1, 97–8, 142, 146
decolonising, 10–2
embodied, 2–4, 11–2, 62–4, 67
of everyday life
Freirian, 17, 30
of the oppressed, 2, 17, 39–41, 209
Penguins Student Movement (Pinguinos), 8–9, 185
Peruvian Intercultural University of the Amazon (UNIA), 6, 108
Philosophy
of Latin America, 18, 23–5, 27
of Nuestra América, 18, 28
political
commitment, 39, 47, 249–51
imagination, 1
meaning, 208, 217
movements, 113, 230
parties, 37–8, 41–3, 48, 78, 82, 93, 112–3, 115–6, 126, 207, 228
practices, 190, 242–5
struggle, 57, 92, 110, 116, 196
subject, 2, 67, 186, 191, 197–9, 243, 253
subjectivities, 9–10, 186, 191, 199, 269
transformation, 11, 55, 62, 91, 132, 264
politics
of coloniality, 4, 54, 64–6
of difference, 195
emancipatory, 17, 249
of horizontalism, 187, 192, 195
poetic, 256–7
popular, 1, 4, 10–2, 54, 58, 60, 64, 172–4, 178, 191–2
postcolonial, 5, 12, 33, 97, 105–7, 117–9, 265
see also capitalism
praxis, 1–2, 4, 11, 17, 30, 53–8, 60–6, 148, 178, 182, 187, 204–5
race
hierarchies, 10
oppression, 206, 207
revolution
Bolivarian, 6, 49, 136, 140–1, 143–6, 154–5, 172, 179
Nicaraguan, 37, 55
Penguins', 185–6, 188, 190–1, 193, 195–8, 199–200
silent, 247
Socialist, 113, 139, 141, 147, 155, 264
revolutionary
education, 83, 147, 152
struggle(s), 12, 53
subject(s), 3 53–7
teachers, 148, 154–5, 264
Rikowski, Glenn, 42, 52, 142, 152
socialism
revolutionary, 7, 143, 152
twentieth-century, 3, 17
twenty-first-century, 3, 12, 37, 46, 53–4, 75, 139, 143, 262
Solidarity Economy Movement of Brazil, 8, 203–4, 207–8, 210–11, 215–18
space
lived, 167–8, 175–7, 179–80
of politics, 187, 192
urban, 167, 168
state
capitalist, 12, 93, 132, 140–1, 142, 145, 262, 265
formation, 109, 111
institutions, 77, 82, 132, 168–9, 172, 174, 180, 243, 249
power, 75, 92
for revolution, 141, 157
Structural Adjustment Programs (SAP) 115, 120, 187, 261
subaltern
communities, 60
subjectivities, 62, 247
women, 10–1, 245, 253
systematization, 8, 59, 66, 242–3
teacher
education, 80, 90, 93, 98, 100
student relations, 97
training, 5, 12, 90
unions, 82–3, 102
Universidad de la Tierra, 4, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63