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Contents:

Editorial:

- Leonel Pérez Expósito and Tristan McCowan:*
Editorial: Citizenship and Education in Latin America.....2-7

Special Topic Articles:

- Patricia Oliart:*
Education for Social Change. Peru 1972-1975.....8-18

- Yolima Ivonne Beltrán Villamizar, Mayra Juliana Galvis Aparicio, Gabriel Felipe Vargas Beltrán:*
Citizenship Competencies and Program of Sex Education and Construction of Citizenship (PESCC, Spanish acronym): Review of the Implementation of a Public Policy in Institutions of Primary and Secondary Education in Bucaramanga - Colombia.....19-30

- Abelardo León:*
Exploring the Keys to Citizen Formation in Professors' Discourse of the History of the Araucanía Region-Chile.....31-38

- Marika Tsolakis:*
Citizenship and Transformative Human Rights Education: Surveys as 'Praxis' in the São Paulo Periphery.....39-50

- Lucicleia Barreto Queiroz, Isabel Menezes:*
Exploring the Limits and Potentials of Youth Participation in Public Policy at the State and Municipal Level: A Study in the State of Acre, Brazil.....51-59

Interview

- Ivette Hernandez:*
Continuing the Conversation on the Chilean Student Movement.....60-67

- Ralph Ings Bannel:*
Interview with Vera Maria Ferrão Candau.....68-71

Review

- Elsie Rockwell:*
Review of the Book: Ariadna Acevedo-Rodrigo and Paula López-Caballero, eds., Unexpected Citizens. The Making of Citizenship in Mexico.....72-74

Leonel Pérez Expósito and Tristan McCowan

Editorial: Citizenship and Education in Latin America

Keywords:

citizenship education, human rights education, critical pedagogy, Latin America

Despite the geographical and ethnic diversity of the region, Latin American countries share a number of common features of relevance to the development of citizenship. In particular, the region is characterised by a history of colonisation and struggles for regional and national autonomy, authoritarian governments, a continuing context of violence and insecurity, clientelism, impunity of the privileged and extreme socio-economic inequalities. Yet at the same time, for many elsewhere in the world, Latin America has represented a beacon of hope for democratic alternatives, displaying a range of vibrant social movements, progressive governments, new forms of participatory politics and innovative responses to social challenges.

These two faces are perceived with a different emphasis in the specific histories of Latin American countries. Likewise, there are particular distinctions in the historical transitions through forms and styles of government, but identifiable communalities at least within different parts of the region. Currently, most states in the region could be formally regarded as democratic under a minimum understanding of democracy as a way of electing people in government. According to the United Nations, all the countries acknowledge the right to vote, and, although with specific important problems, from 1990 most national elections have been relatively free and fair in the region (PNUD 2004). Also, after a period of military dictatorships in different countries, there is an important retreat of the military from political processes and power (PNUD 2004). But this course of

democratisation has not been effective in constructing representational systems that open equitable political opportunities to the wide population compared to the strong influence of powerful elites; in contending sedimented practices in the formal political arena like clientelism and corruption; and in developing the necessary confidence among its citizens that a legitimate democratic regime demands¹. Furthermore, the transition to democracy overlaps with the implementation of a series of neoliberal economic reforms that, while opening certain opportunities to economic growth in some countries, have not been successful in reducing the scandalous socio-economic inequalities of the region and its high levels of poverty (CEPAL 2010; Cortés 2011).

Certainly, there are enthusiastic supporters of a modern democracy functional to a liberal economic paradigm, but others remain sceptical of such rhetoric and its assumed benefits. Far from being passive, this incredulity and discontent has been channelled through relevant social movements, powerful street demonstrations, a growing body of local, civil and non-governmental organisations, and also in the formal political sphere. Thus, the development of citizenship in Latin America is not only about the realisation of a consensual pre-established model (Taylor & Wilson 2004), but a contested process about what citizenship means within a context of different struggles searching for political and economic alternatives.

This special issue of the Journal of Social Science Education explores different ways in which education promotes and responds to this context of citizenship. It presents a series of contributions of different forms – articles, interviews and a book review – that address these issues in five countries in the region: Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Peru and Mexico. They draw on a range of (mainly qualitative) methodologies, from case studies to national level research, historical analysis and assessment of current initiatives, to explore the diverse interactions between citizenship and education.

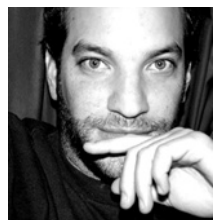
Curriculum and the formal education system

In the formal education system, many Latin American countries historically have had civic education programmes aligned with the political priorities of the government, while the broader curriculum and structure of the system have also been instrumental in fostering or stifling citizenship. An in-depth illustration of the role of formal citizenship education in official political projects is Oliart's article which opens this special issue. Based on a careful analysis of the truncated education reform of the revolutionary and military regime of



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Juan Velasco Alvarado in Peru (1968-1975), Oliart shows the influence of progressive ideas about education and social change developed by different thinkers (e.g. Freire 2002 [1970]) and movements from Peru and other Latin American countries relevant for the political scenario of the region since the end of the 1950s (e.g. the Cuban revolution). These were fundamental in structuring a project which, among other features, conceived the actual education system as "elitist, dependent, alienating and inefficient". Conversely, at the heart of Velasco's education reform lay a radical democratic project, based on the formation of a new citizen decisively engaged with social change, inclusion and equality.

Such a transformation was initiated within the education system, understood as a space for "straightening of consciences", with a particular nationalist ideology that, while rejecting "cultural imperialism", aimed to include the intra-national cultural diversity represented by the significant Peruvian indigenous cultures and their languages. After examining how this reform was truncated, the author argues about its legacy within a process of implementation of neoliberal policies initiated in the 1980s. It is shown how important figures from the Velasco regime found a place in academia, NGOs, civil society organisations and social movements, from which they remained active and were able to articulate a strong critique of the neoliberal approach to education. Now that most of these measures are seriously questioned in Peru, Oliart's article recovers the legacy of Velasco's reform to stress the importance of education projects in which an integral perspective of the citizen to be formed is essential, in contrast to the narrow focus on basic skills typical from the *neo-liberal imaginary* in education (Ball 2012).

The case presented by Oliart exemplifies an official curriculum aligned with governmental priorities of social change. However, until 1990 different Latin American countries based their civic education programmes on the formation of habits required for the proper functioning of society, knowledge of the law and the country's institutions, and the promotion of a unified national identity. Yet since the beginning of the 1990s, relevant transformations in curricular content in the region have been clearly identified in accordance with certain international trends (Bascopé, Bonhomme, Cox, Castillo, Miranda 2013; Cristián Cox 2010; Cristián Cox, Jaramillo, Reimers 2005; Pérez Expósito 2013). In countries like Guatemala, Chile, Colombia, and Mexico, significant changes include: a shift from a national perspective to the inclusion of a globalised and cosmopolitan approach to citizenship, a strong commitment with democracy beyond the formal political sphere (at least at the rhetorical level), a balance between direct forms of participation and representation, recognition of cultural diversity within and beyond the limits of the nation-state, and gender equity. In contrast with previous pedagogical approaches based on memorisation and abstract knowledge, the more recent curricular designs emphasise the development of skills and compe-

tences oriented to the formation of an active citizen (Levinson 2004; McCowan 2009). They are aimed to be developed from early childhood to, at least, late adolescence. In spite of the specific differences according to the country, the expected learning outcomes are not circumscribed to a specific subject in classroom, but conceived as transversal contents to be covered in courses like Spanish, History or Geography, and through practical experiences within and outside the school. Another important characteristic is how citizenship education overlaps in the curriculum with education in sexuality, intercultural, human rights, moral, peace, and environmental education, among other related areas with different emphasis depending on the country.

The article of Beltrán, Galvis, and Vargas is focused on the analysis of one of these new curricular designs, the Programme of Education in Sexuality and Construction of Citizenship in Colombia (PESCC). After analysing the main characteristics of the programme in relation to the principal curricular transformations in citizenship education in Latin America, the authors focus on one important stage of its implementation: the development of a planning tool called 'pedagogical matrix' that enables teachers to design and develop teaching strategies and reflect on their practice. These matrices allow schools to relate different competencies and their standards with a group of thematic axes from the programme, learning outcomes and teaching strategies, according to their own priorities and interests.

Based on the content analysis of 20 different matrices (one per school) developed in the city of Bucaramanga, Colombia, and records from a technical group that supported the implementation of the PESCC, the article compares the matrices in regard to the programmes' conceptual and operational components. It also analyses the conditions in the schools that enable a better design of the matrices and those that constitute an obstacle. Drawing on literature related to change and innovation in educational institutions, the authors argue that the different levels of achievement in the implementation of the pedagogical matrices are largely explained by "subjective changes", which refer to "implicit theories and representations of the actors, from which innovations are interpreted and adapted." (Vogliotti & Macchiarola 2003). Based on this element and the analysis of other factors that clarify the disparities in the results of the schools studied, the article ends by listing some recommendations for education policy implementation.

As presented by Beltrán, Galvis, and Vargas, some of the problems in the realisation of the programmes of citizenship education have to do with different processes of appropriation, interpretation, translation, selection, negotiation and resistance, carried out by different school actors. Analysing these interpenetrated processes is vital for understanding 'successful' and 'unsuccessful' education policies and initiatives (Ball, Maguire, Braun 2012). The multiple divergences between the curriculum of citizenship education as a document and its practice

in the schools also reveal the contested meanings of citizenship, and the lack of neutrality of some expected learning outcomes, especially in a region like Latin America characterised by a wide cultural diversity and strong socio-economic disparities. The article of León explores one dimension of this problem. Through a qualitative discourse analysis of a group of teachers in the Araucanía Region in Chile, León deals with teachers' perceptions of the implications of teaching citizenship in an indigenous area characterised as a "zone of conflict". The paper shows how teachers appropriate new trends in teaching history and citizenship, as well as the changes and cautions they have integrated in their practice in order to comply with the curriculum and to respond to the cultural diversity of the region and its particular history of resistance and conflict.

Teachers, then, face some dilemmas in their practice. Firstly, how to manage their own political standpoint in relation to the programme's content, but also to the cultural, political and socio-economic location of their students. Secondly, teachers' awareness about how the model of history to be taught excludes the narrative of the indigenous and the poor. Thirdly, teaching citizenship in a context of democratisation after being educators during Pinochet's dictatorship, "a period of political repression in which many issues were simply eradicated from the classrooms and in many cases omitted in their own training as teachers" (León, this issue). Fourthly, how demanding teaching citizenship and its overlapping thematic areas (human rights, gender or cultural and ethnical diversity) can be for history teachers in terms of knowledge and previous training. Lastly, how teachers need to employ an inter-cultural pedagogy, when they were not trained within that framework.

This special issue, then, comprises three articles that exemplify some of the challenges that citizenship education faces in Latin American countries in regard to the trends in the curriculum and its practice in the schools.

Citizenship education beyond the school

In spite of the important role of curriculum development and formal education, this issue presents a broad approach to citizenship education concurrent with a growing body of research that emphasises how citizenship education transcends the school, and investigates the educational potential of a wide range of experiences beyond, or inter-related with this setting (e.g. Eyerman & Jamison 1991; Foley 1999; McCowan 2009; Pérez Expósito, Ortiz Tirado, González, Gordillo 2012; Pinnington & Schugurensky 2010; Schugurensky 2004, 2006).

This perspective seems particularly relevant in a region characterised by a range of vibrant social movements and a diverse repertoire of political participation. On the one hand, Latin American countries reveal a rich array of educational experiences associated with indigenous groups, community organisations, religious organisations, social movements, workers' unions and even governmental initiatives,

oriented towards the development of citizenship and political participation amongst marginalised populations. On the other hand, the region is also characterised by less organised, and more ephemeral forms of participation which, however, provide opportunities for an experiential learning related to abilities, knowledge and attitudes that are valuable for the development of a more competent citizenry². Either through more or less organised experiences, within them diverse educational practices take place according to different "elements of formality and informality" (Pérez Expósito et al. 2012, 280). This idea helps us to understand differences between teaching and learning processes within and outside the school, but also to see communalities and imbrications across the traditional distinctions between formal, non-formal and informal education.

A vivid example of such imbrication is *RightsNow!*, an eight-month long programme for youth in São Paulo to learn about the right to education. It takes place in schools, but is run by an NGO, and funded by the Municipal Secretariat of Work and Entrepreneurship. "The program describes the learning process as including class, debate, and actions in public schools, mobilising other youth and creating materials to help other students think about education." It is directed at students "between 16-20 years of age, resided in the Eastern periphery and either attended or recently finished secondary school" (Tsolakis, this issue). *RightsNow!* is analysed in the article of Tsolakis, which aims to examine the role of survey questionnaires within the programme as "a Freirean pedagogical tool in transformative human rights and citizenship education." (Tsolakis in this issue)

The author recognises the view about surveys as a "bourgeois statistical instrument" that reinforces systems of power, but based on the work of Carr-Hill (1984) it is argued how it can be used within a liberating pedagogy as a dispositive that helps students to unlock unjust asymmetrical power relationships in their daily contexts. After clarifying the main principles of Freire's pedagogical theory, border pedagogy (Giroux 2005), and transformative human rights (Tibbitts 2005), Tsolakis presents empirical evidence from her fieldwork in São Paulo to show how the design and administration of survey questionnaires, as well as the analysis of the information collected, are used within a wider framework of citizenship and human rights education (the program *RightsNow!*) where such principles are enacted.

In contrast with the imbricated character of the educational experience analysed by Tsolakis, an opportunity for citizenship education with prevailing elements of informality is explored in the article of Queiroz and Menezes, which examines obstacles to and possibilities of young people's participation in the development and implementation of youth policies in the State of Acre, Brazil. The authors review the expansion of youth policies in Brazil in recent years, in which the influence of the "'vogue of youth participation' (Bessant 2003, 401) in public policy across the world' (Queiroz, Menezes in this issue) is perceptible. However, the article points out that such apparent inclusion frequently turns into a

very limited participation in regard to young people's degree of autonomy, authenticity and efficacy. Drawing on empirical qualitative data, the article reveals a series of ambivalences and contradictions crossing the various actors involved in youth policy as obstacles to a genuine participation of the young in its elaboration and implementation. This situation undermines the educational potential that such participatory experiences could have in terms of developing an active young citizenship through its involvement in public policy-making.

Citizenship education: the participants' voices

One of the common characteristics in the contributions to this special issue is a qualitative methodological approach. Among other things, this perspective is identifiable in how the authors prioritize the comprehension and analysis of participants' views, over *a priori* theoretical conjectures or hypotheses to be tested. Either through documentary analysis, observations or interviews, the reader will have access to the perspectives and testimonies of educators, activists, policy makers, teachers, students, leaders of regional districts and outstanding members of youth organisations. Following these trends and acknowledging the importance of documenting the participants' voices, the issue includes two interviews, one with Francisco Figueroa, the Vice-President of the Student Federation from University of Chile between 2010 and 2011, and another with Vera Maria Ferrão Candau, a renowned Brazilian scholar and activist in the field of human rights and education.

Ivette Hernandez – whose own research focuses on the Chilean student movement (Hernandez 2008) – presents through her interview with Figueroa a first-hand account of the historical development, contemporary experiences and broader implications of youth activism in the country. Protesting against student fees, inequitable access to quality provision, unscrupulous profiteering, and the commercialisation of the education system in general, the student movement in Chile has been unrivalled in recent years in terms of its creativity, persistence and impact. Developing from the 'Penguins Revolution' of secondary students in 2006 to the university student movement in 2011, this wave of protests succeeded in raising the profile of issues of educational justice, garnering widespread support from society in general and forcing the government into action. The idea of the *prefigurative* is key to the student movement (McCowan 2010). The task has been not only to achieve changes in policy – the *outcome* of the student mobilisation – but also to embody the principles of participatory democracy and horizontal relations in its *process*: through assemblies, occupations and so forth. In a context of distrust of formal politics and educational institutions, new spaces for the development of citizenship are forged. Importantly, this interview shows us not only a broad sweep analysis of the movement, and its internal challenges, but also the personal biography of a student leader, allowing us to trace back through his life the key moments of learning and significant influences.

Human rights education is a critical area of contemporary debates on the curriculum, given concerns over its political underpinnings from both the left and the right, and its widespread incorporation in rhetoric, but simultaneous lack of effective implementation in practice (cf. JSSE 1-2006 "International Perspectives of Human Rights Education" <http://jsse.uni-bielefeld.de/index.php/jsse/issue/view/110>). Ralph Bannell's interview with Vera Candau highlights some of the complexities of the debates, in terms of conceptualisation of human rights, and accompanying pedagogical processes. Education about human rights is seen to have a particularly important place in Latin America, given the history of abuses in the period of the dictatorships and continuing severe inequalities. In Brazil specifically, it gained impetus from the 1980s onwards, achieving increasing space within public policies through the 1990s, and involving a range of interactions between civil society organisations and government. Candau provides a cogent response to some of the thornier issues of the relationship between human rights and universalist liberalism, forging a new emancipatory vision centred on the articulation of diversity and equality.

Finally, this special issue on citizenship education in Latin America presents a review of the book: Ciudadanos Inesperados. *Espacios de formación de la ciudadanía ayer y hoy* (Unexpected Citizens. The Making of Citizenship in Mexico). While it is focused on the Mexican case, the book develops an important argument to be considered in the study of citizenship education in Latin America. It has to do with acknowledging the presence of normative models of citizenship, but shifting our analysis to the multiple ways in which citizenship is actually enacted in a variety of practices across Latin American countries, through which a distinctive meaning is conferred to the otherwise abstract notion of citizenship. An emphasis on the descriptive level expands our scope of possibilities in regard to the array of educational processes which intervene in the formation of Latin American citizens.

Through all these contributions the aim is to provide an overview of the different challenges and developments in the complex and bi-directional relationship between education and citizenship in Latin America. In this way, citizenship makes demands on education – claiming equality of access, and of representation within the curriculum – but education in its turn (either formal or non-formal) enhances citizens' understanding and capacity for action. Beyond this two-way relationship, the studies gathered together in the special issue also show how citizenship is in itself a key site of learning.

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Endnotes:

¹ See Valenzuela (2007) and Latinobarómetro (2011) for a quantitative overview in regard to Latin American citizens' trust in democracy in their countries

² See Acevedo Rodrigo, López Caballero (2012) for an explanation of the idea of a competent citizenry, and Annette (2004; 2009) for the relationship between experiential learning and citizenship education.

Patricia Oliart

Education for Social Change. Peru 1972-1975

Keywords

Peru, education and the state, revolutionary government of the armed forces, ideology and education

The 1972 Education Reform implemented by the Juan Velasco military regime in Peru (1968-1975) was the result of the alliance between a progressive branch of the armed forces and a group of cosmopolitan intellectuals influenced by radical pedagogy from the 1960s and 1970s, but the reform project was also tributary of a long tradition in progressive ideas and social movements pursuing social change through education from Peru and Latin America. Analysis of this truncated project brings to light critical debates about the role of politics and ideology and social movements in education and resonates with contemporary discussions about education and citizenship, development and post-development studies. The present-day significance of the 1972 Education Reform is that its legacy, embodied in prominent members of the education community, played a role in the application of the neoliberal reforms in education in Peru in the 1990s, and helped to provide a vision for a consensus-based educational project for the future.

1 Introduction: Peru, Education and the State, Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces, Ideology and Education

In 1968 General Juan Velasco Alvarado led the Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces (RGAF) to power and governed until 1975. Elections were eventually called in 1979, but the intervening four years under military rule were led by conservative General Francisco Morales Bermudez in a process predominantly dedicated to undoing the reforms of the Velasco regime. Social memory and academic interpretations about the RGAF in Peru remain controversial.

In the following pages I will present and comment on some aspects of this regime's Education Reform law launched in 1972. Of particular interest is the continuity it sought to maintain with a historical heritage of political movements seeking to transform education into a political tool to pursue social transformations in Peru and Latin America. I will briefly present some of the changes the reform tried to implement and the different types of resistance it found from those who felt negatively affected. A final section is dedicated to the impact this failed project and its objectives had among a group of intellectuals and policy makers who had an unlikely return to decision-making positions during the 1990s, when the World Bank pushed for education reform as part of the neoliberal reform of the State.

For the presentation of the reform project I summarise the text published by the regime (Ministerio de Educación 1970), together with published accounts of the process by two of the reformers (Barrantes 1990 and Salazar Bondy 1976). I also resort to newspapers, official documents and

interviews I held with direct actors while conducting three different research projects (Oliart 1986, 1989, 2011, 2013). All translations from Spanish are mine. My analysis about the influence of the 1972 reform in the elaboration of the National Education Project (2006) is based on a close reading of the document and my own observations of the process, discussions with some of the participants, and current literature on the matter.

Itzigsohn and Vom Haum (2006) have identified moments in the history of contemporary Latin America, when education became a tool to disseminate cultural and political scripts that allowed new political forces to redefine the relationship between the state and different social groups. The redefinition of citizenship to make it more inclusive, for example was a common issue these authors identify as crucial in the development of representations of the nation that the emerging elites needed to have control of, in order to create a sense of progression and transit into a new historical period. This was precisely one of the main components present in the Peruvian reformers discourse in the 1970s.

The current post-neoliberal scene in Latin America makes this episode of the Peruvian experience, relevant to reflect on the trajectory of education policies and other similar attempts in the region. Current debates are gearing towards a shift to more political criteria concerned about the role of education in the achievement of democratic access to relevant and quality education, moving away from analyses focused solely on performance indicators (Holst 2007; Pulido Chavez 2010; Gorostiaga & Tello 2011).

2 The Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces

Unlike other military dictatorships at the time in Latin America, the RGAF was led by a group of officers who wanted to carry out a process of deep transformation of the power structures in the country. Several authors have tried to explain both the political inclination and radical ideas of the men who conducted the "revolutionary process", as it

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came to be named. Some attribute this originality to the Centre of Advanced Military Studies (CAEM in Spanish), the military training centre which, within the framework of the Alliance for Progress led by President Kennedy in the US, promoted the idea that Latin American armed forces should play an active political role in both the defence of democracy and the path to development. The CAEM commissioned socio-economic studies, normally recommending social transformations, which were then part of the elite military training (Atiz & Garcia 1972). However, analysts such as former military man Victor Villanueva (1972) commented that even if the radical officers agreed with the analyses of the country's problems contained in the studies, the military men gathered around Velasco had political reasons to step aside from the developmentalist approach led by the United States. They adopted an anti-imperialist position, establishing dialogue with other political sectors in society who were after social change and with a vision of the future different from that presented at CAEM as an ideal (Malloy 1973)¹.

As has been previously established, the political agenda of the military regime included issues long demanded by different left-wing groups during the twentieth century (Klaren 1999). For a few decades prior to the formation of the RGAF, large urban and rural movements struggled against the power of the traditional elite of landowners, centralism, and lack of political representation. Paradoxically, this radical agenda was imposed by the RGAF without the support of those who had struggled for change in the first place. This isolation, along with some serious faults in the reform projects, made some of them fail while others faded in time, but they are still remembered with either passionate resentment and criticism or nostalgia (Cotler 1978; Martuccelli & Svampa 1998; Martin 2002).

With the exception of the Agrarian Reform, most important reforms were either suspended or changed once the right-wing General Morales Bermudez took power in 1975. Memories of all the truncated projects linked to the authoritarian character of the regime that initiated them predominantly elicit harsh criticism of the RGAF. In fact, mainstream media and political commentators have used the Velasco reforms to epitomize undesirable State intervention during the neoliberal reforms.

The radicalized military men joined forces with a group of intellectuals and professionals who were part of the new political groupings that emerged in Peru during the 1950s and 1960s, attentive to the need for social and political change, but different from the political parties of the traditional left. They wanted to transform Peruvian society and act upon the costs that capitalism had brought, such as inequality and lack of democracy (conceived of access to rights and citizenship), but without being part of an international socialist or communist movement. Their stance set the tone for the reforms to come. Informed by recent developments in Latin American social sciences, the RGAF produced their own account of Peruvian history and society

and formulated original reform projects inspired by other international experiences and past reformist attempts in Peru. Prevalent developmentalist trends at the time in the West imagined development as the overcoming of poverty that would be the result of a progression of stages going from traditional "underdeveloped" societies to modern and "developed" ones (Escobar 1995). In open contrast, the Peruvian reformers associated development with the liberation of Peru from the political and economic domination of the United States and the transformation of rigid traditional power structures in Peruvian society. In the words of General Velasco Alvarado:

This revolution would account for very little if it simply aspired to modernize the country, introducing minor changes in its traditional institutions. For us, development necessarily needs the fundamental transformation of the political and economic relationships that until a year ago organized our society. (Ministry of Education 1970, 5)

With these orientations, the RGAF nationalized strategic industries that were in foreign hands. They also legislated the workers' participation in the profits and ownership of the companies they worked for. The Agrarian Reform explicitly sought to override the landowners' economic and political power in the country. To secure dissemination and support for the reforms, the RGAF took control of the main cultural institutions to push forward the ideological transformation of society, expropriating the mass media and promulgating the Education Reform.

3 The Education Reform: grounded in history and forward-looking

The Education Law 19326, implemented in March 1972, was the result of a specialist commission formed in 1969 to prepare an assessment of the state of education in the country and to propose a radical reform attuned with the revolution. The commission received a report prepared by the armed forces as a starting point. It had over 100 members comprising educators specialized in all levels of instruction, from nursery school to university, joined by scientists, psychologists, social scientists and philosophers among other intellectuals. The original report was substantially changed by the commission and the revised version was published in September 1970 as the General Report. *Reform of the Peruvian Education* (Ministry of Education 1970), also known as *The Blue Book*. This publication is perhaps the document that best reflects the ideological alliance between the military and the group of progressive intellectuals who joined them in power.

Emilio Barrantes (1990), a primary school teacher, militant of the early days of the Popular Alliance for the American Revolution (APRA) and former public officer in the education sector, was part of the commission of reformers. He vividly describes their work as one based on deliberation and consensus, with lively discussions around the different topics of their wide-ranging and complex agenda. Minutes

were taken and then those were discussed, revised and approved. According to Barrantes, (1990, 39) the text of the final report was mostly written by Augusto Salazar Bondy, Carlos Delgado, Walter Peñaloza and Leopoldo Chiappo. But it is the writing and ideas of Augusto Salazar Bondy which left an indelible trail from the first pages of the *General Report* (Ministry of Education 1970). The Peruvian philosopher and professor at the University of San Marcos, as well as Vice President of the Reform Commission, was an animator and public advocate of the project. His academic writing in those years, as well as his column in the newspaper *Expreso*, were devoted to explaining the meaning of the Education Reform with a clear sense of urgency.

The common ground among all participants was the need to transform the education system, but establishing a continuity between the new project and successful experiences and ideas from the past, to be articulated in the reform (Barrantes 1989). At the time, there were frequent references to the student movement that gave rise to the University Reform in Argentina in 1918, which encouraged the transformation of the Latin American Universities' governance structure up until the 1960s (Salazar Bondy 1976). This movement significantly influenced Latin American intellectuals, and as part of them, Peruvian educators and politicians advocating for an innovative, critical and vigilant role for education in their societies (Bernales 1977). One of the most important ideas of the movement started by the students of Medicine at the University of Córdoba, was that higher education and scientific research had to be relevant to the problems and needs of each society. The movement also demanded that educational institutions had to be committed to society in order to both strengthen democracy (understood not only as a political system, but as a guarantee of access to citizenship) and the development of the sciences (Manifiesto 1918). Two key ideas clearly formulated by the Argentinian movement were that education should concern every member of society and that there was an inextricable relationship between educational reform and social transformation (Slocum & Rhoads 2009). Both became mottos of the Peruvian Education Reform.

The General Report, as well as the writings of some of the reformers, also established explicit connections between the 1972 Reform and the transformations that were attempted during the brief democratic regime of President Bustamante y Rivero (1945 -1948), particularly regarding rural education and the need to include awareness about the importance of using indigenous languages in the schools (Oliart 2011a). In 1945, President Bustamante included well-known intellectuals from the Peruvian Andes in the management of the education system. Prominent *indigenista*² from Cusco, Luis Valcárcel, was Minister of Education. He brought on board Emilio Barrantes from Cajamarca, and teacher, ethnologist and writer José María Arguedas from Apurímac for the direction of rural education. In Parliament, José Antonio Encinas from

Puno, an enthusiast of John Dewey's education methods, was in charge of the Rural Education Commission. Apart from sharing an interest in indigenous education and anti-centralist concerns, they had also been exposed to contemporary criticism of the education system and were eager to revise it in Peru, not just by copying ideas from elsewhere, but adapting them to the realities of the country (Barrantes 1989; Rivero 2007). As Minister of Education Valcarcel created a networked system of schools that could support each other in order to maximize public resources. This system was quickly abandoned by the following regimes, but the idea of networked schools was included in the 1972 Reform as a way of improving the management of, and increasing access to, resources for small and isolated schools. In his role as director of rural education, José María Arguedas developed important criteria about the crucial role of rural teachers working in indigenous communities. He linked knowledge, respect and appreciation for the students' languages and culture with the effectiveness of schooling in indigenous Peru (Arguedas 2001). These criteria were shared not just by the promoters of the 1972 Education Reform; they constituted an integral part of the cultural policy of the RGAF, represented by initiatives such as making Quechua an official language. In his book *Un Ensayo de Escuela Nueva en el Perú* (Attempting a New School in Peru) (Encinas 1932), José Antonio Encinas had emphasized the social role of the school, the importance of teaching in democracy, and the need to respect learning processes linked to concrete experiences of the students. These ideas, common among progressive pedagogues, had a very clear influence both in the discourse and practices of the reformers in 1972 (Oliart 2011a).

Together with the explicit acknowledgement of the continuities with previous innovative attempts, the Peruvian reformers of the 1970s aligned with radical pedagogies of the 1960s in the Western world. Several paragraphs in the presentation of the reform project echoed the important criticism faced by the school as an institution in the 1960s because of its reproductive role of social inequalities, and support of capitalism (Bowles and Gintis 1976). The reformers also eluded the predominant discourse during the Cold War, which identified the defence of the democratic order with the struggle against the Communist threat. Instead, the rationale for the reform defined its goals as linked to the formation of free individuals who were active participants in the fate of their societies and freed from all forms of social, political or economic domination (Ministry of Education 1970, 51). They fervently embraced the belief that schools should play a role in the education of citizens who could strive to change the world (Apple 1988), and, finally, they also embraced the understanding of the great importance of teachers in any change to be implemented in education because of their absolute control of the classroom (Lowe 2007).

The Peruvian reformers firmly endorsed criticism to what they considered obsolete, inefficient and

oppressive methods in pedagogy. The General Report displays long paragraphs criticizing intellectualism, memorization and the tendency to make school education and teacher training "academicist". They criticized long and tedious homework, and favoured the acquisition of critical study skills, promoting more participatory methods (Matos 1972). The school system was also criticized for being bureaucratized and having senseless routines, distorting the teachers' mission, overloading them with administrative responsibilities and financial concerns, taking away responsiveness and dynamism from the system and producing highly frustrated teachers and students.

The Peruvian reformers, as well as other Latin American intellectuals at the time, engaged in dialogue on pedagogy with their North Atlantic contemporaries, bringing in their own traditions, some of which had constituted a transformative force. Dependency theory and liberation theology are two examples of these traditions that are connected to the important impact that *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (Freire 1970) had among educators in Latin America, where critical self-reflection was a key exercise to develop commitment to social change at a personal and collective level. The Cuban revolution (1959) also exerted important influence, legitimized by its achievements in defeating illiteracy and raising the quality of the education system (Carnoy 2009). In the Cuban education model it was hoped that school and teachers would play a fundamental role in indoctrination and support for the revolution, teaching primary and secondary students to take into account the needs of the revolution, from practical aspects in the organization of everyday life, to the interpretations of the national history, reflecting the new values and understanding of the world (Blumm 2011). This image of the school as a space for "straightening of consciences" was enthusiastically adopted by the Peruvian reformers (Salazar Bondy 1970).

4 Nationalist and liberating

In his analysis on the discursive practices of *Velasquismo* (as the period studied is usually called), Juan Martín Sánchez (2002) notices how the presentation of each reform started with a critical assessment of the current situation in the area of intervention, followed by the RGAF project, which was presented as an independent and autonomous alternative. This alternative constituted the necessary path to definitively break with the colonial past previously not resolved by independence from Spain in 1821. Another constant element in the texts and discourses announcing the reforms was the condemnation of the fallacy of developmentalism, offering modernity and progress divorced from the unavoidable task of transforming social structures of domination and liberation from imperialism. After establishing the conceptual and discursive differences with the political past, including the account of the ravages of capitalism in the country, the reform taking place was explained along with the

objectives it would help to achieve. The presentation of the Education Reform was no different.

The General Report (Ministerio de Educacion 1970) begins by describing the national education system as elitist, dependent, alienating and inefficient. In tune with the critical pedagogy of the time, it claims that the State-funded education system could not afford to be ideologically neutral while the country was under a revolutionary regime. Its commitment to the "process of change" had to be firm and clear, and therefore educational goals should be linked to the on-going political objectives and reforms.

Summing up; the end goal of education is a fully developed person, free, and capable of acting creatively in a truly independent and prosperous nation, harmoniously integrated within the national and international community, without any trace of discrimination or domination. In order to achieve these objectives, the new policy should foster a liberating education, conscious-rising, and 'Peruvianizing'. (Ministry of Education 1970, 50)

In several instances Salazar Bondy stated that the education system had failed the country, being irrelevant to its needs. He understood the transformation of education as an area of activity or political intervention that should involve Peruvian society as a whole. From his perspective, Peruvian education could only be transformed if it went hand-in-hand with wider social transformations, impossible to achieve or have a lasting effect without the committed participation of all Peruvian citizens. But, given that liberation from oppression and an imperialist ideology occur at individual and collective levels, this liberation would be the outcome of a process of education in which the systematic practice of reflection and action should combine to achieve independence "from the inside" of individuals, with full awareness of their place in the world (Salazar Bondy 1976). These same ideas are reflected in the Blue Book. Because the education system had "applied foreign social models or systematically transferred standards of authority and subordination that benefit dominant groups or the hegemonic powers of the world" (Ministry of Education 1970, 19), school education should stimulate young Peruvians' sense of personal and national independence, infusing in their spirit the conscious and unwavering struggle against injustice and oppression, so that they could affirm and enhance "the truly positive achievements of the Peruvian nation" (Ministry of Education 1970, 19).

In pursuing the elimination of all forms of discrimination in the school system and full access to opportunities for the disadvantaged, the 19326 Law established, for example, that women should have access to all skills and training in order to have the opportunities to become leaders. The regime created a technical committee formed by the Ministry of Education, the National System of Social Mobilization (SINAMOS), together with the Ministries of Labour, Health, and Transportation, whose mission was to promote, monitor, investigate, diagnose, stimulate and educate society about the role of

women in the revolutionary process. Targeting another problematic area, the reform created a parallel structure to the Basic Regular Education, called the Labour Basic Education, proposing an alternative and flexible curriculum to award academic qualifications to people who, for various reasons, had been excluded from the system during their school age.

The law also recognized the multi-lingual situation of Peru, noting that schools should use the indigenous language when necessary, and for that purpose, should employ teachers who were native speakers of both Spanish and the indigenous languages. It further stipulated that at least 30% of the curriculum should be dedicated to fostering recognition and appreciation of the cultures and languages of the country.

The Reform Law also demanded that the school year calendar should be flexible to adapt to the characteristics of the school population, taking into consideration the regional effects of the rainy season and the agricultural calendar. It established the Civil Service for Graduates (CECIGRA) as a compulsory scheme for higher education graduates to ensure professionals would work in remote areas, but also to produce a greater commitment to the country among young people of different professions, putting them to work in communities that would otherwise be unable to access the services of these professionals.

Combining the agenda of appreciation of the national cultural diversity with the anti-imperialist stance, the Ministry of Education was imbued with the mission of ensuring that schools would not be "instruments of cultural imposition". Its specific targets were the numerous private international schools, founded throughout the late nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century by the North Atlantic immigrant communities, which offered an alternative for the wealthier local middle classes. The ensuing regulations were very controversial. The law banned the use of English in the classroom for children under five. Foreign languages would be introduced after first grade and only as a foreign language, going against the common practice of international schools teaching certain subjects entirely in the foreign language. It also became mandatory that head teachers of private schools should be Peruvian. The agenda against discrimination and in search of a more egalitarian school system had even further requirements for the elite private schools. Licenses to open new private schools were conditional upon a signed commitment against social discrimination of prospective students. Tuition fees were regulated and private schools were required to grant scholarships to 10% of the students. These, among other changes and regulations, such as the use of a common uniform for all schools in the country, granted the regime a firm opposition from wide groups among the urban middle classes, for whom exclusive education was seen as a path for social differentiation.

Considering the importance given to ideas, values, attitudes and ways of interpreting the world through

education, an obvious intervention occurred in the contents and methods for the teaching of Peruvian history and the social sciences. A new subject of socio-historical sciences was created and it became a pillar in the formation of a "new type" of student. In his study of primary school textbooks during the Velasco Alvarado regime, such as Peruanito, Fichas and Amigo, Vom Hau (2009) notes how representations of the family ceased to be exclusively of generic middle-class characters and included, both in the narrative and graphic representations, workers, peasants, settlers of diverse regions of Peru, while the traditional dominant classes became the "cultural other", the social group incapable of relating to the interests of the country and the majorities (Vom Hau 2009, 140). Another very noticeable change was the representation of the Spanish conquest and the colonization period as violent and predatory, which were quickly embraced by teachers (Vom Hau 2009; Portocarrero & Oliart 1989; Oliart 1986). In the RGAF-reformed textbooks, Peruvians were represented as social actors in pursuit of their liberation throughout history. Tupac Amaru, the wealthy mestizo muleteer who confronted the Spanish abusive tax system in 1879, leading a massive rebellion, became a national symbol of the revolution. The 150th anniversary of the independence of the country in 1971 became a milestone for the reappraisal of many other national heroes whose presence had hitherto been inconspicuous in school textbooks.

As part of the "liberating agenda" within the classroom, the reform promoted occupational education stating that education should teach young people how to enjoy what they do, to oppose the dominant ideology that radically separates enjoyment from work, alienating the enjoyment of productive creativity from the education process. The practical expression of these ideas in the classrooms was the transformation of the classroom space to make it conducive to working in groups, with the assumption that it enhanced the role of research and critical thinking in the learning process. The required changes in the curriculum, as well as to teaching materials and methods, necessitated substantial teacher involvement and was crucial to the success of the reform, however this proved difficult to achieve.

5 "Without teachers the reform won't work"

General Ramon Miranda, a member of the Reform Commission and Minister of Education during the Velasco regime, said in an interview:

This was a revolutionary process, it was a dictatorship, and of course we knew that not everybody would agree with the process and the reforms. And the truth is also that the [teachers] union at that time, and even now, was not quite a plural organization. It was - as it is now - strongly controlled by one political party that presented a very vocal opposition to the reform and the regime. But one thing is clear... No other regime did so much to grant an important protagonist role to teachers in the educational process, they were seen as active agents for

social change. For the commission and the regime, it was absolutely clear that without the teachers we had no chance to succeed on the reform. That was one of our mottos: *'Sin maestros, la reforma no va'*. (Oliart 2011a)

In fact, for many teachers, the reform represented a professionally stimulating moment because the State officially and openly recognized their social role in the school system (Oliart 1986). In order to integrate teachers into the process, the regime organized training programs that started even before the promulgation of the law. The training sessions put teachers in touch with the reformers, school text authors, and different experts with whom they could discuss the new ideas. The reform represented an important milestone not only because it was introducing new teaching methods, but also because teachers felt that their practice was in touch with new research in the social sciences and the humanities, and that their work was of intellectual and political relevance. The classroom had become an appropriate and legitimate space for teachers to channel their social and political interests (Barrantes 1989; Salazar Bondy 1976).

But many teachers who could, in principle, agree with the ideas of the reform and be enthusiastic about the new challenges, were at the same time loyal members of the Union of Education Workers of Peru (SUTEP), firmly opposed to the military regime due to a complicated dispute around teachers' salaries (Angell 1982; Ballón & Pezzo 1984, Oliart 2011a). SUTEP leaders were sent to prison, transferred to other regions in the country, deported, or simply fired. To worsen the situation, in an attempt to weaken the emerging power of the radical teachers' union, the military regime created a parallel organisation: the Peruvian Revolution Teachers Union (SERP) which spurred even more animadversion towards the regime and the reform. Thus, while in many ways teachers boycotted the reform (Angell 1982; Wilson 2000; Vom Hau 2009), there were also teachers who participated in strikes and other Union activities opposing the regime, while in the classroom would be happy to implement a curriculum that expected them to be inspirers of the social critique and liberation ideologies that the reform had legitimized (Oliart 1986).

In 2012 former SUTEP leader Cesar Barrera Bazan revealed that his organization had critically evaluated their stance towards the reform:

In the light of time past we realized that we failed to consider the importance of the reform. There were very good people working with them, they had important and innovative approaches, issues such as the affirmation of national identity against imperialism, or the critical study of history and society. (Oliart 2013)

Educator and Jesuit priest Ricardo Morales, who was directly involved in education reform describes the teachers' participation in the re-training sessions he led during the reform:

In those years criticism to traditional education was deep. And teachers were quick to come on board. For the first time in history, teachers had

the opportunity to sit and calmly reflect about the connections between education and politics as a collective exercise. (Oliart 1986)

The General Report (Ministerio de Educacion 1970) stated that teachers were ill-prepared to take on the challenge of educational innovation. The reform took on board the task of re-training in-service teachers, and also reformed teacher training colleges. But all necessary changes would not happen by decree. A transformation of this magnitude needed a long time to take place and crucially, a wider consensus.

6 "Education - a task for all"

The regime used several resources to foster the changes the reform needed. One important characteristic was that the RGAF displayed an unprecedented effort to coordinate the actions of all sectors, especially in rural areas. This was particularly the case for the Ministries of Health, Agriculture and Education, who performed a coordinated action in rural Peru (Martin 2000). For the wider society they had other resources. The newspaper *Expreso* was dedicated to education, and the TV State-run Channel 7 and some radio stations also worked to convince the nation that education was a national concern. General Miranda remembers:

We had to make the country realise that society needed to take back the responsibility it had long abandoned, that the whole national community had to take part in the transformation of the educational system. The revaluation of the teachers' role had to come together with the revaluation of the role of the national community to be in charge of the country's fate. (Oliart 2011a)

In the end many of the changes proposed by the reform were not implemented, but not purely because it lacked enough budget or time to succeed. On the one hand, transforming the nature of power relations in each situation proved to be more than problematic; the reform was taking away power from local officers who traditionally had used the State apparatus as part of their power and influence networks (Bourricaud 1970; Poole 1994). On the other hand, the reform encountered the resistance of teachers and communities to dissimilar aspects of it. Some questioned the authoritarian aspects of the model, particularly the urban middle classes, who openly challenged the politicized character of the education and were uncomfortable with the attempts to censor racial and social discrimination. They also resisted the number of compulsory activities that parents had to attend in order to be part of the governance of the schools and the local clusters or *Nucleos Educativos Comunes* created by the reform (Rivero 2007). This issue had a different face in rural areas, where Norman Gall, a North American journalist who travelled through Peru in those years, registered resistance among teachers to the governance structure proposed by the reform, because it was granting power and participation to the communities, so they felt their authority and prestige threatened (Gall 1974).

Several analysts of the Education Reform state that part of its failure was due to its late implementation during the RGAF. Tensions between the left and right wings of the military were already obvious in 1972. The more progressive wing in the military had no allies in the country, and the opposition was becoming increasingly radicalized (Cotler 1978; Tovar 1987; Rivero 2007; Martin 2002). The military regime produced two government plans. The first phase started with the *Plan Inca*, and in 1977, two years after Velasco had been removed from power, they issued the *Plan Tupac Amaru*. Unlike what happened with other sectors of the government, there was no mention of changes in the orientation of the Education Reform in the second plan, but according to Teresa Tovar (1987) and Jose Rivero (2007) the boycott of the Education Reform had already begun in 1975 via reductions to the budget and personnel assigned to support the development and strengthening of the local education clusters or nuclei.

Another clear sign of the lack of consensus concerning the Education Reform during the second phase of the military Government was the appointment of conservative historian Juan José Vega as director of *Expreso*, the newspaper assigned to the education community. From his editorial column Vega constantly fustigated the left-wing ideological manipulation that teachers allegedly tended to exert in the classroom. The ideological intervention on the curriculum was attacked directly through various measures. The subject which had been renamed socio-historical sciences was withdrawn in 1977. In literature, Peruvian authors who addressed issues of social inequality or injustice were deemed to be encouraging of social resentment and conflict, and their work (such as Paco Yunque, a story by poet Cesar Vallejo) was gradually removed from primary school textbooks. The Belaunde regime that started in 1980, eliminated specific pages of textbooks from the first and second cycles of basic education, and at the Ministry of Education, the Director of Secondary Education decreed the need to eliminate from the curriculum and textbooks any reference "to social conflict and the class struggle" (Oliart 1986). A government official who worked in the ministry in both regimes said in an interview that the Ministry of Education during the second regime of Belaunde had no other plan for the education system in the country but to eliminate any traces of the 1972 Reform Project (Oliart 1986).

In summary, the 1972 Reform had important flaws, a few modest achievements and yet a lasting legacy. One of the main flaws was the lack of investment in infrastructure and coverage. Lack of clarity about how the changes would be funded was evident from the start. However, the goal of reducing illiteracy from 27% to 21% was attained. The distribution of resources through clusters of schools of education, the literacy programme, and the comprehensive non-formal education programme allowed the State to expand education services to remote areas of the country (Tovar 1985). In an

attempt to improve teacher training, the RGAF closed down teacher training schools working below certain standards demanded by the government (Oliart 2011a). Perhaps the most lasting achievement was the transformation of the way the country was represented in school textbooks. Geography and history were integrated to introduce the different cultures in the country. But the most important legacy was probably the formative experience of the members of the Reform Commission. Their understanding of the education system, the attention to innovative ideas, and the expertise they contributed in the formulation of the project was crucial for the development of an active group of organisations and experts that did not disappear with the Velasco regime.

7 The Legacy of the 1972 Education Reform

Duncan Green calls "the silent revolution of neo-liberalism" to the process in which for nearly two decades, language on the role of the State as provider of services assumed a technocratic tone, associating its intervention to the stabilization of the economy and structural adjustments, but disconnected from society, its needs and its history (Green 2003). For about two decades, proposals made in Washington by groups of experts to improve the services of health, education or justice, generally disregarded historical, economic and political conditions in the countries in which the reforms were implemented, dealing with long-standing problems as if they were technical challenges for social re-engineering (Hansen & Stepputat 2001). But country-specific analysis on different neoliberal policies show that the involvement of local political actors in the different reforms can account for very different political results (Torres & Puigross 1997; Hale 2005; Gustafson 2011). This evidence of the importance of a local political agency and the fact that several countries in Latin America are now living in post-neoliberal regimes help in questioning the established consensus that there were no alternatives outside the neoliberal reform parameters. In this context, reflecting on the legacy of the Peruvian education experiment of the RGAF can be enlightening.

In the field of education, neoliberalism has introduced the notion that the effective provision of a service needs to be ruled by the market, guaranteeing competitiveness and diversity of choice in the supply. In the case of State-funded education, amendments to the school system inspired by this language aimed at the effective use of resources in the education process, measuring success through indicators of students' achievement through standardized tests (Hursh 2000). The ultimate goal is to produce successful individuals who are entrepreneurs themselves, hard-working, competitive and flexible, prepared to craft a place for themselves in the market, according to their skills and abilities. Many critics point out that this conception of education keeps teachers, students and communities away from other concepts, interests and purposes that were previously associated with the objectives of education, linked not only to effective resource use

use and development of "abilities and skills" but to the ethical, political, and aesthetic education of young citizens (Ball et al. 2009). It is because of its attention to these other wider dimensions of education that the debates stimulated by the 1972 Reform remain important for present-day Peru. The work of about a hundred Peruvian educators and academics who tried to imagine an education system tailored to the country and its needs, in the context of the profound changes that they expected to be part of, did not simply vanish with the Velasco regime or the dismantling of the reform.

After the end of the military regime, most members of the commission continued with their roles as educators in schools and universities, and some of them remained in public service. But more importantly, they continued to be part of a critical mass that kept thinking about education in the country, following discussions on pedagogic innovation, renewing ideas, and integrating new generations into this community of interested professionals and specialists in education. They did this in their university and teacher training classrooms, in different NGOs and creating organisations such as *Movimiento Pedagógico* (Movement for Pedagogic Innovation) in the 1990s. Thus, in spite of the dramatic lack of continuity in education policies at State level (Balarin 2008), Peru has a community of very important and diverse individuals and institutions who have education at the centre of their concerns. They support teachers' networks, lead NGOs and alternative schools dedicated to disseminating a democratic approach to education, including the appreciation of cultural diversity and teacher training in indigenous languages as well as the production of bilingual teaching materials.

Some members of two civil society organizations, *Foro Educativo* and the National Council of Education, used to be influential former participants of the 1972 Reform Commission, while other members of these organisations were influenced by the reform as students. These plural institutions have a wide and comprehensive agenda for the country, and have been instrumental in the dissemination of ideas and principles of the process that some of their members were part of four decades ago, nurturing their experience and their reflections.

In the early 1990s, during the Fujimori regime, when the World Bank mission and other international cooperation organizations went to Peru to implement the Education Reform recommended by the Brady Plan, they found a critical mass of specialists to enter into dialogue with outside of the State apparatus. In his study about the World Bank led education reform in Latin America, José Rivero (1999) describes well the particularities of the Peruvian case and how it differed from what had happened in Colombia, Chile, Brazil, Bolivia and Argentina. While the Education Reform designed in Washington was integrated into the political agenda of the new regimes in those countries, in Peru the agenda was clearly imposed from the outside and found on the one hand the acquiescence of the regime, but little organic support on the other³.

In Peru, as everywhere else, the World Bank approach to education reform aimed at producing measurable results through specific efficiency indicators, such as coverage and educational attainment. Under this framework, little attention was given to finding the historical roots of the education system's problems in the social and cultural structures of society (Carnoy 2009). During the Fujimori regime (1990-2000) problems such as inequality and exclusion were dealt with, but devoid of any political implications (Hornberger 2000), and corruption and its reproduction in the school system were overlooked. Improving the quality of State basic education and teacher training received priority attention from the World Bank. But the identified lines of intervention in each country were applied differently, according to what the social and political circumstances allowed for. In Peru measures such as the decentralization and modernization of the State apparatus, the improvement of the quality of teaching (through teacher training for the dissemination of constructive pedagogy, renewal of textbooks, infrastructure investment and the introduction of systems of quality measurement) and the development of measures to remedy educational exclusion were well-received ideas in spite of the limited and fragmented way in which the State implemented them (Oliart 2011b).

In this context, Rivero (1999) explains, non-governmental organizations and universities, as well as some social organizations interested in the transformation of the educational system, took advantage of the opportunity to bring their concerns back onto the national stage. Thus, the opposition that the World Bank education "package" encountered in other Latin American countries did not occur in Peru. Instead, some of these actors used the 1990s Education Reform context as an opportunity to push their particular agendas using the media and the focus on education prompted by the international organisations. For example, the development of Intercultural Bilingual Education became an important aspect of the World Bank Reform. It has been widely acknowledged that the 1972 Reform played a pioneering role in the search for alternatives to address the issue of multi-lingualism in rural education, producing and inspiring projects that influenced the development of similar processes in Ecuador, Bolivia and Guatemala several decades later (Zuñiga & Ansion 1997; Hornberger 2000; Howard 2007 among others).

The wider education community in Peru is vigilant of the performance of the State, and is also interconnected to a complex web of social networks in the country which is used to sharing resources for information and discussion. Some of their institutions and individuals have a well-established presence in the media. Three post-Fujimori regimes, Presidents Valentin Paniagua (2000-2001), Alejandro Toledo (2001-2006) and currently Ollanta Humala (2011-2016), appointed Ministers of Education coming from these networks. Furthermore, former President of the National Council of Education, Patricia Salas, is the current Minister of Education.

Even though this education community did not directly confront the neoliberal education policies, they managed to produce a consensual alternative vision for the development of education in the country. First they created the National Council of Education, then they conducted a wide-ranging participatory process for the formulation of a National Plan for Education. A national consultation process followed to approve the final text of the plan in 2007, so that Peru now has a National Plan for Education which aims to ensure universal access to quality education, to strengthen democracy and allow the participation of the community in the education system (PEN, 2006). Today, in Peru, implementing the National Plan of Education has become a political indicator, a landmark used by the public opinion to judge a regime's commitment to improving the education in the country (Cuenca 2009). It is worth noting that there are clear similarities between the main goals of this plan and important issues that were raised during the education reform of the 1970s. The plan envisions an education system that recognizes, celebrates and works with cultural diversity in the classroom, ensures teacher training that has national and local relevance, and that is committed to treating teachers with dignity, and providing higher education that responds to the needs of the country. It also considers of crucial importance to set in place mechanisms that guarantee participation of the wider community in the education system. All of these resonating with the final words of Emilio Barrantes' *Memoirs* (1990), hoping that time would allow the country to bring back the "most important ideas" of the 1972 Reform Project "for the good sake of the country's education and its protagonists".

The failure of neoliberal education reform in Latin America in achieving modernization and overcoming low performance indicators in rural education, has re-ignited debates about the relevance of education reform inspired in ideas and projects conceived of before the 1990s, such as the Peruvian reform of 1972. Also, new debates, particularly those concerning post-development and decolonization theories, encourage a re-evaluation of the RGAF because its discourses and agenda clearly diverged from developmentalist approaches common in those years, contributing to establish a continuity with anti-colonial narratives and postcolonial theorizing in Latin America that challenge dominant discourses, in the quest for educational policies and practices conducive to social transformation (Crossley & Tikly 2004).

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Endnotes

¹ Anti-imperialism in Latin America should be understood as a stance against the economic, political and cultural power of the United States of America over Latin American societies.

² Indigenistas were provincial intellectuals who advocated for the full citizenship of the marginalised rural indigenous population in the country .

³ Maria Balarin (2008) states precisely the opposite, that Peru was one of the countries where the World Bank reform had the most support. My research suggests that several of the WB recommendations were applied uncritically, but with no commitment from the State to pursue them. The implementation of the reforms was fragmentary, mostly executed through separate projects. If there was a continuity in the teams implementing the reforms, it was precisely due to the fact that they were a superficial structure working almost in parallel with the rest of the Ministry of Education. The most accurate description of the way these reforms were implemented came from Oscar Trelles, Minister of Education under Fujimori, who announced the reform as a "series of projects funded by the World Bank" to improve the quality of education.

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Citizenship Competencies and the Program of Education in Sexuality and Construction of Citizenship (PESCC): A Review of the Implementation of a Public Policy in Institutions of Primary and Secondary Education in Bucaramanga, Colombia

Keywords

citizenship, civic competencies, sexuality, educational policy

Civic education is becoming increasingly important in the Colombian context and is part of the educational priorities of the national government. Therefore, it has launched the Program of Education in Sexuality and Construction of Citizenship (PESCC) that integrates the standards in civic competencies with those of Social and Natural Sciences in the development of educational projects that promote respect and promotion of human, sexual and reproductive rights. The aim of this paper is to review the implementation of the public policy of PESCC, which was carried out in 24 public institutions in the city of Bucaramanga, Colombia, using the conceptual and methodological tools provided by the Ministry of National Education (MEN). The introduction underlines the importance of citizenship education in the Colombian context, the perspective adopted by Colombia regarding other countries in Latin America, the government proposals for education in citizenship and civic competencies in the PESCC. Document analysis and content analysis were used to analyze the pedagogical matrices designed by 20 public educational institutions and the records of the visits to the institutions. The results show the strengths and barriers identified in the implementation of this educational policy. The conclusions suggest that educational innovations in citizenship must be accompanied by an evaluative process of the transformation of the institutions and the different actors of the educational community, in order to know the real impact of these initiatives on school life. Finally, some reflections are included for the implementation of this type of educational policies.

Introduction

Civic education is becoming increasingly important in the Colombian context and is part of the educational priorities of the national government. Therefore, it has launched the Program of Education in Sexuality and Construction of Citizenship (PESCC) that integrates the standards in civic competencies with those of Social and Natural Sciences in the development of educational projects that promote

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respect and promotion of human, sexual and reproductive rights. The aim of this paper is to review the implementation of the public policy of PESCC, which was carried out in 24 public institutions in the city of Bucaramanga, Colombia, using the conceptual and methodological tools provided by the Ministry of National Education (MEN). The first part of the introduction underlines the importance of citizenship education in the Colombian context and the perspective adopted by Colombia regarding other countries in Latin America. The second part describes the Colombian government proposals for education in citizenship. The third part reviews citizenship and civic competencies in the PESCC.

2 The Colombian context and citizenship education

For more than 50 years Colombia has suffered the scourge of war and violence and currently it is a country characterized by noticeable social inequalities and a high degree of corruption at all levels and sectors of the society. Violence and a lack of equity have provoked in the citizens general distrust of the rulers and their low interest in participating in the country's political life, which is reflected in the attitudes of young people, who are also disappointed "about the main representative institutions of democracy" (Palacios 2012, 2) and therefore reluctant to get involved and participate in them.

Distrust of the rulers and low political participation have been generating what Ruiz and Chaux (2005, 10) call a "crisis of citizenship", or of "the inability to build fair and equitable social conditions for all, articulated by political means" and has

caused concern in the Colombian state, leading it to propose actions to address these issues. One of them is civic education, which attempts to make children, teenagers and young people aware of the country's reality and the importance of their active participation to achieve the transformation that the country needs to move towards a more democratic, fair and peaceful society.

Civic education requires the joint efforts of various constituents of the society, such as the family, the school, the media and government institutions, who are essential to the personal and social development of every human being. The school has a more direct impact on such education, since its primary purpose is to educate, and is also a small society that provides different spaces and opportunities to learn and practice citizenship (Chaux 2004). Accordingly, Mejía and Perafán (2006) maintain that in order to achieve civic education, it must be not only one of the academic subjects, but also one of practical subjects and the life of educational institutions, allowing students to experience it and learn it through daily practice. This education, which should begin in the school, must lead citizens to "a transformation in the way we act in society, how we relate to each other or how we participate in order to bring about change" (Chaux 2004, 10).

The perspective adopted in Colombia for *Education in Citizenship* is part of a trend in Latin America that aims to overcome the traditional models of civic education in which the student must memorize obligations, rights, social institutions, etc., in order to go on to critical reasoning and the development of attitudes and behaviors respectful of equality and democracy. It is thus expected that Education in citizenship will not be limited to a subject or specific course but it will be a cornerstone of the curriculum from kindergarten. Each country prioritizes certain issues that are socially relevant for its curricula: Colombia emphasizes pacific coexistence; Chile prioritizes the democratic system, and Mexico highlights the fight against illegal practices and corruption (Cueto 2006).

Cox (2010) who carried out a comparative analysis of Citizenship Education in Chile, Colombia, Guatemala, Mexico, Paraguay and Dominican Republic, found out that this issue has had a quantitative, thematic and educational expansion in their curricula: in the quantitative aspect he points out that it is no longer a specific subject of specific grades but it is present through all the educational process as permanent axis; in the thematic aspect he points out the approach of present-day issues such as equity, the environment, human rights and gender, and in the educational aspect, he points out not only the search for the acquisition of concepts but also the development of skills and attitudes so that the educational process takes place in the classroom and in the different spaces of coexistence within the school. The author also notes that a characteristic of civic education these countries share is the fact that they offer it through diverse areas of the curriculum, from the first grades of primary education through the last grades of

secondary education. Additionally, in terms of curriculum organization, he identified as the main difference the fact that while Colombia and Chile defined their national curricula according to standards, the other countries defined them as educational programs. Another distinctive feature found by this author is that in these two countries there is not a specific subject of citizenship, but that the achievement of the basic standards of competencies defined by each country is a responsibility of the whole school.

The international assessment of civil education, carried out by the International Association for Educational Achievement (IEA) in 2009, investigated the students' level of achievement through a test of knowledge and concept comprehension and their attitudes towards citizenship education. The study involved 38 countries, six of them from Latin America (Chile, Colombia, Guatemala, Mexico, Dominican Republic and Paraguay). The main findings for this region show that the students with the highest scores in civic knowledge came from the countries with the highest scores in the human development index and showed lesser acceptance of authoritarian governments, corruption and nonobservance of law among others. As far as civic knowledge is concerned, Colombia, Chile and Mexico obtained significantly higher average scores than the other Latin American countries: around 52% of Colombian students stated that they did not have any preference for a specific political party; 76% stated that peace can be reached only through dialogue and negotiation, and 64% agreed that in order to reach peace, the end justifies the means. In the same way, they expressed more positive attitudes towards their country than the average students from other participating countries (Schulz, Ainley, Friedman, Lietz 2011).

2 Colombian government proposals aimed at education in citizenship

To support and guide education in citizenship, the MEN designed and released in 2006 the basic standards in civic competencies, which include what students should know and be able to do in relation to the exercise of citizenship in the educational, family and community spheres according to their developmental stage (Palacios 2012).

The conception of citizenship on which these standards are based stems from the premise that living in society is a characteristic of human beings, that social relations are necessary to survive and see the meaning of existence, that a child learns to live in society, and that learning continues throughout life. Therefore it is necessary to develop competencies to interact with others and participate actively in the construction of the society as political actors. The regulatory framework underpinning these competencies is the Constitution of 1991 and the ideal of democratic society implicit in it, and the rights of children, who are considered as subjects of law and not passive recipients of care and protection (MEN 2006). Teaching civic competencies

thus entails educating in and for the experience of human rights.

These standards are the criteria that make it possible to track the process of civic education of the students and the educational community at large, and are organized by grade as follows: first to third, fourth to fifth, sixth to seventh, eighth to ninth, and tenth to eleventh (MEN 2006). In turn, they are divided into three groups representing key dimensions for the exercise of citizenship competencies. These dimensions, based on Chaux's approach, are as follows. (2004b, 19):

- Coexistence and peace: this dimension involves the ability to live together peacefully and constructively with others, recognizing the existence of conflict and dealing with them without aggression, promoting the interests of the various parties involved. Dialogue and negotiation become the main ways of solving conflicts, while peace is assumed from two approaches to peace: negative peace, which is the absence of aggression and abuse, and positive peace, which refers to inclusion, non-discrimination and equity in relations among citizens.

- Participation and democratic responsibility: all members of a society should be actively involved in decision-making processes and in reaching agreements. These processes occur at two levels: macro and micro. The macro level involves the participation of citizens through people or institutions that represent their interests. The presented citizens are the ones with real power over decisions; they exercise that power through such procedures as the vote or the mandate revocation among others. At the micro level, citizens have direct participation on decisions and agreements, through direct dialogue with the other parties involved; these processes must occur in different areas of social life, such as neighborhoods, rural areas, companies, schools and families among others.

- Plurality, identity and appreciation of differences: this dimension involves the avoidance of any type of discrimination and the appreciation, respect and defense of differences. However, plurality and appreciation of differences does not imply tolerance of practices that violate human rights, but on the contrary, avoidance and reporting of these practices. Identity, in turn, implies the recognition of one's own identity and that of others as well as respect and acceptance thereof.

Each group of standards includes a general standard, which in turn comprises a set of specific standards of competence. The specific standards are divided into four types of competencies combined with knowledge. The competencies are: communicative (allowing people to express, understand, and negotiate skillfully with others), cognitive (helping to critically reflect on reality and to move away from one's own perspective and see the perspective of

others, for including them in one's own life); emotional (making it possible to identify, express and manage one's own emotions and those of others) and integrating (incorporating the knowledge and skills when acting in everyday personal and public life). These groups of standards have horizontal consistency (all groups of standards and their general and specific standards are interrelated), and vertical coherence as they become deeper and more complex, according to the students' cognitive and socio-emotional development (MEN 2006).

Besides the formulation of the basic standards of civic competencies, the MEN has launched various initiatives within its education quality projects, which have as main characteristic their integration, i.e. they are programs or projects that seek to permeate all areas of the curriculum, teaching and learning practices, the Institutional Educational Project and in general, the life of the whole school community (MEN, UNFPA 2008b).

Two government programs to strengthen civic education are the Program of Education for Human Rights "Eduderechos", and the Program of Education in Sexuality and Construction of Citizenship "PESCC". The former aims to "develop basic civic competencies according to the creation of subjects of law (MEN 2010), through the design and implementation of educational projects that seek to promote teaching practices and school cultures in which human rights are respected and experienced daily. The latter is an initiative of the MEN and the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), which seeks to develop life competencies, so that children, adolescents and young people make responsible, informed and autonomous decisions over their own bodies, based on respect for dignity, promoting the experience and the construction of family and social relationships in a peaceful, fair and democratic way, from an approximation of human, sexual and reproductive rights (MEN, UNFPA 2008a). This program is based on Law 115 of 1992 and its implementing regulations, which make sex education mandatory for public and private kindergarten, primary and secondary school, taught according to the physical, psychic and affective needs of students according to their age. Likewise, this teaching should be carried out in the form of educational projects, working time and duration defined in the curriculum.

The implementation of the conceptual and operational proposal of the PESCC was conducted between 2006 and 2007 in 53 public educational institutions, 43 of which belong to four states and 10 to the city of Bucaramanga (MEN, UNFPA 2006, 2008a). During the implementation of the program, the MEN and UNFPA allotted budgetary resources for the process and coordinated activities through a National Technical Team, which worked together with Municipal Technical Teams made up of professionals from the Secretaries of Health and Education, teachers and university students and representatives of other sectors related to the subject locally and nationally. The role of these teams was to accompany the workshops of educational institutions in the process of implementing their educational projects

for Education in Sexuality and Construction of Citizenship, ESCC. Each educational institution was required to create a working group composed of teachers, administrators, parents and students, who would coordinate actions related to the program within the institution (Colombia aprende, s.f.). In 2010, the PESCC was incorporated in the national public policy, and the allocation of resources was transferred from the central government to the states. With this decision, the implementation of the PESCC became dependent on the will of the state and municipal secretaries of education. The program has two important characteristics: the first corresponds to the differentiation made between “sex education” and “education in sexuality” (to which the program is oriented), because while the former is usually limited to the biological aspect of sexuality and health promotion and prevention, education in sexuality is assumed as a dimension of the human being, with multiple functions and components that cannot be reduced simply to the biological field (MEN, UNFPA 2008a). The concept of sexuality implies emotional, behavioral, cognitive and communicative aspects, which is why it has various components and functions. Hence it constitutes a symbolic universe, full of representations, ideas, assumptions, prejudices, norms and behavior patterns, etc., for which the educational process should aim to teach people to critically discern, evaluate and make judgments, to be active on human, sexual and reproductive rights (MEN, UNFPA 2008a).

The second important feature of the program is that it links education in sexuality with citizenship, since the relationship between both of them is unbreakable: citizenship cannot be practised while ignoring aspects of sexuality such as gender identity, cultural behaviors related to masculinity and femininity and the beliefs that society holds about them. Sexuality implies knowing, respecting and living human rights (such as sexual and reproductive rights) and respect of human dignity which is independent of gender, sexual orientation, race, religion, etc.. Citizenship implies building peaceful relationships based on the acknowledgement of others and democratic participation in making decisions about their future as citizens. Consequently, the pedagogical and methodological proposal of the PESCC includes the use of standards in civic competencies, thereby transcending sexuality. These competencies promote knowledge and the exercise of rights, duties and democracy, so that children, adolescents and young people become active subjects of law and builders of a peaceful, inclusive, respectful society that advocates individual differences.

3 Citizenship and civic competencies in the PESCC

Citizenship is assumed as a condition from which people participate in defining their own destiny as individuals and society, when they understand the norms, values, customs, traditions and ways of interacting and communicating. Such citizenship is exercised when the individual is involved in the

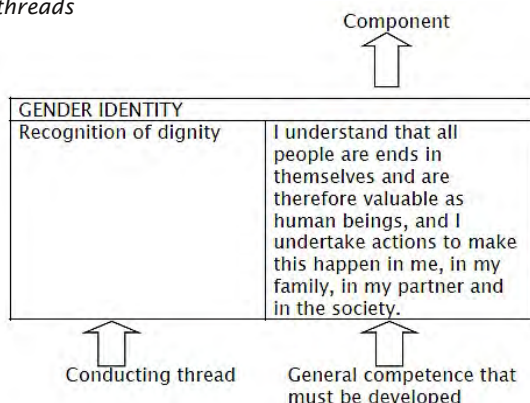
transformation and improvement of social, family, local, and other contexts. Thus, the teaching of civic competencies seeks to teach people to recognize themselves as part of the society and exercise their right and duty to construct, transform and improve their social context (MEN, UNFPA 2008a).

For the implementation of educational projects in educational institutions, the PESCC has “Thematic axes” and “pedagogical matrices”. The thematic axes guide the design and planning of educational projects of ESCC, condensing the learning needs of students and facilitating their integration (MEN, UNFPA 2008b). These thematic axes are fed with the standards in civic competencies, competencies in Social and Natural Sciences and with sexual and reproductive rights. They were designed for the various components and functions of sexuality that are presented below in Table 1, and for each of them a general competence was defined, as shown in Figure 1.

Table 1. Conducting threads for each component and function of sexuality

SEXUALITY COMPONENT	CONDUCTING THREAD
Gender identity	Recognition of dignity Plurality of identities Self-assessment Development of moral judgment Life project Free development of personality Identity and sexuality Right to information
Gender-related cultural behaviors	Culture and gender-related behaviors Critical analysis of gender-related cultural behaviors Flexibility in gender-related cultural behaviors Gender equity
Sexual orientation	Sex-erotic and affective orientation Entitlement to the liberty of choice and respect for difference Recognition of diversity Construction of an atmosphere of respect
Functions of sexuality	Conducting thread
Erotic	Recognition of pleasure The body as a source of comfort Erotic expressions The language of eroticism Entitlement to intimacy Equality between sexes
Affective	Establishment of affective bonds Construction and cultivation of relationships Identification, expression and handling of own and other's emotions Demonstrations of affection Right to choose marital status
Reproductive	Biological, sexual and reproductive functions Psychological and social aspects of reproduction Sexual and reproductive health Sexual and reproductive health services Right to physical, social and psychic integrity Decision making Entitlement to liberty Entitlement to life
Communicative relational	Pacific and dialogue-based coexistence Participative and horizontal relationships Recognition of and respect for identity and difference Establishment of agreements to sexuality Entitlement to personal security Entitlement to education

Figure 1: Explanation of the table of conducting threads



Source: MEN & UNFPA, 2008b, p. 10

By using the thematic axes in the design of educational projects of ESCC, institutions must reflect on the educational needs of students according to their developmental stage, as the competencies to be developed should respond to the vital stage they are in (MEN, UNFPA 2008b).

Standards in civic and scientific competencies play an important role, because they make it clear what competencies should be achieved according to the students' educational stage. The main task of teachers who design these educational projects is to relate the thematic axes that will be used with the civic competencies that are present in the standards they want to develop, according to the degree or degrees to which they orient the educational strategies that they want to construct.

For the design of instructional strategies for teaching projects of ESCC, the MEN and UNFPA (2008b) have proposed the use of the "pedagogical matrix", a tool that enables educational institutions to use the thematic axes as a reference for planning and developing such strategies and reflect on teaching practice. This tool takes into account the context in which the project is developed and the students' needs and interests. This matrix "facilitates the articulation of education in sexuality as integrated to each of the areas and grades". (MEN, UNFPA 2008b, 18)

Below is a description of the elements of the matrix. The same scheme can be seen in Figure 2.

1. Name of the experience

2. In what context did this strategy originate? It describes the situation or problem the institution faces and that justifies the implementation of the PESCC. For example, preteen pregnancy, drug use, the carrying of weapons in the school, bullying, early onset of sexual behavior, in difficulty adopting the coexistence standards of the school.

3. Thematic axes: It includes those thematic axes that are considered necessary according to the context of the institution and the issues you to be addressed.

4. What we want to achieve: It describes the global competencies to be developed from the axis chosen.

These competencies are defined for each thematic axis in module 2 of the PESCC.

5. Civic and scientific competencies that are sought: it includes civic and scientific competencies that teachers set for each thematic axis, taking into account the standards set by the MEN according to the educational level of the students to whom they are directed.

6. Relationship to other projects: It describes the other projects of the institution with which the PESCC can be related, such as the use of free time after school hours for practicing sports, performing tasks or artistic activities, sexual education workshops on sexually transmitted diseases and contraceptive use, etc.

7. How to do it: It includes a description of the activities to be carried out to address the main thematic axis chosen and achieve goals.

8. With whom: It describes students to whom the activities described in the matrix are directed (e.g. 5th grade students).

9. When and where: It establishes the places and spaces in which the activities will take place.

10. Resources available to us: It includes bibliographic, technical, technological, methodological, resources available to carry out the activities outlined in the matrix.

11. How to know what has been achieved: It includes the outputs expected from the activities outlined in the matrix and defines the criteria for such products. It can be used to monitor the achievements made over the objectives.

Figure 2: Pedagogical matrix for the design of instructional strategies

Thematic axis	What we want to achieve	Civic and Scientific Competencies that are sought
Self-valuation	The recognition and value as a unique human being who deserves to be respected and valued. Resorting to the right people and institutions that can help defend their rights when they are violated	I understand the importance of basic values of peaceful coexistence such as solidarity, good treatment and respect for myself and for others and I practice them in my near context (home, classroom, and playground). I assume everyday conflicts in my school and family life in a peaceful and constructive way and I contribute to the protection of the rights of young people.

3 Method

The methods used were document analysis and content analysis. The document analysis is a series of intellectual procedures for describing and representing the documents in a unified and systematic way facilitating their recovery. The content analysis allows capturing, evaluating, selecting, interpreting and synthesizing their meanings (Dulzaides, Molina 2004).

The documents analyzed are the pedagogical matrices designed by 20 public educational institutions from Bucaramanga, during the implementation of the PESCC in the city, in light of the standards of civic competencies designed by the MEN (2006). Additionally, the records of the visits to the institutions carried out by the Municipal Technical Team (ETM, Spanish acronym), lead by the ATENEA Educational Research Group, were revised and transcribed. These proceedings include the opinions and suggestions of members of the working groups and the members of the ETM about the progress of each institution.

To perform this analysis, we established the following criteria:

- *Using the thematic axes proposed by the PESCC:* it implies that the pedagogical matrices constructed have taken thematic axes from the program and no other designed by the institutions.
- *Using competency standards:* it distinguishes between the use of competencies in Social Sciences, Natural Language, Mathematics and civic competencies.
- *Adaptation to the educational level of students:* it identifies whether there is correspondence between the educational level of the students for whom the specific scientific competencies were specified in the pedagogical matrices and the educational level for which those competencies were designed in the standards.
- *Competencies according to the specific dimension of citizenship:* it corresponds to the use made of civic competencies, according to groups where they were classified in the standards (Coexistence and peace, democratic participation and responsibility, plurality, identity and appreciation of differences).
- *Type of competencies used in the matrices:* it refers to the use of cognitive, communicative, emotional, and integrating competencies in the design of the pedagogical matrices.

4 Results

Of the 24 educational institutions in Bucaramanga that participated in the implementation process of the PESCC from 2008 to 2011, 22 designed pedagogical matrices; two of them did not use the thematic axes proposed by the program. Table 2 shows the thematic axes used in the 20 other matrices.

As shown in the table above, most institutions used thematic axes related to the sex component *gender identity*, while Life Project and Self-valuation were the axes most often included in the matrices.

Of the 20 educational institutions that designed matrices, all of them used the PESCC thematic axes; six of them did not use any of the MEN's competency standards and two did not take into account the standards of civic competencies. Of the remaining 12 institutions, five failed to articulate the competencies of the standards to the educational level of students to whom the teaching strategies were addressed and seven institutions made good use of them.

Table 2: Conducting wires used in the pedagogical matrices

Conducting wire	Institutions that used it	Component / function of sexuality to which it belongs
Life Project	10	Gender identity component
Self-valuation	9	Gender identity component
Identification, expression and management of own and others' emotions	6	Affective function
Development of moral judgment	4	Gender identity component
Gender equity	4	Component of cultural gender behaviors
Recognition of dignity	3	Gender identity component
Peaceful and dialogue-based coexistence	3	Communicative - relational function
The body as a source of comfort	2	Erotic Function
Language of eroticism	2	Erotic Function
Plurality of identities	1	Gender identity component
Free personality development	1	Gender identity component
Building respect environments	1	Component of sexual orientation
Equality between the sexes	1	Erotic Function
Expression of affection	1	Affective function
Sexual and reproductive health	1	Reproductive function

Table 3 shows the distribution of competency standards of the institutions that used them for the construction of their matrices.

Table 3. Competency standards assumed by the institutions in their teaching matrices

Institutions	Competency Standards				Not defined
	Scientific	Civil	Language	Mathematics	
	12	12	3	1	6

The data in the table show that only 12 institutions defined civic competencies and 12 defined scientific competencies (including Social Sciences and Natural Sciences). Very few made use of the language and mathematics standards.

Of the 12 institutions that used standards in civic competencies, seven articulated them to the educational level of students for whom the matrix was addressed and five had difficulty doing so. Here are some examples: educational matrix scheme 1 illustrates a case of proper articulation and educational matrix schemes 2, 3 and 4 show some of the difficulties experienced by institutions in achieving this purpose.

The below matrix is constructed by appropriately using the standards of civic competencies for kindergarten to fifth grade. Here both the thematic axis chosen and its general competency are

consistent with the civic competencies taken from the standards. The school grades for which they are designed are specified.

Pedagogical matrix scheme 1

Thematic axis	What we want to achieve	Scientific or civic competencies that are sought
Self-valuation	I recognize myself as a valuable and unique human being who deserves to be respected and valued. I turn to the right people and institutions that can help me defend my rights when they are violated.	<p><u>Degrees 0 to 3</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> I understand that all children are entitled to receive good treatment, care and love. I understand that nothing justifies the abuse of children and that any abuse can be prevented. I identify abusive situations that occur in my environment, with other people and know whom to turn, ask for help and protection. I can distinguish the true expressions of love from those who might harm me. I ask adults to teach me to differentiate between displays of true affection from sexual or physical abuse and what we can say about this at home or in the classroom. <p><u>Grades 4 to 5</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> I know the fundamental rights of children (<i>to have a name, nationality, family, care, love, health, education, recreation, food and free expression</i>). I identify institutions and authorities to which I can turn for protection and defense of children's rights, and seek support when needed. I acknowledge that I have a right to my privacy and intimacy. I demand respect for it. I take care of myself. I understand that taking care of me and having healthy habits promote my well-being and relationships.

Below are some examples in pedagogical matrix schemes 2, 3, 4 that show a variety of difficulties in articulating standards of civic competencies.

Pedagogical matrix scheme 2, Grade(s): 6^o to 11^o

Thematic axes	What we want to achieve	Civic and Scientific Competencies that are sought
Self-valuation	Students will recognize themselves as valuable and unique beings that deserve to be respected and valued.	I understand that there are different ways of expressing identities (e.g. physical appearance, artistic and verbal expression and many others) and I respect them.
Life project	I direct my life to my well-being and that of others, and I make decisions that promote the free development of my personality, from my projects and those I build with others.	I understand that the respect for difference does not mean accepting that other people or groups violate human rights or constitutional laws.
Identity and Sexuality	Students will understand that sexuality is a constitutive dimension of human identity and know what constitutes it.	

This is a matrix designed for the sixth to eleventh grades: the thematic axis chosen in it was "self-evaluation". The general competency to develop located in the column "What we want to achieve" corresponds to the competency designed for this axis in the PESCC; the civic competencies chosen also belong to the standards formulated by the MEN. However, the first one is part of the standards for the first to third grades, and the second one corresponds to the fourth to fifth grades.

Pedagogical matrix scheme 3, Grade(s): 9^o

Thematic axes	What we want to achieve	Civic and Scientific Competencies that are sought
Self-valuation	Students will recognize themselves as valuable and unique beings that deserve to be respected and valued.	I understand that there are different ways of expressing identities (e.g. physical appearance, artistic and verbal expression and many others) and I respect them.
Life project	I direct my life to my well-being and that of others, and I make decisions that promote the free development of my personality, from my projects and those I build with others.	I understand that the respect for difference does not mean accepting that other people or groups violate human rights or constitutional laws.
Identity and Sexuality	Students will understand that sexuality is a constitutive dimension of human identity and know what constitutes it.	

In this matrix designed for ninth grade, the thematic axes and general competencies are properly formulated. However, the first civic competency taken from the standards corresponds to the sixth and seventh grades, while the second one corresponds to tenth and eleventh grades.

Pedagogical matrix scheme 4, Grade (s): 0^o to 5^o

Thematic axis	What we want to achieve	Civic and Scientific Competencies that are sought
Right to personal security	I understand that I am entitled to democratic school, social and family environments, free from fears, threats, or fears arising from harassment, rape and sexual abuse in private and public life. I participate in the construction of such environments	I understand the importance of basic values of peaceful coexistence as solidarity, good treatment and respect for myself and for others, and I practice them in my near context (home, classroom, playground etc.). I assume everyday conflicts in my school and family life in a peaceful and constructive way and I contribute to the protection of the rights of girls and boys.

This matrix used the general standards instead of the specific standards of competencies. The competency standards used are the general standards of the dimension coexistence and peace for first through third grades and for fourth and fifth grades. No specific standards were defined to be developed in this dimension.

In the six institutions that did not use the competency standards for the construction of their matrices, it was found that instead of them, they included goals or objectives they wanted to achieve with the implementation of the program or they only mentioned the type of competency that should be developed which shows the difficulty the members of the working groups experienced in understanding the relationship between the PESCC, its thematic axes and such standards. Below are some examples of matrices with these characteristics: they only show the first three columns for the thematic axis, the general competency for it and the civil and scientific competencies.

Pedagogical matrix Scheme 5, Grade(s): 0°, 1° y 2°

In what context did this strategy arise? Due to attitudes and expressions that evidence “inability” to do academic work

Thematic axis	What we want to achieve	Civic and Scientific Competencies that are sought
Recognition of dignity	The student will understand what it is like to be a person with qualities, values, strengths, weaknesses. The student will accept himself as he is and others. The student will have respect for plurality and difference.	Cognitive Emotional Integrating

In this matrix designed for preschool (0°) to the second grade, in the box corresponding to “What we want to achieve”, they did not use the general competence that the PESCC designed for the thematic axis that they chose (recognition of dignity), which would be “*I understand that all people are an end in themselves and therefore they are valuable as human beings, and I undertake actions to make this happen for me, my family, my partner and the society*”. The civic and scientific competencies defined in the standards by the MEN were not used either.

Pedagogical matrix scheme 6

In what context did this strategy arise? The use of aggressiveness and violence in the school community in Estoraques as a means of resolving conflicts

Thematic axis	What we want to achieve	Civic and Scientific Competencies that are sought
Valuation of diversity	I understand that all people have the right to participate in the decisions that may affect us. I appreciate and include the contributions from all the members of the community in the decision-making process, regardless of their sexual orientation.	Civic competency: Participation in promoting clear explanation of interests, negotiation, compromise, consensus building and conflict management.

This second matrix scheme appropriately defines the thematic axis and the general competency that it addresses; however, in the section “Civic and Scientific Competencies”, despite the fact that it is clear that a civic competency is being used, it does not correspond to the MEN’s standards: it is the formulation of a goal that the institution wants to achieve. The specific grade or grades towards which this strategy was directed were not defined either.

To further analyze the use of civic competencies in building educational matrices, there was a revision of their correlation with the three dimensions of citizenship: coexistence and peace; participation and democratic responsibility and plurality; and identity and appreciation of differences. These results are shown in Table 4.

Table 4: Use competencies according to the dimension of citizenship

Institution	Number of competencies used	Dimensions of citizenship		
		Coexistence and y Peace	Democratic Participation and Responsibility	Plurality, Identity and Appreciation of Differences
1	4	4	0	0
2	32	21	5	6
3	6	4	1	1
4	3	1	0	2
5	2	2	0	0
6	1	1	0	0
7	4	2	0	2
8	7	2	2	3
9	11	11	0	0
10	2	0	0	2
11	3	0	0	3
12	2	1	0	1
Total	77	49	8	20

Most institutions used competencies belonging to the dimension “*Coexistence and Peace*” in the construction of their matrices while four of them only used this set of standards. The dimension “*Plurality, Identity and Appreciation of Differences*” was also significantly represented in the pedagogical matrices. The group of standards belonging to the dimension “*Democratic Participation and Responsibility*” was the least used: only three institutions implemented competencies from this dimension in the design of their matrices.

Finally, we reviewed the use of civic competencies according to type (knowledge, cognitive, communicative, emotional, integrating). Such results are shown in Table 5.

Table 5: Competencies used in each institution according to type

Institution	Number of competencies according to type				
	Communicative	Emotional	Cognitive	Knowledge	Integrating
1	0	0	1	2	0
2	3	5	7	11	5
3	1	1	1	1	2
4	0	0	1	1	1
5	0	0	0	1	1
6	0	0	0	0	1
7	0	1	0	1	2
8	2	2	3	1	1
9	0	1	2	4	4
10	1	0	1	0	0
11	0	0	1	1	1
12	0	0	2	0	0
Total	7	10	19	23	18

As can be seen in the above table, the institutions preferred the development of knowledge, which is the most common type of competence used in pedagogical matrices; only two institutions did not include it in their design. Communication skills, meanwhile, were the least common. Of the 12 institutions that used the standards developed by the MEN, only four included this type of competition in their matrices.

Finally, it is important to note that only three institutions made use of five types of competencies in the design of their matrices.

5 Discussion

The previous results show that of a total of 24 schools participating in the implementation of the PESCC, 22 developed pedagogical matrices and two of them did not use the thematic axes in the program, which caused them to be excluded from the analysis. Of the remaining 20 institutions, seven achieved the educational matrix formulation appropriately according to the PESCC's conceptual and operational components.

The most notable features of these seven educational institutions are: a) the commitment of the director, which resulted in the creation of spaces in the teachers' academic activity during their working day to work collectively with teachers interested in the project; b) the permanence of teachers and other members of the working groups year after year, allowing the PESCC continuity during its implementation with the guidance from the Atenea group of the Universidad Industrial de Santander. This permanence was associated with hiring full-time teachers in educational institutions and their membership of the National Teachers; c) the teachers' interest to improve their competencies, which was evidenced by their attendance at workshops, meetings and visits made by accompanying UIS. These activities favored the teaching for understanding as a framework for appreciating the conceptual and operational proposal of the PESCC and the systematic teaching of the MEN documents related to the competency standards in all areas and especially, civic competencies, and d) the presence of parents in some of the workshops.

In the 13 remaining institutions the difficulties in the process of building the pedagogical matrix were associated with: a) low commitment of the school director, who did not allow the generation gaps in the teachers' academic activities during their working day, making it clear that if they wanted to participate they could do so, but not during their working hours. This hindered the creation of working groups; b) the rotation of teachers to other institutions every year, or the termination of their temporary contract, preventing the consolidation of the working groups; c) intermittent participation of teachers in workshops, meetings and visits made by the UIS accompaniment; and d) the absence of parents and students in the workshops (Beltrán, Torrado, Vargas 2013). These issues prevented the teachers from understanding the relationship between education in sexuality and the education in citizenship, a fact reflected in the PESCC implementation, which was characterized by isolated activities related to these issues, but not articulated to the curriculum. A fragment of Record 021 illustrates and is representative of the voice of the teachers in this way: "... there is evidence of the lack of support and commitment to the project by the institution's directors. There is one working group led by only one teacher, which demands greater participation of the educational community to support the organization and implementation of the project" and "... there is a lack of motivation by board members as

they say they do not have the recognition that the project requires, they do not have enough space to meet and design strategies and they feel that they are not advancing." (From the PESCC Management Report 2011).

In relation to the types of skills proposed by the MEN (2006), namely communicative, emotional, cognitive, and integrating competencies and knowledge, the matrices showed greater inclusion of the standards referred to "knowledge". This shows that higher priority was given to the transmission of knowledge, a characteristic of traditional forms of education (Villarroel 1995), which is useful for the student but does not necessarily impact his life and interactions in society (Chaux 2004b). This coincides with what Cueto pointed out (2009), citing the Second Civic Education Study conducted by the IEA in 2009, which found that, although teachers stated that the development of the student's critical thinking and values was important, in practice, the pedagogy based on the transmission of knowledge seemed to be predominant.

Continuing with the frequency of inclusion are the "cognitive" and "integrating" competencies and the ones with the lowest inclusion were "emotional" and "communicative" competencies. Emotional and communicative competencies are the ones that foster a better adaptation to the context and a better ability to cope with the circumstances of everyday life; they promote the establishment and maintenance of interpersonal relationships and conflict management (Bisquerra & Pérez 2007), since they make it possible to recognize and empathize with one's own emotions and those of others, to assertively manage conflicts, to communicate effectively, and to negotiate. This result may be related to the fact that the responsibility for the design of matrices was taken mainly by teachers, most of whom have a vision of sexuality marked by the culture in which they are immersed, limiting it to sex and reproduction. This demonstrates the need to focus on a review of their beliefs and attitudes about sexuality and citizenship, so they can establish with their students relationships that will promote and enhance the development and implementation of competencies for the full exercise of these two aspects. The same statement applies to parents, who must also be transformed by participating in educational projects of ESCC, because it is they who, by their example, may enhance or impede the work being done at school.

The above findings are particularly relevant in light of the approaches by Vogliotti and Macchiarola (2003, 1) on innovation and change in educational institutions. They claim that they are tied to objective and subjective changes of the various actors within the schools: the objective changes involve the transformation of the "teaching content, methodological strategies, curricular materials, and assessment practices" and the subjective changes refer to changes in the "implicit theories and representations of the actors, from which innovations are interpreted and adapted". For Fullan, innovations require a process of "unlearning and relearning" (1972, cit. Fullan

2002, 4), a process from which the transformations of the actors will have a strong impact on the success or failure of educational innovations (Vogliotti, Macchiarola). In the case of the PESCC, one can conclude that its emphasis was more oriented to the objective transformations, with less emphasis on the way teachers, administrators, parents and students performed and took the proposed changes from their own realities, identities and practices. Consistent with the emphasis on the objective transformations, the PESCC has a comprehensive approach of assessment of its implementation in terms of the inclusion of the educational matrix and its articulation with school dynamics, but does not take into account the systematic collection of evidence that investigates how and to what extent personal changes occur in the different actors involved in the project (MEN, UNFPA 2008c).

6 Reflections on the implementation of educational policies for education in sexuality and civic education

The partial achievements resulting from the implementation of the PESCC in the schools offer elements for reflection on the introduction and implementation of educational policies such as:

- The proper implementation of a public policy starts by establishing a common language understood by everyone: in the modules designed for the conceptual and operational proposal of the PESCC, the initial premise was that teachers knew and applied the standards of competences, which did not occur in practice and it may explain the results obtained in the institutions in which it was implemented.
- The articulation of educational policies and the programs derived from such policies is vital to avoid parallel activities and to optimize the use of human and financial resources allocated to them: in the case of the PESCC there is, at least in its purpose and implementation proposal, a great similarity to "Euderechos".
- Since the national government considered the PESCC as a public policy imperative in the student's education, they had to make sure that this national priority was present in the educational agendas of departmental government and municipalities: otherwise, the continuity of the implementation of these policies would be subject to the will of local leaders that might exclude them for not being a priority in their development plans, as happened in this case. The MEN has legal instruments to achieve these goals such as "ministerial directives", which are mandatory and "financial resources for projects on specific issues", which aim to encourage the government agencies and the educational institutions to formulate projects for additional resources and to strengthen initiatives aimed at improving quality.
- Although an initiative becomes a public policy of the national government, it is not sufficient to ensure its implementation, if there is not an

effective monitoring of its inclusion in the development plans of local authorities.

- The national government must critically study the current regulations regarding teaching practice and admit that they are not helping to achieve such program objectives as PESCC, because teachers should have enough time to receive pertinent training and to plan and monitor activities in the school. Decree 1850 of 2002, which regulates the organization of school activities and working week of school administrators and teachers in public schools, establishes that in the case of high school teachers, for example, they must work 30 hours per week, 22 of which must be dedicated to direct instruction to students, which leaves only eight hours a week to respond to other types of activities such as lesson planning, attention to parents and students, rating of assessments and assignments, and participation in educational projects of the school. This situation is compounded by differences in teachers' schedules, which prevents them from finding spaces for dialogue and joint reflection, as demanded by the PESCC for its proper implementation.

- The systematic evaluation of educational policies should be taken into account from their formulation. In the case of the PESCC no assessment was done by the MEN to take its results as a factor for decision making. Since 2011 the Colombian government has decided to give priority to the Civic Competencies Program, which puts greater emphasis on teacher education and training, recognizing it as an aspect that helps to maintain and ensure the quality of education. It provides that the institutions should establish an annual diagnosis of the training needs of teachers for promoting civic competencies, from which they should develop training processes that have a visible impact on the students' education (MEN 2011b). Faculties of education and research groups from universities with experience in this type of projects offer assistance to preschool, primary and secondary schools. This assistance strengthens teacher training processes and helps to develop initiatives and to assess their results. The provisions of the MEN have excluded universities from this process by restricting the implementation of projects in Teacher Training Schools, which are responsible for preschool teacher training, and by limiting training of teachers in service.

- Projects aimed at educational innovations should not be limited to changes in regulations or to the design of programs to comply with national regulations on education - they must also be an opportunity for growth and transformation of institutions and actors, whose voices should be taken into account from the consideration of their experience with these issues that seek to influence their lives in areas related to sexuality and citizenship. This type of program, focused on the search for a major cultural change in the school, needs time for its implementation and

continuation, and requires long-term monitoring, something that has been missing from the implementation of PESCC.

· Education for sexuality and citizenship requires cultural change mainly of teachers, which implies abandoning the traditional models of knowledge transmission (Rodríguez 2004), i.e. "subjective" transformations must be prioritized. The teachers' receptive attitude towards new models of teaching and learning from their own biography should be encouraged from their education in the undergraduate studies and should be promoted throughout their life. The autobiographical model implies that teachers should be fully aware of their own beliefs, attitudes and behavior towards sex and its various dimensions and functions, and their ability to critically appraise and self-construct throughout their life (Fallas 2009). The same model can be applied to their work in civic education, as they should know if they assume and exercise their responsibilities and rights as citizens in their daily life (MEN 2011b), and if in their teaching they promote the establishment of horizontal relationships with their students and their valuation as human beings with equal dignity and rights.

Glossary

Thematic axes: axes based on human sexual and reproductive rights that guide the design and planning of educational projects from the functions, components and contexts of sexuality.

Pedagogical matrix: a planning tool that enables educational institutions to use the axes to plan and develop teaching strategies and reflect on teaching practice.

National Technical Team: a team led by the MEN that supervises the implementation process of the PESCC in the regions, guiding municipal technical teams.

Municipal Technical Team: a group of professionals from the Education and Health Secretariats and teachers and university professionals who supervise the PESCC implementation process in educational institutions.

Working group: a team consisting of representatives of the educational community (teachers, students, parents and administrators), which coordinates the design and implementation of educational projects of ESCC in each school.

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Abelardo León

Exploring the Keys to Citizen Formation in Teacher's Discourse: Implications of Teaching Citizenship in the Araucanía Region, Chile

Keywords

education, teachers, citizenship, discourse, interculturality, mapuche

The present article addresses the main points observed during a series of interviews carried out between 2008 and 2009 with teachers of the 8th grade subject, Citizen Formation. All of the interviewees come from private and municipal educational institutions from the Araucanía region in Chile. The study revolved around two initial questions: how do teachers of the ninth region of the Araucanía deal with the notion of citizenship? And, in what way do they make sense of this concept? In this way we look to identify the elements in the discourse that form the notion of citizenship starting with the beliefs and interpretations given by the interviewees. In the results we can observe a tension between the concept the teachers have of themselves and their social role and, on the other hand, the way they should conceive the subject as a tool of the institutional character of the state.

1 Introduction

In this article I examine discursive forms of citizenship expressed in the testimony of six teachers from the Araucanía Region in the south of Chile. This region was incorporated into the Chilean national territory in the 1880s, after a long war of resistance led by the Mapuche people, the original inhabitants of that land before Hispanic conquest. Currently Araucanía is one of the Chile's poorest regions in terms of GDP per capita and home to the Mapuche indigenous population (Gobierno de Chile 2013').

According to Lucy Taylor and Fiona Wilson the notion of citizenship "cannot be reducible to a single definition" (2004, 155) because its meaning is fluid and flexible. In the case of Chile, since the processes of democratization and the consolidation of a neoliberal economic model until the recent arrival of the right wing government in 2010, we have witnessed citizen demands by self-proclaimed groups - ethnic, student, labour, gender and ecological - in the face of their exclusion from the political-economic model. In the case of ethnic minorities, these tensions within Chilean society speak of a larger conflict stemming from the project of national homogeneity driven by the Chilean government since its inception in the nineteenth century; since that time the Chilean government's national self-image meant the integration of indigenous communities under the assumption of the denial of diversity (Pinto, Casanova, Uribe,

Matthei 1988; Bengoa 1996). To completely fulfill this purpose it was necessary to put forward an essentialist construction of a single history, single-origin, one fundamental principle, which must be transmitted through the school, which in turn acted, in terms proposed by Michel Foucault (1999, 2001, 2002) as a device for the re-production of knowledge for the domination, control and subordination to an ideological paradigm.

In this sense, the driving questions of this work concern the structures of domination and differentiation of class and ethnicity that historically have been legitimized through language (Wodak & Meyer 2001). As such, it is justified to analyze the relationships of power and control that circulate and are reproduced within the school and the teacher's identity. It is possible to observe the implications of power on the practices of teachers, since we assume that all discourse is historically produced, interpreted, and incorporated into a network of domination in a given time and space (Fairclough 2001; Wodak & Meyer 2001). Accordingly, all critical discourse analyses seek to clarify the pressure effects of this network of domination, and also differentiate the gaps from which resistance to instituted discourse becomes possible. Just as Miguel Zabalza (1987) points out, in the school environment one appropriates a set of regulations, decisions, suggestions, and guidelines that allow individuals to form under a common horizon; deviation from this particular norm extends and redefines the notion of "conflict", which can be observed with the criminalization of acts associated with indigenous right claims, and the media's biased coverage portraying the indigenous as the only responsible entities.

2 Methodology

This research was heavily inspired by a notion proposed by Norman Fairclough (2003) calling for the study of the "order of discourse." As the author points out "the elements of the order of discourse are not things like nouns and prayers, however the discourses, genres and styles are" (Fairclough 2003, 24), understood as the network of social practices expressed in language.

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In the Araucanía region a series of studies about pedagogical practices linked to social inclusion from the critical analysis of discourse and the study of the inter-ethnic and intercultural relations have been undertaken (Merino & Pino 2010; Barria, Becerra, Orrehgo, Tapia 2009; Cayulef, Huaiquilaf, Huenupi, Painemilla, Paillacoí, Saavedra 2004; Carmona 2001). They have, however, focused on problems of putting into pedagogical practice forms of inclusion and recognition as related to the Mapuche students. Consequently, when the vision of the teachers was studied, efforts have been focused on educational contexts for the intercultural development of the curriculum or on the experiences of schools and programmes for the conservation of the Mapuche culture and language — understood as ethno-education. (Bello, Willson, González, Marimán 1997; Moya 1997). Their contribution has been invaluable, allowing for the generation of educational programmes and projects that have helped change conventional patterns of monolingual education. However, it is necessary to identify in the teacher's discourse conflicts of ethnic character as well as to explore how teachers are challenged by the school's cultural plan. As such, it became important to gather evidence through the testimony of teachers, their concerns about inclusion, democratic participation and social development in an area where the educational lag is very deep (PNUD Chile 2003, 2004).

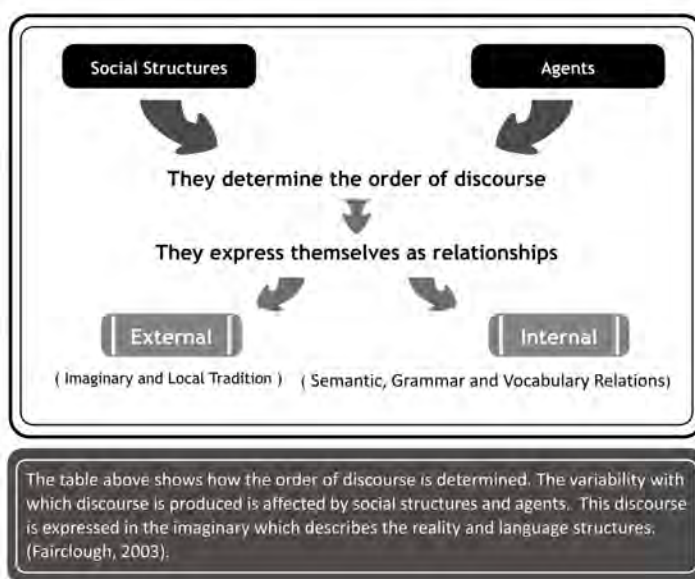
In the case of the teachers interviewed, it was possible to observe how throughout the interviews they selected words emphasizing certain aspects, giving a logical order to reality. According to Fairclough, discourse exists in all external and internal relations. In the first case one observes the links that a given speech establishes with social events, practices and more abstract structures; in the second, one would deal with semantic order relations, grammar and vocabulary. Thus, for this

study we were inspired by the interpretation proposed by Fairclough, focusing on external relations —in order to illustrate the symbolic dimension with which to reconstruct the environment —, aiming to perceive background information on the imaginary and the tradition of a social group, as shown in the table 1.

Although this research did not seek to be representative of the population studied, the sample tried to be diverse in age, gender and experience in training of respondents. These points are essential in study of discourse as it starts from the premise, as stated by Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer (2003), that the social actors involved in the discourse are supported by collective frameworks of perception of social and not only their individual experiences; in other words, here the study tried to capture a view of what the authors themselves highlight as "social representations" (Wodak & Meyer 2003,44). In this way four criteria were considered when selecting teachers: i) by provincial and capital division, three schools were selected as members of the province of Cautin (cities of Temuco and Villarrica) and three of the province of Malleco (cities of Angol and Collipulli) and that at least one in each group belonging to the provincial capital; ii) out of necessity, publicly funded as well as privately funded schools were considered, in this way teachers from four municipally dependent and two privately funded schools were interviewed; iii) by number of roll and school staff; iv) finally, the kind of education provided by the analyzed institutions, considering schools that not only have basic education but also secondary education.

Regarding the characteristics of the teachers interviewed three men and three women were selected whose teaching experience ranges from 5 to 30 years of practice. It should also be mentioned that none of the teachers declared belonging to any specific ethnicity. This is a relevant issue because as we shall see below, this point will be highlighted in the discourse of teachers when they relate the difficulties of their professional performance in a region with a strong presence of indigenous communities. Moreover, teachers involved in the sample are qualified to teach eighth grade as well as history and basic subjects in secondary school: two of the teachers interviewed having specialty in History of Chile, three with the specialty in basic training (Primary School) and one from the Normal School training². The study was conducted through semi-structured interviews that were organized under four specific themes: i) the ideal dimension of "I" in which respondents were asked their opinion about what should be the ideal history teacher in the contexts described above; ii) the aspects and content that discipline should strive for; iii) the dimension of participation and contribution that discipline delivers to civic education and formation of values related to human rights; and iv) the

Table 1:



The table above shows how the order of discourse is determined. The variability with which discourse is produced is affected by social structures and agents. This discourse is expressed in the imaginary which describes the reality and language structures. (Fairclough, 2003).

appraisal and changes that the teacher could observe after the recent curriculum changes. The interviews were analyzed using software for qualitative data analysis (Atlas-ti) gathering information according to the model proposed where "social structures" and "agents" determine the "order of discourse," and this in turn is expressed in "external relations" that make up an "imaginary" and a "local tradition". Each quotation of the interviews has been characterized according to the next example "I4, M; 175:176". In this case, the first code "I4" means "Interviewee 4" of a total of 6 teachers interviewed; the second code means the gender of the interviewed with a M for male and F for female. Finally, the code "175: 176" means the number of the paragraph or hermeneutic unit in the transcription. In the example there are two numbers (175:176) which means the quotation was taken from two paragraphs or hermeneutic units. The table 2 is designed to guide the reader to the most relevant data of the teachers interviewed.

content related to citizenship education having to be put aside and it got lost. Also, use a wrong word and it would immediately become known to the parents [...] Making a comment about the current situation? This was unheard of, a difficult period arrived, a difficult history: another year more bad news.

The story of Luis (interviewee 4) shows a sense of vulnerability to social agents like "school authorities" or "parents" who served during the dictatorship as regulators of teaching. His explanatory thesis reveals that the teaching of civic education found itself limited in the possibility of generating knowledge in the students by installing a rigid explanatory matrix lacking analytic depth. Thus, the teacher compares and reiterates the harshness of the experience with knowledge crystallization, and compares this phenomenon to the flow that produces a "school of thought."

An important part of the interviews allowed us to observe the teaching of the concepts associated with citizenship which are closely anchored to the

Table 2:

Training received by teachers and the educational institutions where they were working at time of interview (2008)							
Interviewee ID #, and years of teaching experience	Sex	Description of training received by teachers and Educational Institution	Province and city where facility is located	Type of establishment according to grant	Level of education offered by the educational institution	Total enrollment year 2008	Total # of teachers in each establishment
Interviewee # 1; 20 years of experience	F	Pedagogy in History and Geography and Civic Education, Universidad de La Frontera.	Cautin / Temuco	Municipal	Elementary, Art and Sciences high school education	2442	90
Interviewee Number 2; 5 years of experience	M	Professor of Primary Education, Universidad Católica de Temuco, Field of expertise: Study and comprehension of the society.	Cautin / Villarrica	Partially funded	Preschool, elementary and Art and Sciences high school education	745	40
Interviewee Number 3; 28 years of experience	F	Pedagogy in History and Geography Universidad de Chile, Temuco. Master in Education major in Environmental Education (1996).	Cautin / Temuco	Municipal	Elementary and Art and Sciences high school education	577	42
Interviewee Number 4; 39 years of experience	M	Professor of Primary Education, Colegio Universitario Universidad de Chile, Temuco.	Malleco / Collipulli	Partially funded	Preschool, elementary, Art and Sciences high school education and Vocational Education	1316	62
Interviewee Number 5; 20 years of experience	M	Professor of Primary Education. Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, Victoria	Malleco / Collipulli	Municipal	Preschool, elementary	368	19
Interviewee Number	F	Escuela Normal de Angol	Malleco / Angol	Municipal	Preschool,	472	24

3 Analysis

The study allowed us to distinguish a variety of factors, which influence history teachers at the time of citizenship education. One of these factors relates to the difficulties that teachers had to go through in times of intense political repression during the dictatorship. For most of the teachers interviewed the conceptual underpinnings and theories of citizenship are strongly determined by their own experience in times of repression.

I4, M; 175:175: It was complicated, because Collipulli is a small city. It turns out that the authorities were looking over our shoulder, aware of what the teachers were doing and what the teacher was explaining. So that led to lots of

teacher's own biography. In this way, Margarita (inter-viewee 3) recalls when she was a student of History Education at the Universidad de la Frontera, Araucanía Region.

I3, F; 150:150: I came to open my eyes - how can I explain, when I arrived at the university - little by little. When I started to work, from the first day one didn't know what one could not [teach]... Civic education should be taught according to the texts, according to the authors that were authorized by the regime, who were conservative and traditional au-thors. We were careful about what we said in class. One was taught the concept of democracy, for exam-ple we taught according to the concept of democracy that the regime [Pinochet] wanted or according to what came with the texts. We knew

that at any moment if we strayed from the line or margin, the very same students could accuse us or could let the superiors know.

In the case of the two witnesses presented, the question of ideology implicit in the training of history teachers as well as in the performance of the discipline in the classroom, yield a disturbing problem each teacher has had to resolve in an intuitive and careful way. While many of them state that "things changed" once democracy came, forms of power persist with which the teacher feels she still must coexist, more so when confronted with civic education in a historical context in conflict. From this, the study allowed us to observe that teachers continue to experience much difficulty in openly expressing their political position or opinion on history in front of students. As we can observe below with José (interviewee 5).

15, M; 45:47: When one is a history teacher, their political position has to be a-political. Sometimes [the students] ask me for whom I voted - I do not know if they had asked the other teachers, but they asked me, well, I have my position and the vote is secret and I can not tell them, because in a certain way I would be telling them what political tendency I have. [...] So one, especially in historical situations, as a teacher has to be very careful especially in how to treat certain subjects.

The distrust of the teachers is justified in most cases under the precept of "not to influence the political opinion of the students," noting with apprehension the possibility to generate in students a tendency or preference that may be questioned later by school authorities, family or community. However, this suspicion remains in confrontation with a fundamental aspect of "I" teaching, which indicates that teachers tend to recognize that students ask questions not only to question their environment, but also to generate their own ideas about reality, their values and shared knowledge (Guichard 1995; Prado de Souza 2000).

13, F; 150:150: Now, gradually, as democracy is starting to return and already the students start to ask forward questions [like] What team do you support? [...] I have, as a policy, never to tell which soccer team I support. My religion I definitely tell them!, with its pros and cons, but not if I am registered or not in some political party, no! I try to give them both sides of the story and sometimes play the devil's advocate. I put myself in an extreme position to make them debate in favour or against.

Like Margarita, many teachers argue that their political position should be guarded to strengthen the debate among students. However, this argument tends to disappear when referring to other topics that could be dealt with similar fairness, given that they also influence the opinion that students can generate regarding coexistence in society. This is the case of religious choice, where, as indicated by Margarita, she is ready to accept the consequences of an open approach to this issue. It has been shown to be like, that in cases of teachers with more

than ten years of teaching service there is still a conflict between the duty to the subject and the personal conditions that the teacher has to reflect and face the consequence of their actions.

This refers to the dilemma that teaching history has meaning for many of the interviewees, as it covertly involves teaching a plan dominated by the state - history reflected in textbooks distributed by the Ministry of Education, educational software, videos, maps and songs, ideals and intentions of a whole society for the preservation of its culture. Hence, when referring to public school in La Araucanía, most teachers interviewed say they are aware that this process led to social consequences expressed in forms of exclusion towards the indigenous promoted by the traditional school model. Consequently, many teachers involved in this process faced the dilemma of teaching history of a Chilean culture that is alien and foreign to the Mapuche. The following excerpt from Margarita, gives us a recent evidence of social exclusion expressed in the use of Spanish instead of the Mapuche language.

13, F; 68:68: [...] 25 years ago Mapuche parents did not teach the language to their children, so they would not experience the embarrassments they experienced, so they would be discriminated. [...] at home they spoke Mapudungun. Upon arriving to the city Spanish was more difficult for them. It occurred to the parents to stop teaching them Mapudungun so they would not have those setbacks in the city and it was noticeable. I asked many of my students: Do you speak Mapudungun? Are you bilingual? -No teacher, I only speak Spanish, my dad never wanted to teach me-.

As we have seen, for years we have witnessed the construction of identities under a state plan with a heritage linked to its colonial past. This has created an architecture of contempt that expresses itself not only as a rejection of ethnic, sexual, and economic claims but also as xenophobic. Consequently, in the narrow mindedness to value and tend to the cultural structure of a society these identities also shut themselves up in a complex way, buried in poverty and lack of social participation (Williamson 2004). In this way we will continue to examine, in the discourse of the interviewees, the concept of citizenship and the teachers' responsibility in addressing their role within the classroom of this specific region. Since the last unit of the eight-grade Study and Understanding of Society programme examines the concept of human rights, some of the respondents associated the education of citizenship with values of and respect for human rights³. Thus, for example, when asked "What does citizenship education mean to you?" respondent 2 said:

12, M; 269:269: [It means] shaping people that can develop well in society autonomously. As I have repeated all the time, that they are also able to respect others. That they have clear principles. To sum it up respect others, be autonomous and that they know the rights and responsibilities of citizens.

Meanwhile, for respondent 5, whom we will see below, civic space is linked to human rights understood as an area of "struggle." The approach also means a game measured between personal and collective rights.

15, M; 041:041: Because well, one can see into what human rights are, right!? That the person has to fight for their rights and everything else. But one conveys that [to the students]. That all people have to fight and that they have certain rights. But they have to go about looking at the ways and methods of how that sets off a chain reaction or one can make them see it within society. Because, What is happening today!? If you transmit these contents in pure form..., the kid does not channel them, they do not internalize it well.

The previous extract allows us to visualize the complexity in the argumentative framework of the interviewee when talking about human rights using expressions like, "and everything else" or "have certain rights." In this way we can see that the teacher expresses an unresolved point, a conflict in his/her own scheme of addressing personal freedoms. When he/she uses a "but" as a precaution, "what is happening today!? if you transmit these contents in pure form" the implication is that (from the perspective of the interviewee) the student does not know how "to channel", ie, orientate, regulate, effectively their own civic behavior. In many cases, our interviewees expressed frustration with non-existent policies to integrate the cultural perspective of Mapuche students into public schools of the region. They concluded that they had to generate their own strategies where ingenuity, patience, frustration and their own prejudices and guilt have shaped an ideal form of the "educational I" in this complex social fabric. As interviewee 3 points out.

13, F; 052:052: ... I was never trained at the university from the perspective of multiculturalism, I was never trained in the Mapudungun language in order to understand students and by God it was hard, and it took me years!: to change my mindset, to get to know their world view, of trying to know how they think, how they relate to the world and I'll tell you that it was years. So maybe there was a failure on my part not to have understood that reality in advance.

Thus we are confronted with the need to think critically about teachers' pedagogical practices and reflect upon how they affect the everyday experience of students. The latter would test the ability of educators to build an ethical proposal about the role that fits the school in a democratic public life. According to Henry Giroux and Peter McLaren (2004) educational actors should strive to pass on to new generations attitudes and values conducive to an awareness of man and his historic, aesthetic, cultural and social reality. In this sense, the problem identified here, is reflected in words of interviewed teacher 4, who made a deeply felt self-criticism on the ability of some teachers and school administrators to deal with public issues and diversity with greater depth.

14, M; 159:161: [In] respect to diversity I think that we are wrong. We are lacking!, We are lacking a lot! But I think, that we ourselves are lacking, and the culprits are often the same teachers, the same schools. For example, frequent expressions made by some colleagues, with a vocabulary that does not include or even get close to respect. Afterwards what can we ask of the students!?"

The second aspect diagnosed by the teachers is the teachers' own ability to understand the intercultural context and the challenges from the difference of language and cultural practices that they have had to face. The testimony of Margarita tells us the difference she was able to distinguish once her Mapuche students, influenced by the "Chileanization" of the last twenty years, managed to speak Spanish with greater ease; an issue that came to "solve," from her perspective, a series of cultural conflicts within the classroom. However, the most interesting turns out to be her self-perception regarding what she believes was a mistake on her part.

13, F; 064:064: And at other times, it was something that used to happen to me before, students who did not express themselves neither orally nor in their writing, nor could they express themselves too much at length speak. So usually then we made the mistake and not only myself, but several, -and what I'm going to say is going to be strong -but according to me, I had Mapuche students who were super-intelligent. Mapuche students were astute, shy but at times one would label them as stupid. Not that they were stupid, maybe I was the stupid one, one did not know their worldview, did not know their thinking, they didn't dare speak.

As a final remark, we believe this study exhibits the remaining task in the field of citizenship education in the region. In the case of La Araucanía the issue of inclusion is not limited to the case of ethnicity given the large number of Mapuche students, but also to class and culture. That is why this investigation's approach took into account the proposal of Norbert Lechner (2002) when referring to the social construction of time following a traumatic event, in which the exercise of collective memory is involved. According to this, on the one hand the teachers carry the memory of the dictatorship and the abuses of human rights committed during this period of Chilean history and on the other hand, the feeling that the human rights, as an issue, have been addressed within the school more as a simulated act than a real conviction. This is how Marianela (interviewee 1) refers to this aspect.

11, F; 89:89: It is important for one as a history teacher in these terms, that you have to live human rights, because I have had colleagues who talk a lot about human rights and "postrate" a lot, but when it comes down to it they have the least respect for them. And when the time of specific and unusual situations arrived where you have to respect others, and the rights of others, in reality there is no respect. So I always talk to my colleagues about this situation, with my colleagues of the department, we talk to the kids.

This whole complex scenario is expressed as mistrust of the school as a device for improvement and growth. This reality can be identified as "learned hopelessness" (Seligman 1975), which translates into a feeling of apathy or mistrust in which social tools or alternatives like education can assure a change in the initial setting of the individual. In accordance with what the teachers declare, many times the students are taken over by a sense of apathy in the face of alternatives that the structures or institutional mechanisms can assure them through the knowledge of history, civic culture, organization and participation as future citizens. In other words, students show suspicion and sometimes apathy to imagine being able to change the status quo: "I do not decide my life, therefore it is going to be more difficult for me to change my initial conditions."

On the other hand, despite these differences between the educational funding systems, the interviews allow us to identify a conviction shared by the teachers in which what prevails is the exercise of educating in and of itself in any discipline. As stated by Margarita: "more than a history teacher, I had the privilege to be a teacher, that is, to me, to be a teacher first and first names come later: history, math, language." [038:038]. From this perspective, the relations that the interviewees make with their own biographical dimension turn out to be significant. When asked about their career choice, many claimed seeing a predetermined path in education even before entering to study the major. Backgrounds like these allow us to visualize that the identity of the educator is tied to an architecture of particular values and morals from a "questioned I" from different areas: sociocultural, political and psychological, spreading from two operating modes: symbolic and imaginary, so one concludes that the biographical dimension of the individual gives an important area from where to track the definitions that the teacher of the region has about their practice and their specialty.

4 Conclusion

At the beginning of this chapter, we asked ourselves about the way in which a group of teachers of the region of La Araucanía addressed the notion of citizenship in a context of complex social differences. Similarly, we asked ourselves about how they reproduce the institutional discourse and gave meaning to the said notion. However, the polysemy with which we are faced to define the notion of citizenship referred us to the processes of appropriation that teachers have been required to try in order to conduct their civic education classes.

This is how we conclude that citizenship education has formed part of a cultural project led by the Chilean government since its formation, and largely because teachers have been required to become part of this formula. This point is particularly important in a region such as La Araucanía, given its historical condition as a territorial boundary with the indigenous communities and their recent addition to the state plan in the late nineteenth century; it is also defined as an area of constant social conflict.

Regarding the latter, although there are a number of previous studies devoted to distinguishing the way the government carried out the process of cultural domination, this research has sought to focus on the degree of appropriation of this process on the part of the interviewed teachers and conflicts arising from the same conditions.

This is how this study has allowed us to observe the notion of this conflict as a manipulated and distorted historical reality. As we saw, the responsibility for this lies in some cases in the politics of "Chileanization" promoted by the Chilean State, in others, in the media that have characterized the region as a conflict zone. All more or less have helped to build a state of blindness in which a cultural model differs and is considered inferior to another. How can one see this in the discourse of the interviewed teachers? Much of this situation is presented in a way in which the school justifies its institutional existence, which would be based on the adoption of a cultural project that serves a middle-class ideal model, a culture that can be defined as western-bourgeois or simply a model that promotes the foundations of the State starting from the modern age.

According to this, it is important to highlight two keys related to the perception that teachers have of their own practices in teaching of their discipline. The first of these stems in part from what we have already addressed and that exposes the ethical character of the dilemma that for the teachers means teaching a particular model of history, which excludes the narrative of the indigenous or the poor. The second is the experience that teachers had to live as educators specializing in history during the dictatorship, a period of political repression in which many issues were simply eradicated from the classrooms and in many cases omitted in their own training as teachers.

From here it has been possible to stealthily identify a second key issue, it is about the difficulties that the teachers have had to face in teaching citizenship in an intercultural context. According to this, the interviewed teachers repeatedly miss in their training a base that allows them to address issues of ethnicity, as emphasized by Margarita, who says with, "I was never taught these intercultural issues" and however, has had to build strategies to address in situ. This complexity often leads teachers to feel strained in the face of an overwhelming and often exhausting social and economic reality.

Faced with this adverse scenario, teachers claim that a large part of the problems generated today are linked to the economic hardships of their students and their families. The explanatory thesis that links ethnicity and poverty with school performance appears as the clearest diagnosis that interviewed teachers put forward to give a plausible reason for the difficulties of their students. From our perspective, it is clear that parents do not handle knowledge that the school values with enough fluency, and therefore can not help their children with homework. However, we cannot be certain to what extent this is due to a problem of a class or

ethnicity, it is probably a complicated mix of both. In any case, we understand that we would be at the forefront of other future research. From this perspective, the teachers expressed that these subjects are less socially valued even by colleagues in other disciplines. Such indifference makes them feel that the task of inclusion is a pending task that has a national scope, but that in the region expresses itself with greater need, especially in issues related to the indigenous world.

Finally, it is interesting to note that teachers recognize that in history they are required to have a broad knowledge and mastery of various themes beyond their educational background, particularly if we think about education in Human Rights and gender or race inclusion. This need for congruence between teaching citizenship and the specific knowledge of the discipline of history is demanded by various aspects, including the poverty status of the students, new classroom technology, the culture of discrimination and often the hopelessness in students and parents who fail to recognize the school as a means of overcoming the *status quo*.

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Endnotes

¹ Araucanía Region has also been the main location of the confrontations of the ongoing Mapuche conflict. (The Human Rights Brief, 2013).

² Normal Schools (Escuelas Normales), were created to train high school graduates to be teachers. In Chile "Escuelas Normales" were created in 1842, and disappeared during Pinochet's dictatorship in 1973. These schools represent a great effort by the liberal states in Latin America to promote standards or norms to the population, hence its name. (Nuñez, 2010).

³ The programme of Study and Understanding of Society states at the beginning of the last unit about human rights: "It is interesting to promote reflection focused on situations of conflict or that damage the coexistence of humans. In this context it is expected that students appreciate the importance of respecting and enforcing rules, that they consider a person and their rights and appreciate the mechanisms of peaceful conflict resolution." Government of Chile / Ministry of Education. (2004). *Curriculum for eighth year of Study and Understanding of Society*. Santiago de Chile: Ministry of Education, p.79.

Marika Tsolakis

Citizenship and Transformative Human Rights Education: Surveys as 'Praxis' in the São Paulo Periphery

Keywords

human rights education, citizenship, critical pedagogy, border pedagogy, Brazil, survey, dialogue

In Latin America, citizenship is often expressed as a struggle for rights and has repeatedly been won through ground-up movements. For this reason, a transformative human rights education (HRE) framework, largely based on ideals of Paulo Freire, is useful for considering the roles and processes of citizenship education in Latin America. This article explores the concept of human rights education as a form of citizenship education and uses the core principals of Freire's work, along with Paul Giroux's 'border pedagogy,' to elucidate the enactment of transformative HRE. This article also highlights the use of surveys as a Freirean pedagogical tool in transformative human rights and citizenship education. The concept of surveys as praxis is derived from a small, qualitative case study of Rights Now!, a programme that teaches about the right to education to disadvantaged youth from the São Paulo periphery. Observational data, survey data from students and interview data all illustrate transformative citizenship education in action. Findings show that surveys were effective as a pedagogical tool within a broader environment of problem-posing education and with the guidance of a well-trained teacher.

En Amérique Latine, la citoyenneté s'exprime souvent comme une lutte pour les droits humains et s'achève souvent parmi des mouvements populaires. Pour cela, une pédagogie transformative des droits humains, fondée sur les œuvres de Paulo Freire, nous offre un cadre utile pour examiner les rôles et processus d'éducation à la citoyenneté en Amérique Latine. Parmi une étude d'un programme brésilien qui enseigne le droit de l'éducation aux jeunes de la périphérie de São Paulo, cet article met également en relief l'utilisation des sondages comme outil pédagogique dans une vision transformatrice et Freirean de l'éducation aux droits de l'homme et à la citoyenneté.

Introduction

In Latin America, claims to citizenship have often arisen from grassroots movements for social and economic equality and recognition (Mische 1995; Oxhorn 2011; Torres 1990; La Belle 2000), lending itself to the Arendtian (Arendt 1973) notion that Latin American citizenship is defined by the struggle for "the right to have rights" (Dagnino 2003, 214). This close association of rights and citizenship distinguishes Latin America from other regions and suggests the necessity of a human rights education framework to teach citizenship in a relevant manner. In particular, this article presents the notion of transformative human rights education (HRE) (Bajaj 2011; Tibbitts 2002, 2005) as a form of citizenship education in contexts of social, economic and cultural inequalities wherein constitutionally and internationally designated rights have yet to be realised across society. In such cases, citizenship education should raise awareness about rights and enable students to use this awareness for societal transformation (Dagnino 2003; Bajaj 2011). In both aims and outcomes, transformative HRE draws from Paulo Freire's (1970) legacy of popular education, making it a particularly salient lens through which to consider education, citizenship and rights in Latin

America. Thus, critical pedagogues and human rights educators can develop and refine practices to further the project of education for social transformation using the cornerstones of Freire's pedagogy, including dialogue, generative themes and horizontal relationships.

In order to illustrate the use of Freire's pedagogy as a practice within transformative HRE, this article presents a case study of *RightsNow!*, a programme that teaches youth from São Paulo's Eastern periphery about the right to education. Along with bases of "problem posing" education such as dialogue and horizontal teacher-student relationships, classroom observations unearthed the use of surveys as a pedagogical tool to encourage reflection and action, thus forming an integral part of praxis, or the dual process of reflection and action (Freire 1970). These surveys also enabled students to cross cultural and physical borders of São Paulo (Giroux 1991a, 2005), consequently reconfiguring their navigation of the urban landscape. The use of surveys as teaching and learning tools reflects a broader trend in Latin America and merits further exploration of its value within contemporary applications of Freirean pedagogy and citizenship and human rights education.

This article contributes to the advancement of the methods of Paulo Freire and critical pedagogues (e.g. Giroux 1991, 1997; Kincheloe 2004; McLaren & Kincheloe 2007) who seek to use education as a site of political struggle and social change. Furthermore, it underscores the lasting importance of Freirean pedagogy in education for transformative human rights and citizenship in Brazil and the conceptual necessity to consider human rights education as

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citizenship education in Brazil and the wider Latin American context. This article first describes the interlinking discourses of citizenship and HRE and then introduces the Brazilian context. Next, Freire's (1970) core concepts are presented as a tool of teaching transformative HRE along with elements of Giroux's (2005) border pedagogy to elucidate particularities of the case study. Finally, a brief discussion of the use of surveys as a Freirean pedagogical tool is given before presenting the case study to illuminate the use of surveys as a form of praxis in transformative HRE.

2 Citizenship education and HRE

The conceptual linking of HRE and citizenship education is not restricted to the Latin American context. For example, the Council of Europe, an eminent source of HRE resources, groups "democratic citizenship/human rights education" as a single category (www.coe.int), yet important tensions and differences exist in their dynamic relationship. While Dagnino (2003, 214) sees citizenship as the "assertion and recognition of rights," Brysk and Shafir (2004, 3) argue "citizenship is a mechanism for allocating rights and claims through political membership." Thus citizenship can be conceptualised as the giving of rights or the means for claiming rights, depending on the perspective and context. Brysk and Shafir (2004) also posit that as citizenship has expanded and evolved, from minimal to maximal (McLaughlin 1992), so has the concept of rights from first generation civic rights to social, cultural, identity and other second and third generation rights. The conception of rights relates directly to how a society and government regard citizens and what citizens feel entitled to demand. This will undoubtedly continue to evolve, as debates surrounding rights and citizenship encounter new challenges, such as group versus individual rights and migration and refugee rights. Finally, while citizenship education and HRE can easily be conflated, not all citizens have the capacity to exercise certain rights nor are all rights enshrined in international conventions translated into laws (Goirand 2003). Thus citizens of the same country can have their rights protected or violated in very different ways, requiring forms of education that can fully address such social injustices. For this reason, it is also important to note that human rights and rights are distinctive and that human rights can extend beyond the concept of national citizenship and rights granted in any particular country.

In attempt to distinguish citizenship education and HRE, Fritzsche (2007, 48) claims that HRE regards how "the individual learn[s] to live [a] self-determined and non discriminated" life whereas education for democratic citizenship addresses the issue of how "citizens learn to support and stabilize the democratic system and the community through participation." Yet this appears to be a false dichotomy: at times, human rights affect entire communities and must be acted on in groups, which

is why social movements often engage in popular education in Brazil and Latin America (Ribeiro 2006; Torres 1990; LaBelle 1987). Furthermore, HRE, in many of its manifestations, inherently deals with social change and transformation and cannot be seen as an individualistic learning process nor can it be seen as merely supporting the existing political system (Bajaj 2011; Tibbits 2002). Fritzsche's distinction also calls into question the tensions between group and individual rights, which is not fully in the scope of this paper to discuss. However, this is a point of tension that must be reconciled in each situation. For example, Freire (1999) highlights the importance of conscientization in the larger struggle for group rights and importance of individuals' awareness for group action.

In the case of Latin America, the concept of transformative HRE seems to reconcile some of the tensions between citizenship and rights and importance of group mobilisation for accession of individual rights. Transformative HRE proposes the teaching of rights with the aim of mobilizing to change society and preventing future violation of rights (Bajaj 2011; Tibbits 2002, 2005; Huaman, Koenig, Schultz 2008; Kapoor 2008). While conventional approaches to HRE deal with many of the same issues, primarily to educate and inform citizens about their human rights, transformative HRE constitutes a more politically radical approach that is:

implicitly and explicitly concerned with relationships of power....this concern with power and asymmetries in power relations translates into an analysis of how human rights norms and standards are often selectively respected based on communities' varied access to resources, representation, and influence. (Bajaj 2011, 493).

This is inherently linked to both awareness-raising and action, echoing Freire (1970) and other critical pedagogues (Kincheloe 2004; McLaren, Kincheloe 2007). Furthermore, it underscores the importance of empowerment through HRE (Meintjes 1997) and the need to "teach them about concepts and values aimed at enhancing their social and political choices" (Bajaj 2011, 73). According to Tibbits (2005), transformative HRE also draws upon transformative learning theory (Mezirow 1990, 2000; Taylor 2007) that suggests that through processes of critical reflection, rational discourse and experience, learners can change their perspectives and, consequently, their actions. Ultimately, the concept of transformative HRE overlaps significantly with critical citizenship education (Dejaeghere 2009; Johnson & Morris 2010), radical democratic education (Fielding, Moss 2010), deliberative democratic education (Gutmann, Thompson 2004) and other movements that view education as a tool for social justice. Furthermore, transformative HRE has similar objectives to Banks' (2008, 136) "transformative citizenship" which "involves civic actions designed to actualize values and moral principles and ideals beyond those of existing laws and conventions" and requires citizens to "promote social justice even when their actions

existing laws, conventions or structures." These various terminologies and pedagogies share similar aims and processes, albeit with nuanced differences and emphases, and this article does not attempt to differentiate or crystallise them. Rather, the term transformative HRE is employed in this article to emphasise the importance of rights within Brazilian struggles for citizenship (Dagnino 2003; Pinheiro 2002) and to underscore epistemological origins in Freire's work. However, HRE, transformative citizenship education and other theoretical and pedagogical concepts may ultimately resemble each other both on paper and in practice and no definitive distinctions are made in this article.

3 Struggles for citizenship and rights in Brazil

Although the 1988 Brazilian Constitution made sweeping guarantees of social, economic and human rights, full and equal citizenship has not become a reality for the majority of poor Brazilians (Goirand 2003; Maia & Pereira 2011; Pinheiro 2002). Veloso (2008, 48) attributes this to the fact that the idea of universal rights was imposed on "a profoundly unequal, exclusionary, racialized, and class-stratified social world." Thus, children from elite and poor backgrounds in Brazil access their rights differently and, consequently, learn about their rights in very different manners. The Secretary of Education of Rio de Janeiro recently claimed that Brazil is in a state of "educational apartheid" where lower class children are trapped in to a low-quality system that does not prepare them for social mobility or full rights as citizens (Costin in Otis 2013). Data consistently shows the underperformance of black students in secondary (Ribeiro 2006; Vegas & Petrow 2008) and university levels (Osario 2008), problematising the widely held belief that inequality in Brazil stems primarily from class and not race (Sheriff 2001). For this reason, it is particularly important to look beyond recent Brazilian educational data reporting increases in spending on education and rising enrolment rates (OECD 2010). While these efforts are commendable, a human rights perspective can serve as a "yardstick for assessing the myriad of exogenous determinants of education" such as segregation, violence, discrimination and quality (Tomasevski 2003, 21), all of which continue to plague Brazilian education and restrict the rights of even those within formal schools. This also bears relevance to this article's selected case study that involves youth who attend or have completed secondary education albeit in substandard peripheral schools where education did not always fulfil rights or enhance citizenship.

A critical of understanding rights and citizenship within the geospatial inequality of Brazilian urban centres plays an integral role in the discussion of human rights education at the São Paulo periphery. During the rapid urbanization during the 1950s and 1960s, "special segregation and citizenship differentiation were concurrent processes in a project of national modernization" (Holston 2011, 146). The concentration of wealth remained in city centres

while workers and new migrants settled in the periphery, often squatting on land and building temporary settlements. In São Paulo, the majority of upper and middle class communities still inhabit the central and southern areas of the city, encompassed by concentric circles of increasing destitution and violence (Caldeira 2000). Straubhaar (2012) goes as far as to argue that the well-documented poverty and lack of infrastructure in Brazil's poorest favelas, or urban slums, qualifies them as "fragile states." In short, the residents of the peripheries of São Paulo, and other urban centres, still have unequal access to transport, education, health services, cultural centres and museums and a violence-free environment than more affluent centre-dwellers possess, impinging upon the ability to claim and access a multitude of rights.

Since the Worker's Party (Partido dos Trabalhadores, PT) assumed power in 2002, both education and participatory democratic structures have become a focal point of governance, renewing the discourse of citizenship and rights (Gentili, McCowan 2003; Avritzer 2011). The PT has committed to reinventing the public school and has linked education to transformative rights and citizenship by proclaiming education as a fundamental right and also as a constructive right that leads to the enlargement of existing and creation of new rights (PT, in Gentili & McCowan, 2003). The PT also disparages the "banking" model of education (Freire 1970) by asserting that "the pupil is not a receptacle of socially produced knowledge" but a producer of knowledge and meaning (in Gentili & McCowan 2003, 24). Prior to 2002, PT leaders in municipal and state governments had already supported several democratic citizenship programmes, including Freire himself who enacted many reforms in school management, school councils and youth and adult education during his time as Secretary of Education of São Paulo (O'Cadiz et al. 1998; Freire 1993). PT has also attempted to improve access to quality education through augmentation of the Bolsa Familia that provides financial support to families (OECD 2010) and the enactment of affirmative action for higher education (Osario 2008). While these have been noble efforts, Gadotti (2011) notes that the literacy rates in Brazil have stagnated since the 1960s and more efforts need to be made to ensure that children start school on time and have access to quality education. Thus while the political climate has been ripe for integration of Freirean reforms, the realisation of education that achieves aims of transformative HRE has occurred less frequently.

In Brazil, citizenship and human rights do not exist as explicit subject areas, perhaps in a move to break away from the nationalistic civic education that was required during the dictatorship (McCowan 2009). Instead, citizenship is meant to be taught across subject areas and act as an overarching curricular goal. In an analysis of Social Sciences curriculum, Maia and Pereira (2007, 10) found that citizenship was treated as a concept "that relates to possibilities of social change but does not address questions of inequality and power." This may signify

formal education's failure to "manage the constantly evolving tensions between democratic principles of egalitarianism and the inequality of everyday lived reality" (Fischman & Haas 2012, 177). Nonetheless, citizenship education exists in some special initiatives, such as the UNESCO Associated schools (Shultz, Guimaraes-Iosif 2012), municipal and state government projects, social movements and NGOs (Ribeiro 2006; McCowan 2009). In particular, popular education, generally based on Freire's method, has been geared towards groups denied education by the formal system, especially women (Stromquist 1997), minorities and rural agrarian communities (La Belle 1987, 2000; Ribeiro 2006; Torres 1990) underlining the important relationship between education and struggles for citizenship. The Landless Movement (Movimento Sem Terra, MST) has often been cited as a successful enactment of politically and socially motivated education contained within a social movement and has used methods and subjects generated from within the movement to create social transformation (Knijnik, Wanderer, Oliveira 2012; Issa 2006; Caldart 2001) and has influenced many other movements in Brazil (Earle 2012). Though popular education is a powerful non-formal learning site, it often serves as an expression of a social movement itself, and can have instrumental ends related to the movement's goals, as opposed to education as a right in itself (Streck 2010). In this case, human rights again can act as a "yardstick" to understanding the ways in which popular education can fulfil rights to and through education (Tomasevski 2003).

4 Freire, border pedagogy and transformative HRE

This section explores Freire's concept of praxis, or reflection and action, and its influence on transformative HRE (Bajaj 2011; Tibbits 2005; Kapoor 2008; Meintjes 1997). A brief discussion of the aims and methods proposed by Freire lays the groundwork for considering how surveys can be integrated into transformative HRE in the following sections. Others have addressed the connection between Freire and the broader concepts of citizenship (McCowan 2009; Johnson & Morris 2010) and human rights (Meintjes 1997; Bajaj 2011; Kapoor 2008) in greater depth, which is not in the scope of this paper.

Freire's methods and aims paint a picture of what transformative HRE might resemble in practice. For one, Freire (1970) criticised the traditional "banking system" of education where teachers deposit knowledge into the empty vessels of students, finding this model irrelevant, alienating and de-humanising. He argued instead for a "problem posing" education that would incite students to ask questions and be seen as equal contributors of knowledge and experience. To facilitate, teachers should conduct research within the surrounding community to collect "generative themes" or important issues, words and ways of speech that render the learning environment relevant to out-of-school lives. These themes can also be used for codification in the literacy process, which requires using pictures and symbols for the learner to visualise and name certain concepts. In Freire's

opinion, this type of environment enables students to engage in praxis, the dual processes of reflection and action for social transformation, thereby undergoing a process of conscientization, or awareness of systems of oppression. Tibbits (2005) has even asserted that the aim of transformative HRE is conscientization. Thus in a transformative HRE classroom, a lecture-based style of teaching may be less useful than a discussion-based format and teachers must familiarise themselves with the lived realities of students in order to create a space for reflection and action. In particular, teachers interested in transformative HRE can engage in dialogue, which Freire conceptualised as an exchange based on love and with explicit, political aims. For this reason, teachers must ensure that dialogue pertains to social justice and equity, eschewing neutrality and embracing tensions (Freire & Shor 1987; Kincheloe 2004). Accordingly teachers must also strive to maintain a horizontal relationship while not falling into the trap of "friendship" which can detract from instructional role (Bartlett 2005). The complexities of dialogue and the delicate nature of the teacher's role point to the importance of well-trained and socially aware teachers for truly transformative HRE.

The critical pedagogue Henry Giroux has advanced many of Freire's concepts in the aim of educating for social justice in the North American context. Giroux introduces the concept of "border pedagogy" (1991a, 1991b, 2005), which provides a useful conceptual tool for applying Freire's work to the São Paulo periphery. As a type of critical pedagogy, border pedagogy focuses primarily on the struggles of those excluded from mainstream society or from dominant discourses. For Giroux (1991a, xxv), borders are both physical and cultural and are "historically constructed and socially organized within maps of rules and regulations that serve to either limit or enable particular identities, individual capacities, and social forms." Giroux's border pedagogy relies heavily on a Freirean type of conscientization and also on praxis, reflection and action for social change. However his processes requires students at the periphery to question the "epistemological, political, cultural, and social margins that structure the language of history, power, and difference" (Giroux 2005, 20). Giroux (1991a, xxv) also demands that students "rewrite difference through the process of crossing over into cultural borders," thus remapping power and permanently altering personal identity and socio-cultural landscapes. In this sense, border crossing also draws out Freire's (1985) belief that learning, and reading, are dialectic processes - for example, learning to read should change the student and also help the student to change society.

Border pedagogy expresses Freire's ideas within a discourse more readily translated to a situation of acute socio-geographic disparities and helps to map specific challenges of citizenship education in an urban area. It evokes an explicitly postmodernist stance that extends the notion of struggle beyond that of class and draws upon concepts of identity

and difference that are not so explicitly constructed within Freire's own writings. Giroux's inclusion of postmodern ideas such as Bourdieu's (1986) cultural capital also are useful for considering the deprivations that arise from urban inequalities, as the periphery of São Paulo has historically constituted an area of economic and social deprivation. Thus the concept of border pedagogy provides an important lens for considering transformative HRE and critical pedagogy within the Brazilian context and specifically in the case study of urban youth in São Paulo.

While the theoretical opus relating to Freire and critical pedagogy is expansive, less has been written about how to operationalise his ideas. In particular, Bartlett (2005, 345) argues that three elements of critical pedagogy continue to challenge educators: "understanding the meaning of dialogue, transforming traditional teacher-student relations, and incorporating local knowledge into the classroom." Many North American critical pedagogues claim to use Freire's practice but do not always succeed in aligning theory and practice (Freire & Shor 1987; McLaren & Kincheloe 2007). In order to do so, Cho (2013, 160) argues that emphasis must shift from abstract concepts such as "hope" and "love" to concrete and practical understandings of how it they can be enacted in a learning environment. In the following sections, aspects of survey design and administration are discussed in response to such concerns regarding local knowledge, horizontal teacher relations and dialogue and provide concrete examples of theory in action.

5 Surveys as praxis

The second aim of this paper is to highlight the use of surveys as a pedagogical tool and their value in a critical pedagogy of human rights. Freire, in an interview with Rossatto (2004, 4-5), argues that a teacher's obligation is "to inspire students' critical curiosity, and to reveal the world in a rigorously methodical manner (...). The task is to provoke the curiosity of the student so that he or she will be methodical and rigorous." Freire felt that educators needed to encourage students to methodically examine the world to understand it. A survey, which requires choosing a topic to investigate and designing a method for collecting information and data analysis, seem to harness the importance of curiosity and rigor that Freire advocates and is increasingly being imported to classroom environments in Brazil.

Throughout Latin American, the Brazilian Institute of Public Opinion and Statistics (IBOPE) and its subsidiary Institute Paulo Montenegro (IPM) promote the usage of surveys in education through a programme entitled *Nossa Escola Pesquisa Sua Opinião* (NEPSO, translated to Our School Seeks Your Opinion). NEPSO works with NGOs and classrooms across Latin America to equip teachers and students with the tools to undertake surveying and polling. In general, students select topics of interest, develop surveys and conduct them both in and outside of the classroom (Alves 2004). NEPSO argues that this renders the classroom learning more relevant,

encourages critical thinking and allows students to become producers of knowledge, all of which seem in line with the tenets of critical and border pedagogy. The programme is also described as being both humanising and based on love, echoing some of the key tenets of Freire's beliefs (Corrêa & Emer 2007). More importantly, NEPSO encourages schools to use their survey data to create change: for example, in Farroupilha, after conducting a survey and recognising that there was no facility for recyclable waste, the students collaborated with the municipality and a private firm to find a solution (Corrêa & Emer 2007). This also underscores that that surveys are not a standalone tool - they take place amongst classroom discussion, workshops with other NEPSO schools, online forums and post-survey action projects.

Similar to NEPSO, the case study programme, which consists of a non-formal rights-based education programme, revealed that both the teacher and students used surveys to generate themes and knowledge, constituting a unique strategy to counteract "banking education" and to promote horizontal teacher-student relationships. As discussed later, the act of conducting surveys contributed to the remapping and decentring of power by enabling students to embark in new frontiers of the urban landscape, as per Giroux's border pedagogy.

While the use of surveys has produced positive and practical outcomes, their conceptual underpinnings and relevance to Freire's dialogue and praxis must undergo deeper examination. As a research tool, surveys assist in gathering factual information, feelings or opinions, frequency or a population's knowledge about certain issues (Oppenheim 2000; Payne 1952). The act of both writing a questionnaire and administering a survey enables the data collector to make meaning of his or her surroundings, confirm or disprove a hypothesis and give numerical basis to a previously held idea. However, while emphasis is usually placed on how to accurately collect and analyse data, Payne (1952, 26) argues that the person writing questions must also go through a process of awareness, stating that "the first half of the battle consists of putting the issue in a form that we can understand ourselves. We need first and foremost to define the issue precisely, regardless of the general understandability of the worlds." In other words, writing a questionnaire requires the interviewer to engage in a process of critical thought and reflection about *what* he or she wants to discover and thus, when used as a learning tool, could play a part in the "reflection" process of Freirean praxis.

From a Freirean perspective, asking questions plays an important role in both dialogue and in becoming aware of one's world. It can enable the learner to "read the world" by quantifying or confirming one's observed injustices and understanding the shared nature of one's experience or by revealing an unknown phenomenon. It can also serve as a form of codification (Freire 1970) by illustrating a reality through data that the learner can then understand and act upon. However, the act of surveying or

polling has many top-down connotations that seem inherently misaligned with the aims of Freirean pedagogy. Carr-Hill (1984, 276) argues that the survey is a “bourgeois statistical instrument” that reinforces systems of power by 1) placing the researcher in a dominant, “expert” position, 2) imposing the researcher’s view of the world through the questions and 3) bestowing power to use the information gathered through the survey. In response to these concerns, Carr-Hill (1984) created a radical survey methodology, inspired in part by Freire, whereby researchers generate the questions from the targeted population prior to survey development to ensure that the language of the survey is accessible and that the questions reflect the community’s reality as opposed to the perceptions of the researcher. Community members also participate in data collection and survey results are presented and discussed post-data collection in community forums. Carr-Hill’s survey method can be likened to deliberative polling experiments and mirrors some elements of the Choice Work Dialogue method (Yankelovitch 1999), both of which conduct surveys in concordance with a process of dialogue, debate and learning from respondents about the issues at hand. Carr-Hill’s model differs though in the sense that the survey is an ongoing process whose findings can empower the community, as opposed to a one-off event, such as many deliberative polling and Choice Work initiatives. While some critical pedagogues suggest that surveying may be a strategic tool within pedagogy for liberation, this is generally confined to the teacher’s role as in the case of Smyth (2011) who proposes a type of action-research cycle for critical pedagogues (see also Kincheloe 2007). In this sense, these types of Freirean survey approaches differ from the model put forth by NEPSO and IBOPE and which is described in the case study.

As evidenced, the emerging use of surveys as a pedagogical tool in Latin America is a relatively unexplored phenomenon that has potential to be used as a tool within the wider context of education for social transformation, such as transformative HRE. However, a deeper understanding is needed regarding how surveys can assist in generating themes, creating horizontal teaching relationships and opening the classroom to meaningful dialogue. This can ultimately enable transformative HRE and citizenship educators to use innovative tools in their classroom environments or strengthen the practice of educators who already integrate survey methodologies in teaching.

6 Methodologies

This research was conducted over the course of two months in São Paulo during which I attended the bi-weekly meetings of the RightsNow! class and also taught an optional English course. I observed class activities and, on days when class was not held, I worked at the NGO office and collaborated with the teacher, gaining vital insights into the lesson planning process. At the end of two months, I purposively sampled five students - whose names

have been changed to Lucia, Fernando, Vanesa, Claudio and Hugo - to participate in 15-30 minute interviews about their experience in the programme. The students were selected to represent a gender balance, to represent different geographic areas from the Zona Leste and to include students who displayed different levels of classroom participation throughout the course. The semi-structured interviews focused on why they joined the programme, their perceptions of “rights” before and during the programme, their comparisons about the programme and formal school and their opinions about the pedagogies of survey and debate. The interviews took place in Portuguese and were transcribed by a Brazilian. These qualitative research methods were appropriate to the aims of the study, which were to gain an understanding of how HRE curriculum affected the participants and to understand the multiple components which contributed to a transformative environment.

I performed thematic analysis of the data in its original, Portuguese form and personally translated the quotes that appear in the following section. Analysis was conducted by identifying codes in the transcripts and drawing themes from these codes. Themes were then used to consider how the classroom’s activities related to Freirean themes. Field journal notes, taken primarily during classroom observations, also served as a primary data source and were used to triangulate data. Finally the data from the students’ own surveys was also considered as data which enhanced my own knowledge of the students’ life experiences and transformations throughout the course. However, the data set is limited and does not seek to make claims beyond this programme. Furthermore, while the programme is a self-described rights-based programme, it does not explicitly advertise itself as ‘Freirean’, but through observations of the classroom, along with thematic analysis of interview data, I was able to draw parallels to the theoretical literature on critical pedagogy and transformative HRE.

7 Learning rights and citizenship in RightsNow!

RightsNow! is an eight-month long extra-curricular programme for youth to learn about the right to education and is run by an NGO in central São Paulo with funding from the Municipal Secretariat of Work and Entrepreneurship. The official objective of the programme, as per the municipal website, is to enable at-risk youth to become active mobilisers for the right to education in the Eastern periphery of São Paulo, a low-income zone. However, the programme coordinator described RightsNow! as a political education for youth who want to know more about the right to education and how to access to higher education. In its recruitment materials, the program describes the learning process as including class, debate, and actions in public schools, mobilising other youth and creating materials to help other students think about education. As evidenced from the programme aims, transformation and rights education are key components and thus compliments

the aforementioned discussion of transformative HRE. The programme provides students with a scholarship of equivalent to half of the monthly minimum wage and transport stipend of R\$80, which in the words of Hugo, acted as a tool for negotiating with parents to be allowed to take the course instead of taking a part time job. All students were between 16-20 years of age, resided in the Eastern periphery and either attended or recently finished secondary school.

Although this article highlights the specific usage of surveys within a rights-based curriculum, the classroom environment that fostered student participation and debate, along with horizontal teacher-student relationship, enhanced the efficacy of the surveying activity. When classroom observations began, the 20 students had divided into groups of three to design their ideal type of secondary education, including subjects, timetables, school structure and field trips. For Vanesa, the act of creating potential solutions was important because even if it was never implemented, she felt that it enabled her to realise that education *could* be a different way in the future. Further validating their visions of future schools, the teacher took diligent notes on their presentations and copied down the visual models that the students had created. At the next session, ideas from each group were included in the teacher's PowerPoint about secondary education, essentially allowing the students to become part of the teaching process. As Hugo mentioned, the teacher demonstrated "flexibility" in course content and methods and integrated the outcomes of class discussion to the overarching themes of the course. This demonstrated a high level of harmony between the process and intended outcomes (McCowan 2013) and embodied a problem-posing education (Freire 1970) in the sense that the students problematised issues of their everyday lives and created new solutions, instead of being taught to exist within the system.

The teacher, who was an alumna of the project, played an important role in encouraging dialogue. Perhaps because he came from a similar background, the act of generating themes occurred naturally and strengthened his ability to inclusively lead discussion and moderate debate, a trait that the students all agreed was a major strength. Conflict and discord were welcomed in the classroom, pointing to a key element of true dialogue (Freire 1970; Freire & Shor 1987; Bartlett 2005). However, the other characteristics of dialogue, love and respect, also seemed to be present. The students held the teacher in great esteem, often describing elements of his teaching style that indicated a horizontal relationship. Claudio reported that the students "do not look at him as a teacher, as a superior, but a person who has a little more knowledge than the rest of us, and this bit of knowledge he acquired, he wants to share it with all of us." The use of the word "share" is very important – unlike teaching or giving, sharing implies a mutual, and even dialectic process.

In interviews, students revealed that the course had changed how they viewed education and how

they accessed their right to education. While this cannot solely be attributed to teaching practices that resemble transformative HRE, a certain level of awareness raising through the chosen educational techniques does appear. For example, before the programme, Lucia said that she blamed the teachers for not caring about the students or the headmaster for failing to her job. After hearing lectures and guest speakers at RightsNow!, she said that she learned that "the whole system" was affecting the quality of her education and that change must occur beyond her own school. Claudio admitted that before he took the course, he was planning to enter into a private university if he could not pass the difficult entrance exam for the public University of São Paulo. He told me that through Rights Now!, he learned that it was his right to attend public university and that he wanted to "claim his right" to free university. As Freire (Shor & Freire 1987) argued, educators cannot overlook the practical desires and needs of students, such as the need to work or pursue valued educational or career paths. The programme seemed to be addressing students' rights on two levels – by raising consciousness of *what* their rights were and *how* they were being violated and concurrently empowering them to claim their rights with practical information about universities and higher education. This ultimately constitutes a transformative HRE by not only raising awareness (Meintjes 1997) but also by giving practical tools to change the system through advocacy about rights and through awareness to actually claim one's own rights (Bajaj 2011). At the same time, by bettering their chances of attending public university, the programme potentially remaps the public university student population and contributes to a larger process of decentring and remapping power (Giroux 1991a).

The youth also expressed the importance of learning from their other peers in the conscientization process. Interestingly, though all of the students came from the Eastern periphery and had a certain level of shared experience and identity, the differences in their individual communities and schools lead to rich comparative discussions. In the process of conscientization, learning from other people's realities can play a powerful role in helping students to identify injustices. Rossatto (2004) calls this "collective self-realisation" or the fact that liberation must occur in groups through dialogue and exchange. Often, it was from hearing about other student's experience in other peripheral schools that they began to understand how their rights were being fulfilled or violated. For example, Vanesa explained how she learned about rights from peers through a discussion on school identity cards. While at her school, students were never charged for identity cards, other youth at RightsNow! had been obliged to pay for student IDs required to enter into a school building. Until a discussion at RightsNow!, these students did not realise that their right to enter the school freely, without paying, was being infringed upon and teachers did not inform them of this either. When Vanesa witnessed the students learning about the violation of their own rights, she

said that it impacted her own understanding of the right to free education. This anecdote also illustrates the process of students placing their everyday experiences within a rights-based discourse and understanding their own experiences of injustice (Bajaj 2011).

These classroom elements all set the tone for the use of surveying as a pedagogical tool. The students were introduced to surveys at several moments throughout the course. The teacher began to use the survey by first gathering information about students' normal activities during the week and weekend, asking them to rank the frequency with which they went to parks, parties, the library, photo exhibits, art museums and other sites. The responses from the survey were then compiled into a PowerPoint by the teacher and discussed critically amongst students, with the quantitative information about group's frequentation of spaces like museums, restaurants, friends' homes and parks. This survey also enabled the teacher to generate themes (Freire 1970) for future lectures on cultural capital, and sparked the students to think about why they pursued certain leisure activities and what spaces they felt were accessible to them as youth living in the periphery. Interestingly, this also highlights the importance of cultural rights within Brazilian society (Dagnino 2003) and the link between educational disadvantage and other social disadvantages the youth experienced.

Following the preliminary survey, the teacher distributed a survey to the students about their experience visiting museums. This time, the youth administered the survey amongst themselves and then compiled and analysed the data as a group. The group discussed the results and considered why they did not frequent museums, citing the cultural and geographic borders of the city (Giroux 2005). Next, youth were assigned to visit a national art museum and, in groups of three or four, administer the same survey to people attending the museum on that day. In addition, the students attended a tour of the museum and viewed exhibits. For most students, this was the first experience doing an interview and they reported positively about the task. Hugo reported that it was a very productive activity and a way of "putting into practice some of what we had learned here [at RightsNow!] about how to communicate." Claudio also expressed that the survey, although small, made them "search more, seek more knowledge," perhaps inciting the desire to methodically explore the world, as Freire advocated. Teamwork also made them feel safer to approach strangers in public and in an unfamiliar space, especially for students like Fernando, Hugo and Lucia who mentioned that the survey was a good way to overcome their shyness. In this way, having an assigned activity and a support of the team empowered the students to generate knowledge (Freire 1970) and to "border cross" (Giroux 1991b).

Back in the classroom, the experience of surveying, along with the results from the data collection, were discussed extensively. Each group reported their findings that were then compiled to

form a larger data set. Again, this allowed for students to learn from each other and to be active producers of knowledge in the classroom, giving the teacher information that he did not already know. Students began to analyse and control the data, to see whether people from certain areas of the country were more likely to visit museums at an earlier age, or with their family, than other. They compared their own group's responses with those of the larger public and begin to draw conclusions about who could access "public" space like a museum. They realised that no one from São Paulo who was attending the museum that day was from the Eastern periphery, where they resided, and that there were more foreigners than people from São Paulo region. Their data analysis also revealed that the sample began attending museums at a younger age and were accompanied by family, as opposed to their group that went at an older age and was more likely to go with their school. This made them reflect on what societal and economic factors that prevented the RightsNow! students from attending museums and other cultural institutions. The youth eventually connected this to their previous activity on secondary education and their demands for more art and culture within school. The survey contributed to reflection-action dialectic (Freire 1970) by providing quantifiable proof that peripheral youth did not have adequate access to cultural spaces and enabled them to consider how education could play a role in claiming cultural rights. Furthermore, information they gathered during the survey seemed to act as a "codification" (Freire 1970). Freire advocated the use of pictures to codify the concrete realities of students and to help break down words and their meanings, yet this tool was more appropriate when dealing with literacy. However, the numbers and figures derived from the survey seem to adapt the "codification" method for literate urban youth in a transformative HRE setting by giving them concrete symbols with which to make meaning of their environments.

The youth also expressed reactions to the museum visit and to being in a foreign environment. They ultimately linked back to the initial survey about leisure activities and cultural capital and considered why they did not frequently attend cultural institutions, pointing to both the physical distance from their homes and the tacit exclusion they felt as young people and as residents of the periphery. For example, they mentioned the lack of Afro-Brazilian art and culture and the emphasis on European painters. Creating lessons in the outside world exemplifies Freire's (1999, 87) demand that learning diverge from "the narrow view of school as an exclusive space for 'lessons to be taught and lessons to be learned.'" More importantly, the act of going into the museum constituted a border crossing (Giroux 1991a, 1991b, 1999) that enabled them to not only enter into spaces where they might have been excluded but to actively engage with the space and understand how power and privilege shaped museums as a cultural institution. In fact, by engaging the youth in a larger discussion of power structures, they were better able to grasp ideas about

the school curriculum, governance and other educational rights that were affected by the same undercurrents. Thus the survey helped to extend their knowledge of the right to education to a broader political and social consciousness.

To gauge the level of conscientization or analyse whether or not the RightsNow! curriculum actually empowered students to transform society or claim their rights would be very challenging. Furthermore, this research took place during the middle of course thus excluding final activities that would also contribute to awareness and action. However, students expressed changes in their thought processes and a greater understanding of power dynamics, perhaps becoming "more inclusive, differentiating, permeable (open to other viewpoints), critically reflective of assumptions" (Mezirow 2000, 19). Hugo described how he had changed during the programme:

I understood how things are interconnected. Like, if you live in the periphery, it is related to your school being a certain way, it actively influences the learning environment and everything else. I changed a lot in that sense. I see something, but now I seek to understand. I try to take things out of their surroundings... I need to seek the *why* of things, *why* are things like that, *who* imposes things?...What are my rights? That's changed a lot. How to reclaim my rights and how to research, I think that has changed. I often thought I had didn't have certain rights that I do have.

Through the programme, Hugo began understanding the political nature of education and the injustice in being given a substandard education. Similarly, Claudio said that he learned how to criticize, but "a political criticism, a criticism that has rules, which has a whole movement (...) I'll have this critical view on education. And I'll try to fight for the right to education for all." Criticality and action also could indicate an impact of learning environment that embodied elements of Freire's praxis on the students. In fact, Fernando, Lucia and Vanesa all said that they wanted to fight for the rights of future generations as a result of attending the project. Of course they may have displayed such enthusiastic views since their interviewer was also perceived as a teacher. But the classroom discussions, along with the stories they told about specific issues where they had become aware of rights violations and ways to claim rights indicates that their perspectives did indeed change throughout the course.

The above paragraphs place the use of surveying as a pedagogical tool within a non-formal project that taught human rights as a transformative value. However, it has also shown that surveying cannot be a stand-alone form of praxis. It involves reflection, dialogue both before and after administration and connection to a larger theme of justice and rights. Furthermore, it requires a teacher who is trained and able to facilitate dialogue and surveys in a non-hierarchical manner. While the interview and observational data sets are admittedly limited, they do indicate practices that reflect the broader ideals and practices advocated by Freire and other liberatory

educators. Thus the use of surveys within this setting serves to highlight its complementary role within a transformative HRE and other education that seeks to engage students as active generators of knowledge and agents of change.

8 Conclusion

This article has shown how transformative HRE and citizenship are taught in a non-formal education programme for marginalized youth. It has considered the connections between transformative human rights and citizenship, giving examples from a Brazilian context, and has demonstrated the value of critical pedagogy in the process. In spite of the rapid growth of Brazil's economy and progressive leadership on municipal and federal levels, local and national citizenship in the form of economic, cultural and social rights, has yet to be fully enacted for a large portion of society. Thus it is important to recognize citizenship as an on-going struggle for rights in Brazil and to seek out educational methods that can foster critical reflection and action on prevailing injustices.

This article has offered a small but powerful example of how a rights-based education program can employ pedagogical tools that originate from the work of Paulo Freire and other critical pedagogues. However, as Freire himself acknowledged (1970, 48), "in the struggle this pedagogy will be made and remade," reminding educators that as social and political realities evolve, so must our conceptualisations of citizenship, rights and teaching strategies. Thus by considering the theoretical implications of surveys as a tool within praxis, and considering its use within a transformative, rights-based learning environment, the article has addressed the necessity of advancing the theoretical and practical elements Freire's work.

The case study, though limited in scope, demonstrated the use of surveys as a pedagogical tool that enhanced a "problem-posing" education. Further studies should be conducted in Brazil and Latin America on the influence of NEPSO, IBOPE and classrooms that are using surveys with transformational ends. These findings can contribute to a deeper understanding of how to operationalize Freire's work for citizenship and human rights in Latin America.

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Endnote

- ¹ The names of the programme and the students have been changed to protect anonymity.

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Exploring the Limits and Potentials of Youth Participation in Public Policy as Citizenship Learning: a Study in the State of Acre, Brazil

Keywords

youth, public policies, participation, citizenship

In the last decade, youth entered the agenda of public policies in Brazil, recognizing not only the problems that affect young people, but also the need for a proactive perspective that views youngsters as playing a central role in the design and implementation of policy. This is a tendency that is also noticeable in other countries, and there is clearly a “vogue of youth participation” (Bessant 2004, 401) in public policy across the world. Research in the field tends to show that these experiences can be effective in promoting young people’s civic and political knowledge, attitudes and competences and therefore can become a strategy of non-formal citizenship education. However, there are critiques that participation in these initiatives risks pamphleteering and tokenism. The goal of this paper is to enter this debate by considering the Brazilian experience in the State of Acre. It explores how opportunities for participation that youth public policies appear to stimulate are, in fact, perceived and experienced by groups involved in the process, from decision-makers to young people. Results suggest that youth public policy in the State of Acre seems to balance protectionism and recognition of youth agency and is undoubtedly influenced by the diverse and ambivalent perceptions about young people, ranging from irresponsibility and disinterest to consciousness and active engagement – on the whole, these tensions concur to make genuine participation unattainable. Therefore, as in other countries, policies are still not living up to expectations and much more systematic work is necessary to guarantee that participation in youth policies is, in fact, a relevant citizenship learning experience.

1 Introduction: Youth is “nothing more than just a word”

The passage to adulthood is marked by significant changes in different cultures and historical periods, but the path towards autonomy that used to imply leaving school, finding a job, establishing a new home away from parents, and having one’s own family is becoming progressively more complex in the last decades (Pais 2001). As Bourdieu proposed, back in 1984, “la ‘jeunesse’ n’est q’un mot”, and researchers must acknowledge that age divisions are arbitrary and strongly influenced by not only socio-historical factors, but also by class, gender, ethnicity

... and other social categories. Obviously, youth as a life stage has expanded to diverse social groups, and involves multiple dimensions of exploration and commitment in various life domains. In Brazil, following international classifications (e.g. UNESCO), youth is defined by federal policies as the period between 15 and 29 years, including young people with different legal statuses, with a recognition of the layers of identity crossed by gender, social class, race, etc. In fact, more and more, there is a recognition of the limits of a vision of young people as becoming (Castro & Abramoway 2002), and a recognition of youth as an inherently diverse social group with specific profiles that result from the intersection of not only gender, race and social class, but also vocational interests, economic situation and position towards work, to name just a few. It is therefore important to recognize that an abstract “young person” does not exist, and youth is a construct that exposes a deep and complex web of social representations that evolve through time and historical circumstances (Pais 2001).

In Brazil, youth have gained a particularly centrality in the social and political agenda, and many initiatives were developed at the local, regional, state and federal levels, both by state institutions and government bodies, churches and non-governmental organizations, ... (Novaes, Cara, Silva, Papa 2006). Young people are also frequently the issue in news media almost always in relation to violence, rebellion, the relationship with “galeras” (defiant cliques) and drug traffic – both as victims and perpetrators (Ramos & Brito 2005). But there are also increasing references to young people’s capacity for participation and engagement in innovative movements, including new forms of cultural expression, both in urban periphery and rural areas, throughout the country (Abramo 1997; Abramovay & Castro 2006).

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It is also important to take into account that more than 50% of humankind is less than 25 years and lives in Latin America, Africa and Asia, with the expectation that 95% of the demographic growth will occur in these countries (Barros et al. 2002). In Brazil, data from 2007 shows that young Brazilians between 15 and 29 years old amounted to 50.2 million people, corresponding to 26.4% of the total population – a number that is estimated to grow until 2010, with a progressive regression until 2050 (IBGE 2010) –; almost 30% of these young people were considered poor as the per capita income of their families was less than half minimum wage, and only 47.9% of those between 15 to 17 were attending the level of education expected for this age group, a percentage that was even lower in rural areas (30.6%) (IBGE 2010; PNAD 2007). The number of unemployed youth was impressive (4.8 millions), corresponding to more than 60% of the total unemployed population – and with a rate of unemployment that is three times higher than among adults (PNAD 2007). Besides unemployment and poverty, violence is also an important social concern as death by violent causes affects many young people, mainly those who are male, black, poor and live in deprived areas of large cities (IBGE 2007; Waiselfisz 2012). Given this general picture, it is therefore not surprising that youth has entered the agenda of public policies in Brazil, recognizing not only the problems that affect young people, but also the need for a proactive perspective that views youngsters as playing a central role in implementing these policies and programmes (Abramovay & Castro 2006).

2 Youth public policies and participation in Brazil

In fact, youth policies in Brazil tend to assume the creation of new social rights and aim towards the integral development and emancipation of young people (CONJUVE 2006) – following a tendency that has gradually evolved across the 20th century in Europe and North America, and that was stimulated in Latin America by international organizations, such as UN or CEPAL (Kerbauy 2007). The Ibero-American Youth Organization (OIJ) has played a central role in this process of development of specific youth policies – but the recognition of the role young people have played in the democratization of Latin American countries since the 1980s has also been decisive (Castro, Aquino, Andrade 2009). In Brazil, the reinforcement of children and youth rights was also pushed by the intense social concerns with the situation of street children during the same period, also in addition to episodes of youth violence that generated intense social rejection, such as the case of the killing of Galdino, an Indian from the Pataxó ethnic group, in 1997 (e.g., Ginwright, James 2002; Waiselfisz et al. 1997). Research with young people conducted afterwards suggested that there were problems related to community belonging, quality of education and opportunities for leisure, together with issues of access to resources that often generated deviant behaviours, such as theft (Diógenes 1998; Minayo 1999; Waiselfisz 1998). But

Sposito (2003) considers that many of these initiatives were directed towards at-risk youth, based on a perspective of prevention, social control or compensatory measures: for instance, there were many sports, cultural or work programmes that aimed to control the free time of youngsters living in deprived neighbourhoods. Therefore, these initial programmes were generally focused on vulnerable or at-risk young people (mainly urban, black and poor), and generated many short-term projects that aimed to promote inclusion in the world of work. Gradually, these policies were questioned and criticized by youth organisations and groups that demanded youth policies that conceive young people as more than just a problem (Rocha 2006; Dayrell, Carrano 2002). These claims for a new vision of young people as having rights and as being defined not by their deficits and problems but by their needs and resources should, many youth theorists argue, be recognized as legitimate citizenship claims (Abramo, Branco, Venturi 2005; Abramovay & Castro 2006; Bango 2003; Kerbauy 2007; Carrano & Sposito 2003). This resulted, since 2004, in a public discussion on the need for a revised youth policy that simultaneously would consider vulnerability and risk, but also granting young people opportunities for social inclusion and role experimentation in various life domains (Sposito 2005).

Since 2005 Brazil has hosted several meetings of international organizations related to youth policies. During this period many policy initiatives were implemented, always assuming a participatory design that involved thousands of young people, from diverse social and ethnic groups, in public discussions across the country (CONJUVE 2006) – a process that has strong similarities with the re-definition of youth policies in other countries both at regional and national levels (for instance, Australia see Bessant 2010; Canada see Haid, Marques, Brown 1999; USA see Checkoway, Tanene, Montoya 2005). These policies have contemplated diverse areas, from employment to environment, from sports to leisure, from agriculture to work rights, from education to arts and culture, from politics to sexual and reproductive health. They have recognized and targeted the immense diversity of young Brazilians, including ethnic groups and traditional communities (e.g., “quilombolas”, “caboclos”, “seringueiros”), but also groups who have been discriminated on the basis of gender, sexual orientation, disability, ... However, in an analysis of these diverse youth policy initiatives, at both federal and regional levels, Carrano and Sposito (2003) conclude that the relative novelty of these policies might explain problems of institutionalization and the tendency for fragmentation – a concern already expressed by Rua (1998) who considered that underlying these policies there was not a clear vision of the role of young people in the Brazilian society.

Youth citizenship clearly depends on experiences across the boundaries of formal and non-formal education (McCowan 2009): the lives of young, both within and outside schools, might provide opportunities for expressing opinions, debating,

exercising rights, ... and research has shown that participation in the definition of public policy can have important advantages in terms of civic and political knowledge, dispositions and competences (e.g., Camino & Zeldin 2002; Checkoway, Tanene, Montoya 2005; Zeldin, Camino, Calvert 2003). However, the International Association of Public Participation (2005 in Head 2011) presents a typology of goals of public participation that includes informing, consulting, involving, collaborating and empowering, suggesting that diverse formats can generate different results in terms of youth citizenship. Additionally, many authors have emphasized the potential risks of such participatory approaches (e.g., Ferreira, Coimbra, Menezes 2012), as "mainstream attempts to 'involve youth' in public affairs may sometimes be top-down, patronizing, tokenistic or unappreciative of the real interests and voices of youth" (Head 2011, 546). The goal of this paper is precisely to consider the Brazilian experience in the State of Acre and to explore how the opportunities for participation that youth public policies appear to stimulate are, in fact, perceived and experienced by different groups involved in the process, from decision-makers to young people.

3 Goals and context of the study

The state of Acre is one of the 27 federal units of Brazil, named after the word uwakuru from the dialect of the indigenous Apurinãs. Acre is situated in the southwest of the northern region of Brazil with a total population of 733,559 inhabitants. According to IBGE (2010), the population belonging to the age group of the study (15-29 years) amounts to 66,955,000, with a balanced gender distribution. The city of Rio Branco, capital of the state, where the study was located, has 167 neighbourhoods divided into seven regional districts. Each neighbourhood has a board elected by the community and each region includes a council of 27 members, a consultative and deliberative body whose role is to debate and articulate the participation of their communities in the public policy of the city.

In this study we aimed to establish a comprehensive vision of the actual participation of young people in the development and implementation of youth policies in Rio Branco. More specifically, we aimed to consider the following research questions: what is the vision that different significant actors, from decision-makers to young people, have on the development, implementation and effectiveness of youth public policies in the State of Acre? Do they consider that young people were/are actually involved in this process? How do they envision the social, civic and political experiences of young people, including both the opportunities and the barriers for participation? What are the potential benefits of these experiences for the construction of youth citizenship?

We used a qualitative methodology and conducted a series of semi-structured interviews. Participants were selected following contacts with the municipal

union of regional associations (UMARB) and the municipal government. The goal was to identify the local actors who might best represent the various profiles of participants in public policy definition and implementation: policymakers, leaders of the regional districts, young leaders from youth organizations and groups (such as youth political parties, students unions, and school principals), recognizing the centrality of schools in the life of young people. In some cases, the interviewees were very easily identified: for instance, the two policymakers responsible for management of municipal and state level policies in Rio Branco were both interviewed; in the case of the leaders of regional districts and schools principals, the criteria was to select the largest regional districts and the schools that served young people in these areas; young leaders were identified during meetings of youth organizations that the first author attended to gain a deeper understanding of youth activism in Rio Branco and Acre.

The final group of interviewees is therefore an intentional sample of 18 individuals: policymakers at the city and state level (2), leaders of regional districts (7), school principals located in these regions (4) and young leaders from various groups and organisations (5). As shown on Table 1, most are male and have a higher education degree; however, half of the leaders from regional districts and youth organizations have only completed secondary education. All names presented in this paper are fictional.

Table 1: Characterization of the participants

Participants	Age	Gender	Education
Policy makers			
Miguel	28	male	bachelor & post-graduation
Ari	25	male	bachelor
Regional leaders			
Pedro	36	Male	Secondary education
Jorge	37	Male	Level higher
Marta	39	Female	Secondary education
Gustavo	31	Male	University student
Rafael	38	Male	Bachelor
Aline	38	Female	Level higher
Patricia	38	female	Secondary education
School principals			
Maria	33	female	5 year university degree
Antonio	58	male	5 year university degree
Manoel	45	male	plus specialization
Milton	33	male	5 year university degree
Young leaders			
Margarete	25	female	university student
Josias	21	male	secondary education
Roberto	20	male	university student
Ricardo	21	male	university student
Artur	17	male	secondary education

Participants were contacted by the first author who conducted all the interviews in a context selected by the interviewees; interviews lasted from 20 to 60 minutes and were collected between April and May 2012. The interview scripts were specific to each group but included common topics related to (i) the knowledge of and degree of implementation of youth public policies at the state and municipal level, (ii) the social, civic and political experiences of youth (including motivations and barriers), (iii) the actual involvement of young

people in the development and implementation of youth policy, (iv) the importance of youth civic and political engagement and participation, and (v) other issues viewed as significant in terms of youth experiences. All interviews were recorded and ultimately transcribed. Data generated from the interviews was analysed using thematic analysis (Bardin 1995; Braun & Clarke 2006). The main categories and sub-categories are described in Table 2.

Table 2: Categories and sub-categories emerging from thematic analysis

	Categories	Sub-categories
Policy makers	Importance and implementation of youth policies	development of public policies at state and municipal level, strong points and obstacles in the management of public policies, main initiatives
	Youth civic and political participation in Acre	the notion of youth, importance of youth citizenship and participation, the role of municipal leaders, the role of political parties
	Issues related with leisure and health	political initiatives in these domains, activities available for young people
Regional leaders	Importance and implementation of youth policies	degree of implementation, youth involvement
	Youth civic and political participation in Acre – experiences, significance, and obstacles The role of family and school in promoting participation	importance for the society/community, main obstacles, spaces and contexts the role and influence of family, the role and influence of school
School principals	Importance and implementation of youth policies	degree of implementation, youth involvement
	Youth civic and political participation in Acre – experiences, significance, and obstacles The role of family and school in promoting participation Youth participation in schools	importance for the society/community, main activities, main obstacles the role and influence of family, the role and influence of school in students' unions and the community, in decision making processes within the school, in the school council
Young leaders	Importance and implementation of youth policies	degree of implementation, effectiveness
	Youth civic and political participation in Acre Youth civic and political participation in Acre – experiences, significance, and obstacles Dispositions for participation	motivations, barriers, influences political interest and attentiveness, party identification

4 Results

The vision of policy makers assume that Acre does not yet have a structured specific youth policy but has tried to create a place for youth in the regional and local agenda in accordance with the state youth policy, that views young people as subject of rights and not carriers of problems. In fact, as regards the discussion of youth public policy, the State of Acre was intensively involved in a process that took more than two years and involved

more than 1500 people. However, this involved the discussion of documents that were developed by political actors, and not by young people themselves. There also appear to be efforts to develop a series of sectorial projects and programs, even if there is almost no tradition in this field:

“there are youth policies in the areas of education, health, safety, environment, sport and culture, that involve a series of actions for young people to assume. It is also a fact that the municipal policymaker in Brazil has nothing in the area ... in contrast to Europe where there are world congresses and many people are talking about these youth projects. ... in Brazil it is still not rooted in our practice ... but it is an important chance to make a difference especially with the youth of the Amazon, because the reality is totally different from other regions of the country” (Miguel, 28 years, male).

Besides the recognition of the specificities of youth in Acre, policy makers also stress that the implementation of policies must take into account the specific characteristics of different regional areas in Rio Branco, making distinctions between more central and more rural areas. Additionally, the need to articulate youth policy with issues such as gender, sexual orientation, disability or ethnicity is also stated by Miguel:

“we must articulate the evaluation of policies related with youth, women, black, LGBT groups”.

However, even if policymakers express a clear concern in developing policies and programs, youth citizenship does not emerge in their discourses; in fact they tend to emphasize the role of these programs in promoting “social inclusion”, but clearly assume a future-orientation: “we intend to”, “we are planning to”, “we have to” without specifying the type of actions that demonstrate the implementation of policies. There is a recognition that

“Brazil has an historical debt to the poorest, to the excluded, because the Brazilian state was built for elites and was directed to the maintenance of elites ... We need to treat young people as decision makers, we have to empower young people ... we must encourage young people to act as protagonists and to express themselves in relation to policy, whether in the educational process, whether at school, at the university, in the family relationships, ... they need to have a dialogue with other generations but they also need to know what they want and what they think, and for this to be taken into consideration you have to focus on youth empowerment and treat youth as agents of strategic development” (Ari, 25 years, male).

This is clearly assumed as a work-in-progress and the need to promote youth conscientization and empowerment is viewed as a priority for both interviewees, who recognize that youth have been an important “vehicle for social transformation” in the last decades. But none considers the possibility of a bottom-up approach to public policy, where young people could evolve from more passive roles – such as information and consultation – to a more proactive engagement in the definition and development of youth policies.

The vision of the leaders of regional districts

Assuming that participation of citizens in public life constitutes one of the requirements of proper governance, we investigated how the leaders of the regional districts felt about the participation of young members of their community: are public policies designed to foster youth participation? Is youth participation important?

On the whole, the leaders agree that the implementation of policies has not yet been realized: *"it is only in the letter of the law, unfortunately, we have noticed that the development of youth public policies is a bit dead"* (Pedro, 36 years, male) – in fact, only one of the seven leaders mentions a specific action (vocational training courses) for young people in his district. Even more striking is Pedro's view on the consequences of the lack of implementation of youth policies

"there are many young people involved with drugs, prostitution, I have seen this quite a lot in my district. There are many idle public spaces and I have the impression that youth public policy is not working".

This lack of structured public spaces for the development of cultural and leisure activities seems to be of particular significance, leaving young people with no alternative but to generate their own spaces; Jorge (37 years, male) describes how young people in this district, faced with the lack of public spaces, *"started to meet after mass in the church facilities to watch movies, discuss common problems ..."*. But young people also face other obstacles to participation:

"There are some activities [generated by youth public policies] but young people who live in the suburbs are not involved because they do not have transport or they come from a poor family and their parents can't take them, even more because there are security issues – it is sometimes not safe to let your kids go from your neighborhood to another one" (Marta, 39 years, female).

Aline (39 years, female) also emphasizes how public spaces that were created to promote the quality of life of local communities are frequently insecure places for drug trafficking. Concerns with drug addiction seem to be prominent and Patricia (38 years, female) views this problem as a sign of the failure of public policies that were unable to generate future perspectives in many young people across the State of Acre. And Rafael (38 years, male) points out how this generates a vicious cycle:

"in spite of the positive opportunities for participation generated by public policies, opportunities are not universal ... those who are more excluded are the ones who tend to be less invited and involved ... even if sometimes we manage to engage them and they come".

However, as Gustavo (31 years, male) recognizes, there is a tendency for youth public policies and

programs to favor formal and informative activities that have a low potential for generating an actual engagement of young people and do not view young people as co-citizens who should have the right to "voice, vote and veto" (Montero, 2006, 67) .

The vision of the school principals

Schools are obviously central spaces in the life of young people and education has been, as we have seen, a central concern of Brazilian youth policies. How do principals view young people participation in public policies? Do young people express interest and are they engaged in their communities' life?

Milton (36 years, male) expresses not only a negative vision of youth but also complains regarding what he views as perverse effects of public policies:

"today many young people do not have goals, they just 'are there', if they pass it's OK, if they fail, next year they will do it ... they are so used to receiving money from the State [referring to the minimum income for poor families] that when offered the possibility to do some vocational training they immediately asked if they are going to receive any payment ... even if they are getting a professional accreditation all they care about is the money they will get".

This speech is corroborated by another principal who is very critical of the current status of children and young people in Brazilian policy:

"the protectionism of public policies leaves [young people] too apathetic, because if you talk to a young person today, a young person in social risk, living in the periphery [the more deprived neighbourhoods are in the periphery of the cities], s/he knows more about law than many adults. And only about the rights, the duties they ignore, they know them but they disregard, because they know that if an adult violates a duty s/he will liable, but not young people, because they are young and have legal protection" (Antonio, 58 years, male).

However, Maria (33 years, female) considers that this apparent lack of interest in civic and political participation results from lack of experiences as citizens:

"if they could see themselves as true citizens, with an actual contribution to the improvement of the city, education, leisure, sports, public spaces ... they might truly become citizens. The simple fact of voting does not make them citizens – it is because they participate in real initiatives, in making decisions, that they develop the social political vision that makes them true citizens, active, participants in their society".

This vision is reinforced by another testimony where the principal points out that:

"even if the implementation of these policies is still deficient it is a big advantage that they exist ... but we need to consider what elements in the daily life of young people contribute to the increase in their political participation, in their citizenship in relation to these programs, because when young people are invited to show what they are doing, their satisfaction is impressive ... we have a student who has real

trouble in making class presentations, but in the courtyard he sings and dances ... for him it is a significant moment. So these policies are important as they open an opportunity for young people to see alternative pathways" (Manoel, 45 years, male).

However, Manoel stresses that *"today, public policies in Brazil do not value young people as real actors, their participation, their activism ... they assume a protectionist position"* that might generate difficulties in mobilizing young people to projects related to civic and political engagement such as the youth parliament.

On the whole, and perhaps not surprisingly, both the vision of youth and of public policies seems more clearly ambivalent: for some, young people are apathetic and diffused, expecting too much protection from public policies; for other, young people are citizens in their own right who should be more actively involved in the positive, but still incipient, public policy initiatives.

The vision of young people

The lack of implementation of youth policies is the most significant result from the interviews with young leaders, whether they are members of political parties, neighbourhood groups or regional district leaders. As a young woman from a regional district states *"policies are beautiful but only on paper ... I do not see any policy being implemented in my district"* (Margarete, 25 years, female).

In general they are also quite critical of the strategic options regarding youth policies, namely the decision to build facilities for leisure that do not guarantee that young people use them:

"the current government has done a lot, sports areas, cultural centres, ... but does not have a systematic work towards young people, guaranteeing that these leisure spaces function as they should. On a Saturday if you pass in front of a theatre or sports pavilion they are abandoned, no one has the initiative to bring young people in, to involve young people in specific activities in these facilities. Obviously, young people turn to bars, sadly to drug using, to the lack of job opportunities ..." (Josias, 21 years, male).

Our interviewees recognise that young people were involved in the discussion of public policies but they want more than that. They want to participate in the implementation of these policies, they want to be called to evaluate their impact and to help improve what is being done – or yet to be done, some of them say. This would generate opportunities for a more engaged participation that, to use the IAP2 typology, would imply moving from consultation to youth involvement, collaboration and eventually empowerment (Head, 2011). In fact, Josias goes further to describe the current situation as tokenistic:

"we are not invited to participate in any event related to youth policies because we have an open mind and want to engage in political discussions ... when they [the State government] invite us, everything is already decided and they just want us to sign. You are not supposed to participate and make any real proposal."

But what do young people feel about the complaints about apathy, deficits and lack of engagement mentioned by some of the other interviewees? Are young people really motivated to be participants in these activities? Are they willing to overcome barriers to participation, or is there also apathy and disinterest? Here, they clearly consider that current strategies used by decision makers and adult leaders are not effective as *"they do not rest on young people as mediators and multipliers of existing policies ... the active engagement of some young people in disseminating policies would be much more effective as there is an horizontal dialogue between young people"* (Roberto, 20 years, male).

Young leaders particularly complain about older politicians that tend to treat them unequally and defensively, so they feel discouraged to fight for space. They also feel that the dependence that a lot of their parents have in relation to employment, often linked to government, acts as a barrier for engagement – as they fear their opinions would have a negative impact. But a disabled young leader considers that the main reason for disinterest in participation has to do with how the adults react to the ideas of young people:

"it is not the young person who does not believe, but the adult that does not follow ... Young people feel excluded in all areas, and when they have an idea to revolutionize something, the first person who turn their back on them are the adults – who were once young and have experienced that same discouragement .. and should therefore do things differently. Adults keep saying 'that's not cool', they hinder instead of dreaming together with the young ... people say 'when I was young I could not do it, so you won't either' ... what really happened is that a similar adult did not know how to dream ... when it would be central to understand the dreams of young people ... it's really nice to come here and say that you want to engage young people, that you want to follow their ideas ... lies! Being really honest most do what they want, following their own aims and interests and 'oh, it looks nice to use young people!'" (Ricardo, 20 years, male).

Young leaders try, therefore, to implement some initiatives in connection with political youth organizations, such as a series of school forums to discuss youth needs and problems; but Artur (17 years, male) claims that raising youth consciousness should be a priority so that

"the consciousness of Brazil will also raise ... Let's fight! Let's reclaim! If you don't claim, if you are silent, no one will know what you need! What do you need today? Jobs? Let's claim for jobs, let's call the media, let's make a huge demonstration, let's go!"

5 Discussion

In the last decades, Brazil has witnessed a huge development in youth public policies that recognize young people as a diverse group, crossed by layers

of gender, sexual orientation, ethnicity, social class, culture, disability, and that emphasise a vision of youth beyond a deficit model. Moreover, and in line with international tendencies, these policies assume a participatory framework that stresses the involvement of young people in the design, implementation and evaluation of public policies. But, as we have seen, the issue of participation, even if benevolent and apparently consensual, frequently risks manipulation and pamphleteering (Ferreira, Coimbra, Menezes 2012). In fact, since the seminal work of Arnstein (1969) and Hart (1992) we are clearly aware that discourses about participation, particularly in the case of potentially disempowered groups such as children and young people, can mean very different things and include “inauthentic participation” (Head 2011, 542). Our data reveals that this also appears to be the case in Acre, as some of the young leaders complain that young people are only involved when everything is already decided.

This apparent failure to achieve an actual involvement of young people seems like a lost opportunity in terms of citizenship learning as research abundantly shows how experiences of participation in the design, implementation and evaluation of public policies can be a significant experience for young people, associated with relevant benefits in terms of civic and political knowledge, attitudes and competencies (e.g., Camino & Zeldin 2002; Checkoway 2011; Checkoway, Tanene, Montoya 2005; Flanagan & Levine 2010; Ginwright & James 2002; Watts & Flanagan 2007; Youniss, Bales, Christmas-Best 2002; Zeldin, Camino, Calvert 2003). In fact, experts recognize that “citizenship education is by no means confined to the school grounds” and “in fact, there are reasons to believe that experiences outside school may be more important than those within it” (McCowan 2009, 25). Still, as in other domains of civic and political participation, the quality of these experiences must be thoroughly scrutinized as some elements – challenge and support, action and reflection, pluralism and diversity, time and continuity – appear to be of fundamental importance to the effectiveness of these experiences (see Ferreira, Azevedo, Menezes 2012). However, our data suggests that the potential of youth public policies to generate an arena for youth citizenship learning is still weak.

Judy Bessant (2004) analyses “the current vogue of youth participation” and questions whether it is possible to have “bare presence without inclusion or representation” considering that not only there is “a failure to acknowledge the existing barriers to young people” but also “a failure to establish participatory mechanisms that give material effect to young people’s voices” (pp 401-402). Perhaps not surprisingly, our analysis of the implementation of youth public policies in the State of Acre reveals how these ambivalences and contradictions cross the various actors in the field of youth policy, and concur to make genuine participation unattainable. This gap between policy and practice is obviously a classic phenomenon that is quite common in citizenship promotion initiatives (e.g., Ribeiro et al. 2012). In this case, it seems evident that every actor recognizes

that the “letter of the law” is challenged by practice and that the implementation of youth policies is either deficient or incipient. Moreover, it is worth noting that even if local policy-makers and leaders stress the specificity of the State of Acre, youth public policies only seem to follow the proposals by the Federal Government and there are no specific actions of the local government. A good example is the recognition that local diversities in terms of access to transport or public spaces or even education does not seem to determine specific actions for the various groups. This being said, the assertion of Rua (1998) that public policies in general, and specifically youth policies in Brazil, are fragmented, at the mercy of bureaucratic competition, suffer from administrative discontinuity and do not act in response specific demands of the target groups ... seems to be utterly confirmed in our study.

It is interesting to note that some actors, mainly those at the school context, express a high level of ambivalence towards young people themselves and their willingness and capacity for active involvement: a vision of young people in deficit – of knowledge, interest and responsibility – emerges together with a clear confidence in their capacity for commitment and innovation, as long as daily contexts promote opportunities for genuine and open participation. Young people themselves claim a genuine partnership in their interactions with adults, and are aware of the fact that they are frequently instrumentalised for the benefit of others. In fact, if the promotion of youth citizenship is a significant public priority, it is no doubt essential that groups, institutions and communities are themselves committed to this goal and assume their responsibility to foster a democratic living (Menezes 2010), as “young people learn continuously from the situations, practices, relationships and experiences that make up their lives” (Biesta 2008, 4).

The vision of young people is, naturally, different. Complaints about the lack of support for these experiences – more than the facilities that politicians around the globe always like to promote – are expressed in this study, as in previous research where the lack of a personnel structure to support and foster youth involvement was also essential (Marcellino 2001). But young people also complain about a general attitude adults appear to have towards the newcomers: discouraging innovation, turning our back to new ideas, invoking the past as the ultimate solution, ... in general not recognizing, as Hannah Arendt (1954, pp. 14-15) would say, that education is the balance between conservation and emancipation and that a genuine call for youth participation depends on this balanced vision:

“Education is the point at which we decide whether we love the world enough to assume responsibility for it, and by the same token save it from that ruin which except for renewal, except for the coming of the new and the young, would be inevitable. And education, too, is where we decide whether we love our children enough not to expel them from our world and leave them to their own devices, nor to strike from their hands

their chance of undertaking something new, something unforeseen by us, but to prepare them in advance for the task of renewing a common world".

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Endnote:

¹ These are Brazilian traditional communities: "quilombolas" are descendants of former African slaves who escaped the Portuguese and created free villages ("quilombos") in distant places; "caboclos" have a mixed Portuguese and indigenous origin; and "seringueiros" are migrants who went to the North of Brazil as rubber tappers.

Ivette Hernandez

Interview with Francisco Figueroa: Continuing the Conversation on the Chilean Student Movement

Introduction

This piece of work is an interview carried out with Francisco Figueroa. Francisco was Vice-President of the Student Federation of the University of Chile between 2010 and 2011. He, like other students, was leading the mass student demonstrations in 2011 which demanded a radical reform of the Chilean education system. As a militant of the Autonomous Left he gave in this interview his own political opinion about the process of political construction of the student movement and what challenges the student movement is currently facing in order to create possibilities for a deep social and radical transformation of democracy and education in Chilean society.

In 2011 Chile witnessed one of the largest student mobilizations that the country has seen in decades, a mobilization that international opinion called 'the Chilean winter'. Across the country and during eight months, university students and high school students occupied their universities and colleges and led marches across the main streets of the country to demand a radical overhaul of the Chilean education system. Their demands for a free quality education for all and the end of profit-making in education were increasingly joined and supported by public opinion which believes Chilean education is in crisis and considers this the main issue which has to be resolved in Chile (73% by 2011 according to CERC 2011).

Their demands for a radical reform to education were against a neoliberal economic reform which transformed the Chilean education system in the middle of the 1970s. Such a neoliberal reform, referred to as the "Chilean model", was ideologically designed by a group of Chilean economists, known as the Chicago Boys because of their attachment to Milton Friedman's neoliberal economic theories. After the military coup that toppled the democratically-elected leftist government of Salvador Allende, the Pinochet regime adopted the Chicago Boys' neoliberal economic ideas as their own ideological and economic programme with the purpose of transforming and modernizing welfare institutions and welfare policies through introduction of a free market economy as the main regulating mechanism of health, education and pension systems.

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Since the beginning of the 1990s, a coalition of political parties, known as the *Concertación*, embraced the legacy of Pinochet's neoliberal economic reform, thereby being acknowledged as the second trajectory of the Chilean experiment of a neoliberal state. The governments of the *Concertación* (1990-2010) initiated a development strategy of "growth with equity" as a political programme that stood between social democracy and free-market capitalism and as a "potential Third Way option for Latin America" (Taylor 2006, 5). In the field of educational policies, the development strategy of growth with equity was argued to be the optimal route to make quality education available for all. Such an approach reflected a new focus by the *Concertación* on social democracy and economic policies as "equality of opportunities rather than of outcome" (Keaney 2005, 30) in a mixed educational policy paradigm of "market or choice models and State or integration models" (Cox 2003, 19).

The Chilean experience of neoliberalism or what was known as the Chilean miracle played unquestionably an essential role in influencing international debates on development strategy and in being echoed mainly in the developing world. Yet, the nature and impact of such a reformed second neoliberal trajectory began to be questioned in 2006 when secondary school students mobilised against the lack of equal opportunities for quality education. This mass secondary student mobilisation took place between April and June 2006 when Chile witnessed the appearance of one of the largest social protests that the country has ever seen in the post-Pinochet era. The emergence of this student protest, named as the Penguins' Revolution because of their school uniform, was led by hundreds of thousands of students between 13 and 17 years old, who gradually started to march and to occupy their schools whilst demanding that education was a right and not a privilege. In their social protest, the students demanded structural changes in the Chilean education system by publicly revealing that a reformed template of neoliberalism had failed by deepening inequality of opportunity for quality education that mostly affected students from the most disadvantaged socio-economic sectors.

The Penguins' Revolution was acknowledged as unparalleled in the political context of sixteen years of democratic government of the *Concertación* while their social protests re-legitimized social mobilization by encouraging society to participate and mobilize in what the secondary students defined as "the major restructuring of the Chilean model of education"¹. The Penguins' Revolution also revealed the emergence of new political actors; new political subjectivities and democratic structures of participation that put in question the quality of democracy and participation that the political elites had

consolidated after two decades of political consensus in the post- Pinochet negotiated transition to democracy. In 2011, former high school students marched as university students in the main cities across the country to show society that their movement was a radical one, with their political voices opposing neoliberalism and profit-making in education as the main axes which perpetuate privileges of the wealthy and existing social class divisions.

Politically, the current student movement has taken a step further by developing and widening new forms of cultural politics that challenge traditional ways of representation, the market system and the neoliberal state. They began to politicise their spaces, social relations and subjectivities in very different ways from those of traditional political parties. Students themselves recognise that their movement is a political one which has begun to sweep across society with alternative forms of participatory democracy. It is recognised that the student movement is depicting its own transformation as a social movement by occupying and appropriating politics as a common space. Education in a neoliberal society has also played an unquestionable role in expanding opportunities and the conditions in which students have encountered each other, and in which they have learnt to expand their solidarity. A neoliberal education has also taught students that socio-economic exploitation is not just about labour, as it is an exploitation which began at their schools with the type of education they are receiving. Indeed, it is the revolution students have brought onto the table in a post-Concertación Chilean society in 2011.

Continuing the conversation on the Chilean student movement

I (Ivette Hernandez): What motivated you to get involved and participate in the student movement? Did your family or school experience influence your social and political participation in the student movement?

F (Francisco Figueroa): Well, in reality nothing of what you have mentioned above. Indeed, it has been a very particular way towards politics; I could say it was a very *sui generis* experience. I came to be involved in politics at university. My family is not a politically active one even though I could describe them as one quite diverse in its thoughts and ideas but my family has never influenced me in that way. For example, my closest family, I mean my parents are rather conservative. On the other hand, I studied in a Catholic college. Even though this college did not have a strong presence of priest at the college, it did not have any interest in systematically encouraging its students to discuss social issues. Consequently my political and social commitment came from my own experience as a university student. I considered myself a left wing person but I realised that what I have considered as the left was quite exhausted. For example, when I came to university I was surprised because I saw that the left which has

been historically recognised as inheritor of the armed struggle was a pure aesthetic issue as it just represented itself. In addition, the communists, who represented the more traditional form, did not manage to achieve a kind of more legitimised representation. Student militants from the coalition of political parties, known as the Concertación did not exist at a social level for a while as they took a very clear option for being part of the state while the coalition was in government between 1990 and 2010. Hence in this way they did not have any type of relevant social tie but rather worked through clientelism at the university. I started to collaborate with the federation of university students in the area of communications as I studied journalism. In 2005 and 2006 we faced big university student protests and secondary student demonstrations respectively. At this moment I began to be interested in social militancy. Such a decision mainly came from my own volunteering job at the FECH² and a friendship that I established with some comrades who were militants in the Surda³. They were organizing autonomous political groups called *colectivos*. So I joined the communication team who supported the biggest secondary student mobilisations in 2006 and from then on I never got out of it.

I: Did you have any other former experiences at school like debates, chats with your classmates who encourage your political commitment?

F: It did not happen at the institutional level. I had this kind of debates with my closest circle of friends but it did not have a big influence. The university as such influenced me as an institution, even beyond social relations I established. The idea of the University of Chile did interest me very much as I knew this institution constituted a quite challenging space. Indeed, it has a very interesting academic environment as lecturers and professors encourage this challenging atmosphere. Therefore the university became a real storm of incentives, regarding the political concern in many perspectives. For example, it originated from both the purely academic relation that I had with the university to social links I established with students organisations. A lot happened at the university between 2005 and 2006. These two years were really important for our generation. They were not as glamorous as 2011. In these days, to become a student leader did not entail such a public recognition like in 2011. Indeed, many rejected such a leading responsibility. But I think these two years were key years to revive the student movement that was very much asleep and quite fragmented. In short, we lived an experience which has been sufficiently important for our generation. To some extent it allowed us to express ourselves maybe with bigger responsibility in the following years.

I: What analysis do you make of the student protests in 2005 and 2006? How do you connect both student protests which were led by different social actors?

F: I think there is a certain continuity even though it does not show itself very clearly. In my opinion, student struggles show continuity between what

happened in the last decade and what we have seen in 2006 and 2011. The student struggles in the 1990s were in short the fight against the legacy of dictatorship; I mean they were against authoritarianism and the lack of public finance in the system of higher education. It was not a real political struggle which questioned the ideology of the model of education. The latter did happen in 2005 and 2006 after a period characterized by a low level of student demonstrations. In 2005, university students demonstrated and marched against a law regulating student fee loans which was proposed by the government of Ricardo Lagos. Such a law attempted to unify the access to university student fee loans by placing banks as the main operator at both private and public higher education institutions. Such a law proposal faced very strong opposition on the part of the university students. The university student movement and Rectors' opposition broke down since both actors did not manage to force the government into a U-turn. Nevertheless, the movement managed to keep the already existing state fee loans system, known as the solidary credit fund, out of a unique university student fee loans system. In a way, the movement achieved to keep this solidary credit fund out of private bank hands because it was believed that the former represented in other words, "a more solidary funding policy". In 2006, secondary student demonstrations came to take the frontline while the university students were in a rather secondary position as a result of a very exhausting period of demonstrations in 2005. The secondary student demonstrations in 2006 were already the precedent to what was about to happen 2011. It was the student protests in 2006 that managed to call the attention of society on pending and broken promises from the period of democratic transition. Although secondary students protests expressed economic demands pointing at the lack of infrastructure they made a step forward from structural demands towards demanding the elimination of the Organic Constitutional Law on Education, known as the LOCE, and furthermore exposing issues such as profit-making in education. On the one hand it was the first time student struggles addressed this kind of demands. And on the other, such student demands raised a lot of sympathy from the public as this demand made a lot of sense to people who are considered to be middle class. Precisely such a group of people were promised social mobility and meritocracy through education. So student protests in 2006 interpreted the aspiration of this middle class that had not been delivered. In addition, it is important to highlight that student demands in 2006 were negotiated by the Concertación in a very authoritarian political way. Indeed, this student mobilisation ended up with the declaration of a General Law on Education (LGE). The LGE has similar economic and ideological principles as the LOCE promulgated during Pinochet's regime. It was a rather contradictory matter that such a law was promulgated by a government that defined itself as in favour of listening to its citizens. Yet, it imposed a political negotiation with the right wing political

parties. I acknowledge that 2006, as I told my friend the other day, represented the turning point, the moment we lost our innocence.

I: What is happening nowadays within the university student movement regarding private and public universities?

F: I have to say that the social character of this actor has been widened in the student movement. It is because university students from the new private higher institutions (a traditional private education sector also exists), represent 70%. That is, 70% of enrolment in the higher education system belongs to the new system. It includes new private universities, professional institutes, and centres for technical training. These youngsters are currently facing the hardest contradictions of this education model. I mean, they are facing student fee loans with very high interest rates; they also have restrictions to create their own student organizations in order to exercise their citizenship as university students. This does not usually exist at these private institutions. Their universities show usually a huge deficit of quality education. It is interesting that precisely these universities are often involved in an illegal and more savage money-making deals taking advantage of legal loopholes, even though the law prohibits profit-making in education at these private institutions. Indeed, student demonstrations in 2011 brought a novelty regarding a new synergy between this new actor I mean the novelty in the student movement and the oldness that had begun to retreat concerning its relevance and demands that had historically shaped the flags of the student movement. In fact, student demonstrations started in 2011 with a conflict which did receive less media coverage. Nevertheless, this student conflict became a relatively strong point of reference for university students. This conflict was about the resistance led by students at the Universidad Central against its sale. The latter is a private institution with very particular characteristics since it has a stronger democratic tradition than the usual private universities. Students rejected the sale of their university to an investment group run by the Christian Democrat Party. This struggle became quite referential for student at private universities. They started to march in 2011; most of them did not have their own federations and student organizations but they marched with their demands and worries about the huge levels of debt they are facing and illegal profit-making that their institutions were involved in. Even though the student protests in 2011 were led by students who came from traditional universities, the demands from 2011 re-present an actor who is broader minded than students from traditional universities. Certainly, the demand to an end of profit-making in education is basically a demand which belongs to these new emergent social actors.

I: How many private universities are currently incorporated in the Confech?

F: There are about nine or ten private universities. It is an interesting point since in 2011 we attempted to open the Confech to incorporate also students

from private universities. We did not succeed. This happened because we had two rather conventional attitudes. In the first place, a sector of students who recognise themselves as far left wing people were against the incorporation of these students. They argued that their incorporation would mean the legitimisation of the private education system. In my opinion, it was an elitist position disguised in a leftist rhetoric. A second opinion was represented by a more political sensitivity which neglected incorporation of student federations from private universities. This political position saw students from private universities as an actor beyond the control of more traditional political actors. It was a more regulatory argument. In 2011 we could not manage their incorporation. At the beginning of 2011 we were able to incorporate students from Universidad Central as they had their own federation and they were also mobilised. In 2012, the Confech opened to incorporation of some private university student federations.

I: Did you aim to incorporate students from private universities in 2011?

F: Yes, we did. It was an objective we had in mind. We, the Autonomous Left colectivo aimed to incorporate these students if we were able to organize a mass national movement. We thought if we were able to raise an important student conflict it would be quite important to incorporate students from the private education sector as an actor with real power in this student struggle. We thought it would mean that 2011 would represent a year of a different qualitative advancement for the student movement. It entailed embracing their more sensitive demands. As many of their demands were corporate ones we aimed to politicise them to avoid the political class using them to strengthen the economic model. Such a political decision was adopted by many student federations like the University of Chile, the Catholic University of Chile and so on. It was above all a political decision. These student federations agreed that the existence of two different separated student movements could strengthen their more corporate demands. The latter was quite convenient for the current government administration as the right wing government of Pinera aimed to reform and improve failures of the model in order to preserve the essence of the model itself. We even came to imagine that these businessmen put the private university student movement in their pockets. Indeed, the government aimed to do it when it proposed student loans with low interest rates in 2012. By taking into account such political analysis we aimed to open the Confech or the Confederation of Chilean Students to incorporation of private universities. This happened in 2012.

I: How do you think education could contribute to the political involvement of students who marched in 2006 and 2011 to demand structural reforms in education?

F: Education itself... I sincerely think that student demonstrations were possible despite Chilean education. It is expected that education should encourage such political involvement through citizen-

ship education at schools or a more democratic university. Yet, these opportunities have been taken away for a long time in the Chilean education system. Therefore, there is no possibility to raise such issues in our current education system because education itself discourages such democratic debates. In my opinion, education could have contributed with the material conditions in order to expand numbers of mobilised social actors. We could also say that education has contributed to expanding a mass university after Pinochet's reforms. So, the more mass university we have the more mass student movement we face. It was what happened in the decade of 2000. In the decade of the 1990s and before the university student movement was very elitist as it represented the most prestigious public universities. Politically speaking it was a conservative student movement. Indeed, hegemony of the Christian Democratic Party in the student movement was broken in the recent decade of the 1990s. It was followed by a short hegemony of the traditional left; I mean the socialist party and the Communist party. This hegemony was broken in the current decade by hegemony of a social left with its more diverse character. So the "radicalisation" we have seen in the student movement is a new phenomenon. In my opinion, the latter should be understood as a result of the mass expansion of the higher education sector. At present we see that the Confech and student federations have been exceeded by a new student who had not been incorporated in traditional systems and the state in which student movements had been historically organised. Thus, education has facilitated the material conditions to see more than 10,000 students, but as it happened in 2011 when we had 200,000 students who marched on the main streets across the country.

I: Yet, lack of opportunities to learn citizenship at schools also entails opportunities to create other ways of political participation. It seems that there are no formal spaces to strengthen participation and autonomy. What do you think?

F: Yes, you are right. There is a strong rise in students' participation and a renovation in their approach towards struggle and political action. These new emergent ways of political and social participation come as an answer and to counterattack the mistrust of institutions and traditional politics. We can see today changes in organizational principles of student federations; the emergence of dynamics of a more participatory democracy and a stronger legitimisation of assemblies in the secondary student movement. All of this happened as a result of a huge mistrust towards political parties and authorities. Students have begun to counterbalance this mistrust by opening more spaces for participation in order to have more control over their own decisions. I would say the other side of the coin of decomposition of political class and institutions is an increase in student participation through these new forms I mentioned before. It is the answer to your question. The absence of opportunities for learning citizenship in the formal education system has allowed creation of something that is clearly a positive phenomenon.

I: At this point I would like to turn my attention to teachers. Why in your opinion do teachers look so absent at a time of student demands for free education for all?

F: I think there are several reasons for this, although I believe the most important is a structural one. As municipal or governmental education has been significantly reduced, the working conditions of teachers have also become more precarious because of what is called labour flexibility. As a consequence the number of teachers organized in unions has decreased a lot. Thus the current working conditions of teachers in this model of education have resulted in a weak Teachers Union. I think this is the most important reason for the absence of teachers beyond the political choices the Teachers Union has taken. Of course, these political decisions have also played a role but on a different stage. The teachers' movement was a very important actor in the decade of the 1990s. It was a much politicised teachers' movement. At times it became more politicised than even the student movement. For example, teachers raised a big mobilisation in 1997. Nevertheless they have lost a lot of their strength because of the economic problems they face; precisely due to the historic debt the state has with the teachers and more precarious working conditions for teachers. These elements have undermined their capacity to lead further political struggles. Nowadays, teachers demands are more corporate ones and one can see them fighting for adjusting salaries at the end of the year. Yet, there have been a few occasions in which they have demanded the right to free education. In 2006, there was an attempt which came from a social alliance among secondary students, teachers and university students. Yet, such a social alliance did not succeed. I think it was due to the lack of initiative and a less affirmative position from teachers that played against this alliance. I would like to say that precariousness in education likewise affects teachers; they have also become victims of this model. As they did not receive good teacher training courses at universities they could not provide a good quality education at their schools. While we acknowledge that it is the reality in our education system the right wing parties and the government have come up with the idea that bad quality education was the fault of teachers. Teachers could not oppose adequately this powerful argument at that moment. They were then strongly criticized by public opinion, if we could say that such a thing like public opinion exists. There were spaces in which they were strongly criticized; however they did not have the same legitimacy as the student movement. What we would have needed in 2006 was a more affirmative and proposing teachers movement rather than a movement entrenched in economic and corporate demands, which make only sense to a few unionised teachers but not to society.

I: How do you imagine an educational reform to reduce the already existing social class inequalities and segmentation in the current education system?

F: We think we have to consider two purposes education is expected to accomplish. Firstly, we need to understand how we finally become a developed country. It is an unresolved problem that entails redefining what we mean by development. In our opinion, development should be understood as a productive capacity of a society to resolve all kinds of inequalities such as social inequalities, gender, ethnic and cultural inequalities as well. There is no development if both productivity and inequalities are not addressed. We think that knowledge plays a key role in particular in societies which are becoming more advanced and complex. Since 2011, our main slogan has been "knowledge will be the copper of the 21st century." We believe that Chile's wealth is no longer coming from beneath the earth. It is in our heads and minds, in our capacity to innovate. We believe that innovation not only represents technological progress, but it also entails creation of a new knowledge, one relevant to the needs of society. It is the main driving force for development and education plays furthermore a fundamental role in terms of broadening capabilities to produce knowledge and to democratise it. It means that access, distribution and use of knowledge are going to define the type of development we will have; the relationship among different social groups and even the relations between our country and the region and other far away countries as well. In other words, it is about how we tackle dependency of our country and the context of Latin America regarding knowledge created in already developed countries. In this way knowledge and citizenship became fundamental in this process and from here we could start interpreting what role education has to play in this. Education has to be democratic at its different levels; we should encourage the culture of citizenship in classrooms and at universities. We also have to engender social equality. We consider the latter implies the demand of the universal right to education by eliminating and exposing the principle of subsidiarity. We know that a targeting policy approach has resulted in high levels of inequality and social exclusion. This social exclusion is in contradiction to any effort to bring about more equality of communication and social cooperation. These are fundamental conditions for development. We do not have such conditions in the Chilean experience. As a result we can see youngsters from different communities and socio-economic backgrounds who are unable to communicate with each other as they do not talk in similar linguistic codes. It is a barrier to build a project for society. We believe that a targeting approach on social expenditure undermines the idea that community itself is entitled to equal rights. Furthermore, such an approach is even going beyond this, as it suspends the idea that an individual is entitled to universal rights. Consequently it is not a right as, in our opinion, "rights are universal or they are not." One can access to social services programme after an official document confirms one person is entitled to and can do so for a fixed time. In Chile we say that "if you are walking and your coin falls you are now under the line of poverty but if you picked it up again you

moved upwards and you lost your subsidy." This approach on social expenditure has been positioned as a prudent and efficient way to implement social policies. Nevertheless, Chilean experience has shown that this approach on social policies has deepened social inequalities and social exclusion. These policies have to be eliminated as "the rights are universal or they are not".

I: Would selection at schools be eliminated in this educational reform?

F: Yes, it would be eliminated. The selective process of students is a trap. Nowadays many high schools claim they have the best students. Yet, it is too easy as private high schools have students who come with better opportunities to learn because of their socio-economic backgrounds while some prestigious municipal high schools also select their students. The selective process in our education system has deepened its social segmentation by constraining essential features of education regarding interchange of abilities and sensitivities. We finally had ghettos at schools, deepened social segregation and social problems which already exist in society because of that very policy. We faced a similar problem at the university level because an unrestricted access to higher education does not change anything. I think the mechanism of access does not solve problems derived from a socially segmented education system. I mean societies with similar problems of inequalities and unrestricted access to universities have been unable to reduce their serious problems of university drop-outs. What figures and numbers show us are that those students who came from families which have books at home are graduated at universities. We believe that access to higher education system has to change but we do not think that such a reform could resolve problems of inequalities. Such a task needs to engender equal learning opportunities for all. It means that the right to be educated should be understood as a provision of a universal right without a selective process. Moreover, access to higher education system should effectively depend on student interests, talent and merit. Nowadays this idea of meritocracy is a big lie, because what plays a key role in accessing university are socio-economic conditions rather than merit. Indeed a survey shows this. In short, meritocracy is not what is seems to be and merit might be a relevant factor when all have equal conditions to function and to be educated.

I: Francisco, you pointed out in 2011 that current model of education aims at producing reduced elites. So, what other type of social class do you think education is currently bringing forth?

F: The current education model is very basic. To be able to understand the model better one has to observe Chilean business people and how they envision the Chilean society. They see society and the labour force in a very simple way. It is a labour force ready to bear the precariousness of the labour market by accepting labour flexibility as a necessary solution. Such a model of labour force attempts to install a new kind of precarious work, while workers are left with total resignation without will or capacity

to challenge the authorities. The latter has much to do with the type of education students have been receiving. It was already addressed by the rock band "Los Prisioneros" in the 1980s. In one of their most famous songs, "El baile de los que sobran", they talked about an education generating resignation. Yet, it does not represent an old way of resignation. It constitutes a new way by which the labour force accepts this new order based on precariousness and labour flexibility. In addition, we have an elite of technocrats who believe that their specialized knowledge represents the truth, to the extent that they can withdraw knowledge from public deliberation. We think that the technocracy issue is an extension of authoritarianism but with new credentials and with a new discourse. Nevertheless, this elite shares its essence with authoritarianism because it excludes production of knowledge from the common interest, the general interest of society and the collective capacity of society to think about its future through common decisions. It basically represents the idea of experts, a reduced elite who take these decisions. However, this idea was shattered in 2006 when experts who have defended the system started to explain failures of the model. It was a very interesting phenomenon. At this point it is worth emphasising that the so called public elite universities such as the University of Chile or the most important private university, the Catholic University of Chile, are producing these elites and attempt to separate these elite from public concerns. It is what has been proposed to us. It constitutes a dominant discourse at these public universities, the best public universities in Chile. I think the whole idea is profoundly a class based idea.

I: Could you explain a bit more the social class composition of students who marched in 2011?

F: The Chilean university student has always been a mesocratic movement. I mean a middle class movement. I will not talk about middle class because something like this does not exist in Chile, but I choose to call it middle strata of society, people who have access to some services. Nowadays we could understand it as access to loans and credit cards. It is a very contradictory issue because they are a social group that is expected to meet its economic and professional aspirations. They do not represent a more radical position. Historically speaking the middle class has always played, in Chile and in the Southern Cone, a key role in challenging and transforming social and political conditions during either very conservative periods or more progressive governments. The secondary student movement however is quite different as it is represented by all social classes. Since it is more diverse we have seen in the last decade secondary student demands that called for solutions to structural problems in education. In my opinion, such a feature has entailed addressing political issues which are common to the majority of secondary students. Even though the university student movement is a movement with a more perceptive political discourse it has been more reduced on a social basis. Nevertheless, such a social scope has been expanded now due to the fact that

access to higher education has been expanded. It is no longer an elite student movement as it was in the last century. It has become a mass student movement although the Chilean higher education system does not have a similar level of access to stand out at world level. Yet it is very different to what happened in the 1980s or at the beginning of the 1990s when about 13% of high school students had got access to universities. Today, that number has increased by 46% although half of them drop out before completion. Indeed, this high drop-out rate is another problem the university student movement has placed on the table. Mass university expansion and high levels of university dropout have tumbled many ideas of famous experts, like Joaquin Brunner, who said in 1985 that a mass expansion of higher education system will mean the disappearance of a university student movement as it will become a corporative student movement. A very elitist vision indeed, I mean like many of these people who were militants of MAPU before 1973. He commented that the student movement as we knew it will be finished. Students who marched in 2006, 2011 and 2012 however have been showing him and other experts how wrong they were when they made their very deterministic conclusions.

I: This student movement is revealing new political and social subjectivities to construct and to do politics. How do you characterize these new social and political subjectivities?

F: I am not used to thinking about what you have just asked from a sociological perspective. I prefer addressing this notion in a different way to see if I can respond to your question. Traditional political identities, their dynamics and ways of doing politics have been in crisis for a while. I think that the democratic transition was possible on the one hand by disarticulating the social movement and on the other Pinochet's regime itself was able to throw traditional forms of doing and constructing politics into a crisis. For example, articulation between the working classes movement and its own politics or links between political parties and some specific social groups were destroyed. Furthermore, there was no political will to reconstruct this in the decade of the 1990s. It was because the democratic transition itself depended on political disarticulation of social actors, mainly against grass-root movements. As a result, new subjectivities which arise in these social sectors are mainly characterised by resignation and conformism we have never ever seen before in the history of Chile. By speaking in quite relative terms, Chile used to have, on the contrary to other Latin-American countries, a more or less important left. Today this scenario is quite different. Since 2000 some more affirmative elements of this crisis started to emerge [...] they started to express something more positive. I could say they were linked to more spontaneous ways of doing politics and less involved in traditional political organisations. These new forms of politics also addressed some elements of rebelliousness which seemed to be neutralised in those institutionalized forms of politics because the latter often lost this element of

rebellion, of total negation and the affirmation of something totally different. I think that these new political subjectivities started to germinate a bit in the current student struggles. Yet, if these subjectivities are not transformed in objectivities, or if you prefer in concrete historical structures, we could finish being betrayed and co-opted like the social movement of the 1980s.

I: In which way do you think these new political subjectivities impact society?

F: I think it is too soon to talk about or analyse how the student movement has impacted society. I can only give you my opinion which is based on my own experience and the national contingency more than anything else. Firstly, the conclusion that the idea of the social actor had disappeared in Chile after the end of Pinochet's regime was wrong. Indeed, the Chilean experience was used to defend this idea. Today we could be defeated again but what is clear is the history has not ended here. Nobody could deny the existence of a new social actor that could emerge with a desire to transform our current system. It had an impact on society. For example, the student movement was widely supported by society both in their demands and their ways of protests. Such a support shows how people disagreed with this idea of privatization in all spheres of their lives. This support also talked about legitimisation of these new ways of doing politics which were not contained in the current political system. This last point is quite powerful as Chilean society has been characterised as very conservative in its democratic transition period. Indeed, passiveness of social actors allowed a very restricted democratic transition. This has not yet changed in Chile and I think is too soon to come to a conclusion but it was fractured and undermined. It was not only because of the tremendous support the student movement received by society. So what happened? Many local conflicts which used to be expressed by formal mechanisms such as negotiations between their representatives and authorities were now taken to the streets; people set up barricades and called for big demonstrations. It happened in Aysen and Freirina in 2012 [...] I think students impacted society to an extent that many sectors of society began to wake up from their apathy. The same happened on August 4th, the day of maximum repression in 2011. There happened a looting and burning of a department store chain known as La Polar. This department store chain was in the national news as it had been cheating many people. It was quite interesting to see that people did not condemn the looting and destruction. In my opinion, this silence said basically "this is something like justice". In other words, if nobody does justice, then these things happen. It is a clear symptom that something is happening in Chile.

I: How do you think democracy and citizenship should be taught in a country in which there still forced silences about the times of dictatorship?

F: Yes, I think it is a problem but I do not think it is the most important. In many public universities there are issues that are slowly getting out of being a

taboo. Yet, it does not mean problems are resolved. I think we need to focus on current taboos that exist at this present moment [...] There are issues on the dictatorship, human rights, and the historical memory that have been worked on at the Universidad de Chile. But although they have been worked on we still have a very conservative and authoritarian mentality. I think that the anti-dictatorship discourses or to think of the problems as coming from Pinochet's reform are very convenient to ignore what problems we are facing in the present. It is very convenient and I think an education for democracy has to deal with myths and mystifications that exist at the present time. An education for democracy is not only about what happened in the past, it should also address what is still happening today. Issues about inequality, lack of legitimization of the political system. These issues have been naturalised and they are not being considered as a problem when we think about teaching democracy and citizenship. It happens at the Universidad de Chile so you could imagine what happens in other universities, the big majority of universities.

I: To close this interesting interview, would you like to add anything else?

F: Yes. I think we should weigh up the student struggles in the last years in Chile. We have to wait but I think we have to develop a more critical approach in order to ask more from the social struggle we are involved now. This analysis has to be critical because in spite of a series of new elements which we have mentioned like new forms of action, new forms of linking the common issues there is still not any real impact on a political change. We have to be very cautious to avoid a similar experience to what happened in the 1980s. There was a very important social energy and a high level of autonomy of the political class. It happened not because the political was decomposed but because it was materially destroyed by the dictatorship. But finally all this energy was used in a very conservative political project. I think we have not resolved this problem yet. It is not going to be resolved by the student movement but it is a problem we need to keep in our minds with all the potentiality it has. I emphasised it is important bearing in mind the potentiality of the recent student struggle in Chile. It was able to put issues on the table that are so advanced for the Chilean experience. It is because this student struggle denaturalizes issues that were hidden due to the consensus imposed by the de facto powers in this country. The targeted approach on social investment, a subsidiary state, and profit-making in education were not defeated in 2011. Yet, their legitimacy was fractured and undermined in the country and abroad. What the student movement does is to crack the myth of Chile, as a successful neoliberal country. I think it is also interesting to see this abroad as Chile was a laboratory in the 1980s. Nowadays there are many countries that have started using some ideas from the Chilean experience. Some Latin-American countries of the Pacific have started to do a series of reforms which have the same pattern. For example, Peru, Colombia, Mexico; all of

them are more conservative governments but we also see that more progressive governments are considering implementation of some of the solutions applied in Chile as they believe that these policies could have an impact on some indicators. There are some indicators that the elites like to keep on showing to the international organisms. But these indicators do not show a correlation in a more egalitarian and harmonious development of the country. So, I think we have to keep in mind the Chilean experience and how the achievement of a successful neoliberal model was not such a great one. In other words, the sale of the Chilean model cannot be made so easily anymore; I think that the cost of selling the myth rose.

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Endnotes

- ¹ Spokesperson of the Secondary Student Assembly (AES) & the National Assembly of Secondary Students (ANES). Available at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cnxXyzvjTbk&feature=channel>
- ² FECH: Student Federation from University of Chile.
- ³ Surda was a left movement born in the early nineties. It was mainly based on state universities across Chile.
- ⁴ The Confederation of Chilean Students

Ralph Ings Bannell

Interview with Vera Maria Ferrão Candau

Introduction

Over the last couple of decades, human rights education has become an important topic in many countries but nowhere more so than in Latin America. The long history of colonisation and autocratic governments, either military-civil dictatorships or simply government by the elite, has left many minority groups within these countries vulnerable to human rights abuses.

The military-civil dictatorships are over but the control of economic and cultural resources is still firmly in the hands of national and, increasingly, international economic elites. If neo-liberalism in its more radical form is being questioned nowadays, the belief that the economic market will resolve all problems is still as strong as ever. Economic and political liberalism has become an ideology so dominant that it has become the default position for any discussion of social problems.

There has, of course, been a reaction to this from sectors of society preoccupied with the welfare of the poor and marginalized groups, differentiated by race, gender, ethnicity and sexual orientation. Part of that reaction has been to try and strengthen a culture of human rights, together with a democratic culture and institutions. The new democracies in Latin America are very fragile and the violent disregard for human rights in the recent past is an open wound that refuses to heal. In Brazil, for example, a recently formed Truth Commission is investigating those responsible for human rights abuses during the dictatorship (albeit without any powers to press charges) largely because of the indignation felt by many at the amnesty granted to the abusers at the end of the dictatorship.

In the context of Brazil, democratic institutions exist but a democratic culture still has to be developed. Political bargaining between powerful groups is still the norm in Congress and between the government and congress. Only very recently, such bargaining resulted in a Federal deputy known for his anti-homosexual and racist beliefs being elected President of the Congress's Human Rights Commission.

This is the context in which human rights education takes place in Brazil and, I think it fair to say, most Latin American countries. This is why we have thought it important to interview one of the leading protagonists for human rights education in Brazil and Latin America, Professor Vera Candau. She is

a full professor of education at the Pontifical Catholic University, in Rio de Janeiro, specialising in the areas of didactics, multi/ interculturalism and human rights education. Author of dozens of books and articles on these subjects, she was a member of the committee that elaborated the National Plan for Human Rights Education, in Brazil, and is co-founder of the NGO NovAmerica, whose activities include human rights education within both school and non-formal educational contexts.

R (Ralph Ings Bannell): How did you get involved in the field of human rights?

V (Vera Maria Ferrão Candau): The truth is that my involvement had different moments. Remembering, today, my trajectory in relation to this topic, my first moment was related to my activity in the student movement at university. My undergraduate degree was in pedagogy in the beginning of the 1960s. These were times of great social and political mobilization. I participated actively in the student movement. Questions related to Brazilian reality – inequality, agrarian reform, educational policy, amongst others – as well as the Latin American context, such as the Cuban revolution, occupied different spaces within the university. So, more than a conceptual approximation to the problematic of human rights, I was involved in actions of denunciation and with the movement to construct a more just and democratic society. Before the beginning of the military dictatorship in Brazil, I won a grant to do post-graduate studies at the University of Louvain, in Belgium. There, I experienced the other side of the human rights question: being a foreigner, who was considered academically “inferior”, an object of prejudice and discrimination. I hadn't had this experience before. It was very difficult, not only personally but collectively, and we Latin Americans, together with the Africans, had our meetings and associations where we shared our experiences. At the end of the 60s, I went to Spain to do my doctorate. These were the years of the Franco dictatorship. There, for the first time, I came to experience what it was to live in a dictatorial regime. On my return to Brazil, our dictatorship was already fully installed and the struggle in defence of human rights considered subversive. These were the so-called “lead” years in which the “culture of silence” was imposed. But, in spite of the institutionalised violence, the struggle for democratisation gradually imposed itself and, in the 80s, a democratic transition was affirmed, with the elaboration of a new constitution, approved in 1988, known as the “Citizenship Constitution” because of the extent to which human rights were incorporated into the text. These were times of much discussion, with strong social participation of different groups and organisations, of great enthusiasm and creativity.

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It's in this context that I started to participate in the reflections and debates on human rights and, principally, human rights education. Since the 90s, I've dedicated myself amply to this theme, especially with reference to teacher education.

R: How has this field changed over the last decades in Brazil and in the world?

V: The development of human rights education in Brazil is a process that emerged with force in the second half of the 80s, therefore, it has developed over the last twenty five years, through different stages and in close articulation with the diverse social-political contexts faced by the country. However, there is still very little academic work that systematizes, analyses and problematizes this process.

It was in the context of democratic transition, the search for a new rule of law and the concern with constructing a new political culture and an active citizenship traversed with the recognition of human rights that the first real experiences in human rights education developed.

In 1985, various professionals, principally in the area of law, were given grants to participate in the 3rd Interdisciplinary Human Rights Course, promoted by the Latin American Institute for Human Rights (IIDH), in Costa Rica. These professionals were from different regions of Brazil and, on their return, constituted a nucleus that promoted the first experiences of human rights education in the country.

Various initiatives were realised in this period in which the focus was on the construction of a network that, as well as the work developed in different parts of the country, would also establish relations with organisations and professionals in the countries of the South Cone, from Argentina to Uruguay. With the help of the IIDH, different activities were promoted, with courses and seminars in various cities within the country, many of which with the support of the State and Municipal Secretaries of Justice, Citizenship and Education, together with universities, at both graduate and undergraduate levels.

The decade of the 90s could be characterised as one of giving emphasis to the formulation of public policies in human rights. The National Programme in Human Rights was elaborated in this period as well as the creation of a Human Rights Secretary, tied to the Ministry of Justice and later directly to the Presidency of the Republic, which became important references for this expansion. The formation of activists, public prosecutors and educators in human rights, promoted by the Federal Government, through the offer of courses at various levels and within various parts of society, is also a characteristic of this stage.

In this decade two movements can be identified that came together in some initiatives. The first with a view to amplifying and continuing what had been achieved in the previous decade; the second involving new agents, particularly from the Federal Government, incorporating in some of their organs professionals from the organisations and groups of civil society committed to the questions of human rights.

In relation to the decade of 2000 until today, one characteristic is the difficulty in making a clear delimitation between initiatives of civil society and those of government. This period is configured more by conjunctural actions, partnerships and associations between the two spheres. The initiatives have multiplied. Seminars, courses, lectures and forums have taken place in different parts of the country, promoted by universities, associations, social movements, NGOs and public organs. Another characteristic is the emphasis on constructing normative instruments that promote human rights education. Without doubt, the implementation of the National Plan for Human Rights Education (first edition in 2003 and the second in 2006) has had a fundamental role in stimulating, supporting and making a diverse number of activities viable. Another important normative instrument, approved in 2012, is constituted by the National Guidelines in Human Rights Education, which makes the inclusion of this thematic mandatory in the whole educational system, from early childhood education to higher education.

Despite all of these advances in the theme of human rights education, as much on the government's part, through public policy, as on the part of civil society, they are still fragile, from the point of view of provoking a change in mentalities centred on the construction of a culture impregnated with human rights as well as reach of the work undertaken, which still only touches some segments of the population, even though they are considered strategically important.

As far as the international plane is concerned, since the publication of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), organisations such as the UN and UNESCO have stimulated member states to incorporate this thematic.

Especially after the Vienna Conference (1993), which celebrated the forty fifth anniversary of the Universal Declaration, this policy has been strengthened and monitored. Today, universities and non-governmental organisations in different countries, articulated in networks, promote numerous activities orientated towards deepening this thematic and its implications, as much for educational processes, in the formal and informal spheres, as for the society in general.

R: How do you respond to the worry that human rights education could be incompatible with a neo-liberal agenda?

V: This question is related to the polysemy of the expressions human rights and human rights education. There are various meanings in dispute. For some, in the liberal tradition, the strong meaning of human rights refers to those that are usually situated in the first generation of rights, the so-called rights of freedom. And, within these, fundamentally the right to economic freedom, freedom of expression and freedom to choose those who govern. Even so, these rights are proclaimed and affirmed in a view I consider of "low intensity", an expression used by O' Donnell, referring to

democratic processes. In this perspective, there is no contradiction with a neo-liberal agenda. This is what we see in the world today.... However, if we look from another perspective, holistic and interrelating the different dimensions of human rights, in which you cannot dissociate the so-called rights of freedom from the socio-economic and cultural conditions of different individual and collective subjects, it certainly is a very tense and contradictory relationship. I believe in this perspective and think that we should operate within these tensions, making them explicit, from both the theoretical and practical points of view.

R: Given the origin of the modern conception of human rights within the doctrine of liberalism, do you think human rights education can be made compatible with a socialist agenda?

V: This is a very important question that has been the object of reflection by various authors within the social sciences. I will limit myself to an explication of the position adopted by Boaventura de Sousa Santos, with which I am in agreement. In a text published in 1997, *A Multicultural Conception of Human Rights*, which has had a number of other versions sub-sequently published, the author starts from the affirmation that human rights were seen as suspect from the perspective of emancipation, by socialist authors, who privileged other categories, such as revolution. However, partially as a result of the crisis of real socialism, human rights became an integral part of the effort to reinvent the language of emancipation. The author asks if this is possible and argues that it's necessary to be aware of the dialectical tensions that run through western modernity: between regulation and social emancipation; between the state and civil society; between the nation-state and what we call globalisation. He discusses each one from the perspective of human rights re-read from the perspective of emancipation. Therefore, I consider it important to affirm human rights, for many authors practically the only reference that is capable today to mobilize actions throughout the planet, and to add our efforts in the direction of their reinvention as a component of the processes of emancipation. In this respect the question of multiculturalism is considered particularly relevant.

R: Which conception of human rights do you think should underpin human rights education?

V: As I've just said, I believe in overcoming the liberal perspective on human rights. I intend to collaborate in the deepening of a holistic and independent vision of human rights on a horizon of reinvention and emancipation. I consider it important to situate them historically, in each context and in tune with the struggles of different social groups present in each society, especially those who are made inferior, oppressed and excluded.

R: How can one balance the universality of human rights with the concern with diversity necessary today?

V: I don't think it's a question of "balance" as much as articulation. Universality leads us to

equality. Diversity to difference. Equality and difference mutually demand each other and are in permanent tension. Boaventura de Sousa Santos synthesises this tension and the necessary articulation between the poles in a way I consider very adequate: "We have the right to demand equality whenever difference makes us inferior; we have the right to demand difference whenever equality mischaracterises us".

R: Is it possible to learn human rights in school?

V: The question of human rights permeates all educational practices, as well as all other social practices. In everyday school life we find a variety of practices: recognition of different individuals, prejudice, discrimination, etc. Therefore, human rights aren't elements outside of school. Daily life in schools is informed by their affirmation and negation. Human rights education favours the "uncovering" of this reality, making it the conscious object of actions and reflexive intentions. In this sense, in schools, as in other social spaces, it is possible to act in favour of the consciousness of social subjects of rights and to promote rights in the context in which we live.

R: What is the best way to develop human rights education in schools?

V: I don't know if there exists a way that could be considered the best. Every context has its demands and, in schools, it's not the same working in early childhood education or with adolescents. I certainly do not agree with creating a course with this objective in basic education. I think this should be part of the political-pedagogical project of schools and developed through an integrated and multi-disciplinary approach with themes and questions of interest for each concrete situation, with dialogical and participatory methods.

R: What are the opportunities and the limits to formal education in human rights?

V: The opportunities have to come from themes that are ever more present in schools and challenge teachers, such as inequalities and differences in the everyday life of the school, manifestations of violence, questions related to the digital culture, the environment and education, family relations, the wider school community and its life conditions, etc. It's always necessary to relate the local and the global, favouring more structural analyses of reality, in tune with the cognitive and emotional development of the students. It's also important to always be aware of the commitments that can result from themes and questions studied. In relation to the limits, this has a lot to do with the limits of school education as such and with the contradictions and tensions between the presuppositions of the human rights education in which we believe and the educational policies related to a meritocratic, standardising and performance oriented perspective that informs many government policies in education these days.

R: What spaces outside of formal education are most important for learning human rights?

V: I would say the social movements and other spaces organised by civil society. They are the ones

that, in my opinion, mobilise dreams, knowledge, values and practices that have human rights as their reference. In this sense, it's important to establish partnerships between these movements and schools.

R: What are the implications of human rights education for teacher education?

V: Teacher education, both initial and continuing, constitutes a central question for the development of educational processes that incorporate human rights as one of their central axes. For this reason, this thematic should operate as a theme that structures teacher education, impregnating the different disciplines in the curriculum as well as their dynamics. However, in Brazil, teacher education courses are reduced, in the majority of cases, to the realisation of a number of disciplines without adequate articulation between them, not even a common conception of the educational process. I've taught, at both undergraduate and graduate levels, a discipline on human rights for educators. Two different realities repeat themselves: for almost all students it's the first time they work reflexively on questions related to human rights and, in general, the conception they had until then associates human rights with the "defence of criminals", the discipline therefore mobilizing a new perspective; the second reality refers to the relevance of this theme for education. All of the students are unanimous that it should be developed as a necessary part of teacher education.

R: Do Brazilian schools protect the human rights of their students? Are they improving or getting worse in this respect?

V: Brazilian schools are very heterogeneous. However, referring to the educational system globally, I believe it's possible to affirm that they are far from guaranteeing the rights of all children and adolescents. There is still a great deal of inequality of access to rights, including in this respect human rights education. Recent years have seen an advance. The implementation of public policies in this area has been the object of many actions but we are still far from their universalization. We live in a country strongly marked by inequality and discrimination of every type and to advance in the construction of a culture of human rights that penetrates all aspects of society is a great challenge.

Review of the Book:

Ariadna Acevedo-Rodrigo and Paula López-Caballero, eds., *Unexpected Citizens. The Making of Citizenship in Mexico*

Ciudadanos inesperados. Espacios de Formación de la Ciudadanía Ayer y Hoy.
Mexico: El Colegio de Mexico and Cinvestav. 2012, 336 pages
ISBN: 978-607-462-410-6

As both historian and anthropologist, I celebrate a book on citizen formation that brings together chapters from both perspectives, covering two centuries of Mexican history. This effort is the result of a fruitful collaboration between an anthropologist who has done historical research, Paula López-Caballero, and a historian with anthropological sensitivity, Ariadna Acevedo-Rodrigo. Careful editorial work brought thematic unity to a wide range of studies on citizenship practices.

The book fits nicely into a trend in Mexican research on *ciudadanización*, best understood as a social history of the making of citizens, which seeks to study the agency of a variety of actors in the face of hegemonic processes and state formation. The title *Ciudadanos Inesperados* (Unexpected Citizens) evokes a seminal book, *Ciudadanos Imaginarios* (denoting in Spanish both imaginary and imagined citizens) by Fernando Escalante (1992), which argued that the political elites' complaint that there were no true citizens, as conceived in Europe, was an accurate description of nineteenth-century Mexico. A new generation of researchers moves in another direction, showing where and how to find citizens from the first decades after Mexican Independence in 1821 to our days. Drawing from a variety of currents of thought, they not only discover citizens in the making but also propose a new way of understanding what it means to be a citizen and to effectively exercise citizenship. For this purpose, the authors move away from legal and normative definitions towards a down-to-earth conception of dynamic and historical process of citizen formation. The book thus offers a change of perspective combined with a rigorous search for sources resulting in rich descriptions of particular citizen networks in unsuspected contexts.

Ciudadanos inesperados offers a wide range of analytical approaches to citizenship: it underlines practice and performance, it recovers local meanings, and it explores semiotic systems such as film and publicity. The authors are indebted to the cultural turn but they give it a materialist twist by describing attire and appearance, behaviour and technology, with a focus on flesh-and-blood people and their interactions.

A fascinating aspect of the book's chronological route from early nineteenth-century to present-day Mexico are the contrasts between the various chapters, which reflect the historiographical concerns of each period: Church-State relations after Independence (post-1821); hygiene and modernization from the late nineteenth century to the left-wing government of 1934-1940; the growing

strength of the twentieth-century state and markets, with special attention to media and publicity in the 1950s and 1960s, and last but not least, the new generations' interactions in the digital world as well as social movements, with a chapter on students and another on indigenous peoples.

Education is a crucial underlying thread in all chapters. However, the authors leave behind the clichés of citizenship education as taught by nineteenth-century public instruction and twentieth-century popular education (in the Mexican case fed by a strong tradition of patriotism and nationalism). The book contributes to a growing consensus in the field that education cannot be reduced to schooling, and therefore we need to study a variety of social domains in search of the complex processes of citizenship formation. Schools are then seen as one amongst these many social worlds. Obvious as it may seem, the question of what exactly is "a school" has been subject to intense contestation in the historiography of education. Responses range from the attempts to present a functional and universal definition of Western schooling to arguments highlighting the wide range of social processes crisscrossing the social sites called schools.

In the first chapter Eugenia Roldán-Vera presents a fresh approach to schooling showing how performativity distinguishes these institutions from other social spaces and contributes to citizen formation. She reexamines early national civic catechisms, often studied for their political content, stressing rather their performative effect when recited in school rituals. These catechisms, argues Roldán-Vera, were producing young citizens in the very act of a dialogic and repetitive enunciation of national belonging. The school's performative dimension was in fact a key to the new Independent nation's mission of making citizens.

Researchers commonly compare school rituals to religious rituals, but when they are seen as performative phenomena the analogy becomes more complex because it focuses on actions rather than symbolic systems. This emphasis on the ritual, practical and performative dimensions of the school is to be found throughout the book: the school's semantic or cognitive dimensions—the possibility of giving access to knowledge mainly through the printed word—gives way to the force of hygienic surveillance, the moving image and digital acceleration. Nonetheless, the cognitive dimension is rescued towards the end when Inés Dussel studies the import of digital media among secondary-school students. She acknowledges that the school is a slow institution which cannot change its curriculum

at the pace of the digital world, but she also suggests that if we pay attention to these processes we may turn this characteristic into an advantage by 'protecting [schools] from fashion and allowing for the articulation of longer term and broader proposals for a [new] public culture' (p. 249).

Schools, in particular state-run public schools, as an ideal but also as reality, opened up the possibility of providing young people with a likely antecedent of citizenship: 'civility', a notion fundamental to the achievement of peaceful coexistence through respect towards religious—and eventually political and cultural—diversity (Elias 1998). The changing meaning of citizenship—initially grounded in specific conditions of life in the city and only later used to refer to national belonging—overshadowed its close relation to 'civility'. Yet assuring civility is still a challenge in a world where arms take precedent over words. In its secular version, civility offers a way to understand diverse practices and avoid prescription, an explicit objective of this volume.

Various chapters explore topics at the intersection of civility and citizenship, for example by looking at the exceptional situation of the 'indigenous' population, or the former Indian pueblos, a crucial place of alterity in Mexico. The chapter by Daniela Traffano shows how Catholic indigenous citizens in Oaxaca handled Church morals and State legislation and adapted their application to suit their own and their communities' interests. A rich local civic and religious life kept both Church and State authorities at bay insofar as possible, and managed to preserve varying degrees of local autonomy.

Two chapters covering late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries change the topic. Fiona Wilson and Ariadna Acevedo-Rodrigo provide incisive analyses of how much appearance matters, in particular attire. Their studies complement each other. Wilson pinpoints the effective transformation of 'social divisions' through the adoption of modern dress and the distinctions it implies. This is surely one of the processes underlying the political revolution that divided the period (known as the Mexican Revolution), a transformation in the way people approached the urban world, which was the seat of political power. Acevedo-Rodrigo shows one of the most effective - and performative - aspects of post-revolutionary school expansion: the concern for and surveillance of hygiene and garb by rural teachers (who wore suits, ties and urban shoes). This slowly changed the dress habits of the inhabitants of the Puebla Sierra, having perhaps greater impact than the pragmatist and socialist content of the official educational policy of the period. Why are hygiene and costume relevant to something as lofty as citizenship? According to Acevedo-Rodrigo, 'in order to be able to speak in the name of civilization [as rural teachers were asked to do] it seems likely that appearances were given great attention because their improvement was more accessible than intellectual and technical learning', particularly in a context of scarce resources. Additionally, hygienic habits and dress change 'were favoured by State and market processes [...], were increasingly accessible

and offered the promise of transforming the individual for the better'.

The decades of the 1950s and 1960s have been fertile ground for the study of the relationship between mass culture and politics. In Mexico, an increasingly centralised and corporatist State apparatus, fostering the development of industry, media and the internal market framed this period. The chapter by María Rosa Gudiño examines documentary films such as those of the 'War on Malaria'. These films portrayed a State that protects its citizens and calls them to contribute to the extermination of the anopheles mosquito by using a lethal weapon, DDT; interestingly, such a discourse parallels that of today's 'War on Drugs'. In the older case, citizens are given new obligations; they must be 'clean and healthy as a condition to participate in public life'. The films also convey an incipient recognition of social rights, to be protected by a welfare state.

The following chapter, by Susana Sosenski, complements the picture by showing how the press constructed children as consumers, filtering into the public space the image of the well-dressed child surrounded by toys. Children were metaphorically 'turned into citizens before reaching voting age'. Sosenski shows the paradox inherent in the process of moving from an emphasis on creating productive workers to an emphasis on consumers. Under the apparent recognition of childrens' citizenship and agency, 'the implicit objective [of the media] was to subject them to the rules and needs of the market' (p. 220). Gudiño and Sosenski thus show a contradictory aspect of citizen formation: behind the visible supply of health services and entertainment, emerges the machinery of the market economy and the State.

Needless to say, this paradox also underlies the digital practices that absorb the energies of the young—and not so young—generations. Inés Dussel contrasts this digital multi-tasking with the classic public space of the 'lettered city'. She acknowledges the ability and creativity of secondary-school internet surfers and argues in favour of a school open to the digital world, but she also highlights the need for formal education to give a new meaning to the 'public' grounded in 'reflexive and written school knowledge'.

The chapter by Leonel Pérez-Exposito and three of his university students reminds us that young people do not live only in a virtual world and that the new social networks may also facilitate the construction of small, face-to-face collectives. The varied student associations they examined articulate participation around intra- and extra-university issues. Some associations are recognised by the university authorities, others build their own public spaces in the margins of the institution, taking advantage of the artistic freedom of expression and the wide public support of 'noble causes'. Turning on its head the nineteenth-century theses that still underlie civic education programmes in primary school, this chapter shows the crucial educational experience of participating in student associations

which are not part of formal education, but which nonetheless flourish in the social spaces wittingly or unwittingly created by universities.

This chapter reveals particularly well the multiplicity of meanings that students attach to their participation in associations and how they connect their experience with sophisticated debates in contemporary political theory. Thereby the authors contest the delegitimising discourse that labels student associations as breeding ground for 'anarchists' or 'rebellious troublemakers'. Students develop their own discussions, following all the rules of civility, on the meanings of public and private, of political consciousness, responsibility and commitment. In sum, they debate what it means to be a good citizen. These are explorations that will surely nurture their citizen practice as citizens, beyond higher education, hopefully for the better.

Last but not least there is the issue of citizenship among indigenous populations, a theme dear to both editors. Acevedo-Rodrigo and López-Caballero, together with a growing number of historians and anthropologists, have studied indigenous peoples' appropriation of a common heritage of civic liberties and government practices developed before and after Independence. In the last chapter, López-Caballero analyses the case of those who have vindicated their identity as 'pueblos originarios' (the current term favoured, over Indigenous, by Native peoples in Latin America) in Milpa Alta (one of the 16 boroughs that form Mexico's Federal District), in order to obtain recognition and funding from the Federal District authorities. Their particular appropriation of this term, increasingly used in international treaties, is to contrast themselves as 'originarios' with the 'avencidados', denoting the newly arrived residents of Milpa Alta, in order to claim exclusive rights. Drawing from her knowledge of five centuries of local history, but avoiding all form of essentialism, the author explores the subtly shifting meanings of being 'original' and the way the new term seems to replace the indigenous-mestizo dyad yet 'is still related to the predominant ways of defining autochthonous alterity in Mexico' (p. 308). Most importantly, this study shows the limits of a formal or classical definition of citizenship because 'the legal status of citizen does not suffice for them to be seen or heard in the public space' (p. 309).

The reflections in this volume raise a concern: although we can recognise a series of unexpected citizens uncovered by the authors, how many more remain invisible, inaudible, in the margins of a public space controlled by state, media and market? The book signals a new approach to continue producing empirical studies of the making of past and present citizens.

All in all, perhaps the most significant contribution of this book is the validity it lends to a thesis supported by many in recent research on the history of education: in spite of all the efforts to inculcate the rules of civility and citizenship among a population divided by colonial distinctions through schooling, in fact the Liberal and Republican ideals of citizenship reached the remotest corners of the

country through a wide variety of means. In the words of Daniela Traffano: 'the population became acquainted with, learned and used citizenship' in 'meetings between residents and local authorities, [in] churches [...] or by word of mouth as well as through the printed word' (p. 89). And we could add a good deal more sites: cinemas, markets and cybercafes, busy streets and public squares, and the ample university grounds and hallways, all spaces where citizens gather in search of the common good.

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