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**THE PEDAGOGIES OF
SOCIAL MOVEMENTS
IN THE AMERICAS**

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INTRODUCTION

MOVEMENT RHYTHMS, MOTLEY KNOWLEDGES

Bret Leraul
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There is a Movement when it is *in movement*, when things are happening, when there is learning and thinking.

—Movimiento de Trabajadores Desocupados-Solano and Colectivo Situaciones

In the republic of letters, the fiftieth anniversary of 1968 has prompted a flurry of writing about those momentous events and their afterlives. In Mexico, the anniversary arrived early and unannounced. The 2014 disappearance of forty-four student-teachers from the Escuela Normal in Ayotzinapa could not but repeat the trauma of the student massacre at the Plaza de las Tres Culturas at the hands of the Mexican state forty-six years prior. Ayotzinapa reminds us that the afterlives of Mexico's '68 are found not only in the history books or testimonies of its aging activists. '68 is present in the students' absence, reincarnated in their disappeared bodies, alive in the fetid wound of the state's impunity. Recent academic reconsiderations of that year have sought to free the memory of '68 from the traumatic recurrence of the Tlatelolco massacre. They have sought to dislocate the sacrificial logic that sustains a melancholy leftism by returning us to the joyous months before the cataclysm.¹ But again, as the fiftieth anniversary of '68 arrived unannounced in the flesh before the word, so too was '68 before the massacre recuperated by the carnivalesque rupture of the #YoSoy132 movement that preceded the Ayotzinapa disappearances.

The flesh before the word, deeds before discourse. This all too familiar temporal lag between events and our knowledge about them—in

1→ Epigraph. Movimiento de Trabajadores Desocupados-Solano and Colectivo Situaciones, *El taller del maestro ignorante*, (Buenos Aires: MTD-Solano, 2005), 22.

See, Susana Draper, *Mexico 1968: Constellations of Freedom and Democracy* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2018); Susana Draper and Vicente Rubio-Pueyo, *México 68: Modelo para armar; Archivo de memorias desde los márgenes*, 2012, <https://mexico68conversaciones.com>. For the sacrificial logic that animates the Mexican state's narrative of the Tlatelolco massacre, see, Samuel Steinberg, *Photopoetics at Tlatelolco: Afterimages of Mexico, 1968* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2016); Gareth Williams, *The Mexican Exception: Sovereignty, Police, and Democracy* (New York: Palgrave, 2011). For melancholy leftism in the Latin American context see, Bruno Bosteels, "The Melancholy Left" in, *Marx and Freud in Latin America: Politics, Psychoanalysis and Religion in Times of Terror* (New York: Verso, 2012), 159-194.

another lexicon, between practice and theory—only betrays the possessive subject of “our knowledge” that jealously guards its class supremacy by policing the division between mental and manual labor, the head and the hand.² By virtue of this division, “our” colonial, university knowledge too often disappears those knowledges authored by social movements in their movement, not unlike the Mexican and other Latin American states that have disappeared so many.

In different ways the essays in *LÁPIZ N°4* address the knowledge practices³ authored by Latin America’s recent social movements. In doing so, the authors enter into a tenuous and fraught dialogue between the movement knowledges they describe and the university knowledges they, like so many of us, are compelled to produce. This has always been the promiscuous enterprise of *LÁPIZ* and the Latin American Philosophy of Education Society: to conjugate the experiences, practices, knowledges of activists, educators, and academics from across the Americas.

The articles included in this volume make no pretense to masquerade as non-university knowledges. Nor do they make indigenous, afro-latino, and peasant movements speak back to colonial knowledge. Much like the Quechua community that Vanessa Andreotti counts among her teachers, these movements “are not trying to dialectically negate modernity by offering a teleological pathway ‘forward,’” nor can they offer answers to the necessarily modern and colonial questions we pose ourselves.⁴ Whether the Zapatistas’ politico-pedagogical practices in Bruno Baronnet’s report or the *sentipensante* (feeling-thinking) pedagogies of the Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais

2 → Emancipatory struggles of an older, vanguard cast reproduced this same division of labor between head and hand, conductor and conducted, teacher and pupil. The analogy of vanguard theory to education is already implicit in the etymology of the term “pedagogy,” which in ancient Greek literally means to lead (*agogos*) the boy (*pais, paid-*). For a critique of vanguard Marxism, see Michael Lebowitz, *The Contradictions of “Real Socialism”: The Conductor and the Conducted* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2013).

3 → I use the term “knowledge practices” to signify a double indifference, first, to the distinction between knowledge production (e.g., research, discovery, invention) and its reproduction (e.g., teaching, learning, education) and, second, to the arbitrary and deleterious distinction between knowing and doing, head and hand. I believe this move is warranted since both distinctions have been challenged by the Latin American social movements that inspire this volume.

4 → Vanessa Andreotti, “The Enduring Challenges of Collective Onto- (and Neuro-) Genesis,” 78.

sem Terra (Landless Rural Workers Movement)(MST), Vía Campesina Internacional, and other struggles in Lia Pinheiro Barbosa's article, it is clear that these movements move to their own rhythms. The horizon of *our* knowledge is *their* autonomy, where by autonomy we understand the isomorphic acts of exodus and affirmation,⁵ those everyday practices of emancipation from capitalist modernity in the form of self-determining self-governance.

For these reasons, the knowledge practices of social movements explored in this volume ask readers to attend to the politics of knowledge. What is the relationship between movement knowledges and academic ones? What would be the tenor of an equal encounter between their epistemologies and temporalities? I would like to believe that the articles gathered here are *relations* in the sense of stories that bind or else *recountings* of the beats of uncanny rhythms at once familiar and unheard. I would like to suggest that the resulting counterpoint telegraphs the image of a motley (*abigarrado*)⁶ or *ch'ixi*⁷ knowledge, one which combines without synthesizing these different modes and relations of knowledge production.

Committed intellectual Raquel Gutiérrez Aguilar—who participated in the 2017 LAPES Symposium alongside Andreotti, Baronnet, and

5 → See John Holloway, *Change the World Without Taking Power* (London: Pluto Press, 2002).

6 → René Zavaleta Mercado, "Las masas en noviembre," in *La autodeterminación de las masas*, ed. Luis Tapia (Bogotá: Siglo de Hombres / CLACSO, 2009), 212. The term "motley" is the standard translation for Bolivian social theorist René Zavaleta Mercado's idiosyncratic keyword *abigarrado*. Zavaleta used the term to underscore the coexistence of multiple modes of production—communitarian, feudal, and capitalist—that gave twentieth-century Bolivian society its disjointed character. For a situation of the concept in Zavaleta's body of work, see Sinclair Thomson "Self-Knowledge and Self-Determination at the Limits of Capitalism," introduction to *Towards a History of the National-Popular in Bolivia 1879-1980*, by René Zavaleta Mercado, trans. Anne Freeland (New York: Seagull Books, 2018), xxiii-xxv.

7 → Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui, *Ch'ixinakax utxiwa. Una reflexión sobre prácticas y discursos descoloniales* (Buenos Aires: Tinta Limón 2010), 69-71. The term *ch'ixi* is a proxy for Zavaleta's *abigarrado* which Cusicanqui distinguishes from Néstor García Canclini's notion of hybridity. This Aymara term describes the merely apparent synthesis of distinct qualities, akin to the effect produced by a mosaic or a heathered fabric. Rivera Cusicanqui tells us that *ch'ixi* escapes the logic of the *tertium non datur*, which I would suggest, necessitates a linear notion of time in order to account for dialectical synthesis or sublation. She clarifies that this non-dualist worldview works within a temporality of indifferenciation (see below) incompatible with colonial modernity's progressive notion of history.

Barbosa—outlines an approach to this conundrum. *Rhythms of the Pachakuti* (2014) presents her method for analyzing the turn-of-the-century indigenous uprisings that have since ossified into Bolivia's plurinational state under the MAS government of Evo Morales. Against what she calls the "sociological" approach, which captures and contains movements by identifying subjects and categorizing concepts, Gutiérrez advocates a "critical" one that focuses first on the struggles themselves, their strategies, evolution, acts of meaning making, and "horizons of desire."⁸ The sociological method's focus on *being* derives from a methodological individualism and the analyst's unconscious desire to harmonize the legal fictions of the state with an abstract, university knowledge about the social. By contrast, the critical method focuses on collective *action*, the polyrhythmic movement of movements that overflows individual and collective identities and the silos of categorical knowledge.

For Gutiérrez, "critical" refers more to crisis than to critique, that legislation of thought in post-Enlightenment, western philosophy, including its dialectical and historical materialist offshoots. Much like the motley society analyzed by Bolivian political theorist René Zavaleta Mercado, from whom she takes her cue, Bolivia's turn-of-the-century social movements cannot be apprehended along the model of a self-conscious, collective subject, that is, as identities. Instead, crisis reveals the movement's constituent moment—its moment of self-unification—but only in the form of a collective unconscious.⁹ The critical method is thus a way to think the movement of movements by accompanying their movement.¹⁰

As this inchoate multitude evades the epistemological capture

8 → Raquel Gutiérrez Aguilar, *Rhythms of the Pachakuti: Indigenous Uprising and State Power in Bolivia*, trans. Stacey Alba D. Skar (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014), xxviii.

9 → Luis Tapia, *La condición multisocietal: Multiculturalidad, pluralismo, modernidad* (La Paz: SIBES/UMSA-Muela de Diablo), 303.

10 → Zavaleta lays the groundwork for Gutiérrez's critical method. "Critical knowledge of society is then a consequence of the way (*manera*) things happen. The form (*manera*) of society outlines its knowledge. In the meantime, the pretension of a universal grammar applicable to a variety of formations is often little more than dogma. Each society produces a knowledge (and a technology) that refers to itself." Zavaleta Mercado, "Las masas," 214; my translation.

of identity, so does it militate against the givenness of injustice.¹¹ Accordingly, the crisis method means “thinking in terms of emancipation ... choosing what is utopian, the future, *what remains to be clearly articulated* against and beyond the limit of what is presented as ‘possible’.”¹² Bolivia’s turn-of-the-century movements were constituted in the absence of the self-reflection that quarantines the knowing subject from the agent, knowing from doing, doing from being. Rather their rhythms were perceived as they were produced.¹³ Thus, only immanent thinking-in-the-crisis will be adequate to understand the movement of these movements.

Bruno Baronnet’s contribution to this volume works in a similar vein, focusing on the concrete practices of Zapatista educational promoters and their “political pedagogy” as well as the “pedagogical politics” of Zapatista autonomy in action.¹⁴ His anthropological perspective yields a kind of immanent thinking by approximating the author of university knowledge to the movement and its knowledge practices, that is, its educational projects, pedagogical strategies, and categories of analysis. Even more than Gutiérrez, Baronnet avoids metacommentary and the temptation to synthesize. Instead he hews close to the Zapatista’s “pedagogies from below,” allowing their meaning to issue from their description.

Vanessa Andreotti’s contribution articulates a critique of identity and categorical knowledge that resonates with Gutiérrez’ crisis method. Where the latter focuses on the politics of rendering Bolivia’s autonomous social movements intelligible to university knowledges, Andreotti turns her gaze to the western, colonial subject of those

11 → Gutiérrez Aguilar, *Rhythms*, 184.

12 → Gutiérrez Aguilar, *Rhythms*, 179; emphasis mine.

13 → Gutiérrez Aguilar, *Rhythms*, 188. Gutiérrez’s affirmation about the rhythm of these movements echoes French philosopher Henri Lefebvre’s claim that “Polyrhythmia analyses itself... . [T]he analytic operation simultaneously discovers the multiplicity of rhythms and the uniqueness of particular rhythms.” Henri Lefebvre, *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life*, trans. Stuart Elden and Gerald Moore (New York: Continuum, 2004), 16. For Lefebvre, rhythm connects the moments of a dialectical analysis that does not resolve into a synthesis, what he calls a triadic as opposed to a dualistic dialectic, a conception that resonates with Rivera Cusicanqui’s use of *ch’ixi*; see, note 7.

14 → Bruno Baronnet, “Pedagogical Strategies in the Struggle for Indigenous Autonomy in Mexico,” 50.

knowledges. Where Guitérrez and Baronnet assert the methodological primacy of *doing* over *being*, Andreotti troubles the Cartesian reduction of *being* to *knowing*, in her terms, the “epistemic certainty” that grounds “ontological security.”¹⁵ In order to meet the challenge to live otherwise posed by Latin American and indeed every social movement, she seeks to unbind the self-same Western subject, to dissolve this identity into historical multiplicity through the process she calls “collective onto-genesis.” We can think collective onto-genesis as an educational process: to change our lives is to become others, to become others we must rescue being from its caricature in thought. Thus we can transform who we *are* into something we *do*, and initiate the purposeful *becoming* that drives the kinds of education at stake in Latin American social movements.

Latin America’s autonomous social movements (re)produce acts of collective political subjectivation. In transforming the world, they transform themselves. Take for example the Zapatista practice of *Educación Verdadera* (Real Education), which Baronnet presents as a repertoire of territorialized knowledge practices for the construction and maintenance of collective autonomy through the formation of autonomous subjects.¹⁶ In contrast, on the one hand, to the schooling that formats atomized, alienated masses toward the ends of the capitalist state and, on the other hand, the idealist, self-realization of the bourgeois individual (*Bildung*), Real Education—like Andreotti’s collective onto-genesis—is the *doing of being*, a process of *becoming* directed by communities in autonomous Zapatista territories. Autonomy, as both practice and goal, binds this “political pedagogy” to the movement’s “pedagogical politics” so that political subjectivation moves the movement just as the movement fashions new political subjects.

Indeed, for Raúl Zibechi, Latin America’s autonomous social movements are “educational subjects” such that every action and relation is imbued with a “pedagogical intention.”¹⁷ In the case of the MST, Roseli

15 → Andreotti, “Enduring Challenges,” 66.

16 → Baronnet “Pedagogical Strategies,” 46.

17 → Raúl Zibechi, *Territories of Resistance: A Cartography of Latin American Social Movements*, trans. Ramor Ryan (Baltimore: AK Press, 2012), 23.

Salete Caldart affirms that the movement “materializes a specific mode of production of human formation.”¹⁸ Baronnet and Barbosa point out that autonomous education entails the production of movement knowledges, which articulate a collective self-concept and distinctive worldview. And as all three contributors to this volume make clear, education does not merely transmit pre-existing movement knowledges. Rather, in the tradition of Paulo Freire’s critical pedagogy, education is inseparable from knowledge creation, and both knowledge production and reproduction are fundamental to processes of becoming a collective political subject, what I have been calling the doing of being that animates the movement of movements. For this reason, I have preferred to speak of these movements’ knowledge practices, a term which captures the simultaneous production and reproduction of both knowledge and knowing subjects.

To inquire after the pedagogies of social movements is to seek to understand temporalities of struggle and resistance. Such acts of becoming not only result from events that rupture the ordinary state of the situation.¹⁹ They are embedded in the rhythms of everyday life. Education is, in the last instance, a form of reproductive labor that stabilizes cultures and communities *in time*. (Incidentally, *LÁPIZ* N°5 (forthcoming) focuses on the nexus of social reproduction and education.) Understood as reproductive labor, the pedagogies of Latin America’s autonomous social movements seek to transform events that puncture time into durations capable of shaping history; they seek to transform the extraordinary moments that rupture the “peace” guaranteed by state monopoly violence into those rhythms of everyday life neither captured by capital nor commanded by the state. These temporalities—rupture and duration—and modalities—the extraordinary and the ordinary—are not mutually exclusive. They are differentially related through the composition of collective subjects, that is, the process of becoming at stake in the Zapatista’s Real Education discussed by Baronnet,

18 → Roseli Salete Caldart, “O MST e a formação dos sem terra: o movimento social como princípio educativo,” *Estudos Avançados* 15, no. 43 (2001): 212; my translation.

19 → This language hails from Alain Badiou, *Being and Event*, trans. Oliver Feltham (New York: Continuum, 2005). We see Badiou’s influence on Gutiérrez in her use of axiomatic set theory to express the logic of political formations. Gutiérrez Aguilar, *Rhythms*, 194.

the various rural education and movement pedagogies discussed by Barbosa, and Andreotti's collective onto-genesis. In short, the pedagogies of Latin America's social movements reproduce difference in a bid to institute lasting and continual change.

In the cases of many indigenous movements, the rhythms of everyday life are inscribed in a cosmological dimension. Barbosa emphasizes how these movements recuperate traditional epistemic matrices, modes of production, and ways of being. By plotting their struggles in five hundred years of oppression, "Indigenous and peasant movements widen the referents that constitute their political identity without necessarily negating and contradicting others."²⁰ Similarly, Aymara activist and intellectual Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui tells us that Indigenous movements continually emerge from a "temporality of indifferenciation."²¹

The indigenous world does not conceive history as linear, and the past-future are contained in the present: regression or progression, repetition or surmounting of the past are at stake in every conjuncture, and they depend more on our actions than our words. The project of indigenous modernity will be able to flourish from the present, in a spiral whose movement is a continuous feedback (*retroalimentarse*) of past and future, a "principle of hope" or "anticipatory consciousness" (Bloch) that at once envisages and actualizes decolonization.²²

Citing Rivera, Barbosa calls this temporality by its Aymara name, the ñawpaj *manpuni* which she describes as "a revisiting of the past and projecting into the future that brings both together with the present."²³ This temporality corresponds to the Aymara notion of *ch'ixi* and

20 → Lia Pinheiro Barbosa, "The *Sentipensante* and Revolutionary Pedagogies of Latin American Social Movements," 29.

21 → Rivera Cusicanqui, *Ch'ixinakax*, 69.

22 → Rivera Cusicanqui, *Ch'ixinakax*, 55; my translation.

23 → Pinheiro Barbosa, "*Sentipensante*," 30.

its logic of the *included* middle²⁴ as it is actualized in the polyrhythmic movement of movements that overflows not only individual and collective identities and the silos of university knowledge but also the very space-times of western, colonial modernity.²⁵ The ñawpaj *man-puni*, according to Barbosa, expands collective memory and nourishes the vision of a decolonial future while its indifferentiation renders the present a field of action. Recalling Gutiérrez, in a moment of crisis, emancipation means choosing “what is not clearly articulated,” which means choosing utopia.

Educational practices for autonomy are a subset of autonomous social reproduction. Autonomous social reproduction is the common cause of Latin American social movements over the past thirty years. Autonomy here not only signifies a state of autonomy *from* the institutions of state, market, or church. Certainly, Latin America’s social movements practice autonomy as the *subtraction* of self-determining self-governance from colonial, capitalist modernity. But autonomy-from is little more than the negative liberty that has long been harnessed as the psychic motor of the capitalist social relations that organize market societies.²⁶ The Latin American social movements that inspire this volume are also autonomous insofar as they are ends in themselves. Autonomy in this sense is inseparable from reproductive labor, which produces the sociality of society by maintaining it through time. In short, the work of reproduction constitutes the movement of the movement, its quotidian rhythms rendered emancipatory practice.²⁷

24 → Rivera Cusicanqui, *Ch'ixinakax*, 69.

25 → Decolonial practices, like those outlined by Rivera and whose pedagogical facet concerns *LÁPIZ* N°3, offer another approach to the uneasy composition of academic and other knowledges. However, she cautions against divorcing decolonial discourses from decolonial practices. In her view, academic decolonial discourses produced in the North American academy and its Latin American client universities—by thinkers in past and future issues of *LÁPIZ*—have ossified into a postcolonial multiculturalism that neutralizes decolonial practices (68-69).

26 → Verónica Gago, *Neoliberalism from Below: Popular Pragmatics and Baroque Economies* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2017), 163; Michel Foucault, *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1978-1979*, trans. Graham Burchell, ed. Michel Senellart (New York: Picador, 2008), 215-265.

27 → Although he does not use the term “reproductive labor,” the trends that Zibechi identifies as common to Latin America’s recent social movements—territorial rootedness,

In these struggles, education is both a means and an end of everyday emancipation. Barbosa points out, “if education is the point of departure for cultural subordination and political domination, the construction of another conception of education ... must be the first step in the process of liberation.”²⁸ As my formulation “everyday emancipation” suggests, we should understand emancipation less as a state of *being* to be achieved and more as a *practice* that continually realizes freedom in pursuit of the ever-receding horizon of a collective desire. According to Barbosa the “goal” of indigenous and peasant movements is *el buen vivir*.²⁹ The gerund form of “good living” reminds us that this goal is more collective practice than state or quality of being. For Baronnet, the objective of the Zapatista’s political pedagogy and pedagogical politics is “to learn to govern themselves,” that is to practice autonomy as a positive, collective freedom. According to Gutiérrez, at its most capacious, “social emancipation is an infinite, albeit discontinuous, ever-changing, and sporadic collection of shared acts of insubordination, autonomy, and, by extension, self-governance... . It consists basically in initiating a different space-time in economic, social, and political terms.”³⁰ To signify this event, Gutiérrez employs the Quechua term *pachakuti*. *Pachakuti* differs from the common understanding of revolution, a close English equivalent to Gutiérrez’s use of the term. Revolution foregrounds the emergence of new subjects, new regimes, new modes of production. The practice of everyday, social emancipation is less about newness than difference, less about the shape of the future than the very conditions of experiencing space and time. The emancipation envisaged and practiced by many Latin American social movements is revolutionary in both the political and

autonomy from the state and political parties, the formation of organic intellectuals, women’s protagonism, affirmation of cultural identity beyond citizenship, concern for the division of labor and our relationship to nature—all point us back to this capacious sphere of human activity that, although largely ignored by orthodox Marxism, has gained currency through the vehicle of resurgent Marxist and socialist feminisms (14-19). For an overview of social reproduction theory, see Tithi Bhattacharya, ed., *Social Reproduction Theory: Remapping Class, Recentering Oppression* (London: Pluto Press, 2017).

28 → Pinheiro Barbosa, “*Sentipensante*,” 34.

29 → Pinheiro Barbosa, “*Sentipensante*,” 88.

30 → Gutiérrez Aguilar, *Rhythms*, xl.

cosmological senses of the term. At once advance and return, rupture and continuity, extraordinary and everyday, it is revolution that issues from and returns to a temporality of indifferenciation.

Struggles for autonomous social reproduction are not limited to the indigenous, peasant, and rural movements treated in this volume. Latin America's urban proletariat—sectors really subsumed to the capitalist mode of production and directly interpellated by its state—have also prefigured alternative knowledge practices, political subjectivities, and space-times. In closing, I would like to add to the movements that inspire Andreotti, Baronnet, Guitérrez and Barbosa, the case of Argentina's *Movimientos de Trabajadores Desocupados* (Unemployed Workers Movements) (MTDs), a case that will return us to our point of departure, the politics of knowledge.

In the 1990s, as structural adjustment rendered whole populations precarious, unemployed workers organized into self-managed, mutual-aid societies. Rather than clamor for a wage, MTD adherents affirmed their identity as unemployed workers. They set up barter economies; cooperative workshops; community gardens; and, in the wake of the 2001 financial crisis, some even occupied and ran factories abandoned by their proprietors. Although the MTDs gained notoriety for their involvement in the *piquetes* (roadblocks) and other protests that rendered the country ungovernable for a time,³¹ their force lies less in this (counter)interpellation of the state and more in the struggle for everyday emancipation through autonomous social reproduction. Parallel to contemporaneous movements across the continent, the MTDs displaced politics from state space-times to the terrains and rhythms of everyday life. And like those movements, the elaboration of knowledge practices has been key to their autonomous reproduction.

The MTD de Solano (MTD-S) produced one of the more

31 → For the history of the *piquetero* movement and other forms of popular mobilization in the years surrounding 2001, see: Francisco Ferrara, *Más allá del corte de rutas: La lucha por una nueva subjetividad* (Buenos Aires: La Rosa Blindada, 2003); Miguel Mazzeo, *Piqueteros: notas para una tipología* (Buenos Aires: Fundación de Investigaciones Sociales y Políticas, 2004); Maristella Svampa and Sebastián Pereyra, *Entre la ruta y el barrio: la experiencia de las organizaciones piqueteras* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Biblos, 2009); Raúl Zibechi, *Genealogía de la revuelta: Argentina, la sociedad en movimiento* (La Plata: Letra Libre, 2003).

sophisticated movement knowledges of this conjuncture. In this endeavor they were accompanied by members of a theory collective composed of young, university-trained sociologists. The texts co-authored by the MTD-S and Colectivo Situaciones exemplify the motley knowledge that emerges from an equal encounter between academic and movement knowledges.³² They call their mode of theory construction *investigación militante* (militant research or research-militancy), which they define as “theoretical and practical work oriented toward co-producing the knowledges and modes of an alternative sociability, beginning with the power (*potencia*) of those subaltern knowledges.”³³ Research militancy, like other forms of worker’s inquiry, not only mediates between academic and popular knowledges. It also mediates between the immanent thinking of different social contexts. Thus, research militancy renders movement knowledges doubly motley, now in the course of constructing networks of solidarity. Militant research not only troubles the division between head and hand it also complicates the standard view that we produce knowledges *about* an object. Its radical immanence to ever-shifting conjunctures means that research-militancy has no object. The resulting motley knowledge is at most an open set of axioms, an evolving “grammar of questions.”³⁴

Over the course of 2003 and 2004, members of Colectivo Situaciones and the MTD-S gathered in the periphery of Buenos Aires to read French philosopher Jacques Rancière’s *The Ignorant Schoolmaster*. The text was merely a pretext for refracting their experiences of popular education, collective autonomy, and the construction of counterpower. For MTD-S member Neka Jara, the motley knowledge practice of research-militancy constructs an ignorant collective subject—ignorant by virtue of its inseparability from the aleatory encounter of each and every relation. Deeply immanent thinking, in turn, prevents the ossification of consensus into laws or dissensus into hierarchies.

32 → Colectivo Situaciones and MTD de Solano, *La hipótesis 891. Más allá de los piquetes* (Buenos Aires: Tinta Limón, 2002); Colectivo Situaciones and MTD de Solano, *El taller del maestro ignorante* (Buenos Aires: MTD-Solano, 2005).

33 → Colectivo Situaciones, “On the Researcher-Militant,” trans. Sebastián Touza, in *Utopian Pedagogy: Radical Experiments Against Neoliberal Globalization*, eds. Richard J. F. Day, G. De Peuter, and Mark Coté, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 188.

34 → Colectivo Situaciones, “Researcher-Militant,” 189.

For the MTD-S, thinking must not determine collective experience. Rather it must emerge from the collective in the form of not-knowing, a process reminiscent of Andreotti's collective ontogenesis. By affirming ignorance, members of the reading group unground their epistemological certainty and unbind the self-sameness of their individual and collective identities inaugurating a process of collective becoming, whereby transforming themselves they transform their world. For the MTD-S, "there is a Movement when it is *in movement*, when things are happening, when there is learning and thinking."³⁵

In the same way that unemployment allowed the MTDs to subtract work from the wage, affirming one's ignorance subverts the givenness of the world and casts it as a problem. Collective member Diego Sztulwark elsewhere comments, "a problem is the production of an excess of reality that is there."³⁶ To produce this disadequation between thinking and the world transforms bounded reality into a field of potentialities; it makes that which *is* into something we *do*. When we posit the world as a problem, as always *becoming*, to know means accepting the challenge of collectively producing other worlds. The only sensible mode for contemplating becoming, our ignorance indicates that we are engaged in Real Education, the revolution (*pachakuti*) of our being-in-the-world.

From this example and the articles that follow, we can say that the task of constructing motley knowledges begins with empathy and solidarity, with listening for uncanny rhythms of movements that we may move with them. Motley knowledges begin when "la palabra se corazona," a Zapatista motto that Barbosa brings to our attention. This *double entendre* enjoins us to reason words together (*co-razonar*) which also means to take them to heart (*corazón*). We can only hope that the contributions to this volume incite readers to think and feel these words together. In doing so, we will have learned a lesson in everyday emancipation: Politics begins as an act of love. ■

35 → Colectivo Situaciones and MTD de Solano, *El taller*, 22; my translation.

36 → Diego Sztulwark and Silvia Duschatzky, *Imágenes de lo no escolar: En la escuela y más allá*, (Mexico City: Paidós, 2011), 16; my translation.

THE *SENTIPENSANTE* AND REVOLUTIONARY PEDAGOGIES OF LATIN AMERICAN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

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OPENING REMARKS

In this essay, I weave together several considerations regarding the relationships among processes of historical resistance, education, and knowledge in the constitution of revolutionary and *sentipensante* (feeling-thinking, sensing-thinking) pedagogies² in Latin America. Through this process, I situate the inscription of the educational and the pedagogical in the political praxis of social movements. In particular, I focus on indigenous and peasant movements that advance and consolidate political education projects and whose aim is to construct critical and emancipatory pedagogies in response to the challenges of a civilizational crisis.

Toward this end, this essay is divided into four sections. The first contextualizes those particularities of the Latin American historical process—especially in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries—that directly affect the region’s resistant subjectivities. Then, I will highlight those elements that shape the political identity of Latin American social movements and their role in the development of unique understandings of education and pedagogy. In the third section, I touch on what I am calling *sentipensante* and revolutionary pedagogies, which propose pedagogical experiences in contexts of struggle and within the political horizon of an emancipatory process shaped by the educational and political praxis of Latin American social movements. Finally, I present the lessons of these *sentipensante* and revolutionary pedagogies, specifically for the consolidation of singular conceptions of the educational and the pedagogical, as well as the construction of knowledges from, with, and for Latin American social movements.

LATIN AMERICA: INDIGENOUS, BLACK, AND PEASANT

José Martí tells us that “the past is the root of the present. One must know what was, because what was is present in what is.”³ The quotation

2 → Translator’s note: *Sentipensante* is a portmanteau of *sentir* and *pensante*. While *pensante* is easily rendered as “thinking,” *sentir* at once expresses feeling in the sense of emotion and feeling in the sense of sensation.

3 → José Martí, *Crónicas del 19 de Agosto de 1889. Obras Completas*. (Havana, Cuba:

prompts us to reflect on the specificities of the historical process in Latin America and the Caribbean, on the sociocultural, political and economic formation that names us as a continent and gives us a regional/national identity. Those roots extend back to colonization, the founding of the *latifundio*⁴ and of slavery as the paradigm for production, culture, and politics.⁵ This triad influenced the character of our nation-states, our sociocultural relations, the different phases of the forces and relations of production in the region that culminate in the contemporary stage of capitalist development, transnational and dependent in character.⁶

These paradigms of Latin American historical formation engendered deep social segregation and class antagonism. These, in turn, were determined, on the one hand, by the structural condition of those who lack the means of production and, on the other, by the social place assigned by the conquistadors (and postcolonial, national elites) to peasants, many of whom were descendants of indigenous and Afro-Latino peoples. Nonetheless, as befits the dialectical movement of social history, the roots of the subalternization of Latin American peoples characterize the resistances that arose in the countryside and the city. It is beyond the scope of this essay to give a genealogy of the rebellions, popular struggles, and various resistances that erupted over the course of the five-hundred-year-long night⁷; there are already many works of historiography, sociology, anthropology, and political science that have successfully analyzed them in their national and regional specificity in different historical periods.⁸

Editorial Nacional de Cuba, 1973), 302.

- 4 → The word “latifundio” comes originally from Ancient Rome and referred to the large landholdings that were controlled by the rural aristocracy. Over time it has become a category used to describe very large landholdings in general, much of which are typically used for large-scale monoculture.
- 5 For example, in Brazil, slavery endured 380 years until the passage of the Aurea Law in 1888. Even so, it took thirty more years until the full closure of the plantations.
- 6 → Rui Mauro Marini, *Dialética da Dependência* (Petrópolis, Brazil: Vozes, 2000); Pablo González-Casanova, *De la sociología del poder a la sociología de la emancipación: pensar América Latina en el siglo XXI* (Buenos Aires, Argentina: CLASCO, 2015).
- 7 → This metaphor, used by the Zapatistas in the *First Declaration of the Lacandon Jungle*, alludes to the conquest of Latin America and its impact.
- 8 → Pablo González-Casanova, *Historia política de los campesinos latinoamericanos. Brasil*,

In this way, in Latin America, popular rebellions and independence movements left their historical mark on the constitution of the first republics and laid the foundation for a nascent conception of rights and citizenship with the goal of incorporating them into the newly formed nation-states. Especially in the twentieth century, we see the return to a broader conception of rights that becomes the stage for important, popular, historical processes that sought to provide constitutionally bounded human, civil, and political rights for indigenous, peasant and Afro-Latino populations—those who, historically, had been expropriated from their lands and subjected to domination and subordination.

The Mexican Revolution of 1910 inaugurated the great popular revolutions of the twentieth century. Founded on the political theories of anarcho-syndicalism and agrarianism, it was a revolution led by indigenous and peasant popular forces against the dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz (Katz 1988). Later in the century, we witness revolutions headed by clandestine, armed guerrilla movements for national liberation, such as the revolutionary movements of the Cuban Revolution (1959) and the Sandinista Revolution in Nicaragua (1979).⁹

The political slogans of these revolutions reclaimed the historical denunciation of the role of the *latifundio* in the process of territorial expropriation and the gradual subalternization of indigenous and peasant peoples. Demands for land rights and agrarian reform founded the national-popular project. And despite differences with regard to the theoretical conception of the revolution and the internal strategies of each struggle—whether the Marxist-Leninist perspective of class struggle oriented toward the socialist horizon or the path of agrarian anarcho-syndicalism and the historical struggles of indigenous and

Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, Vol. 4 (México: Siglo XXI Editores, 1984); Pablo González-Casanova, *Historia política de los campesinos latinoamericanos. Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, Perú, Bolivia, Paraguay, Vol. 3* (México: Siglo XXI Editores, 1985); Pablo González-Casanova, *Historia política de los campesinos latinoamericanos. México, Cuba, Haití, República Dominicana, Puerto Rico, Vol. 1* (México: Siglo XXI Editores, 1985); Clóvis Moura, *Rebeliões da Senzala. Quilombos, Insurreições, Guerrilhas* (São Paulo, Brazil: Anita Garibaldi/Fundação Maurício Grabois, 2014); Eduardo Galeano, *As veias abertas da América Latina* (Porto Alegre, Brazil: L&PM, 2015); Benedito Prêzia, *História da resistência indígena. 500 anos de luta*. (São Paulo, Brazil: Expressão Popular, 2017).

9 → Salvador Martí i Puig, *Nicaragua (1979-1990): la revolución enredada* (León: Libros de la Catarata y Cooperación, 2012).

peasant rebellions—these revolutions shared the desire to construct a grassroots, emancipatory project articulated by peasant and urban historico-political subjects.

The cycle of Latin American and Caribbean revolutions sparked noteworthy political processes both internal to each country and across the region. From the point of view of intellectual and moral reform¹⁰, the ideas of Simón Bolívar and José Martí slowly materialized, giving shape to a specifically Latin American and Caribbean revolutionary political praxis and social thought informed by past struggles in both national and international contexts. In the revolutionary heart of Latin America, a field of popular resistance was sown, affirming indigenous and peasant communities as well as the urban and peasant working class as revolutionary subjects.

The heightening of social and political-economic contradictions resulting from the implementation of the post-dictatorship, neoliberal playbook hatched a powerful, new cycle of dissenting and revolutionary struggles in Latin America. Class struggle remained the lodestar of political and ideological struggles against neoliberalism and the transnationalization of capital. Nonetheless, a significant portion of the popular movements incorporated the paradigm of anticolonial struggles into their discourse and political documents, through the historical denunciation of colonial relations that were constructed under the category of *race* and its derivative signs of oppression for indigenous and peasant peoples.

In the Latin American conjuncture, the political articulation of indigenous and rural movements in the struggle for hegemony has intensified, albeit mostly in strategy and political positions. In the nineties, we witness the emergence of emblematic movements such as the armed insurgency of the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN) in Mexico, the Landless Worker's Movement (MST) in Brazil, the water and gas wars waged in Bolivia by indigenous movements, as well as the constitution of the Vía Campesina Internacional (International Peasant's Voice) (LVC) and La Coordinadora Latinoamericana de Organizaciones del Campo (The Latin American Coordinator of Rural

10 → Antonio Gramsci, *Gli intellettuali e l'organizzazione della cultura* (Torino, Italy: Einaudi, 1949).

Organizations) (CLOC), the last two being examples of the articulation of popular organizations and indigenous and peasant social movements at the international and regional level, respectively.¹¹

A shared historical problematic animated this regional debate: ongoing territorial dispossession and institutionalized state violence, expressed in the criminalization of these struggles, an increase of violence in the countryside, and the assassination of representatives of various organizations. In other words, from the perspective of these movements, modernity signified a specific form of slavery¹² as well as the disavowal of their political agency and epistemic rationalities.

Faced with this historical disavowal, it became imperative to reclaim Latin America's rejected face—indigenous, black, peasant—in other words, to confront the historic weight of being cast as others, as nobodies, or to paraphrase Eduardo Galeano, as those “worth less than the bullet that kills them.”¹³ In this political, historical, and dialectical dispute, they, the others, the nobodies named themselves with the very name that had been assigned to them, in order to interrupt and subvert: the “landless,” the “faceless,” the “forgotten sacks” that became “war chests.”¹⁴ This strengthening of popular struggles in Latin America caused a rethinking of the strategies by which a popular struggle forms *from below*.¹⁵ Into this scene steps a political subject of history and a conception of political praxis that reconfigures the

11 → CLOC was founded in 1994 as the continental expression of the LVC, composed of eighty-four indigenous, peasant, Afro-Latino, and rural workers' organizations from 18 countries across Latin America and the Caribbean. Among the inspirations of the LVC/CLOC, there is the Campaña Continental 500 Años de Resistencia Indígena, Negra y Popular (Continental Campaign 500 Years of Indigenous, Black, and Popular Resistance) (1989-1992) run by the MST together with Andean indigenous and peasant organizations. This campaign gave voice to an alliance of indigenous and peasant organization at the regional level and proposed a different path, an anti-establishment and anti-capitalist project constructed by these organizations in defense of their land. Similarly, the armed uprising of the Zapatistas and the marches of Bolivian coca farmers along with mobilizations for land reform in Brazil, Paraguay and Guatemala, prompted debate on a regional scale that questioned the mode of accumulation accelerated under neoliberalism and its implications for Latin American territories and lands.

12 → Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui, *Oprimidos pero no vencidos* (Bolivia: Hisbol, 1986).

13 → Eduardo Galeano, *As veias abertas*.

14 → EZLN, *Crónicas intergalácticas – EZLN. Primer Encuentro Intercontinental por la Humanidad y contra el Neoliberalismo* (Chiapas: Estampas Artes Gráficas, 1996).

15 → Even the phrase “from below” becomes a political category for these movements.

struggle for hegemony. Let us look now to some of those elements that, in this political scenario, structure the political identity of indigenous and peasant social movements in Latin America.

THE POLITICAL IDENTITY OF LATIN AMERICAN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Indigenous and peasant social movements inherit the tradition described above while also forming their own political praxis through a process of continual recuperation of recent and distant memories¹⁶ of other struggles throughout Latin America and the Caribbean. Therefore, the political identity of these movements is not limited to the constitutive elements of the international Left, specifically, the foundational principles of communism and socialism as the horizon of politics.

By plotting their movements in five hundred years of history, indigenous and peasant movements widen the referents that constitute their political identity without necessarily negating or contradicting others. In this process of self-definition of political identity, we can group Latin American popular organizations and social and indigenous movements into three categories based on their own epistemes that articulate identity frameworks linked to their political struggles¹⁷: indigenous organizations, peasant organizations, and rural proletarian organizations. Within the framework of their struggles, we can articulate at least four identifying markers.

1. The reconfiguration of history, time, and memory in terms of these struggles. Indigenous and peasant movements conceive history not as linear but as spiraling cycles. Thinking history in cycles allows these movements, on the one hand, to interpret distant collective memory—marked by events, symbolic inheritances, figures that

16 → Rivera Cusicanqui, *Oprimidos*.

17 → Peter Rosset, "Epistemes rurales y la formación agroecológica en la Vía Campesina," *Ciencia y Tecnología Social*, 2 (2015): 1-10; Lia Pinherio Barbosa and Peter Rosset, "Educação do Campo e Pedagogia Camponesa Agroecológica na América Latina: aportes da La Vía Campesina e da CLOC," *Educação & Sociedade*, 38, no. 140 (2017): 705-724.

express colonialism's permanent corporeal violence, the community's beliefs and knowledges—and, on the other hand, to present recent collective memories by which they connect to, coexist with, and confront the colonial horizon. This conception of history, time, and memory resembles the Aymara notion *ñawpaj manpuni*, a “looking backward that is also a moving forward,”¹⁸ in other words, a revisiting of the past and projecting into the future that brings both together with the present.

2. The epistemic dimension that emanates from cosmovisions shores up the foundation of their own thought, their own rationality, shaped by a sociocultural, linguistic, and cosmogenic matrix that precedes the Conquest. Accordingly, this epistemic dimension shapes these movements' political subjectivities in their attitudes towards life and nature as well as their collective and individual positioning in the world. Among many indigenous peoples and their organizations, we find reference to this epistemic matrix, for example, the *Lekil Kuxlejal* in the Maya language, the *Sumak Kawsai* in Ecuadorian Quechua, the *Sumak Qamaña* in Bolivian Aymara, or “buen vivir” (good living) understood as the essential principle of human and natural rights as opposed to the perspective of “vivir mejor” (better living) advocated by contemporary capitalism. It is important to note how the epistemic dimension of the linguistic matrix of indigenous languages determines other subject positions and ways of thinking by establishing the horizontal relationship between the I–we–community and the mind–heart–spirit.¹⁹ In order to illustrate this, I will refer to several political documents elaborated by Central American indigenous movements that directly quote the *Popol Wuj*,²⁰ a cosmogenic touchstone for Central

18 → Rivera Cusicanqui, *Oprimidos*.

19 → Carlos Lenkersdorf, *Los hombres verdaderos. Voces y testimonios tojolabales* (México: Siglo XXI, 2005); Juan López-Intzín, “Ich'el ta muk': la trama en la construcción del Lekil Kuxlejal (vida plena-digna-justa),” In Tórres-Méndez Georgina et al. (eds.), *Senti-pensar el género. Perspectivas desde los pueblos originarios* (México: Red-IINPIM/Red Feministas Decoloniales, 2013).

20 → The *Popol Wuj* or *Popol Vuh* is a collection of texts written after the Spanish conquest that details the origins of the cosmogony and ancient traditions of the K'iche people of Guatemala as well as the organization of the Mayan calendar and chronology of their kings up to the year 1500. The book is a touchstone of the so-called colonial historiography of the indigenous Maya tradition and represents the legacy of indigenous Mayan

American indigenous struggles and alternative educational and pedagogical projects²¹:

- The Declaration de Iximché (January 29, 1980) denounced the massacre of indigenous Ixil and K'iche people at the Spanish Embassy. This declaration denounced the expropriation of lands and territories since Conquest as well the persistence of a mode of domination traversed by racism, discrimination, and the violation of human rights in Guatemala;
- The Declaration of Atitlán (2002) for the Mayan peoples' Right to Food. The document emphasizes collective rights, the right to self-determination in the communities' rights to the land, the earth, and water;
- The declaration made at the First National Congress of the Mayan People (2003) convened on a date selected in accord with the Mayan calendar, an element present in the *Popol Wuj*;
- The Declaration of Iximché-Tecpan, product of the Third Continental Summit of Indigenous Peoples and Nationalities of the *Abya Yala* (2007), which also took place on dates determined by the Mayan calendar;
- The document issuing from the Eighth Continental Meeting of Indigenous Spiritual Guides "Kam B'alm el Cóndor y el Águila" (Kam B'alm Condor and Eagle) that took place in 2010;
- The Political Declaration of the 13 Baktun "Hacia un tiempo de grandes cambios" (Toward a time of great changes), November 11, 2012, issued by the Consejo Político de los 13 Baktunes (Political Council of the 13 Baktuns). The declaration revolves around the need to overcome the history of

thinking. It transcribes the oral tradition that preserved the memory of the political and socio-communitarian life of Central American indigenous communities (Santos and Valverde 2003).

- 21 → Raquel Xochiquetzal Rivera Amalguer, *El Popol Wuj y sus traducciones por maya-hablantes. Memoria histórica y resistencia cultural en Guatemala, 1970-2014. Tesis de doctorado. Programa de Posgrado en Historiografía* (México: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, 2015); Lia Pinhero Barbosa, *Educación, resistencia y movimientos sociales: la praxis educativo-política de los Sin Tierra y de los Zapatistas* (México: LIBRUNAM, 2015).

fear and destruction experienced by the Mayan peoples of Guatemala over the course of 11 *baktunes*. It references the closure of a *baktun* of resistances, struggles, and rebellions and the dawning of a new *baktun*,²² the beginning of a new era of defending the rights of Mayan peoples.

3. The understanding of territoriality as the locus for resistance and for the construction of an identitarian ethos. Land is constitutive of the political narrative of indigenous and peasant movements in defense of the earth, of nature—the *Tawantinsuyu*, the *Pacha Mama*—in the recognition of land as space for living, production, a place for creation and the resignification of the sociocultural and power relations. In the same manner, land becomes particularly important with regard to the inherent conflicts caused by transnational capitalism, in particular, by mining, agribusiness, and other mega-enterprises in Latin American territories.²³

4. Autonomy, understood as much as a principle and a political project for many indigenous movements, is conceived as a link to the epistemic dimension of the cosmovision, of the principle of community, of a sense of territorial belonging, all of which precede the formation of the nation-state as an institution and mode of political representation. Autonomy has to do with the reclamation of the right to self-determination of a people in their territory, which is part of communal traditions, and to historical forms of deliberation and participation, as articulated through communitarian life prior to the Conquest.²⁴

These four elements enrich the political subjectivities of these social movements while at the same time broadening and complicating

22 → *Oxlajuj B'aqtun* or *Baktun* is the close of a cycle of 394 years in the Mayan calendar.

23 → Norma Giacarra, "Territorios en disputa: los bienes naturales en el centro de la escena," *Realidad Económica*, 217 (2006): 51-68; Maristella Svampa and Mirta Antonelli, *Minería transnacional, narrativas del desarrollo y resistencias sociales* (Buenos Aires, Argentina: Biblos, 2009).

24 → José Carlos Mariátegui, *Siete ensayos de interpretación de la realidad peruana* (México: ERA, 1928); Luis Tapia, *La invención del núcleo común. Ciudadanía y gobierno multisocietal* (Bolivia: CIDES/UMSA/Postgrado de Ciencias del Desarrollo, 2006).

the nature of their demands and political projects throughout Latin America. They also nourish the strategies of their struggles; among them, those enacted in the fields of education and pedagogy, whereby other conceptions of these terms are forged,²⁵ as I will suggest below.

SENTIPENSANTE AND REVOLUTIONARY PEDAGOGIES IN LATIN AMERICA

Debates about the political dimension of education have been a driving force, especially at the end of the twentieth century. Gradually, the formation of the political subject of history gained centrality as the primary driver of the political tactics and strategies of indigenous and peasant movements. In the case of Latin America, one must take into account that this debate takes place in terms derived from political theory and critical pedagogy that came to the fore in the heated debate about education and the consolidation of a project for Latin American political and social emancipation. In this sense, one of the principal contributions to Latin American critical pedagogy recuperated by popular organizations and movements related to the state of human consciousness (*conciencia*),²⁶ in particular, the critical comprehension of the sense of being (*ser*) and being with (*estar*) and in the world, as Paulo Freire points out, a process of consciousness raising that presupposes a liberatory cultural action.²⁷

In the Latin American context, this consciousness of being with and in the world directly related to the necessity of proposing a critique of the historical conjuncture embodied in a political economic project and a developmentalist and modernizing ideology that culminated in the territorial expropriation and historical negation of other, preexisting

25 → Lia Pinheiro Barbosa, "Los movimientos sociales como sujetos educativo-políticos," In Marcela Gómez Sollano and Martha Corestein Zaslav (eds.), *Reconfiguración de lo educativo en América Latina. Experiencias Pedagógicas Alternativas* (México: UNAM, 2013), 121-162; Lia Pinheiro Barbosa, *Educación, resistencia y movimientos sociales*.

26 → Translator's Note: In Spanish *conciencia* signifies both "consciousness" and "conscience." In the context of Freire's consciousness raising (*concientização*), it is important to note the homonymy in Spanish of what are in English lexically distinct moral and rational faculties.

27 → Paulo Freire, *Ação cultural para a liberdade e outros escritos* (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: Paz e Terra, 1982).

forms of social life. Likewise, consciousness raising with the goal of emancipatory social transformation is bound up with a Freirean understanding of the categories of the “the oppressed” and “freedom”.²⁸ To invoke “freedom” means to free oneself from a network of political, social, and cultural domination stretching back to the Conquest, from the agrarian oligarchies, the transnational bourgeoisie, from all sites that perpetuate symbolic, ideological, and material domination up to the present day.

For this reason, it becomes essential to conceive the educative act as an instance of grasping social reality in its historical totality, in the process of the objectification of the world and of the confrontation with concrete social reality; that is, a critical consciousness that emerges from humankind’s concrete praxis as autonomous, free, and creative making, as the fortifying of a political subject of history, and as the construction of a path to human liberation and emancipation.²⁹ In this sense, indigenous and peasant movements have drawn from popular education, liberation theology, Latin American and socialist pedagogical thought to justify a pedagogical and educational approach toward the formation of their identity and political praxis.

Through the careful reading of their past and present reality, many movements come to the following proposition: if education is the point of departure for cultural subordination and political domination, the construction of another conception of education (implying a different pedagogy, a different school) must be the first step in the process of liberation and emancipation. Toward this end, internal discussions have allowed them to make an epistemic plan as the point of departure for the reconception of education and pedagogy, making these the core, the heart of their political projects. To this effect, knowledge-as-power and knowledge-with-power³⁰ gradually advance in dialectical relation as they assume their own course.

28 → Paulo Freire, *Pedagogia do Oprimido* (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: Paz e Terra, 1987).

29 → Freire, *Ação cultural*.

30 → Georgina Torres-Méndez, “Mujeres Mayas-Kichwas en la apuesta por la descolonización de los pensamientos y corazones,” In Georgina Torres-Méndez, et al. (eds.), *Sentipensar el género. Perspectivas desde los pueblos originarios* (México: Red-IINPIM/Red Feministas Decoloniales, 2013), 27-61.

Thus, we witness the emergence of alternative pedagogies born from and articulated with political projects carried out by indigenous and peasant movements. These pedagogies result from the reconfiguration of the educational in Latin America and are nourished by the history of Latin American resistances and by the identitarian elements of the movements: history, memory, land, autonomy, and the epistemic dimension that sustains them. Among the tenets of pedagogical praxis as conceived by indigenous and peasant movements, I would like to highlight a few:

- Pedagogical praxis is not restricted to the most instrumental dimension of teaching and learning processes in the classroom, whether in school or university. On the contrary, it recuperates the educational principles and pedagogical methodologies of popular education in that educational-pedagogical praxis incorporates other sites in the process of education and formation³¹;
- It realizes and constructs a process of pedagogical mediation through critical reflection about our place in the world;
- It allows for the formation of knowledge mediated by “the conversation among knowledges,” in other words, in the encounter between knowledge about the life and the struggles of communities that becomes concepts elaborated by popular movements and scientific knowledge;³²
- It generates other knowledge practices that question and challenge modern, Western reason’s one-sidedness. In this sense, the movements generate a geo-pedagogy of knowledge,³³ which means the indissoluble connection between pedagogy and cultural elements deriving from the land/

31 → Pinheiro Barbosa, *Educación, resistencia y movimientos sociales*; Pinheiro Barbosa and Rosset, “Educação do Campo”.

32 → José Maria Tardin, *Diálogo de Saberes*; Lia Pinheiro Barbosa, “Education for and by the countryside as a political project in the context of the struggle for land in Brazil,” *Journal of Peasant Studies* 44 (2016): 117-143; Lia Pinheiro Barbosa, “Movimentos sociais, educação e Diálogo de Saberes na América Latina,” In Arlete Ramos Santos, et al. (eds.) *Educação e sua diversidade* (Ilhéus: Editus, 2017).

33 → Pinheiro Barbosa, *Educación, resistencia y movimientos sociales*.

territory and socio-communitarian context in the process of knowledge formation;

- It reaffirms indigenous and peasant movements and subjects that construct knowledge and a knowledge situated from, with, and for their political praxis.³⁴

Thinking educational and pedagogical processes through the lens of indigenous and peasant movements means conceiving them beyond the paradigm of Western modernity; that is, recuperating the educative act's epistemic sense, conceived on the basis of the epistemes of the originary peoples and those rural epistemes of peasants.³⁵ This epistemic dimension contributes to the strengthening of political processes and other rationalities, wagering the "intellectual re-in-surgency, thought and reflected from this center of the people's thought and knowledge (*saber*),"³⁶ in harmony with its cosmivision, its rallying cries, and its political projects.

Thus, in Latin America, prominent educational-political projects come to fruition that form a subject of history and of politics, their own theoretico-epistemic concepts, and pedagogical experiences that displace the very conception of education, of pedagogy, of the school. Among these experiences I would like to point out:

- A Educação do Campo e A Pedagogía do Movimento (Rural Education and Pedagogy of the Movement), the educational-political project of the Landless Workers' Movement (MST) in Brazil³⁷;
- La Educación Autónoma y el Sistema Educativo Rebelde Autónomo Zapatista de Liberación Nacional (Autonomous Education and the Autonomous Rebellious Zapatista Education System for National Liberation)(SERAZ-LN), which

34 → Pinheiro Barbosa, "Los movimientos sociales"; Pinheiro Barbosa, *Educación, resistencia y movimientos sociales*; Pinheiro Barbosa, "Educación, conocimiento y resistencia".

35 → Pinheiro Barbosa, "Los movimientos sociales"; Rossett, "Epistemes rurales".

36 → López-Intzín, "Ich'el ta muk," 77.

37 → Roseli Caldart, *Pedagogia do Movimento* (São Paulo, Brazil: Expressão Popular, 2004); Pinheiro Barbosa, *Educación, resistencia y movimientos sociales*; Pinheiro Barbosa, "Education for and by the countryside".

is connected to the autonomous project of the Zapatista movement in Mexico;³⁸

- La Educación del Campo y la Pedagogía Campesina Agroecológica (Rural Education and Sustainable Agriculture Peasant Pedagogy) developed by the organizations in the Latin American Coordinator of Rural Organizations (CLOC) and the Vía Campesina;³⁹
- The feminist pedagogies constructed by popular feminisms and through the struggles of indigenous and peasant women;⁴⁰
- La Pedagogía de la Alternancia (Rotation Pedagogy) in the experiences of the Family Agriculture schools that organize educational times into school time and community time.

These experiences are exemplary of the creation of pedagogies born in historical processes of a revolutionary character that endorse human emancipation. They reinforce ancestral knowledges while at the same time promoting a genuine theory construction by the movements in a process that recuperates and strengthens the collective subject and articulates key concepts derived from their cosmovision, languages, and historical political processes. From the perspective of the indigenous and rural movements, this process of knowledge construction drives a dialectical movement between reason and the heart; that is, between the thoughts and knowledges that pass through the mind, through reason, but that also emanate from the heart. As the Zapatistas say, “la palabra se corazona”.⁴¹ Thus, perceptions about life

38 → Pinheiro Barbosa, *Educación, resistencia y movimientos sociales*; Pinheiro Barbosa, “Mulheres Zapatistas e a Pedagogia da Palavra no tecer da outra educação,” In Amanda Motta Castro and Rita de Cássia Machado (eds.), *Estudos Feministas: Mulheres e Educação Popular, Volume 2* (São Paulo, Brazil: Liber Ars, 2018), 25-47.

39 → Pinheiro Barbosa and Rosset, “Educação do Campo”.

40 → EZLN, *Participación de las Mujeres en el Gobierno Autónomo. Cuaderno de Textos del Primer Grado del Curso de ‘La Libertad según l@s Zapatistas’* (México: self published, 2013); ANAMURI, *Hacia la construcción del Feminismo Campesino y Popular* (Chile: El Correo de las Mujeres del Campo—ANAMURI); Georgina Torres-Méndez, “Mujeres Mayas-Kichwas”; Lia Pinheiro Barbosa, “Mulheres Zapatistas”.

41 → Translator’s Note: This phrase can be translated either as “the word is reasoned together” or “the word is hearted.” The Zapatista saying plays on the fact that the Spanish word for

and about being-in-the-world are also guided by a logic rooted in the *Ya'yel-snopel ya'yel-sna'el* or “feeling-thinking—feeling-knowing”.⁴²

The pedagogies of the indigenous and peasant movements set words and concepts in motion born from the cultural root of non-Western rationalities, woven together over centuries by listening to and scrutinizing language in order to grasp, decipher, decode the codes revealed in communal coexistence with the goal of attaining *el buen vivir* (good living), that is, fulfilled lives expressed in the *Lekil Kuxlejal* in the *Sumak* or the *Sumak Qamaña*. In this way, the organizations that emerge from indigenous and peasant community bases bring with them an ensemble of concepts conceived in light of the indigenous epistemic paradigm and cosmovision, ancestral knowledges, and traditional practices that were rejected in formal educational settings.

However, over the course of centuries, these referents persisted in the memory and oral traditions of communities and were recognized as oppressed and subaltern. They come alive in the contexts of revolution and permanent resistance to land dispossession and the expropriation of indigenous and peasant identities. For this reason, I call them revolutionary, *sentipensante* (feeling-thinking/sensing-thinking) pedagogies,⁴³ for their capacity for conceptual innovation within the framework of other rationalities and in dialogue with the legacy of past struggles. In *sentipensante* pedagogies, the *voz corazonada* (heartened voice, the co-reasoned voice). constitutes a channel for communication that is central to expressing a cosmogenic perspective in dialogue with the epistemic and theoretical inheritance. Its *sentipensante* character derives from an interpretation of social reality within the larger cosmovision and the frameworks of political struggle. Similarly, commonality and community are moments of comprehension of their educational

“heart” (*corazón*) contains the word for “reason” (*razón*). The resulting verb *corazonar* is at once a verbalization of *corazón*, which can be rendered as “heartened” or by the analogous neologism “hearted,” and the affixation of the prefix “co-” to the standard Spanish verb *razonar* (to reason), which I have rendered here as “to reason together.”

42 → López-Intzín, “Ich’el ta muk”.

43 → Translator’s Note: The Spanish word “sentimiento” that forms the first part of the portmanteau “sentipensante” can signify “sentiment,” “feeling” and “emotion” but also “sense” or “sensation.”

principles, in the collective learning of resistance, of struggle, of autonomy and organicity.⁴⁴

Sentipensante and revolutionary pedagogies have contributed important lessons for these peoples' struggles in at least three ways: by moving the conception of the educational and the pedagogical beyond the school; by theorizing *from*, *with* and *for* indigenous and peasant movements, allowing them to reinforce a rural epistemic paradigm;⁴⁵ and through the process of educating and forming a political subject of history.

FINAL THOUGHTS

How do indigenous and peasant movements contribute to thinking pedagogies in the American context? This question animated the 4th Annual LAPES Symposium. In addition to what I have discussed above, it seems fitting to recall the thinking of Orlando Fals-Borda about Latin American sociology as one framed by the historical need for a social science of our own. He called this Latin American sociology "*sentipensante*," recognizing that he had inherited the term from the peasants of Mompoz on Colombia's Atlantic coast.⁴⁶

In the same manner, my term "*sentipensante* and revolutionary pedagogies" takes as its referent Mayan philosophy and Latin American revolutionary processes in order to think the pedagogical praxis and theoretical elaboration of recent social movements. In his time, Fals-Borda called attention to failures in educating children who did not have the chance to complicate the process of learning the meanings of words and concepts, resigning themselves to knowing them in binary terms, in the words of the author, in black and white.⁴⁷

Today, many social movements seek to change this cognitive process, taking education into their own hands and working toward the formation of the political subject of history, in which childhood plays

44 → Pinheiro Barbosa, *Educación, resistencia y movimientos sociales*.

45 → Ibid; Pinheiro Barbosa, "Educación, conocimiento y Resistencia".

46 → Orlando Fals-Borda, *Ciencia, compromiso y cambio social. Antología*. (Montevideo: El Colectivo-Lanzas y Letras-Extensión Libros, 2014).

47 → Ibid.

a constitutive role. From this perspective, knowledge formation becomes subversive, framed by the direct challenging of historical truths. As Fals-Borda recognized that great changes in Latin America were the fruit of subversive consciousness and rebellious thought⁴⁸, so do I believe that we find ourselves in a moment ripe for thinking the great challenges of our times through the analytical lenses of the indigenous and peasant social movements.

In the relationship between education, resistance and knowledge for a theoretical elaboration of social movements, wholly new ideas emerge, such as rural education, food sovereignty, and the *Lekil Kuxlejal*. At the same time, “old” ideas, such as freedom and autonomy, are reclaimed in different analytical keys. These are but a few among many examples that have built a theory of social movements and that have been galvanized and mediated by *sentipensante* pedagogy. ■

48 → Ibid.

PEDAGOGICAL STRATEGIES IN THE STRUGGLE FOR INDIGENOUS AUTONOMY IN MEXICO

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This paper addresses the issue of autonomous education in Chiapas, presenting experiences from a social movement perspective. In the multiethnic context of southeastern Mexico, the involvement of local authorities and indigenous families in school administration and curriculum planning is relatively limited. However, a very different situation occurs in areas where social movements are more active, such as in the context of educational participation in the autonomous Zapatista municipalities of Chiapas. In more than two decades of self-schooling experiences, the people from Tzeltal, Tzotzil, Chol, and Tojolabal communities in the Lacandon Jungle, the Highlands and the northern region, invariably place a high value on cultural and political knowledge and native languages in the classroom as part of the educational framework. Moreover, family involvement is thus fostered in the school curriculum and in everyday pedagogical practices.

The political actions of indigenous activists who are fighting for self-determination and autonomy in Chiapas and other Mexican states represent a profound questioning of the educational policies of the nation-state. Educational projects among the indigenous peoples from Zapatista autonomous municipalities challenge the institutionalized practices of the dominant actors in this field in Mexico and across Latin America and constitute one of the struggles of indigenous peoples to change the norms of educational policy. Furthermore, the autonomous experiences in the recovered lands of the Lacandon Jungle challenge the limitations of the national practices inherited from Mexican indigenism (i.e., assimilationism) as an ideology and policy of the State. How does a Mayan and peasant social movement radically transform school education in terms of pedagogical strategies linked to struggles for indigenous autonomy?

By reorienting learning practices to align with peasant, cultural, and indigenous struggles, this movement is building educational autonomy. Inside and outside schools, what is at stake is the genuine recognition given to different values and to local knowledge rooted in grassroots struggles. This place-based education generates educational strategies for indigenous autonomy in the everyday experiences of the Mayan Zapatistas of southeastern Mexico. These alternative strategies

are the result of ongoing confrontation with the Mexican State as well as community defense of their threatened lands and territories.¹ In the context in which cultural pluralism is a challenge in the transformation of formal education, autonomous communities are working together with their own educators to learn and teach. These tend to be constructivist and critical alternatives promoting multilingual, cooperative, and environmental learning.

PEASANT SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND EDUCATION FOR “GOOD GOVERNMENT”

Since the emergence of schools in the twentieth century among the indigenous peoples of southeastern Mexico, the social construction of demands for education have been marked by an organizational context of negotiation and confrontation with the State. This involved the politicization of ethnic identities, contributing to the social appropriation of school education. Under the conditions created by political conflict, Mayan peoples have generated and extended new community schools experiences since the end of the 1980s, in accordance with continually renewed practices of self-government that give meaning to an alternative project they have assumed as their own autonomous undertaking. Through assemblies, the organized communities have acquired new capacities to participate actively in decision-making on local school policy. Education came to be appropriated by the communities through collective action, since they saw the necessity of implementing alternatives to the official education system of the “bad government.” Predating the uprising, the 1993 *First Declaration of the Lacandon Jungle* included education among a list of eleven Zapatista demands. The demand for education meant having their own community-based schooling that originated in the cooperative aspirations of the Mayan peasants.²

1 → Bruno Baronnet, “Estrategias alternativas de educación en las luchas de los pueblos originarios en México,” *Educação & Sociedade* 38, no. 140 (2017): 689–704.

2 → Bruno Baronnet, “Autonomías y educación en Chiapas: prácticas políticas y pedagógicas en los pueblos zapatistas,” In *Pedagogías decoloniales: Prácticas insurgentes de resistir, (re)existir y (re)vivir*, ed. Catherine Walsh, (Quito: Abya-Yala, 2013), 304–329.

To generate their own system of *Educación Verdadera* (Real Education), between 1995 and 2001, the first task of the new Zapatista autonomous municipal council members was to dismiss and replace the “official teachers” with young community-supported members who would serve as “education promoters.” These promoters began to teach reading and writing to children between five- and twelve-years-old and were trained as multilingual educators in municipal centers across the autonomous regions. Small autonomous schools proliferated in all regions under Zapatista influence, created through the autonomous municipalities, with endogenous processes for training young teachers by non-professional Mayan educators who continued to live and work as peasants in their different multicultural regions.

The Zapatista project of de facto autonomy is a process of continuous construction carried out in accord with guidelines determined, first, by participatory assemblies at the community level, then, by rotating representation at the level of the autonomous municipalities and, since 2003, through five regional centers of self-government called *caracoles*, with their Good Government Councils (*Juntas de Buen Gobierno*) composed of men and women from different generations who are neither professional politicians nor bureaucrats, through the notion of horizontalism (“*mandar obedeciendo*”, or lead by obeying) “to prevent hierarchies of power, privilege, and vested interests”.³ Direct participatory assemblies regularly choose leaders at the village level, representatives to the autonomous municipal councils, and a pool is elected from autonomous municipalities to serve rotating shifts on the five Good Government Councils.

In the everyday practices of autonomy in Zapatista indigenous communities, peasant families in assemblies choose members (usually young people) to receive training and offer services as “education promoters.” The communities commit themselves to allocating collective resources as necessary to support the maintenance of these young educators and to cover costs of their travel to training

3 → Richard Stalher-Sholk, “Constructing Autonomy. Zapatista Strategies of Indigenous Resistance in Mexico,” in *The New Global Politics: Global Social Movements in the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Harry Vanden, Peter Funke, and Gary Prevost (New York: Routledge, 2017), 18.

workshops in each *caracol*.⁴ The communities guide the promoters to shape pedagogical content in order to generate what they consider to be *Educación Verdadera* (“Real Education”). In the Zapatista’s sense, Real Education projects locate the generation of decolonial teaching and learning practices in time and space. Specifically, it provides a natural, cultural and territorial context for emancipation so that children grow up strengthened as members of the community.⁵ Rather than depoliticizing and decontextualizing the pedagogical processes, rooting education in the regional context makes the school an experiential field for the dynamic interaction between values and knowledge based on local and global cultures alike. Each community educator is free to devise their own creative strategies through the autonomous municipality’s Real Education project. This self-governing framework supports the building of a community-based elementary education as opposed to both a centralized, top-down imposition emanating from an armed group manipulating the social bases that sustain their ranks and the old, centralized education model of the “bad government.”

Hundreds of autonomous schools in Zapatista territories are systematically staffed by members of Mayan rural communities, who are part of the rebel youth trained in the municipalities with the assistance of national and international volunteers, and also by other promoters from the communities who have more teaching experience.⁶ These people do not receive a salary, but are fed and housed during their training and also receive support from their communities of origin during their period of service. Lesson plans and school programs are developed in collaboration with all members of the community, even if they do not have school-age children.

The educators of the autonomous communities, like the members of their governing structures, do volunteer work, typically on collective *milpas*, or cornfields. This requires consensus as to how the community will contribute, whether with labor or foodstuffs, to support those who must attend workshops or otherwise spend time in service to

4 → Stalher-Sholk, “Constructing Autonomy,” 18.

5 → Baronnet, “Autonomías y educación en Chiapas”.

6 → Bruno Baronnet, “Rebel Youth and Zapatista Autonomous Education,” *Latin American Perspectives* 35, no. 4 (2008): 112–124.

the people. The practice of rotating responsibilities gives everyone a chance to learn new skills and leadership without losing their connection to family and working life in the rural community. The current alternative practices are a product of self-managed educational policies by indigenous actors, inserted into structures of communal and regional power that are unrecognized and excluded from the framework of national education policies.

AN EDUCATIONAL ALTERNATIVE CHALLENGING THE SCHOOL OF “BAD GOVERNMENT”

Even before 1994, massive and violent deficiencies in public education had long been a problem that indigenous organizations had denounced.⁷ Following the uprising, Zapatista communities have constructed alternative schools and selected and trained their own educators with the goal of providing better services that would take into account the particular histories, cultures, and languages of the communities themselves.⁸ In the autonomous municipalities, teachers come from the communities and not the cities, and they share with their students' families the same economic conditions and cultural practices. Through their popular assemblies, hundreds of Mayan communities support and assess the work of those who carry out the tasks of an education promoter. This relationship is different from the practice of indigenous teachers employed by the federal government, who wield the power to decide the content of the curriculum in a way that excludes the community and fails to recognize its needs. In 2007, Edgar, an autonomous education coordinator in the autonomous municipality of Francisco Villa, told me that they built their own schools “out of necessity” because they distrusted the official education system:

We did not learn anything about our customs; the ideas that

7 → Horacio Gómez Lara, *Indígenas, mexicanos y rebeldes. Procesos educativos y resignificación de identidades en los Altos de Chiapas*, (Mexico: CESMECA, Juan Pablos, 2011), 465.

8 → Neil Harvey, “Practicing Autonomy: Zapatismo and Decolonial Liberation,” *Latin American and Caribbean Ethnic Studies* 11, no. 1 (2016): 1-24.

they brought were only ideas from the outside. It wasn't like what we are doing right now, with our own customs, creating education in our community; it wasn't like this before.

Edgar has now accumulated pedagogical experience through practice and has co-constructed knowledge about inventing particular strategies for Real Education. Taking into account the demands for decolonizing the construction of distinct knowledges and practices in the field of politics,⁹ Zapatista communities construct and produce according to their political and cultural identities and teaching practices. According to Peter Brown¹⁰, who shared the solidarity experiences of Schools for Chiapas (San Diego, California), the younger Zapatistas who serve as autonomous authorities attended autonomous schools, where the classroom is an experience of democracy, of alternative forms of learning to change the world and to change themselves. Nowadays, each Zapatista village has a primary school and each region has a middle school. For example, seventeen secondary schools are functioning in the communities of four autonomous municipalities of the *caracol* of Morelia. Recently, at more than a dozen of these autonomous boarding schools, multispecies “food forests” have been created, which feature not only fruits, nuts, berries, grasses, root crops, and animal forage, but also traditional medicinal plants.

The educational strategies of the Zapatista people for managing schools challenge Mexican state policy. The educational projects of politically organized indigenous peoples in regions such as Las Cañadas are real, political strategies for indigenous autonomy in education. Alternative multilingual teacher recruitment and training practices represent new challenges to public policies. Social appropriation of schooling is inscribed in the struggle for greater control over educational processes at the communal level. Indigenous people in these multiethnic regions transform their educational reality at the same time as they generate proposals that tend towards autonomy with regard to

9 → Mariana Mora Bayo, *Kuxlejal Politics, Indigenous Autonomy, Race and Decolonizing Research Zapatista Communities*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2017), 288.

10 → Editor's note: This is a reference to an oral comment made by Peter Brown during the 2017 LAPES conference.

the State. This contributes to the implementation of indigenous administration and curriculum management strategies. Such experiences of “pedagogy from below” are not simply pedagogical struggles over the curriculum and educational policies of the State, but also direct actions that create and implement alternative educational models, often in reconfigured social spaces and in social movements increasingly focused on horizontalism in their own practices.¹¹

Undeniably, the Zapatista movement of autonomous education is an endogenous base from which to build political autonomy. From the perspective of Mayan activists, all members of the indigenous community promote education; they often participate directly, through a system of community labor and assemblies, in building schools, choosing autonomous education promoters, and supporting and training these promoters. Classroom content is proposed and discussed by family members, educators, and community authorities. Despite their everyday challenges, political autonomy in education guarantees the specific organizational identity of indigenous communities through the definition and implementation of their own educational activities.

The Zapatista practice of autonomy has included replacing the central government’s education system with alternative, community-controlled education, alongside autonomous health care, governance, communication, administration of justice, and promotion of sustainable, collective models of economic production. This participatory process of building political autonomies is itself didactic, creating spaces for community members to learn by doing, while at the same time offering a model that has served as an inspiration to other movements.¹² It is thus possible to differentiate the “political pedagogy” of the Zapatista’s alternative community schools from the “pedagogical politics” represented by the exercise of de facto autonomy.

This alternative education model reinforces cultural and political identity, as a strategic component of the project for claiming collective

11 → Stalher-Sholk, “Constructing Autonomy,” 18.

12 → Richard Stalher-Sholk and Bruno Baronnet, “‘La escuela es la comunidad’: Luchas indígenas y autonomía en México,” In *Saberes sociales para la justicia social: educación y escuela en América Latina*, ed. Sebastián Plá and Sandra Rodríguez (Bogotá: Universidad Nacional Pedagógica, La Carreta Editores, 2017), 99–135.

rights. Social spaces are reconfigured in ways that directly challenge the individualistic, neoliberal models of education and society, and that recognize social context in the learning process. The Zapatista movement explicitly identifies the integral connection between school and the lived experience of diverse Mayan communities, conceiving education as part of a participatory process of social transformation. The movement recognizes that the content and organization of autonomous education play a key role in the formation of new social subjects.

In Mexico, the indigenous struggles that nourish the construction of various forms of political autonomy have proven to be powerful vectors for socio-educational transformation. These struggles contribute to redefining the production of knowledge and the education of indigenous peoples through the principles and actions of the indigenous peasant families that form the base of the Zapatista movement, underscoring the idea that “the school is the community”:

We want to see and struggle for the school to be the entire community, because the community is where the people's knowledge and their truth are. We want all members of the collective to become the school and to grow. The school is the community because it educates us from the time we are little, and as our parents say, it tells us how to do the right thing. That's why together the whole community should build education, so we will be respected by all, and it will be useful to all.¹³

The Zapatista autonomous schools aim to provide children with the psychological tools to resist low-intensity warfare and reinforce their sense of belonging to the collective construction of autonomy and social agency.¹⁴ In addition to the pedagogy within the schools themselves, the movement has created new roles particularly for young people. It

13 → Autonomous Rebel Municipality Ricardo Flores Magón, *La Educación Verdadera* (Chiapas, Mexico, 2001).

14 → Angélica Rico, “Educate in Resistance: The Autonomous Zapatista Schools,” *ROAR Magazine* (January 2, 2014); Kathia Núñez Patiño and Bruno Baronnet, “Infancias indígenas y construcción de identidades,” *Argumentos* 30, no. 84 (2017): 17–36.

is also gradually breaking down gender barriers to serve the community as promoters of education, community-oriented health care that recovers ancestral knowledge of herbal medicine, sustainable agriculture, communication, justice or human rights, giving the construction of autonomy a concrete decolonial sense.¹⁵ The autonomous councils and boards of self-government also serve an educational purpose in this movement for social justice. Indeed, this participatory model of radical democracy turns the organization of the social movement itself into a kind of school,¹⁶ in which the processes of teaching, learning, and community progress are a responsibility shared by everyone. As key actors in this education “for autonomy,” the promoters participate in the construction of a “*habitus* of rebellion,” which is “fed by the practices and forms of thinking expressed in images, texts and discussions, while these schemes, once produced and internalized, become reproducers of rebellious practice and thinking.”¹⁷ Likewise, the training of autonomous educators feeds back into the interaction with parents and elders who help and advise.

In Chiapas, consolidation of an alternative school project based on principles of “good government” is sustained by the collective efforts of the members of each Zapatista community. These are mainly subsistence communities that strive for self-sufficiency, and it is not always easy to recruit local young people as educators in villages that refuse the assistance of the “bad government.” Another challenge is that women and the elderly in the community need to attend meetings dedicated to education. However, both of these groups place high value on a curriculum for building autonomy, which they call “teaching the truth.” This curriculum can include stories, locally rooted knowledge and cultural values, as well as ethical codes and standards of conduct. For the schoolchildren, this approach validates the knowledge derived from everyday life and the collective imaginaries of the Zapatista bases.

15 → Melissa Forbis, “After Autonomy: The Zapatistas, Insurgent Indigeneity, and Decolonization,” *Settler Colonial Studies* 5 (2015): 1-20; Mora Bayo, *Kuxlejal Politics*, 288.

16 → Stahler-Sholk and Baronnet, “La escuela es la comunidad,” 112.

17 → Gómez Lara, *Indígenas, mexicanos y rebeldes. Procesos educativos y resignificación de identidades en los Altos de Chiapas*, 325.

FOCUSING PEDAGOGICALLY ON POLITICAL DEMANDS

Teams of education promoters in autonomous communities learn from each other through innovative ways of articulating cultural knowledge that are both politically significant and relevant to the families of indigenous activists and peasants. Parents and grandparents positively value the fact that children learn confidence, the history of the settlement of the Lacandon Jungle, and about the collective rights of peoples. Learning how to fight injustice and defend themselves politically is an objective that families consider essential.

Teaching and learning methods and the curriculum are inherently political. Specifically, they promote the defense of their lands, culture, collective rights, and the environment. The curriculum's thematic axes are the principal demands for democracy, freedom and social justice, as well as specific needs locally identified and resolved through participatory-democratic assemblies of all the families. In fact, the official school curriculum is not removed entirely from these alternative schools, but is resignified through local symbols, such that national and international heroes share space with agrarian leaders, the history of the Spanish colonizers is taught alongside the history of the Tzeltal, and the values of individualism, competition, consumerism and private property are seriously questioned and replaced with the values from the oral tradition, of reciprocal relationships, and of community in relation to its immediate reality,¹⁸. Promoters of Real Education are not trained to simply teach children literacy, but also acquire political-pedagogical tools to help plant the seeds of critical consciousness. In the words of Hortencia,¹⁹ a Tzeltal promoter of Real Education:

Our education is about having a dignified struggle and one heart, so that we can walk together in the same direction. We believe that education is not only about teaching literacy and numeracy, but also about solving problems between our peoples, about how to defend ourselves, about our history and how to keep on fighting.

18 → Rico, "Educate in Resistance".

19 → Ibid.

Education promoters focus on the political demands of the Zapatista movement as themes generative of knowledge in the sense of a critical and popular pedagogy, teaching about cultural differences, from asking questions to combining popular and scientific knowledge.²⁰ From the perspective of Zapatista families, it seems relevant and necessary to link classroom lessons to historical living conditions in the time of peonage on the *haciendas*, from the colonization of the Lacandon Jungle, through the decades of struggle for land rights, to the current repression of the movement. As a result of the pragmatism shared by the promoters and Zapatista authorities, teaching practices observed in the modest classrooms of the rebel communities are extremely eclectic. Indeed, political autonomy favors the collective and permanent redefinition of priorities and educational needs, with the self-evaluation of the issues under local control.

In the words of Joshua, a Tzeltal *campesino* nominated by his community to be “in charge” of promoting education in a new town on recovered land in the municipality of Francisco Gómez, “it is us, ourselves, who are going to prepare ourselves. No one will come anymore to teach us, but we will educate ourselves.” The Zapatista educators emphasize political, cultural, and environmental issues for a contextualized learning that is meaningful for children and their families. As Joshua said:

When I teach, we look at the theme of nature, what is around us, how we live, how we can use the forest, what is wood. All this is discussed with the children. They also learn how to gather wood because sometimes they just cut it all down, and that just screws it up. You need to plant more trees, because if we destroy nature, what will the children have when they grow up. We see this at school too. Sometimes, I have them make a little map of the community.

This interview with Joshua was held in January 2007 in Francisco

20 → Paulo Freire and Antonio Faundez, *Por una pedagogía de la pregunta. Crítica a una educación basada en respuestas a preguntas inexistentes* (Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI, 2013), 224.

Gómez, when he was an education promoter. Now, he works as a peasant and his eldest son is serving as an educator in a small community school located in the midst of the recovered land. In order to train future leaders in autonomous development, members of community aim to guide the processes of integral education, inculcating respect for the elders and their values, cultural traditions, and collective memories that shape the principles that guide contemporary political projects. Community elders, even those not directly involved in Zapatista militancy, play a key role in education as the bearers of knowledge and values that the schools reinforce in young people. Recognizing the wisdom of the elders means adhering to value codes and patterns of behavior that shape both individual and collective work. The school thus represents a space for socializing values that transcend the family, because the transformation of this space alters the social imaginary and produces new collective memories.

Through processes and resources emerging from each community assembly, each school has its own unique organizational and pedagogical characteristics, although not all have a written educational program. In the pursuit of regional self-management of their community projects, the educational processes in these communities are committed to the ideal of decolonizing the school culture previously based on methods, plans, and programs that discriminated against indigenous cultures. The political-educational practices of each rebel municipality have enabled the development, in a direct and imaginative way, of a regional project that is counter-hegemonic to the state. Their pedagogical work is legitimized through the daily activities of community actors and representatives who guide, monitor, and evaluate the activities of young educators, who are, in turn, accountable for their work to regular assemblies of families. Far from being the mechanical application of a rigid model uniformly imposed by the Zapatista leadership on their bases, this radical educational autonomy has generated the social appropriation and reinvention of the school, arising from their own strategies of communal government, in service of the aspirations of the communities.

The political-educational practices of the Autonomous Municipalities

in Chiapas resignify the school, focusing teaching towards the goal of learning for Zapatismo demands. That is, the objective is to learn to govern themselves, in accordance with the emancipatory project pursued through critical pedagogies created in an indigenous context. Zapatista innovations contribute to democratizing decision-making processes around education issues by prioritizing the assembly processes of direct democracy that govern the autonomous communities and guide teaching practices. This tends to facilitate the learning of values and norms in the classroom that coincide with the collective imaginary of the autonomy project, transmitting the identity markers of a peasant, Mayan, and militant population.

Researching childhood in the context of cultural diversity, empirical researchers consider the contributions that Mayan communities make in order to encourage the children's participation in activities that promote community, particularly those expressed in the autonomous schools.²¹ In addition to promoting literacy in native languages in several hundred primary schools, the Zapatista socio-educational movement itself represents a space for learning through intercultural dialogue and training practices for building autonomy. In other words, the exercise of educational self-management implies a permanent re-training of individuals to exercise rights and duties of self-government, thus strengthening community democracy. The exercise of autonomy itself teaches an alternative model of everyday practices and social relations in a context of great social inequalities, lack of available resources, persistent government and paramilitary repression, and penetration of neoliberal market forces that act to dismantle the social peasant economy.

This pedagogical focus on indigenous demands takes place in a peasant social movement for land and dignity. In recent decades, Mayan Zapatistas have aspired to develop, plan, and implement their own communal political education, based on pedagogical principles generated through struggles and social movements. To the extent that they challenge national educational policies, these autonomous projects also challenge the State's monopoly control over educational

21 → Núñez Patiño and Baronnet, "Infancias indígenas," 17–36.

systems, raising the question of whether this is the genesis of a new diversity of regional educational policies adopted in the course of the struggles of indigenous movements in defense of local resources and dignity. These autonomous territories have embarked on a plethora of school reinventions and curricular experiments of educational non-submission. Some of these experiments are examples of critical intercultural education, developed from multi-ethnic, political autonomy-building processes embodied by critical social transformation projects seeking to destabilize the neocolonial order. These protest experiences against the neocolonial and monocultural order are intended as decolonial alternatives to the State and national education policies, but, due to a lack of resources, they are often drawn into fierce political struggles for recognition by the State apparatus that allocates material and symbolic resources.

Several educational initiatives and indigenous autonomy processes in Mexico have contributed to radical democratization projects in culturally diverse territories, through struggles inspired by Zapatismo that redefine relationships between social actors and the State. Critiques by radical educators of various forms of neoliberal multiculturalism, such as the Mexican variant of *neoindigenismo*, focus on the educational policies of the centralized, nation-state system that purports to be plural and inclusive but in fact reinforces colonial hierarchies and structural discrimination. However, in the multiethnic territories of Chiapas and elsewhere in Mexico, the political and social processes of building autonomy in education together with the everyday practices of autonomy movements, which themselves represent pedagogies of resistance, contribute to the emergence of new collective subjectivities.²² The history of critical pedagogies for the decolonization of thinking and the collective imagination in Zapatista autonomous education serves as both an illustration and a powerful inspiration for innovation in the schools and educational workshops among other resistant, indigenous peoples: for example, in the Purépecha municipality of Cherán in Michoacán and in communities in Oaxaca and Guerrero. In effect, the Zapatista movement has inspired and instigated numerous decolonial

22 → Stahler-Sholk and Baronnet. "La escuela es la comunidad," 115.

processes in Mexico, influencing diverse expressions of non-submission and of dignity.

CONCLUSION

Starting from educators' exercise of local control, the Zapatistas are nurturing an indigenous proposal for educational autonomy that questions the domination institutionalized in the school, which is backed by the State as the sole source of teaching in the locality. Instead, literacy and education are the responsibility of local community organizations loyal to a regional political project. As a meaningful pedagogical strategy, autonomous communities are committed to the search for pragmatic solutions to the challenge of taking and exercising control over the schools in their territories and disputing the hegemony of the State in producing the curriculum. In daily educational practice, autonomous educators act toward this end, although they do not pretend to be professionals in either education or politics. At a societal level, the Mayan rebels' emancipatory horizon represents a greater challenge to the legitimacy of the national, educational power of the Mexican State, which cannot allow *campesino* and indigenous municipalities and organizations to attain greater margins of control over personal learning and pedagogical orientation. In the heat of the social movement, planning for an emancipatory education rests on the capacity of subjects to transform the established order, partly entrusting this liberatory objective to the school model advanced by the political organization. In this sense, the most recent political campaign of Mexico's Indigenous Council of Government demonstrates that, in the words of their spokesperson *Marichuy*, "the time has come for the people to flower." And this in the pedagogical sense, too. ■

THE ENDURING CHALLENGES OF COLLECTIVE ONTO- (AND NEURO-) GENESIS

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TRANSCRIBED BY
Scott Henstrand

I would like to start by expressing my gratitude to the organizers of the LAPES 2017 conference in San Francisco who not only offered exceptional hospitality during my visit, but also transcribed my contribution to the conference, thereby giving me an invaluable opportunity to reflect on my own work. This text is a non-linear offshoot of these reflections where I invite readers to ponder and wonder about existence, reality, meaning, and practices of political and existential resistance through interwoven images, analyses, propositions, invitations and open-ended questions I scattered around the text. Although the text echoes my contribution in 2017, it is not (and could not be) the same as what was presented at the conference. However, there are things that happened in that event that are important to remember and to re-enact. For example, I started by acknowledging the land as a living entity and the ancestral custodians of the land, recognizing the violences committed against those who were and are Indigenous to the place. I then expressed gratitude for the people who had opened and held the space for the conference and acknowledged everyone present as extended family (*parentes!*). I mentioned that my presentation was not an attempt to “sell anything”, but an invitation to re-imagine and experience education as collective onto-genesis: an expansion of horizons and constellations of knowledges, affect, lived experiences, sensibilities, temporalities, spatialities, rhythms, neuro-metabolic processes, and possibilities of (co)existence. I draw on Denise Ferreira da Silva’s “with/out” – a movement of imaging oneself both within and gesturing outside the limits of modern-colonial imaginaries.

WHAT DO WE NEED TO L(O)ISE(N) IN ORDER TO EXPERIENCE:
ETHICS WITH/OUT THE MODERN SUBJECT?
POLITICS WITH/OUT THE NATION STATE?
EDUCATION WITH/OUT THE EUROPEAN ENLIGHTENMENT?
BEING WITH/OUT SEPARABILITY?
THE END OF THE WORLD AS WE KNOW IT WITHOUT DESPAIR?

My attempt to illustrate how this orientation could help us start to imagine and enliven the world differently involved several stories

related to “*vivências*” in a number of socially engaged and community-based pedagogical projects in the northeast of Brazil and in the district of Cusco in Peru. I reported in particular on the *vivência* (collective lived experiences) of the “Primeiro encontro internacional das juventudes”¹ at the MST (movimento sem terra/landless workers movement) Assentamento Maceió.² The *encontro* was organized by the Universidade Federal do Ceará, Universidade Estadual do Ceará, Universidade da Integração Internacional da Lusofonia Afro-Brasileira, and the University of British Columbia, in collaboration with NGOs from the Bom Jardim community in Fortaleza, the Quilombola Nazaré, the Assentamento Maceió, and *parentes* from the Indigenous communities of Tremembé and Pitaguary.

Through photographs and stories from the *vivências* (which will not be retold here), I invited the participants at the LAPES conference to envision a pedagogy that could engage (all of us as) learners in being intellectually, sensorially and affectively attentive and responsive to encountering complex worlds. The stories I told focused particularly on encountering communities that have a relationship with reality (including time, form, space) that is largely unintelligible to the modern-colonial onto-metaphysics that tends to reduce being to knowing and to establish relationships through normative categories of thought and desires for certainty, coherence and control. These communities relate to time, form and space primarily through rhythm and (non-normative) embodied principles of trust, consent and reciprocity that are not “conceptual” but lived, and that apply to both human and non-human beings.

The presentation highlighted the importance of paying attention to the dynamics of resistance as an act of hospicing worlds that are dying (within and outside of ourselves) and assisting with the births of new worlds that are potentially (but not necessarily) wiser – and that are inherently paradoxical (as seen from a modern-colonial ontology that seeks coherence and is averse to paradoxes). As an illustration, I drew

1 → Editor’s note: “Primeiro encontro internacional das juventudes” translates roughly to “First international meeting of the youth”.

2 → Editor’s note: An “assentamento” is a settlement. The “Assentamento Maceió” is an MST settlement in the city of Maceió, Brazil.

attention to a picture of a bedroom in the *assentamento* Maceió of the Brazilian landless movement where, on one wall, there was a large graffiti of Che Guevara's face, the opposite wall featured a large graffiti of the face of Jesus and the back wall had the logo of Botafogo football club, with Jesus and Che linked together by the hammock where I slept. I also showed the picture of a bedroom where I slept while visiting a project at the Pincheq community in Peru where the walls displayed similar ideological complexities, with a picture of Jesus placed alongside the yin and yang symbol and a puma pelt representing 'Kay Pacha', the Quechua representation of the living world (both pictures were taken and are shown with permission). [IMAGES 1 AND 2]

I used the images as starting points to talk about the enduring challenges of being present to the pluri-verses that exist within complex communities of struggle and the heterogeneities, contradictions, and social tensions that operate within these communities and also within ourselves.³

HOW CAN WE ENGAGE AND BE TAUGHT BY
DIFFERENT SYSTEMS OF KNOWLEDGE AND BEING,
AND BY DIFFERENT STRUGGLES AND ATTEMPTS
TO CREATE ALTERNATIVES?
HOW CAN WE DO THIS WHILE REMAINING ACUTELY
AWARE OF THEIR GIFTS, LIMITATIONS, COMPLEXITIES,
AND CONTRADICTIONS, AS WELL AS OUR OWN
(MIS)INTERPRETATIONS, PROJECTIONS, AND APPROPRIATIONS?

Our socialization into a modern-colonial way of knowing and being through modern institutions does not prepare us for this task. Through a modern/colonial grammar, we are socialized to invest (both intellectually and affectively) in the coherence of a single story of progress, development and human evolution. When we realize this story is flawed

3 → Vanessa Andreotti, Cash Ahenakew, and Garrick Cooper, "Equivocal Knowing and Elusive Realities: Imagining Global Citizenship Otherwise," In V. de Oliveira Andreotti, L. de Souza (Eds.), *Postcolonial Perspectives on Global Citizenship Education* (New York: Routledge, 2011): 221-238.



IMAGE 11 A bedroom in Assentamento Maceió in Brazil



IMAGE 21 A bedroom in Comunidad Pincheq in Peru

and violent, we tend to resist it from within the same grammar and want to change the content of the single story: to replace it with another story that provides us with a familiar sense of *ontological* security, hope, purpose, authority and legitimacy. We tend to look for a theory, a theorist, a leader, a movement or a specific community who can offer a promise and a package of codes, morals, labels, values and virtues that will appease our fears, restore our hope, and make things feel right again. In my presentation at the conference I used the images of the “house modernity built”⁴, “boxhead”⁵, and a set of three images evoking different layers of reality to illustrate the (epistemological) grammar and its grip on our sense of (ontological) security.

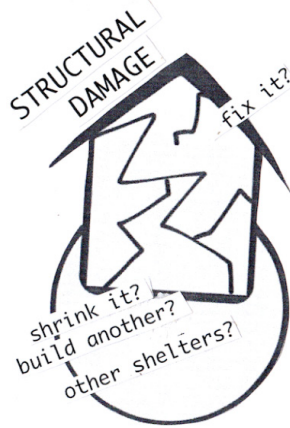
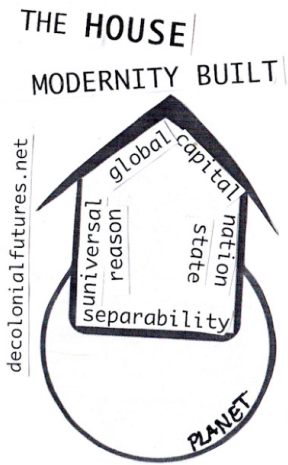
HOW HAS MODERNITY/COLONIALITY TRAPPED US
IN EXPERIENCES OF LANGUAGE, KNOWLEDGE, AGENCY,
AUTONOMY, IDENTITY, CRITICALITY, ART,
SEXUALITY, EARTH, TIME, SPACE, AND SELF...
THAT RESTRICT OUR HORIZONS AND WHAT
WE CONSIDER TO BE POSSIBLE / DESIRABLE/ INTELLIGIBLE?

“The house modernity built” [IMAGE 3] has its foundations laid on an ontic concrete that separates humans from the land/earth and the rest of nature, constructing land as resource/property and creating hierarchies of value that rank entities of nature against each other according to their perceived utility. The carrying walls of this house are represented, on one side, by bricks of utility-maximizing individual rationalism cemented onto the pillars of Western humanism. On the other side, there is the wet wall of nation states offering (false) securities through

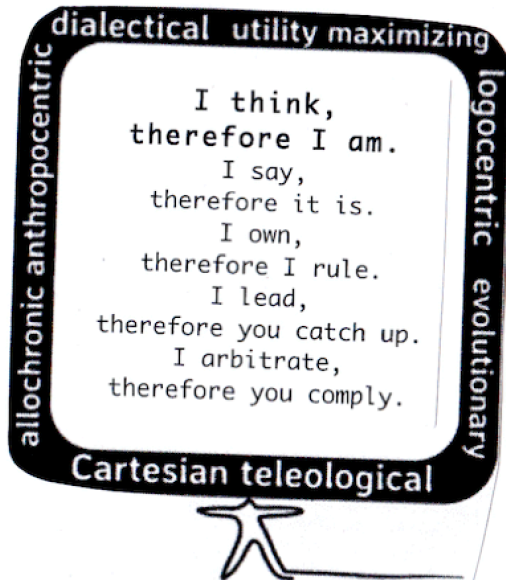
- 4 → Sharon Stein, Dallas Hunt, Rene Suša, and Vanessa Andreotti, “The educational challenge of unraveling the fantasies of ontological security,” *Diaspora, Indigenous, and Minority Education* 11, no. 2 (2017): 69-79.
- 5 → Vanessa Andreotti, “Engaging the (geo)political economy of knowledge construction: Towards decoloniality and diversity in global citizenship education,” *Globalization, Society and Education Journal*, 9, nos. 3-4 (2011): 381-397; Vanessa Andreotti, “Education, knowledge, and the righting of wrongs,” *Other Education: The Journal of Educational Alternatives*, 1, no. 1 (2012): 19-31; Vanessa Andreotti, “Re-imagining education as an un-coercive re-arrangement of desires,” *Other Education: The Journal of Educational Alternatives*, 5, no. 1 (2016): 79-88; Vanessa Andreotti, “Educação para a expansão de horizontes, saberes, vivências, afetos, sensibilidades e possibilidades de (co)existência,” *Sinergias: Diálogos educativos para a transformação social*, 6 (2018): 61-72.

borders, rights, illusions of sovereignty, (national) homogeneity and promises of social mobility, cohesion and inclusion. The roof of this house is currently made of roof tiles of investment markets that make up the volatile context of financialized global capitalism (focused on shareholders' return of investment), layered over the beams of continuous growth and consumption as a measure of progress and civilization. The image on the side presents the house mouldy and cracking as it has already exceeded the carrying limits of the planet that it stands on. Through the image we readers are invited to imagine people inside the house discussing what to do, as they watch a crowd form at the door. Outside, many of those who have provided the materials, the labour and bore the costs of construction, maintenance and sewage management of the house, knock on the door expecting to be allowed in.

For the people within the house who are noticing the cracks, the first moment of realization of brokenness is one where distractions and denials kick in: people try to fix what is beyond repair by reinforcing the house's structure, specially its roof. The second moment is one where alternatives with guarantees are sought: people try to look for the same securities of the house in another (idealized and romanticized) architectural plan that can replace the one that is collapsing. Discussions in the broader field of education have established a circularity between these two moments (i.e. seeking hope in fixing the house of looking for already articulated alternatives). However, a possibility exists for a third moment of becoming disillusioned with this circularity and re-orienting our desires towards possibilities of existence outside the promises and parameters of intelligibility that the house has created. This is the moment when we may start to disinvest in the structures of being (not just of 'knowing') that are sustained by the promises and economies of the house. This disinvestment is not about a search for articulated solutions for the crises we face, or an exit from the house fuelled by aversion, but rather about the insight that for us to exist otherwise, we have to pay attention to the lessons being taught by the limits, failures and eventual collapse of the house itself (i.e. what I call "hospicing"). This we can only do through facing its death both



[[IMAGE 3] The house modernity built



[[IMAGE 4] Boxhead

internal and external to ourselves and opening up the possibility that the identification or dis-identification with the economies of the house will no longer define our existence or allocate our desires and affective and intellectual investments.

WHAT HAVE BEEN THE COSTS OF
(MODERN/COLONIAL)
SEPARABILITY, DESACRALIZATION,
AND UNIVERSALIZATION?
HOW CAN DISILLUSIONMENT BE PRODUCTIVE?

The next image (IMAGE 4), “boxhead”, illustrates how difficult it is to engage in the intellectual and affective process described above, in the discussion of “The House that Modernity Built”. The image of a large square-headed being with a tiny (unfinished) outlined body represents the modern grammar of intelligibility imprinted on its frame through different and enduring referents that circumscribe his relationship with reality. Although not all referents may surface at the same time, they ascribe coherence to the project of modernity as we know it and create subjects who are versed in a modern-colonial habitus and amenable to the modern dream of seamless progress, development and evolution carried out by human agency through the use of objective knowledge to control the environment and engineer a perfect society. Boxhead ‘thinks, therefore he is’: his relationship with the world is mediated by his cognitive repertoire of meanings, rather than by his senses.

Each referent brackets a way of creating meaning that buffers his sense of reality. Logocentrism compels him to believe that reality can be described in language in its totality. Universalism leads him to understand his interpretation of reality as objective and to project it as the only legitimate and valuable world view. Anthropocentric reasoning makes him see himself as separate from nature and having a mandate to manage, exploit and control it. Teleological thinking makes him want to plan for the engineering of a future that he can already imagine. Dialectical thinking makes him fall in love with a linear logic that is obsessed with consensus, coherence, solutions (guided by desires for

order and control through the over-coding of the world) and averse to paradoxes, complexities and contradictions (that are inherent in a plural, living and un-definable world). Allochronic and evolutionary thinking make him judge others according to criteria where he is represented as being in the present of (linear) time while others are in the past, and where he leads humanity in a single path of evolution.

However, the first reading of this picture is deceiving because it gives us a false idea that there is an outside and an inside of the box. But if we look at the image differently, seeing ourselves not as the box, but as the line that draws the picture, we may have two important insights. First, that the very desire for an outside of the box comes from within the box (dialectical aversion to Boxhead generally comes from and reinforces its traits). Second, that we are already free to draw different things, but perhaps not without learning the lessons that being locked in these choices for 500 years has made us repeat (or we will end up making the same mistakes thinking and declaring that we are doing something new). In this sense, we need to hold the Cartesian possibility and modernity itself not as pathologies to be demonized, but as interesting and extremely important experiments whose lessons will teach us to make different mistakes in the future. This shift of perception can calibrate our search for what will create the possibility of onto-genesis, understanding that the ways of knowing and being that have created the problems we face are unlikely to provide the solutions.

WHO ARE WE BEYOND OUR PERCEIVED IDENTITIES,
SELF-IMAGES AND EGO-LOGICAL DESIRES?
WE TEND TO LOOK FOR A POLITICS THAT
CAN ENGENDER A DIFFERENT KIND OF EXISTENCE,
BUT WHAT IF IT IS THE OTHER WAY AROUND?

Jacqui Alexander gestures in this direction in her analysis of a yearning for wholeness that gets codified within modernity/coloniality as a yearning for belonging through categories of representation.⁶ She states that the material and psychic dismemberment and fragmentation created

6 → Jacqui Alexander, *Pedagogies of crossing: Meditations on feminism, sexual politics, memory, and the sacred* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005).

by modernity/coloniality produce “a yearning for wholeness, often expressed as a yearning to belong, a yearning that is both material and existential, both psychic and physical, and which, when satisfied, can subvert, and ultimately displace the pain of dismemberment.”⁷ She suggests that strategies of membership in coalitions, like those of citizenship, community, family, political movement, nationalism and solidarity in identity or ideology, although important, have not addressed the source of this yearning. For Alexander, these coalitions have reproduced the very fragmentation and separation that she identifies as the root of the problem. She states that the source of this yearning is a “deep knowing that we are in fact interdependent – neither separate, nor autonomous.”⁸ She explains:

As human beings we have a sacred connection to each other, and this is why enforced separations wreak havoc in our Souls. There is a great danger then, in living lives of segregation. Racial segregation. Segregation in politics. Segregated frameworks. Segregated and compartmentalised selves. What we have devised as an oppositional politics has been necessary, but it will never sustain us, for a while it may give us some temporary gains (which become more ephemeral the greater the threat, which is not a reason not to fight), it can never ultimately feed that deep place within us: that space of the erotic, that space of the Soul, that space of the Divine.⁹

However, practices that are grounded on forces of interruption (i.e. the erotic, the aesthetic, the divine, the hilarious and the more than human) are essential, but insufficient to the task of honouring the lessons of Boxhead and the House. Without a (self)ethnography of (egological) boxheads within us these forces are usually instrumentalized and allocated towards the same problematic and often harmful compensatory desires (based on insecurities designed for the maintenance of modernity-coloniality).

7 → Alexander, *Pedagogies of Crossing*, 281.

8 → Alexander, *Pedagogies of Crossing*, 282.

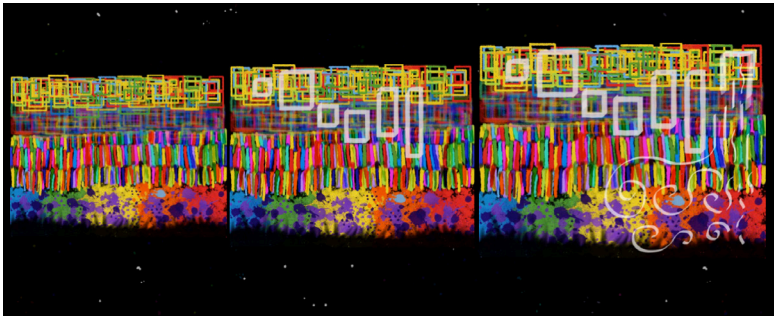
9 → *Ibid.*

WHAT IF MODERNITY/COLONIALITY HAS HELD US
EXISTENTIALLY HOSTAGE BY CREATING
AND HARNESSING OUR FEARS,
AND CONDITIONING OUR DESIRES?

Boxhead experiences time as (only) linear and the self as uni-dimensional. His life purpose is indexing and codifying reality into units of meaning with a view to engineering something that will control reality itself (and protect us from its inherent plurality and indeterminacy, and, ultimately, from pain and from death). In order to illustrate how this relationship with time, reality, and meaning is problematic, I used renditions of an image representing different layers of existence (see Image 5). At the bottom of the image, a dark layer evoked existence beyond space and time. This was followed by a layer where time and space weave and fold to create the possibility of form and of life. The third layer showed different temporalities of bio-physical existence, including human existence. The fourth layer showed the codifications of this existence in meaning through oral practices (blurred squares), and the last layer showed these codifications in alphabetic writing (clearly defined squares). The top layer of Image 5 thus represents different academic attempts to codify experience and existence in (often reductionist and totalizing) boxes, with each different box claiming (implicitly or explicitly) to capture the whole picture in a squared universalizing and totalizing whole. We can contrast this with the lessons of Image 3 (The House), which illustrated the need for a different kind of language and sensorial experience that, instead of indexing reality into meaning, had the potential to play, flow, and move (with/in) reality itself. ||IMAGE 5|

This modern-colonial obsession with the indexing or codification of reality in boxed categories of representation/meaning works like a spell¹⁰ where making sense codifies all other senses until we can only sense what “makes sense”, and we numb to sensorial experiences that cannot be codified. In this context, it is not surprising that the search for meaning (codifying experience) becomes the purpose of existence.

10 → See David Abram, *The Spell of the Sensuous: Perception and Language in a More-Than-Human World* (New York: Vintage Books, 1997).



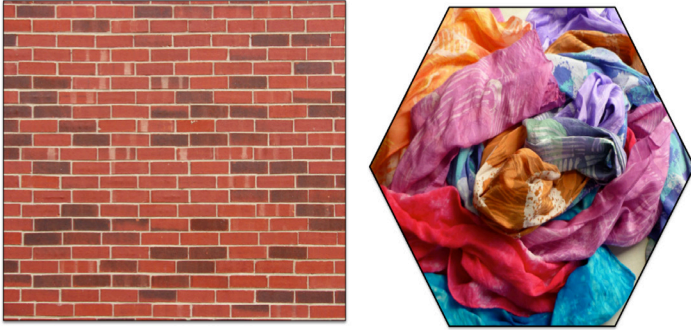
[IMAGE 5] *Layered reality*

In an economy of codifications, meaning is a currency that equates with “value”: producing meaning in ways that “stick” confers people authority, credibility, status and legitimacy. When this happens, epistemic certainty becomes the ground for ontological security and being is easily reduced to knowing.¹¹ Within this neuro-biological configuration, fears of worthlessness, indeterminacy, rejection, pointlessness and scarcity generate desires for mastery, coherence, consensus, superiority, accumulation and control. These desires are translated into perceived entitlements of representation (identity), universality, and stability. These perceived entitlements are embodied as cumulative “property” in intellectual, affective, relational and material economies, particularly (but not exclusively) within modernity/coloniality (and dialectical attempts to overcome it).

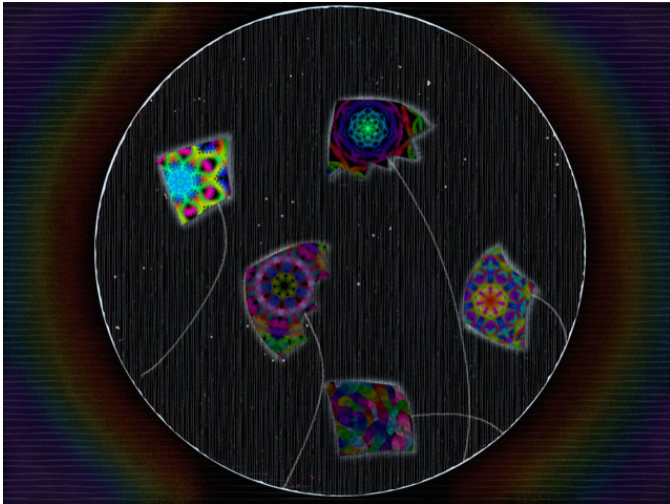
WHAT EDUCATIONAL PROCESSES CAN
OPEN UP POSSIBILITIES/WORLDS THAT ARE VIABLE,
BUT UNIMAGINABLE OR INARTICULABLE WITHIN
OUR CURRENT FRAMES OF REFERENCE?

The onto-metaphysics that may ground this search for meaning as a basis for (or purpose of) being sees/senses reality as mostly knowable and language as something that can index reality into meaning-full knowledge. The images below [IMAGE 6] of a square (reality), bricks (meaning) and the motion of brick-layering (knowing) can be useful for visualizing this social-existential imaginary and the desire to get the square fully covered (e.g. knowing reality and/or ourselves fully). In contrast, the image of a hexagon (reality), covered in threads and textiles (meaning) and the motion of weaving (knowing) could be used to show different relationships between language and reality in a distinct onto-metaphysics (where language acquires a different texture and purpose). Many attempts to integrate Southern and Indigenous ways of knowing into modern/colonial institutions could be seen as

11 → Vanessa Andreotti, Renato Pereira, and Eliana Edmundo, “O imaginário global dominante e algumas reflexões sobre os pré-requisitos para uma educação pós-abissal,” *Sinergias: Diálogos educativos para a transformação social*, 5 (2017): 41-54.



[IMAGE 6] *Brick layering and textile weaving*



[IMAGE 7] *Kite flying*

attempts to turn textiles into bricks.¹²

The next image IMAGE 71, of a circle (reality), kites (meaning), different measures of kite threads (different modes of temporality) and the motion of kite flying (knowing) takes us to yet a different possibility. In the kite-flying image, reality is unknowable in its absolute sense and experience is communicated through provisional stories that access different layers of being, in/through different temporalities.¹³ In this image, attunement (to the wind) is essential: we need to calibrate the pull of the thread against the direction and force of the wind and let the wind take the kite while keeping the tension and groundedness of the thread.

My invitation to observe, make, and fly kites with this text has two dimensions: (1) taking a step back to examine the discursive and affective regimes of visibility, intelligibility, and affectability that police the boundaries of (our) imagination (the 'analectic' dimension), and (2) exploring the terms that enable/disable the folding/unfolding of existing and new possibilities (the dimension of onto-genesis). In this sense, practicing attunement with the wind is about activating our capacity to experience that which exceeds what is intelligible, to imagine beyond categories of thought and affective entrapments, to acknowledge the inevitability of pain, death and (re)birth, and to "sit with" the indeterminacy and plurality of the world without the need for identification and/or dis-identification. This involves looking in the mirror and not turning away when facing both the beauty and ugliness of humanity in each of us, through a deep recognition of our entangled vulnerabilities: our strengths and precariousness, medicines and poisons, light and shadow, capacity for love and violence, and, crucially, our own arrogance, unspoken sense of superiority, insecurities, traumas and contradictions.¹⁴ This moves the questions we ask from a focus on representation, canonical

12 → Cash Ahenakew, "Grafting Indigenous Ways of Knowing Onto Non-Indigenous Ways of Being," *International Review of Qualitative Research*, 9, no. 3 (2016): 323-340; Riyad Shahjahan, Gerardo Ramirez, and Vanessa Andreotti, "Attempting to Imagine the Unimaginable: A Decolonial Reading of Global University Rankings," *Comparative Education Review*, 61, no. 1 (2017): 51-73.

13 → Carl Mika, *Indigenous Education and the Metaphysics of Presence: A Worlded Philosophy* (New York: Routledge, 2017).

14 → See Andreotti, Pereira & Edmundo, "O imaginário global dominante"; Vanessa Andreotti, et al., "Mobilising Different Conversations About Global Justice in Education: Toward Alternative Futures in Uncertain Times," *Policy & Practice*, 26 (2018): 9-41.

narratives and normativity, towards questions about what capacities have been exiled by the house of modernity.

HOW HAVE OUR DREAMS BEEN TAMED?
HOW CAN THEY BE DECOLONIZED?
HOW DO WE KNOW WHEN THEY HAVE BEEN?

I will conclude this article with a reflection based on what a small community has taught me over the past 20 years. This small Quechua community in Peru has ancestral practices that involve the intake of a powerful self-dissociative plant-based brew in their processes of knowledge production. This entheogenic practice (of re-mem-bering the sacred) could be framed as both educational and philosophical in that context. The practice offers an opportunity for people to exper-ience their location within a wider metabolism with a much longer tem-porality than humanity, and to encounter a nonhuman intelligence that, among other things, enables ancestors, animals, plants and the land itself to communicate, heal and dream through human embodiments. This practice is what sustains the possibility of a different onto-meta-physics that grounds their philosophy of *buen vivir* and *buen morir* in ways that are not intelligible to our modern political and existential grammar.

From this community's perspective, the modern-colonial delusions of separation and species-supremacy are equated with a metabolic sickness that effectively creates a neuro-biological problem for the wider social-ecological body. In our conversations about this dis-ease, neuroscientific language has been used metaphorically to speculate on what could be the cause, the symptoms and the cure for this sick-ness. We have talked about the possibility that our attachments to mo-dernity-coloniality are neuro-chemical. In this sense, one theory we have discussed is that modernity's insistence on separability creates a deficiency in our production of serotonin (which is the neurotransmitter associated with the visceral sensation of "nature relatedness"). This deficiency is then exploited by modernity, which offers us a substitute package of chemical sensations that can make us 'feel good' while and

as long as we participate in its economies (e.g. likes on Facebook giving us dopamine fixes).

Spivak talks about an education-to-come as an “uncoercive re-arrangement of desires”¹⁵ for an “ethical imperative towards the Other, before will”¹⁶. Seeing modernity as a neurochemical designer has given a different connotation to Spivak’s words. It fundamentally changed the way I thought about education. This was the point where, in my own practice, I started to notice that our problem is less related to knowledge and has more to do with an addictive habit of being that limits our capacity to feel and want otherwise. On the one hand, I do not think that my Quechua teachers can offer conceptual answers to the philosophical questions that emerge in my socialization within modernity-coloniality. Providing normative or categorical answers is not their primary concern since they are not trying to dialectically negate modernity by offering a teleological pathway “forward”, but to draw attention to the teachings of modernity’s ontological limits and violences. On the hand, I wonder if their ancestral practices, kept against the odds of colonialism, may one day offer us the compass for accessing the capacities exiled by modernity, which could in turn open possibilities for neuro- and onto-genesis.

WHAT EDUCATIONAL PRACTICES CAN
OVERRIDE OUR NEURO-BIOLOGICAL WIRINGS
AND ENGENDER A SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY
FOR EVERYTHING, ALL THE TIME,
THAT IS NOT DEPENDENT ON CONVICTIONS
OR ALLOCATIONS OF WILL? ■

15 → Gayatri Spivak, “Righting wrongs,” *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, 103, nos. 2-3 (2004): 526.

16 → Spivak, “Righting wrongs,” 528.

EPILOGUE

SCHOOLING IN TIMES OF WAR

Targol Mesbah

California Institute of Integral Studies

Take care of that little light that we gave you.

*Don't let it go out. Even if our light here is extinguished
by our blood, even if other lights go out in other places,
take care of yours because even when times are
difficult, we have to keep being what we are, and what
we are is women who struggle.*

– Letter from the Zapatista Women to
the Women in Struggle Around the World¹

In the intervening months between the LAPES symposium on The Pedagogies of Social Justice Movements in the Americas and the writing of this epilogue, the Zapatista movement and its autonomous territories have come under increasing existential and material threat. While the Zapatista rebellion has been “a war against oblivion” from its inception, there is a palpably heightened urgency in the current moment, an urgency that is building. In February 2019, days before the anticipated Second International Encounter of Women in Struggle in Zapatista territory, a poignant communiqué from Zapatista women announced the *encuentro* would not be taking place given increased militarization and paramilitary attacks in the region. With a renewed call for the defense of land, territory, life, and dignity addressed to all women in struggle, each in our own corner of the world, the letter signals both the possibility of local defeat and the necessity of continued struggle, everywhere.

In this epilogue, I highlight how indigenous worldviews are central to Latin American autonomous social movements’ pedagogies and their interdependence with attendant forms of governance, asking what lessons they teach to those in “other places” about surviving under globalized conditions of ever-intensifying environmental destruction, political violence, and displacement of human and nonhuman populations. To suggest that indigenous worldviews can be indispensable for

1→ The Zapatista Women, “Letter from the Zapatista Women to the Women in Struggle Around the World,” *Enlace Zapatista* (February 13, 2019), <https://enlacezapatista.ezln.org.mx/2019/02/13/letter-from-the-zapatista-women-to-women-in-struggle-around-the-world/>

fighting against the destructions of capitalism and for saving the planet recognizes shared challenges of living in times of war. To translate these worldviews beyond their context of Latin American autonomous movements poses challenges, for sure. Their lessons are not easily translatable to western modes of knowledge production or state structures of governance. That it is necessary to separate knowledge and governance itself instantiates the problem: the seventeenth-century western separation of nature and culture has become decisive in the contemporary threat to the Earth's survival.² Science will take nature as its object of study. Politics will enact the hierarchical orderings that position nonhuman natures as subject to human desires, no matter how destructive, and indeed *self*-destructive they may turn out to be. To risk translation, then, offers the possibility of reinventing collective human and nonhuman relations that resist the very terms of our compromised belonging. I hope to show in the following pages that the problem of translation is ultimately more a question of how Latin American social movements take shape as pedagogical practices of worlding that are incommensurable with capitalist relations and state-based forms of governance.

Different geopolitical locations shape our varied relationships to shared conditions of injustice. The Zapatista women's letter discloses a very real sense of uncertainty about survival in the face of escalating violence from the Mexican State. It also recognizes the precariousness of life resulting from the State's new political program. Naming it the Fourth Transformation, the newly elected president Andrés Manuel López Obrador explicitly situates this program as the latest in a succession of revolutionary historical transformations: Independence from Spain (1810-1821), Reformation (1857-1872), and the Mexican Revolution (1910-1917). While the Fourth Transformation's full scope and specific policies are still in the making, multiple large-scale development projects have already been announced, including Special Economic Zones, the Trans-Isthmus Corridor, the Morelos Integral Plan with its thermoelectric plant, the construction of hundreds of roads in rural areas, and new mining projects. The Maya Train initiative

2→ For the history of the break between science and culture see, Bruno Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern*, trans. Catherine Porter (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993).

is slated to stretch through the five southern states, cutting through Zapatista and other indigenous territories with the promise of economic opportunities primarily linked to tourism. Land dispossession, deforestation, contamination of soil and water, and the breach of regional ecosystems are some of its likely consequences.³ Faced with these possibilities, the Zapatista women refuse state-sponsored capitalism and claim their own terms of existence. “We will not stop training ourselves to work in the fields of education, health, culture, and media; we will not stop being autonomous authorities in order to become hotel and restaurant employees, serving strangers for a few pesos. It doesn’t even matter if it’s a few pesos or a lot of pesos, what matters is that our dignity has no price.”⁴ They are clear. They are fighting a war through pedagogies—ways of learning and doing—that build another world of life-sustaining practices.

John Law’s concept of the “One-World-World” (OWW) is a fitting term for the most uncurious way of knowing the world that these Zapatista women and other Latin American movements confront, one “that wishes to organize everything in terms of individuals, private property, markets, profits, and a single notion of the Real. OWW seeks to banish nature and the sacred from the domain of an exclusively human-driven life.”⁵ This worldview enacts hierarchies of nature and culture, life and populations that slide across the lines of the desirable or the dispensable, a source of profit or a cause for disposal. Or perhaps as Isabelle Stengers has recently written, “The global West is not a ‘world’ and recognizes no world.”⁶ Stengers’ work to emancipate “modern sciences” from a particular manifestation of the “modern” and its “Science” as a world-destroying machine suggests a worldview comparable to the OWW at the heart of imperialist and colonialist knowledges. “The hegemonic conquest machine Science”

3 → Gilberto López y Rivas, “¿Cuarta Transformación?” *La Jornada* (December 28, 2018), www.jornada.com.mx/2018/12/28/opinion/014a1pol.

4 → The Zapatista Women, “Letter.”

5 → John Law, “What’s Wrong with a One-World World?,” *Distinktion: Scandinavian Journal of Social Theory* 16, no. 1 (2015): 126–39.

6 → Isabelle Stengers, “The Challenge of Ontological Politics,” in *A World of Many Worlds*, Marisol de La Cadena and Mario Blaser eds. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2018), 83–111.

is consecrated by the trinity of rationality, objectivity, and universality to advance imperialist and capitalist interests, Stengers reminds us.⁷ It establishes the warring order of things as the very nature of the world, such that destruction becomes not only possible but even necessary in the name of progress and development.

The three essays in this volume, by Bruno Baronnet, Lia Pinheiro Barbosa, and Vanessa de Oliveira Andreotti, describe in different ways how Latin American social movements ground their struggles in pedagogies that generate ways of living their own conditions of being and becoming against the One-World-World. We discover across Barbosa's and Baronnet's contributions that indigenous movements' pedagogies emerge from everyday challenges to sustaining life in the face of state-sponsored scarcity and more direct offensives. Pedagogies emerge from and contribute to the struggle to sustain life. Again and again, grassroots activist Peter Brown from the organization Schools for Chiapas, who also presented at the 2017 LAPES symposium, reminded us that the traditional Mayan farming practice of the *milpa* is a site of learning, questioning, and rediscovering ancestral traditions as well as a site of designing new strategies. The Zapatista motto *preguntando caminamos*, "walking we ask questions" is lived as a pedagogical methodology in the classroom, discussions under a tree, or walking to the *milpa*. The pedagogy of "questioning, and then questioning the questioner" described by Brown moves with exigencies of changing conditions to generate resistant worldings.⁸

Barbosa's capacious analysis of indigenous, afrolatino, and peasant movements centers the revolutionary pedagogies held in common by the Zapatistas, Landless Workers' Movement (MST) in Brazil, and *Vía Campesina*, as well as popular feminisms. As she carefully traces the history of resistance to the theft of land and liberty that gave rise to Latin American indigenous, afrolatino and peasant revolutionary subjectivities, she formulates their pedagogies as *senti-pensante* (feeling-thinking, sensing-thinking). Rooted in indigenous

7 → Stengers, "The Challenge of Ontological Politics," 87.

8 → My references to Peter Brown are from his LAPES presentation which is not reproduced in this volume. Some of the ideas he shared with us are reflected on the Schools for Chiapas website: <https://schoolsforchiapas.org/>

cosmovisions—the Mayan *Lekil Kuxlejal*, *Sumak Kawsai* in Quechua, and *Sumak Qamaña* in Aymara—these pedagogies share the general principle of *el buen vivir*, or good living. Each is interwoven with its own specific linguistic sensibilities while sharing a non-dualistic and relational worldview in which nature and culture are not separate and life-relations are forms of interconnection rather than economic exchange. *Sentipensante* pedagogies attune anew to their centuries-old ancestral knowledges, which survive through oral traditions and communal practices in the face of formal colonial education’s disavowal and prohibition. These pedagogies provide a *sentipensante* modality for practicing *el buen vivir* that is foundational for survival in ongoing times of war.

Translation is not only a linguistic affair. Language creates entire worlds and worldviews—our relation to other beings, our conceptions of time, space, history and memory. The lessons of *sentipensante* pedagogies can offer new approaches for those of us who are interested in practices and pedagogies of liberation within and without academic institutions, so long as we remain mindful that there is already evidence of their subjection to colonial and capitalist terms. As Catherine Walsh has pointed out, the conception of *el buen vivir* as “good living” can also mean “living well” in the capitalist sense of economic prosperity in national and international development discourses.⁹ Another interpretation of *el buen vivir* has been the “Rights of Nature.” The very invocation of “nature” as the subject of “rights” installs a dualistic relation between nature and culture alongside the juridical assumptions of rights-based governance. These interpretations violate *el buen vivir* through a constellation of modern colonial ideologies including individualism, competition, the abstraction of land and territories as natural resources available for extraction, and a linear concept of time and progress.

One way we can think about the dissonance between state practices and *el buen vivir* is through performative appropriations of indigenous identity within national development projects that override indigenous resistance movements. Photographs of Mexican president

9 → Catherine Walsh, “Development as Buen Vivir: Institutional arrangements of (de)colonial entanglements,” *Development* 50, no. 1 (2010):15-21.

López Obrador from December 2018, in which he gazes intently at a cloud of ceremonial smoke in Palenque, depict his participation in a Mayan ritual seeking permission from “Mother Earth” for the Maya Train project.¹⁰ Yet as government officials participate in indigenous ceremonies as a merely cultural gesture, calamities continue to befall subjugated communities who are organizing against mega-development projects that advance ecological destruction and their communities’ dispossession. Disappearances and assassinations are too numerous to grasp. They include the murder of Samir Flores, an opponent of the gas pipeline and thermoelectric plant in Morelos; assassinations of members of the Indigenous and Popular Council of Guerrero, Emiliano Zapata (CIPOG-EZ), who planned to receive the Caravan for Life, Peace and Justice in the Mountains of Guerrero organized by the National Indigenous Congress; paramilitary attacks, intensified militarization, and the deployment of the new National Guard to strategically anticipate the Mexican government’s Maya Train project, and countless others.

These atrocities make of the president’s ritual invocations an empty appropriation at best. We are familiar with this ploy. Government officials participating in the *Ritual de los Pueblos Originarios a la Madre Tierra* disavow indigenous resistance to the displacement of peoples, environmental destruction, and elimination of existing life relations. The State claims one thing and does another. It shows one thing and hides many others. Yet we can see that the policies and actions driving the Fourth Transformation are discontinuous with indigenous worldviews that refuse the culture/nature binary driving the modern capitalist state. The Fourth Transformation’s liturgical celebrations ultimately renew the state’s devotion to neoliberalism and advance the strategies of the Fourth World War.¹¹ While claiming a legacy of national liberation reforms, new constitutional reforms legalize the military’s presence and incursions throughout the country, including the deployment of

10 → For coverage of the Maya Train controversy and the government’s lack of consultation with indigenous groups see, Karen Castillo, “Consultas para megaproyectos siguen en 100 días de AMLO: Tren Maya, Huexca, corredor del Istmo” *SinEmbargo* (March 10, 2019), www.sinembargo.mx/10-03-2019/3542816.

11 → Subcomandante Marcos and Nathalie de Broglio, “The Fourth World War Has Begun,” *Nepantla: Views from South* 2, no. 3 (2001): 559–572.

the newly created National Guard in Zapatista and other indigenous territories. Low-intensity warfare has been an enduring reality throughout the region for at least four decades. And still, this moment of its intensification whilst government officials claim to honor indigeneity.

The unprecedented case of Ecuador's and Bolivia's adoption of *el buen vivir* in their constitutions tells us something different about how the State engages in translation. The 2009 Ecuadorian Constitution and the "Plan Nacional para El Buen Vivir 2009-2013" (National Plan for Buen Vivir 2009-2013) center a plurinational state for the recognition of different indigenous groups, their cosmologies and knowledges. Yet here too there are stories of ongoing struggle and rebellion against State actions that are discontinuous with the promising visions of the new Constitution. One unfolding conflict concerns the extraordinarily rich complex of life in the Yasuní region, an area of rainforest in eastern Ecuador where the Amazon, the Andes, and the equator come together with the largest variety of tree species on earth and the richest diversity of all other life forms. It is also land rich in oil, the country's main export, also known by the Uw'a of Colombia as the "Earth's blood." The region's history is a battleground where, first, missionaries and, then, illegal loggers and oil companies war with the Waorani (also rendered as Huaronani) and their relatives, the Tagaeri and Taromenane.

Decree 552. In 1999, president of Ecuador Jamil Mahuad Witt decreed the *Zona Intangible Tagaeri Taromenane* (ZITT) or the Intangible Zone, in the southern Yasuní region to protect the Tagaeri- and Taromenane-inhabited area from oil extraction and illegal logging.¹² At least two contradictions emerged. Illegal logging actually increased substantially. The boundaries of the Intangible Zone remained undefined, making it less clear where new road projects could create new inroads for oil concessions to come. Ecuador famously initiated the Yasuní-ITT Treaty, an international campaign to protect the region from oil extraction by raising funds to offset the loss of revenue. Launched in 2008, the Yasuní-ITT Initiative held much promise. By 2013, however, it was declared unsuccessful due to the state's inability to raise the

12 → Salvatore Eugenio Pappalardo et al., "Uncontacted Waorani in the Yasuní Biosphere Reserve: Geographical Validation of the Zona Intangible Tagaeri Taromenane (ZITT)," *PLoS one* 8 (June 2013), doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0066293.

necessary funds from abroad. In the interim, Ecuador has borrowed billions from China and contracted Petroecuador to sell crude oil to Petrochina. In February of 2019, the Waorani brought a lawsuit in the Pastaza Provincial Court against the government for auctioning off blocks of their land for lease to oil prospectors without adequate consultation of the inhabitants. In April of the same year, the court ruled to suspend auctioning, but the government appealed the ruling.

Another decree. More concessions. In May of 2019, a month after the court's suspension of land auctioning, the president of Ecuador signed Decree 751 which expands the Intangible Zone by 59,000 hectares. But it also includes a clause permitting oil platforms in the Intangible Zone's buffer zones. Ecuador's limited efforts to protect the Intangible Zone demonstrate how capitalist relations are not bound by the nation-state alone but are rather part of a capitalist world-system. Yet the nation state persists as a site of resistance for struggles organizing from below. Legal contestations and other forms of organizing will no doubt continue, but these enduring struggles over territory and the extractive advance of capital—in Ecuador as well as Mexico—need not suggest that colonial capitalist appropriations are absolute. That resistances continue points to the non-totalizing movement of capitalist expansion. In a chapter of *The Extractive Zone* dedicated to “The Intangibility of the Yasuní,” Macarena Gómez-Barris lingers on the term “intangible” to point to ecological agency and the resistance of living systems to scientific and capitalist classification and ordering of the world.¹³ Seen in terms of indigenous conceptions of history, we might conceive of resistance itself as outside the linear time of development. In this volume, Barbosa writes about the indigenous relation to time and history conveyed by the Aymara expression ñawpaj *manpuni*, a “looking backward that is also a moving forward.”¹⁴ Along with Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui, she describes an indigenous conception of history that, moving in cycles, continuously reprises the past to anticipate the future. This past is not a static sequence of events but an unsettled

13 → Macarena Gómez-Barris, “The Intangibility of the Yasuní,” in *The Extractive Zone: Social Ecologies and Decolonial Perspectives*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2017), 17-38.

14 → Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui as quoted by Lia Pinheiro Barbosa in “The *Sentipensante* and Revolutionary Pedagogies of Latin American Social Movements,” 30.

battleground whose wreckage collective energies can reanimate.

Bret Leraul's introduction to this volume reminds us of Cusicanqui's critical warning: the anticolonial re-articulation of the past as "principle of hope" or "anticipatory consciousness" is not a labor of words alone but requires acts of rebellion. *Sentipensante* pedagogies do not simply refuse the dualism of thinking and feeling: resistance to formations of colonial capitalist consciousness entails the pedagogical practice of living relational and non-dualist knowledges in non-separate relations of schooling and governance. In contrast to the current leftist Mexican government and Ecuador's Buen Vivir by State Decree, revolutionary pedagogies cultivate horizontal communal relations of governance. Zapatista historiography and political theory narrate multiple origin stories of rebellion over a 500-year anti-colonial struggle, in which structures such as the nation-state and its modes of governmentality rearticulate colonial legacies not bounded by a simple past. Its pedagogies connect in a feedback loop to governance, generating new political subjects according to principles of shared, horizontal stewardship that these subjects enact in turn.

This unfolding of *sentipensante's* cosmological and non-dualistic ways of knowing into pedagogies—ways of learning that generate and constitute ways of living in community—can be seen across different Latin American communities. The knowledge practices of the riverine communities of Mompox in Colombia first inspired sociologist Orlando Fals-Borda to propose *sentipensante* not just as a pedagogy, but as *sentipensar*, a distinctly Latin American pedagogical action. Thinking-feeling necessarily moves with the cadence of the elements. Naming *sentipensar* a social science, Fals-Borda lays claim to its domain through its disruption.¹⁵ *Sentipensar* challenge the designation of scientific knowledge as legitimate against all others, constituting otherwise the dualisms of nature/culture and human/nonhuman that underlie the capitalist harms to people and the planet. In another context, anthropologist Carlos Lenkersdorf relates how he learned from the Mayan language community of Tojolabal that "We, the humans, are not the knowing subjects facing the objects to be studied, but whatever

15 → Arturo Escobar, *Sentipensar con la tierra. Nuevas lecturas sobre desarrollo, territorio y diferencia* (Medellín: Ediciones Unala, 2014).

we investigate is a subject we learn to know and which, in turn, is knowing us.”¹⁶ For Lenkersdorf, this Tojolabal pedagogy makes sense of the Tojolabal herbalist who “speaks with the herbs before he cuts them down and prepares the medicine,”¹⁷ one who lives the world’s aliveness.

In this volume, Andreotti finds a similar challenge to the division of knowing human subjects from their objects of knowledge in the Peruvian Quechua practice of ancestral medicinal knowledges, for which plants are active agents. Here, plants nurture *el buen vivir*, Andreotti argues, as their self-dissociative properties enable an experience of interconnectedness that sustains this philosophy. In conversation with the small Quechua community she works with, Andreotti further speculates on the neuro-biological and neuro-chemical consequences that result from the separation of individual humans from other forms of human and nonhuman life and their multiple intelligences. Quechua medicinal practice does not merely challenge western science, Andreotti argues, but has the capacity to heal this dis-ease of colonial modernity, its one-world-worlding.

We see a very different approach to creating *a world in which many worlds fit* in Zapatista communities of resistance. Zapatista autonomous schools, Baronnet tells us, are charged with the creation of *Educación Verdadera*, “Real Education,” that situates the emancipatory practice of teaching and learning within its region’s cultural, linguistic, and territorial specificity. The cultivation of a collective political identity central to autonomous education and the creation of revolutionary subjects necessarily engages different Mayan communities’ specific historical struggles and languages. In practice, family and community members working together with education promoters contribute collectively to a school curriculum, rooting it in the local knowledges that tend to everyday needs as they persist and change. This rooting in the most basic requirements for the sustenance of life defines autonomous education, for which the spaces of learning extend beyond physical schools to support engagement in the Zapatista movement’s participatory practices of democracy. Community-based

16 → Carlos Lenkersdorf, “The Tojolabal Language and Their Social Sciences,” *Journal of Multicultural Discourses* 1, no. 2 (2006): 111, doi.org/10.2167/md015.0.

17 → Lenkersdorf, “Tojolabal Language,” 111.

and rotating autonomous councils both enact and depend on pedagogies of collective autonomy. “Indeed, this participatory model of radical democracy turns the organization of the social movement itself into a kind of school.”¹⁸

At the 2017 LAPES symposium, Peter Brown shared many stories and insights from more than twenty years of accompanying the Zapatista movement. He remarked on how a new generation of Zapatistas who grew up in revolutionary schools now engage in schooling themselves, working as education and health promoters, and running women’s cooperatives and ecological agricultural centers. Zapatista schooling emerges from community needs nested in villages, municipalities, regions, and we might say the Earth itself. What has remained consistent for Brown over the last twenty years is the Zapatista’s understanding that the conditions that have threatened the existence of their communities are endangering the entire planet. According to Brown, a crucial turning point in Zapatista ecological agriculture came with the discovery of transgenic contamination of Mexican corn in Oaxaca from Monsanto seeds. This alerted the Zapatistas to the need to protect their crops by changing their agricultural practice. For fifty years, farmers had been using glyphosate-based herbicides that effectively destroyed all the mushrooms in the area that had been a central part of the traditional diet. It also eradicated all greens and depleted the soil, creating the need for expensive fertilizers. The Zapatistas consulted with scientists, and educated their promoters of health, medicine, and education, who in turn educated their various communities.

Currently the majority of Zapatistas are farming organically, and they have influenced neighboring communities to do the same. They also complement their return to traditional Mayan *milpa* farming with reforestation projects that include medicinal and fruit trees. Training “promoters of agroecology,” researching, and experimenting are part of the agroecology project—efforts which Brown directly supports through Schools for Chiapas. Referring to the construction of the very first secondary school during the early years of the Zapatista uprising, Brown recalled Comandante David’s vision of building an institution

18 → Bruno Baronnet, “Pedagogical Strategies in the Struggle for Indigenous Autonomy in Mexico,” 52

that would address the problems of “having a hole in the ozone layer and a hole in our hearts.”¹⁹ For the new generation, Zapatista schooling takes form in actively working to save the planet through a tending and relational engagement.

In cultivating ways of living according to non-dualist and relational worldviews that challenge formal state education as a primary site of ideological and political domination, revolutionary pedagogies, Barbosa tells us, animate political projects for collective emancipation, actively cultivating revolutionary consciousness from indigenous cosmologies, their epistemic matrix and their linguistic distributions of the sensible. For instance, no thing and no being is ever an object in the Mayan language community of Tojolabal. Lenkersdorf translates the sentence “He told me,” as *yala kab’i’* or “He told; I listened.”²⁰ Two subjects complete an activity without one subjecting the other as object. This plurality of subjects without objects enacts not only a linguistic structure of intersubjectivity but also its lived sensibility. “From the Tojolabal perspective, we have all the same status, we are all subjects, humans, plants, animals, rivers, mountains and clouds. They talk with us, we talk with them.”²¹ In a similar way, Barbosa sees an important connection between the linguistic matrix of indigenous languages and the horizontality of being in an I-we-community relation and its non-hierarchical mind-heart-spirit way of knowing. The implications are more far-reaching than any single thinker or writer could address. In fact, Lenkersdorf describes how in Tojolabal education—and its sciences in general—pedagogy engages in “we-ification” because it is the “we” that the process of collective learning nourishes. There is no individual Tojolabal scientist because knowledge is a collective activity, but there is Tojolabal science, generated from collective experiments and experiences.

To ask how indigenous worldviews can be indispensable for battling issues we face today in fighting against the destructions of capitalism and for saving the planet is neither to romanticize nor fetishize these epistemologies. It is a question that brings our attention to living and

19 → <https://schoolsforchiapas.org/advances/>

20 → Lenkersdorf, “Tojolabal Language,” 97-114.

21 → Lenkersdorf, “Tojolabal Language,” 110.

schooling in times of war. Together, the *sentipensante* pedagogies oriented towards *el buen vivir* that Barbosa writes about, the Zapatista's autonomous education that Baronnet describes, and the "we" of Tojolabal and other indigenous pedagogical worldings present us with the indivisibility of knowing, being, learning, and living that constitutes governance as a *tending of worlds*. The Zapatistas cannot include the One-World-World in their proposition of *a world in which many worlds fit*. But they engage anticapitalist sciences and indeed welcome all knowledges that can be helpful in the fight for our collective, planetary survival.²² The Zapatista's persistence arises in living the flow of life with all its uncertainty, in a cosmivision that is ultimately much more expansive and powerful than the contemporary conditions in which that living also occurs. ■

22 → The 2016 and 2017 Zapatista conferences *Las ConCiencias por la Humanidad* invited scientists from all over the world to question and consult with for a "sciences together with a conscience."

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