# FROM THE CLASSROOM TO THE STREETS

## A FIGHT FOR EDUCATION IN CONTRADICTIONS

BY: CLAIRE RITA MEADE SKOTNES

ADVISOR: ANDREW LASS

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

MOUNT HOLYOKE COLLEGE

MAY 2012

I give permission for public access to my thesis for any copying to be done at the discretion of the archives librarian and/or the College librarian.

**PREFACE**

Can education transform into a social movement? A simple enough question, but one that I asked while researching alternative schools in Buenos Aires. Specifically known as *Bachilleratos Populares* (*Popular* Mini-Bachelors (secondary schools)), these schools were designed to promote flexibility for unconventional students while developing closer relations to their teachers. These *bachilleratos populares*, derivative of *popular* education, strive to deconstruct educational hierarchies mainly seen within private and public systems. While historically the Argentine State has provided good services for public education, 1990s neoliberal policies eliminated such services. Outraged teachers and students were encouraged to fight and create a new and "better" education. However without State support, *bachilleratos populares* faced opposition joining together into a social movement. By utilizing participant-observation, I researched these *bachilleratos populares* and their social movement. In this thesis I will describe the *bachilleratos populares* as processes that are not static, but negotiated. Furthermore, I will argue that these processes are sometimes contradictory referring them henceforth as contradictory negotiated processes.

This thesis will explore such an argument through three areas. In the first chapter, after describing the historical significance in the introduction, I will examine the structures of the social movement through analyzing State-*bachillerato* relations. In the second chapter, I will explore how the social movement is implemented in the classroom specifically looking at the unconventionality of *popular* education. Lastly, in the third chapter, I will

examine modes of solidarity questioning how teachers and students transcended beyond their hierarchical educational positions. Overall, I will argue that the *bachilleratos populares*, as a social movement, maintain a fluid identity often confronted with contradictions. In the conclusion, I will further argue that the social movement becomes never-ending, theoretically comparing the *bachilleratos populares* to a Marxist "permanent revolution."

Moreover, considering this thesis is about a Latin American social movement fighting for better education, my analysis will be limited to specific outside scholars and literature. For instance, while I recognize within Anthropology and Sociology, there is a significant amount of social movement theory, I will limit myself to only look at Latin American (specifically Argentine) social movement theorists. I will also utilize prominent Western theorists that have studied in this geographic location (at some point). As for *bachilleratos populares*, much of the literature published by Westerners examines the school through an educational lens, often criticizing their "alternativeness" as a school. Since my research focuses mainly on the social movement, I will predominantly use Latin American literature, which looks at *bachilleratos populares* through such lens.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

**TABLE OF CONTENTS**

A social movement is defined through a repetitively defiant nature revealed through actions such as protests, signature petitions, and sit-ins, to name a few. As this defiant nature often derives from a shared marginalization initiated by State-like structures, a social movement establishes a "central conflict" (Touraine 1988), which propels its fight. In Argentina, known for tango dancing and soccer fanaticism, a politically rebellious persona has developed since the beginning of the twentieth century, continuing today in the twenty-first. Social movements, however elevated in violence or disruption, are essential aspects of Argentine culture. Currently, due to recent historical events, social movements are far from scarce in the streets of Buenos Aires. One that appears storming through is the *El Movimiento Social de los Bachilleratos Populares* (*Bachilleratos Populares* Social Movement). Inspired by Latin American *popular* ideology, *bachilleratos populares* (known as secondary [high] schools)[i] are becoming a prominent form of resistance. The *bachilleratos populares* are both "innovative" and "alternative" from their conduct on the streets to the teacher-student relations inside the classrooms.

---

Scene: *31st of May 201l [Maderera Cordóba]*

*After walking six blocks to the nearest metro station, changing from the green to the yellow lines, then walking seven more blocks to a building at Cordóba 3149, I finally arrive at my destination. Not a secluded place, but vibrant with all of its urban eccentricities, it to most would appear as an apartment walkup, but to those that occupy it, mainly teachers and students, it is a*

A photo of the mural from Maderera Cordóba´s hallway

*school called Maderera Cordóba. As one arrives just past midday, the entrance is*

*blocked by groups of students whispering and gossiping, covered by cigarette*

*smoke. As I push through, heading towards the open door, the students stop me,*

*give me a kiss on the cheek saying "Hola Prof[esora]" ("Hello teacher"). I*

*respond by saying "Hola" (hello back) but do not stop to chat more as I continue*

*through the grey metal door to a narrow dim-lighted hallway. There, I am greeted*

*by more lingering students as they chat and wait until their class begins. I pass*

*through, charging up the spiral staircase finally turning left to an office filled with*

*teachers and some more students. The walls are covered with former social*

*theorists and revolutionary heroes including Ernesto "Che" Guevara, Paolo*

*Freire, Eva "Evita" Peron, Karl Marx, and Fredrick Engels.*

*Further in the building, the structure is filled with bare classrooms and*

*empty hallways, where the walls are painted with protest murals. A former factory,*

*the structure was never supposed to be a school, but now attempts to disguise itself as such. At first glance, the aesthetics of the classrooms and hallways allude to a working/lower class environment, yet as many within the walls would tell you "Esta esuela es popular, es para todo, a pesar de lo que el mundo pensar, este lugar no es solo por la clase obrero esteriotipo."(This school is 'popular', it is for the masses, and despite what the outside world thinks, this place is not just for the stereotypical working class.)*

Scene: *1st of June 2011 [IMPA]*

*While I attended Maderera Cordóba every Monday, Tuesday and alternate Fridays, the other days of the week ( Wednesday, Thursday, and the other Fridays), I went to another school, the first of these socially alternative institutions, IMPA, (Instituto de Metales y Plásticos en Argentina-the Institute of Metals and Plastics in Argentina). Arriving around midday in similar fashions, from the nearest metro station, Castro Barros, I walk down the road two blocks, and turn one block left. There, I am confronted by four connected metal doors painted over by representational portraits of determined protestors charged by political resistance. Above each door is a sign corresponding to the portrait below. The signs read "Cultura" (Culture), "Trabajo" (Work), "Resistencia" (Resistance), and "Educación" (Education). Above those signs is a digitalized banner stating "IMPA: La Fábrica Ciudad Cultural: Lucha, Trabajo, y Cultura" (Cultural City Factory; Fight, Work, and Culture).*

I open the door of "Resistencia" to a big and dark factory arena. To the left, there is a wall of announcements, some for the workers of the factory, some for the cultural center, and others for the school. To the right, is the office of the building manager, Rupert. I wave a greeting and continue to the opposite end towards the stairs. Along the way, further to the right, there is a caged off area of machinery. During the day, factory workers tend those machines producing metal and plastic works loudly enough to be heard by anyone who passes by. The structure is constructed of cement, including the stairs to the upper floors. Passing through, I continue up three flights of stairs. The first floor is comprised of factory rooms like the basement, the second of rooms of empty space filled with different props and fabrics redesigned as the cultural center and community theaters. Finally I reach the third floor, the school.

Crowded by students, the ambiance is almost identical to Maderera Cordóba. Yet, IMPA is bigger than Maderera Cordóba in space and in student population. Maderera Cordóba contains a student population of almost 100, while IMPA has a population of approximately 150. Moreover, there is an assembly room (that doubles as a cafeteria), four classrooms, a library and an office open to both teachers and students. The office is mainly utilized for administrative needs. The walls, like Maderera Cordóba, are covered by images of social theorists and revolutionary heros. Unlike Maderera Cordóba, as students and teachers greet me they do not address me as a teacher. To them, my
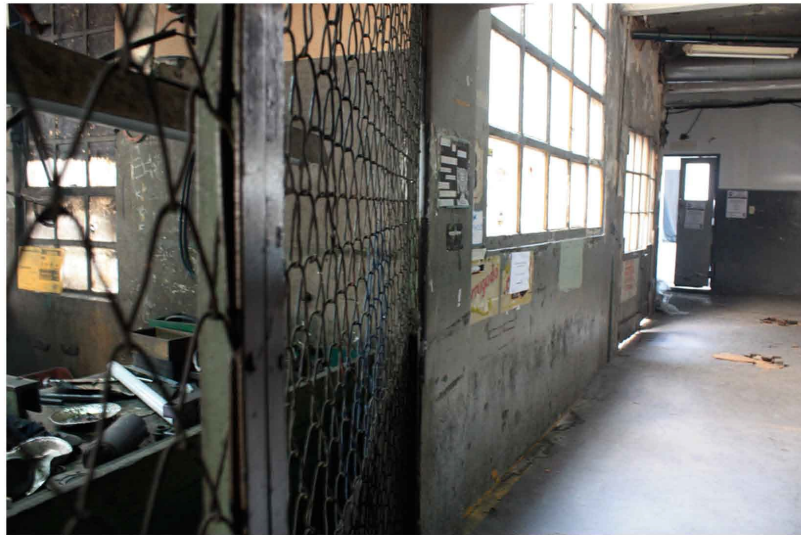
*Above*: The hallway leading to the *bachillerato popular*. On the left, blocked by barbed fenceis the factory area. This is the only pathway to the *bachillerato* from the front entrance. As a result, every teacher and student passes by the factoryarea, sometimes observing the workers tending to the machinery.



*Left and Below:* Two photos of the front entrance of the IMPA factory.

*role is a student coming in and out of classes. Similar to Maderera Cordóba,*

*IMPA is a school of 'popular' education, education created for the masses.*

---

Unconventional in their teaching methods and rebellious against the

Ministry of Education (the State), the two excerpts expose the ambiance of the

*bachilleratos populares*. While the excerpts present the initial impressions of this

alternative school system as poorly funded and stylistically improper, its

perceived faults are only a representation of injustices it confronts. In this thesis, I

will explore what makes a *bachillerato popular* education a social movement,

analyzing both State-*bachillerato* relations as well as the relations between

teachers and students. By drawing on various social movement theorists, both

Western/European and Latin American, I will argue that *bachilleratos populares*

cannot only be described as institutions, but rather as processes that are always

negotiated and often contradictory. I will therefore refer to them as negotiated

processes or contradictory negotiated processes.

### *Popular* and Political Argentinian History

In order to establish such an argument, it is imperative to fully

comprehend all aspects of the *bachilleratos*. In *Power and Popular: Latin*

*American Social Movements*, scholar Susan Eckstein (2001) describes *popular*

through a "historical-structural" (2001:3-5,56,177)[ii] approach. Originally

conceptualized as the framework for social structures' values and traditions,

Eckstein presents how in Latin America, social movements are "mechanically

determined by [a] social structure. They show the patterning of defiance to be

contingent on historical circumstances." (2001:3). *Bachilleratos populares*

present historical Argentinian events as the influences that make up *popular*

concepts and strategies of the social movement. *Popular* theoretically is

comprehended as the proletariat (the masses) re-appropriating control from the

bourgeoisie (the elite). After World War II, the development of *popular* derived

from prolonged classist domination by the upper classes, mainly from British and

French heritage, over the lower classes, either from rural farm areas or urban

*villas* (slums). With charismatic leadership from former president Juan Perón and

his iconic wife Eva (Evita) Perón, new welfare benefits for the poor promoted a

hyper-nationalism. *Popular* social movements, during that time, were

reinterpreted as Peronism (Auyero 2000).[iii] Today Peronism still thrives as a

political party that has held the presidential office since December 2003.

Although Peronism and *popular* are closely connected, other historical

occurrences redetermined the meaning of this political philosophy. Recently,

*popular* is best shown within two distinct, but adjacent political waves; the first

manifested in the 1970s in reaction to the military dictatorship (1976-1983). The

dictatorship, rigid in right-wing ideology[iv], imposed political power by violently

eliminating liberal-minded persons.[v] Any anti-dictatorship activities were

threatened by governmental torture and death. In reaction, strong liberal

Argentines protested, publishing literature that demanded (*popular*) government

representation. *Popular* promoted, unlike the dictatorship, rights for the masses.

Yet, the dictatorship tortured and murdered approximately 30,000 Argentines[vi]

including those who encouraged *popular* concepts, destroying any possibility of implementing the ideology.

While many scholars (Fernández 2007&Sitrin 2006) claimed that *popular,* at this time, demonstrated a strong political resistance, the ambiguity within its definition has since sparked a debate. Some scholars believe, including Argentina's Graciela Di  Marco and Héctor Palomino (2004), that *popular* affiliates with particular Marxist socialist ideals and only pertains to the working and lower classes, who directly suffered from the government's injustices (Di Marco&Palomino 2004;Fernández 2007&Sitrin 2006). Other scholars disagree (Ampudia&Elisalde 2009;Morgan 1993:102) stating that political and social injustices endured by the middle classes (such as those at the hands of the military dictatorship) can equally result in struggles under the concepts of *popular*.

The second wave occurred in reaction to the 2001 economic crisis, which caused huge unemployment because of privatization and neoliberal policies. This triggered public uproar as many workers fought governmental actions.[vii] Unemployed workers joined together reclaiming the factories and businesses in which they were employed and producing alternative forms of labor structures known as cooperatives. Cooperatives demonstrated worker equality, as decision-making rights and salaries were evenly distributed. Factories that had undergone recuperation established a new form of ownership known as *territorialización* (Spanish term referring to localization). *Territorialización* signified the factories no longer belonged to the State, but to the workers. The main goal of these factories, known as *Fábricas Recuperadas* (Recuperated Factories), was not to

produce a profit, but just enough to pay the workers. More specifically, workers were determined to manage the operations of their labor themselves, implementing a concept known as *auto-gestión* (specific French term referring to self-management[viii]). With formulations of cooperativism, *auto-gestión*, and *territorialización*, recuperated factories remedied economic injustice, promoting new *popular* ideals. *Popular* became reclassified as not only the re-appropriation of power to the masses, but as a restructuralizing of employment. Unfortunately, the State disagreed with these developments, forcing the workers to react in strong solidarity.  Such outrage was eventually transformed into a social movement called *El Movimiento Nacional de las Fábricas Recuperadas*, or MNFR (National Social Movement of Recuperated Factories). Over time, as some factories disintegrated, unable to maintain cooperative momentum, a good portion remained in operation. Because of surrounding community support, *popular* continues today (Fernández 2007&Sitrin 2006). In short, the ideology only surfaces when a shared grievance triggers a "collective action" solidifying a social movement (Touraine 2000). Popular is never fully defined on its own, but depends on how it references socially or historically. Yet, the linguistic definition of *popular* still has some ambiguities.

### *Bachilleratos Populares*

Along with factories, neoliberal policies imposed privatization on public schools. Through the support of the International Monetary Fund, former president Carlos Menem implemented harsh reforms. The reforms caused significant damage, from reducing teachers' salaries to eliminating certain

teacher-training qualifications, to even simplifying the educational curriculum. Public education was stripped of all of its value, creating a system where the teachers were undertrained teaching biased information to students. Outraged, teachers started a mobilization in resistance. Once obedient to the State's structure of education, teachers marched through the streets hand-in-hand together with recently unemployed workers (Guano 2008).

With such State abuse, teachers and students embraced *popular* concepts, aspiring to create another form of education. This was called *educación popular* (*popular* education). Its goal was to bring forth less hierarchical structures than those normally embraced in the private or public education systems. Allied with the MNFR, *bachilleratos populares* embodied their concepts of *auto-gestión, territorialización*, and cooperativism. The *bachilleratos populares* utilized *auto-gestión* and *territorialización* by advocating more autonomy from the State. *Bachillerato* members knew what kind of education they wanted, deciding for themselves the class subjects, schedules, and teacher-student relationships. Together, teachers, students, and other supporters produced a collective voice territorializing[ix] them and their identity to the *bachillerato* structure. Superficially, the marginalization created a new shared identity (Touraine 2000). Teachers and students were identified as equals, united in an educational cooperative. Yet, *bachillerato* members still needed State support and funding in order to implement their education fully.

However, the State was still skeptical, denying both funding and basic educational benefits. Such a refusal only motivated *bachillerato* members to fight

by joining together as a social movement--a fight that eventually led to the State granting diplomas for students, while members were still continuing the fight for more benefits. Yet, in the meantime, as shown in the two excerpts above, *bachilleratos populares*, received support from their allies, the recuperated factories. Their empty factory space was converted into classrooms, offices, and assembly rooms. While, according to many *bachillerato* members, this situation was not ideal, this location did convey some unexpected symbolism indicating understandings of *popular*. The lack of funding also meant eager teachers had to supply their own necessities, while simultaneously not receiving a salary themselves. Nonetheless, both teachers and students persevered, striving for a "better" education system by changing education dynamics inside the classroom and protesting on the streets.

Yet, what were the aspects that made up a *bachillerato popular*? And, who were the people that participated in it? While members came from all over, most teachers were self-identified as dedicated activists inspired to produce a change. Since *bachillerato* teachers did not receive salaries, almost all taught simultaneously in other schools. As for the students, many were considered unconventional, often coming from adverse situations. Most students finished their degrees as they were raising children (not always their own) or working full time. More so, the age demographics ranged from as young as 17 to as old as 80 years, which would have created difficulties in the more "traditional" schools. As a result, the *bachilleratos populares* incorporated non-traditional aspects such as flexible schedules (12:30pm -5:30pm daily), two teachers per class, and three

years to complete the secondary degree instead of the standard five.[x] I will explain these aspects in greater detail in the upcoming chapters.

Lastly, *bachilleratos populares* formed as a social movement within a bigger *popular* social movement. The bigger *popular* social movement, called *Coordinadora de Organizaciones y Movimientos Populares de Argentina* or COMPA (Coordinator of Organizations and *Popular* Movements in Argentina), was made up of the recuperated factories, health centers, cultural centers, and the *bachilleratos populares*. While within the bigger *popular* social movement, *bachilleratos populares* did not initially have a significant presence, as the *bachilleratos populares* gained more support, there was hope that this could change.

**Research and Method**

From the 17th of May 2011 to the 4th of August 2011 (10 weeks all together[xi]) I conducted participant-observation within two *bachilleratos populares* in the urban Buenos Aires region, IMPA and Maderera Cordóba. I spent part of the week at IMPA and part of the week at Maderera Cordóba. My role at each of these places differed. At IMPA I presented myself as a student, mainly observing classes and interviewing students during their recess times. However, if asked, I also interviewed teachers, but still attempted to maintain my student status. At Maderera Cordóba I presented myself as an English instructor teaching elementary English alongside another trained instructor. Again, when asked, I also interviewed students, yet my main goal was to understand what the teaching tactics utilized were, as well as my informants' comprehensions of *popular* and

*bachilleratos populares*. Outside of the *bachillerato popular* classroom, I participated in protests, chanting alongside fellow members. It was there that I was able to fully analyze how a *bachillerato* transformed itself into a social movement.[xii]

Another component of my fieldwork was photography. I used photography as a mechanism that would illustrate aspects of the *bachilleratos populares* and the social movement not easily described by the written word. I photographed both during protests and class periods. While I photographed every protest, I only photographed inside classrooms the last few weeks of my research. My photographs will be placed alongside my written analyses when I address different aspects of the *bachilleratos populares*.

As I incorporate many different elements into my research, I organized my findings into four parts. In the first chapter, I will explain the structural components of the social movement, demonstrating the complex dichotomy between the social movement participants and the State. For the second and the third chapters, I will explore the intricacies inside the *bachilleratos populares*. Specifically, in the second chapter, I will explore how the objectives of the fight in the streets translate into the classroom. In the third chapter, I will question modes of solidarity and camaraderie between teachers and students, which were thought to be classic hierarchical positions of education. The last part, the conclusion, I will sum up my analyses, fully showing how these *bachilleratos populares* are to be comprehended as a social movement. Additionally, in between these analyses, I have interlaced excerpts from journal entries. These

entries offer testimonial descriptions, allowing the reader to imagine what it was like observing the *bachilleratos populares*.

**The Anthropologist as Activist**

Normally under fieldwork contexts, regular participant-observation tactics would be acceptable, but, considering that my research pertained mainly to political activism, my participation had to be closely monitored. As an anthropologist it is imperative that there be a standard of neutrality while still maintaining a sense of confidence and trust when researching a community. However, anthropologists may be confronted by unavoidable obstacles if they remain completely neutral. In many cases, participants of the researched community may refrain from expressing trust towards an anthropologist until the latter shares his/her political viewpoints. I, myself, was confronted with this question: should I share my political viewpoints or should I not? At first I was hesitant. I was afraid that if I openly stated my opinions, no matter if the participants agreed or disagreed, I would have implicitly imposed my control. Such asserted control could introduce a biased undertone, causing a partiality within my research. Since I did not want to create such a scenario, I was conscious to say nothing when certain members wanted me to talk about my opinions. In a sense, I agreed with findings of British anthropologists Chris Fuller and Jane Parish. When they participated in Groups for Debates in Anthropological Theory (GDAT) at Manchester University in 1995, they argued against the implementation of advocacy in anthropology, stating that the word itself connotes

particular privilege-oppression dynamics (the anthropologist assumes the role of the privileged one while the cultural space is the oppressed) (Wade 1995).

On the other hand, the choice to be an activist may not always be the decision of the anthropologist, but a choice already decided by the community itself (Angel-Ajani 2006). After only two weeks, I found that this was the situation I was in, especially as I interviewed the teachers. They would ask my opinions about the *bachilleratos populares* or my political affiliations, and, although I never ignored the question, I would try to avoid answering it. Consequently, while I had good intentions, my passive nature obstructed the possibility for complete trust from the community. I knew I had to change the way I conducted research. Within the ensuing weeks, I revealed my activist personality. The decision never came lightly, but as with other anthropologists who encountered similar dilemmas, I felt confident in the decision. For example, when anthropologist Monique Skidmore conducted fieldwork in Burma, she wanted to research the effectiveness of bombing as a form of advocacy among various activist groups. Originally, Skidmore had no intention of identifying as a supporter of any political group, but the political groups she interacted with had a different agenda. Members interpreted their participation in interviews as a form of risk-; activists often expressed the danger of sharing certain information with her, and indicated that if Skidmore wanted to know, she was risking not only their lives, but hers as well. Some participants made the assumption that she was a reporter gathering information in order to spread their political opinions to the outside world. Others would not converse with her until she divulged her political

viewpoints, scared that she may be a spy for the government. Skidmore soon realized that it was almost impossible to maintain her neutrality, so she developed an "activist-by-proxy" position, one where, when necessary, she would share certain vague political opinions, most likely in correspondence with the viewpoints of the group with which she was interacting (Angel-Ajani 2006:45-56). With the teachers and students of the *bachilleratos populares* I acted as an "activist-by-proxy," conveying the political viewpoints that were necessary. Instantly I gained the trust of the *bachillerato popular* members. Yet, I was cautious over which aspects of politics I would vocalize and which I would not, thereby creating a scenario of partial sharing.

**Concluding Remarks**

In the upcoming sections of this thesis, I will show how *bachilleratos populares*, superficially, known as schools, form a social movement. By analyzing both protests and classroom dynamics, relations between the State and between teachers and students, I will argue that the struggles of the *bachilleratos populares* are neither simple nor static, but that *bachilleratos populares* are rather fluid, negotiated, and (at times) contradictory. As stated above, I will demonstrate that the *bachillerato popular* social movement is made up of series of contradictory negotiated processes.

# CHAPTER I: CONTRADICTORY AUTONOMY:
## *Bachillerato Popular* vs. the STATE

Scene: *21st of June 2011 [Both bachilleratos]*

*On Tuesday the 21st of June 2011, students and teachers of the bachilleratos populares gathered together. While naturally their gathering was educational, it was by no means situated in the four walls of their recuperated factory classroom, but in the major streets of Buenos Aires. Tuesday classes were cancelled. Instead, together they marched with painted banners and picket signs towards the Capital's Ministry of Education. Along the way, as rows of teachers created a pathway weaving between sidewalk pedestrians and incoming traffic, students and supporters followed banging drums while chanting: "Ole, Ole, Ole, Ola, Hay escuelas para luchar, Bachillerato Educación Popular" (Ole, Ole, Ole, Ola, There are schools here to fight, [We are] Bachilleratos Popular Education). From an outside perspective, while the chants, banners, and signs only conveyed a desire for popular education, the march itself served a specific purpose: to force a meeting with the Ministry demanding the signature on a bill, which would force the State to distribute salaries to the teachers.*

*Once we arrived, only a few prominent coordinators [head masters] of each bachillerato were permitted entrance, while the other hundred members and supporters waited. Inside coordinators negotiated with Ministers. The negotiations lasted almost two hours. During that time, those carrying banners and signs gently laid them down in front of the building. The chanting had died down, as almost everyone commandeered a spot in the parking lot or on the*

***All of the Photos***: These are photos of the 6/21/11 protest. From *Plaza Congreso* hundreds of *bachillerato* members marched to the city Ministry of Education.

***Above and Below:*** These photos exemplify the rally on *Calloa* Avenue. Above, the photo shows IMPA students (namres unknown) standing in the street, chanting various protest songs they just thought up. Below is a photo of one one *bachillerato* supporter (name unknown) standing on the frontlines redirectting cars to an adjacent street.

*surrounding lawn. When I inquired as to how much longer we would have to wait,*

*no one directly responded. It was unclear if the negotiations would end in a few*

*minutes or hours. The only task was to remain visible. The visibility would force*

*the Ministers to consider the demands seriously. Real change had to continue,*

*and it was only going to occur if the Ministry understood the gravity of the*

*situation and the number of people it affected.*

*Suddenly, a few of the coordinators emerged from the Ministry doors.*

*They conversed with a couple of other teachers, then proceeded to lead us to the*

*closest street, Callao Avenue. Collectively we blocked one lane of the traffic,*

*redirecting cars to an adjacent street. Chanting and drumming, the goal of the*

*impromptu rally was to pressure the Ministry to make an accommodating*

*decision rapidly. After only 30 minutes, the Ministry promised to further process*

*the bill. The coordinators accepted, announcing to the crowd that the rally was*

*over. However, if the Ministry did not make advancements to sign within the next*

*two weeks, another protest would commence.*

---

**The *Bachillerato Popular* Social Movement and Its Perceptions**

To begin, literature pertaining to social movement construction often

romanticizes this process; it depicts groupings of politically oppressed people

joining together in solidarity in order to fight a powerfully corrupt government. In

most cases, the social movements are perceived as righteous, expressing demands

that anyone would justifiably support. Scholars such as Alain Touraine (1988) and

Marc Edelman (2001) interpret such notions as simplistic, regarding the political

practice as pragmatic. Some politically conscious members are only concerned with goals actually achievable by State structures. Touraine and Edelman conceive this understanding as a contradiction. While it is true that many social movements provide pragmatic propaganda, political practices, in general, are temporally affected. Social movements strive for solidarity, which is comprised of collectivities of social actors intertwined together by common grievances and experiences, experiences that are then interpreted as pragmatic demands. It is the pragmatic demands that then are defined by a series of political abstraction (Edelman 2001&Touraine 1988)[xiii]. In a sense, it is the contradiction that strengths the pursuit of the mobilization.

The social movement developed itself on an ambiguous common ideology, but expressed the ideology through demands possibly acceptable to bureaucratic structures. Consequently the apparent contradiction between the particular demands and the abstract goals raises the question of how the social movement interprets the political abstraction, and what exactly they are fighting for. This is further complicated as each member of a movement may interpret the political abstraction differently, creating a greater contradiction between individual reasons for participation and the common goals of the social movement (Edelman 2001). Yet, it is the ambiguity between the advertised common goals and the individual reasoning that determines the social movement's longevity and saliency. As certain goals are met, some social movement members may think the movement is no longer needed, while others will believe more goals need to be achieved (Edelman 2001&Touraine 1988).

From the beginning of the twentieth century, Latin American social movements have been categorized in three areas: political, social, and economic. While these categories can be closely connected, each contains its own distinctions affecting the intricate actions of the associated social movement (Escobar&Alvarez 1992). Edelman contends that political views are constituted by adjacent social and economic themes. To start, the reasoning that brings a social movement together may arise for social and economic reasons, but they are reformulated into political issues once the social movement appeals to bureaucratic systems mainly operated by politicians (Edelman 2001). In Latin America, most movements are directly influenced by other social movements. History and geographic location play a major role in determining various political ideologies of social movements, creating mentalities of (Latin American) hyper-nationalism[xiv] (Eckstein 2001;Hobsbawn&Rude1968). As a result Latin American social movements develop identities separate from the Westernized ones.

The political abstraction for the *bachillerato popular* social movement is drawn from several related *popular* social movements derived from many Latin American countries, including Chile, Mexico, Brazil, and Argentina itself (Escobar&Alvarez 1992). When analyzing *bachilleratos populares*, it is essential to consider the relationship between Argentine *popular* and the (*popular)* labor force, or more specifically the recuperated factories. Before 2004, Argentine history associated *popular* with State acceptance of equal labor rights. As neoliberal policies started directly affecting the public school system, supporters underwent re-contextualization, figuring how best to apply *popular* to themselves.

Inspired teachers and students would meet together discussing critical questions, including what exactly *popular* was, how it would transform the educational system, and how such understandings would be communicated to the State level.

More so, outside resources and models were discussed within many different groups of the *bachillerato popular* network. During the week, teachers and students were preoccupied with classes; it was not until the weekend that dialogic political discussions commenced. Almost every Saturday there was a meeting with a specified section of teachers and (sometimes) students. Every fourth Saturday of the month was dedicated to an internal meeting within every individual *bachillerato popular*. During those specific meetings, there often would be discussions over specific issues or problems arising within, coupled with theoretical discussions about some social theorist addressing *popular* concepts or *popular*- like concepts. Such social theorists included Italian Marxist theorist Antonio Gramsci and Brazilian Marxist (*popular*) theorist Paolo Freire. Members would come prepared with literature by the theorists and share their interpretations, which in the end would initiate a discussion of how those theorists were applicable to their own *bachillerato popular*.

Every first Saturday of the month, there was a meeting with the cooperative of the *bachilleratos populares* from in the urban Buenos Aires area, known as *Cooperativo de los Educadores e Investigadores Populares* or CEIP (Cooperative of *Popular* Educators and Investigators) (Figure 1.1&Figure 1.2). As these

**FIGURE 1.1:** This is a graph of the *bachilleratos populares* in comparison to other *bachilleratos.* The graph also shows various *bachilleratos populares* (and the dates they were created) of CEIP (Cooperative for *Popular* Educators and Investigators). Originally written out by Laura Voboril (electronic and translated version).

**BACHILLERATOS**

- **AUTONOMOUS BACHILLERATOS**
- **COORDINADORA DE BACHILLERATOS POPULARES**
- **PERONIST PARTY BACHILLERATOS**

**BACHILLERATOS POPULARES OUTSIDE OF BUENOS AIRES**

**BACHILLERATOS POPULARES IN BUENOS AIRES PROVINCES**

CEIP:
- EL CAÑON 2010
- IMPA 2004
- AGUSTÍN TOSCO 2010
- MADERERA CORDÓBA 2005
- 1° DE MAYO 2010
- 19° DE DICIEMBRE 2007
- PAOLO FREIRE 2008
- CHIVALERT 2007
- RACÍES 2008

**FIGURE 1.2:** A chart of each of the *bachilleratos populares* in CEIP. The chart below shows each *bachillerato popular* in chronological order by the year it was created. The chart also shows the location in the Buenos Aires area. This is an electric version from what was seen at Chilavert *bachillerato popular.*

| NAME | YEAR | LOCATION (NEIGHBORHOOD OR ADDRESS) (RF= BACHILLERATO IN RECUPERATED FACTORY) |
|---|---|---|
| 1. IMPA | 2004 | QUERANDIES 4290, IMPA (RF) |
| 2. MADERERA CORDÓBA | 2005 | CORDÓBA 3149, MADERERA CORDÓBA (RF) |
| 3. 19 DE DICIEMBRE | 2007 | 19 DE DICIEMBRE (RF) |
| 4. CHIAVERT | 2007 | SAN VICIENTE, CHIVALERT (RF) |
| 5. RACÍES | 2008 | TIGRE |
| 6. PAOLO FREIRE | 2008 | ONCE |
| 7. 1 DE MAYO | 2010 | SAN MARTÍN |
| 8. AGUSTÍN TOSCO | 2010 | MAR DE LA PLATA |
| 9. EL CAÑON | 2010 | CORRIENTES Y 25 DE MAYO |

meetings followed a similar rhetoric to that of the internal *bachillerato popular* meetings, what made CEIP unique was that the discussions involved perceptions of *bachilleratos populares* from the State's perspective. Teachers and *bachillerato* members would split into smaller groups, discussing the appropriate organization of pragmatic propaganda often questioning how the *bachilleratos populares* should convey what they wanted from the State (the goals -acts, bills). Other questions arose such as the priorities of what they [*bachilleratos populares*] were asking for, and how this might affect perceptions of *bachilleratos populares* from the State. Other questions included if the proposed actions exemplified the true values of *popular*, and if the State could understand what the *bachilleratos populares* were requesting. Representatives from each CEIP *bachillerato popular* would come together to discuss these key commonalities. The discussions first referenced political abstractions, which then transformed into pragmatic goals, clearly following a contradictory train of thought.

**The State from *Bachillerato Popular* Social Movement Perspective**

However their pragmatic understanding derived from other influences. Participating teachers and students would refer to the actions performed by their allies, the MNFR. The most prominent message elicited was that while the workers respected the State, they knew what kind of labor force they needed. The State was ignorant and should listen to the workers' demands, developing mutual respect. After a major social struggle, the State changed their labor policy, permitting the practices of cooperativism (Fernández 2007). The *bachillerato popular* social movement embraced this concept stating that it signified

compliance and respect for the State. Although most teachers identified as

Marxists and used Marxist theory for conceiving *popular* concepts, they accepted

the realities of Argentine democracy. Any changes demanded by the social

movement would be a series of pragmatic goals capable of State recognition and

implementation through democracy.[xv]

In addition, such an approach was mandated by another historical social

movement supported by the recuperated factories and the *bachilleratos populares*;

*El Movimiento de Las Madres de La Plaza de Mayo* (the Mothers of the

Disappeared Social Movement). A movement formed in opposition to the 1970s

military coup in Argentina, its goal was to complete State accountability for a

massive number of torturous deaths. Forty years later, the current democratic

government acknowledges the past injustices, but still needs to fully account for

all the victims. The message of the Mothers implicitly advocates against

dictatorship in exchange for democracy, establishing that democracy must result

in the necessary accountability. Therefore, in order for the movement's success to

continue, democracy needs to proceed. (Humphrey&Valverde 2007). This is

essential, considering the Mothers of the Disappeared is one of the best known

social movements in Argentina, as well as a prominent ally of the recuperated

factories and the *bachilleratos populares*. If the *bachilleratos populares* were to

try to overthrow the State, restructuralizing a new one, it would go against the

efforts of the Mothers, losing significant support.[xvi]

Argentine scholar, Mabel Grimberg argues that, even with the outside

support, it is inevitable that social movements endure compliance with the State if

they want prominent visibility. Before the creation of the social movement, participants were equated to the subaltern, invisible to the State. It is through massive solidarity and public action that the State recognizes the subaltern, the invisible becomes visible. However, visibility is only attainable if the social movement follows the State's rules. While these rules are not explicitly stated, Grimberg suggests two paths social movements can take affecting their relationship with the State. One understands social movements as revolutionary, following political ideologies of equality and freedom, while working for new structural governance (i.e., communist, socialist). The other uses social movements to challenge authority, reminding the State that its service is to the people's needs more than the politicians' personal advancement. Historically, the first can bring irreversible damage and violence, while the second is known for introducing compliant and peaceful negotiations of change. Since there were already State compliant negotiations to restruralize the Argentine economy taking place, opening new possibilities for success such as in the recuperated factories (Grimberg 2009), the *bachilleratos populares* preferred the second path which was more agreeable and realistic. Nevertheless, the social movement endured an abstracted space that was then transitioned into a pragmatic one, which not only created a negotiated process, but a contradictory negotiated process.

"*No somos revolucionarios. No queremos una revolución, sólo queremos cambio.*" ("We are not revolutionaries. We do not want a revolution, just change") stated Laura, IMPA teacher, as she was sitting in the IMPA *bachillerato popular* main office grading papers. Laura continued, explaining that although

protesting is a form of challenging authority, it is also a sign of respect. Respect, because the *bachilleratos populares* are not asking that all education change to fulfill the *popular* ideal, but just for State acceptance of the schools that do want to conform to that ideal. Similar to workers in the recuperated factories, members of the *bachilleratos populares* comprehend that the State is unresponsive to alternative ideas; once the State establishes a policy, they sustain that policy without considering any exceptions. It is then the responsibility of the Argentine people to remind the State of its purpose: to serve the people and their needs. The State is located between two sliding dimensions; one where the State has decision- making power separate from societal influence, and one where the State is defined through political resistances (Abrams 1988). According to Timothy Mitchell, while the State's position appears static, its fluid transitioning between these two positions (and sometimes others) influences the State's relationship with society (Mitchell 1991). The *bachilleratos populares* practice resistance in attempt to sustain a relationship that impacts the State, hoping their demands exemplify a compliance, which then will transform into bureaucratic respect and compliance.

**The State and Its Perceived Instability**

Any sign of political change initiated by the State raises questions about its stability (Greenhouse&Mertz&Warren 2002). While the *bachilleratos populares* do not associate State acceptance of their demands with instability, it is questionable if the State's compliance really equals respect. This is especially the case in times of political instability or change, such as war, economic crisis, or

elections, when the State is comprehended as most vulnerable (Greenhouse&Mertz&Warren 2002). As vulnerability is seen as a weakness, social movements utilize this as a momentous opportunity to promote their cause (Abrams 1988&Mitchell 1991). This was no exception for the *bachillerato popular* social movement as such time periods encouraged members to increase fighting tactics hoping for more susceptible compliance from the State. For example from the end of June 2011 to mid-July 2011, the *bachilleratos populares* increased their protests against the State in correspondence to the city *gobernador* (mayor)[xvii] election campaign.

During this period, the members were against Mauricio Macri, the current mayor, who was campaigning for reelection. As Macri's campaign propaganda proclaimed his term as the most prosperous, protests indicating otherwise would be disadvantageous to him; one perfect reason why *bachilleratos populares* were inspired to protest. Normally, during non-election seasons, some teachers continued communication with the State, and when necessary those teachers would communicate with other *bachillerato* members as to whether they needed to protest or hang back. On average, *bachilleratos populares* would go on between four to five protests a year, but because of the election time, members planned four just for that winter. These protests would signify a failure of the administration, and the State would appear badly if it did not directly respond to the social movement's outrage.

Scene: *17th of July 2011 [Both bachilleratos]*

*I arrived at Avenida de Mayo, the main street that led to the Casa Rosada (National President Building) exactly at 2pm on July 17th, only four days before the first round of the election series commenced. Standing in front of the Peru metro station waiting for the members of the bachilleratos populars in order to start protesting, the main strip was covered with Argentine flags and election propaganda. As campaign volunteers passed out flyers to pedestrians, loud blow horns on big trucks sounded, proclaiming why their candidates deserved the mayoral seat more than their opponents. Surrounding the trucks, it appeared that some pedestrians gathered together. They were other groups preparing to protest their injustices, like the bachilleratos. It was more than obvious, such a tactic as taking advantage of State vulnerability was going to be utilized by more than just the bachilleratos populares.*

*After ten minutes students and teachers from IMPA and Maderera Cordóba arrived from the station rearing to go as students banged on drums while teachers distributed signs and banners. Together in a cluster, we travelled from the chaos of the street to the main square in front of the Casa Rosada, La Plaza de Mayo (the Main Plaza). As the front of the cluster stopped, students and teachers alike could not contain their new founded energy and simply wanted to continue; they just could not take the waiting anymore. Weaving myself in the middle of the cluster, I overheard Oriana, my co-English teacher at Maderera Cordóba, whisper to the students how important this day was. She reminded the*

*students of the State's vulnerability encouraging everyone to act loud and to get*

*the message across clearly (to permit salaries to the bachillerato teachers).*

*Naturally the students were excited and ready. Moments after, we started*

*marching towards the Casa Rosada angling to the right side down the adjacent*

*street. The drums were louder than ever as everyone screamed various protest*

*songs. I, myself, could hardly hear anything, as both teachers and students*

*attempted to ask me how I was. I smiled and nodded as if I could understand*

*them, continuing down the street. At the end of the street we turned right, walked*

*ten more yards then stopped. There, we were in front of the Buenos Aires City*

*Ministry of Education.*

*Similar to before, both teachers, students, and other bachillerato*

*supporters settled on the street, laying the banners down hoping the elected few*

*could get through the doors to talk to the Ministers. The atmosphere was*

*considerably more hostile than before. Teachers distributed graffiti spray cans*

*and wooden sticks to students leading everyone, including the drum line towards*

*the front doors of the Ministry. Drums played louder and louder as both students*

*and teachers banged with their sticks and with their feet on the doors. Those*

*holding graffiti spray cans spray painted the walls with messages that*

*bachilleratos populares deserve justice and demanding legalized popular*

*education. As a result, the doors and walls were covered, and finally some of the*

*coordinators were permitted through. However, that did not stop the protest, as*

*those that participated in the kicking, banging, and painting guarded the doors*

***Above***: Teachers from Maderera Cordóba marching down the street to the Ministry of Education (Protest: 7/17/11)

***Left and Below:*** Once the *bachillerato* members arrived at the Ministy of Education, the doors were locked. *Bachillerato* members gathered together banging on the doors with sticks and kicking with their feet. To the left, IMPA student Lucas is banging on the door.

**All of the Photos:** *Bachillerato* members continued to kick and bang until the Ministry opened the doors. However, the Ministry did not open the doors right away.. In the meantime, some members took spray cans and markers writing messages all over. To the right, one teacher wrote " Sign the Bill" while the others, like in the last photo below, wrote "*Bachillerato Popular*". As more members banged and kicked, some policemen came over minitoring the action (as seen in photo with Mara). Yet, even though the members spray painted, the police did not react. I found out later that the Ministry was considered public property. As a result,the Argentine were allowed to do whatever they wanted with the outside structure as a way of protesting the State without being considered destruction. As long as, to an extent, the action was reasonably repairable.
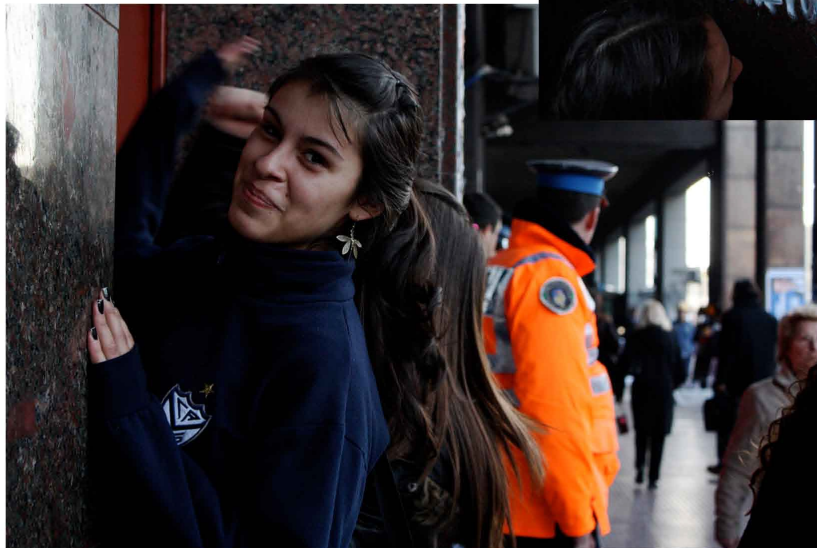
*Above*: Finally the Ministry opened the doors. Some coordinators of each *bachillerato* entered. While they were in, other members collectively guarded the entrance.

*Left:* Maderera Cordóba's drumline joined those who were blocking the doors. These included Mara (right), Alexis (left), as well as others

*Below*: (From left to right: Gonzo, Lola, and Jose) Others stood in front of the doors attempting to maintain morale while waiting for the coordinators to return.

**Above:** As some members blocked the Ministry doors, others waited on the street in front of the building. Those holding banners gently laid them down. After awhile, teachers, students, and supporters grouped together chatting away in order to pass the time.

**Left:** Since *bachillerato* members waited almost three hours, some decided to make mate. They started a fireplace on the side of the road heating a big pot of mate, which was distributed to all in plastic cups. Again, the police just watched as members made the mate. The *bachillerato* members had a right to wait in front of the Ministry. Even if it meant blocking traffic.

**Below**: Finally the coordinators returned after meeting with the Ministers. Fernando S. of IMPA took the blowhorn and announced that they would process the bill further, accomplishing their goal and ending the protest.

*refused entrance to anyone outside the bachillerato popular community. The rest sat and waited in the street in front of the building, knowing it be hours until the teachers were fully heard. In the meantime, participants sat in small groups chatting as others started a fire place to heat up some mate.[xviii] As expected hours passed, and while the human wall in front of the entrance never fell apart, others resorted to chatting amongst themselves while waiting. I took photographs as I strolled around talking to those that I knew best. No matter what the conversation was, almost everyone that I encountered felt compelled to tell me that this was a unique time, that this was a time like no other, "ahora nunca".*

*At the end of the protest, the coordinator of IMPA, Fernando Santana, gathered everyone together to announce that, although the State Ministers did not sign the proposed bill allowing salary distribution at that moment, the Ministers were willing to review it to sign a week later. Everyone was overjoyed and the drum line suddenly played as a group of students danced in the streets. After years of fighting, this was a considerable accomplishment worth celebrating. Standing close to Oriana at the time, I asked if the State's decision was because of its heightened vulnerability. Without hesitation she responded yes, reminding me that they protested this before and got nowhere close to what had happen today. This was a huge step in the right direction, yet Oriana also reminded me that there was still more to come, and the State had not yet signed the bill.*

_____

Scene: *23 of July 2011 (a week later) [Maderera Cordóba]*

*Right before vacation, I was sitting in one of Maderera Cordóba's classrooms talking to students as they finished the last of this term's coursework. There were hardly any teachers in the room because many went back to the Ministry hoping that this time the Ministers would sign the bill. All of sudden, one of the teachers, Diego (Flaco), entered the room returning from the Ministry. He announced that although at first the bill had some technical difficulties (it was missing a vital form), the Ministers finally signed, permitting the distribution of salaries to teachers. Victory was complete.[xix]*

Nevertheless, from a State perspective, such protest actions could be interpreted as manipulative or even violently destructive (Greenhouse&Mertz&Warren 2002). However many social movements are responses to injustice from the State, which precipitated their actions. Therefore, from this point of view, any questionable manipulations performed by the social movements were justifiable (Mitchell 1991).

In short, the *bachilleratos populares* are not going to stop challenging the State until the State recognizes and complies with their demands.[xx] Unfortunately, according to many, such goals are not going to be met for years to come. In the meantime, in addition to the protests, members will continue with meetings, discussing what exactly *bachilleratos populares* are, and how they are examples of *popular* concepts. The constant negotiations between the State and among

themselves exemplify the *bachilleratos populares*, like the State (Mitchell 1991),

as a fluid identity, constantly changing with alterations within their member

demographics, ultimately changing how they perceive the State. As a result, I do

not believe there will be an end to the *bachillerato popular* social movement;

rather they will create a permanent state of mobilization, within themselves and

against the State. In a sense *bachilleratos populares*, although entrenched in

ambiguity, are models of classic negotiated processes. These negotiated processes

will go between political abstractions and pragmatic understandings, as well as

between compliance and autonomy, creating contradiction within the negotiated

processes.

# CHAPTER II: THE SOCIAL MOVEMENT IN THE CLASSROOM

The teachers would say that the *bachillerato popular* is a "social organization" that embraced *popular* theory. A social organization within, which teachers and students go beyond their educational roles. *Bachillerato* members, as shown in the first chapter, were protestors on the streets. However, after talking to other members, I found that they classified the *bachilleratos populares* as just schools. As a result, during my stay, it became difficult to articulate what exactly a *bachillerato popular* was. Yet, ultimately, everyone implicitly agreed it was a social movement both within and outside the classroom. In the first chapter, I addressed the relations between the *bachilleratos populares* and the State, but this only explained how the social movement operated in protests. Considering the *bachillerato popular* social movement derives from a post-industrial society, the demands pertain more to changes in services (Touraine 2000, 1988) within the classroom. In this chapter I will explain how this social movement transitions from the streets to the classroom. Furthermore, since much of this transition was vocalized by the teachers, much of this analysis will be explained from the teachers' perspective.

---

Scene: *31st of May 2011 [Maderera Cordóba]*

*It was just after 3 pm and the teachers of Maderera Cordóba finally decided to send someone out for some lunch. It had already been a long Saturday, but according to coordinator[xxi] Fernando Lazaro, there was still more work to be done. Trapped in one of the classrooms, I glanced down the long horizontal table. Many of the teachers, who were energetic and engaged at the beginning of the meeting, had since slouched over, staring at the clock counting down the minutes.*

*They were tired, tired of speaking, tired of listening, tired of being trapped in a*

*classroom as the Saturday's blue skies and bright sun rays passed them by. As*

*teachers waited for their ham and cheese sandwiches, those that were hungriest*

*filled their stomachs with mate and the occasional cigarette. It was a depressing*

*sight and I found myself joining with the teachers in complaining.*

*Rewind four hours and you wouldn't think the teachers would ever feel so*

*deprived and uninspired. Earlier that day, between 10 and 11 am, the teachers*

*entered the building, stampeding up the stairs clutching their white pasty bags full*

*of cookies in one hand and their prepared reading in the other. As they gathered*

*in the main hallway waiting for Fernando L. and Ezequiel (the Maderera*

*Cordóba coordinators) to open the door of one of the classrooms, the teachers*

*appeared more relaxed than usual. They stood there continuously gossiping,*

*greeting everyone in sight as if they transformed into the students themselves.*

*Eventually, Fernando L. and Ezequiel arrived, and opened the doors. Everyone*

*shuffled in, and claimed seats around the long center table. As some passed*

*around mate and cookies, others braced themselves with a cigarette. The planned*

*discussions for the meeting had not yet begun and already the room was filled*

*with a mixed sweet-smoky aroma.*

*After only 15 minutes of settling in, everyone appeared ready. Ezquiel*

*looked around assuring that everyone was accounted for and started. He first*

*announced the agenda. First, the teachers would talk about the reading, a text*

*written by Italian Marxist theorist Antonio Gramsci, and then discuss their*

*interpretations of how this reading could apply to Maderera Cordóba and*

*bachilleratos populares in general. Afterwards, the teachers would break for a short recess then reconvene to discuss the particular challenges and necessities at Maderera Cordóba. Observing the crowd while Ezequiel announced the agenda, I noticed a change in enthusiasm. Many of the teachers were expressively eager about discussing the Gramsci text, but suddenly became disinterested as Ezequiel mentioned a discussion of what they thought were student (mundane) problems and necessities. Many rolled their eyes, angling their heads away from Ezequiel, puffing away on their cigarettes.*

*As a result, the first half of the meeting was startlingly animated. Everyone was determined to voice their opinions about Gramsci's theory of cultural pedagogy, how it related to concepts of popular, and how that could translate into the bachilleratos populares. Along with the sweet-smoky aroma, arguments over what is popular, what is education, and what should education be, filled the room. To a certain point, the arguments and discussions were so mixed within each other that it was hard to discern what the main point was. This continued for another four hours with a ten minute break in the middle. By that point it was three in the afternoon and the discussions transitioned from the practicality of popular education to the possible lunch options. It's probable that the discussion could have continued countless more hours if it wasn't for their demanding stomachs. By the end, all that arguing and discussing evolved into a list of goals and the proposals and ways in which those would be enacted.*

*Once the sandwiches arrived, the topic shifted to student issues. The disinterested teachers preoccupied themselves with their food, while a few*

*conveyed their concerns. Those teachers voiced their opinions over how the*

*students are missing too many classes, not interested in the political and social*

*topics, and how they are just here for the diploma. While that was important,*

*those teachers wanted to get them inspired. After only 20 minutes, compared to*

*the previous four hours, the teachers promptly resolved that they just had to try*

*harder, focusing in on the students who expressed an interest, while lightly*

*reprimanding the ones that act out in disruption. Finally, the clock struck 4:30*

*and as the corner window indicated the sun had already set, it was time to end.*

*All the teachers gathered their things and together exited the building. As some*

*conversed about anticipated weekend plans, others headed over to the nearest*

*café, continuing the discussion about the Gramsci text.*

---

As shown in the excerpt above, the teachers demonstrated a particular

understanding of what a *bachillerato popular* was and *how* it should operate. Yet,

what was intriguing was that most of those discussions mainly pertained to

interpretations from Marxist and *popular* theorists. While the teachers gave some

attention to other topics, teachers were more interested in discussing abstract

literature by political theorists than the student issues. Considering it was only the

teachers who decided this dynamic, one could speculate that the teachers were the

designers of the *bachilleratos populares*. Theoretically one might identify the

teachers as charismatic leaders; they would disagree. Charismatic leaders are

defined as the creators, symbolizing, both aesthetically and metaphorically, the

meanings behind the social movement. The teachers, on the contrary, were more

concerned developing an identity as *Trabajadores de Educación* (Education

Workers) unified equally together with students and other *bachillerato* members.

Yet, considering their educator roles in the classrooms and devoted participation

at each Saturday meeting, teachers did hold some type of leadership role. As

teachers contested, explaining that other members were just as important, it was

clear that they spent the most time discussing the social movement. Consequently,

I started questioning the teachers' motives. Why were the teachers working at the

*bachilleratos populares*? What aspects of *popular*, Marxism, and education did

they want to portray? And how did those opinions affect their perceptions of the

students? Such an inquiry classified teachers as the "entrepreneurs" (2001:289),

those who "had the task of mobilizing resources and channeling discontent into

organizational forms (2001:289)." As entrepreneurs, they demonstrated a

prominent role within the movement, but these positions, by no means, raised

them to the superiority of charismatic leadership (Edelman 2001). *Bachillerato*

teachers recognize their roles as significant, but strategically categorize

themselves as interpreters, able to bridge abstract ideologies to pragmatic needs

(Edelman 2001&Touraine 1988).

### *Pedagogia Política* and the Classroom Philosophy

Classroom dynamics, like the protests, come from a theoretical

understanding where a political abstraction is transformed into pragmatic aspects

(Edelman 2001&Touraine 1988). As this abstraction is defined through *popular*,

its pragmatic transformations come from another conceptual framework,

*Pedgogia Política* (Political Pedagogy).  A concept first produced by Brazilian

Marxist (and now *popular*) theorist Paolo Freire, this theory is one of the most essential parts of Argentine *popular* education. During the 1970s, frustrated with the hierarchical teaching style and the classist inequality in schools, Freire developed alternative methods of restructuring how teachers and students perceived education. Political Pedagogy was a part of this restructuralizing.[xxii] More specifically, the concept utilized a multilayered pedagogical practice where social, political, and economic divisions between teachers and students (as well as within those groups) were deconstructed. Freire understood that education as "banking" was only used for economic advancement. Instead, Freire advocated a dialogic and participatory process called "problem-posing." Through these pedagogical practices education was understood as a political and social practice sparking the groundwork for the necessary social movement. Such a perspective not only transformed "the fight" from the classroom to the streets, as described in the first chapter, but returned the movement to the classroom.

Pragmatically Freire advocated that teachers refrain from lecturing and develop a shared atmosphere with the students. Traditional lectures established a one-way knowledge path, which perpetuated a larger hierarchical framework. In a Marxist discourse, the teacher was comparable to the bourgeoisie or the State, while the students were the oppressed proletariat. According to one of Freire's more prominent publications, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, schools situated in working and lower class areas were already entrenched with an "oppression" mentality, promoting a greater division between them and the teachers-- teachers who derived from more middle class and intellectual backgrounds. Freire

advocated an atmosphere where teachers were not the only educators, but the learners as well. Students contained a particular knowledge unintelligible to teachers; yet, their voices were not recognized through a traditional educational structure. Freire aspired for complete consciousness, better known as "*conscientização crítica*" (critical consciousness). Elements of the world's political, social, and economic spheres would be encompassed in the classroom by both teachers and students. As a result, both social actors were straddled between the two conventional roles. They both were the teachers and students to each other, ultimately demonstrating a bilinear knowledge pathway and multilayered intelligence (1970:90-100).

Enchanted by Freire's theories, it was discovered that the transformations that he adamantly demanded were difficult to attain. While teachers were asked to reduce the hierarchical positions almost natural to them, I was left to wonder if Freire's ideas could be translated into practicality. Without hesitation, many teachers, including Fernando S. of IMPA, assured me that they could and had been. Before even going into the intricacies of the *bachilleratos populares*, Fernando S. reminded me that Freire himself realized the ambitious nature of what he was advocating. That is why Freire also advocated *auto-crítica* (self-criticism) and *auto-reflección* (self-reflection). According to teachers Fernando S., Fernando L., and Ezequiel, Freire never expected the transformation to be easy or immediate. In fact, Freire foresaw that errors would be made, and it was only pertinent to decide what was going to be done next.[xxiii] To Freire, progression only could occur with constant reflection and criticism. It was within this process

that teachers could understand their conventional positions as privileged and transform them (Freire 1970).

Not completely convinced by these arguments to begin with, I soon came around, especially since the *bachilleratos populares* utilized methods from other similar models of Freiren schools. For example, in Brazil[xxiv] Freire inspired schools that deconstructed teacher hierarchies through promoting dialogic spaces about self-imaging (Ampudia&Elisalde 2009). Equal space for voices from both teachers and students provided a gateway for a mutual respect. Specifically, in a Brazilian adult school, João Pessoa, teachers participated in the "friendship strategy" ((Freire 1970:87-124) creating a "comfortableness" between the students and teachers. Students were encouraged to see teachers more as friends, encouraging students to share stories with them. The teachers tend to reciprocate sharing personal stories themselves to the students. Knowledge was identified through interactions, which destroyed the traditional hierarchical forms. This school and others were propelled through constant communication into promoting a nationalism and homage towards education (Bartlett 2005).

However, I still inquired into the teachers' intentions. Just because there had been evidence that *popular* education functioned in Brazil, why were the teachers convinced it could function within an Argentine context? Teachers engaged in a new educational system not only because of its growing alternativeness elsewhere, but because public education was undergoing harmful changes there. Due to the failure of the neoliberal policies in Argentina, teachers believed autonomous education funded by the State was the only option. Because

of the history of State abuse and failure of public education, teachers decided to create another system entirely. Teachers grew to distrust the State and their knowledge of "proper" education. The Menem administration brought devastation to Argentina, causing almost everyone to agree that such a disaster must never occur again (Guano 2008). Teachers developed grievances that encouraged collective mobilization (Edelman 2001&Touraine 1988). But, why not try to change the public education? Teachers believed since the administration of the State was constantly changing, public education as a whole would remain vulnerable and unstable.[xxv] Creating a new more autonomous system would avoid such vulnerability.

Many teachers believed that they could not surrender educational control. They are the ones that have dedicated their lives to education. They have endured rigorous study so that their performances might strengthen students' academic excellence. *Auto-gestión* and *territorialización* provided a pathway where autonomy and State acceptance were beyond the binaries and more complementary. Teachers interpreted *bachilleratos populares* as their livelihood believing they were the most equipped to design the education curriculum.

Yet, what makes this dichotomy interesting is that the *bachilleratos populares* did not want to impose their restructuralizing upon other private and public schools. The teachers were not against public education (even though they were critical of the system). In fact, many teachers worked in public schools while

***Above (IMPA) and Below (Maderera Cordóba):*** The two photos are examples of classes that only have one teacher. As a result in both examples, Bianca (above) and Jose (below) must revert to more tradtional styles. In both photos, Bianca and Jose have to stand at the head of the classroom lecturing to the rest of the class.

*Above:* : Here is a photographic example of the two-teacher sysytem. At Maderera Cordóba,  the two-teacher system
 is seen in a history class with Oriana (left) and Orellera (right). After both teach the lesson, they assign students a writing
 assignment. As the the students do their work, Oriana and Orellera sit at the front together grading papers.

*Below*: However, if Oriana and Orellera were teaching, their style would mimic a style seen in the photo below.
Again at Maderera Cordóba, in the first year's literature class, as one teacher writes on the board, the other hangs
back with the students answering questions. Each teacher takes turns instructing and attending to individual needs.
While the one teacher is Carolina (by the chalkboard), the other one was a new teacher who I never got the name of.

***Left and Below:*** The common two-teacher system style is also seen at IMPA. In a second year history class, teachers Guido and Nicholas take turns between instructing and helping students individually. To the left, Nicholas is helping a student, while Guido teaches. In the photo below Nicholas is teaching while Guido stands aside.





***Left:*** As Nicholas is teaching the class, Guido steps aside with Eduardo (left). Guido looks over Eduardo's writing, commenting on different aspects privately.

simultaneously working for the *bachilleratos populares*. They had great respect

for the system, and interpreted their roles there as a bridge for introducing further

"possible" change. Teachers just needed a new space to explore what that possible

change looked like. The *bachilleratos populares* gave the teachers that space,

further "popularizing" Argentine public education.

---

Scene: *7ᵗʰ of June 2011 [Maderera Cordóba]*

*It had been a few days since Fernando L. and Ezequiel had asked me to*

*teach the first and second year English classes with Oriana, and I still had not*

*gotten over the shock. I originally thought they were joking, but when I realized*

*they were not, I agreed to teach. The opportunity would not only provide*

*perspective of how the teaching method would operate, but how it would be*

*applicable to Political Pedagogy. So the following Tuesday, nervously earnest to*

*participate and learn, I started teaching English. At first, I thought I would meet*

*with Oriana beforehand in a cafe for at least an hour or two just to review the*

*logistics of who says what and what the lesson would be, but such a meeting never*

*occurred. Instead Oriana and I briefly met before the class started just on the*

*other side of the classroom doors. She told me the lesson plan and what materials*

*we would use. Consequently, I followed her lead as to when it was my turn to*

*speak. Such a pattern continued for weeks after.*

*Every Tuesday, 30 minutes before one'o clock, the first year class would*

*start. Some students came earlier anticipating some extra help. Complying with*

*their wishes, I would arrive around 12:15, give a quick 15 minute review until*

*Oriana's arrival, which was always one to two minutes before the class started. During those few minutes we quickly organized for a lesson. To begin, Oriana would stand in the front of the classroom asking the students what grammatical lessons they remembered. This tactic served two specific purposes. The first was an obvious review, while the second was to produce more time before starting the class's real lesson. The main reason for this was because Oriana based her lessons off of one copy of one workbook, distributing paper copies to the students. However, Oriana never made the copies before the class. She didn't have the time because she was running from another class she taught at another institution. As a consequence, Oriana would ask every student to provide 50 argentine cents (4 US cents), collected by a student volunteer, who would then go and make copies at the nearest kiosk shop. The whole endeavor would take at most 15 minutes, leaving only 45 minutes for a lesson for the week's lesson. Since this procedure became routine, many of the students anticipated the beginning 15 minutes as a waste of time, often coming into class late, which resulted in spontaneous disruptions which caused lessons to start 30 minutes late.*

*Yet, by this point Oriana was determined to endure through the lesson, demonstrating a lecture-type teaching style, while directing students to me for any individual questions. As students would make eye contact, I would walk towards them, the student would whisper their question and I would whisper my response. At first, I thought the method was chaotic, but realized that, considering the circumstances it permitted every student an opportunity to learn at their own pace without interrupting others. While it is true there were still interruptions, these*

*were very minimal. When I offered Oriana my observations, she replied*

*charmingly that was "popular".*

---

As illustrated in the excerpt above, one of the most prominent distinctions of a *bachillerato popular* was the two-teacher system. Fernando L., Ezequiel, Mechi, and Raquel, informed me that the two-teacher system served two specific purposes. The first was to deconstruct the one-way knowledge pathway. Normally, students would gather together, sit down and wait for the one teacher's instruction. Instead, with two teachers, students would receive two different versions of knowledge. Teachers would conflict and engage with each other, creating a dialogic moment in front of the students. Students would develop their own opinions. The second purpose was more functional. With diverse ages and experiences, students came from all over, providing a variety of knowledge. With such diversity, the two-teacher system was a way of compensation. There was not any threat that some students would fall behind as one teacher `was always available for answering questions, leveling the variations in students' intellectual competency.

Intrigued by such interpretations, I questioned how Freire's self-reflection and self-criticism was applied pragmatically. Especially, I wanted to know if there was something, similar to the Saturday meetings, a mandatory gathering of both the teachers and the students. There was: it was a monthly assembly. For at least two to three hours, students, teachers, and other supporters assembled together to discuss any pertinent issues. The topics ranged from class scheduling difficulties

to the struggles with the State. In the end, the students would have the deciding vote of what to discuss. It was *their* time and the teachers were the ones that would have to sit through it and listen.

During my stay I attended one assembly at IMPA. The chosen topic was carrying alcohol around the *bachillerato*.[xxvi] For that afternoon, classes were cancelled as students sat on the cold floor in a circle in the cafeteria. Amongst them were some teachers. Some had elected to stand and supervise student behavior, while others sat either on the floor or in a chair. The teachers mainly remained silent as the students raised their hands to speak. Laura called on each student, assuring everyone's voice was being heard. IMPA teacher Mara sat next to her, taking notes and keeping weary of the time. Other teachers took notes, hoping that the written records would not only aid students in the decision-making process, but remind them of the event as they would eventually discuss the notes in a future Saturday meeting. The experience was insightful. By the end of the meeting the students took a vote. While it was still undecided whether students could carry alcohol around IMPA that did not appear the most important aspect of the process, for many students were energized because their voices were being heard.

Other features of this alternative educational process included non-mandatory attendance, weekly make-up days, and "unconventional" class subjects. Teachers used these features as a way to compensate for students' social circumstances. In another case in Hawaiian schools, teachers altered educational structures in order to better serve the demographics of students' race/ethnicity.

Results of increased inclusion and student participation (Ladson-Billings 1995;Mohatt & Erickson 1981) mimicked teachers' goals for the *bachillerato popular* system. Everything but the unconventional class subjects was the result of working around the students' hectic schedule. To the teachers, many of the students could not finish their degrees in the public or private systems because of an inability to attend classes resulting in their mandatory dismissal. Teachers attributed this to the students' social circumstances. The students did not have time to attend classes. The *bachilleratos populares* wanted to remedy this by making attendance non-mandatory (although highly encouraged) and proposing flexible hours. In addition, every Friday was known as *dia del apoyo* or make up days, dedicated to the "recuperation" of unattended classes or late work. The purpose was to aid the students territorializing them to the *bachillerato popular.*

Finally, a last prominent trait of the *bachilleratos populares* was the eclectic class subjects. Along with basic math, science, and history, students were required to attend classes such as cooperativism, social problems, and methodology (to name a few). These sometimes varied depending on the age demographic of the students, but were designed to provide students with a more "useful" education. This approach was attributed to Freire's philosophy. Freire wanted an atmosphere where students could engage with the current events (Freire 1970); the teachers interpreted this through unconventional class subjects. Classes in cooperativism, and social problems, would not only provide an education in the history of the neoliberalism and MNFR, but provide them with the tools to question and fight for their rights in other social environments. Similar

to the two-teacher system, the main goal was that the students had enough space to think critically.

As teachers transformed abstract ideas into classroom innovations, I occasionally questioned if they were taking too many liberties; were they *too* idealistic? I asked questions about how functional their ideas were. How certain were they that their ideas were successful? What were their perceptions of students as they were developing their teaching approach? And had those perceptions changed or affected their performance as teachers? It was a lot easier asking the questions than answering them.

**Practical Problems in *Popular* Education**

Nevertheless, I persevered, especially at Maderera Cordóba. I felt privileged that the teachers thought that I was capable enough to teach English even though I did not have any prior experience. At first, I was hesitant and nervous, but reminded myself that I would not be alone. If I had troubles, I knew I could rely on Oriana[xxvii], a person with years of experience. Yet, I still questioned why Fernando L. and Ezequiel felt that I could be a teacher. What does that say about the value of the other (trained) teachers? Does this speak to a greater structural problem the *bachilleratos populares* are experiencing? Throughout I attempted to keep an open mind, recognizing that many of those questions derived from preconceived notions from experiences in the U.S. I reminded myself that, while the Argentine standard "appears similar" to the U.S. standard, this was still a different country propelled by different cultural and social contexts. However, when it came to the problems I saw, teachers vocalized the same concerns I had.

Teachers never thought the *bachillerato* system was perfect, or that it would ever reach that level. Instead, teachers interpreted *bachilleratos populares* as processes of growth.

---

 Scene: *7ᵗʰ of June 2011 [Maderera Cordóba]*

*Directly after the first year's English class, Oriana attempts to take a ten minute break before she has to teach the second year's English class. Frantic during this moment, Oriana gathers her workbook (the same resource she uses for the first years) chooses the pages and goes out herself to copy them. Occasionally she would ask another student to collect money and copy the worksheets. Once she comes back, the classroom, situated down the hall adjacent to the prominent Maderera Cordóba mural, is already full. As Oriana and I enter, and she informs me that she'll deliver a brief lesson, handout the worksheets, then leave. Astonished by what Oriana just told me, I quickly inquire as to why, what she normally does in this situation, and what was the role I was supposed to play. Already losing valuable rest time, Oriana sighs and informs me that she has to join Mechi, another Maderera Cordóba teacher in teaching history for the first years. Normally, Mechi would start the history class while Oriana briefly starts and finishes the English one. Once Oriana finishes the lesson, she would distribute the worksheets, ask the students to fill them out and hand them in by the end of the class, when she would return.*

*I must have appeared a little judgmental and surprised when Oriana told me, because once she said all she needed to, she glanced up at my face. All of a*

*sudden, she assured me that Fernando L. and Ezequiel knew about the situation.*

*Oriana informed me that it was not an ideal situation, but because of nonexistent*

*State funding, and the lack of bachillerato teachers, it was inevitable for this to*

*happen. As I settle my facial expressions, Oriana tells me that I am supposed to*

*sit aside during the lesson (so that Oriana could teach swiftly), then once she*

*leaves I will monitor and assist as all the students completed their worksheets.*

*Suddenly, Oriana expresses excitement. "Alguien que se puede ayudar*

*estudiantes con las preguntas finalmente."(Finally, someone that can help*

*students with the questions.). Confused by the statement, I allowed Oriana to*

*continue with the class lesson. It was about the present preposition. Oriana first*

*explained the tense, and then wrote a few examples on the board. While she was*

*speaking to the class, late students periodically entered, greeted her, then walked*

*over to greet me. As many of the students sat next to their friends, and would*

*automatically chat, asking about the lesson, Oriana had to constantly quiet down*

*the class. A little frustrated by these repeated occurrences, Oriana continues*

*teaching, however as she finishes the lesson, she takes a breath and goes on to*

*another more difficult one. I quickly looked down at the copies of the worksheet,*

*only to realize she had copied two different ones. At first thinking Oriana made a*

*simple mistake, I soon ascertained that the second year students were divided*

*between two competency levels.<sup>xxviii</sup> Slightly concerned at this moment, I just*

*stayed still as Oriana then took one of the worksheets from me, and I kept the*

*others. She then asked the class who was a part of the first level. Those that raised*

*their hands received a worksheet. As Oriana was about to distribute the other*

*worksheets, Mechi popped her head in the doorway, demanding that Oriana wrap up her lesson and move back to the first year classroom. She obeyed, grabbing her bag, and assuring me that all I had to do was pass the other worksheet out, answer questions, and then collect them at the end.*

*With mixed emotions of vulnerability and confidence, I followed Oriana's instructions and passed out the worksheets. Unfortunately, there were not enough, forcing the remaining students to utilize their own resources (a blank sheet of paper) and to ask their peers for the questions. It only took a few minutes, but the students were soon preoccupied with work. But the class did not stay silent. Once Oriana left, the students sensed my naivety and dutifully took advantage of it. Before, the students would whisper their conversations hoping that Oriana would not catch their disobedience and righteously reprimand them. Now, their conversations could be heard by all accompanied by quiet music. Not quiet sure if I should proceed, I noticed that the students were still doing their work, and decided to just let the matter go. Moreover, I really did not have the actual authority to reprimand them. If there was ever a moment of disorganized organization, this was it. I tried to respond to every question, hardly having time to breathe in between each one. The class became absolute chaos, but I was not worried, as almost everyone was doing their work. There were some that were just copying from others, however, with only 30 minutes left of class, I hardly had time to stop the copiers. So, I persevered answering every question to the best of my abilities. When students handed me their sheets, I reviewed them, told them of their mistakes, then, after they corrected those mistakes, collected the worksheets*

***Above:*** At Maderera Cordóba, students Nicholas and Rodolfo are completing their in-class English assignment. The two often talked with each other before writing down an answer. As a result, most of the time, their worksheets were completely correct the first time I looked at them. Nicholas and Rodolfo would always finish early giving them extra free time.

***Below:*** The second year Maderera Cordóba English class minutes before it is about to start. Here, students arrived early just to sit and chat.

*one last time. Since I had nothing else for them, I let them leave early. I felt*

*uneasy about this, but they already knew I had no power to force them to stay. As*

*a consequence, some students finished with 15 minutes remaining (giving them a*

*total of a 30 minute break), while others struggled and could not finish. For those,*

*I assured them that they could take them home and finish the worksheet later. For*

*the record, I attempted to write down those students' names, but they were eager*

*to relax during what was left of their break. They left before I had a chance. By*

*the end, I felt exhausted. The class was chaotic and out of control, but at the same*

*time, no one directly challenged authority or refused to do their work. It was*

*actually quite the opposite; again, a disorganized organization.*

---

It is without question that the excerpt above clearly indicates a gap

between ideology and practicality. This was a common problem I discovered for

classes that were not designed to be taught through interaction; classes such as

English or math, where students were more interested in receiving information

than participating in a dialogic process. The students did not have the English

vocabulary or the grammar for any dialogic process. It became easier to

implement a one-way knowledge pathway. Oriana and I would dictate vocabulary

and grammar lessons to the students, assign an activity so that they could practice

in front of us, then distribute a worksheet as proof that they understood the lesson.

Classes were conducted weekly supplying students with different lessons within

the same structure of teaching. Occasionally, there was time for a Q&A session

over past or future lessons, but this was rare due to time limits and lack of interest.

The students that would engage in interactive spaces often had an especially intense interest in pursuing English. For the first-years this was for the case with a group of five students, two elderly women and three younger female adults, while for the second years there were only three, two female young adults and one male. When I started teaching (really, assisting), these students immediately asked me to come in early to give them extra help. I, of course obliged, but felt as if everyone could use some extra time, considering they only had English once a week (an inevitability since each class level had to take around ten class subjects over a four day week). Each day there was time for only three classes. The fifth day, Friday was a make-up day. Consequently, students rarely receive daily lessons on the same subject. Through a class rotation system, some subjects deserved more attention than others, but at most a subject would be taught twice a week.

While it is a Freiren ideal that there are two teachers per classroom, depending on the subject, this was not, in my experience, always possible. Many teachers arrived at *bachilleratos populares* passionate about their political ideologies (the only requirement for teaching there)[xxix], but some only had experience teaching particular subjects such as history or cooperativism. The more basic (and required) classes used the two-teacher system, but often only one teacher was available. The problem was sometimes partially solved as students studying to become teachers use the *bachilleratos populares* as a place to practice their teaching, but there was still a shortage.

Freire influenced certain classroom dynamics, but some of those dynamics were the problem. Teachers wanted to create a flexible atmosphere for students, but that further minimized class time and slowed progression in certain subjects. Such difficulties were increased if students could not attend the classes regularly, for they missed not just a day's worth of lessons, but lessons for the week. While there were always make-up days, due to hectic schedules, some teachers were unable to come in every Friday. And it was uncertain which week students would come.[xxx] Some teachers believed that if the students made more of an effort, such difficulties would cease to exist, but uncontrollable factors, the same factors that prevented students from completing degrees in the public or private sphere, sometimes interfered.

Taken aback by such perceptions, I was intrigued about what other perceptions the teachers had about the students. In addition to the classic rhetoric that most come from unfortunate homes socially and economically, some teachers described the younger students as immature and rebellious. Teachers acknowledged their willingness to learn, but desired a standard of obedience; if the lateness and juvenile antics were reduced, teaching would be much "easier". Since for many students, the *bachilleratos populares* were their last opportunity for an education, the teachers believed the students should behave with less rebellion. I inquired if the disruptiveness also derived from students who brought their young children into class. Most agreed that students' children were distracting, but it was not so distracting that children should be restricted from the classroom. Similar to voluntary attendance, this was a necessary for student

participation. If the students were not able to bring their children, they could not

attend classes.. Freire understood that many students were in oppressed positions,

and it was this oppressiveness that demanded alternative structures (Freire 1970),

such as voluntary attendance and students' children in classes. However, such an

approach could produce an "othering" towards the students (Ladson-Billings

1995;Mohatt & Erickson,1981). In the *bachilleratos populares*, the teachers'

awareness for students' economic disparity inevitably brought forth such an

"othering." Unfortunately, teachers' relationships were often defined as pity

rather than friendship. Since these dynamics originated from pragmatic

interpretations of political abstractions, once those pragmatic interpretations

became problematic, teachers reverted to questioning if their interpretations really

exemplified the political abstraction. The transformation between the political

abstraction and pragmatic reasoning circulated. Teachers developed

reinterpretations once again, transforming those interpretations into new

practicalities (Edelman 2001&Touraine 1988).

 Frustrated by this conversation, some teachers changed the topic by

outlining other problems that were the consequence of State support. Many of

these problems concerned economic deficiencies due to nonexistent State funding

that would complete unfinished construction projects and provide necessary

school resources for both teachers and students. While in the first chapter, I

explained this lack of State funding as a reason for more autonomous spaces, this

dynamic also exemplified a "structural violence" (Farmer 2004). The "structural

violence" forces members, especially teachers, of the social movement to think

more practically. The teachers' demands did not derive from political abstractions, but from pragmatic reasoning, which then creates the political abstraction (Edelman 2001&Touraine 1988). As teachers gave beyond their capabilities, the "structural violence" placed teachers in overstretched positions. Along with a historical-structural approach (Eckstein 2001), social movements embodied a specified "strategy-oriented paradigm" (Cohen 1985).

Correlations between the *bachillerato popular* problems and diminished State funding for some teachers, on the other hand, never excuse teaching inabilities. Laura adamantly contested the notion that impoverished conditions should ever affect the true value of education. It would be advantageous if teachers had access to more materials, but knowledge does not specify the need for expensive scholastic resources.[xxxi] This intrigued me. Laura continued by criticizing the U.S. system. To her, U.S. teachers (in certain areas) had access to the best educational resources, but still produced unfortunate scholastic results. I asked her about these paradoxical results, and she responded that significant finance went towards multiple choice test-taking, ignoring the development for writing skills. Here, because there was a lack of resources, students were limited to writing assignments, which inadvertently improved those skills. I realized why Laura insisted on this point. Many outsiders to the *bachilleratos popular*es correlated their impoverished states with bad educational standards. This resulted in a bad reputation to the *bachillerato popular* education, belittling those that attended the school. Especially for the State, this reputation would provide grounds to refuse necessary benefits to these schools.

Yet, I do not mean to insinuate that the *bachilleratos populares* are a failure. Several of the problems mentioned, whether with students, classes, or the State, only pertained to a small group of people, and can only be addressed by the continuation of the social movement. In fact, I was in complete agreement, with Laura. Unstable economic situations did not dictate levels of education. Aspects of the social movement provided successful, diverse classroom dynamics that were first conceptualized as political abstractions and transformed into practicality, which brought forth an alternative education. Classes such as history, social problems, cooperativism, and methodology functioned successfully in dialogic processes, as students were often engaged and actively participated, ultimately producing multidimensional paths to knowledge. In the end, students progressively developed critical thinking skills. This success can also attribute from the two-teacher system. The overwhelming participation in dialogic interactions brought students to different levels of understanding. One teacher would always monitor the eagerness, while the other answered questions from individual students. This continued in many of the other classes assuring that there was some knowledge progression.

These classes also broke through the rigid teacher-student relations perpetuated in the more basic English and math classes. Cooperativism, methodology, and social problems placed students in reflective positions sharing individualize experiences with the teachers. In exchange teachers broke down their professionalized barriers by employing a Freiren "friendship strategy" (Bartlett 2005). Since some classes established a more participatory atmosphere

Gonzo (left) hanging in the Maderera Cordóba office with teacher Diego (Flaco) (right). They were sitting around chatting while passing back and forth some mate (what Gonzo is holding).

while others reverted to the more traditional styles, a question arose: Is Freire ideology pertinent for all *bachillerato popular* classrooms? Is it really even possible to implement this ideology in all classes?

Even outside the alternative classrooms, qualities of the "friendship strategy" were still present. Students pursued these relationships so that teachers developed a greater understanding of their lives and their needs for a flexible process. At Maderera Cordóba, 25 year old student Gonzalo (Gonzo) frequented the Maderera Cordóba office. He would come in, greet everyone, and sit on the seat adjacent to the door. Always very friendly, Gonzo often showed interest in the teachers. He would share stories from his life alluding towards his troubles. When I was there, Gonzo talked of troubles with his roommate and his landlord.

One day, he entered the office, shut the door behind him, and informed the teachers that his roommate violated the agreement with the landlord, kicking them both out. While Gonzo immediately went to his employers (he was a waiter at a Chinese restaurant) and obtained another apartment, his troubles distracted him from his education, and he fell behind. Gonzo wanted the teachers to know the reasons why. The teachers, of course, were understanding and willing to be lenient. Without hesitation, Fernando L. and Ezequiel asked how they could help. Gonzo's eyes lit up as he asked if some people could help move bags to the new apartment. Almost everyone in the office volunteered. The scenario brought new insight to the teacher-student relations. Teachers not only saw themselves as educators, but equal members of the larger *bachillerato popular* community.

The experiences of the *bachilleratos populares* included both successes and challenges. Hardly discouraged, teachers dutifully analyzed what actions should be taken next from readdressing older philosophical literature, to listening to the student assemblies. In most cases the teachers recognized the problems and attempted to take steps to solve them. With such commitment, I question if the teachers were doing too much. It is clear that almost all teachers at a *bachillerato popular* are passionate, leading to a question that was never fully answered for me: How did the teachers imagine their "perfect" *bachillerato popular*?

### *Auto-Crítica* and the Liberal Paradox

It was almost midway through my research process when a comfort developed, as teachers started inquiring into my life as much as I inquired to theirs. I had fully embraced what it meant to be a *bachillerato popular* teacher. I

was a regular at the both Maderera Cordóba and IMPA offices. I found myself in

constant conversation with the other teachers subconsciously agreeing with their

perceptions about the students' laziness and Freire's theory. Looking now at many

of my notes, months after my *bachillerato popular* experience, I worry that I took

too many liberties, personifying myself too much as "the native."

Further questioning every note I took and interview I conducted, I finally

decided to embrace the experience I had.  In a sense, I utilized the same tactic the

teachers followed: Freire's theory of self-criticism. Therefore, I interpret my

experience as a series of trials and errors, hoping that my self-criticism would

enhance my anthropological understandings of the teachers. More specifically,

certain portions above may appear elitist, especially as teachers conversed about

student "laziness" without fully considering other extenuating circumstances. As a

result, in addition to exposing the teachers within the *bachillerato popular*, this

chapter further illustrates my role.

From the observing position to the reformed teacher, I followed a specific

school of anthropology: auto-ethnography, the process of analyzing oneself (the

anthropologist) as a newly accepted member of the studied community. Past

anthropologists who followed this school of study include Robert Murphy (1990),

who researched people with physical disabilities as he developed one of his own,

and Paul Rabinow (1977), with his reflections on Moroccan fieldwork (to name a

few) (Ellis&Bochner 2000;Murphy 1990;Rabinow 1977;Reed-Danahay 1997).

My auto-ethnographic experience shows that as I was transformed into a teacher,

identifying myself as a contradiction, as one of the natives, but still placing myself as an outside observer.

It is through these spaces, I was able to discover a paradox within the teachers´ roles. Teachers believed in a subaltern alternative education, but they only attained such beliefs after enduring through the traditional "elitist" stages of education. Teachers personify themselves as equals to other *bachillerato* members allied with their factory workers and students, but maintain an elite education for full philosophical understanding.

---

Scene: *23rd of June 2011 [IMPA]*

*I had just finished my cooperativism class (for the third years) with teachers Nahuel and Santiago. My main purpose for attending the class was to figure out what was taught as well as observe how the students interacted with the topic and the teachers. Leaving the class, thinking that I obtained valuable insights, I returned to the IMPA offices (as I always did). There the room was crowded with teachers and students including Nahuel and some of the students that just attended his class. The students had questions for both Nahuel and Santiago, but Nahuel was the only one there to answer.*

*Intrigued, I stayed close, hoping that the interactions would give me more perspective from the students. While the interactions did indicate how students understood the subject and how they respected the bachillerato popular, I soon became more interested by how Nahuel was acting. It was obvious that Nahuel had been studying cooperativism for a long time and obtained significant*

*knowledge, but the way in which he explained certain aspects of cooperativism to*

*the students was different from his conduct in the classroom. It was similar to a*

*lecture. While I do not think Nahuel intentionally wanted to lecture or impose any*

*type of authority on the students, it brought some clarity into more of the implicit*

*issues that affected the bachilleratos populares. It was fully apparent that*

*bachilleratos populares and popular education, in general, supported the masses.*

*But this was harder to create than to conceptualize. I realized that this was a*

*difficult process and the teachers were striving at an impossible task. Their roles*

*as teachers are always going to produce an authoritarian divide with the students.*

*Thinking about it more, the political edge (fighting the State) further encourages*

*the divide. Many of the teachers choose to teach at a bachillerato popular*

*because of the political atmosphere. Most of the time, they are the ones with the*

*political experiences and the ones who have studied liberal ideology, and so they*

*are the ones who feel obliged to communicate this to the students. Although it is*

*just a theory, I believe the bachilleratos populares are grappling on two*

*theoretical fronts: an unavoidable education hierarchy and a liberalist paradox.*

---

This liberalist paradox is seen through many topics from the radical

literature of Marx and Marxism[xxxii] to the basic understandings of leftist

affiliations. Its presence is hardly invisible, yet many who are involved with leftist

politics fall into its trap. This was no exception for *bachilleratos populares.*

Teachers vocalized the importance of more flexible education, while

simultaneously diving into philosophical literature learned when they themselves

were students in more traditional education. Such a dynamic implies that a participant in these discussions needs prior background in this specific type of knowledge. Throughout I received continuous messages that teachers developed understandings of *bachilleratos* through dialogic meetings, and while those meetings are mainly full of teachers they are not exclusive; students were always welcomed. Yet, as teachers were more engaged in more intellectual discussions, it implicitly discouraged the students because it produced an othering, showing the students what they do not know.

Hesitant to confront the teachers with this paradox, I only discussed this with one teacher: Viviana (Vivi)[xxxiii], one of the only teachers that vocalized a concern over the *bachillerato popular* system. Over coffee and a pastry we sat in a quaint cafe debating the issue. Vivi and I agreed that there is a liberal paradox present. We agreed that it was completely inevitable, but we diverged over questions about how or what the teachers should do about this paradox. Again, we both agreed for the sake of *popular*, recognition of the paradox was necessary. It would be incredibly difficult to deconstruct the paradox, but if education was going to promote the masses, elitism should subvert. But even through with such considerations, I returned to questions I had in the beginning: What is *popular*? And, how do the teachers comprehend the concept?

To conclude, similar to the development of protest strategies, classroom dynamics were created from the social movement's process between political abstraction and pragmatic reasoning. However, since many of these pragmatic interpretations have been discursively criticized, teachers are compelled to revisit

the meanings of the political abstractions, reproducing different classroom dynamics. In general, the purpose of a social movement is defined by negotiated processes, but as teachers revisit their primary decisions, these negotiated processes become contradictory; teachers second guess their decisions redefining aspects that were once *popular* as not being so. This circular self-reflection and self-criticism (Freire 1970:115) demonstrates the meaning of *popular*. Consequently, as I stated in the first chapter, these contradictory negotiated processes permeate the social movement.

In addition, these contradictory negotiated processes appear within the roles of the teachers. Teachers identified themselves as equal members to students, but their educator role contradicted this, investing them with more authority. While teachers disagree, contending that teacher-student relations were less hierarchical, only teachers participated in dialogic practices that produced social movement strategies. It is arguable that through participation in the unconventional classes and monthly assemblies, students participated in dialogic processes. Yet, it appeared that whatever was discussed in these spaces had to be finalized with teachers in the Saturday meetings. Moreover as these meetings were open to everyone, the teachers' educated intellect discouraged students from participating. As a result, teachers are seen as entrepreneurs, organizing strategies for mobilization, which in turn, contradicts their philosophies that proclaim equality with students.

# CHAPTER III:  CONTRADICTORY SOLIDARITY

In the previous chapters I probed divisions between students and teachers; this probing encouraged me to question formations of solidarity at the *bachilleratos populares*. Basically, solidarity is defined as people joining together for a common cause. Yet, understanding solidarity within an educational perspective is more complicated when members are identified through specified (hierarchical) positions. While in the first chapter, I explain that the main goal of *bachilleratos populares* was to reduce these hierarchical positions, the second chapter shows that this goal was easier to conceptualize than to implement. Teachers and students developed different perspectives of these *bachilleratos populares* further complicating basic understandings of solidarity. Consequently, I inquired how solidarity was seen in the *bachilleratos populares*. More specifically, since students were criticized for their disinterest in political activism, I will explore understandings of solidarity through their perspective. While I refer back to the teachers' perspectives, I mainly investigate the perceptions of the students, how the students perceived the teachers, and their understandings of solidarity in general.

**Truth in Teachers' False Perceptions**

As stated in the second chapter, teachers had a clear perception of who *bachillerato* students were. After countless interviews with students at both IMPA and Maderera Cordóba some confirmed teachers' viewpoints: the students do not care about the politics. All they wanted is to complete their secondary school degree. Were there signs of student-teacher solidarity in the *bachilleratos populares*? According to social movement scholar Alberto Melucci, social actors

come together in solidarity through the recognition of commonalities and shared identities (Melucci 1996, 1989). In the second chapter, on the contrary, I described separate groupings between teachers and students divided by academic intellect and social circumstances. Consequently, groups of teachers and students found solidarity within each of their respective groups' more than as one unified whole. Teachers developed strong solidarity due to their shared intellectual levels and educator roles, while students joined together because of similar working and lower class backgrounds and student positions. However, both groups created common solidarity because of shared structural violence (Farmer 2004) and grievance (Eckstein 2001). In a sense, *bachillerato* members established a divided solidarity forcing a give-and-take dichotomy, where both teachers and students both complemented and negated the other group.

---

Scene: *15th of June 2011 [Maderera Cordóba]*

*After becoming an English teacher, it was imperative that I arrived prepared and on time. As a result, for the first few weeks, I would swoop by the group of young students giggling and smoking by the front stoop of the entrance doors. The students, of course, greeted me every time, but that never encouraged me to stop to engage in conversation. However, one morning before venturing on the colectivo [bus] to Maderera Cordóba, I decided to review my notes. I noticed that although I knew students' names and could recognize them in the classroom, I really did not know them. I decided then and there, I was too comfortable in my established routine and needed to change things. So that day I got on  the bus, got*

*off, and walked several blocks down until I reached the entrance of Maderera*

*Cordóba. However, instead of sweeping by, I stopped, hoping to talk to the*

*student more intimately. At first, it was a bit awkward; the students expected me*

*to pass by them. Once they realized I was there to stay, they offered me cigarettes*

*crowding around me asking one question after the other. Although most of them*

*were more interested in my personal life (whether I had a romantic partner, my*

*family dynamics, my schooling, etc.), I did attempt to focus on the bachilleratos*

*populares. Through the ruckus, I was able to ascertain that this group of young*

*students, while perhaps appearing to an outsider as a group of adolescents who*

*do not care about anything except themselves, are really teenagers trying to act*

*like adults. Many were considered the head of their households (either because*

*they were the oldest child and leading breadwinner, or had children of their own).*

*To teachers they may act immaturely, but from what I discovered after just 15*

*minutes of engaging conversation, their adolescent appearance obscures others*

*from seeing who they really are and how they react to their education.*

---

I found that the students often did not care about the politics,

especially the younger students, who superficially interpreted the *bachillerato* as a

task; they came, often late, and would spend the majority of their time away from

the classroom. Most students would hang around the stoop in the front entrance or

in a nearby room. Students also complained to the teachers if they stayed a mere

ten minutes over their allotted class time. The students, overall, took advantage of

the teachers' flexible attitude. In general, teachers would not care if some students

were late, had to leave early, or even stepped out for a break and smoked. While these flexibilities were necessary and pertinent for some, the majority of the younger students used it to spend as little time within the classroom, while still appearing to attend classes. Inevitably, teachers started instructing in more traditional forms; if students were going to rebel and challenge the structure of the *bachillerato popular*, teachers were going to do everything possible to try to sustain that structure, even if it meant going against their philosophical ideas, and imposing control over the students.

Such a dynamic appeared odd considering many students initially came to the *bachilleratos populares* for a more "liberating" atmosphere and closer teacher relations. Did they know that their rebellious personalities contradicted the teachers' intent? The more rebellious the students were, the more controlling the teachers felt compelled to be. At Maderera Cordóba, I interviewed a group of students specifically around these questions. The students, Lola, Nicholas, Florencia, and Jose were surprised. On the contrary, they perceived their actions as "natural", how students were supposed to conduct themselves, thus depicting the teachers' actions as "righteous" and "normal". Teachers' attempts to control them were invisible to the students. Specifically, Lola and Florencia stated how open and understanding the teachers were, never mentioning the teachers frequent demands that they come inside for classes. While the teachers found such attitudes frustrating, students felt it was normal considering it is how they acted in the traditional educational system. Students took such attitudes to the *bachillerato popular* system. To them, they were acting like "regular" students and the

teachers were dutifully playing out their educator responsibilities. Students never

thought they had to act differently within the *bachillerato popular*.

Ultimately, this brought up questions about how students were supposed

to act. Were the students capable of change (or assimilation) to meet the teachers'

expectations? To really answer this question, it was best to ask someone who

embodied both the roles of teacher and student--someone such as Gabriel (Gaby).

Gaby first came to IMPA around five years ago as a student. Three years after

Gaby completed his degree, and he went on to the *Universidad de Buenos Aires*

(University of Buenos Aires) with a concentration in Sociology. Gaby now

attended classes with his *bachillerato* teachers. In a way, Gaby physically left the

*bachillerato popular* world, but in some ways, he never actually left. It was not

long until Gaby returned to IMPA as a teacher, instructing cooperativism classes

for the second year students. Therefore, Gaby developed understandings about the

perspectives of both the teachers and the students.[xxxiv] Intrigued, Gaby listened as

I listed my perceptions of both teachers and students. His response was

punctuated with laughter; Gaby confirmed that the teachers were not completely

oblivious to student perspectives. Even Gaby, as a student, was disinterested in

the political rhetoric and more interested in getting through three years of school.

It was not until he entered the university level that his interest in politics

heightened. Since returning to IMPA, Gaby realized he should have taken a more

political interest as a student. As a teacher Gaby encouraged students to do the

same. Yet, Gaby reassured me that ultimately students do care, or else they would

not actively pursue the *bachilleratos populares*; they just may not realize they have an interest in politics.

However, some of the older students such as Marta (IMPA) and Magdalena (Maderera Cordóba) were frustrated, like the teachers. They believed the rebellious attitudes were childish and repeatedly informed the younger students when they were acting out of place. On the other hand, both Marta and Magdalena adamantly disagreed with perceptions that the younger students were not serious, or were lazy about their education. The older students would complain to the younger students about their disruptiveness, but unlike their reactions to the teachers' complaints, the younger students would listen seriously to the older students. I was curious as to why, and the younger students explained that the older students were peers, equal in social standing to themselves. Even with the various conflicts, the younger and older students understood themselves as one collective unit. If one of the students expressed frustration or annoyance to the others, they were more likely to pay attention than if the teachers articulated such feelings.

Contrary to the teachers' belief, students never felt equal to the teachers. Yet like the teachers, students still vocalized their solidarity with each other. As this divided solidarity was a product of differing educational positions, students inadvertently placed the teachers and themselves in specific, differing roles within the social movement. Students saw the teachers as the organizers of political activities and mobilizations, interpreting their positions as superior. While teachers may have placed themselves in these positions without a sense of

superiority, the students felt the teachers' intellectual capacity qualified them for

superior responsibility. In the second chapter, I argued that the teachers' position

was that of "entrepreneurs" of social movements (Touraine 2000). As teachers

embodied this role in the classroom setting, students willingly accepted it,

accepting subservience in political activities and protests. As a result, while

students may have appeared as careless, in actuality their carelessness was a

disguised trust that teachers know best how to fight for students.

**Beyond the Teachers' Perceptions**

Nonetheless, teachers and students still expressed frustration with each

other by constantly criticizing each other's' perceived weaknesses. As teachers

mainly criticized students for classroom disobedience, students thought teachers

were ignorant of their "whole story." Some teachers often associated student

disinterest in politics and Marxist discourse as a lack of seriousness in their

education.  Several students claimed they were serious, but stated family demands

or bad employment prospects forced them to focus on their immediate needs.

However, in order for this to be possible, students first needed a secondary degree.

To many of these students, the teachers spent too much time in dialogic spaces,

unaware of the students' social circumstances. Many students insinuated that

teachers were out of touch with their lives. In short, they felt that teachers often

employed rhetoric that implied the students were careless. Throughout this

chapter, I will address misconceptions of carelessness, further analyzing the

understanding of solidarity.

Scene: *6th of July 2011 [IMPA]*

*Although basic classes such as science and math were an intricate part of IMPA education, as a student, I only attended the more alternative classes such as cooperativism, social problems, and employment technologies. While there, I learned a lot about the meaning of cooperative development, approaches to solving everyday problems, and ethics within the workplace, such understandings only explain the teachers' perspectives. My observations extended beyond what was taught and more towards students' reactions. I would sit in different parts of the classroom, attempting to grasp students' viewpoints. Students sitting in the front participated attentively, working with the teachers' clear approval. Students seated in the back hardly expressed any interest, hoping to complete the class period without any teacher recognition.*

*On the other hand, no matter where the students sat, almost all wanted to be there. Some needed to complete their degrees as a way to obtain better jobs, while others genuinely wanted to continue onto university. All the students would come in, sit down, and immediately supply themselves with paper and a writing utensil. Even the students, who wished to go unnoticed, always took notes and did the assignments (although they often did the assignments late). As I talked to many of the disinterested students, I discovered that many did not care which subjects they learned, or the underlying politics, they just wanted an education, especially an education that worked for them. However, some students did think*

*Above:* A photo of some IMPA third year students attending their literature class. Here, one can see that students are comfortably seated, positioning themselves towards the teacher anyway they see fit. The only important element is that the students pay attention.

*Below:* Here is a photo of the same class from a different angle. Here, one student from the back of room is asking a question. The teacher, Bianca is leaning forward to hear. Bianca is forced to teach from the front of the classroom in a lecture style considering she is the only one. Moreover, the photo also shows how the factory space was converted into a classroom and what construction still needs to be done.

**Above and Left:** These are more photos of students in IMPA classres. As you can see from the photos, students often sat together. For in class assignments, students would talk amongst themselves, working together to answer the questions. The students in the photo wished to remain unknown.

**Below:** This is a photo of two older students listening attentatively to the teachers. Older students often sat together separate from the younger. They relied on each other with class work. The students, even though wanted their photo taken, wished to remain unknown.

*the alternative classes provided "real world" information that was actually useful.*

*They knew that knowing their rights, and how social structures should operate,*

*better prepared them to resist any possible manipulation. So while they rolled*

*their eyes as the teachers announced important political updates, most of them*

*actually cared.*

---

Students were more multidimensional than what the teachers perceived. Students straddled between two stereotypical dimensions: one where they were reprimanded for their "normalized rebellion," and one where their circumstances inadvertently encouraged them towards a more participatory stance. Does the excerpt above exemplify and contradict this binary questioning of how one can tell whether the students cared in the classroom (versus the streets) or did not care? And what does "caring" actually mean?  It was clear the students wanted their secondary degrees, but for what reason? At IMPA and Maderera Cordóba, students said that they were there for better economic opportunities, while only a few wanted to continue their education to a university level. Why in a *bachillerato popular*? The flexibility, freedom, and close teacher relations were appealing, but many students had already left school with intentions of not returning. Mainly older students spoke as if, for a while at least, they could survive without a secondary degree, as they had done for years. So why return?

Part of the answer is that the State started enforcing educational requirements where jobs that previously did not need a secondary degree, suddenly mandated such a qualification. Once again, unemployment increased as

workers returned to the classroom aspiring to sustain their jobs or even attain better paying ones. The State's intention was to increase skills levels, but instead it disadvantaged working class and minority populations. Adult workers were forced into a double-bind, one where the State required a high educational standard, and one where their social contexts (homes, families, etc.) required continuous economic support.*xxxv* This represented a form of structural violence (Farmer 2004).

The younger students stated that their main reasons for transferring to *bachilleratos populares* were because their previous schools "*no los aceptaron*" (did not accept them). This statement refers to the schools expelling students, but not for the reasons such as adolescent antics or violent outrage. Instead students were expelled because of absences, often caused by family or job obligations, which threatened their ability to pass their course levels. In the traditional Argentine educational system[xxxvi], funding is based on student population. The school reports the student population to the State, and, the State calculates a "strict" annual funding plan on the basis of that population. The State expects the schools to maintain that population (give or take minimal variation) thereby creating a scenario where the schools answer first to the State, then to the students' welfare. So if students, for whatever reason, did not attend enough classes causing them to be held back, it would throw off the population dynamics causing a decrease in funding. Decreased funding became grounds to expel students rather than allowing them to repeat a year over (Ampudia&Elisalde 2009). In this sense, younger students experienced their own kind of structural

violence (Farmer 2004) as expulsion prevented them from scholastic advancement (Ampudia&Elisalde 2009).[xxxvii]

It is because of such structural violence against the older and younger students that they turned towards the b*achilleratos populares*. Contrary to the teachers' belief, the majority care about the *bachillerato* system as many interpret it as their last opportunity. They embraced the alternative processes, not only following their academic demands, but territorializing the schools as their own. This was another reason why students demonstrated subservience to political and dialogic aspects of the *bachillerato*. Students knew their injustices would be fought, although they felt they did not have the time to do so. Students came to the *bachilleratos populares* so that they could balance demanding social lives with their academic ones.  Students did not have the time for everything--time, which according to students, was more available to the teachers.  The teachers are able to participate in Freire's recommended dialogic spaces, while students, because of structural violence, were not.[xxxviii]

---

Scene: *3rd of June 2011 [IMPA]*

*Four days a week, the schedules of the bachillerato popular is normally set, rigid in routine. Students and teachers are often compliant to this schedule. But, the fifth day, Friday, is a clase de apoyo (makeup day) is more flexible. It has a schedule that is constructed mainly by the students. They are the ones that determine its existence; without the students, the day would cease to exist. Moreover, it is a day when teachers expand their roles beyond that of educators,*

***Above and Below:*** At Maderera Cordóba, psychology teachers Diego and Carolina are helping students with make-up work. Above, the photo shows Carolina (upper right) helping two girls  using the chalkboard as an aid. Below the photo shows Diego helping one student with concepts of Freud. The two eventually get into a debate about Freud analysis.

*to being construction workers, and administrators. More dedicated students also take over these roles. The first time I attended a makeup day at IMPA, I remember entering the office and seeing Angela and Lucas (students) sweeping the floor and dusting the shelves. The music was blasting and because I did not want to disturb them, I went on popping my head into every room, wondering who was in each and what they were doing.[xxxix] I found more students either cleaning or sitting studying (sometimes with a teacher, sometimes on their own waiting for a teacher). The few teachers that were there (it was still early in the morning) were constantly walking in and out of various classrooms, helping several groups simultaneously. Others, like IMPA teacher Nahuel and student Pablo, worked on electric construction projects. No matter the activity, the day was more relaxed as all of the students set their own goals of what they wanted (and needed) to do, and the pace of doing it. In a sense they appeared right at home, passing around snacks and mate while smoking and conversing. Some even literally put their feet up. The teachers also appeared more relaxed as they engaged in personal conversations between their lessons. There was no division between teachers and students, like one would see in a classroom. Everyone was equal. Overall, it was a day where the students dictated the schedule.*

---

Make-up days were a classic example of student *territorialización*. It was a day where students did not rely on the teachers, but the teachers relied on the students. Teachers followed the lead of the students. It was one of the only times, apart from the monthly assemblies, that students dictated the terms in the

*bachillerato popular* system. If students were not interested in the make-up days, they would not voluntarily come in or be willing to clean and assist in construction projects. It is clear from the evidence provided by the excerpt and other evidence, the teachers were in a contradictory state: they vocalized disappointment in the students' carelessness, but simultaneously recognized the students' initiative in the assemblies and on make-up days.

Students state that they care, but to different degrees in different ways. There were those that care, showing it through obedience in the classroom; those that care, showing it through assembly participation; and those that care showing it through attendance and by assisting on make-up days. Young or old, poor or middle class, childless or with children, all the students established unique places within the *bachillerato*, demonstrating their own distinct way of caring.

**How Protests Encouraged a New Form of Solidarity**

Even through these criticisms, a divided solidarity remained. This was especially the case as many participants disagreed with the student and teacher stereotypes. There was no question that some students were disinterested in philosophical dialogic practices, but did that fully signify a disinterest in politics? Half way through my fieldwork process, I realized, when conversing with students, we never completely defined the meanings of politics. I would simply ask students what they thought about the *bachillerato popular* politics, and they would shrug their shoulders not responding. I thought it was clear that students just did not think about the politics, but it was more that I needed to ask the *right* questions. The division within solidarity may have pertained more towards

differences within social actors' responsibilities. On the other hand, as students and teachers worked together during make-up days and protests, there were fewer examples of separation. Both teachers and students recognized their shared grievance identities, producing more collective action (Eckstein 2001).

---

Scene: *15th of July 2011 [Maderera Cordóba]*

*One day in my second year English class, as the students were loudly and tentatively working on the assigned worksheet, Ezequiel came in along with a couple of third year students. As Ezequiel quieted the class, the third year students spoke. At first timid and shy, they soon commanded the room, asking for peer support as they wanted to dedicate tomorrow to preparing for the next protest (which was going to be that following Thursday). Without fully understanding where the inspiration came from, I noticed that same enthusiasm spreading from the third year students to some of the second year ones. Some jumped out of their seats, and raised their voices in solidarity. Once Ezequiel saw that all of the students were in agreement, he then announced that many of the classes would be cancelled in exchange for protest preparation.*

*The second year students applauded as Ezequiel and the third year students left. I tried to refocus the students on their work, initially shocked by their reaction to Ezequiel. I knew that some of the students were sincerely dedicated to "the fight" and the protest. Others, I thought, may be faking their enthusiasm because it meant they would not have to go to class for two straight days. Yet, I was wrong, especially since as the class was refocused to its routine,*

*conversations turned from who had the coolest tunes and which celebrity was*

*more fabulous, to which person would bring what materials, as well as to ideas*

*for new protest songs. Even some of the students who already knew they were*

*unable to attend the protest were excited. Walking by, I overhead one student,*

*Nicholas, say that he always wanted to participate in the protests, but couldn't*

*because it conflicted with his employment hours (the protests often started around*

*2:00 to 3:00 in the afternoon and would end around 5:30 to 7:00pm.)[xl] Since he*

*was able to make the preparation time, Nicholas felt in a way, he was*

*participating in the protest. More so, the conversations after the class refocused*

*showed that, while past conversations implied that the students did not care about*

*the politics, they were referring to a specific aspect of the politics. At this point, it*

*was safe to say that the students cared about injustice and educational freedom*

*(flexibility), which can be understood as political, but did not care for the*

*teachers' desires for philosophical debates (which students identified as*

*"politics" because of how teachers perceived the politics as such).*

---

The above excerpt tells us something about the students' relationship

within the *bachillerato popular* social movement politics: their position is more

than a "deprived subservience." Students proactively promoted political action.

But, would it be accurate to say that students were interested in politics? In

general, the term politics alludes to State politicians and policies, something that

students hardly associated with. There were rare occasions where students openly

vocalized their interests in politics in this sense of the word, yet most of these

times, the students' interests were intertwined with oppressed life experiences.

For example, elderly Maderera Cordóba student Gonzalo[xli] inevitably became

interested in politics because of his experiences of repeated State abuse. Gonzalo

was originally born in La Paz, Bolivia, and moved to Buenos Aires in his late

twenties with his wife and two small children. Like many other Bolivian

immigrants, his reason was pursuit of a better life. Primarily, Gonzalo thought he

would gain better opportunities, especially since he had completed his secondary

degree in Bolivia, but once he arrived in Buenos Aires, Gonzalo soon discovered

that was not the case. Even with the proof of documentation, his degrees were

declared not legal. By the Argentine bureaucracy, Gonzalo was considered an

uneducated man; he was faced with two options, either return to school in Buenos

Aires or attempt employment without any recognized qualifications. Gonzalo

pursued employment. It was one of the most difficult moments in his life, and he

often wonders if he made the right decision. However, with the support of his

immediate family, Gonzalo challenged the State's decision. Now in his late forties,

Gonzalo still continues the fight, but he is also finishing his degree at a

*bachillerato popular*. Since Gonzalo has in a sense complied with the State, there

is a question whether his personal fight is paradoxical. Gonzalo disagrees. He

believes his fight is stronger than ever because the *bachilleratos* were fighting as

well.

  While listening to Gonzalo's story one Friday afternoon, I did not realize I

was not alone. A couple of the younger students, Bruno and Jose, were also

listening, and by the expressions on their faces, it was obvious it was the first time

they had heard that story. Interested to hear their reactions, I asked them what they thought. Both nodded their heads responding that Gonzalo's story was inspirational and validated why "we" [the *bachilleratos populares*] fight. Bruno continued speaking, relating Gonzalo's fight to his older age. The fact that he had so much experience, endured so much heartache, inevitably classified him as politically experienced and active. Intrigued, I asked Bruno if only the older students have reasons to be politically active, and if so, then why was he a strong participant in the protests (since identified as one of the younger students). He responded that his social role was as an ally, someone that supported the teachers and other students in their fight to achieve social and economic justice. This is perhaps ironic, considering that Bruno (and others in his social position) came to the *bachilleratos populares* after being expelled from public school.[xlii] To an outsider Bruno had the right to fight as much as the older students and the teachers.

Despite Bruno's perceptions, the older students were not the only ones fighting for social and/or economic justice. Take, for example IMPA student Pablo. Well into his mid-twenties, he always greeted people with a humble smile. Pablo wore the same outfit everyday (with minimal alterations): a partially stained white t-shirt covered by a rundown brown leather jacket trimmed with sheep fur, navy blue sweat pants, and scuffed up black leather shoes two sizes too big for him. His hair, cut in a classic mushroom style, was as black as the dark night sky. Everyday Pablo was one of the first students to come in, and always one of the last to leave. Along with a blue plastic bag that carried his school supplies, Pablo

Pablo at one of the protests holding an IMPA sign.

sometimes brought in a basket of *pan lleno* (bread sandwich stuffed with cold cuts) to sell. It was more than apparent that Pablo lived in impoverished circumstances. Born to an absent father and an alcoholic mother, Pablo literally grew up on the streets, bouncing between dwellings. At one point Pablo and his mother even lived in their car. At a young age he was forcefully taken out of school in order to pursue a job to support his mother's drinking habit. Only around six or seven at the time, Pablo became a regular beggar. At age 10, his mother abandoned him, leaving him to confront the same impoverished atmosphere he endured during childhood. Pablo stared off into a blank space as he told his stories. It was clear that Pablo lived a life of incredible deprivation. During our interview, he never explicitly narrated the events from his abandonment to the moment he arrived at the *bachillerato*, and because of the expression on his face, I was fearful to even ask.

Nonetheless, through his hardships, Pablo learned the importance of political activism. From the moment he arrived at IMPA, he instantly became a prominent participant. Pablo realized that within his age group, he was a rare breed, always one of few students fighting alongside the numerous teachers. At the school for four months, the teachers were aware of his circumstances, and contributed to Pablo's well-being through donations of school supplies and financial assistances. However, even when I was there, it was doubtful he would stay off the streets for long. But as long he continued fighting and remained a participant of this communal process where members took care of each other, Pablo felt secure. His fight was not only to keep him (and his friends) off the streets, but to fight for a system that had the means to aid people, like him. *Bachilleratos populares* strive for communal atmosphere, an atmosphere crucial to Pablo's success.

It is questionable if Gonzalo and Pablo would never have been interested in politics if it was not for their experiences of struggle. Political involvement is more likely when it is personalized by the experience of individual obstacles in life (Escobar&Alvarez 1992; Eckstein 2001). For example at the protests, I would ask the students why they were there, since previously they told me they did not care about the politics. Most would respond that they were there to support the teachers and their rights. As I ask more specifically, the students responded that *bachilleratos* are not possible without the participation of the teachers. Although there were teachers that were participating without salaries, the students knew their participation would be limited if there was no economic incentive, and

without the teachers there would be no *bachilleratos*. It was one of the first times

that I saw the students' true desire for and support of the *bachilleratos* and

realized that their relationship to politics was more complicated. Although on the

superficial level, the students appeared as if they did not care about the ideology

that underlays the *bachillerato*, they realized that without it there would be no

*bachillerato*. The individual educational injustices they experienced and their fear

that the *bachilleratos* might disappear not only sparked collectivity (Eckstein

2001), but a greater interest in politics. Because of the protests, some students in

classroom settings began to develop opinions on the ideological theories.

Additionally, small groups of students were now coming to the *bachilleratos*

because of the politics, overall assuming new roles and responsibilities in the

*bachillerato* and in the social movement. In terms of solidarity, the apparent

divisions were reducing.

---

Scene: *18th of July 2011 [Both bachilleratos]*

  *Today is Friday, known as makeup day.  It is also the day after the much*

*anticipated protest. Eager to gain people's reactions (especially the students'), I*

*was determined to collect insights from both Maderera Cordóba and IMPA.*

  *As I arrived at the stoop of Maderera Cordóba, there was a bigger crowd*

*of students blocking the entrance than usual. As I came closer, I discovered that*

*the big crowd was directly the result of the heightened enthusiasm over*

*yesterday's protest. Clearly intrigued, I wanted to know what the students thought.*

*They loved it! Some students such as Lola and Mara were reflected about their*

***Above:*** This is a photo of Alexis, a third year student at Maderera Cordóba. While in math make-up class I snapped a shot of him making mate for the rest of the class (including the teacher, Jose). The mate would be passed around as students reviewed algebra. Although, at times, asking other students in the middle of a lesson if they wanted mate was distracting, it did promote a communal atmosphere, which contributed to class participation.

***Below:*** Here is a photo of a couple of third year Maderera Cordóba students during the make-up math class. As I came up to them, they were chatting about the protest, and drinking mate once it came to them (Alexis is in the background on the left passing mate to another person). From left, the photo is of Nicholas, Bruno, María, and Mara (one of many).

Finally Florencia (left) and Lola (right) sat down to complete some work after conversing about the protest the day before. As Florencia talked about blocking the entrance, Lola could not stop telling others how hard she banged on the doors. Here is a photo of both of them trying to complete their work only to be distracted with each other's stories.. Photo taken at Maderera Cordóba.

*experiences banging and kicking the front doors of the Ministry, while others like Jose, Bruno, and Uru unhesitatingly discussed their loud drumming. A similar environment had developed in the cafeteria of IMPA. Students like Lucas made almost the same exact comments as of Jose, Bruno, and Uru, while other students such as Sebastián, Starling, and Pablo could not stop talking about the dancing, marching, and banner holding. In both cases, the students were so deeply engaged in their conversations that some even forgot why they came to the make-up day in the first place. Teachers would show up expecting students to need help, but instead found them more interested in conversations about the march than their coursework. I, myself, felt the same as the students, and forgot that it was a make-up day.*

*Now, the students at both Maderera Cordóba and IMPA appeared to be politically driven, a part of the activist world--a world the students previously thought to be solely populated by teachers, now received new residents: the students themselves. It was as if the visibility of possible change catapulted students into a different realm of thinking about, and conceiving of education and politics. Students felt excited and important, and all they wanted was to return to the streets to continue fighting.*

---

The excerpt above places the students in a similar political location as the teachers. Protest participation brought visibility markers that encouraged students' involvement in explicit politics. At the same time, those visibility markers romanticized the students' experiences. While students came to believe that the protest contributed to possible change, some decided that this method was the only action necessary. This was so much the case that these students began to believe that the teachers were wasting their time with the continuously meeting, ignoring that fact that these meetings produced the strategy that led to the protests. At these meetings, political abstractions were transformed into pragmatic reasoning (Edelman 2001&Touraine 1988). The students came to care about politics as long as it generated political action. Nevertheless, as students participated in political activities, such as protests, they became more politically and ideologically inclined. While teachers were inspired by philosophical ideology and inspired by activist events, students worked off of a "strategy-oriented paradigm" (Cohen 1985). Through the "strategy-oriented paradigm"

students increasingly respected and understood the dialogic processes, proclaiming that after the 17th of July protest, they might attend a Saturday meeting. Students were transformed from a pragmatically influenced position to a progressively more philosophical one, which first originated from teachers, who transformed political abstraction into the protest. In a sense, both groups switched their responsibilities.

In summary, while I explained that teachers and students were unified by common grievances derived from structural violence, the two groups still maintained a division mainly seen through diverse shared identities. Due to their academic intellect and their roles as educators, teachers were separated from students, who mainly identified as learners from working and lower class backgrounds. Solidarity, overall, was seen as one overarching commonality forcing together two groups that had their own separate solidarities. More specifically, solidarity was a negotiation, as both teachers and students demonstrated conflicting perceptions of what other group as well as what *bachilleratos populares* were in general. Yet, as teachers and students were thrown together in political action, their perceived separate, static roles and responsibilities become more convoluted. The once subservient students produced a political edge as they actively participated in protests, while teachers, once entrenched in political abstractions, grew concerned with practical questions. As solidarity was defined through the roles and responsibilities of teachers and students, their relation became a contradictory negotiated process.

# CONCLUSION

Midway through my research, I was approached by some of the more senior teachers. They wanted to express their gratitude for my efforts, asking if, once I had finished my investigation, I could send them on a copy of my analyses. Appreciative of their support, I agreed, but asked why they were so eager to obtain my findings. Fernando L. stated that many of the senior teachers doubled as university social scientists, and were notorious for sharing facts about the *bachilleratos populares* with their university students. They would invite those students to the *bachilleratos* for academic projects. In many cases, students took the offer, ultimately writing and publishing articles. Fernando L. further explained that any literature published by outsiders was greatly appreciated, and ultimately would contribute to "the fight". An outsider's perspective allowed *bachillerato* members to see what others saw. As the teachers were especially interested in self-reflection and self-criticism (Freire 1970:87-124), outside literature aided in these processes by offering members a different point of view. While flattered, I however became self-conscious about my research, and I was not completely open about my interpretations. What exactly were they expecting from me? Suddenly insecure about my research methods, I decided to research literature on Latin America anthropology as well as on the *bachilleratos populares*. Such an endeavor would assist me in understanding how anthropologists conduct methodology in Latin America and how that approach might affect expectations *bachillerato* members had.

Latin American anthropologists that focused on the political and activist spheres (Di Marco&Palomino 2004;Doretti 2008; Hermitte 1989;

Renold&Lattuada 2004) in Argentina have typically analyzed prominent social movements within their structures and functions. In addition, all have concluded their works in a similar manner: advocating for immediate policy and bureaucratic changes. For these anthropologists, their analysis supports and encourages public mobilization against their opponents (mainly classified as a State-like structure). Such patterns of analysis are no different for the *bachilleratos populares*. Currently, published Argentine literature (Blom 2010;Elisalde 2007;Gacetilla de Prensa 2007, 2006;Sverdlick&Costas 2008) analyze *bachilleratos populares* with structural and political approaches, classifying them as a social movement attempting to produce necessary change. Although these *bachilleratos populares* are defined as schools, this literature mainly focuses on protests more than the classroom. However, these analyses sometimes fail to provide strong critical insights.

Criticism, on the other hand, is seen a lot within Western literature (O'Brien 2009[xliii]). Unlike the literature published in Spanish, Western scholars explain *bachilleratos populares* in educational studies. Here, scholars describe *bachilleratos populares* through Freiren interpretations, critiquing teachers for not producing more "alternative" education, and critiquing the students for not "caring." Considering the main focus of my research is how these *bachilleratos populares* operated in relations to the State and within the classroom, as it pertains to the social movement, I reframed from analyzing the *bachilleratos populares* from the Western educational perspective. I, rather, analyze the *bachilleratos populares* from a political perspective seen in a lot of Argentine and Latin

American literature (Elisalde 2007;Gacetilla de Prensa 2007,

2006;Sverdlick&Costas 2008).

In the first chapter I address how *bachilleratos populares* acted as a social

movement, protesting against the State. As I analyzed both how the social

movement perceived the State, and the State perceived the social movement, I

presented the efforts of the *bachillerato* members to overcome a contradictory

dynamic: State recognition and autonomy. On the superficial level, recognition

and autonomy are theoretically seen as polar opposites. In a Marxist discourse,

structural recognition comes at a cost; the more recognition granted, the more

control the State maintains (Auyero 2000; Ampudia&Elisalde 2009; Fernández

2007&Sitrin 2006). One perfect example is the public school system. The State

recognizes and economically funds schooling for everyone, and in exchange the

State controls the distribution of information. However, *bachilleratos populares*

are fighting for one as a gateway towards the other, thereby going against how the

State operated. As one can gather this was why there was unwillingness by the

State, yet considering Argentine history, to accept the demands of the

*bachilleratos*, did not appear unreasonable. However, the State had already

proved to be detrimental towards the public educational structure. Through these

resulting failures, the *bachilleratos* were provided the opportunity to leverage for

more autonomy. Moreover, the *bachillerato* members "fight" employed language

that was more compliant with, rather than defiant of the State. They did not ask

the Ministry of Education to completely restructuralize, just to provide funds for

alternative kinds of schools. Their tactics complied with the rules of the State, while simultaneously illustrating where State practices were at fault.

In the second chapter, I reframed my argument away from the structural approaches to the State, focusing more on the effects of *bachillerato* practices within the classroom as a social movement. Since most of the classroom dynamics came from teachers, I concentrated on their perspective. Teachers were dedicated to transforming political abstractions to pragmatic reasoning (Edelman 2001&Touraine 2000, 1988), constantly engaging students in non-static spaces. I questioned the teachers' intent, wondering if their pursuits were too idealized. Moreover, I analyzed how the teachers' "alternativeness" affected students, relying on teachers and students' perceptions of the classroom, and on the teachers' perceptions of the students. While on the streets fighting the State, *bachillerato* members are unified, within the classroom teacher-student relations dictated a dichotomous hierarchy.

As a result, I challenged understandings of *bachillerato* solidarity in the third chapter. Prominent scholars argue (Edelman 2001;Touraine 2000, 1988;Melucci 1989) that solidarity creates shared identities and/or grievances, which promote common action. However, where did those commonalities derive from? While a social movement produces discursive processes where political abstractions are transformed into pragmatic ideals, those political abstractions are sometimes first developed from personal experiences. Various members of social movements experience a variety of oppressions, triggering a variety of reactions (Edelman 2001&Touraine 2000, 1988). For the *bachilleratos populares*, these

experiences were best seen through the students. Some students, for reasons already mentioned, could not continue their education in the traditional schools. These schools would not cater to their particular needs, causing an oppressive dynamic. Students were forced to seek education elsewhere experiencing structural violence (Farmer 2004). For these students, a *bachillerato* became an option. Yet, since *bachillerato* teachers designed the "alternativeness" of these schools**,** students participated in submissive roles, entrusting the teachers to produce the necessary political ideas and actions. While teachers often interpreted this subservient attitude as carelessness, students contended that their extenuating circumstances prevented them from taking on a more active role. Considering these distinctions between students and teachers, *bachillerato* members experienced more of a divided solidarity, where students and teachers were solidified each within their own groups and forced together by the commonality of neoliberal oppression. However, as students participated in protests, they became more proactive both politically and discursively, as *real* solidarity between teachers and students grew.

The purpose of all three chapters is to illustrate processes, which are always negotiated existing within many diverse aspects of the *bachillerato popular* social movement. These negotiated processes are entrapped in contradictions, as indefinite concepts are constantly defined and redefined between polar opposites of binaries. As binary options are tossed back and forth, the contradictions propelled a circular train of thought. For instance, through their vast philosophical knowledge, teachers interpreted experiences into political

abstractions labeled as concepts of *popular*. Individualized experience circulated into abstract thinking, which then circulated into practicality. The circular process continued once members established pragmatic interpretations; those interpretations were then questioned if it became abstract philosophy. Consequently, a social movement was created from this process dynamically solidifying its beliefs. By circulating between political abstractions and pragmatism, members were constantly engaging in contradictions, unable to fully accept one concept or idea over the other.

At the beginning of my fieldwork, one of the first questions I asked was what was *popular*? I know now it is impossible to fully define it. *Popular* was never statically defined, as various political philosophies and actions produced and reproduced the concept. *Bachillerato* members came together from different individualized experiences, those experiences were grouped and reclassified as one cohesive philosophy: *popular*. Once the philosophy was agreed upon, the members discursively produced correlating pragmatic ideas, still questioning if those ideas fully defined the concept. The circular pattern continued to develop as new members arrived, carrying with them new experiences and new philosophies. For a moment, through those differences, the solidarity was divided, only to be solidified once again with similar, but different concepts. Since students (and some teachers) were always entering the *bachillerato* system, only to leave a few years later, unique experiences and ideas were circulated the same way. This process makes the *bachillerato popular* social movement a "permanent revolution" (Tucker 1978).

The term "permanent revolution", first coined by Marx around the 1850s, signified a strategy used by the proletariat to continue pursuing its interests without any compromise. Marx believed the proletariat should work autonomously, eventually forming an alliance with the bourgeoisie once its motives are complying with the proletariat demands. Since the rehabilitated bourgeoisie will continuously tend to revert back to its corrupt nature, permanent resistance is necessary to oppose this regression (Tucker 1978).

Since then, other Marxist scholars, including Leon Trotsky, have utilized the term in different manners. Trotsky utilized "permanent revolution" as a part of his rejection of "socialism in one country." Trotsky believed that countries with late developing capitalism were incapable of providing "productive forces" sufficient to allow the proletariat to completely seize social, economic, and political power; this theory was developed in reaction to Russia's attempted Bourgeois Democratic Revolution. Trotsky did not believe the bourgeoisie was capable of fully achieving its revolution, redirecting the leadership to the proletariat. It would create the Bourgeois Democratic Revolution, while constantly and "permanently" fighting against the powerful capitalists, spreading the revolution's ideals to other countries (Ryan 1996).

These interpretations from both Marx and Trotsky are exemplified in the strategies of the *bachilleratos populares*. *Bachilleratos populares* fought autonomously against the State, hoping that the State would comply with their demands, structurally redefining its meanings of education. As it was constantly establishing and reestablishing itself, what the *bachilleratos populares* stood for

when I was there, may therefore not be the same as what they will stand for in 20 years, consistently changing how the State would grasp *popular* education. All that was certain was that *popular* represented the masses, however considering the masses are defined as a diversity of people, there are consistent contradictions. Moreover, since the *bachilleratos populares* distrusted the State, members expected the State to not stay compliant for long, so their fight was permanent so that *popular* education could continue.

Along with Freire, Marx, and Trotsky (as exemplified above), activists at Maderera Cordóba and IMPA studied literature from Italian Marxist theorist Antonio Gramsci when analyzing aspects of *popular.* Overall, *popular* is interpreted as a non-revolutionary concept, but derives from revolutionary roots. Gramsci, himself, discussed the contradictory nature of social movements, as strategies and philosophies are established from diverse viewpoints. Gramsci's theory on cultural pedagogy (further theorized by Freire later on) presents how different "knowledges" are brought together creating non-static fluid identities (Cox 1998).

Gramsci's theory of "war of position" (1971:9) is also applicable to strategies from the *bachilleratos populares*. Gramsci writes that "war of position" brought forth political agitation in order to achieve step-by-step a different way of life. "War of position" (1971:9) creates revolutions indirectly by complying with the complexities of modern society. *Bachillerato* members, through agitation, demonstrations, and protests fought the State, not to restructure it, but to gain concessions. However, this strategy may have different outcomes. Gramsci also

theorized that the agitation could spark a widespread uprising of civil society, allowing revolutionaries to institute a "war of maneuver" (1971:9), a direct revolution. Such a transition would secure a thorough transformation of the State and the ascendency of proletariat ideas, averting the threat of a counter-revolution (Gramsci&Hoare 1971).

Currently, *bachillerato* members fight using methods from Gramsci's "war of position" (1971:9theory; through protesting, members are developing agitated spaces forcing the State to consider their demands. Yet, while *bachillerato* members deny any revolutionizing goals such those theorized in "war of maneuver" (Gramsci&Hoare 1971:9), in future years this may not be the case. IMPA teacher Laura informed me that the *bachilleratos populares* hoped that the State would eventually create a separate sector of *popular* education next to those of public and private education. Currently, when the State grants benefits and rights to the *bachilleratos populares*, Ministers categorized them under public education. *Bachillerato* members accepted this, as long as they received benefits, but they do desire their own education sector. Their own sector would concretely structure *popular* into the Argentine educational system, reducing opportunities for opposition (counter-revolution).

While I did not explicitly address the theoretical literature within the parts of this thesis, it is important that I outline it here, considering that theory is what permeates the fight of the social movement. As the theoretical social actor is situated through discussions between political abstraction and pragmatic reasoning, it questions whether *popular* will remain compliant to the State, or will

eventually demand restructuralizing--another contradiction between the possible future goals and current fights as shown above. While the *bachillerato* teachers assured me that *popular* education would never escalate towards revolutionary action, considering the contradictory negotiated processes create new mentalities, it is quite possible that, if a revolutionary space develops, revolutionary ideologies will arise.

# PHOTOGRAPHY



**Front Cover:** Protest (6/21Ill) to the Ministry of Education from *Plaza Congreso.*



**Chapter I:** While walking to the Ministry of Education (6/21/11), policemen escorted us on the outskirts. Here is a photo of one of the policemen



**Introduction:** The start of protest (6/21/11) in front of *Plaza Congreso.*



**Chapter II**: Maderera Cordóba teachers Oriana (left) and Mechi (right) chatting as their students complete their classwork.



**Chapter III :** IMPA students in the middle of discussion in their class.



**Conclusion:** Protest (6/21/ II) stopped in front of the Ministry of Education.

## NOTES

### INTRODUCTION

[i] After the creation of the first *bachillerato popular* in 2004, its structure inspired two other forms of *bachilleratos* (which literally mean little bachelors semantically translated into secondary schools) including el bachillerato del *Partido Peronista* (Peronist Party *bachillerato*) and el *bachillerato autonomía* (Autonomous bachillerato--non-credited secondary school that desires complete autonomy from State involvement). These two other forms are less known, and will not be mentioned in this paper. Although the *bachilleratos* are an intricate part of the social movement, their presence is minimal; *bachilleratos populares* are currently battling against boundaries implemented by the State, while Peronist Party *bachilleratos* are educational extensions of the State. The autonomous *bachilleratos* want no relation with the State. As a result, *bachilleratos populares* receive the most resistance necessitating their fight and social movement. In another note, I will use both "*bachilleratos*" and "*bachilleratos populares* to refer to *bachilleratos populares*.

[ii] According to Eckstein, "historical structural" approach has been utilized in many proceeding social movement literature dating back to some of the first Marx papers. While the concept itself takes on different labels, its meaning remains the same.

[iii] Since then, Peronism has been a major political party with Argentinian politics. It is thought its origins derived from U.S. New Deal policies, but has since developed its own historical contexts. While Peronism is attributed from *popular* ideology, it is no way connected to current *popular* regime. Its philosophy encourages a hyper nationalist devotion while simultaneously challenging harmful class hierarchies that hinder social opportunities for the masses. For *bachilleratos*, in addition to the *popular* one, there is a *bachillerato* connect to the Peronist political party. This *bachillerato*, similar to the others, provides diverse forms of education, but with an emphasis on Peronist ideology and history.

[iv]This right-wing ideology pertained to strong social, economic, and cultural class division (all mutually inclusive) strongly benefiting the upper classes and hindering the lower. Specifically, the policy imposed economic breaks towards the upper classes (who economically endorsed and supported the dictatorship) while cutting any aid programing that may have been instituted during the Perón administration or others. After a while the philosophy pertained more towards whatever the government instituted as "right" declaring anything and anyone against the ideology (which became contradictory and fickle in nature) as against the government.

[v] The original intent was to eliminate communists and socialists groups supportive of the USSR. However, it soon became an attack on anyone who contained anti-dictatorship feelings.

[vi] At the time, these persons were labelled los desaparecidos (the disappeared) as the dictatorship maintained weak records and neglect to notify close acquaintance of where they were or if they were dead. Currently, although it is known that those who disappeared are dead, the government is still ambiguous as to how, where, and when.

[vii]*Popular* was first reintroduced in the late 1990s, but was weak considering the main force was propelled by only a margin of the working and lower classes. It was not until years later (2001) when the neoliberal policies marked an economic crisis. There the middle classes joined forces aiding to create the recuperated factories. Another reason for delayed response is because in the 1980s Carlos Menem´s neoliberal government identified themselves as *popular* covering the destructive nature of the rule. Such identification is conjecture and only tactically was done for propaganda reasons; the government was not *popular* in actuality.
[vii] It has been reported that the Argentines obtained this terminology from the French and various French social movements. As to my knowledge, the Argentines have not translated this term into Spanish and utilize the term in daily speech as is.

[viii] It has been reported that the Argentines obtained this terminology from the French and various French social movements. As to my knowledge, the Argentines have not translated this term into Spanish and utilize the term in daily speech as is.

[ix] Hence the term *territorilización.*

[x] Because the *bachilleratos populares* accept adult students, they decided to make the years of completion for secondary degrees the same as adult schooling. In Argentina, Adult education requires three years of schooling. In traditional public and private schools, students need five years of schooling.

[xi] It was really 11 weeks, but there was a two week school vacation. For one of the weeks I conducted teacher interviews and for the other I was advised to actually take some time off. Since it was already difficult to schedule interviews or other fieldwork practices, I agreed and took a week of vacation like everyone else.

[xii] Furthermore, In order to gain more perspective and contextualization, I also conducted research at a State funded public school, *Instituto de San Jose* (San Jose Institute) in Tigre (province of Buenos Aires) and in one rural *bachillerato popular*, Roca Negra. At both places, my intent was to compare the differences between *bachilleratos populares* and other "regular" Argentine schools as well as understand the differences between urban and rural *bachilleratos populares*. These experiences will never be fully explained within the main text, but it did aid in how I conducted research at the *bachilleratos populares*

**CHAPTER I**

[xiii] Although Edelman and Touraine alludes to this, neither explicitly states "political abstraction" nor "pragmatic reasoning" but they explain a circular and contradictory relationship between what they [social movement] ask the State-like structure for, and they stand for. But I will reference them as I discuss these theories it derived from interpretations I developed from their work.

[xiv]Again a historical-structure approach is an approach that analyzes the historicity of structures, and how those structures influence other. An approach that explains the reasons why the *bachilleratos populares* perceive the State the way they do (Eckstein 2001).

[xv] Moreover, *popular* concepts implemented all over Latin America, were utilized as gateway to promote democracy. For example after many countries endured harsh military dictatorships, the new governments used *popular* in order to ensure democracy and community participation. Look at the sources cited from pages seven to ten for more information.

[xvi] In a lot of contemporary literature surrounding the Mothers' movement there is theories of social memory. While this is exceptionally pertinent for the Mothers' movement, for the *bachilleratos populares* it is not as important as the mobilizing strategies the movement does. Since the social memory theory only comes in due to the Mothers' movement, I will mention it.

[xvii] Many dictionaries have translated this word as "governor", but because the position only pertains to the Buenos Aires city versus the whole Buenos Aires state, I have translated it as "mayor".

[xviii] Mate is a traditional Argentine tea drink often drunk out of a decorative gorge shared between small groups of people.

[xix] As of now, while officially the teachers deserve salaries, the salaries have yet to fully distributed to the teachers. The teachers are still waiting for the bill is put into effect.

[xx] Laura, IMPA teacher, one night informed me the extent to their demands. *Bachillerato* members hoped with enough solidarity and outside societal support the State will change structurally a little bit. As of now, the goals that the State has granted are granted with the understanding that the *bachilleratos populares* are a

part of public education. *Bachillerato* members hoped that the State recognizes their alternative school system within their section; *popular* education. Therefore, the State would have to slight alter their educational system.

**CHAPTER II**

[xxi] In *bachilleratos populares*, a coordinator is only a position by name. A coordinator does not nor will it ever maintain a higher status than the teachers. They are the same as the teachers, the only difference is that coordinators take on more administrative duties than teaching. Teachers also take on administrative duties, but not as much as the coordinators.

[xxii]During this time Freire developed many different theories surrounding the subject of education, especially education that was specifically taught for students from unfortunate social circumstances. Nonetheless, no matter the specific theory, all played an important role into deconstructing what he interpreted as unjust factors of the Brazilian as well as other educational systems.

[xxiii] Gramsci also discussed the process of social movement and the progression to Marxist life in addition to his theories about cultural pedagogy.

[xxiv] Supposedly other inspirational schooling modes are situated in places such as Ecuador and Mexico. I mainly gained this insight from my discussions from Fernando S., Fernando L., Ezequiel, and Laura. However refer to a chapter about the Zapatistas and education in *Movimientos Sociales y Educación* by Robert Elisalde and Marina Ampudia.

[xxv] Another reason why teachers did not try to change public education was because after the neoliberal policies, public education went back into its original form. Many teachers stopped fighting believing they had won. Others (like those from the *bachilleratos populares*) thought otherwise using the social movement against neoliberal policies as a platform for challenging how the State handles education. Some teachers were content just to receive services once again, while others saw the State as unstable with educational policies demanding for more autonomy.

xxvi I found out later that this topic surfaced because most students were of age to carry alcohol and felt since they could, they should. They also discussed smoking in building, but it wasn't as prominent a discussion since within ten minutes almost everyone agreed (including the teachers) that it should be permitted.

[xxvii] There was one day Oriana left me alone completely. The class was transformed into a group interview, but because I was alone and the students I was not a proper things soon got out of hand. It was then that I decided not to take on a class by myself.

[xxviii] While most schools in Argentina have similar standards of education for all subjects, second language is the one variant. Some schools provide an option between English and French, while others only provide English but the last years of the school. As a result, if students come in the second year versus the first, plus do not have any background in English, it becomes a problem.

[xxix] There are some teachers at the *bachilleratos populares* who had experience with certain subjects, but did not have a teaching degree. *Bachilleratos populares* did not make the degree mandatory because many felt that the variety would add to the multilayered knowledge so desired. Plus, others felt as long as the "teachers" were paired with another person, that person could gain valuable experience over pedagogical semantics. Moreover, the fact that many of the teachers need to work in other positions questions how overworked were these teachers. Did they really had time to work at the *bachilleratos populares*?

[xxx] Since this situation happened often, other teachers would come in to assist students for classes they did not teach. There were times where this was successful creating a situation where certain teachers never came in on the make-up days. There were also situations where teachers promised in the classes that they would drop

in not specifying the time. Students came in and would wait for hours until the teacher arrived. Sometimes waiting up to three hours for only a 15 minute consultation.

[xxxi] As I was leaving Maderera Cordóba made some significant changes. The first was Ezequiel and Fernando L. hired a new English teacher named Martina. The second was that, together, Oriana and Martina made efforts to purchase workbooks for each student so that they would not have to continuously copy from one workbook.

[xxxii] Literature around this pertained to analysis of Jean-Paul Sarte when he analyze France's role in the French Algerian War. Others are attributed to subaltern studies and postcolonial studies.

[xxxiii] Viviana first was a friend of a friend, who sometimes who showed me the first rural *bachillerato popular*, Roca Negra. She is a literature teacher there and a literature professor at the Universidad de Buenos Aires. I only saw her a few times during my visit, which really just observe the differences between rural and urban *bachilleratos populares*.

## CHAPTER III

[xxxiv] Gaby was not the only one who was a student-transformed-teacher. I met and engaged with two others at IMPA. There was Tamara, a first year university Sociology student, taught with Santiago and Nahuel in the 3rd years' cooperativism classes. The other was Bianca who was well into her studies in a literature concentration and taught literature (often alone due to teacher shortage) to third years weekly.

[xxxv] Argentine adult night schools are also only three years, just another reason as to why the *bachilleratos populares* are two years less than the standard. There were also some younger students that transfered to the *bachillerato popular* system because they think they can leave earlier. Due to social circumstances such as teenage pregnancies,some of the younger students need the abbreviated years. However this is not pertinent for all, thus the students often attempt to transfer just because of this reason. As a result, teachers have now undergone a venting system clarifying the reasons as to why students want to join a *bachillerato popular*. Therefore, not everyone is permitted entrance; *popular* es particular (*popular* is particular).

[xxxvi] This only pertains to the public schools. The private Argentine schools are under a different economic relationship with the State.

[xxxvii] During my fieldwork, the class demographics of the students was continuously disputed between the students and the teachers. Overall, the teachers classified the students within the working and lower class creating a disadvantageous and "pity" scenario. Once I conveyed this information to the students, they instantly contested it stating that there were several people from the middle classes. While teachers do not deny such classifications, they believe this is minimal, while the students believe the variations are more equally mixed. To this day I am uncertain of the exact demographic ratios.

[xxxviii] The few statements is very much the students' perspective, versus a general consensus. Teachers would contend this viewpoint stating that they are also victims of structural violence, reason students and teachers come together. Teachers would say the State no permitting salary distribution forces them to teach in other places, reducing the amount time they could spend at the *bachilleratos populares*.

[xxxix] It was towards the beginning of my research experience with the *bachilleratos populares* and was a bit confused as to what to expect with these makeup days.

[xl] Nicholas was one of the students that always left 10 to 15 minutes early on a regular school day so that he could go to work on time. So logically to Nicholas, on days that classes were cancelled for marches, he preferred to work; Nicholas is one of the few economic providers for his family since his father left the country for better work opportunities. So any extra hours he could up became beyond beneficial. After the protests, students had to go back to their *bachilleratos populares* in order to return the banners and signs. Consequently, students finished their day two hours after the regular school day time.

[xli] This was a different student from Gonzo at Maderera Cordóba who was also named Gonzalo.

[xlii] Bruno missed a lot of classes when he attended public school due to aspects from his social circumstances. Bruno never felt comfortable enough to tell me why exactly.

**CONCLUSION**

[xliii] The only exception to this is Eric Blom's work, *The Emergence of Newer Social Movements in Argentina: The Necessity of Ideological Change for Transgressive Direct Action*. Honors Project. Minneapolis: Macalester University. I site his work above in the social movement section. I site his English work, but it has since been republished in Spanish in Argentina—so I refer it under Argentinian literature.

**REFERENCES**

Abrams, Phillip
1988 Notes on the Difficulty of Studying the State. Journal of Historical
    Sociology 1(1): 58-90

Angel-Ajani, Asale and Victoria Sanford (eds.)
 2006 Engaged Observer: Anthropology, Advocacy and Activism. New Jersey:
    Rugters University Press

Ampudia, Marina & Robert Elisalde
2008 *Movimientos sociales y educación: Teoría e historia de la educación
    popular en Argentina y América Latina* (Social Movements and Education:
    Theory and History of *Popular* Education in Argentina and Latin America).
    Buenos Aires: Buenos Libros.

Auyero, Javier
2000 Poor People's Politics: Peronist Survival Networks & The Legacy of Evita.
    Durham & London: Duke University Press

Bartlett, Lesley
2005 Dialogue, Knowledge, and Teacher-Student Relations: Freirean Pedagogy in
    Theory and Practice. Comparative Education Review 49(3): 344-364

Blom, Eric
 2010 The Emergence of Newer Social Movements in Argentina: The Necessity
    of Ideological Change for Transgressive Direct Action. Honors Project.
    Minneapolis: Macalester University

Cohen, Jean L.
1985 Strategy or Identity: New Theoretical Paradigms and Contemporary Social
    Movements. Social Research 52(4):663-716

Cox, Laurence
1998 Gramsci, Movements and Method: The Politics of Activist Research. aper to
    4th "Alternative Futures and Popular Protest" conference Manchester
    Metropolitan University, April 1998

Di Marco, Graciela & Héctor Palomino
 2004 *Reflexiones sobre los movimientos sociales en Argentina,* (Reflections
    about social Movements in Arggentina). Buenos Aires:UNSAM.

Doretti, Mercedes
2008 " Commingled Remains and Human Rights Investigations" . *In R*ecovery,
    Analysis, and Identification of Commingled Human Remains. Bradley J.
    Adams, John E. Byrd, (ed.) Buenos Aires: Spinger

Eckstein, Susan (ed.)
 1989 Power and Popular Protest: Latin American Social Movements. Berkeley:
    University of California Press.

Edelman, Marc
2001 Social Movements: Changing Paradigms and Forms of Politics. Annual
    Review of Anthropology 30:285-317

Elisalde, Roberto
2007 *Estrategias y logros socioeducativos en Bachilleratos Populares
    autogestionados para jóvenes y adultos en la Argentina (2002-2005)*
    (Strategies and Socio-Educational Achievements in *Bachilleratos Populares'*
    Self- Management for young and elderly adults in Argentina(2002-2005)),
    Buenos Aires: Buenos Libros.

Ellis, Carolyn S. & Arthur Bochner
2000 Autoethnography, Personal Narrative, Reflexivity: Researcher as Subject. *In*
    The Handbook of Qualitative Research. Norman Denzin and Yvonna Lincoln
    (eds.). New York, Sage, 2000: 733-768.

Escobar, Arturo & Sonia Alvarez
 1992 The Making of Social Movements in Latin America: Identity, Strategy, and
    Democracy. Boulder: Westview Press.

Farmer, Paul
 2004 An Anthropology of Structural Violence. Current Anthropology 45(3):305-
    325

Fernández Álvarez, María Inés & Virginia Manzano
2007 *Desempleo, acción estatal y movilización social en Argentina*
    (Unemployment, State Action and Social mobilization in Argentina). *Politíca
    y Cultura* 27: 143-166

Freire, Paolo
 1970  Pedagogy of the Oppressed (*Pedagogía de los Oprimidos*). Transl. Myra
    Bergman Ramos. New York & London: Continuum.

Gacetilla de Prensa
2006 *Movilización Bachilleratos Populares* (*Bachillerato Popular* Mobilization).
    Buenos Aires: Prensa de Frente.

Gacetilla de Prensa
2007 *Movilización Bachilleratos Populares* (*Bachillerato Popular* Mobilization).
    Buenos Aires: Prensa de Frente.

Greenhouse, Carol, Elizabeth Mertz, and Kay Warren
2002 Ethnography in Unstable Places: Everyday Lives in Contexts of Dramatic
    Political Change. Durham & London: Duke University Press

Gramsci, Antonio & Hoare, Quintin, [Geoffrey Nowell-Smith, ed.]
1971 [Revised Publishing Date] Selections from the Prison Notebooks. New
    York: International Publishers

Grimberg, Mabel
2009 *Poder, políticas y vida cotidiana un estudio antropológico sobre protesta y
    resistencia social en el área metropolitana de Buenos Aires* (Power, Politics
    and Daily Life: An Anthropological Study of Protest and Social Resistance in
    the Greater Buenos        Aires). *Revista de Sociologia e Política* 17 (32):84-
    92

Hermitte, Esther
1989 *El concepto de nahual en Pinola, México* (The Nahual Concept in Oinola,
    Mexico). In *Ensayos antropológicos en los Altos de Chiapas*. México:
    McQuown & Pitt-Rivers comps, Instituto Indigenista Interamericano.

Hobsbawn, Eric & George Rude
1968 A Social History of the Great English Agricultural Uprising of 1830. New
    York: Pathenon

Humphrey, Michael & Estela Valverde
2007 Human Rights, Victimhood, and Impunity: An Anthropology of Democracy
    in Argentina. Social Analysis 1(1): 179-97

Ladson-Billings, Gloria
1995 But That's Just Good Teaching! The Case for Culturally Relevant Pedagogy.
    Theory into Practice 34(3): 159-165

Melucci, Alberto
1996 Challenging Codes: Collective Action in the Information Age. Cambridge:
    Cambridge University Press.

Melucci, Alberto
1989 Nomads of the Present: Social Movements and Individual Needs in
    Contemporary Society. Temple University Press: Philadelphia

Mitchell, Timothy
1991 The Limits of the State: Beyond Statist Approaches and their Critics.
    American Political Science Review 85(1):77-96

Mohatt, G &Erickson, F
1981 Cultural Differences in Teaching Styles in an Odawa School: A Sociological
     Approach: 105-119

Morgan, Lynn M.
1993 Community Participation in Health: The Politics of Primary Care in Costa
     Rica. Cambridge and New York and Oakleigh: Cambridge University Press

Murphy, Robert F.
 1990 The Body Silent. London: W.W. Norton Company Ltd.

O'Brien, Timothy
2009 Enfranchisement Through Freire's *conscientizacao* : the Case of the
     Bachillerato Popular de Jovenes y Adultos "Maderera Cordoba". Thesis
     (M.A.)-Georgetown University: 10th of February

Rabinow, Paul
1977 The Reflections on Fieldwork in Morocco. London: University of California.
Renold, Juan Mauricio & Mario Lattuada

2004 El cooperativismo agrario ante la globalización (Agrarian Cooperatism
     Against the Globalisation) (en colaboración con Mario Lattuada) Buenos
     Aires: Siglo XXI.

Reed-Danahay, Deborah (ed.)
1997 Auto/Ethnography: Rewriting the Self and the Social. Berg Publishing
     104(2)

Ryan, Sally
1996 The Permanent Revolution is Not a 'Leap' by the Proletariat, but the
     Reconstruction of the Nation under the Leadership of the Proletariat. *In* Leon
     Trotsky: The Permanent Revolution. Marxists' Internet Archive (Trotsky
     Internet Archive):
     <http://www.marxists.org/archive/trotsky/1931/tpr/pr02.htm>

Sitrin, Marina (ed.)
2006 Horizontalism: Voices of Popular Power in Argentina. Oakland &
     Edinburgh: AK Press

Sverdlick, Ingrid & Paula Costas
2008 *Bachilleratos Populares en Empresas Recuperadas y Organizaciones
     Sociales en Buenos Aires* (*Bachilleratos Populares* in Recuperated Businesses
     and Social Organizations in Buenos Aires). Buenos Aires: *Serie Ensayos &
     Investigaciones* 30:1-37

Touraine, Alain
2000 Can We Live Together? Equality and Difference. Standford: Standford
    University Press.

Touraine, Alain
1988 [1984] Return of the Actor: Social Theory in Postindustrial Society. Transl.
    M. Godzich. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press

Tucker, Robert C. (ed.)
1978 The Marx-Engels Reader (second edition). New York: W.W.
    Norton&Company

Wade, Peter
1995 Advocacy in Anthropology. Mancester: Group for Debate in
    Anthropological Theory