
CITIZENSHIP IN MOTION: AN AGENDA FOR CRITICAL CITIZEN EDUCATION (TOWARDS A DEMOCRATIC, INCLUSIVE, CLOSE AND PARTICIPATORY SOCIETY).

Abstract

This article intends to develop the content that should make up the agenda of critical citizen education in the region of Latin America, under the conditions of the context of influence of global neoliberal economic and political models, identifying and assessing different emerging political-pedagogical approaches and practices that are the sources of a new cycle of politicisation of critical pedagogies aimed at overcoming techno-liberal views to build an inclusive and participatory society which distributes goods and knowledge of interest to the public.

Key-words

Citizenship, citizen education, critical pedagogy, democratic education.

¹ **Jorge Osorio Vargas** is a Chilean educator and historian. Postgraduate studies in Development and Human Rights from the Institute of Social Studies of The Hague. Teacher of the subjects Educational Projects, Citizenship and Interculturality in the School of Psychology at the University of Valparaíso, Chile. Ex-Secretary-General and Chairman of the Council for Adult Education in Latin America (CEAAL), today known as the Council for Popular Education in Latin America and the Caribbean. E-mail: josorio.humanidades@gmail.com

Note: A shorter version of this article was published in the journal *Critica.cl* in January 2016.

**CIUDADANÍAS EN MOVIMIENTO: UNA AGENDA PARA UNA EDUCACIÓN CIUDADANA CRÍTICA
(HACIA UNA SOCIEDAD DEMOCRÁTICA INCLUSIVA, PRÓXIMA Y PARTICIPATIVA).**
**CITIZENSHIP IN MOTION: AN AGENDA FOR CRITICAL CITIZEN EDUCATION (TOWARDS A
DEMOCRATIC, INCLUSIVE, CLOSE AND PARTICIPATORY SOCIETY).**

1. Citizenship in motion: political and pedagogical problems

The rollout of globalisation with a techno-neoliberal label and the repercussions it has on the ways the markets, financial structure, technological development and political systems are organised critically impacts on organisation procedures in educational institutions and the incidental actions of citizen movements and critical pedagogy, leading to a new cycle of politicisation of education concerning both school education, popular education and social movements (CEAAL: 2013).

The rift between the will of citizens and global trade and production dynamics leads to the collapse of the meaning of traditional politics becoming (almost) terminal. In this context, critical pedagogy groups debate the content of new programmatic agendas for citizen education in the political context set out, and of contradictory education reforms that are implemented in the region, which beyond their inclusive and citizen rhetorics do not succeed in dismantling atavistic regulations, institutions and practices that reduce education systems to the role of devices only good for instrumental training, in this way, limiting the changes in schools and education centres to the generation of material, technical, management and teaching work conditions to develop skills considered basic according to social and population groups, and with immediate reference to their dominant or subordinate location in the economic system.

As a result, a mass population is left marginalised by the epistemic and technological innovations that enable citizens to use all of the capacities necessary to develop learning societies, effectively inclusive and which distribute cultural capital and knowledge that is for the common good. It is about promoting education inspired by values which have been recognised and assessed as "human common good" in ethics and law in an era of commodities and segregation which tends to exclude the poor and marginalised as a consequence of the collateral effects of neoliberal globalisation (Bauman: 2011, Pope Francis: 2015).

The so-called "cognitive capitalism" -another way of identifying the current phase of techno-neoliberal capitalism- gradually succeeds in standardising the patterns of socialisation of knowledge and use of new communication technologies. However, in the field of culture and education, such hegemony is in dispute, and an expression of this situation is the emergence of new neoparadigmatic movements which reconsider the foundations of "progress" based on commercial logic and lay down the foundations for a new understanding of well-being by finding a balance between the good life of humans and the health of ecosystems where life develops (Ortiz: 2013).

These new paradigms are essentially democratic as they are based on the capacity for citizen participation as well as criticism towards the constraints that extreme commercialism exerts, through models of "techno-protected" or "police-protected" democracies, on the full expression of people, their organisations and social movements (CEAAL: 2013).

**CIUDADANÍAS EN MOVIMIENTO: UNA AGENDA PARA UNA EDUCACIÓN CIUDADANA CRÍTICA
(HACIA UNA SOCIEDAD DEMOCRÁTICA INCLUSIVA, PRÓXIMA Y PARTICIPATIVA).**
**CITIZENSHIP IN MOTION: AN AGENDA FOR CRITICAL CITIZEN EDUCATION (TOWARDS A
DEMOCRATIC, INCLUSIVE, CLOSE AND PARTICIPATORY SOCIETY).**

The genuine experiences of "democratic reinvention" expressed in alter-globalisation, eco-political, youth, feminist, indigenous and civil rights movements, which we see unfolding all over the world, are not that different to educator and student movements which, in their countries, politically strive to transform the orientation and meaning of education regarding emancipation, participation and generation of citizen power (Castells: 2012; Pinto, Osorio: 2015).

In Latin America, criticism of the functioning of the democracies that actually exist in the region has been taking the form of an issue of mistrust towards institutions and traditional political actors, especially the parties, as has been demonstrated by means of student and indigenous movements since 2011, and it has also called into question the sense of collective citizen action and the meaning of public spaces as areas for expression and citizen advocacy. Nonetheless, this criticism also gives rise to new ways of conducting politics and the emergence of citizen movements that pursue the goal of expanding representative democracy towards a participatory democracy.

From this perspective, we can maintain that we are not facing a "decline" in politics, rather a trend aimed at re-legitimising and enabling democracy by means of exercising citizenship, and full recognition thereof, regarding all issues of public and common interest.

The main issue of these new actions is the confirmation of asymmetry between the principle of respect for citizen rights and the inability of political institutions to guarantee it, or in more direct terms: dominant techno-liberal capitalism and the existing representative democracy do not constitute a virtuous system. The "classic" theoretical and practical issue of the social and economic conditions that should enable viability and consolidation of democracy in society becomes very apparent in the current political situation. In Chile, from where we are writing this article, one of the main shortfalls of democracy since the 1990s has been its precarious deliberative and participatory condition. The post-dictatorship institutional transition was carried out with high levels of "discipline" with the aim of ensuring governability, which has resulted in elitisation of conventional politics and shielding of the political-economic model (neoliberalism with a human face) from criticism from new citizen movements since the beginning of the new century. The results of this occurrence included the political separation of important sectors of citizenship, paralysis in the development of new institutions that ensure a participatory dimension to public policies and an emphasis on security, rather than on developing participatory and deliberative forms of democracy. The notion of what is common in our democracy has been based on the value (and widespread social esteem) of security. When faced with situations of political conflict or social tensions, it is an everyday occurrence to hear the political class talking about the need to guarantee protection of the processes.

**CIUDADANÍAS EN MOVIMIENTO: UNA AGENDA PARA UNA EDUCACIÓN CIUDADANA CRÍTICA
(HACIA UNA SOCIEDAD DEMOCRÁTICA INCLUSIVA, PRÓXIMA Y PARTICIPATIVA).**
**CITIZENSHIP IN MOTION: AN AGENDA FOR CRITICAL CITIZEN EDUCATION (TOWARDS A
DEMOCRATIC, INCLUSIVE, CLOSE AND PARTICIPATORY SOCIETY).**

This expression is merely the way in which political actors react when faced with uncertainty and conflict. There is mistrust in deliberation and people tend to trust more in consensus and agreements that appear to control all risks and reduce the fear of the "different" and "unknown". It concerns us that the country could, in this way, set a trend towards privatisation of democracy and the debate on public affairs.

The debate on education is no different to this general situation. In this specific case, the matter becomes even more complicated due to the over-zealousness of educational policy managers regarding their approaches and results, and the trend towards a security leadership, rather than a leadership that integrates and unites from the perspective of diversity. Educational policies in Chile have been based on the autogeneration of governmental discourse that defines them as "of consensus", "agreed". However, the truth is that such a process of social construction has never existed; there were policies that resisted criticism and diversity of approaches based on an expert policy processing model that excluded alternative views from the official discourse.

Due to the aforementioned background, we feel it is important to consider two relevant issues for the purposes of this article:

- a) the issue of restoring legitimacy in democracy and its ways of expressing the principles of representation and citizen participation, and;
- b) the issue of expanding the quality of democracy understood as shaping a social pact which involves institutions and subjects adhering to the common sense (ethical and legal) of human rights within the framework of all generations.

From an "educational" perspective, the themes we are mentioning involve considering the possibilities, conditions and content of critical citizen education and its corresponding pedagogy, which in our opinion should take on the task of shaping a sense of common Citizenship encouraging a) a democracy of expression (citizens speak); b) a democracy of involvement (citizens establish agreements about how they want their democracy and society) and c) a democracy of intervention and confrontation (citizens act as a collective movement to achieve their desired goals) (Rosanvallon, 2007).

From the perspective of this article, we have to ask ourselves the following: how is this "citizen politicisation" manifesting itself in critical pedagogy movements?

We have identified these trends:

- Globalising the debate on the meaning of education and the social distribution of knowledge and expertise in a fair society and a participatory democracy (education to exercise political citizenship).
- Generating cultural and political actions that redirect the hegemonic agendas of educational policies towards new forms of social and economic relations based on the recognition of human diversity and care for life in every shape and form (education to

CIUDADANÍAS EN MOVIMIENTO: UNA AGENDA PARA UNA EDUCACIÓN CIUDADANA CRÍTICA
(HACIA UNA SOCIEDAD DEMOCRÁTICA INCLUSIVA, PRÓXIMA Y PARTICIPATIVA).
CITIZENSHIP IN MOTION: AN AGENDA FOR CRITICAL CITIZEN EDUCATION (TOWARDS A
DEMOCRATIC, INCLUSIVE, CLOSE AND PARTICIPATORY SOCIETY).

exercise citizenship that promotes sustainable development and responsibility for the earth).

- Developing new forms of citizen coexistence and organisation (*politeia*) which value "proximity", care, local ties, their own knowledge and cultivating community means of managing public and common goods from the diverse cultures and populations: education to develop citizenship for the common good (Economistas sin Frontera: 2015).

These three large trends urgently need to associate their political proposals with explicit epistemic and political "changes" that eventually constitute the power to reply which questions the foundations of a commercial society, its mechanisms for reproduction and its ways of defining the "quality or characteristics" of educational policies that enable critical citizen education to be implemented.

We will now speak about the following necessary "changes":

- Expanding the meaning of education using the "life-long learning" approach as a human right that must be guaranteed by the state and the different ways in which this can be implemented must be included in educational policies generated with active participation from citizens and their organisations.

- Recognising new institutional learning methods which also include schools, managed by social movements, local governments and entities of democratic civil society, and which decide to generate and gain the further knowledge and abilities required for a "culture of comprehensive sustainability and living well".

- Developing education policies which are based on the dynamic of social and cultural inclusion and on the empowerment of citizens and their communities to guarantee access to the scientific, legal and moral knowledge and expertise available for all in society, as well as to new technological tools.

- Strengthening citizen education, in all modes (popular, community, school) as a political resource that increases the cultural-civic capital (empowerment) of communities and allows them to act to defend and promote human rights in all generations and fight against all types of discrimination.

- Training educators who make the epistemic and political "change" that enables the change in civilisation we are suggesting and who express themselves hospitably and pleasantly in the way they live and teach professionally, demonstrating their focus on cultivating a "life culture" based on caring for the "common home" and on socialisation methods that reinforce reciprocity, recognition of diversity, and intergenerational justice.

In summary:

In the context of neoliberal predominance, although we are facing a decline in the moral idea of common good in politics and democracy, citizen movements and platforms are emerging that are opening up new ways of conceiving democratic politics from a participation approach promoting the movement of democratic learning "from below" from the creation of self-reflective and self-constitutional organisations with a high

**CIUDADANÍAS EN MOVIMIENTO: UNA AGENDA PARA UNA EDUCACIÓN CIUDADANA CRÍTICA
(HACIA UNA SOCIEDAD DEMOCRÁTICA INCLUSIVA, PRÓXIMA Y PARTICIPATIVA).**
**CITIZENSHIP IN MOTION: AN AGENDA FOR CRITICAL CITIZEN EDUCATION (TOWARDS A
DEMOCRATIC, INCLUSIVE, CLOSE AND PARTICIPATORY SOCIETY).**

critical potential, based on social movements and networks that litigate and suggest alternatives "from the edges", that is, using organisational processes which mobilise sectors that emerge when acting as "opposing citizens".

Education reforms carried out using techno-liberal engineering criteria are forced to "socially account for" the demands of these movements that expand in different territories in the form of anti-neoliberal platforms of social and political convergence, which in some cases are led by youth and student movements, as was the case in Chile in 2006 and 2011 (Fleet: 2012), confronting the official reforms from the education centres themselves.

The worldwide education reforms from the 1990s and the first decade of this century, which focused on curriculum modernisations, "updating" the teaching resources and the growing privatisation of public school services weakly assessed ethical-citizen education as a heavily weighted subject with such curriculum power that it would generate a political-educational change that goes beyond "conventional civic education" (Cox: 2015).

Therefore, from a neoparadigmatic view of citizen education, a pedagogical and social movement should be rolled out which redefines the agenda in a perspective of substantial educational change as has been expressed in movements such as the student movement in Chile and Colombia or the opposition movements to the education reforms of the Partido Popular government in Spain.

2. Sources to implement critical citizen education and its pedagogies.

Since the 1980s a wide range of citizen movements have been implemented which have questioned fundamental aspects of the operation and performance of the western democratic political system, such as representation, legitimacy of the political parties, the credibility of parliamentary institutions, the depletion of traditional ways of exercising leadership and the inability of democracy to process major public debates without guidance from the financial powers that be (Arditi: 2007; Rosanvallon: 2012).

Intellectual production has been encouraged by these occurrences thereby updating the debate on Citizenship in terms of the key concept of political theory (Wynlicka, Wayne: 1997). By extension, growing theoretical research has also been carried out regarding the meaning of citizen organisations, in terms of social actors categorised in associations, networks and platforms, which demand to be recognised as audit bodies of political power and sources that generate participatory forms of exercising democracy and constitutional power (Balibar: 2013; Rosanvallon: 2007).

In contemporary theoretical development, two dimensions of citizenship stand out: the first, which we could call "legal", is expressed in liberal and egalitarian versions, and

**CIUDADANÍAS EN MOVIMIENTO: UNA AGENDA PARA UNA EDUCACIÓN CIUDADANA CRÍTICA
(HACIA UNA SOCIEDAD DEMOCRÁTICA INCLUSIVA, PRÓXIMA Y PARTICIPATIVA).**
**CITIZENSHIP IN MOTION: AN AGENDA FOR CRITICAL CITIZEN EDUCATION (TOWARDS A
DEMOCRATIC, INCLUSIVE, CLOSE AND PARTICIPATORY SOCIETY).**

the "historical" dimension that considers that Citizenship is social and historical dynamics that have expanded the repertoire of rights shaping new forms of political representation and relations between citizens and the state (Arditi: 2007). In this latest version, the approaches that consider citizenship as a gradual process of recognition and effective exercise of citizen rights, in terms of demonstration of the action and advocacy of the social movements, are assigned with preference.

There is an approach in the theory of Citizenship that we would like to further examine in this article which is that Citizenship is defined as a way of living in an organised political community with practical recognition of the rights and responsibilities of individuals under an ethical system which reciprocates and radically recognises the dignity of others and renounces all discrimination due to differences in ethnicity, gender, age and cultural identity. This approach comes from a theoretical-axiological-historical source: we call it "Ciudadanía de reciprocidad" [Citizenship of Reciprocity] (Rosanvallon: 2012), "Ciudadanía de la proximidad" [Citizenship of Proximity] (Rosanvallon: 2009), "Ciudadanía de la hospitalidad" [Citizenship of Hospitality] (Innerarity: 2009), "Ciudadanía del cuidado" [Citizenship of Care] (Boff: 2002), "Ciudadanía de reconocimiento" [Citizenship of Recognition] (Taylor: 2010; Honneth: 1997) and it is defined as a moral argument that is expressed in social practices such as solidarity and reciprocity.

From this perspective, the definitions of citizenship are not reduced to their modern western points of reference such as universality and equality but rather they expand to consider that Citizenship is a whole set of civic and ethical resources. What has been called "republicanism as non-domination" (Petitt: 1999) would be a manifestation of this form of Citizenship: understood as a social process of building public common sense, which is built in a binding manner using democratic institutions as the expression of the implementation of the ethical and civic capacity of citizens to participate in the res publica, considering both individual and collective moral goods. From this perspective, how teachable this civic capacity is becomes more relevant, as does a virtuous way of relating freedom and individual autonomy with all things community-related by means of practices of reciprocity and respect (Rosanvallon: 2012; Honneth: 1997).

Therefore, we must consider the relationship of these Citizenship approaches with pedagogical reflection. In western societies, the rapid transformation of the public seeking education and the increase in social rights recognised by the state led to more and more educational projects enabling citizen participation. Versions focused on strengthening the social responsibility of individuals in terms of training on civic virtues (republicanism) and regarding civil municipal associations (community allegiances) resulted in the development of citizen education that reached schools in different forms (Wymlicka-Wayne: 1996).

**CIUDADANÍAS EN MOVIMIENTO: UNA AGENDA PARA UNA EDUCACIÓN CIUDADANA CRÍTICA
(HACIA UNA SOCIEDAD DEMOCRÁTICA INCLUSIVA, PRÓXIMA Y PARTICIPATIVA).**
**CITIZENSHIP IN MOTION: AN AGENDA FOR CRITICAL CITIZEN EDUCATION (TOWARDS A
DEMOCRATIC, INCLUSIVE, CLOSE AND PARTICIPATORY SOCIETY).**

Since the 1960s, a notion of Citizenship has emerged as a counterpart to the way of exercising liberal citizenship, established from collective social action (grassroots movements, national liberation movements, movements demanding civil rights, cultural and ethnic movements, identity movements, eco-political movements, feminist movements) which gives rise to new forms and theories of citizen construction of democracy. These new emerging movements systematised an emancipating concept of citizenship, understanding it as a plural cultural form of production: it was argued that in order to exercise such citizenship, the training of the subjects must be seen as an ideological-political and awareness-raising process through which they experience community relations and those of resistance and liberation of the limits of a merely legal view of citizenship (Giroux: 1993). This version of citizenship led to important debates in the context of the education reform in those years, questioning the trends aimed at eliminating the political role of schools with the construction of a "critical pedagogy" which arises precisely from the crisis in conventional politics and the emergence of policy learning networks, with the example of liberating education in Latin America as the most noteworthy (Giroux: 1997), the contribution of which to citizen education has been shaping an agenda, up to the present day, where the most significant aspects are as follows:

- Propose an education of difference that values pluralism and respects the rights of minorities and different cultural groups.
- Foster identity construction processes based on the individual contexts of each subject or group.
- Consider the different conditions of each community in order to strengthen the dynamic of production of citizen rights arising from demands of "difference" itself (gender, ethnicity, language, age, etc.).
- Develop not only a critical discourse, but also one of possibility, thus fostering collective dynamics aimed at creating new orders.
- Establish schools as public spheres (citizen spheres), and understand the school government as the result of self-government and education project relations built by everyone involved (teachers, students, families, communities, etc.).
- Specify the educational projects of schools and generate communication processes aimed at making clear the values upon which education processes are developed.
- Foster education and curriculum changes not only as the result of technical interventions, but rather of processes of cultural creation and the affirmation of autonomous social subjects.
- The professionalism of educators is defined in accordance with values; they are subjects capable of constructing "ethical estimations" in their work, while at the same time being actors in the systematisation of knowledge and learning. They are action professionals and their teaching lies in pedagogical know-how.
- Citizen pedagogy should be seen as a) a production process of identities regarding systems of power, social networks and knowledge exchange; b) a political view that forms part of a platform to revitalise democratic public life; c) an ethical theory that gives meaning to the subject's circumstances and their social practices in networks of

**CIUDADANÍAS EN MOVIMIENTO: UNA AGENDA PARA UNA EDUCACIÓN CIUDADANA CRÍTICA
(HACIA UNA SOCIEDAD DEMOCRÁTICA INCLUSIVA, PRÓXIMA Y PARTICIPATIVA).**
**CITIZENSHIP IN MOTION: AN AGENDA FOR CRITICAL CITIZEN EDUCATION (TOWARDS A
DEMOCRATIC, INCLUSIVE, CLOSE AND PARTICIPATORY SOCIETY).**

power; d) a pedagogy of difference in a politically transformative way. Pedagogy must make "identity" a place to criticise the historicity of the subject and their complex positions in power relations; e) a narrative (a "story of meaning") to be constructed using all that is contingent, historical and pertaining to everyday life, combining the language of criticism with the language of possibility in local contexts building dynamics of citizen power.

3. Identifying the tensions and dilemmas of critical citizen education at present

In Latin America, education in order to exercise citizenship is still a controversial issue, one that generates political and legal debates, disputes regarding "historical memories", ethical controversies and discussions regarding the programs that the states should implement to foster, educate and respect human and citizen rights in all generations. Therefore, it is important to recognise that citizen education is a key task in the effective construction of inclusive, deliberative and participatory democracies. What is more, from a Latin American point of view, which is where we are based, it is crucial that we radicalise the debate regarding the ethical orientation of democratisation processes and explore the possibilities of critical citizen education. (Lechner: 1997).

According to our analysis, two approaches are disputed in the proposals for "education for citizenship" made within the framework of educational policies in Latin America, which are as follows:

a) The first approach is based on the notion of democratic governability. Its argument is as follows: Latin American democracies need to modernise their institutions, especially their parliaments and judiciary, increase transparency indices, implement mechanisms to process social conflicts where the main element must be a system of strong political parties, increase access to quality education and develop policies to fight poverty and for social protection. All of this within the framework of a market model that is not subject to discussion, but which gives political systems a liberal rationality that enables the consolidation of foreign investment, commercial security and a minor position of the state regarding operation of the market. This approach is associated with the values of a representative democracy and although the shortfalls are recognised regarding how it works, it is committed to constitutional modernisation and the development of policies regarding so-called equal opportunities or growth with equity.

Human rights are recognised as attributes pertaining to democracy that lay down designs of governability in order to enable democracy to moderate and agree upon the guarantee and enforceability of these rights in all generations. Rhetorically, it is recognised that the education system plays a fundamental role in sustaining a civic culture that develops this democracy of consensus and ensures that the so-called emerging sectors express themselves or confront each other within the framework of representative democracy. In the curriculum reforms, more weight was placed on

**CIUDADANÍAS EN MOVIMIENTO: UNA AGENDA PARA UNA EDUCACIÓN CIUDADANA CRÍTICA
(HACIA UNA SOCIEDAD DEMOCRÁTICA INCLUSIVA, PRÓXIMA Y PARTICIPATIVA).**
**CITIZENSHIP IN MOTION: AN AGENDA FOR CRITICAL CITIZEN EDUCATION (TOWARDS A
DEMOCRATIC, INCLUSIVE, CLOSE AND PARTICIPATORY SOCIETY).**

teaching citizen values from this democratic civism approach (IEA, 2010; Cox, 2010; García & Flores, 2011; Cox, 2013).

b) The second approach that guided "education for citizenship" in the education reforms takes the perspective of ethical education (or training on values) expanding the teachable nature of human rights towards a concept of education that transmits the training action to the moral and social action sphere of the subjects. Deliberative education and training of deliberative students shall be spoken about as a condition of human rights learning, highlighting moral capacities and the competencies of youths to participate in issues of public interest (Madgenzo, 2011). According to this perspective, the spheres of education for citizenship are mediated by an idea of democratic citizenship that is not only established from an institutional perspective but also: a) from practising political ethics that are expressed in the desire to build common sense in order to participate in the public sphere; b) in developing the autonomy and responsibility of the subjects; c) in generating collective actions to democratise society, participation in existing mechanisms to demand rights and freedoms from the state; d) the implementation of subjectivity sensitive to mutual help, acknowledgment, care for people and the environment, solidarity and non-discrimination.

These dilemmas we have identified within the framework of "education for citizenship" policies in the education systems in the region lead us to explore what we are proposing as content mapping for critical citizen education. Let's say that considering:

- The rift between the potential institutional capacity to open the fields and mechanisms for citizen participation as a result of the action of social movements and the restrictions established by the predominant governability model, in order to prevent the "overflow" of citizen aspirations in relation to the change of economic model and the possibility of progressing towards economic policies driven by the public best interest on all aspects of human rights.

- The inability of traditional political parties to "read" the democratic practices of confrontation as sources of revitalisation of citizen life, whereby a feeling of threat and mistrust of the self-constitutional capacity of citizen movements prevails.

- The weakening of the transformational capacity of left-wing coalitions when taking office due to the "demands" of the global dynamic of techno-capitalism and the compliance with using social-liberal models that lean more towards "growth" than equity.

- Disputes regarding leadership, direction and institutional proposals of citizen movements with a view to achieving institutional changes and shifts in public policies. However, the experiences of local and regional governments are sources of innovation and creation of institutional paths for new forms of citizen participation and engagement between governments and democratic civil society.

**CIUDADANÍAS EN MOVIMIENTO: UNA AGENDA PARA UNA EDUCACIÓN CIUDADANA CRÍTICA
(HACIA UNA SOCIEDAD DEMOCRÁTICA INCLUSIVA, PRÓXIMA Y PARTICIPATIVA).**
**CITIZENSHIP IN MOTION: AN AGENDA FOR CRITICAL CITIZEN EDUCATION (TOWARDS A
DEMOCRATIC, INCLUSIVE, CLOSE AND PARTICIPATORY SOCIETY).**

- The range of social and cultural demands expressed in civil society and its organisations cause "emergences" that are not always convergent, given the different logics of the actors who have different social roots and cultural adhesions, who adopt their own patterns of identification and action and which may be more or less reactive to the left-wing policies existing in the continent, and who do not always include human rights in all of its generations in the debate as a focal point of their "policies". Sovereignism and new constitutionalism "in civil society" may be a good name for this decisive issue for both the reality of social movements and education for citizenship (Rosanvallón, 2007).
- The crisis of state control of public security due to organised crime and people's subsequent loss of legitimacy and trust in governments and the generation of networks that substitute joining legally constituted authorities for involvement in highly corporatized and violent paramilitary groups that are attractive to displaced young people and children, as well as the abused and marginalised.

Critical citizen education is conceived from the following ideas:

- a) As teaching regarding legal aspects of democracy, thus regarding recognition, protection and exercising of the civil rights and public freedoms recognised in a Social Rule of Law. In the strict sense, we can say that this definition has the liberal-democratic tradition of citizenship as a genuine source. An agenda to strengthen citizenship in this area is related to political-institutional reforms that allow direct forms of participation, legislative initiative by the people, free access to government information (public accounting), citizen control of governmental policies, participatory management of local budgets, inclusion of the recall election for representatives elected by popular vote, democratisation of regional governments, amongst other issues of no less importance. In this sense, the concept of citizenship is linked to full respect of human rights and it is a true test of the quality of democracy of state institutionality on a fundamental level.
- b) Teaching on respect for diversity, tolerance, integration, non-stigmatisation and non-discrimination for whatever reason. In this sense, we distinguish demands such as a legal framework that sanctions non-discrimination, respect for emigrant rights and compliance with international and multilateral agreements signed by the states.
- c) Teaching on recognising the communities and organisations of civil society as actors that must be assessed, consulted, integrated and subjected to, through formal institutions, citizen control by public management and the authorities, beyond the constitutional function of inspection exercised by the parliamentary institution and other control bodies belonging to the state. This recognition of the "citizen subject" is key for establishing a democracy subject to formal citizen control which has a system to access information that is generated in public institutions.

**CIUDADANÍAS EN MOVIMIENTO: UNA AGENDA PARA UNA EDUCACIÓN CIUDADANA CRÍTICA
(HACIA UNA SOCIEDAD DEMOCRÁTICA INCLUSIVA, PRÓXIMA Y PARTICIPATIVA).**
**CITIZENSHIP IN MOTION: AN AGENDA FOR CRITICAL CITIZEN EDUCATION (TOWARDS A
DEMOCRATIC, INCLUSIVE, CLOSE AND PARTICIPATORY SOCIETY).**

d) Teaching on the communication and deliberative process established by democracies that recognises various collective identities that shapes democracy as a area for diversity. As a result, we can talk about "complex citizenship", thus, a citizenship that, in order to be put into practice, requires the existence of civic and social capital that provides basic standards of trust, the existence of recognised inclusive and participatory procedures to resolve conflict in a deliberative and non-dominating way, and collectives or communities organised in different ways that generate, in society, the strategic capacities of every democracy such as reasoning, dialogue, creating social agreements, community participation.

4. Conclusion: consolidating an agenda for critical citizen education

In order to develop and consolidate a development agenda for critical citizen education in tune with the critical pedagogy movements in the region (CEAAL: 2013), we propose the following:

Work to make "citizen education" a key theme in the current debate on educational change in the region, a challenge that is not only related to reorganising the management of education centres and modernising the curriculum, but also to the definitions of the meaning and direction of the change in question. There is a multilateral debate (UNESCO: 2015) in progress regarding the present and future of the educational institution and its potential to meet the requirements of the time: there is a widespread consensus according to which schools are not satisfactorily complying with their role of educating future generations on the capacities required for citizen performance in the so-called "globalised knowledge society", which still produces significant gaps in access to goods that enable a dignified life, cultural capital and exercising human and citizen rights.

The idea that knowledge constitutes the most important factor when explaining and developing new forms of social and economic organisation forms part of this consensus: therefore, the essential resources for the construction of citizen and production capacities in people shall be information, knowledge and the competencies to produce it and critically and creatively process it.

This is why educational policy must be understood as a cultural policy that evaluates and is implemented in diverse human fields of socialisation, thereby encouraging teaching of what is common and public space, longitudinally with children (a), young people and adults. We would like to reiterate that citizenship is not only the legal aspect of democracy, in the genuinely liberal sense, but also a communication process, one that generates common sense, develops reflective, reasoning and deliberative capacities and promotes civic resources that increase democratic social capital and citizen participation. It is the area where societies build their own "sense of what is common". The "citizen aspect" of democracy involves renouncing any type of cultural shielding by

CIUDADANÍAS EN MOVIMIENTO: UNA AGENDA PARA UNA EDUCACIÓN CIUDADANA CRÍTICA
(HACIA UNA SOCIEDAD DEMOCRÁTICA INCLUSIVA, PRÓXIMA Y PARTICIPATIVA).
CITIZENSHIP IN MOTION: AN AGENDA FOR CRITICAL CITIZEN EDUCATION (TOWARDS A
DEMOCRATIC, INCLUSIVE, CLOSE AND PARTICIPATORY SOCIETY).

the financial powers that be and the idea of consensus as an ideology of security. In this way, effective consensus (democracy), that which truly legitimises democracy, is that which comes from the deliberation and recognition of diversity and legitimate dissent, from recognition, non-domination, "non-humiliation" and social justice (Frazer, Honnet: 2003) ©

Bibliography:

- ARDITI, B. (2007). *Ciudadanía de geometría variable y empoderamiento social: una propuesta [Social empowerment and a citizenship of variable geometry: a proposal]*, in Calderón, Fernando (Editor), *Ciudadanía y desarrollo humano*, Siglo XXI Editores, Buenos Aires, pp. 123-148.
- BALIBAR, E. (2014). *Ciudadanía [Citizenship]*, Adriana Hidalgo Editores, Buenos Aires.
- BAUMAN, Z. (2011). *Daños Colaterales [Collateral Damage]*, FCE, Mexico
- BECK, U. (2006). *La sociedad del riesgo: hacia una nueva modernidad [Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity]*. Ediciones Paidós, Barcelona
- BOFF, L. (2002). *El Cuidado Esencial: ética de lo humano y compasión por la Tierra [Essential Care: An Ethics of Human Nature]*, Editorial Trotta, Madrid
- CASTELLS, M. (2012). *Redes de indignación y esperanza [Networks of Outrage and Hope]*, Alianza Editorial, Madrid
- CEAAL (2013). *Journal La Piragua No. 38: Movimientos Sociales y Desafíos para la Educación Popular [Social Movements and Challenges for Popular Education]*, at: <http://www.ceaal.org/v2/cpub.php?publica=0>
- COX, C. (2010). *La Educación Cívica en los Curriculum Vigentes [Civic Education in Current Curriculums]*, in Tedesco, Juan Carlos, *Educación y Justicia: el sentido de la educación [Education and Justice: the meaning of education]*, Fundación Santillana, Madrid.
http://www.fundacionsantillana.com/upload/ficheros/noticias/201011/documento_bico.pdf (Viewed: 3 March 2016)
- COX, C. (2013). *El Principio de Fraternidad en los Valores, Instituciones y Relaciones Sociales en la Educación Escolar Latinoamericana [The Principle of Fraternity in Values, Institutions and Social Relations in School Education in Latin America]*, in Mardones, R. *Fraternidad y Educación [Fraternity and Education]*, Ed. Ciudad Nueva, Buenos Aires

CIUDADANÍAS EN MOVIMIENTO: UNA AGENDA PARA UNA EDUCACIÓN CIUDADANA CRÍTICA
(HACIA UNA SOCIEDAD DEMOCRÁTICA INCLUSIVA, PRÓXIMA Y PARTICIPATIVA).
CITIZENSHIP IN MOTION: AN AGENDA FOR CRITICAL CITIZEN EDUCATION (TOWARDS A
DEMOCRATIC, INCLUSIVE, CLOSE AND PARTICIPATORY SOCIETY).

- COX, C. (Ed.) (2015). *Aprendizaje de la Ciudadanía. Contextos, Experiencias, Resultados [Citizenship Learning. Contexts, Experiences, Results]*, Ediciones UC, Santiago
- ECONOMISTAS SIN FRONTERAS [Economists without Borders] (2015). *El Procomún y los bienes comunes*, Dossier 16. Available at:
 - <http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:vIKxg8JH-24J:www.ecosfron.org/wp-content/uploads/DOSSIERES-EsF-16-El-procom%25C3%25BAn-y-los-bienes-comunes.pdf+&cd=16&hl=es&ct=clnk>
- IEA (2010) IEA Report on Civic Education (2010):
 - http://www.iea.nl/fileadmin/user_upload/Publications/Electronic_versions/ICCS_2009_Initial_Findings_Spanish.pdf (Viewed on 3 March 2016)
- FLEET, N. (2011): *Movimiento estudiantil y transformaciones sociales en Chile: una perspectiva sociológica [Student movement and social transformations in Chile: a sociological approach]*, Polis 30, 99-116. Available at: www.revistapolis.cl
- POPE FRANCIS (2015). *Laudato si*, Editorial San Pablo, Santiago.
- FRAZER, N. and HONNETH, A. (2006). *¿Redistribución o Reconocimiento? [Redistribution or Recognition?]* Morata, Madrid
- GARCÍA, C. and FLORES, L. (2011). *Los Desafíos de la Formación Ciudadana y la Cohesión Social frente a la des-subjetivación [The Challenges of Civic Education and Social Cohesion as opposed to the de-subjectivation of the system]*. Hacia una interpretación del fenómeno social desde la subjetividad [Towards an interpretation of social phenomena from the subjective], Estudios Pedagógicos XXXVII No. 2, 329-344, Valdivia, Austral University
- GIROUX, H, (1993). *La Escuela y la Lucha por la Ciudadanía [The School and the Struggle for Citizenship]*, Siglo XXI, Mexico.
- GIROUX, H, (1997). *Cruzando Límites. Trabajadores Culturales y Políticas Educativas [Border Crossings. Cultural Workers and the Politics of Education]*, Paidós, Barcelona
- HONNETH, A (1997). *La Lucha por el Reconocimiento. Por una gramática moral de los conflictos sociales [The Struggle for Recognition. The Moral Grammar of Social Conflicts]*, Crítica, Barcelona
- INNERARITY, D (2001). *Ética de la hospitalidad [Ethics of Hospitality]*, Editorial Península, Barcelona

CIUDADANÍAS EN MOVIMIENTO: UNA AGENDA PARA UNA EDUCACIÓN CIUDADANA CRÍTICA
(HACIA UNA SOCIEDAD DEMOCRÁTICA INCLUSIVA, PRÓXIMA Y PARTICIPATIVA).
CITIZENSHIP IN MOTION: AN AGENDA FOR CRITICAL CITIZEN EDUCATION (TOWARDS A
DEMOCRATIC, INCLUSIVE, CLOSE AND PARTICIPATORY SOCIETY).

- KYMLICKA, W. and WAYNE, N. (1997). *El retorno del ciudadano una revisión de la producción reciente en teoría de la ciudadanía [Return of the Citizen: A Survey of Recent Work on Citizenship Theory]*, in *La Política* 3, pp. 5-40
- LECHNER, N. (1996). *¿Por qué la Política ya no es lo que fue? [Why is politics no longer what it used to be?]*, *Journal Foro* 29, Santa Fe de Bogotá.
- MADGENZO, A. (2011). *Formación de Estudiantes para una Democracia Deliberativa [Student Education for a Deliberative Democracy]*, *Electronic Journal of Latin America on Quality, Effectiveness and Change in Education*: <http://www.redalyc.org/pdf/551/55140505.pdf> (Visited: 3 March 2016).
- ORTIZ, I. ET AL. (2013). *World Protests 2006-2013*, F. Ebert Foundation, New York
- PETITT, P. (1999): *Republicanism: una teoría sobre la libertad y el gobierno [Republicanism: A Theory of Freedom and Government]*, Editorial Paidós, Barcelona
- PINTO, R., OSORIO, J. (2015). *Pedagogía Crítica para una Educación Pública y Transformadora en América Latina [Critical Pedagogy for Public and Transformative Education in Latin America]*, Derrama Magisterial, Lima
- ROSANVALLON, P. (2007). *La Contrademocracia: la política en la era de la desconfianza [Counter-Democracy. Politics in an Age of Distrust]*, Editorial Manantial, Buenos Aires
- ROSANVALLON, P. (2009). *La Legitimidad Democrática [Democratic Legitimacy]*, Editorial Manantial, Buenos Aires
- ROSANVALLON, P. (2012). *La Sociedad de los Iguales [The Society of Equals]*, RBA, Barcelona
- TAYLOR, CH. (2010). *Multiculturalismo y la Política del Reconocimiento [Multiculturalism and the Politics of Recognition]*, FCE, México
- UNESCO (2015). *Replantear la educación ¿Hacia un bien común mundial? [Rethinking Education: Towards a global common good]* Paris: UNESCO. <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0023/002326/232697s.pdf>.