

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

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## OPENING REMARKS

In this essay, I weave together several considerations regarding the relationships among processes of historical resistance, education, and knowledge in the constitution of revolutionary and *sentipensante* (feeling-thinking, sensing-thinking) pedagogies<sup>2</sup> in Latin America. Through this process, I situate the inscription of the educational and the pedagogical in the political praxis of social movements. In particular, I focus on indigenous and peasant movements that advance and consolidate political education projects and whose aim is to construct critical and emancipatory pedagogies in response to the challenges of a civilizational crisis.

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

## LATIN AMERICA: INDIGENOUS, BLACK, AND PEASANT

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

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

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

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

These paradigms of Latin American historical formation engendered deep social segregation and class antagonism. These, in turn, were determined, on the one hand, by the structural condition of those who lack the means of production and, on the other, by the social place assigned by the conquistadors (and postcolonial, national elites) to peasants, many of whom were descendants of indigenous and Afro-Latino peoples. Nonetheless, as befits the dialectical movement of social history, the roots of the subalternization of Latin American peoples characterize the resistances that arose in the countryside and the city. It is beyond the scope of this essay to give a genealogy of the rebellions, popular struggles, and various resistances that erupted over the course of the five-hundred-year-long night<sup>7</sup>; there are already many works of historiography, sociology, anthropology, and political science that have successfully analyzed them in their national and regional specificity in different historical periods.<sup>8</sup>

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Editorial Nacional de Cuba, 1973), 302.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The cycle of Latin American and Caribbean revolutions sparked noteworthy political processes both internal to each country and across the region. From the point of view of intellectual and moral reform<sup>10</sup>, the ideas of Simón Bolívar and José Martí slowly materialized, giving shape to a specifically Latin American and Caribbean revolutionary political praxis and social thought informed by past struggles in both national and international contexts. In the revolutionary heart of Latin America, a field of popular resistance was sown, affirming indigenous and peasant communities as well as the urban and peasant working class as revolutionary subjects.

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

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

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

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

A shared historical problematic animated this regional debate: ongoing territorial dispossession and institutionalized state violence, expressed in the criminalization of these struggles, an increase of violence in the countryside, and the assassination of representatives of various organizations. In other words, from the perspective of these movements, modernity signified a specific form of slavery<sup>12</sup> as well as the disavowal of their political agency and epistemic rationalities.

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

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

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

13 → Eduardo Galeano, *As veias abertas*.

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

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

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

## THE POLITICAL IDENTITY OF LATIN AMERICAN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Indigenous and peasant social movements inherit the tradition described above while also forming their own political praxis through a process of continual recuperation of recent and distant memories<sup>16</sup> of other struggles throughout Latin America and the Caribbean. Therefore, the political identity of these movements is not limited to the constitutive elements of the international Left, specifically, the foundational principles of communism and socialism as the horizon of politics.

By plotting their movements in five hundred years of history, indigenous and peasant movements widen the referents that constitute their political identity without necessarily negating or contradicting others. In this process of self-definition of political identity, we can group Latin American popular organizations and social and indigenous movements into three categories based on their own epistemes that articulate identity frameworks linked to their political struggles<sup>17</sup>: indigenous organizations, peasant organizations, and rural proletarian organizations. Within the framework of their struggles, we can articulate at least four identifying markers.

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

16 → Rivera Cusicanqui, *Oprimidos*.

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

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

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

18 → Rivera Cusicanqui, *Oprimidos*.

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

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



American indigenous struggles and alternative educational and pedagogical projects<sup>21</sup>:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## **SENTIPENSANTE AND REVOLUTIONARY PEDAGOGIES IN LATIN AMERICA**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Through the careful reading of their past and present reality, many movements come to the following proposition: if education is the point of departure for cultural subordination and political domination, the construction of another conception of education (implying a different pedagogy, a different school) must be the first step in the process of liberation and emancipation. Toward this end, internal discussions have allowed them to make an epistemic plan as the point of departure for the reconception of education and pedagogy, making these the core, the heart of their political projects. To this effect, knowledge-as-power and knowledge-with-power<sup>30</sup> gradually advance in dialectical relation as they assume their own course.

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

29 → Freire, *Ação cultural*.

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

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

- Pedagogical praxis is not restricted to the most instrumental dimension of teaching and learning processes in the classroom, whether in school or university. On the contrary, it recuperates the educational principles and pedagogical methodologies of popular education in that educational-pedagogical praxis incorporates other sites in the process of education and formation<sup>31</sup>;
- It realizes and constructs a process of pedagogical mediation through critical reflection about our place in the world;
- It allows for the formation of knowledge mediated by “the conversation among knowledges,” in other words, in the encounter between knowledge about the life and the struggles of communities that becomes concepts elaborated by popular movements and scientific knowledge;<sup>32</sup>
- It generates other knowledge practices that question and challenge modern, Western reason’s one-sidedness. In this sense, the movements generate a geo-pedagogy of knowledge,<sup>33</sup> which means the indissoluble connection between pedagogy and cultural elements deriving from the land/

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- A Educação do Campo e A Pedagogía do Movimento (Rural Education and Pedagogy of the Movement), the educational-political project of the Landless Workers' Movement (MST) in Brazil<sup>37</sup>;
- La Educación Autónoma y el Sistema Educativo Rebelde Autónomo Zapatista de Liberación Nacional (Autonomous Education and the Autonomous Rebellious Zapatista Education System for National Liberation)(SERAZ-LN), which

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

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

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

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

is connected to the autonomous project of the Zapatista movement in Mexico;<sup>38</sup>

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

42 → López-Intzín, “Ich’el ta muk”.

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



principles, in the collective learning of resistance, of struggle, of autonomy and organicity.<sup>44</sup>

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

## FINAL THOUGHTS

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

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

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

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

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

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

47 → Ibid.

a constitutive role. From this perspective, knowledge formation becomes subversive, framed by the direct challenging of historical truths. As Fals-Borda recognized that great changes in Latin America were the fruit of subversive consciousness and rebellious thought<sup>48</sup>, so do I believe that we find ourselves in a moment ripe for thinking the great challenges of our times through the analytical lenses of the indigenous and peasant social movements.

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

48 → Ibid.