

# Pedagogy in movement. Subjectivity of the subject with rights in the Chilean student movement of 2011<sup>1</sup>

## *Pedagogía en movimiento. Subjetivación del sujeto con derechos en el movimiento estudiantil chileno de 2011*

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### Abstract

This article presents a study on the educational aspects of the Chilean university student movement of 2011. Its objective was to analyze the configuration of youth into a specific subjectivity based on the experience of being part of the university student movement that took place in Chile in 2011. The research was conducted based on a pedagogical perspective on human rights—education in human rights—in a dialogue with sociology (social movements) and psychology (empowerment and agency). The methodological strategy was qualitative, incorporating a biographical narrative method with a thematic life history, and consequently, conducting open-dialogic interviews with the protagonists of the student movement. The research's investigative relevance lies in the analysis of the triggering conditions for the formation of an individual/collective praxis, and the development of a subjectivity: *the subject with rights*. Its significance stems from the pedagogy of movement, which affirms that social movements are also spaces of formation and subjectivation. The research results provide substantial contributions to the state of knowledge in educational research and to strengthening this topic at the Latin American studies.

**Keywords:** subject with rights – student movement – pedagogy – Chile – right to education.

### Resumen

Este artículo presenta un estudio realizado acerca de *lo educativo* en el movimiento estudiantil universitario chileno de 2011. Su objetivo consistió en analizar la configuración subjetiva específica de la juventud a partir de la experiencia de *habitar* el movimiento estudiantil universitario de Chile en 2011. El trabajo investigativo se desarrolló a partir de una mirada pedagógica de los derechos humanos (educación en los derechos humanos) en diálogo con la sociología (movimientos sociales) y la psicología (empoderamiento

<sup>1</sup>This article presents doctoral research carried out at the Universidad Iberoamericana (Mexico City) entitled “Exigibilidad del derecho a la educación: la praxis colectiva juvenil del movimiento estudiantil chileno de 2011” (2019), whose aim was to analyze the social, family, contextual, individual and collective conditions that made possible the enforceability of the right to education, through life histories of university student who participated in the 2011 Chilean movement for the defense of the right to education. Thanks to Dr. Fabio Fuentes Navarro for reading this paper.

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y agencia). La estrategia metodológica diseñada procedió de un enfoque cualitativo, por lo que decidí incorporar el método biográfico-narrativo con historia de vida temática y, en consecuencia, la realización de entrevistas abiertas-dialógicas con los protagonistas del movimiento estudiantil. La relevancia investigativa de este trabajo consiste en el análisis de las condiciones detonantes de la formación de una subjetividad: *el sujeto con derecho*. Su pertinencia radica en considerar que los movimientos sociales también son espacios de formación y/o de subjetivación. Los resultados de la investigación constituyen aportes sustantivos al estado del conocimiento de la investigación educativa y al fortalecimiento sobre este tema a nivel latinoamericano.

**Palabras claves:** sujeto con derecho – movimiento estudiantil – pedagogía – Chile – derecho a la educación.

## Introduction

Social movements are scenarios in which organized citizens – or organized civil society – play a leading role in denouncing, claiming, and in many cases changing or transforming current systems (political, economic, or educational systems, for example). Therefore, they are also regarded as mechanisms for the self-protection of human rights<sup>2</sup> (Montelongo, 2019). This was observed specifically in 2011 when the youth population, upholding the ideals of justice through a collective praxis, was the sector that mobilized and took to the streets to express their discomfort against the processes of domination and exploitation, suppression of rights and non-recognition of human dignity. Its aim was to formulate its project of social change for Chilean society. These mobilizations aroused the interest of social sciences scholars, constituting a novel topic in the study of social movements as spaces of free expression and claims for rights (Gluz, 2013).

One such movement was the Chilean university student movement of 2011, visible since the early years of the 21st century (specifically 2001 and 2006), when Chilean student youth expressed their rejection of the educational system through massive protest, and specifically to express their disagreement and demand from the State quality and free public education.<sup>3</sup>

Since this movement has been regarded as the most important one after the end of the military dictatorship and the reestablishment of Chilean democracy in 1980<sup>4</sup>, (Montelongo, 2019), it has become a phenomenon of interest for researchers,<sup>5</sup> especially in the social, political and

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<sup>2</sup> Social movements are made up of the organized citizens themselves, who at the same time are the holders of the human rights claimed, therefore, the social movement is a mechanism of defense and enforceability in demand of respect and fulfillment of human rights.

<sup>3</sup> Higher education in Chile was privatized and was one of the most expensive in the world (Vidal-Pollarola *et al.*, 2017).

<sup>4</sup> According to the September 2011 CERC survey data, the 2011 university student movement reached 79-80% citizen approval (Rubilar, 2011; Silva, Romero, 2013).

<sup>5</sup> A review of the literature can be found in the doctoral dissertation that covered the review of research concerning the topic in the period from 2011 to 2015.

economic sciences. However, educational research focused on the student movement in 2011 has been centered on analyzing youth as a collective actor in the conditions external to the mobilization and in the relationship between the right-wing government and the citizenship.<sup>6</sup> In contrast, there is little research that analyzes the circumstances that led young people to mobilize, the student movement as a collective praxis, or that inquire about the empowerment -creation of power- that awakened the university movement that year. In other words, research on the Chilean university student movement of 2011 that addresses mobilization as a space of formation of subjects with rights through the voice of university youth has been scarce.

This is what the research presented here is all about. Specifically, it is a study about the formation of empowered university youth that gains power, takes power, and creates power through mobilization to uphold the right to education as a common right. In order to adequately operationalize the approach to the object of study of this topic, it was necessary to configure a multidisciplinary theoretical perspective with a dialogical approach<sup>7</sup>; For this purpose, it was essential, first, to incorporate a vision of human rights that made it possible to understand that its legal institutionality has not been sufficient to consolidate a subjectivity of *subjects with rights*. Thus, it was necessary to articulate the pedagogical studies specifically around education in human rights for youth as *subjects with rights*, the inclusion of agency and empowerment theory from psychological studies, and sociological theory to understand social movements from different approaches.

Afterwards, at another point in our research, the contributions of Latin American critical thinking were included in different aspects: first, the concept of praxis, to articulate it with the theory of empowerment and agency; secondly, in the theory of social movements, the incorporation of the theoretical development of movements into the social intellect, with the aim of achieving a theoretical encounter with diverse (concordant and discordant) views of Latin American praxis, which although they are not specific to Latin America are indeed hybridizations, fusions and reversions that allow us to give more content to the analysis and a better understanding of social processes from a dialogic perspective.

Based on this theoretical dialogue between disciplinary fields, we formulated the questions of how the subject with rights and the responsibility is configured and what education and the educational have to do with the emergence and sustainability of movements. Although these are complex and difficult questions to answer, since each political subject and social mo-

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<sup>6</sup> The analytical view of educational theory in the study of the Chilean student movement of 2011 emphasizes the organizational and political role of the university in the demands for public education (Molina, 2013). It should be noted that the movement of that year did not use a discourse of the right to education, but it does mention elements of it, such as free education and quality.

<sup>7</sup> The notion of dialogism developed by Bialakowsky and Lusnich (2014) is recovered as an epistemic principle for co-productive science, i.e., dialogicity as well as the position of the subject or subjects of knowledge are principles of the method of knowledge creation whose purpose is to make knowledge a praxis of social change. Thus, the dialogue between disciplines contributes to the creation of knowledge from a relationship of collective participation of knowledge for transformation, i.e., for praxis.

vement has its own particularities in its genesis and has become the object of study of different disciplines, with special predominance of sociology, academic and research work in pedagogy, psychology, even anthropology, among others, have been relegated to subordinate places of sociological analysis, such as those that address educational experiences arising as cause and effect of social movements in terms of the formation of subjects, in particular as *subject of rights* and *subject with rights*. Therefore, the aim of this article is to present the work done in doctoral research on the configuration of Chilean university youth as a subject with rights based on the experience of the university student movement of 2011.

In general terms, the originality of this work lies in a sustained view of a dialogic interaction from two levels: first, in the position of the knowing subject, and second, the quality of discovery method. On both planes, knowledge is conceived as a praxis of social change (Bialakowsky, Lunisch, 2014). It is important to emphasize that this methodological vision has as a condition the conformation of the subject-object, subject-nature, subject-society duality, as proposed by subjectivist-objectivist science (Bialakowsky, Lunisch, 2014). Hence, the dialogical character of this work can be observed mainly in the analysis of the data, in which a dialog was constructed between: a) the university youth interviewed, b) the theoretical framework, and c) the different studies of the Chilean student movement in 2011, with the aim of discovering or unveiling the meanings that constitute this history. All these research actions involved a process of constant search, generation, selection, organization and analysis of the information, as well as the establishment of relationships between themes, axes and nuclei of analysis.

In order to present the work carried out in this study, the content of the article was organized as follows: first, a description is given of the methodology designed, the actions carried out, and the theoretical use of the various disciplinary fields, followed by a detailed presentation of the results obtained and the conclusions. Finally, at the end of the paper, the references used are listed.

## 2. Research path for the study of subjectivation in mobilization

This study about the educational processes of university youth in the Chilean movement of 2011 was based on the biographical-narrative approach, which made it possible to approach the study of the *subject with rights* through the narrative of the protagonists of their own history. This approach was chosen because it assumes as an ontological position the voice of the subject not as an individual, but as a collective voice.

In this research, the thematic life history tool allowed us to study the social phenomenon from the viewpoint of the actors and to analyze through their own voice how they became subjects *of* and *with* rights, starting, as Ferraroti (2011) says, from the discovery of the daily, of the life practices that have been ignored by the dominant classes, to reconstruct the history of and through those from below. Likewise, it is made up of stories whose intention is to transmit

a personal or collective memory, mentioning ways of life in a community in a specific period (Chárriez, 2012); that is, by analyzing the processes and life trajectory at that time, as well as the relationships of young people with the different contexts in which they were immersed at the micro level (family, friends), meso level (government) and macro level (world).

To analyze the data we used the structural analysis approach proposed by Miles and Huberman (1994). Thus, once the interview was transcribed, a general interview script was designed. From here, the codes and categories emerged inductively. The configuration of codes allowed us to conduct a cross-analysis of the stories to find common themes and processes (Mayor, 1998).

### *Construction of the empirical referent*

The empirical referent was the young student leaders of the university student movement in Chile in 2011. For this purpose, four selection criteria were established: 1) participation in the movement, 2) leadership in the movement, 3) corresponding school age during the movement, and 4) recognition by other student youth and society of their participation in the movement.

Thus, the sample was made up of young leaders and presidents of the student federations of the main universities in Chile – the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile (UC), the University of Chile (U. de Chile) and the University of Santiago de Chile (USACH). However, from the first interviews, the logic of *snowball sampling* emerged spontaneously, which allowed us to broaden the sample to include the youth who participated in the movement, who although they were not the main spokespersons, had an important participation in the movement, as in the case of the vice-president of the Student Federation of the Universidad de Chile in 2011 and the spokesperson of the Universidad Central. A total of six young people were interviewed, as shown in the following table.

Table 1. Data of the protagonists. A total of six young people were interviewed

Former university leader and Chilean politician	President FEUSACH 2010-2011.	Member of the executive board of the Confederation of Students of Chile.	Candidate for mayor in Estación Central in January 2012, coming in second place.
Former university leader and Chilean politician	Woman Presidenta FECh 2010-2011	Main leader of the student mobilization of 2011	2013: Congresswoman for district 26 (La Florida) 2017: Congresswoman for district 12 (La Florida, La Pintana, Pirque, Puente Alto and San José de Maipo)
Former university leader and Chilean politician	FEUC Student Federation President 2010-2011. Main leader during the student mobilizations of 2011	Spokesperson for the Confederation of Students of Chile	2013: Congressman for Santiago Centro. 2017: Congressman District 10

Former university leader and Chilean politician <sup>8</sup>	President of the Student Federation in 2012	Spokesperson for the Confederation of Students of Chile	2013: Member of Congress for electoral district No. 60, corresponding to the Magallanes and Chilean Antarctica Region
Ex-University leader (men)	Vice President of the Student Federation of the University of Chile in 2011	Vice President of the In the 2013 parliamentary elections he registered for Izquierda Autónoma for District 21, Providencia-Ñuñoa (4th place).	
Ex-University leader (women)	President of the Student Federation and spokeswoman for the movement before CONFECH that in those months the university was incorporated into the Confederation.	In the 2013 parliamentary elections he registered for Izquierda Autónoma for District 13, Valparaíso-Isla de Pascua-Juan Fernández (5th place).	

Source: Montelongo, 2019.

As mentioned above, the approach used in this research was based on a dialogic analysis of the data, where a dialogue was built among the university youth who were interviewed, with the aim of discovering the meanings that constitute this story.

### *Data collection instruments*

The instrument used in this research for the collection of data from the *life history* was the in-depth interview, since this is the basis of the biographical methodology (Flick, 2014). We also used the analysis of the historical, economic, cultural, political and educational context that made the conditions for the emergence of the student movement of 2011 possible, and finally, the hemerographic review and interviews with people linked to the events, in order to enrich the analysis of the main subjects' life history..

The criteria for conducting the interviews were: 1) non-directivity, 2) neutrality, and 3) empathic listening and understanding (Cornejo, Mendoza, Rojas, 2008), with the aim of fostering the spontaneity and freedom of the individuals to establish their narrative. Therefore, we decided to use a support guide during the interviews (Chárriez, 2012). This guide was made up of three trigger questions, from which others emerged. It was important that the narrative described the personal experiences focused in detail and explained what happened, when, where, and how. Thus, the three questions were 1) What was your participation/involvement in the movement like? 2) What do you consider to be the achievements of the movement? and 3) What motivated you to participate in the movement? The interviews were conducted in the cities of Santiago and Valparaíso in Chile between April 2017 and April 2018.

<sup>8</sup> He is currently President of Chile (2022-2026).



### 3. Analysis of the movement in three moments

Documenting directly the experience of the university student youth of 2011 allowed us to reconstruct and learn about the capacity of agency and praxis that brought together young people to achieve their objectives. It also made it possible to unveil the role of social movements as spaces of processes of subjectivation such as that of a *subject with rights*. This was possible thanks to a research interest in the processes of youth education that gain power, take power, and create power through social mobilization to reclaim, in this case, a common good: education.

Our interest in studying the formation of subjectivities stems from our research work about the de-sedimentation of traditional conceptions of education, which reduce it to the teaching-learning process in the school environment. In the case of the Chilean student mobilization of 2011, our interest was focused on the analysis of the articulation of the educational in social movements that allow us to understand a) the formative actions of subjectivation of the (individual-collective) subject, b) the social formation of the identity of a subject with rights, and c) the responsibility of learning that participating in society produces changes and social transformations.

The relevance of the study lies in the importance of regarding youth as a social actor whose impact can be observed in both the construction of society and the subjective education of themselves and others as *subjects with rights*, contrary to traditional approaches in which youth are perceived as objects of protection and care, and have even been seen as a target group of compensatory policies, not as subjects of rights (Hernández, 2012).

To account for the development of the research work carried out, we divided the work conducted in three moments: *delimitation of the object of study*, *theoretical perspective* and *drafting of the report*. The following is a description of the actions carried out at each stage.

#### *First moment. Delimitation of the object of study*

Although, at first sight, it could be thought that the object of this study was the student movement in Chile in 2011, this was not the case; rather, due to the complexity of the research we found it pertinent to regard it as a unit of analysis made up of various objects of study because in the first place – it must be emphasized – we found no literature referring to the “Chilean student movement of 2011 as a space for education as a subject of rights” or “the 2011 student movement in Chile as an enforceability mechanism”, which were initially the key words of the study. It was therefore necessary to separate or fragment the analytical unit and consider the following concepts as separate objects of study, which were initially the key words of the study: a) the Chilean student movement of 2011, b) Youth and subject of rights, c) Enforceability of human rights, and d) Social movements as spaces of formation.

The years considered for the literature review were 2011 to 2017, as the final text was submitted in 2018. However, for this article we did a new review of the literature on the 2011 student movement and found four related articles: *Political memories of the student movement of*

2011 (Fernández, Redel, Tejeda, 2023), *De la toma al cabildo: biografías del movimiento estudiantil (2006-2011) como recurso sociopolítico durante el estallido social en Chile* (2019) (Santibáñez: 2021), *El movimiento estudiantil chileno: de la lucha por la educación al estallido social del 2019* (Aranguéz, Sanhueza, 2021), *El movimiento estudiantil secundario en Chile abordado desde la complejidad*, (Varas, Betancourt, Ridríguez, 2020), and *Movimiento estudiantil chileno de 2011 y la lógica educativa detrás de su crítica al neoliberalismo* (Donoso, 2020).

Thus, the review of the literature on the student movement in Chile in 2011 revealed that most of the studies have been conducted from the perspective of the main sociological theoretical approaches; furthermore, studies on student movements focus on the formation and organization, identity and ideology, performance and demands, while at the same time, they provide information on the country's problems at the time when a movement emerges, the impact on the public agenda, and the collective actions that the subjects undertake during their advance (Acevedo, Samacá, 2011).

However, a novel aspect that we found during this review were the studies carried out from different disciplines: from Community Psychology, *The 2011 Chilean Student Movement against Neoliberal Educational Policies* (Bellei, Cabalin, Orellanam 2014), *¿Qué es un movimiento social fuerte?: conceptualizaciones de la noción de fortaleza y aplicación al caso del movimiento estudiantil 2002-2011 en Chile* (Dreyer, Romero 2013), *Movimiento estudiantil, sistema educativo y crisis política actual en Chile* (Rifo, 2013); *Quedar afuera: experiencias y vivencias de los jóvenes que no logran ingresar a la universidad* (Guzmán, 2012), and *Chile: el año en que salimos a la calle* (Segovia, Gamboa, 2011).

From Education, *Repertorios y ciclos de movilización juvenil en Chile 2000-2012* (Aguilera, 2017), *La educación superior chilena como campo de disputa ideológica* (Vidal-Pollarolo, Vidal-Rojas, Vidal-Bueno, Morales, Ríos, Salazar, Ramírez, 2017), *¿Qué es un movimiento social fuerte?: conceptualizaciones de la noción de fortaleza y aplicación al caso del movimiento estudiantil 2002-2011* (Silva, Romero, 2013) and *Las Representaciones Sociales de calidad educativa presente en los discursos en medios escritos: Un análisis en el contexto del conflicto estudiantil en Chile 2011* (Cerdeña, Opazo, 2013). From this educational viewpoint, studies highlight that the problem of education in Chile is that it is considered a commodity (Rifo, 2013). We also found little research that takes up the experience of the subjects themselves as actors in the movement.

Regarding the review of the literature on the right to education and its enforceability, we found that research on the recognition of the enforceability of the right to education as a human right has been approached from qualitative, descriptive and theoretical approaches, and that its study has been mainly from the legal sphere, so that research has focused on the content and scope of human rights in the international sphere (United Nations System and Regional) and its impact on national systems (Cisternas, 2010 and Chacón, 2007). Although research has been aligned more closely with the development of legal resources, recent studies have



highlighted the importance of investigating this issue. However, its orientation to the study of public policies as a way of their enforceability does not take into account the social movements for the demand of education (Gluz 2013; Costas, 2007; Stubrin, 2007).

In this part of the literature review it was necessary to introduce two subsections: *youth as a subject of rights* and *the configuration of agency in subjects and social movements*. The first subsection consisted of studies on the notion of the subject of law, approached mainly from the legal discipline, with a qualitative, descriptive and conceptual methodology. (Magaña, 2014; Plesniscar, 2013; Pérez, 2008). A relevant aspect found in this review of the literature was the study by Saracostti et al. (2015), where it is stated that the legal recognition of young people has a subjective correlate in the research processes aimed at generating knowledge by addressing the participation of these groups in issues that affect their lives. Therefore, participation in research turns young people into active agents of their development and not only into machines that receive molded stimuli. Thus, we decided to include in the review of the literature research on youth participation in public space, such as the study of youth biographies (Cayero, 2015; Saracostti et al., 2015; Agredo, 2014). It is worth mentioning that only two research works were specifically related to the notion of the subject of rights. (Agredo, 2015; Cayero, 2015).

In the second subsection, research on agency, subjects and social movements, revealed that the studies have been conducted from a conceptual and descriptive point of view. (Corduneanu, 2014; Vega-Báez, 2013; Valencia, 2010). Thus, the analysis of the literature consulted revealed that there is still a view that young people are not considered as a group subject to rights.

The relevance of this work of academic analysis was not only to give voice to young people, but also to strengthen their awareness of the absences given to youth. A pending issue in youth research is the study of their capacity for agency, the configuration of empowerment and its praxis, as well as recognizing that they are subjects of law. The contribution of this research is to highlight the transformative and creative powers of youth as well as to strengthen their responsibility and their right to choose their life options, away from the vision of authoritarian discourses on surveillance, condemnation, and punishment.

### ***Second moment. Theoretical perspective***

In general terms, the originality of this research work lies in the introduction of a Latin American theoretical perspective in the dialogue with traditional European and/or North American perspectives, as well as an interdisciplinary perspective from and with pedagogy. Therefore, the theoretical perspective was divided into three parts, as it was for the literature review, but articulated as follows. First, we reviewed the contributions of philosophy, pedagogy and law to the right to education and the mechanism for its enforceability. Then, the theories of agency and of empowerment were reviewed through psychology, and through sociology, the different theoretical approaches to social movements.

### *The right to education and the mechanism of enforceability*

The first theoretical section corresponded to the approach to human rights through its philosophical configuration, mainly through iusnaturalism and Hinkelammert's concept of human dignity and the praxis of human rights. This section dealt with the theory of human rights and the conceptual difference between individual rights and collective rights, since the latter emphasize their relationship with the recognition and exercise of public goods. It was necessary to make this distinction, since the right to education is considered a collective right enacted individually.

Also, from a philosophical conception, the right to education was studied from a political and legal perspective since, in order to understand it as a social right, it is important to do so from a political paradigm and with an understanding of the public (Atria, 2014). As Atria mentions, it is necessary to have an understanding of citizenship, as well as the different principles that support it, as opposed to civil and political rights. This led to questioning the forms and procedures for the enforceability of social rights, especially the right to education.

Therefore, we did a review of international instruments and regulations, as well as of the mechanisms and procedures recognized internationally and established by the United Nations (UN). Authors such as Abramovich and Courtis (2004) have worked on the enforceability of social rights from the point of view of the interdependence and indivisibility of human rights, with the aim of achieving their enforceability. To this end, it is necessary to differentiate the treatment of enforceability between freedom rights (civil and political) and equality rights (economic, social and cultural). Finally, there are the citizen mechanisms, self-administration and social movements, which are considered legitimate mechanisms within democracies as mechanisms for the enforceability of human rights, especially social rights.

### *Agency, empowerment and praxis*

The second theoretical view concerns the construction of the concept of agentic empowerment (Pick *et al.*, 2007) of individuals as a unique concept built upon the concept of empowerment and the concept of agency. For this purpose, first we did a theoretical review of agency theory, based mainly on the works of Pick *et al.*, 2007; Alkire, 2002; Bandura, 1996; Kagitcibasi, 2005; Sen, 1985; 1999, among others, and then of the theory of empowerment through the theoretical perspective of Zimmerman (2000) and Musito and Buelga (2004).

Although this part of the theory was not merely a description of the different and diverse elements, moments, competencies and levels of agency and empowerment, the relevance of this part was to delve into empowerment in practice, which provided another aspect of originality of this research that led us to retake the concept of praxis through Latin American critical thought. For this purpose, we reviewed the theoretical outlook of Hinkelammert (2017), Freire (1972), as well as the theoretical developments of other authors such as Fals Borda (1978) and Bialakowsky (2011) were recovered.

This articulation was necessary due to the relationship that exists between a praxis in the process of agentic empowerment and a process of empowerment. Praxis is understood as the conscious human activity – real and objective but at the same time ideal and subjective – that transforms the world and the human being, which requires an articulated combination of theory and practice. Furthermore, the concept of praxis is linked to the concept of power, since it entails a transformative action that is carried out individually and/or collectively and requires taking power in order to achieve emancipation.

The relevance of incorporating the concept of praxis consisted of nurturing and enriching the concept of agentic empowerment, one of whose main functions is to empower people, and the result of both processes is the capacity for choice, control and participation.

### *Social movements*

Finally, the third section developed the theoretical perspective of social movements, with the aim of problematizing the different theoretical positions developed for their study. Given the diversity of theories that address the issue of social movements, we conducted a review on the meaning of the concept of *social movement*, pointing out the historicist, linear and objectivist vision of social action through the theory of resource mobilization (American theoretical perspective) and the theory of collective identity, better known as the paradigm of new social movements (French theoretical perspective). Specifically, the European theoretical approach emphasized the structural aspects of social classes, while the American approach emphasized how social movements were reproduced, mobilized and organized following the theory of collective behavior.

Although both theories on social movements rescue for the study of Latin American social movements the forms of collective action characterized by a collective identity, organization, continuity in time and extension in space (Schuster, 2005), there is a construction of new identities in which modes of deliberation and direction are configured combined with the collective construction of the common, founded on egalitarian forms of political and social life, nuclei of democratic deliberation based on a principle of political equality thought of as co-government, which has led to the emergence of new movements and new forms of action.

Thus, the movements in Latin America were characterized by the reclaiming content of their demands and by their solidarity-based nature. Therefore, the study of social movements in the continent has focused on the fact that they should not be considered as uniform entities, but rather by analyzing their internal conflicts, ambiguities and limitations. In this sense, the novelty in terms of the analysis of social movements is globalization (Ibarra and Tejerina, 1998). Along the same lines – Latin American movements – and adding the notion of the movement of the “outraged” in the 21st century, it can be observed that mobilizations are characterized by confronting the fiction imposed by the colonality of power and the monopolization of

knowledge (Bialakowsky, Lusnich, 2014). In this way, mobilizations have taken place in the space of the colonized social intellect and expose with their critical praxis the dominant forms of the neoliberal epistemic framework (Bialakowsky, Lusnich, 2014), specifically on the coloniality of social knowledge, i.e. that which encompasses the asymmetrical transfer of knowledge from the elites, so in general terms they have uncovered the gaps, specifically in intangible issues such as ideology, consciousness, spirit, among others (Bialakowsky *et al.*, 2014).

Consequently, since there is no unanimity in the perception, contents, perspectives or meanings implied by the notion of social movement, we decided to extend our analytical look to the Latin American perspective for the study of Latin American social movements through the theory of movements to the collective intellect developed by Bialakowsky.<sup>9</sup>

### *Third moment. Drafting of the story*

Since there is no single method for data analysis, because methods of analysis are defined taking into account research objectives, methodologies and epistemologies regarding the construction of scientific knowledge, this opens up a diversity of possibilities (Cornejo, 2006; Bertaux, 2005). Therefore, for narrative analysis we opted for an *emic* perspective; that is, one in which there is an implication from within and not a narrative analysis from without. Thus, in this perspective, the protagonists tell their story in their own words. As Polkinghorne (1995) says: "it is the process by which data are organized to build a coherent story. It proceeds in search of unique aspects of each story to come up with a new narrative that makes the data meaningful" (Moriña, 2017: 76).

For the drafting of the final narrative, the data elements were articulated in a story that unified them and gave them meaning in order to express in an authentic way, without manipulation, the voice of the participants. (Moriña, 2017). In addition, connecting fragments such as observations and theoretical contributions were added, which made it possible to construct a new, coherent narrative. For the writing of the final narrative, it was organized into categories and codes that emerged from the voice of the student leaders of the 2011 movement, grouped into the three levels of analysis proposed by García Montes (2013): microsociological, mesosociological and macrosociological of collective action, as this allowed us to triangulate theoretical references, shape the narrative data, and have more complete results.

At the macro-sociological level we analyzed the systemic and structural aspects, i.e., the political, social and economic context in which the protest movement took place and the political opportunity structure provided by the movement. The theories that emphasize its study are the theories of democracy, the social capital approach, the analysis of new social movements, and the theories of the political process; in the latter, the concept of political opportunity is empha-

<sup>9</sup> I did a doctoral internship with Alberto L. Bialakowsky (July-December 2017) which allowed me to delve into his theoretical perspective, as well as, to learn more about the Latin American critical perspective.

sized. At the mesosociological level we analyzed group aspects, specifically the organization, recruitment patterns, mobilization strategies and action repertoires of the 2011 Chilean student movement. The theories used at this level of study were the resource approach (North American tradition) and social network analysis (European tradition). Finally, at the micro-sociological level, we analyzed the individual aspects, i.e. the objectives and interests of the participants in collective action, i.e. in the mobilization. The theories framed at this level are the rational choice perspective (American tradition), identity studies (European tradition), and creative sociology or social constructivism and its derivation, which is the social construction of protest.

Thus, the results were as follows:

1. *Macro-sociological level. Walking in the desert*, with five factors that were the categories: a) Historical factor, with the category “mobilizations have always existed”, b) Cultural factor, with the category “the moral wound”, c) Educational factor with the category “education is wrong”, d) Ideological factor, with the category “we are the culture of neo-liberalism”, e) Political factor, with the category “we have a right-wing government”, and finally, f) Symbolic factor of the 2010 earthquake, with the category “help the other”.
2. *Mesosociological level. The country mobilizes*, with five categories: a) “The government does not want to understand us (politically)”, b) “Awakening emotions (the communicational)”, c) “Citizens participate (the organizational)”, with three codes: repertoires of traditions or confrontations, repertoire of recreational or citizen actions, and finally, contracting networks (bonds).
3. *Microsociological level. We lost fear*, with two categories: a) “I am the result of my parents’ decisions”, and b) “Always an ‘us’ (collective identity)”.

In addition, for the analysis of the micro-sociological level, we referred to Reyes and Vallejo’s *Los días que avanzaron años* (2013), and for the analysis of the meso- and macro-sociological level, to contributions from Jackson’s *El país que soñamos* (2013) and Figueroa’s *Llegamos para quedarnos* (2013).

It is worth mentioning that it was necessary to write about the educational system in Chile since the beginning of the dictatorship in 1973 until 2018. The Chilean educational model of higher education (Institutions of Higher Education) of the University Selection Test, and the State Guaranteed Credit or Crédito con Aval del Estado, better known as the CAE were approached from a historical viewpoint. This story was generated, on the one hand, by a theoretical review on the subject, and on the other hand, the vision of the interviewees, in order to highlight the subjectivity and ways of life that they experienced in everyday life, which shaped the student movement of 2011.

#### 4. Findings and constructs of the mobilization

The main result of the analysis was the formative character of movement, which allowed us to propose the thesis of pedagogy in movement, which affirms the possibility of subject formation in social mobilizations and processes of struggle, in which the movement itself becomes an ideal factor for the formation of *the subject of rights* and *subject with rights*. The argument is as follows: the case of the Chilean student movement in 2011 materialized from a pedagogical matrix that prefigures what can be assumed as a model of human formation in movement, structured by a) a political-educational fabric that challenges the subject, b) a challenged and consequently motivated subject, c) the (voluntary) insertion of the challenged and motivated subject in the social mobilization, d) the performance of actions characteristic of the social struggle, and e) periods of reflection on the action of the struggle; in short, a social praxis through participation in a pedagogy in movement.

Explaining the new dynamics of the movements in regard to education as a relevant sphere of political action made it possible to view the social movement as a teaching-learning factor, a political-pedagogical action program where pedagogical subjects are configured from the point of view of popular education. In the case of the 2011 Chilean mobilization, the student movement's resistance was deployed in a human rights pedagogical matrix, since the purpose of education on human rights is to educate people as subjects of rights. This education was characterized by specific educational elements such as a sensitization about social issues, an awareness process (study of the context, coding and decoding aimed at transformation), dialogue, collective work, and creation of own knowledge.<sup>10</sup> All of these were elements of praxis and enforceability. In addition, this knowledge highlighted not only a vision of education as a human right, but also the configuration of youth as a subject of rights, which is defined as the person or group of persons whose entitlement to each of the human rights – as well as to their exercise and guarantee – is recognized, but also as subjects with rights who live in those rights.

This leads us to consider that the university youth in the 2011 mobilizations questioned the traditional of the subject of rights. They showed that a person is built and formed to be a subject with rights through a praxis with and through human rights in a space different from that of the school, in this case the social movement.

The intellectual or cognitive praxis within the Chilean student movement of 2011 took place in an interactive and dynamic way. This praxis was a key action for the subjective and conceptual configuration of the subject with rights, primarily because the mobilization itself was also constituted as a space of enforceability in continuous transformation.

<sup>10</sup> Specifically, the language they recreated was: profit is wrong, education is a right, free education, quality education, the young person is a subject with rights, citizen education in public spaces, subjects with collective rights, the dictatorship is present. This knowledge highlighted not only education as a human right, but also the configuration of youth as a subject of rights, which is defined as the person or group of persons whose entitlement to, exercise and guarantee of each of the human rights is recognized.



This process of shaping theory configured an active subject, which led on the one hand to a permanent evaluation that allows us to ascertain the awareness of the learning that is taking place within the social movement, and on the other hand, the student movement was an educating agent, since this previous learning articulated with the new knowledge formed a common *collective cognitive intellect* by articulating elements of dialogue, collective work, creation of their own knowledge, and a broad conception of the right to education and access to knowledge.

Two educational approaches were glimpsed through the pedagogical matrix that prefigured the student movement: human rights education, and popular education. Both approaches to education and the educational allowed us to identify within the Chilean student movement of 2011 slogans on the relationship between knowledge and power, which are inscribed in theses that see knowledge as a tool that allows for the configuration of agential empowerment and of individuals as subjects with rights and their praxis.

In summary: this research allowed us to propose the replacement of the preposition *of* that links the concept *subject* and the notion *rights* by the preposition *with*, since when using the preposition *with* the meaning changes. The concept of *subject of rights* refers to the legal recognition of the individual as a holder of certain rights, i.e. a conception of passive subject, different from the subject that was observed in the 2011 mobilization. In any case, it was the movement itself that led to the crisis of the concept *of subject of right*, in the understanding that it is the movement which empowers the active configuration of the subject and that leads to a praxis of construction and configuration as a subject that knows, internalizes, and demands to be recognized not only as a subject, but as a subject who has rights and uses them; that is, a subject with rights made possible, in this case, by pedagogy in movement.

It must be noted that replacing one preposition with another resulted in a linguistic operation that produced a potential for differentiated use, since the modification – enlargement, reduction, even ambiguity – of one preposition or another associated with the concept of *human rights* alters its meaning, its scope, and its capacity to correspond to an idea or object, including the very conception of the *subject* as possessor and defender of human rights. In other words, if a person is conceived as a *subject with rights*, the potential of human rights in a transformative praxis within a permanent and, above all, dynamic process is recognized, because the preposition ‘with’ – different from ‘of’ – implies a sense of portability and use of rights, which strengthens their theoretical meaning, even beyond the juridical aspect of the subject of law.

The notion of a *subject with rights* led us to consider that university youth in the mobilizations of 2011 felt challenged, and therefore questioned the traditional conception of the subject – that is, the subject of rights – by arguing that this subject is not a subject with a fixed or predetermined identity but a subject that builds and is continuously educated to be a subject with rights through a praxis in a space other than the school, such as social mobilization.

The social relevance of this study, therefore, resided in the need to broaden the scope of research on the enforceability of the right to education beyond school environments, as well as in analyzing the triggering conditions that allow them to configure an individual/collective praxis for the confirmation of the subject with the right that impels them to act, and finally, in the possibility of achieving an approximation to the knowledge of ways to understand the world, the many ways in which university students assume themselves as citizens, as well as their power as subjects with rights and their capacity of participation. Additionally, due to the nature and characteristics of the research, the horizon of intellection made it possible to interweave the theoretical framework with the empiria and the act of research, which contributed to the reconfiguration (adaptation) of the process of conducting this research, a contribution to the educational field regarding the process of training researchers.

Finally, the view upheld in this inquiry proceeded from a dialogic interaction on two levels: first, in the position of the subject or subjects of knowledge, and second, in the quality of the method of discovery, where both simultaneously enable the generation of knowledge as a praxis of social change. (Bialakowsky, Lunisch, 2014). Consequently, the main contribution of this research to the pedagogical field was the focus on the analysis of those educational processes that occur in non-school spaces, in this case a student movement where the subject is constructed, configured, and subjectivized.

## Conclusions

The 2011 Chilean university student movement has been hailed as the great awakening of Chilean society, the largest since its return to democracy. Undoubtedly, the movement was shaped by the youth civil society that managed to materialize, through the educational demand, the general malaise. As is typical of social movements, they were also able to express their project for social change with the aim of transformation.

However, what this university youth achieved was mainly to denaturalize neoliberal policies and question the way in which educational policies have been developed by democratic governments since the end of the dictatorship.

Thus it can be argued, through the voices of the interviews, that there were determining conditions that made possible the emergence of the student movement for the defense of the right to education as a strategy of enforceability. This process took place by means of an agentic empowerment and a transforming praxis in the university youth, which were indispensable conditions in their process of formation and constitution as *subjects with rights*. The latter was an essential element for the praxis of enforceability of the right to education carried out through the student movement.

Thus, the Chilean student movement regarded itself as a subject and educational principle, and therefore education ran through the entire political fabric of the movement, since it

made it possible to move from the motivation of struggle to reflection, followed by action and finally by social praxis through participation in the social movement. Therefore, in the field of education, the challenge remains to make progress in the study of the educational aspects of social movements, traditionally focused on popular struggles that have developed alternative pedagogical actions to the hegemonic ones. This implies a first step in the discussion on the particularly political character of education; in other words, working to locate in the map of the relationship between education and social movements the axis of articulation that confers a political character to education, and analyzing the type of pedagogical subject configured by social movements. It is also a way to know if, through the intertwining of education and social movement, it is possible to have a process of social awareness and emancipation, or if the configuration of university youth as a subject with rights has a double way in education, first through school, and later through social movements where they educate themselves and take to the streets as a space for learning in and for actions of enforceability of human rights, based on a subjectivity of *subjects with rights*.

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