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GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN LATIN AMERICA

INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines discourses on global citizenship encountered in education policies in Latin America. In line with the rest of the handbook, the chapter is informed by theories on global citizenship. In Latin America, nevertheless, the term 'global citizenship' coexists with alternative and competing approaches including planetary citizenship, Bolivarianism and internationalism. We have decided to include all these approaches in our discussion about global citizenship and education.

The chapter focuses on the Central American, South American and Caribbean states were Romance languages are predominant. The territory we examine is often named Latin America. But in our analysis, we have excluded Mexico (considered in the North America chapter). The territory we cover includes nineteen countries with different histories, languages, political and economic systems and with different education policies. Considering the space limitations of this chapter, we have decided to focus our analysis on ten of these countries. The examined countries are Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Ecuador, Nicaragua, Peru and Venezuela. Our selection is based on the principle of obtaining a diversity of countries considering geographic and political/economic alliances (for a more precise description, see table I). We would like to acknowledge the diversity of this territory and the difficulties of treating these countries as a 'group'. We also feel it is necessary to emphasize that this chapter is an in-between result of a constant conversation between two authors -one 'outside'[1] and one 'inside' the continent- who understand their analysis as being contextualized by their own experiences.

We have organized the chapter as follows. First, we provide an overview of the historical background and the political context of Latin American countries. Second, we describe the main discourses on global citizenship co-existing in the examined countries. Third, we analyse how global citizenship is constructed in core education policies and Citizenship and Social Studies Curricula in ten American countries. We conclude by examining desirable futures for global citizenship education in the Latin America.

HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL CONTEXT

In this section, we discuss key historical events that can shed some light on contemporary discussions on global citizenship in the examined countries. We do not analyse the history of any particular country but rather we examine the continent as a 'whole'. We have decided to take the 19th Century as the starting point of this historical background. This is not to say, that previous historical events are not relevant, but to emphasize that most of the present Latin American states were created as such in this period.

An understanding of the processes of independence of the Latin American states is essential for the interpretation of global citizenship education on the continent. First, in Latin America, independence, did not represent the beginning of a process of decolonization. Rather, social, economic and cultural hierarchies derived from colonialism were integrated in the new Latin American order (Quijano, 2000). Processes of independence from the European metropolis were always lead by 'criollos' - descendants of European natives (Díaz, 2005). In certain ways, these 'criollos' were economically and ideologically dependent on other European countries.

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[1] The authors are aware of (at least) some of the ethical implications of writing this chapter. Particularly, when one of the authors identifies as Catalan presently living in the UK and the other as Colombian who once lived in Catalonia. However, the discussion of these ethical implications is, unfortunately, outside the scope of this chapter. For a detailed discussion on this, see Mignolo (1995).

The processes of independence did not happen in isolation. Independence from the Portuguese and the Spanish Empire was supported by some European countries, mainly France and Britain (Pietri, 1989). Ideologically, the 'criollos' had been highly influenced by the European Enlightenment. Francisco Miranda and Simon Bolivar, for instance, travelled to Europe to learn more about political, tax and custom systems (Díaz, 2005). Second, independence did not bring the end of colonial power but the transformation of a colonial power into others (Mignolo, 1995). Soon after the independence of most Latin American states, the Monroe Doctrine (1823) was approved. The doctrine, a USA foreign policy, implicitly declared US control over the entire Americas (Selser, 2001). Spain and Portugal were externally replaced by the USA.

Discussions on decolonization did not have a relevant impact on Latin American politics until the 20th Century, when forces supporting US imperialism and forces for anti-imperialism coming from both, inside and outside the continent, evidenced the socioeconomic division of American societies. In different territories of the Americas, revolutionary groups self-denominated socialist and anti-imperialist struggled against social and economic hierarchies supported by USA. After centuries of silence, indigenous movement demands – essentially social and economic equality and the integration of indigenous group into the 'criollos' society - were mainly incorporated into these revolutionary groups (Begoa, 1995). Simultaneously, US governments were particularly suspicious about leftist ideologies on the continent considered to be a consequence of USRR's influence. The Cuban Revolution (1959) and the Missile crisis (1962) were followed by a surge of US intervention in Latin America with US political and military forces having a covert and uncovered presence on the continent and the islands. Coup d'états against democratically-elected governments whose ideas were considered to be socialist were supported (e.g. Popular Unity Government in Chile) (Garcés, 2013), and a campaign to stigmatize left wing political options was promoted (Magallón, 2003). As a consequence of this, the area became explicitly divided between socialist Cuba, under the influence of Soviet Union, and the rest of the countries, under the US hegemony (Skisdmore & Smith, 1996). Within many countries, those considered to be against the 'national will' (often defined by dictators or by civil governments under US control) were massacred, joined guerrilla and paramilitary movements or were forced into exile (Galeano, 1997).

By the end of 1980s, the new liberal democracies were expected to create more cohesive societies. Economic crisis, abuse of power, constant human rights violations -particularly torture and forced disappearances- and social pressure forced the fall of most dictatorships (Magallón, 2003). The new democratic constitutions[2], nevertheless, brought a set of political and economic reforms limiting the real possibilities of reducing the socioeconomic and political gap. Economically, the Washington Consensus established the principles to be followed by the new Latin American market economies (Casilda, 2004). The International Monetary Fund (IFM) and the World Bank introduced structural adjustment programmes by with the purpose of developing a more market orientated economy (Ocampo, 2005). Simultaneously, free trade agreements were signed, including the Mercosur agreement (Calcagno, 2001). The property of the land was concentrated in few hands supporting the USA's interests (Almeyra et al., 2014). Economic openness, did not open the political sphere. Electoral modifications were introduced in an attempt to limit the possibilities of communist parties from gaining democratic access to power (Magallón, 2003).

CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONTEXT

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[2] Colombia (1991), Argentina (1994), Perú (1993), Uruguay (1997)

In the beginning of the 21st century, Latin America is ideologically and geopolitically divided. In Mercosur countries (i.e. Brazil, Argentina and Venezuela), social, economic and foreign-affairs policies of the region shifted after the election of left-wing governments. Globalization and the role of international organizations were openly challenged and the countries became Pan-American oriented whilst supporting protectionist economic policies (Bernal-Meza, 2013). More radically, the ALBA (Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our America) organization was created (i.e. Cuba, Ecuador, Nicaragua, Venezuela) with the explicit aim of promoting anti-imperialism, a stronger state and a regional redistribution of the wealth. In opposition, a number of pro-globalization and market-orientated countries created the Pacific Alliance (PA) (e.g. Chile, Colombia, Peru). By the time of writing this chapter, two recent events have evidenced that the division also remains within the Latin American countries. In Brazil, an elected president belonging to the Workers' party was impeached in a process that evidenced the division of Brazilian society. In Colombia, the peace agreement referendum resulted in 50.2% of the population defending that the violent conflict between the Colombian Government and the Marxist Guerrilla FARC should not come to an end.

The division, we argue, is (at least) partially created by the existence of two main competing discourses, each of them holding a different worldview (traditional leftist/rightist division), a different analysis of historical colonial past and a different understanding of Latin America's desirable role in contemporary globalization processes (see Andreotti, 2011). Following Mignolo (2002), we name these discourses Western civilization and World system discourse. We now examine these two discourses in more detail and we discuss the links between these discourses and competing understandings of global citizenship.

The Western civilization discourse constructs modernity in relation to Europe -which is understood as the source of absolute rationality- and globalization as the process of expanding this rationality to other parts of the world (Andreotti, 2011). Globalization is here considered a positive feature bringing the 'goodness' of Western civilization worldwide. Historically, the Western civilization discourse is in the basis of most Latin American states that, as we discussed, were created mirroring Enlightenment principles. More recently, the Western civilization discourse is present in the strategies defined by some international organizations including the promotion of Human Rights ('political civilization') and neoliberal principles ('economic civilization') (Grosfoguel, 2011). In the 21st century, some Latin American countries have explicitly manifested their commitment to these strategies. PA countries believe in the need to foster Latin America's political relevance and economic competitiveness of in the world through the neoliberal strategies defined by the IFM, the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank (Bernal-Meza, 2015). Within this discourse, education for global citizenship is desirable for two reasons. First, it provides students with the economic knowledge and civic instruction (Banco Mundial, 1996) required "to make informed decisions" (World Bank, 2011, p. 25). Second, global citizenship education is understood as necessary to ensure Latin American countries' participation in the global market (UNESCO, 2014).

The World systems perspective understands globalization as the process of expansion of capitalism resulting in the exploitation and ideological control of some countries (including Latin American countries) by others (e.g. European). "From the discovery until our times" Galeano wrote, Latin America "has always been transmuted into European— or later United States— capital, and as such has accumulated in distant centers of power" (1997, p.2). The World systems discourse is in the core of most historical anti-imperialist movements in Latin America. Today, anti-imperialist movements constitute a complex amalgam including (at least) indigenous movements defending greater autonomy, cultural recognition and land recovery,

Marxist and social democratic parties – some of them often accused of being 'populist'[3]-, revolutionary guerrillas, Black power activists and theology liberation movements (Azzellini, 2007).

Some of these movements propose alternatives forms of globalization. Rather than globalization citizenship from 'above' – this is, framed by neoliberal principles – they demand globalization from 'below' - framed by social justice and democratic principles (Torres, 2015). These movements have proposed alternative forms of global citizenship education. For instance, Latin American Research Councils (mainly FLACSO and CLACSO[4]), have encouraged theory and research in areas related to social justice-oriented global citizenship, certain Christian institutions promote world and planetary citizenship (see e.g. Richard, 2004) and the World Social Forum -with high impact in Latin America- defines in its objectives the need for an active planetary citizenship (WSF, 2016).

Other movements, in contrast, openly define themselves as being anti-globalization. This is the case of most current governments of the members of the ALBA which "are highly sceptical of the 'goodness' of free market and globalization processes" (Bernal-Meza, 2013, p. 10). In these countries, global citizenship -probably associated with the globalization process - is rarely discussed. Instead, the ALBA countries promote 'internationalism' and 'Boliviarism'. The concept of 'internationalism' has been particularly relevant in Cuba. Drawing upon traditional internationalist Marxist theory and the anti-imperialism of José Martí, Antonio Maceo, and Simón Bolívar (Risquet, 2005), Latin American internationalism has supported national liberation struggles against imperialism and globalization, humanitarian assistance and "solidarity to progressive governments and a wide array of progressive international movements and organizations around the globe" (Harris, 2009, p. 28). Internationalism, as understood in the region, seems to defend a horizontal collaboration in the globe rather than a vertical integration. The concept of 'Boliviaranism', in contrast, focuses on the promotion of an integrated regional citizenship. Particularly fostered by recent Venezuelan governments, 'Bolivarianists' support a Pan-American socialist citizenry constructed in opposition to the USA, described as capitalist and imperialist.

In the following sections, we will use these discourses to shed some light on the curricular construction of global citizenship in Latin America. But before doing so, we provide a general overview of the examined education systems.

KEY FEATURES OF CURRENT EDUCATION SYSTEMS

Although some attempts have been made for educational integration (Muscará, 2013), there is no common framework for the educational policies of the examined countries. There are, nevertheless, similar patterns in the evolution of the education systems in each of the three geopolitical regions we have considered (i.e. Mercosur, ALBA, PA). Then, we explore the main characteristics of each region considering recent changes, curricular organization and the role of citizenship education in each region.

Latin American countries' education policies have experienced profound changes in the last three decades. In PA countries, education systems have been reformed following the human capital principles as understood by the OECD and the World Bank (Bonal, 2002). According to Gajardo (2011), recent modifications have tended to: (1) reorganize the schooling system, (2) emphasize the need for quality and equity in educational access and outcome, (3) establish evaluation and accountability mechanisms and (4) revise teacher education and teacher

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[3] For a more sophisticated discussion on populism, see Laclau (2007).
[4] FLACSO is the Latin American Social Sciences Institute, CLACSO is the Latin American Social Science Council.

professional development. Mercosur and ALBA countries, in contrast, have increased considerably their education budgets to guarantee quality public schooling for everyone, reduce inequality and promote national cohesion (see various examples in Schwartzman, 2015).

In all the examined countries, there is some sort of national curriculum or guidance to be followed by regional curriculums within the nation-state. In PA countries, following OECD's recommendations, the curriculum is often organized in relation to a set of "competences" students are expected to gain in order to have a "successful life and a well-functioning society" (DeSeCo, 2005, p.4). It is worth noting here that all countries organized through competences identify one or two competences named "social and civic competence". Instead, ALBA and Mercosur countries have not initially assumed the "competences" framework but rather have articulated the purposes of their education systems in alternative ways. In Ecuador, Venezuela and Brazil, for instance, the curricula are organized in relation to cross-subject axes, and one of them is directly connected to the citizenry's education. Citizenship education, therefore, is always considered a key purpose of schooling.

Citizenship education is also a subject in the three regions (PA, Mercosur and ALBA). In some countries, citizenship education is defined as a subject area in itself. This is the case, for instance, of Costa Rica, Cuba and Nicaragua. In other countries, citizenship education is implicitly or explicitly included in social studies subjects. In Colombia, for example, one of the subjects is named "Social sciences, history, geography, political constitution and democracy"[5]. In Venezuela, this is named "social sciences, citizenship and identity". In brief, the education of the citizenry seems to have an allocated time in the education of the Latin American students regardless of the region they live in.

STRATEGIES FOR EDUCATING ABOUT AND FOR GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP

In this section, we examine the Social Science and the Citizenship syllabuses for primary and secondary education (often 6-14/16 years old) in the ten mentioned Latin American countries. We organize our findings in relation to the ways in which citizenship, globalization and global citizenship are discursively constructed in the curricula. For each concept, we identify a set of emerging themes that we summarize in Table I. Below, we discuss these findings in relation to the historical background, political and social context and present discourses on globalization.

Table I. Emerging themes in the discursive construction of 'citizenship', 'globalization' and 'global citizenship' in each country's programmes of study.

	Characteristics of the country		Citizenship					Globalization	Global citizenship
	Geographic position	Alliance	Sustainability	Diversity	Differences	Rights	Peace	World Systems/ Western Civilization	Key concepts
Colombia	South America	Pacific Alliance	√	√		√	√	Western civilization	Global citizenship
Chile	South America	Pacific Alliance	√	√		√	√	Western civilization	Global society
Peru	South America	Pacific Alliance	√	√		√	√	Western civilization	Global community

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[5] All names and quotes from the Latin American policies have been translated from Spanish or Portuguese to English by the authors.

Costa Rica	Central America	Pacific Alliance (In Process)	√	√		√	√	Western civilization / World systems	Global citizenship
Argentina	South America	Mercosur	√	√	√	√	√	World systems	Humanity, world society
Brazil	South America	Mercosur	√	√	√	√	√	Western civilization / World systems	Anti-imperialism, global society
Venezuela	South America	ALBA, Mercosur	√	√		√	√	Western civilization / World systems	Bolivarian, anti-imperialism
Cuba	Caribbean Islands	ALBA	√			√		World systems	Internationalism, anti-imperialism
Ecuador	South America	ALBA	√	√		√	√	World systems	Bolivarian, anti-imperialism, Planetary, World citizenship
Nicaragua	Central America	ALBA	√	√		√	√	World systems	Anti-imperialism

Citizenship

In all the examined countries, citizenship education -as a purpose of education and as a subject in itself - is essentially constructed in relation to the nation state. Curricula tend to emphasize the love for the homeland, its heroes and symbols. For instance, Cuban primary school students are expected to "love and be proud" of their homeland. Students in Venezuela and Ecuador are taught about "patriotic symbols". Implicitly – and in some cases, explicitly-, citizenry's education focuses on the identity dimension, attempting to promote a national sense of belonging.

The nation is constructed simultaneously as diverse and without differences. On one hand, cultural and ethnic diversity, examining the contributions of indigenous, European and (sometimes) African communities to present Latin American societies is a key feature of a number of curricula. Latin America is constructed as being 'mestiza' (see Mignolo, 1995). In Brazil, for example, teachers are recommended to emphasize African and indigenous cultures' contribution to Brazil and to help students to deconstruct the concept of 'race'. Students are often expected to recognize and value the cultural and ethnic diversity of their local, national and global contexts. For instance, Peruvian students learn how to be respectful with diversity and how to cope with a culturally-complex globalized world. On the other hand, gender, sexual, religious diversity and socioeconomic differences, are often omitted in the curricula. With minor exceptions, such as Brazil, where gender, religion, sexuality and age are considered aspects of diversity, and Argentina, where socioeconomic differences are recognized, and most Latin America curricula seem to avoid discussions regarding differences within the nation. For instance, in Venezuela, students celebrate the day of the indigenous and afro-descendant cultures, but no mention is made of the indigenous' land-recovery demands.

The desirable nation is also understood as peaceful and ideologically homogenous. Discussions on ideological differences within the nation are often avoided and, when recognized, they are identified as the source of violent historical and contemporary conflicts (e.g. coup d'états, guerrilla movements). Within the nation, conflict is often discursively constructed in opposition to peace. In Latin America, peace education needs to be understood in a context of post-dictatorship regimes and/or in a context of structural and everyday

violence. In some countries, such as Argentina and Chile, the recent history of coup d'états created a context in which consensus and democratic dialogue is understood in opposition to military actions. As a result of this, in Argentina and Colombia, for instance, social sciences aim to "use dialogue" as a way of solving conflicts. In Colombia but also in other American states, the conflict between Marxist guerrillas, Government armies and paramilitary groups have for long produced a situation in which peace education was relevant in the life of a large number of students. In this respect, peace is extremely important to the extreme of being identified as one of the purposes of education. In Colombia, schooling is explicitly aimed to "educate in the respect for life and other Human Rights, peace and democratic principles" (Colombia, 1994, p. 2).

The concept of citizenship is often associated to notions of rights and responsibilities. The identification of 'national rights and duties' is a common feature in most curricula. In Colombia, for example, students specifically learn about their rights and duties as institutionally framed by the political constitution. In addition, in most countries, the Universal declaration of Human Rights seems to be the normative referent used to construct global but also national forms of citizenship. For instance, Costa Rican students specifically learn the history of Human Rights and their different legislations. In some cases, other frameworks replace (or are added to) Human Rights as global normative referent. Argentinian, Nicaraguan and Venezuelan students learn about Children's Rights and Venezuelan and Chilean students consider indigenous people's rights.

Education for sustainable development is often contextualized in relation to citizens' responsibilities. The curricula of the examined territories emphasize the need for students to work towards a more sustainable world. In this respect, Brazilian students are required to perceive themselves as agents of transformation of the environment. Environmental threats are not only considered from a global perspective (such as global warming), but also from a local one, in which the particular threats for each nation are emphasized (e.g. deforestation). In Argentina, students examine what are considered to be the most relevant environmental problems in their country.

Globalization

Whereas the construction of citizenship is very similar in the different examined countries, globalization, in contrast, is constructed through (at least) two competing depictions. In PA countries (i.e. Colombia, Chile, Peru), the Western civilization discourse is assumed entirely. The role of European and US imperialism in the recent history of the continent is minimized or perceived as unproblematic. Globalization is described as a finished process resulting in an integrated world under an economic system (global capitalism), certain global organizations (e.g. United Nations) and a set of universal values (Human Rights). Colombian, Peruvian and Costa Rican students, for instance, are expected to learn the roles and functions of United Nations which is implicitly described as a democratic institution ruling the global order. The Chilean curriculum explicitly demands that students learn the "processes that cause the changes from a bipolar world to a globalized world" (Chile, n.d., p. 200).

On the other hand, ALBA countries and often Mercosur countries (i.e. Cuba, Ecuador, Nicaragua, Venezuela and Argentina), describe the globe as a conflictive terrain where economic political and ideological power is unequally distributed. In the line of World systems analysis, modern colonialism and contemporary imperialism are emphasized as key features explaining the globalization process resulting in the world being divided between core (imperialist) and peripheral countries. Whereas the capitalist block is defined as "wealthy" and neoliberalist, the socialist- Bolivarianist block defines itself as "solidary". In Cuba, for instance, students are expected to demonstrate patriotism by rejecting "Yankee imperialism" which is

defined as "our main enemy" (Cuba, 2014, p. 45). Politically, students of these countries often learn the political alliances of their countries with other countries. Cuban students learn about internationalism and about how Cuba participates in the "internationalist aide" in different facets: education, health, defence, etc. Simultaneously, they learn that Cuba needs to be defended from other countries, particularly the USA.

Brazil requires a particular mention. Globalization is presented as having different interpretations – likely including the ones we described above. More precisely, teachers are advised to "compare different views examining the globalization phenomenon" (Brazil, 2016, p. 455). Thus, students are expected to contrast these competing discourses rather than assume any of them.

Global (and other) citizenships

The concepts of 'global' and 'global citizenship' are only explicitly discussed in the educational policies of some PA countries. In Peru, the curriculum encourages the "sense of belonging" with the "family, school, local, regional, national and global community". More explicitly, Colombian and Costa Rican curricula mention directly the need to educate a global citizenry. Global citizenship is presented here as the -unproblematic- citizenry of this integrated world. Similarly, to the national construction of citizenship, global citizenry is described as culturally and ethnically diverse but socioeconomic differences are easily dismissed. Latin American students are expected to acquire the necessary competences to participate in a globalized market that it is assumed to provide equal opportunities for all. In the Chilean curriculum, for instance, financial education is defined as being important to have an "educated citizenry in relation to the ways the market functions".

Most ALBA and Mercosur education policies do not mention "global citizenship" and "global society". Since the globe –as we have described- is presented in binary terms, the education of a global citizenry seems to be an impossible and undesirable outcome. Instead, they advocate for alternative forms of citizenship. Drawing on traditional Marxist analysis, Cuban curricula implicitly recognize a socialist citizenry opposed to a capitalist one. In other countries, a Latin American citizenship is privileged. These are the case of Nicaragua and Venezuela where the curricula implicitly aim to a "Bolivarian" citizenship or Argentina, where a Pan-American citizenship is promoted through Mercosur alliances. According to Torres (2015), these regional forms of global citizenship can be considered "as a step towards global citizenship" (p. 269).

In some countries, alternative forms of global citizenship are promoted. In Brazil, students are expected to be part of the global society but this global society is contextualized in relation to unequal relations of power, including colonialism and imperialism processes. In Ecuador, Boliviarism and anti-imperialism are key features of the programme study but the curricula also attempt to "create world identity". Ecuadorian curriculum seems to challenge neoliberal approaches to global citizenship while supporting alternative forms of global citizenship. Drawing upon alternative constructions of global citizenship (for instance, WSF , and Christian organizations' proposals, etc.), Ecuador encourages a form of planetary (social justice-oriented) citizenship radically opposed to neoliberal principles.

DESIRABLE FUTURES

In our analysis, we suggest that citizenship education in the examined Latin American countries is mainly constructed in relation to the nation. The nation is understood to be culturally and ethnically diverse but discussions on socioeconomic and ideological differences and conflict are avoided or considered to be a problem to be solved. The concept of citizenship

is essentially developed in terms of rights and duties, both having a national and a global dimension.

There are competing discourses in the way globalization is discussed. In PA countries, globalization is constructed in relation to the Western civilization discourse (Mignolo, 2002) and global citizenship -often in its neoliberal form- is explicitly discussed as a curricular aim. In most ALBA countries, in contrast, World systems analysis (Mignolo, 2002) is used to construct the globalization process and there is an attempt to work towards regional -rather than global- forms of citizenship. In Ecuador and particularly in Brazil, globalization is presented as a multifaceted concept involving power-relations but also opportunities to construct alternative global societies.

Given this analysis, what are the desirable futures for global citizenship education in Latin America?

National and global citizenship education, in Latin American, needs to include discussions on difference. This history of the Americas is an example that illustrates that the world is far from being the unproblematic reality that the Pacific Alliance countries seem to suggest. The examined Alba countries, in this respect, might be right in using World systems analysis to encourage students to examine the unequal distribution of economic resources and political power in the world. But differences, we argue, are not only within the global society but also in the national one. Most examined states fail in considering that their national societies are not only ethnically and culturally diverse, but also different in terms of gender, sexuality, ideology, religious believes, socioeconomic status, and so on. Latin American policy (as it is the case of Brazilian and Argentinian curricula) and research have already begun to examine power relations within some countries (see, for example, Marolla, 2016). We feel it is now time to expand this to other countries and illuminate education policy and practice on the entire continent.

In the core of this denial of difference, we argue, lies the difficulty of dealing with conflict. The history of the Americas is full of examples in which any form of conflict (including social conflict) has resulted in armed conflicts. Clear examples of these are the numerous coup d'états, covert civil wars, forced exile processes and more recently, the struggles for land recovery, and the result of the Peace referendum in Colombia. In this respect, the examined countries are arguably right in their emphasis on Peace education. However, their focus is up for debate. Peace education as an aspect of global citizenship education, we argue, might not always be about 'solving conflicts' as suggested in Colombian and Argentinian curricula. Conflict is a consequence of diversity of perspectives within and outside national contexts. Further, democracy requires different alternatives that may be in conflict. As Andreotti (2011) points out, there is a need for pedagogical emphasis on dissensus including helping students to develop their ability to live in situations of conflict and difference. We believe it is time for American teachers, teacher educators and researchers to consider how this time can be used not only to educate students to "solve" national and international conflicts, but also to accept (peaceful) conflicts as being necessary in any local, national and global democratic context.

Our emphasis on conflict and difference, however, should not be misread as supporting the fixed binarisms constructed in the educationl policies of some ALBA and Mercosur countries. On the contrary, we understand the (national and global) realities to be far more complex and hybrid that any static frontier diving the 'we' and the 'other'. For instance, the same states which in their education policies, highlight Western imperialism as the 'other', can be accused of supporting a nationalistic and rightist discourse initially inherited from Europe. We believe global citizenship education, should allow students to reflect on the complex nature of most identities. Even if the reality is, as some would argue, binary, and identities are constructed

through antagonistic processes (see e.g. Laclau, 2007), students still would need to investigate the contingent construction of these binarisms.

Education for global citizenship cannot be understood as the education of the Latin American students into what international organizations might define as 'global citizens'. Global citizenship education from above, we believe, it will only lead to the reproduction of previous economic, political and cultural power relations. Instead, we argue for a global citizenship education framed by two principles. First, a geopolitical of knowledge (Andreotti, 2011) in which concepts –including global citizenship- and identities – including global identities- can be broken down into more profound questions: "(1) Who is constructing what image? and (2) How does one construct a self-image in the face of one's definition or identification by others (whether by other people or by institutions)?" (Mignolo, 1995, p. 176). Second, more democratic approaches to global citizenship education, in which alternative understandings of global citizenship (e.g. planetary citizenship) and/or competing anti-globalization views (e.g. Pan-American citizenship) are necessary. The role of educators and researchers here, we argue, is to create spaces were these competing discourses can be examined, contrasted and (perhaps) appropriated.

"What will the Latin America destiny be like?", Uruguayan writer, Ernesto Galeano once wondered: "Are we going to be a caricature of the North? Are we going to be like them? (…) Or are we going to create a different world? To offer the world a different world? This is our main challenge" (in Tendler, 2006). We agree.

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