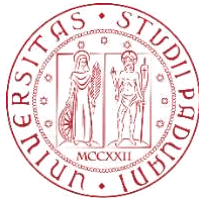


UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI PADOVA

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, LAW,
AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

**Master's degree in
Human Rights and Multi-level Governance**



**Trans-Forming Pedagogies:
Trans, Travesti and Non-Binary Education in Argentina**

Supervisor: Prof. Lorenza Perini

Candidate: Silvia Babini

Matriculation No.: 2110501

A.Y. 2025/2026

Table of Contents

Introduction	2
CHAPTER I - Popular Education as an Emancipatory Political Practice	13
1.1 Popular pedagogy: theoretical foundations and key concepts	13
1.2 History of popular education in South America	23
1.3 Bachilleratos Populares: evolution and pedagogy	31
CHAPTER II - Against Cis-Binary Governance	43
2.1 TTNB political categories and contested regimes of recognition	43
2.2 Material conditions of educational trajectories	55
2.3 Education as a practice of freedom	65
CHAPTER III - How TTNB Schooling in Argentina is Made Possible	73
3.1 From activist desire to material realization.....	73
3.2 A pedagogy of permanence: naming politics of care	83
Conclusions	97
Bibliography and sources	102

Introduction

This research project emerges from a curricular internship carried out between September 2025 and November 2025 at “Mocha Celis”, the first popular high school (*Bachillerato Popular*) in the world created by and for Trans* and Non-Binary people. Based in Buenos Aires, the school welcomed us into its everyday life and allowed us to witness an alternative way of schooling based on a collective project that combines teaching, political organization and material accompaniment for communities made structurally vulnerable by cis-heteropatriarchal¹ and capitalist forms of exclusion. Being received into this space produced a shift in what we understood education to be and what it means to build institutional alternatives when institutions, in the broadest sense, are absent, hostile or insufficient.

“Mocha Celis” showed us, concretely, that a form of struggle and resistance from below is possible. One that is horizontal, community-rooted and capable of producing highly material effects on people’s lives. This thesis is therefore also an effort to make visible what is too often treated as marginal or exceptional, the political everyday labor through which oppressed communities build infrastructures of survival and dignity. While “Mocha Celis” is at the center of our fieldwork entry point, it does not stand alone. It is part of a broader constellation of TTNB (*Travesti*, Trans, and Non-Binary) educational experiences that have emerged in Argentina and beyond. Their existence and proliferation contest the idea that educational inclusion is only a matter of policy reform, and instead foreground the role of collective organizing, territorial networks and political pedagogy. Bringing these experiences into a Master thesis in *Human Rights and Multilevel Governance* is also a deliberate political positioning regarding the very nature of human rights. Indeed, we are interested in shifting the analytical point of view away from the neutral and detached voices that often dominate international and institutional discourses toward the voices of oppressed communities and collective practices of resistance. In our reading, rights are not only a matter of formal recognition or normative declarations but are always mediated by power, contested in everyday life, and made or unmade through institutions, economies and social relations. This is why we take seriously the knowledge

¹ In this study, we understand the heterosexual-cis norma as a system in which sexual conduct and kinship relations are hegemonically organized around heterosexuality, which is constructed as the culturally accepted “natural” order and shapes the moral conduct of society. The core of heteronormativity rests on the binary of sexual difference: the assumption that humanity is biologically divided into men and women.

produced by communities themselves and why we treat grassroots educational projects as sites where the limits and contradictions of rights implementation become evident. From this standpoint, the present work asks what kinds of alternative educational pathways in Argentina can actually work for marginalized communities, specifically TTNB people, when the dominant school system is itself one of the infrastructures that excludes and harms them. Our research question, then, is whether a framework can be built that does not reproduce the violence and abandonment that the formal educational framework has historically distributed. In this sense, our central hypothesis is double. On the one hand, TTNB movement-built schooling can be liberatory for TTNB people because it creates spaces where recognition is not conditional on conformity, where knowledge is produced from lived experience, where accompaniment exceeds the classroom, and where collective presence interrupts isolation and abandonment. On the other hand, these projects are politically relevant beyond TTNB communities since they expose the limits of cis-binary schooling as a supposedly neutral institution, and they invite a broader transformation of education as a collective right. If educational institutions reproduce cis-binary governance and social hierarchies, then counter-education is not only a safe space for those most affected but it is also a proposal for society as a whole, because dismantling binary logics and disciplinary regimes expands the horizon of who can appear, speak, learn and be recognized.

Literature review and methodology

In order to address these questions, we began with an extended phase of bibliographic research aimed at building a theoretical and conceptual framework for analyzing popular education and TTNB counter-education in Argentina. The first axis concerns the genealogy and meaning of popular education in South America. Authors such as Paulo Freire were foundational for our work because Freire's reflections on oppression, dialogue and *conscientización* offer a vocabulary for thinking education as a political practice rather than a neutral transmission of content. Freire's critique of banking education, and his insistence that learning is inseparable from the ability to name the world and transform it, provide a key entry point for understanding why popular pedagogy is not merely an alternative teaching method, but a dispute over power, knowledge and subject formation.

At the same time, we approached Freire not as a closed topic but as a starting point that has been reworked, challenged and expanded by later authors and by concrete experiences. In the Argentine context, Adriana Puiggrós' contributions are central for understanding the historical entanglement between educational projects, state-building and social struggle, as well as for thinking the "popular" as a political field of contestation. In dialogue with this, authors such as Claudia Korol allow us to foreground feminist and de-patriarchal dimensions of popular pedagogy: the refusal of abstract universalism, the centrality of embodied experience and the idea of knowledge as a collective practice linked to struggles for life. Other contributions include scholarship that emphasizes education as territorially situated and historically formed, help us articulate popular education as a practice embedded in social spaces, identities and material relations, rather than confined to classrooms.

The second axis concerns queer, trans*, and transfeminist frameworks that allow us to analyze how education intersects with gender governance, regimes of recognition and material survival. In this regard, we engage with authors such as bell hooks, Judith Butler, Josefina Fernández, Lohana Berkins and Michel Foucault, and we also situate these contributions in dialogue with contemporary queer and transfeminist debates. From hooks, we draw an understanding of education as a practice of freedom that requires the transformation of classroom relations, authority and the very idea of who counts as a knower. From Butler, we retain an analysis of gender not as an inner truth but as a regime continuously produced and enforced through institutions and norms, which helps us read schooling as a site where binary governance is reproduced through documentation, language, discipline and everyday interactions. Fernández and Berkins, in different but complementary ways, allow us to situate TTNB categories in the Argentine context as historically produced political identities, linked to *travesti* activism and to struggles for recognition and survival. Finally, Foucault's reflections on biopower help us analyze how life and death are governed through institutions, and why education cannot be separated from the broader administration of bodies, populations and "normality".

A clarification is essential at this point, from a decolonial standpoint, we attempted as much as possible to build our bibliography through the work of subjects and collectives located in the region, rather than reproducing the epistemic privilege of the Global North. Even more strongly, the statistical sources and datasets used throughout the thesis are, for

the most part, produced by TTNB people, organizations and networks that are part of Argentina's trans* and gender-nonconforming social fabric. This choice is both methodological and ethical. In fact, one of our guiding commitments in writing this thesis has been to avoid extractivist or invisibilizing practices, and instead to create space for subaltern voices that have too often been spoken for, translated without care or rendered as objects of study. In line with this commitment, all interview excerpts are kept in their original language (Spanish), precisely to preserve meaning, force and political value. This choice reflects our intent to avoid smoothing out or re-framing people's words through translation, especially when those words carry situated registers, community vocabularies and political textures that are inseparable from the context in which they were produced. We think that keeping the excerpts in Spanish allows the reader to encounter the interviewees' voices more directly, including their conceptual choices and the local terms through which experiences of resistance, and collective pedagogy are articulated. At the same time, it is a way of recognizing that translation is never neutral, since it always entails interpretation, and it can inadvertently (sometimes consciously) weaken or distort what is being said. The same approach applies to bibliographic materials consulted in Spanish, whenever possible, we have retained quotations in their original language as well. While this choice may at times make the reading more demanding, we considered it ethically preferable, since translation could risk altering the meaning, tone and political texture of the text. We also acknowledge that English versions exist for some of the sources consulted. Nonetheless, our presence in Argentina during the research and writing phases made it materially and economically easier to access these texts in Spanish. That said, some works were consulted in English, and in those cases quotations are reported in English accordingly.

Methodologically, a substantial part of this thesis is grounded in fieldwork interviews conducted in November and December 2025. Interviews were held both in person and remotely. Most in-person interviews were individual and took place within Mocha Celis (classrooms, administrative and academic offices, the school library etc.), but also, in some cases, in the homes of the people interviewed. One specific interview, with students, was conducted collectively in the school library. In each interview, we began by requesting consent for audio recording, by communicating the anonymity of the interview and the research project and by explaining the use of the material. However, the

recordings were later lost due to the loss of the recording device; therefore, all direct quotations included in the final chapters are drawn from written notes.

Our interviews were qualitative and non-structured in the sense that we did not rely on a fixed list of questions, but rather on a set of thematic points that guided the conversation, actively avoiding what could be seen as “data extraction”. This is a methodological and ethical stance too, the informality of our interviews was intentional, precisely to disrupt the formal academic hierarchy between investigator and investigated. In our case, the line separating these roles was further blurred by the relational and temporal context since at the moment of many interviews, we had already been present in the school for months, collaborating daily for several hours. This created a relational component that was not only professional but also human, emotional and political. Moreover, many contacts beyond Buenos Aires were obtained through the dense relational networks that characterize TTNB communities in Argentina. This networked access is itself part of the phenomenon we analyze. Indeed, it shows how movement infrastructures circulate resources, care and knowledge and how they make schooling possible under conditions of scarcity.

Beyond this, throughout the thesis we include our own standpoint as active participants in both the projects analyzed (“Mocha Celis”) and in the research and writing process itself. We understand this gesture as an auto-ethnographic orientation that our supervisor encouraged us to integrate and that we consider epistemologically coherent with the object of study. Our voices, experiences and perspectives are not less valid than those of the authors we analyze or the people we interview. On the contrary, we consider it important to validate our standpoint against the fiction of neutrality. In fact, there is no neutral or impartial point of view, since what is often presented as objective tends to reproduce a historically dominant positionality (cis, white, bourgeois, able-bodied and located in the Global North) and its extractivist ways of narrating the world. This thesis chooses, instead, to make perspective visible and to treat positionality as part of its analytical strength.

Ultimately, in agreement with our supervisor, we considered it methodologically appropriate to include, within Chapter III, a selection of photographs and visual materials as a complement to the interview-based analysis. Images condense collective memory, political imagination and everyday pedagogical life in ways that cannot always be

captured through transcripts or analytic prose alone. Bringing these materials into the chapter is therefore a way of expanding what counts as evidence and how knowledge is communicated, allowing the thesis to register the sensorial, affective and symbolic dimensions through which struggle is made visible. Finally, we decided to add images that could give to the reader a more concrete spatial dimensions, evidencing where the educational projects considered are located.

Political and ethical clarifications

Before offering an overview of the thesis structure, we want to take space in this introduction for a set of political and ethical clarifications, aware that this introductory framing is intentionally substantial.

First, we have so far written in the first-person plural, “we”. This is because the present work was born from our internship at “Mocha Celis” and is the result of a long process of shared research, interviewing and drafting carried out by us, Chris Scollo (she/they) and Silvia Babini (she). The fact that the final thesis is formally submitted under a single author name (in this case, mine and the same applies to Chris’ version) is the product of bureaucratic and administrative constraints typical of academic institutions, which still struggle to move beyond individualist and neoliberal logics of knowledge production. The work therefore exists in two versions: mine, which analyses TTNB popular educational experiences outside Buenos Aires and Chris’, which adopts “Mocha Celis” as the final case study. In the absence of these limiting conditions, we would have published this work as a single shared thesis. We therefore reclaim the collective nature of this research, which is the result of negotiation, dialogue and sometimes conflict, which did not weaken the project but enriched it. We explicitly reject the imposed individualism of neoliberal academic production and express a political desire for institutional openings that make collective knowledge production not only possible but recognized.

Second, we acknowledge our privileges not only as Europeans, but also because one of us occupies a privileged position as a cis and white person. Even though both of us belong to the queer community, we tried to keep these asymmetries in mind throughout the research process and to avoid imposing our analytical categories onto our observations as if they were universal. However, this reflexive stance does not solve power differences, but it is part of our ethical discipline of research.

Also, a necessary mention concerns language. English, as the writing language of this thesis, facilitates certain moves against gender binarism simply because it does not gender most nouns and adjectives. By contrast, Spanish (as well as Italian and other neo-Romance languages) is grammatically gendered in a way that constantly reproduces a masculine/feminine binary and a patriarchal linguistic order. This is well known within queer communities, yet we want to make it explicit for readers, in this work, the use of “x” in Spanish and “they” in English refers to a broader spectrum of gender expression that exceeds the masculine/feminine binary and recognizes the existence and validity of dissident gender identities. We consider transfeminisms also a question of language, because hegemonic social values are reinforced through writing. Likewise, our use of “Trans*” or “T*” signals heterogeneity pointing to the variety, fluidity and historical transformation of gender-nonconforming identities, rather than treating “trans” as a single stable category.

A further linguistic and political clarification concerns our use of the concept “Argentina”. This nation-state was consolidated through the genocide, enslavement and systemic marginalization of dozens of peoples, nations, communities and collectivities who have inhabited these territories long before the name “Argentina” existed. We are aware that using this term can contribute to the invisibilization of ongoing decolonial struggles, like those of Mapuche, Aymara, Guaraní, Tehuelche nations and peoples, among others (this list is not exhaustive, and we name it precisely as a partial gesture of recognition). We also want to acknowledge the names these lands already had and continue to have in different languages, such as *Abya Yala*, and, in *Mapudungun* (Mapuche’s language), *Wallmapu*, *Puelmapu* and *Gulumapu*. Naming, here, is part of a political ethics in which we aim at recognizing our position as Europeans walking on these lands and we refuse the comfort of treating the nation-state as a neutral geographical container detached from colonial violence and ongoing Indigenous resistance.

Thesis structure

The thesis is organized into three chapters. Chapters I and II are shared between the two versions of the thesis (mine and Chris’), and they provide the common theoretical, historical and political framework. Chapter III is the point of divergence, my version focuses on a comparative map of TTNB popular educational projects outside Buenos

Aires and analyses the different institutional and territorial conditions that make these experiences possible, while Chris' offers "Mocha Celis" as a case study grounded in our internship experience.

Chapter I lays the conceptual and historical groundwork. The first paragraph clarifies that we use "popular education" not as a fixed definition, but as a contested field shaped by struggle and as a political practice oriented toward dignity, rights-making and collective organization. Then, we reconstruct key concepts that organize this field like Freire's critique of banking education, education as dialogue and cultural action, the role of experience and territory, and the idea that schooling is never a neutral institution because it is always implicated in power relations and social hierarchies. We also mobilize feminist and decolonial contributions that deepen these foundations, emphasizing the embodied, situated and relational nature of knowledge production in popular education.

The second paragraph traces a genealogy of popular education in South America, refusing simplistic origin stories that would either reduce popular education to a single method or locate its emergence exclusively in one historical moment. We situate Freire within a longer horizon of emancipatory pedagogical thinking and within the political ruptures produced by dictatorship, neoliberal restructuring and popular resistance.

The third and last paragraph focuses on *Bachilleratos Populares* in Argentina and on their emergence, evolution and pedagogical-political character. We reconstruct how these experiences developed as movement-built educational infrastructures linked to popular organizations, how they created collective coordination spaces and how they negotiated institutional recognition (especially through processes of officialization) while trying to preserve autonomy and horizontality. This chapter therefore builds the conceptual bridge that allows us to read TTNB *bachilleratos* not as isolated innovations but as part of a broader Argentine tradition of counter-education that disputes what schooling is for, who it is for and how it should be governed.

Chapter II extends the analysis by placing cis-binary gender governance at the centre. The first paragraph examines TTNB political categories and contested regimes of recognition, combining theoretical perspectives (Butler, Fernández, Berkins) with an attention to the concrete institutional sites where gender is enforced like documentation systems, enrolment forms, attendance registers and everyday interactions where misgendering and policing operate. Here, TTNB subjectivities are treated not as a homogeneous group but

as historically produced categories that emerge through struggle and that expose how recognition is granted, withheld or conditioned by power.

The second paragraph foregrounds material survival as analytically inseparable from schooling. Drawing on movement-produced reports and data, as well as testimonies and narrative accounts, we show how structural exclusion from formal labour markets, precarious housing and unequal access to health shape educational trajectories. This section links the broader horizon of rights to the concrete infrastructures that make life possible or impossible. Education, here, cannot be reduced to individual mobility, it is entangled with the governance of life and death, with abandonment and protection, and with the uneven distribution of social legitimacy.

The final paragraph returns explicitly to pedagogy and emancipation, developing the double argument that is central to the thesis. TTNB popular schooling can be liberatory for TTNB people and at the same time it demands a transformation of the educational system for society as a whole. Through hooks and through testimonies and documents produced within TTNB educational spaces (including materials such as *Travar el Saber*, “EFETT” documents and other movement archives), we mention practices such as integral accompaniment (*abordaje integral*), collective governance and the reworking of curriculum and knowledge. The chapter concludes by opening the path to Chapter III: it frames TTNB *bachilleratos* as movement-built institutions that respond to cis-binary governance not only by including some TTNB students, but by transforming what inclusion, knowledge and education can mean.

Chapter III, in my version of the thesis, is structured as a comparative “map” that deliberately displaces the analytical focus from CABA (Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires) in order to make peripheral TTNB educational experiences visible on their own terms. It examines initiatives in La Plata, Córdoba, Tucumán, Rosario, Reconquista (Santa Fe), and Chaco, and it begins by reconstructing their emergence in context. The opening section traces how activist demands and local coalitions become material educational realities through concrete negotiations over organizational viability, securing a place to operate, stabilizing schedules and attendance and obtaining forms of recognition that allow the project to function. By starting from the conditions of birth and from the question of “how they work,” the chapter shows how moving outside the capital reconfigures the conditions of possibility for TTNB education.

The second part then develops transversal analytical axes to read these experiences comparatively rather than as disconnected local stories. First, it foregrounds time, the temporality of short program cycles, unstable agreements and everyday scheduling constraints, and how these temporal conditions shape what “continuity” can realistically mean. Moreover, it analyses the *abordaje integral* as a practical and political logic in which schooling is inseparable from accompaniment and care infrastructures (material support, bureaucratic mediation, social protection and the production of conditions for attendance and belonging). Furthermore, it examines the relationship with institutions, mapping forms of articulation, negotiation and selective refusal through which these projects engage state frameworks without necessarily surrendering political centrality. In continuity, it addresses space, not as geography, but as the making (and remaking) of an educational environment, the symbolic and relational work of producing a classroom-like space in non-school venues, the governance of boundaries and safety and the organizational consequences of spatial precariousness. Finally, it turns to naming the schools as a political technology and it analyses the pedagogical curriculum, focusing on how knowledge is selected, framed, and taught, how the curriculum is not a neutral content delivery.

Chris’ Chapter III, in reciprocal dialogue with mine, offers an analysis of the *Bachillerato Popular* “Mocha Celis” grounded in our three-month curricular internship and participation in daily school life. Its first paragraph situates “Mocha Celis” within the tension between formal legal recognition and ongoing institutional violence, even where rights-based frameworks exist, exclusion persists. “Mocha Celis” is read as a political-pedagogical response rooted in *travesti* and trans* organizing. It then reconstructs the school’s making and genealogy, its activist origins, internal debates over who the school is for and how it maintains political centrality on TTNB communities and its complex relationship with institutional recognition and material support.

The second paragraph shifts to everyday pedagogy and accompaniment, analyzing “Mocha Celis” as an educational space where schooling is inseparable from care infrastructures (food, social support, bureaucratic mediation, and the production of a safe territorial environment). It explores how curriculum and knowledge are politicized through both content and method, how memory is sustained as a living practice, and how

teachers and students co-produce a horizontal learning environment that contests banking education, while also registering tensions and conflicts.

Mentioning Chris' chapter within my thesis is important because it reinforces that the two versions, while formally separated, are the product of one shared research process and a common analytical horizon.

Challenges and limitations

One of the main difficulties of this project, despite both of our fluency, was working across multiple languages. We are both Italian native speakers; bibliographic research and interviews were conducted mainly in Spanish; and the thesis is written in English. This multilingual process may have influenced interpretation in more than one way and we acknowledge the possibility of errors. We also acknowledge the limited use of AI tools to support the formulation and clarification of some phrases, with the intent to render the work as accessible as possible. At the same time, we recognize the ethical, political and environmental problems raised by these technologies, arguing for a use of responsibility and carefulness that does not replace critical authorship.

A second difficulty was collective writing itself. We live and are trained within an extremely individualistic society and therefore negotiating rhythms, boundaries, ideas and responsibilities without hierarchizing the work was challenging. At the same time, it was a process of both personal and academic growth and we hope collective knowledge production becomes increasingly common and institutionally supported.

Finally, the interview process, particularly the group interviews, also presented methodological challenges. This was our first sustained experience with this format, and the research was further constrained by the loss of some audio recordings following the loss of the recording device. At the same time, these difficulties became a learning site, through practice, we refined concrete strategies for turn-taking, for sustaining respect among us and for managing the interaction in ways that avoided paternalism and supported a horizontal dynamic of shared experience and co-produced knowledge.

CHAPTER I - Popular Education as an Emancipatory Political Practice

1.1 Popular pedagogy: theoretical foundations and key concepts

This chapter lays the conceptual and historical groundwork for understanding popular education not as a stable pedagogical model, but rather as a political field shaped by struggle and uneven institutionalization of its practical experiences.

Many authors have tried so far to find a definition of popular education; however, there is not a consensus in the pedagogical field around its definition. For example, Puiggrós (in Rodríguez, 2013) distinguish between a ‘banking’ and authoritarian education and another that is dialogical and democratic, defining popular education the one that has «como sujetos participantes centrales a los sectores oprimidos y desposeídos de la sociedad y como educadores a sectores que expresan proyectos de transformación social» (p. 30). Freire, on the other hand, frames it as «un tipo de educación que viene a problematizar la hegemónica y proponer algo transformador, contraponiendo lo oficial con lo popular, siendo lo oficial entendido como una “educación bancaria”²» (Freire, in Luppino, 2022, p. 7). Finally, Lidia Mercedes Rodríguez (2013) describes popular education as «un proyecto político, una utopía, un horizonte de sentido. El proyecto político popular remite a un horizonte de justicia e igualdad. Donde se pueda “ser parte”. [...] El espacio político de lo popular organiza un nuevo imaginario. Es alternativo en el sentido que decíamos antes, propone una opción. Las relaciones de subordinación son significadas como opresión, se organizan nuevas identidades.» (p. 36)

In this thesis, we do not use “popular education” as a settled definition. Instead, we use it as an analytical lens to track how education becomes a site of struggle over dignity, recognition and resistance. In fact, rather than a fixed pedagogical model, it is more accurate to treat it as an open field of practices and historical reconfigurations, whose meaning shifts depending on which social actors mobilize it, in what conjuncture and against which forms of domination. Our argument builds on this openness: what we will call “popular education” is recognizable not by a single method but by recurring commitments that actively contests the hierarchies that conventional schooling normalizes. As Adriana Puiggrós (in Rodríguez, 2013) warns, «no podemos quedarnos

² The Freirian concept of ‘banking education’ will be analysed in the next section.

con categorías definitivas, no podemos decir “la educación popular es esto”. [...] Hay muchas maneras de organizar ese concepto y la práctica de la educación popular.» (p. 14). This changing dimension reflects the fact that popular education is historically produced through struggles and re-significations: its meaning shifts as different subjects mobilize it, in different conjunctures, to confront different forms of oppression. It has been a pedagogical proposal that enables to think about and debate central categories in revolutionary struggle, such as (popular) power, the paths to (permanent) revolutions, disputes over state power, analyses of class exploitation, patriarchal oppression and colonial domination; and projects such as socialism and feminisms. (Korol & Castro, 2014)

In this sense, popular education operates as a signifier that condenses different claims around education and social transformation. Puiggrós (in Rodríguez, 2013) describes it as a complex field of multiple articulations in which practices intertwine demands emerging from different social actors (indigenous populations, migrants, women, LGBTQIANB+ people, urban popular sectors, racialized communities, vulnerable childhoods, among others) resulting in specific sociological, political and cultural configurations rather than a uniform model.

Korol and Castro (2014) suggest that popular education is best understood as a living political-pedagogical tradition that has repeatedly re-made itself by moving through historical struggles and being transformed by them. In fact, rather than remaining tied to one country, one method, or one institutional setting, it has circulated across South America; see for example the literacy and political formation processes within rural communities in Brazil, or the revolutionary itineraries in 1970s Central America alongside insurgent experiences and later into the organizing work of peasant movements and popular feminisms in Argentina. It also took root in urban peripheries and working-class neighborhoods across Colombia, Venezuela, Chile, Peru and Uruguay, where its work was not only about schooling in the narrow sense. It helped sustain collective practices and opened new ways of naming rights and injustice as part of broader movement-building. Popular education widened both its concepts and its practices while making contact with emancipatory pedagogies that connected critiques of capitalism with critiques of heteropatriarchy and colonialism. It encountered with Brazil’s *Movimiento sin Tierra* (Landless Workers’ Movement) and its Pedagogy of the Land, as well as with

Zapatista decolonizing education. Additionally, Indigenous worldviews deepened its decolonial stance. In the twenty-first century, this cumulative process also meant a broader popularization and renewed political inscription, intertwining with revolutionary projects such as Venezuela's Bolivarian process and Bolivia's efforts toward decolonization.

What holds this field together is an idea of education built from below, from the margins, rooted in lived experiences and collective needs and explicitly attentive to how power shapes knowledge, societies and oppression dynamics. Throughout this thesis, we treat schooling as a governance device that not only transmit knowledge but also classifies people's legitimacy and decides who can appear as "a student" in the first place.

Indeed, popular education does not treat learning as a service to be sold, nor as a mere pathway to the obtention of a specific diploma. It proposes education as a collective process in which political organization is grounded in the recognition that learners are subjects of knowledge, rather than passive objects of instruction. Its central question is therefore not only how to teach, but what kind of social relations are enacted through teaching and which forms of knowledge are legitimized or excluded within educational processes. It is important to clarify this point in order to understand that popular education aims at resisting a form of dominant formal schooling that reproduces hegemonic and patriarchal knowledges and social relations.

Crucially, popular education typically emerges where structural inequality shapes everyday life, including access to education itself. In such contexts, formal schooling often appears not as a neutral institution but as an exclusionary apparatus that reproduces hierarchy through classist and racist dynamics. The political stakes of education therefore become visible in basic questions such as who decides what counts as knowledge, whose experiences are recognized as meaningful and which voices are authorized to name reality within the classroom. In addition, while educational interruption is often narrated as an individual story, we want to emphasize that in the contexts analyzed in this thesis emerges that it is structurally produced through institutional misrecognition. This shift will become crucial later, when we analyze educational trajectories as inseparable from work, housing and health.

Nonetheless, this critique does not deny that schools can be spaces of learning and social mobility; rather, it argues that schooling is also a site where power operates. Knowledge is selected and evaluated through hegemonic rules that often privilege colonial and cis-

heteronormative worldviews, while devaluing communal knowledges. The result is that education can become a technology of annihilation in training people to fit into the existing dominant order, frequently presenting that order as natural and inevitable. We use “annihilation” deliberately here to underscore how powerfully the schooling system can shape subjectivities that are useful to the reproduction of the dominant order. This is why the form of education matters as much as access, since a school can include on paper while expelling in practice.

On the contrary, for popular education the problem is not only exclusion in a quantitative sense (who can access schooling), but also exclusion in a political sense; this is why popular education is framed not only as an “alternative pedagogy,” but as a critique of schooling as an apparatus that can reproduce ideology and social relations. From here, the next move is to specify the pedagogical and political alternative that has most strongly shaped popular education in Latin America: Paulo Freire’s conceptualization of the *pedagogía del oprimido*.

Paulo Freire is one of the most influential references for popular education because in his works³ he theorizes education as a political and relational practice, rooted in the lived conditions of oppressed⁴ communities and oriented toward transforming them. In Freire’s approach, education is not a one-way transmission of content but a collective and dialogical process in which subjects (both ‘students’ and ‘educators’) name their exploited conditions and the structures of oppression that create them and develop the capacity to act together to fight them. What is at stake is not only learning outcomes but also the emergence of people as historical agents capable of reading and reshaping their world.

A key point into this framework is the critique of the verticality and of the monopoly over knowledge traditionally assigned to the teacher. In fact,

Freire pone en juego una visión de la educación que realmente cambia las coordenadas, cambia el orden de los sujetos; y toma un punto, a mi manera de ver, central, que es la posibilidad de la

³ Freire’s notion of popular pedagogy can be explored in depth across his writings, beginning with *Pedagogía del oprimido* (2005), *La educación como práctica de la libertad* (1997) and *Educación y cambio* (2002)

⁴ Freire’s naming of subjects as ‘oppressed’ «rather than merely ‘poor’ [Ed. Note: poor in the sense of finding themselves in a position of economic disadvantage] shifts the analytical focus away from stigmatizing attributes and toward the responsibility of oppressive systems and power relations, while also insisting that oppression is not a closed or deterministic reality but one that can and must be transformed.» (Gorondy Novak, n.d., p. 1)

educación, del intercambio de lugares entre el sujeto educador y el sujeto educando. Esa es una de las cuestiones centrales que plantea Paulo Freire. Porque el concepto de “educación dialógica” pone en crisis a la educación moderna, dado que un pilar de la educación moderna es el lugar del maestro, el lugar del educador, el lugar del profesor; el lugar del saber está en el lugar del profesor. (Puiggrós, in Rodríguez, 2013, p. 11)

This analysis will return considering *Bachilleratos Populares* (BP) as schools that institutionalize dialogue not only as a classroom technique, but as a tool to challenge hierarchies and oppression. In them, dialogue is a political reconfiguration of the pedagogical bond and a clear stance against the capitalist and neoliberal model of hierarchical relation. Moreover, this reconfiguration is coherent with an approach that takes equality as a starting point rather than an endpoint. Importantly, this does not erase the roles of educator and learner, but it denies that those roles should be organized as superiority and inferiority.

Turning back to Freire (2002), his critique of *educación bancaria* captures how oppression is reproduced pedagogically when knowledge is treated as a deposit to be stored in passive recipients: «el maestro todavía es un ser superior que explica a ignorantes. Esto forma una conciencia bancaria. El educando recibe pasivamente los conocimientos y es un depósito que hace el educador. Se educa para archivar lo que se deposita.» (p. 12). In such a model, learners are discouraged from questioning the world, their experiences are treated as irrelevant and education becomes training in adaptation. Against this, Freire proposes a problem-posing education, in which teaching begins from concrete situations and knowledge is produced through dialogue and shared reflection.

A decolonial deepening of this critique is developed in the reading proposed by Inés Fernández Mouján (in Rodríguez, 2013), who revisits Freire’s notion of education as cultural action as a historically situated concept within the pedagogy of liberation. For Mouján, the cultural dimension is a constitutive terrain where domination is exercised, because power also operates through the regulation of which worldviews can count as true. In this perspective, thinking education as cultural action becomes inseparable from conflicts over identity and from the critique of Eurocentric conceptual inheritances in societies marked by colonial processes like *Abya Yala*. Mouján (in Rodríguez, 2013) foregrounds Freire’s insistence that liberation cannot be produced by transmitting emancipatory messages from above, but only by building conditions for collective knowledge-production and for taking the word. As she writes: «para Freire, la acción

cultural liberadora de los hombres y mujeres – en tanto quehacer que se realiza en un tiempo y en un espacio – exige la comprensión de la educación como intervención cultural pues, como la opción es una operación dialógica y transformadora, es imprescindible entender y asumir la educación como un acto de conocimiento y no de memorización.» (p. 87)

Here, the contrast with banking education becomes sharper, showing that cultural action is incompatible with pedagogies of repetition and discipline, because it is defined as a dialogical intervention that treats knowing as an active, collective practice.

At the same time, the author stresses that cultural domination works through what Freire (2002) calls “cultural invasion”, an anti-dialogical operation that imposes a single worldview, blocks the creativity and growth of the oppressed and produces alienation and estrangement. In colonized contexts, this invasion can become mimetic, pushing the invaded to see reality through the invader’s gaze and to internalize inferiority as a norm. For that reason, taking the word is not simply expressive but a political rupture. Consequently, in the formulation made by Fernández Mouján, Freire’s proposal of education as cultural action aims to interrupt this dynamic by reconnecting thought and reality through a praxis that reactivates the capacity of subalternized subjects to know and to transform their world. Nonetheless,

esta operación no se realiza mágicamente ni automáticamente pues, en el caso de las sociedades colonizadas, es decir, donde se desarrollan procesos culturales alienados, el propio pensamiento-lenguaje no atraviesa el proceso de subjetivación-objetivación; el sujeto deshumanizado no se asume como sujeto pensante, sino a través de otro, se encuentra alienado en el discurso del otro “colono”, poderoso y opresor. Por ello, el concepto que construye sobre la realidad no se corresponde con la realidad objetiva, sino con la realidad que imagina. Esto le impide actuar como sujeto pensante sobre la realidad para transformarla. En la situación de dominación colonial, los procesos de subjetivación y objetivación se encuentran disociados. (Mouján in Rodríguez, 2013, pp. 87, 88)

In colonial contexts, Freire argues, oppressed people are denied the conditions to affirm their own subjectivity and to narrate their experience in their own terms. Their voices are not granted a space of recognition; when they are “heard,” it is largely in order to control and silence them. Read in this way, we could say that Freire’s insistence on dialogue and problem-posing education acquires a specifically decolonizing meaning: liberation requires dismantling the cultural mechanisms that naturalize neo-colonial oppression, recovering plural ways of naming the world and rebuilding the conditions in which

subjects can think and act from their own political and territorial realities. This decolonial reading is important because it clarifies the recurring mechanism of domination, which works by severing people from the authority to name their own reality. Popular education attempts to reverse this by rebuilding the conditions for speaking and acting collectively. Beyond this, Freire (2002) insists that knowledge is relational and situated and that educators cannot approach learners as empty vessels: «no hay saber ni ignorancia absoluta: hay sólo una relativización del saber o de la ignorancia. Por esto, no podemos [ed. note: nosotrxs entendido como lxs docentes] colocarnos en la actitud del ser superior que enseña a un grupo de ignorantes, sino en la actitud humilde del que comunica un saber relativo a otros que poseen otro saber relativo.» (p. 8) In this sense, popular education refuses to ignore what people already know beyond the classroom. Instead, it takes those lived knowledges seriously, because they are precisely what can generate new questions, and with them, new forms of reciprocal education.⁵

Two further concepts articulate this political pedagogy: the first one is conscientization, which is the process through which oppressed people develop critical consciousness of their situation and their capacity to respond. The second one is praxis, described as action informed by critical reflection, through which people intervene in reality rather than merely interpreting it. Together, these concepts turn education into a site where thinking and acting are reconnected and where knowledge is valued for its capacity to expand collective agency.

In the Freirian conceptualization of popular education it's clear that liberation cannot be delivered from above; on the contrary it requires collective participation and critical reading of reality. Moreover, knowledge is never abstracted from social life, but embedded in identities and territories. This alternative pedagogy rejects the idea of learning as a neutral transfer of content; it recognizes that knowledge is never produced in abstraction. On the contrary, it is always situated and it comes from histories, from relationships, from social positions and from the material worlds people inhabit. This is why the Freirean refusal of banking pedagogy is not only a methodological claim about

⁵ In *Pedagogía del oprimido*, Freire draws on his encounters with rural workers to illustrate how easily an educator can arrive carrying conceptual tools linked to the educational project and yet remain unfamiliar with the concrete realities of people's lives. In those exchanges, he realized that the peasants and workers possessed forms of cultural, lexical and historical knowledge about land, labour and lifestyle that he did not have (and that any serious educational process had to start by taking that knowledge as legitimate).

better teaching techniques; in popular education, the point of departure is not the curriculum as an external mandate, but the concrete realities through which learners make sense of the world (realities that are always territorial and historically formed).

This emphasis can be made explicit through approaches that treat socio-political space as an unavoidable dimension of any pedagogical proposal. As Zaylín (2008) puts it, educational processes must attend to a plurality of social coordinates that shape the identities of the subjects that form part of the educational projects (both teachers and students):

Estos espacios sociales los constituyen, entre otros: el espacio geográfico y de territorio; la historicidad del sujeto, su subjetividad; la memoria histórica, individual; la conformación de la personalidad y su socialización en los diferentes espacios sociales; la formación e identificación cultural, nacional. Todos ellos a ser considerados necesariamente en una propuesta educativa que articule cultura e identidad de los sujetos involucrados mediante aprendizajes educativos y desde la experiencia que las interrelaciones sociales establecen. (p. 35)

In this sense education is never just education, because it always involves a negotiation between lived experience, collective memory and consequently the distribution of voice and recognition inside a learning space. From this perspective, identity becomes pedagogically relevant not as an essential attribute that individuals carry unchanged, but as a socio-historical and relational formation. Identities are produced through social learning (through shared languages, values, affiliations, desires, exclusions and forms of belonging) that take shape in specific contexts and change across time. This also means that identity is never purely individual but is formed in relation to others and to the institutions and discourses that name people from the outside. In educational terms, this implies that both learners and educators participate in shaping the meanings attached to identity in the classroom, sometimes reproducing dominant norms, sometimes displacing them and sometimes opening space for alternative narratives and forms of recognition.

Popular education, in this sense, does not aim at homogenizing learners into a single legitimate subject, nor does it treat difference as a problem to be managed. It works with difference as a social fact and as a political issue: different histories and cultures and different positionalities coexist within learning spaces and can either be disciplined by rigid hierarchies or turned into resources for collective growth. When education is conceived as dialogical and problem-posing, diversity is not tolerated; rather, it becomes a starting point for asking why social inequalities are organized the way they are and how

those inequalities enter classrooms through language, expectations, authority and institutional norms.

This is where territory becomes more than a backdrop; in fact, in popular education, it is not only a geographic space but also a social and symbolic one. It is a site where power is exercised, resources and rights are disputed and where communities build infrastructures of mutual support. Educational practices are shaped by these territorial dynamics, because what people need to contest and transform is directly linked to the conditions of life in specific territorial and social spaces. Treating territory as pedagogically central therefore means recognizing that education is implicated in struggles over housing, work, health, violence, migration and citizenship as existential pillars of everyday life of marginalized communities in neoliberal capitalist contexts.

In other words, understanding knowledge as situated is a commitment that reorganizes pedagogy from the inside. It demands that educational projects begin by listening to the ways people already interpret their world and by taking seriously the knowledges produced in everyday life (often outside institutions, often devalued by formal schooling but in reality, vital for survival and collective organization).

Notably, popular education in South America has intersected with transfeminist and popular feminist philosophies and pedagogies, which insist that everyday life, bodies and social relations are not ‘private’ matters outside politics, but key terrains where oppression is lived and can be contested. This perspective resonates with Freire’s insistence that education is never neutral, but it sharpens the analysis by showing how domination is reproduced not only through institutions and macro-structures, but also through gendered roles, the distribution of care, sexualized bodies, sexual exploitation and forms of violence that operate in families, neighborhoods, workplaces, hospitals and schools. Feminist pedagogy within popular education thus reorients pedagogy toward the lived sites where power becomes intimate and normalized (and therefore where it must be named and transformed). The feminist pedagogy proposed by Claudia Korol (2014), in many of its key articulations, speaks directly to the popular pedagogy discussed so far through Freire and other authors. For example, she put emphasis on a methodology that refuses to treat theory as an external illumination of people’s lives. Her approach aligns with the epistemological stance developed in popular education above, where knowledge

begins from concrete social practice, not from abstract principles imposed from above. In her words:

La concepción metodológica dialéctica de la educación popular considera como punto de partida de los procesos pedagógicos la práctica social inmediata de las personas. Se propone ir desde lo conocido, inmediato, concreto, hacia lo desconocido, complejo, para poder abstraer desde allí, teorizando con base en las prácticas. Práctica-teoría-práctica es el camino metodológico propuesto, a diferencia de los modos tradicionales que parten de la teoría, o del mundo de las ideas, para “iluminar” el de las experiencias. (p. 79)

Korol's view on popular education implies that people's experiences, especially those that have been historically excluded from 'legitimate' knowledge, are not raw material to be corrected by expert discourse, but starting points for collective theorization and for the construction of strategies of transformation. Moreover, Korol's methodological emphasis makes the collective dimension of popular education even more central by stating that if educational processes move from practice to theory and back to practice, then learning cannot be reduced to individual competence. It requires shared spaces «para que los dolores que produce el desaprendizaje de las opresiones pueda ser compartido y sostenido en los colectivos» (p. 22). From this perspective, the group is not merely a learning context, but an epistemological and political condition of knowing: it is the space «para identificar los obstáculos epistemológicos, para intentar superarlos, y para que el diálogo desde diferentes perspectivas nos permita enriquecer el conocimiento, y nos sostenga en nuestras posibles caídas o dificultades para atravesar ese proceso.» (p. 77). The collective dimension, therefore, is structurally tied to the political horizon of the pedagogy of the oppressed, insofar as it enables social transformation to be imagined and practiced through the construction of militant organizations that do not delegate revolutionary action to so-called “representatives,” but instead assume, firsthand, the responsibility of becoming active and incisive political subjects in struggle. It is here that Korol's proposal reveals its revolutionary charge: a pedagogical practice oriented toward the emancipation of oppressed subjectivities, marked by a militant energy and by an understanding of education as the building of collective power. Not by chance, hers is a true *pedagogía de las revoluciones* oriented toward the «descolonización, despatriarcalización y desmercantilización de la vida» (p. 78). In this sense, Korol helps illuminate and broaden the theoretical landscape of popular educations, «que hacen de la esperanza no una ilusión

mágica, sino una acción colectiva tendiente a revolucionar las subjetividades aplastadas por las derrotas» (p. 24).

With Korol, this first part comes to a close; in the following sections, we will move toward a more historical reconstruction of educational struggles in the continent and then focus on one of the most significant materializations of popular education in the Argentine context: *Bachilleratos Populares*.

1.2 History of popular education in South America

Tracing a genealogy of popular education in South America means avoiding two simplifications that often distort the field: the first is treating popular education as a timeless, coherent method; the second is locating its origins exclusively in twentieth-century critical pedagogy. In fact, while Paulo Freire is a decisive reference, the vocabulary and political imagination that later nourish popular education emerge earlier, in the context of (de)colonial projects that sought to redefine education as part of a broader emancipatory horizon. In this sense, popular education appears historically as a name available to articulate a pedagogical project tied not to elite modernization, but to the well-being of the majorities and the construction of a different social order.

This is why Simón Rodríguez⁶ occupies a foundational place in the continental genealogy. As Rodríguez Mercedes (2013) notes,

Desde el siglo xix “educación popular” [...] era un significante disponible para nombrar una novedad, la de la educación del “pueblo”. En el Simón Rodríguez que a principios del siglo xix regresa a América para acompañar el proyecto bolivariano se trataba de una pedagogía que acompañara un proyecto emancipatorio, donde la centralidad se ubicaba en el bienestar de las mayorías. Por eso no participaba de una visión del progreso que subordinara a su lógica el bienestar de las mayorías. (pp. 28, 29)

What is crucial in this formulation is that popular education is not imagined as the extension of schooling to those who were previously excluded, but as a pedagogical form consistent with the reorganization of social life and with a critique of “progress” when

⁶ Simón Rodríguez (1769–1854) was a Venezuelan educator, writer and political thinker, best known as Simón Bolívar’s teacher and mentor. He is considered a key figure in South American pedagogical thought because he linked education to emancipation and to the building of more egalitarian republican societies. Rodríguez criticized the uncritical imitation of European models and argued that South America needed to invent educational forms rooted in its own population and mixed realities. He advocated inclusive public schooling oriented toward the popular classes and imagined schools as spaces of integral formation, capable of bringing together knowledge, work and citizenship.

progress is defined against the needs of the many. Rodríguez, in fact, anticipates a debate that will remain structurally present across South American educational history: whether schooling is oriented toward emancipation or toward assimilation into a capitalist modernity that often presents itself as inevitable. Ariel Zysman (in Rodríguez, 2013) captures the modernity of Rodríguez's position when he argues that Rodríguez states «una posición que inaugura el debate pedagógico moderno, esto es, la posibilidad de articular el sentido de la educación a la construcción de una sociedad distinta, emancipada de la metrópoli española y con un fuerte componente utópico en la constitución de un nuevo sujeto social.» (p. 115). In other words, the question is not simply how to teach, but what kind of society education is meant to help build and what kind of subject education is meant to form. This orientation becomes even more concrete in the social composition Rodríguez imagines for the school itself, since he «imaginaba una escuela poblada de negros, ind*os [ed. note], esclavos y trabajadores a partir de los cuales habría de construirse una nueva sociedad y donde enseñar equivalía a pensar y hacer pensar la realidad. Rodríguez (1828) se refería a esa escuela como escuela social»⁷ (p. 115). The emphasis on an *escuela social* matters because it anticipates a later cornerstone of popular education, namely the idea that education is inseparable from social practice and from the collective capacity to think reality critically rather than merely adapt to it. Nonetheless, it is essential mentioning Simon Rodríguez since his vision of education as a decolonial tool aimed at forming the fighters against the Spanish colonizers.⁸

However, these emancipatory meanings did not become hegemonic in the formation of national education systems. In Argentina, the nineteenth century was also the terrain of a competing pedagogical project that linked schooling to liberal state-building and to a “civilizing” program. Zysman (in Rodríguez, 2013) explicitly frames this counter-horizon in the figure of Sarmiento, who had a pedagogical project as an «expresión del liberalismo que ubicó a la escuela en el centro de la escena para llevar adelante una aculturación de

⁷ We retain the term “ind*os” as it appears in the original quotation for methodological transparency; however, we stress that it is a colonial and inaccurate term for Indigenous peoples in the Americas and should not be used today. Yet its presence in the cited passage likely reflects the historical context in which it was written.

⁸ For a wider and deeper analysis of popular education's trajectories in South America, cfr.: Holliday, J. O. 2020. *La Educación Popular Latinoamericana. Historia y claves éticas, políticas y pedagógicas*. El colectivo. And Puiggròs, A. 2016. *La educación popular en América Latina. Orígenes, polémicas y perspectivas*. Colihue.

la sociedad que diera lugar a la modernidad capitalista del cono sur»⁹ (p. 115). This is important not only as historical description, but because it illuminates how public instruction could be articulated to an assimilationist project that defined modern citizenship through a particular cultural and economic model.

In fact, Zysman argues that, looking at the system consolidated by the end of the nineteenth century, it is possible to speak of a victory of the Sarmientine discourse over the Simón Rodríguez horizon, meaning that «de los múltiples sentidos disponibles para un proyecto educativo a principios de siglo xix, la educación popular se articuló con un discurso escolar específico que redujo la construcción del sujeto pedagógico al ideal de ciudadano moderno, ilustrado y capitalista» (p. 116). This helps explain why popular education in the region re-emerges also as a counter-hegemonic practice: not because it is a “new” invention, but because its more radical meanings were historically displaced and subordinated within capitalist educational regimes.

Within this longer story, Freire’s contribution can be understood as the most elaborated political pedagogy within a broader South American struggle to link education to emancipation, especially under modern conditions of oppression. What changes with Freire and the other authors is the development of a specific conceptualization of popular education capable of confronting twentieth-century neoliberal regimes of domination, that are not only institutional and economic, but also social and deeply tied to a system of marginalization and exploitation.

A crucial turning point for understanding contemporary popular education in South America is the way neoliberalism reorganized not only institutions and economies but also social life and subjectivities:

El desarrollismo en la década de 1960 y principios de la de 1970 en América Latina, las dictaduras, la socialdemocracia, y luego con el arrasador asentamiento del neoliberalismo. Este último ha logrado una construcción hegemónica: hay que comprender que no afectó solo las instituciones, sino que penetró en la conformación de los sujetos y organizó al conjunto de la sociedad. El neoliberalismo caló el mundo, triunfó y organizó, y sigue teniendo las llaves del imperio. (Puiggrós, in Rodríguez, 2013, pp. 11, 12)

⁹ In South America, the term Cono Sur (Southern Cone) refers to the region at the southern end of the continent, most commonly Argentina, Chile and Uruguay and sometimes also southern Brazil and Paraguay.

This analysis is important because it suggests that neoliberalism cannot be understood only as a set of policies; it must also be read as a cultural regime that produces ways of thinking and relating, including within education.

In educational terms, this reconfiguration often translated into reforms oriented toward market logics and the treatment of education as an individual investment rather than a collective right. At the same time, neoliberalism deepened forms of exclusion and precarization that forced popular sectors to reorganize their strategies of survival and resistance, frequently building infrastructures of mutual support where the state retreated. In this sense, popular education re-emerges as both a response to exclusion and as a practice through which social movements produce political subjects capable of interpreting and confronting the new forms of oppression.

This regional shift is also linked to the political transformations of the early 2000s, when several governments in South America emerged through explicit rejection of neoliberal agendas. As Puiggrós notes, «Luiz Inácio ‘Lula’ da Silva y Néstor Kirchner en 2003, y dos años antes Hugo Chávez. Los escenarios son distintos, pero coinciden en el rechazo a las políticas educativas cuyo motor son intereses del capital y las reglas del mercado que avanzan aceleradamente» (p. 11). While these political cycles were heterogeneous, they nonetheless marked a moment in which the legitimacy of neoliberal reforms was publicly contested, opening new possibilities for movement struggles and demands and educational experiments. However, the impact of neoliberalism did not disappear with these political shifts. Its social effects (poverty, inequality, fragmentation of community ties and the reorganization of labour) continued to shape the conditions under which popular education projects operated.

Turning to Argentina, we focus on how dictatorship and neoliberal restructuring not only produced economic exclusion but also reorganized the conditions of collective life. This is the terrain on which movement infrastructures, including educational ones, re-emerged as strategies of survival and political recomposition. Even though this context produced severe educational exclusion, it also created a dense landscape of social movements that would later become central to the emergence of *Bachilleratos Populares* (BP). To begin with, the last military dictatorship did not only reshape the political field through repression, but it also reorganized the social structure by destroying collective infrastructures and by paving the way for financial liberalization. Moreover, the transition

to formal “democracy” did not automatically reverse this trajectory. Instead, subsequent governments deepened structural reforms that aligned the country with a neoliberal model, transforming state priorities and worsening welfare protections. This period set in motion a long process through which inequality intensified, community ties were strained and large sectors of the population became increasingly exposed to symbolic and material precariousness.

Within this context, social movements did not simply return after dictatorship, but they reconstituted themselves in a changed terrain. One of the key processes was the reconstruction of social bonds and organizational capacities that had been shattered by repression and by neoliberalism’s individualizing dynamics. In fact, these years are marked by a process of «reconstrucción de las relaciones sociales destruidas o fragmentadas por la dictadura y [el] modelo neoliberal» (Zibechi, in Aguiló & Wahren, 2014, p. 98). This reconstruction did not occur in a single organizational form. Rather, it unfolded across a heterogeneous landscape: recovered factories, unemployed workers’ movements, territorial organizations, youth collectives, cultural centers and community initiatives that sought not only to survive but to re-open spaces of political socialization and to experiment with forms of popular power and collective struggle.

This landscape also needs to be read within the broader South American consolidation of neoliberalism during the 1990s, when market reforms became widespread and were presented as the only viable route to ‘modernization’, while the public narrative framed economic growth as the primary solution to poverty and inequality. However, as the decade progressed, the limitations of this model became increasingly visible: external shocks and capital flight combined with the erosion of labor protections and the weakening of social policies, produced an expansion of structural impoverishment across the country. The social costs of this trajectory were not limited to income and employment, and they also affected education, both directly, through budgetary decisions and institutional reforms, and indirectly, by reshaping the conditions under which people could remain in school. While school enrollment had increased markedly since the 1960s, during the 1990s that expansion slowed significantly. (Luppino, 2022) This slowdown signals a broader shift in the state’s role in guaranteeing educational access and equity. In a context where youth and adult education had already been marginal within the formal system, the neoliberal cycle further marginalized it in pedagogical and budgetary terms,

contributing to the accumulation of unmet educational demand among young and adult populations, especially in popular sectors and in territories already affected by precarization.

From the second half of the 1990s onward, social mobilization gained momentum and began to reshape the landscape of collective action. Nonetheless, protest did not emerge out of nowhere; rather, it intensified over time as the contradictions of the model became harder to manage and as a growing sector of people experienced the loss of social rights in concrete, everyday ways. By the end of Menem's second term (1995–1999)¹⁰, Argentina had seen the consolidation of a new and expanding sector of people pushed into exclusion and marginalization, groups that had lost a significant portion of their social protections precisely as the state retreated from its responsibility to guarantee them. This trajectory converged dramatically at the beginning of the 2000s. The administration of Fernando de la Rúa (1999–2001)¹¹ inherited an exhausted model and attempted to sustain it through austerity and political management, but the social and economic situation deteriorated rapidly. Education funding provides one clear indicator of this deterioration: in 2001 public spending on education represented 4.86% of GDP, but it fell sharply in the following period, reaching 3.74% by 2003. These were the lowest levels of educational budget allocation in three decades and they coincided with a broader collapse of social conditions. In 2001 unemployment reached a peak of 21.5% and the impact of this level of joblessness was felt across households and territories: poverty stood at 32.7% and extreme poverty at 10.3%. The following year exposed the most brutal face of the neoliberal cycle's social consequences: poverty rose to 49.7% and extreme poverty to 22.7%. Placed in longer perspective, poverty increased by more than 30 percentage points between 1993 and 2002, years that correspond to the consolidation and exhaustion of the neoliberal model. (Luppino, 2022) These indicators are not offered merely as background. Instead, they help explain why, in this context, educational projects built from below emerge not simply as pedagogical experiments, but as survival infrastructures tools that

¹⁰ Carlos Saúl Menem was an Argentine politician from the Justicialist Party (Peronism) who served as President of Argentina from 1989 to 1999. He is best known for the country's neoliberal turn in the 1990s, marked by large-scale privatizations, deregulation and market opening, alongside the Convertibility Plan that pegged the peso to the U.S. dollar to curb hyperinflation. While these policies brought a period of monetary stability and increased consumption, they also contributed to creating the social conditions leading into the later crisis.

¹¹ Fernando de la Rúa was an Argentine politician from the Radical Civic Union (UCR) who served as President of Argentina from 1999 to 2001, leading the Alliance coalition.

become indispensable when the neoliberal nation-state offloads its collapse onto people's lives.

Turning to the December 2001 social uprising, we must read it within this accumulation of tensions. In fact, it was not a single event, but a rupture moment produced by a convergence of economic collapse, institutional delegitimization and the widespread perception that the political system had become incapable of representing collective needs. In this context, the immediate triggers included the *corralito*¹² and the freezing of bank deposits, which turned economic crisis into a direct assault on everyday survival strategies, particularly among middle and popular sectors. In this moment, protest escalated through a combination of organized mobilizations and spontaneous actions, including the spread of *cacerolazos*¹³ and the occupation of public space, with the slogan “*Que se vayan todos*”. This slogan condensed a generalized rejection of political elites and of the existing order. The government's response relied with the declaration of a state of exception and heavy repression, with deaths and violence in multiple areas of the country. The resignation of President De la Rúa became an emblematic image of institutional collapse, but the deeper significance of the uprising lies in how it revealed the exhaustion of neoliberal legitimacy and opened a new political terrain in which collective actors could recompose themselves.

Importantly, much of the protest cycle of the 1990s and early 2000s cannot be reduced to a generalized “anti-system” sentiment. In fact, many mobilizations articulated concrete claims around the defense of social rights that had been gradually secured during the second half of the twentieth century and were now being dismantled. These protests often expressed a demand to preserve rights and protections in the face of privatization and state retreat. In that sense, the cycle of protest was not only an expression of desperation, but was also a struggle over what kind of society was being constructed and which lives were treated as disposable within neoliberal modernization.

¹² The *corralito* was a set of emergency measures introduced in Argentina in December 2001 that sharply limited bank withdrawals and restricted access to cash, aiming to prevent a run on banks and stop capital flight. The restrictions froze much of people's savings and severely disrupted daily economic life, becoming a major trigger of mass protests during the 2001 crisis.

¹³ A *cacerolazo* is a form of protest in Argentina in which people gather and bang pots and pans (*cacerolas*), often in streets, balconies or public squares, to make collective noise and express political and economic anger. It is typically used as a mass, grassroots, non-violent tactic because it is accessible, highly visible and audible and can spread quickly across neighbourhoods.

The post-2001 period opened a contradictory scenario: on the one hand, Argentina experienced acute political and economic instability between 2001 and 2003, with rapid shifts in institutional authority. On the other hand, this very instability created space for territorial organization and for the expansion of movement infrastructures. As the state attempted to reestablish institutional control, eventually consolidating a new phase with the inauguration of Néstor Kirchner, movements operated in a terrain marked simultaneously by opportunities and constraints. It is in this conjuncture that a crucial educational process begins to take shape: multiple collective actors stepped into the educational void produced and deepened by the neoliberal cycle.

Recovered factories, teachers' cooperatives, unemployed workers' movements, unions and even sectors linked to public universities began to create popular schools and secondary-level experiences so that people expelled from formal schooling could resume their education.¹⁴ These initiatives were not conceived merely as alternative sites to complete secondary education. They were framed as experiments in building another kind of school, one capable of producing critical subjects and strengthening collective ties in territories devastated by exclusion and poverty. In other words, the educational project was inseparable from a broader political-pedagogical attempt to rebuild social ties and produce practical infrastructures of dignity and rights in contexts where formal institutions had failed.

This is the immediate terrain out of which *Bachilleratos Populares* (BP) emerge, where they respond to a very concrete structural condition: at the beginning of the new millennium, the Argentine state did not offer massive, accessible alternatives for youth and adult education. In fact, it was an area relegated within the formal system in pedagogical and material terms. BP therefore appear as an answer to a lack of opportunities in educational access, but they are not reducible to gap-filling. They also develop as movement-led spaces that articulate education with territorial struggles and with prefigurative practices in other areas such as self-managed work, cooperative production, culture, community health and assembly-based democratic organization. In

¹⁴ To further analyze the topic make reference to Sverdlick, I. & Costas, P. 2007. La actuación de los movimientos y organizaciones sociales *Bachilleratos Populares en Empresas Recuperadas y Organizaciones Sociales. Ensayos & Investigaciones del Laboratorio de Políticas Públicas*, Nº 30.

this way, BP become intelligible as political-pedagogical projects that both restore a right and dispute the meaning of schooling itself.

If we anticipate the details that will be developed in the next section, the early BP experiences emerge through spaces of debate and coordination that crystallize after 2001 and 2002, especially among organizations and collectives already active in territories and recovered workplaces. From there, the first BP are established, and, over time, the field expands, generating coordination spaces and cycles of mobilization and demands oriented toward recognition, salaries, scholarships, funding and the defense of political-pedagogical autonomy. This trajectory will be unfolded more precisely by reconstructing the internal process through which movements built the BP as a collective project and by tracing how their development interacts, sometimes productively, often conflictual, with the reconfiguration of state authority in the post-2001 political cycle. This will be made based on the works of Wahren (2020) and Luppino (2022).

1.3 Bachilleratos Populares: evolution and pedagogy

The emergence of *Bachilleratos Populares* (BP) was not an automatic result of the 2001 rupture, but the outcome of a concrete internal process through which organizations translated a diffuse social demand into a shared political-pedagogical project. In the immediate post-2001 period, debates around popular education intensified within movements and grassroots organizations that were already active in working-class neighborhoods and in recovered workplaces. In that climate, a short-lived but significant coordination space took shape around popular education, lasting a little over a year and fueled by the discussions that followed the rebellions of 2001 and 2002. Its purpose was to create a space for political formation and pedagogical reflection, aimed at strengthening militants and educators within a Freirean perspective. It involved different organizations, like *Barrios de Pie*, the *Organización Popular Fogoneros* (OPF) and the *Cooperativa de Educadores e Investigadores Populares* (CEIP) and devoted itself at organizing workshops and debates across different settings (that is, between popular neighborhoods and worker-recovered factories). This circulation across spaces signaled that education was being conceived as inseparable from territorial practice and from collective organization. Out of this process, the proposal to create movement-led secondary education projects for youth and adults began to crystallize. CEIP promoted the initiative

and OPF advanced it in parallel, each rooting the project in the specific social worlds where they already had ongoing work: namely, recovered workplaces in the case of OPF, and in the case of CEIP in territorial-based organizing.

This is how the first two BP were founded in 2004: the BP IMPA, located inside the recovered factory of the same name in Buenos Aires and the *Bachillerato Popular Simón Rodríguez* (BPSR), established in the *Las Tunas* neighborhood of Tigre. From the beginning, these experiences responded to an urgent and practical problem: in the territories where these organizations operated, young and adult populations needed to complete secondary education, yet the state did not offer neither feasible nor accessible spaces capable of absorbing that demand. These educational projects, alongside the goal of guaranteeing educational completion, also emerged as deliberate attempts to build self-managed schools with alternative formats and a counter-hegemonic schools conceived as collective institutions with an explicitly emancipatory horizon. In other words, the early BP were built at the intersection of a social necessity (the concrete need for secondary education) and a political-pedagogical wager (the refusal to reproduce the dominant state format as the only imaginable form of schooling). Indeed, they were conceived as movement institutions, embedded in broader struggles over rights and territorial life and organized to produce not only diplomas but also new educational relations and new collective capacities.

As the first experiences consolidated, the need for articulation quickly became apparent and by mid-2005, the earliest BP began to coordinate through an initial space of collective articulation known as *Interbachilleratos*. At first, the purpose of these meetings was explicitly pedagogical and aimed at exchanging teaching experiences, debating educational practices, strengthening curricular areas and organizing shared training processes in popular education. Over time, however, the agenda necessarily expanded and as the projects grew, so did the everyday organizational problems of sustaining them, while resource constraints and questions of long-term viability began to enter the discussion. These “practical” issues soon became political, because they were tied to a central contradiction: whereas BP needed recognition, funding and labor protections to survive, they also needed to preserve the autonomy that gave them meaning. As a result, while internal debates were still carried out to sort out this issue, the focus gradually moved toward a reivindicative and political register, centered on basic demands such as

recognition of diplomas, stable financing, wages for educators and scholarships for students. Nonetheless, these discussions did not remain internal but progressively transformed the character of the BP themselves and of the articulation space that linked them. Even their self-designation became politicized: projects that had often been described as ‘secondary schools for youth and adults’ increasingly adopted the name *Bachilleratos Populares*, emphasizing their political identity rather than merely their educational level. At the same time, the emergence of shared demands enabled a turn toward coordinated collective action. The first protests were largely mobilizations directed at the education ministries at the national level, the provincial level and the City of Buenos Aires. Through these actions, the BP established channels of negotiation with public officials, although always in a field marked by disputes and ongoing conflict. As the struggle intensified, the repertoire of protests broadened and became more confrontational and mobilizations directed at education ministers were joined by public classes, including actions staged during high-visibility events such as the inauguration of the Buenos Aires Book Fair. (Wahren, 2020) Some of these protests generated significant media coverage and resonated within the broader educational field, contributing to the consolidation of the BP and their articulation space as a recognizable actor with a distinct political-pedagogical profile. It was within this cycle of collective action that the CBPL (*Coordinadora de Bachilleratos Populares en Lucha*) was formed, reconfiguring *Interbachilleratos*. What had begun primarily as an articulation for pedagogical exchange was resignified into an articulation of struggles aimed at increasing visibility and strengthening collective pressure around shared demands. Meanwhile, the growth of the sector continued, but at a measured pace: even as the number of experiences increased, it generally did not exceed five new BP per year during this phase.

This period closed with a key institutional shift. In fact, at the end of 2007, the BP in the Province of Buenos Aires achieved official recognition through the private-management route. In the summer of 2008, the BP in the City of Buenos Aires obtained a comparable form of recognition under the Planning area of the city’s Ministry of Education, being classified as a *Unidad de Gestión Educativa Experimental* (U.G.E.E.). These recognitions did not resolve the fundamental tension between autonomy and state regulation, but they decisively altered the political terrain. In other words, what was nearly impossible, became imaginable as an attainable horizon for new projects. However, we read

officialization as an ambivalent threshold: even though it stabilizes projects materially, it also introduces new regimes of regulation that can narrow autonomy. This tension between autonomy and recognition will reappear in Chapter III, as a tension between self-definition and survival, specifically in the context of *Bachilleratos Populares* TTNB. On the other hand, the case of “Mocha Celis” (in Chris’ thesis) will show that it is possible to cede a small portion of political autonomy, while also having huge material support by the state.

Nevertheless, the officialization achieved in 2007–2008 marked the opening of a new stage, defined above all by accelerated growth. In fact, movements that might not have considered launching a BP earlier now saw conditions as more favorable, expecting that officialization could be achieved within a reasonable timeframe. Furthermore, for many organizations, founding a BP became a strategic way to strengthen territorial work and expand legitimacy through an educational project aligned with movement priorities. The scale of this shift appears clearly in the numbers: from 2008, the number of BP created started to increase (See tab. 1.1¹⁵ below).

Year	Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires	Province of Buenos Aires	Other regions	TOTAL
2004	1	1	-	2
2005	1	-	-	1
2006	1	2	-	3
2007	2	3	-	5
2008	5	4	-	9
2009	4	5	-	9
2010	5	12	-	17
2011	4	8	1	13
2012	3	4	1	8
2013	3	6	1	10

¹⁵ Authors’ elaboration of Luppino 2022, p. 48; Looking at the table, specifically at the last vertical row (TOTAL) we can see how the number of BP created started growing slowly and had its peak in 2010.

2014	2	3	-	5
2015	3	1	1	5
No date	-	3	3	6
TOTAL	34	52	7	93

Yet, this expansion also sharpened contradictions, in fact from 2008 onward, the BP intensified protest actions and increasingly placed salary payments for educators at the center of their reivindicative agenda. At the same time, internal debates about officialization became more intense: during this phase, two developments took place; firstly, teachers in officialized BP began to receive salaries and in the Province of Buenos Aires the transition from private-management agreements to state-based arrangements was confirmed. These changes improved material conditions for many projects, while they also raised difficult questions about bureaucratization and the risks of institutional capture. These tensions intersected with explicit political disputes, such as the conflict that revolved around *kirchnerismo*¹⁶ and the question of whether BP aligned with the governing political party could be part of the same coordinating space. The underlying issue was about how much autonomy was necessary for sustaining protest and confrontation without being constrained by political alignment. This dispute culminated in a rupture at the end of 2008 and the emergence of a new articulation space explicitly aligned with *kirchnerismo*: the *Coordinadora del Oeste*. Today it is known as *Batalla Educativa* and brings together more than forty BP (Wahren, 2020). Secondly, a rupture emerged in 2009 within the CBPL around officialization, the payment of teaching salaries and the possibility that these processes would narrow the autonomy of the BP. For a set of territorial organizations, the concern was on the one hand about the regulations attached to recognition and subsidies that could reduce decision-making capacity and on the other that the bureaucratic labour required by officialization would absorb militant energy, shifting it away from the political-pedagogical project that had initially grounded the BP. Finally, the outcome was another split, further diversifying the organizational map of the sector.

¹⁶ *Kirchnerismo* is a political current within Argentine Peronism associated with Néstor Kirchner and Cristina Fernández de Kirchner. It is characterized by a center-left orientation that emphasizes an active role of the state in the economy, expanded social policies, neoliberal human-rights and alliances with trade unions and social movements.

Additionally, around 2012, the launch and expansion of the FinEs program (*Plan de Finalización de Estudios Primarios y Secundarios*) began to shape another phase (Wahren, 2020). Designed as a large-scale pathway for completing primary and secondary education, FinEs reconfigured the landscape in which the BP operated and forced these experiences to confront a new set of dilemmas. On one hand, FinEs presented itself as connected to popular education, explicitly invoking Paulo Freire as a pedagogical reference in its documents. On the other hand, its expansion generated displacement effects since it contributed to budgetary weakening in other secondary-level adult education spaces, including CENS¹⁷ that had agreements with BP and it became the state's argument for refusing further officialization of BP, on the grounds that the "gap" the BP had originally addressed was now covered by an existing state program. This situation generated strong debate among BP regarding whether to accept recognition through FinEs or to reject it. A large majority framed FinEs as a regressive experience, arguing that it weakened pedagogical quality and precarized teaching labor. Other BP, however, treated it as a pragmatic option and pursued it as one of the few possible routes to secure recognition for diplomas and salaries. The result was a more fragmented field: some BP achieved recognition through FinEs, a smaller number obtained recognition as adult schools through other routes and many continued operating without official recognition at all. (Wahren, 2020)

During this stage, the opening of new BP slowed and the scale and frequency of protest actions declined compared to the previous period. Maintaining each plan of struggle became more difficult as organizational energy dispersed and political opportunities narrowed. Moreover, from 2016 onward, another shift occurred: part of BP mobilization increasingly converged with broader actors in the educational field opposing reforms promoted by Mauricio Macri's national government and by authorities in the Province and City of Buenos Aires. In that context, between 2016 and 2018, the recognition of new BP was effectively frozen, further constraining expansion. Rather than reading FinEs only as an expanded right, we interpret it as a reconfiguration of the field in which the state neutralizes grassroots movements. In fact, even though it offers access to material

¹⁷ In Argentina, CENS (*Centros Educativos de Nivel Secundario*) are public (formal) secondary education centers for young people and adults who did not complete high school in the regular school system. They offer an officially recognized pathway to obtain a secondary diploma, usually through evening schedules and flexible formats designed to accommodate work and family responsibilities.

sources, it also redefines legitimate formats and disciplines movement autonomy through managerial and normative logics. Freire in this matter is illuminating, when states that: «estas formas asistencialistas, como instrumento de manipulación, sirven a la conquista. Funcionan como anestésico. Distraen a las masas populares desviándolas de las verdaderas causas de sus problemas, así como de la solución concreta de éstos. Fraccionan a las masas populares en grupos de individuos cuya única expectativa es la de ‘recibir’ más.» (Freire, 2005, p. 137)

Nowadays, even where officialization has been achieved, state recognition remains selective rather than comprehensive. Based on Wahren’s (2020) systematization what tends to be recognized includes official diplomas, salaries for principals and teachers, student scholarships (only in the City of Buenos Aires), sporadic infrastructure subsidies and, in some cases, the ability of BP to choose their own teaching staff and leadership teams. However, the state has not recognized the full political-pedagogical autonomy of these schools. Full recognition would entail accepting movement-built curricula and didactics, legitimizing popular education pedagogies as such, funding pedagogical teams per course with corresponding wages and guaranteeing stable financing for the entire educational project (salaries for all educators, infrastructure, scholarships, equipment and more). And yet, as a broader balance of these years suggests, many BP have maintained substantial autonomy anchored in their territories despite processes of officialization. They continue to decide collectively on hiring and coordination roles, how salaries are distributed (when they exist), rules of coexistence, curricular priorities and the everyday management of school space through their own organizational logics. This persistence of self-management is the core of what makes the BP intelligible as actors that operates in between the broader frame of popular education.

This opens the next step of the chapter in which the analysis in this work will shift from the historical reconstruction of their emergence to a focused analysis of how their political-pedagogical organization works in practice and why their “school form” functions as a concrete site of dispute over what education is, who it serves and what it means to call education public.

Understanding the BP only as secondary schools for youth and adults would miss their defining feature: they were built as movement institutions that dispute, in practice, the bureaucratic and hierarchical architecture of conventional schooling. Their daily

operation is therefore not a neutral educational matter but part of a broader political-pedagogical intervention.

[BP] proponen una organización de sentido que cuestiona la visión del fracaso escolar y el abandono de los estudios como un problema individual y proponen otra organización de sentido: no se trata de sujetos que fallan sino que, en realidad, son excluidos del sistema escolar, e incluso de la trama social, por una estructura social que no los reconoce en su especificidad, que no considera sus historias de vida y que posee escasas estrategias para su retención. (Abritta in Rodríguez, 2013, p. 145)

A first and fundamental axis of this intervention concerns how decisions are made and how authority is organized. Rather than reproducing the vertical model that concentrates power in directors and management teams, many BP adopt criteria of grassroots democracy and collective governance, organizing assemblies of educators and students as the main space for deliberation and decision-making and choosing coordinators instead of principals. This organizational form expresses a different conception of what a school is and what it should do. This political dimension is visible not only in governance but also in the social composition and material positioning of the BP. Many are rooted in cooperative, community-based or movement infrastructures; none operate through private ownership structures, they are free of charge and they do not charge tuition. Furthermore, their territorial anchoring is not incidental: they are largely located in neighborhoods marked by socio-economic hardship and their student populations tend to be drawn from popular sectors (workers, unemployed people and groups historically excluded from educational opportunities) often living in conditions of educational vulnerability (Ampudia & Elisalde, 2015). In this context, the ‘goal’ of finishing secondary school is real and urgent, but it is never treated as a purely individual achievement. Educational completion is linked to collective needs and to the self-determination of marginalized individuals that through education may to better resist exclusionary neoliberal societies. In them,

La práctica educativa se encuentra inscrita en un proyecto político más amplio, que tiene como horizonte de sentido, en el caso de los BP, la transformación social de las estructuras y mecanismos que generan la desigualdad y la injusticia social. Se promueve la formación de subjetividades reflexivas, críticas, participativas y transformadoras; se busca como último fin, la construcción de un sujeto popular consciente de su situación de exclusión y marginación, y protagonista en la transformación de su contexto social. (Abritta, in Rodríguez, 2013, p. 147)

Moreover, BP articulate aims that exceed what formal schooling typically recognizes as the typical function of a school. Indeed, alongside academic formation they seek to promote the formation of political subjects, an aspiration articulated in the language and horizon of popular education in the first paragraph of this chapter. In many cases, this also includes an explicit effort to connect education to labour and livelihood alternatives, not through individual employability narratives but through practices oriented toward solidarity economies and community development. In other words, education is positioned within a broader ecology of territorial life that includes work, culture, care and political organization. This does not mean that BP are identical to one another, nor that all projects pursue the same strategies; instead, it means that their school form tends to be embedded within movement infrastructures that treat education as one dimension of collective struggle and social transformation.

A particularly useful way to grasp the relationship between BP and the territories in which they are rooted is offered by Aguiló and Wahren's (2014) analysis. Their approach helps clarify why BP are not simply 'schools in poor neighborhoods' but political-pedagogical actors operating inside contested spaces where meaning and collective capacities are produced. To name this, the authors draw on the concept of "*campos de experimentación social*" (Santos, in Aguiló & Wahren, 2014, p. 100), emphasizing that social movements do not only demand change from the outside but also attempt to enact, in the present, alternative forms of social organization. In this reading, BP appear as practical proposals through which movements reshape the kinds of relations and subjectivities that their political projects aspire to generalize. Treating BP as fields of social experimentation, in the authors view, means paying attention to the fact that their political-pedagogical practices are designed in explicit dispute with hegemonic logics of schooling. That dispute is not limited to curriculum content, but it extends to the organization of time, authority, evaluation and the distribution of voice within the school. Hence, the BP attempt to produce another educational relation that aligns with movement horizons of emancipation. At the same time, this prefigurative dimension cannot be understood without the territorial anchoring of the projects. For Aguiló and Wahren (2014), in fact, territory is not a neutral container where schools take place. For them, it is a space that is simultaneously geographic and symbolic and is traversed by tensions and conflicts, saturated with political meanings and shaped by histories of struggle.

In that framework, the notion of *territorios insurgentes* becomes central. The authors use this category to name territories practiced and produced in a preponderant way by social movements, territories where “fields of social experimentation” are built to move beyond the colonial-capitalist organization of space and life. These insurgent territories are shaped through the collective capacity of local actors to self-manage territory and resources and through relations with nature imagined around reciprocity rather than extractive appropriation. Consequently, BP are not external institutions “inserted” into communities, but infrastructures that participate in producing the territory itself as a political space. If territory is a site where social relations and power are produced, BP operate inside that terrain by creating collective norms and decision-making arenas that strengthen movement projects and community capacities. Assemblies function not only as governance mechanisms but as training grounds for democratic participation; self-management becomes a practical pedagogy; and knowledge is organized around community needs rather than around standardized institutional mandates. In this sense, BP actively sustain and legitimize collective organization and connect education to broader struggles over dignity, work and rights.

What Aguiló and Wahren (2014) make visible, then, is the extent to which BP constitute a political-pedagogical infrastructure: they are spaces where social movements practice, in the present, the kinds of relations and institutions that would be required for a more democratic and egalitarian society. Their pedagogical radicality lies precisely here, in the fact that they seek to prefigure social change through concrete school practices.

This territorial and prefigurative reading also makes it possible to clarify why BP cannot be treated as detached from the social movements that build them. Unlike formal schools, which often establish a territoriality and institutional logic defined by state or private governance and can maintain a rigid “externality” in relation to the community, movement-built schools are immanent to the organizational networks and projects of their territories. Their daily functioning is shaped by the movement’s forms of its collective decision-making and its political horizons. This proximity to territorial life is part of what allows BP to reconfigure the educational relation itself.

It is in this sense that BP differ not only in governance but also in what they aim to produce educationally, namely, what kind of subject education should form. In contested territories inhabited by exploited communities, movements seek to build the capacity to

self-manage not only space and resources but also the conditions of social life: work, health, housing, education and collective safety. BP participate in that effort by creating spaces where people can “think-do” their world critically questioning hegemonic logics while also interrogating the roles presupposed within conventional schooling: who is teaching and how, how authority is exercised and how hierarchies become normalized inside the classroom.

At the level of pedagogy, BP enact shared orientations grounded in the popular education paradigm. Common features include dialogical processes between educators and students understood as an exchange of knowledges without fixed hierarchies; teaching pairs or pedagogical teams in each subject; curricula that combine official requirements with content collectively built within each BP; rules of coexistence negotiated between educators and students; and qualitative forms of assessment that prioritize learning processes over quantitative grades that merely “measure” content acquisition. (Wahren, 2020) Their pedagogy tends to be organized around problematizing social reality and forming critical students, explicitly orienting education toward social change.

Much of the literature frames these experiences as counter-hegemonic, emphasizing their anti-capitalist struggle practices and their emancipatory role (Ampudia & Elisalde, 2015). In the same line, Freirean conceptualizations are often mobilized to describe BP as ‘schools as social organizations,’ highlighting that their educational form is inseparable from collective life and political action. This is also why the pedagogical dimension of BP can be read as one of their most radical interventions into the educational field: building schools from the initiative of a social organization, explicitly defining the role and social function of schooling, directly contests the liberal-capitalist assumption that only the state “from above” or private enterprises can legitimately found schools. «Para los integrantes y responsables de los Bachilleratos Populares no hay proyecto pedagógico sin proyecto político antiburocrático, anticapitalista y que reivindica una democracia de base en el campo educativo.» (Ampudia & Elisalde, 2015, p. 169)

This dispute is visible even in something as apparently simple as naming. The names chosen for BP frequently refer to neighborhoods, localities, the organized world of work, political figures tied to struggle or union traditions. Naming becomes a way of inscribing the school into a territorial and political memory: it signals the *barrio* as lived place, the shared relations and meanings that structure community life, the marks and symbols of

the territory and the recent histories of labor and rights struggles. In this way, space and time are resignified through the school's immanence to the organization and the territory, through a particular way of inhabiting place and connecting education to broader histories of collective organization and action, including South American histories of mobilization around gender struggles and other emancipatory claims.

Because of this, the denomination of each BP is inseparable from political positioning: the state does not assign the name, the collective does. Insisting that the state recognize those names is experienced as part of the struggle to defend a pedagogical conception in which self-management and the protagonism of social movements are central. It functions as a reaffirmation of identity with explicitly emancipatory meaning and as a way of safeguarding the political-pedagogical horizon that gives the BP their distinctive role within Argentina's contemporary field of popular education.

If this chapter established that formal schools are sites where power normalizes subjects and regulates who can appear as a legitimate student, Chapter II asks what happens when recognizability, safety and access are mediated through a gender regime that presumes only two stable and coherent identities. The shift is therefore to the analysis of the life conditions of *travesti*, trans and non-binary (TTNB) people in Argentina and their resistance. Building on this we will examine how counter-education is made possible under conditions where misrecognition is structurally enforced through administrative and pedagogical norms and everyday institutional violence. The following chapter therefore extends the political pedagogy reconstructed here into the terrain of TTNB struggle over recognition, asking how popular education can function not only as an emancipatory horizon, but as a concrete infrastructure of survival within (and against) cis-binary institutional orders.

CHAPTER II - Against Cis-Binary Governance

2.1 TTNB political categories and contested regimes of recognition

Chapter I framed *Bachilleratos Populares* (BP) as movement-built institutions that contest hierarchical schooling and rebuild education as a collective right. This chapter extends that argument by examining how cis-binary governance shapes who can appear as legitimate and safe within educational institutions and society in general.

Precisely because these projects operate within, and often against, institutional regimes that classify and render subjects recognizable, they provide a privileged lens for thinking about how gender and sexuality are governed in practice. As argued in the former sections, schooling operates through normative routines that distribute legitimacy. In TTNB contexts, these routines become explicit battlegrounds because recognizability is never neutral, it is a condition of access and safety. Considering the framework, the question of TTNB (*Travesti*, Trans and Non-Binary) subjectivities becomes of extreme importance: not as a homogeneous group, but as a set of historically produced categories, lived positions and political claims that are continuously negotiated in relation to schools, state institutions and social norms. To interpret why and how popular-educational settings may become key sites where gender dissidence is either silenced through binary norms or reclaimed through practices of collective struggle, it is necessary to clarify what is meant by TTNB, and how these terms have been theorized and contested in Argentina.

In the context of BP, these processes become particularly visible through the micro-politics of education: the taking of attendance using chosen names, the respect of pronouns and self-perceived gender in enrollment and documentation forms and the expression of identity in classrooms. These practices reproduces or contests institutional norms about who counts as a legitimate student and how bodies can appear within pedagogical space. A conceptual discussion of trans, *travesti*, and non-binary subjectivities is therefore not an abstract preface detached from the fieldwork; rather, it provides the analytical vocabulary needed to understand how TTNB lives are rendered vulnerable through the enforcement of a binary gender order, and how, within popular-educational spaces, TTNB subjects may contest that order through demands for rights and dignity.

In what follows, we explore the theoretical and political meanings of trans, *travesti*, and non-binary subjectivities, grounding the discussion in the work of Judith Butler, Josefina Fernández, and Lohana Berkins. Together, these authors provide tools to understand how gender-dissident bodies challenge the binarism of male/female and the presumed alignment of sex and gender that organize dominant institutions. In the Argentine case, these norms have operated as symbolic classifications and have historically enabled concrete forms of exclusion and violence.

A key point shared across these perspectives is that the dominant gender binary is not a neutral or objective scientific concept, but a cultural and political regime that is continuously produced and enforced. In *Gender Trouble*, Butler (1999) invites us to interrogate this assumption by asking «how does language itself produce the fiction construction of ‘sex’ that supports these various regimes of power?» (p. xxx) This question is not merely linguistic but ontological: it reveals that the validity of bodies depends on the reiteration of norms that naturalize social hierarchies. Those who fall outside these regimes, such as *travesti*, trans and non-binary people, are positioned as threatening, with direct consequences for their access to education, healthcare and other fundamental rights.

Butler’s (1999) intervention destabilizes the traditional distinction between sex and gender, showing that «if sex is always a gendered sex, the distinction between the two turns out not to be a distinction at all.» (p. 11) This insight reveals that both sex and gender are already culturally produced and that the binary order rests on repetition rather than essence. The subject, consequently, is not a pre-existing unity but an effect of normative power. As Butler (1993) writes «performative acts are forms of authoritative speech: most performatives, for instance, are statements that, in the uttering, also perform a certain action and exercise a binding power.» (p. 225) This means that the institutional statements that classify subjects, calling a student by a registered name or assigning a gender marker, are not descriptive but constitutive; they make social reality.

Within Argentine feminist and sociological debates, Josefina Fernández (2004) builds a crucial bridge between Butler’s propositions and the specific historical emergence of *travesti* activism. She observes that, «en los pocos casos en que travestismo y transexualidad constituirán un objeto de especulación para las feministas, serán considerados como fenómenos amenazantes para las mujeres o serán tema de una

antropología interesada en ellos como fenómenos transculturales.» (p. 21) This statement reflects how even progressive feminist spaces sometimes reproduced exclusionary logics that marked gender-dissident lives as “other.” Fernández (2004) also situates gender variance within legal and criminological frameworks, noting that «los primeros registros existentes acerca de las llamadas ‘desviaciones sexuales’ pertenecen al campo de derecho penal y de la criminología» (p. 23), where sexual and gender nonconformity were considered “antisocial” and “linked to crime.” This genealogy underscores that the stigmatization of TTNB people has deep institutional roots in the Argentina’s context.

At the same time, Fernández emphasizes the political force of *travesti* existence for dismantling the binary order. She asserts that «la característica más destacada del travestismo es impugnar el paradigma de género binario y poner así al descubierto el carácter ficcional que vincula el sexo al género.» (p. 40) *Travesti* embodiment thus functions as a living critique: by making visible the discontinuity between biology, identity and social role, it reveals the cultural and political nature of “natural” difference. In a similar vein, Fernández draws on Roscoe to affirm that a multiple-gender paradigm has the potential to deconstruct the hierarchy that links sex to gender and to show that anatomy does not hold ontological primacy.

If Butler and Fernández expose the discursive and institutional dimensions of gender regulation, Lohana Berkins brings to the forefront the political praxis of *travesti* existence in Argentina. For Berkins, the right to name oneself and to appear in public as a *travesti* was a revolutionary act that transformed exclusion into political presence. Fernández recounts this moment, stating that «llegadas al Movimiento GLTT y B, las travestis inician su experiencia organizativa. Las palabras que las nombran, los sistemas de clasificación y las categorías de percepción son las apuestas de la lucha política del travestismo organizado.» (p. 74) This collective action, led by *travesti* activists, turned linguistic and bureaucratic categories into arenas of struggle. Indeed, Berkins repeatedly emphasized that being *travesti* is not a pathology but *una identidad política*, grounded in self-definition and community. Her work reclaims the term “*travesti*” as a space of pride and resistance, transforming what was used as a slur into a tool of struggle for dignity and recognition.

Understanding these contributions requires situating them within the broader matrix of colonial and Christian modernity that naturalized the male/female binary. Indeed, the

imposition of binary gender categories in South America was not universal prior to colonization: many Indigenous societies recognized gender plurality and non-heteronormative roles. The colonial encounter, however, introduced Christian doctrines that linked gender coherence to moral order, reproductive heteronormativity and patriarchal authority. These doctrines were institutionalized through law, religion and education, precisely the domains Butler identifies as producing and regulating “sex.” Thus, as Fernández notes in dialogue with Butler, «las relaciones entre sexo y género en la conceptualización feminista se encuentran demasiado sobredeterminadas por el par naturaleza/cultura, demasiado pegadas al modelo jurídico del discurso productor de los cuerpos sexuados.» (p. 59)

The Argentine gender regime, therefore, must be understood as part of what María Lugones (2007) has described as the colonial/modern gender system, a structure that violently imposed European logics of sex, race, and religion upon colonized societies. Within this system, gender is a technology of power that produces categorized bodies and makes them governable. The naturalization of the binary sex/gender model and the erasure of precolonial gender multiplicities was centrally functional to establishing Western modernity’s order. Thus, Butler’s critique of the regulatory nature of discourse aligns with Lugones’s analysis of coloniality: both reveal that the “truth” of sex is a political effect produced by intersecting regimes of religion, law and education.

This connects back to Chapter I’s decolonial emphasis: the production of valid subjects in the modern society cannot be separated from historical regimes that produced a binary grammar of personhood.

Explaining this framework makes clear how TTNB subjectivities in Argentina can be understood as historically situated fields of struggle over recognition and the right to appear within public institutions. *Travesti*, trans and non-binary people do not simply refuse the male/female dichotomy as personal choices; they expose how that dichotomy operates through coercive mechanisms. These points become particularly relevant in the context of the *Bachilleratos Populares* TTNB, where participation represents a concrete act of resistance to the violence of normative recognition. The capacity to say *presente* under one’s chosen name, to be addressed through affirmed pronouns and to inhabit classrooms without fear of ridicule or expulsion are political acts that challenge the colonial cis-normative organization of society.

This framework has the aim to clarify the mechanisms through which Argentina's heteronormative and binary social order produces marginalization and material violence against TTNB bodies. Drawing on Berkins, Foucault, and contemporary statistical data, we will examine how the regulation of sexuality and gender through biopolitical and disciplinary mechanisms translates into police violence, social precarity and the criminalization of sex work. These dynamics explain how the colonial and patriarchal roots of the gender binary persist in shaping the life and death of Trans* people, and how spaces like the BP can offer possibilities of collective resistance.

The analysis now turns to the concrete manifestations of violence, exclusion and oppression that shape the everyday realities of *travesti*, trans and non-binary people in Argentina. Understanding this landscape is essential for interpreting how spaces such as the *Bachilleratos Populares* TTNB may intervene within it. Educational inclusion cannot be separated from the broader networks of social neglect that govern TTNB lives. Schools, police stations, hospitals and public offices function as overlapping sites of disciplinary power: spaces where gendered bodies are registered and controlled. The mechanisms that sustain these forms of violence form part of the same apparatus that historically has rendered TTNB existence precarious and disposable.

Michel Foucault's (1995) account of modern power remains a crucial entry point for analyzing these processes. As he wrote in *Discipline and Punish*, «the body is directly involved in a political field; power relations have an immediate hold upon it; they invest it, mark it, train it, torture it, force it to carry out tasks, to perform ceremonies, to emit signs.» (p. 25) The *travesti* and trans* body in Argentina has long been such a marked body: surveilled, classified and disciplined, its visibility constantly redefined as danger. In the Foucauldian sense, the state's power over life does not merely repress; it produces reality, generates categories and forms of knowledge that make certain lives governable and others expendable. Power «produces domains of objects and rituals of truth,» (p. 194), and the TTNB population has been one of those domains through which society defines its own moral boundaries.

This production of social exclusion and marginalization is historically visible in the regulation of public space. As reconstructed in *Con Nombre Propio*, «travestis y trans, al lado de otros grupos de diversidad sexo-genérica, fueron consideradas parte de esa horda de extranjeros que había que controlar porque su peligrosidad podía erosionar los límites

de ese espacio público en el que se definía la comunidad. Todos ellos formaban parte del cuadro de la mala vida.» (Organización Civil Mocha Celis¹⁸, 2023a, p. 126) What was once managed by doctors and legal experts as a pathology was later taken over by the police through *edictos policiales*, «herramientas de control de esa comunidad de peligrosos/as que incitan u ofrecen el acto carnal en la vía pública o que llevan prendas correspondientes al sexo opuesto.» (p. 127) These edicts, formally administrative, yet applied with penal intensity, delegated to the police the authority to punish acts not codified in criminal law. As *La Gesta del Nombre Propio* recalls, «Creados en los albores del Estado-Nación, los edictos funcionan como un instrumento que delega en la policía, provincial o federal, la tarea de reprimir actos no previstos por el Código Penal de la Nación; no forman parte del derecho penal sino del derecho administrativo.» (Berkins & Fernández, 2005, p. 40) In practice, they produced a discretionary regime where the *travesti* body itself became evidence of transgression.

Although many of these edicts were revoked in the early 2000s, the logics that underpinned them persist through new contravention codes and police practices. One example is Article 71 of the Buenos Aires Contravention Code, which framed sex work as a disturbance to “public tranquility” and prohibited its practice near schools, churches and residential areas. In theory, the reform prohibited arbitrary detention; in practice, «la policía exigirá una coima¹⁹.» (p. 47) This persistence of informal punishment reflects what Foucault (1995) termed the success of disciplinary power: its ability to operate not through spectacular repression, but through normalized surveillance. «The examination combines the techniques of an observing hierarchy and those of a normalizing judgement [...] a surveillance that makes it possible to qualify, to classify and to punish.» (p. 184) The police report, the hospital form and the school register all enact this ritualized examination; they make individuals visible and, through that visibility, subject to judgment.

Quantitative data produced by *travesti* and trans* movements and allied research has long documented that police abuse is not an exceptional excess but a routine mechanism through which gender dissidence is rendered governable. In *La Gesta del Nombre Propio*, one of the most cited findings states: «Cada 100 de nosotras, 86 hemos recibido algún

¹⁸ Published by Ministerio Público de la Defensa de la Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires.

¹⁹ The term *coima* refers to a bribe, an illicit payment or “kickback” demanded or offered to a public official to obtain a service, avoid a sanction, prevent detention, or secure preferential treatment.

tipo de violencia policial.» (Berkins & Fernández, 2005, p. 39) The same source identifies the main settings in which aggression occurs: «Lugares de agresión: Comisaría 69,6%; En la calle 69,2%», and details a repertoire of abuses that includes illegal detention (*Fuiste detenida ilegalmente*: 88%), beatings (*Fuiste golpeada por personal policial*: 58,3%), demands for bribes (*Personal policial te exigió coimas*: 54,1%), sexual abuse (*Fuiste abusada sexualmente por personal policial*: 36,7%), insults (*Fuiste insultada por personal policial*: 31,7%), and torture (*Fuiste torturada por personal policial*: 15,4%) (p. 130). These figures do not simply enumerate harms; they describe a patterned institutional practice through which *travesti* and trans* bodies are repeatedly produced as suspect and available for coercion. At the same time, *travesti* writing insists that the meaning of these numbers cannot be exhausted by statistical description, because violence also accumulates affectively and corporeally over time. In *Cumbia, copeteo y lágrimas*, the text emphasizes the social asymmetry through which *travesti* lives are rendered visible primarily through abjection and criminalization: «Lo mismo nos ha sucedido a nosotras históricamente. Invisibles cuando nos vivimos en plenitud, cuando nos aman, nos sonrien, cuando creemos, creamos, cogemos y orgasmeamos; solo somos iluminadas cuando nos torturan, nos criminalizan o agonizamos. Somos utilizadas para infundirles terror, normatizarlos/as.» (Berkins et al., 2007, p. 53)

More recent data production in the orbit of TTNB organizations (*La Revolución de las Mariposas, Con Nombre Propio*) confirms both the persistence and the institutional diffusion of these patterns of violence. Rather than locating harm exclusively “in the street,” these sources show that violence is frequently concentrated precisely within state institutions that nominally promise care or protection. As the data we present indicates, «en relación con los ámbitos donde se presentan las mayores situaciones de violencia para el grupo de personas no binarias, el hospital y la comisaría fueron los más nombrados en un 76% y 71%, respectivamente.» (Organización Civil Mocha Celis, 2023a, p. 130) This data follows the same direction of the evidence showed by Berkins about the endurance of police abuse among trans women and *travestis*: «en efecto, el 66,5% de las mujeres trans y travestis manifestó haber sufrido este tipo de violencia.» (p. 130) To specify what these percentages are made of in everyday life, the following tables detail modalities of violence, including misnaming and denial of chosen identity, extortion/*coimas*, sexual violence, and other forms of institutional abuse.

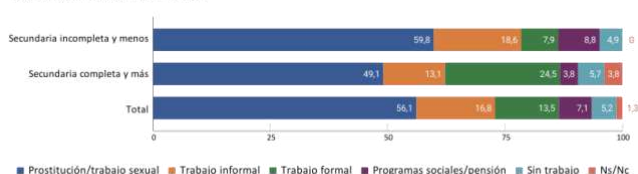
		Lugar de agresión según rango de edad				
		Base: total de casos que sufrieron agresión				
		Entre 13 y 21	Entre 22 y 31	Entre 32 y 41	Entre 42 y 51	52 y más
Lugar de agresión(*)	En la calle	85,4%	74,3%	67,1%	75%	83,3%
	Comisaría	61%	55,4%	52,9%	58,3%	33,3%
	En el ámbito familiar	31,7%	29,7%	31,4%	8,3%	16,7%
	En el vecindario	17,1%	18,8%	24,3%	33,3%	16,7%
	En un boliche	22%	20,8%	20%	25%	0%
	Escuela	39%	20,8%	11,4%	0%	16,7%
	Hospital	4,9%	13,9%	20%	0%	0%
	Oficinas Públicas	7,3%	14,9%	15,7%	0%	0%
	Transporte pública	0%	6,9%	11,4%	8,3%	0%
	Otros lugares	0%	2%	4,3%	0%	0%
	Total	42	101	70	12	6

(*) Respuesta múltiple. Tres Opciones de respuestas.

Tab 2.1 - Berkins et al., *Cumbia, Copeteo y Lágrimas*, 2007, p. 129

These findings become analytically legible only when read alongside the socio-economic conditions that structure TTNB survival. In particular, this bivariate graph shows that sex work/prostitution emerges as a primary source of income across age groups, revealing that in many cases it is a patterned outcome of cumulative exclusion from formal education and formal labor markets.

Año 2022. Gráfico bivariado
Principal fuente de ingresos según nivel educativo alcanzado
Mujeres trans y travestis
Base: Total de mujeres trans y travestis



Tab 2.2 - Organización Civil Mocha Celis, *Con Nombre Propio*, 2023a, p. 23

The age-of-entry data (p. 22) reinforces this point by indicating how early in the life course many TTNB people are pushed toward informal economies, often following school interruption, family rejection or/and institutional harassment. The analytical point to retain is therefore double. On the one hand, sex work functions as a crucial material resource: it provides an income stream within a context where discrimination restricts access to formal employment and where educational trajectories are frequently fractured. On the other hand, sex work operates as a specific field of visibility: it is one of the few social spaces in which many *travestis* can appear without having to continuously

negotiate binary respectability or suppress embodied gender expression. Yet this visibility is inseparable from heightened vulnerability. Precisely because sex work is practiced in public space and regulated through contravention and discretionary policing, it increases exposure to harassment, illegal detention and sexual violence.

These quantitative findings can be situated within a Butlerian account of institutional address. Butler's (1999) question «how language produces the fiction of 'sex' that sustains power» (p. xxx) helps interpret why misrecognition is materially consequential and not merely symbolic. In fact, the repeated reporting of institutional violence in public spaces indicates that the struggle over recognition of gender identity is also a battle over access to safety and rights. In this sense, the statistics demonstrate that misnaming, humiliation and physical aggression are all situated on the same continuum: all are modalities through which the binary order is enforced and the consequence is a situation of constant precariousness.

In this text we argue that the production of validity extends beyond policing into the language of institutional bureaucracy. Indeed, even after the passage of the 2012 Gender Identity Law²⁰, administrative and police documents continue to describe trans and *travesti* people through a misgendering grammar that negates their self-definition. One specific report reads: «Por las cámaras de monitoreo urbano, se pudo observar un sujeto masculino travestido» (Organización Civil Mocha Celis, 2023a, p. 154) The act of misnaming is not neutral; it reinstates the regulatory fiction of “sex” through which institutional power is reproduced. Through the authorized discourse of the state, TTNB identities are reabsorbed into the male/female dichotomy, rendered once again as deviations rather than subjects of law.

The consequences of this structural misrecognition are profound. In *La Revolución de las Mariposas*, Alicia Ruiz (2017) warns that statistics alone, while useful, are insufficient: «los datos proporcionan información útil pero insuficiente [...] debemos preguntarnos qué hacer con ellos, sabiendo que las lecturas posibles son múltiples.» (p. 13) The challenge,

²⁰ Argentina's 2012 Gender Identity Law (Ley 26.743) recognizes every person's right to have their self-perceived gender identity recognized and to be treated accordingly, including on identity documents. It lets people request a change of the registered gender marker on official records through an administrative procedure, and it explicitly says no surgery, hormone treatment, or medical/psychological diagnosis is required. It includes protections for dignified treatment, such as using a person's chosen name in public/private settings upon request.

then, is to interpret the data within the framework of power. In Foucauldian terms, the numbers that record TTNB mortality and police abuse are not external truths but effects of the same apparatus that governs bodies through knowledge. What they reveal, however, is shocking. According to national demographic data, life expectancy for cis women in Argentina is approximately 80 years and for cis men 74²¹; the average for the general population is 77. For trans and *travesti* women in Buenos Aires, the estimated average age of death is only 32. (p. 95) These deaths are rarely natural. They result from «violencia y exclusión social, política y económica estructural y sistemática.» (p. 95) The absence of older *travesti* and trans populations in public data further indicates how structural invisibility prevents the formulation of policies oriented to aging and health; in the words of the same report, «el ocultamiento detrás de la cisheteronormatividad de las estadísticas oficiales [...] impide que las políticas públicas y los estudios gerontológicos estén orientados a lxs mayores travestis y trans.» (p. 96)

This structural exposure to death and neglect is conceptualized within Argentine *travesti* theory as *travesticidio social*. As Berkins in *La Revolución de las Mariposas* (2017) explains,

El asesinato de Diana²² es un travesticidio y hay que empezar a reconocer estos actos como crímenes de odio [...] El crimen de Diana es un travesticidio porque se trata del asesinato de una persona cuya identidad de género autopercibida es la identidad travesti y constituye una forma específica de violencia de género que se enmarca en lo que denominamos travesticidio social, que es el mecanismo llevado adelante por el Estado y la sociedad a través de la discriminación, la violencia, la segregación, la represión y la violación sistemática de los Derechos Humanos. (p. 139)

The term *travesticidio social* therefore expands the meaning of state and social responsibility: death is not the sole indicator of violence, but its ultimate expression. The structural conditions, police abuse, precarious housing, exclusion from education and labor, form the continuum that culminates in lethal violence.

²¹ The life-expectancy figures cited here derive from Argentine national demographic statistics. As such, they are produced through state population registers and reporting categories that are structurally binary and cishnormative.

²² Amancay Diana Sacayán (1975–2015) was a prominent *travesti* activist in Argentina and a key figure in the struggle for TTNB rights and anti-discrimination policies. She was found murdered in her home in Buenos Aires in October 2015. In June 2018, the *Tribunal Oral en lo Criminal y Correccional* N° 4 of the City of Buenos Aires convicted Gabriel David Marino and sentenced him to life imprisonment, characterizing the killing as an aggravated homicide motivated by transphobia; the ruling also marked a landmark moment because the court recognized the case, for the first time in Argentine jurisprudence, as a *travesticidio* rather than treating it as a generic homicide.

The field of sex work occupies a structurally produced position within this framework. As already mentioned, data from community surveys show that sex work is the primary source of income for the majority of *travesti* and trans respondents across all age groups. The street, unlike the office or the school, often allows for visibility, but that visibility comes at the cost of constant exposure to violence. As *La Gesta del Nombre Proprio* (2023a) notes, «prostitutas y travestis no podrán alterar la tranquilidad pública [...] se considerará que hay alteración cuando las personas que ejercen la prostitución provoquen ruidos o perturben el tránsito.» (p. 47) Such provisions transform the very act of existing visibly as a *travesti* into a potential violation. For this reason, police repression of sex work has historically been a key vector of *travesti* persecution, materializing the same disciplinary gaze that Foucault (1995) described as «a normalizing judgement [...] a surveillance that makes it possible to qualify, to classify and to punish.» (p. 184)

Foucault's (1978) analysis of biopower offers a theoretical frame for interpreting this economy of exposure and control. In *The History of Sexuality*, he distinguishes between the anatomo-politics of the human body and the biopolitics of the population, the two poles around which power over life is organized. Modern governance, he argues, «lays down for each individual his place, his body, his disease and his death, his well-being, by means of an omnipresent and omniscient power.» (Foucault, 1995, p. 197) Focusing on the Argentine case, the biopolitical ordering distributes recognition and protection unevenly: certain bodies are nurtured as social capital, while others are left to die. «We are in a society of sex, the mechanisms of power are addressed to the body, to life, to what causes it to proliferate [...] to what reinforces the species, its stamina, its ability to dominate.» (Foucault, 1978, p. 147) In contrast, TTNB bodies, those deemed unproductive or resistant, are rendered killable within a system that preserves itself through their disposability.

Lohana Berkins (in *La revolucion de las Mariposas*, 2017) captured this existential horizon with characteristic lucidity: «Nuestra primera lucha era por nuestros derechos, ahora, estamos construyendo la ciudadanía travesti, es una lucha cotidiana [...] Es muy difícil intentar salir de la exclusión. No se ven las marcas que va dejando. Muchas podemos transitar, reflexionar sobre ellas, pero será algo que va a convivir con nosotras toda nuestra vida. Quien ha sido golpeada, maltratada, humillada, está marcada.» (p.22) The body carries the history of violence; exclusion is inscribed in flesh. The fight for

citizenship is, therefore, not only legal or institutional but corporeal, a daily negotiation with the marks of past and present control.

Against this background, the irreverent humor of *travesti* narratives acquires a political dimension. In *Cumbia, Copeteo y Lágrimas*, Berkins and her collaborators (2007) write: «La irreverencia de nuestro humor ante la ficción hegemónica creada como muerte nos exorciza del pavor. Nos burlamos de cómo nos matan, mientras ustedes se aterran de cómo vivimos. Nos hacemos muertas de antemano.» (p. 52) This irony transforms fear into resistance: a refusal to be defined solely through death. Yet the passage also underlines the asymmetry of perception: *travestis* are invisible when they live and visible only when they are criminalized, tortured or killed.

The interplay of these narratives and data points to a coherent system of control, one that Foucault (1995) would describe as a “biopower” operating through both discipline and neglect. «Discipline ‘makes’ individuals [...] it is the specific technique of a power that regards individuals both as objects and as instruments of its exercise.» (p. 170) Pointing out the Argentine state, we analyze how its institutional apparatuses have historically targeted TTNB individuals as both object and threat, whose bodies were to be corrected or erased. Many are the dimensions of the mechanisms of control: from the statistical reduction of life expectancy to the normalization of police violence and the precarious integration of TTNB people into informal economies.

Understanding this terrain of violence and survival is essential for interpreting the emancipatory potential of *Bachilleratos Populares* (BP). These educational spaces do not exist outside the structures described here. They are situated within them, sometimes reproducing, sometimes contesting the mechanisms of exclusion. In their best moments, the BP can sustain what might be read as counter-practices to normalization, meaning concrete pedagogical routines that allow TTNB students to inhabit classrooms as subjects of knowledge rather than objects of correction. Yet this analysis approaches education as inseparable from the broader material and institutional conditions that make learning possible and meaningful. This transition also echoes earlier insistence about the importance of intersectionality in popular educational projects. The question is not only how TTNB people are recognized in school, but whether the infrastructures of life make it possible to remain in education at all. The following section therefore examines work, housing, and health as interdependent and complementary domains that co-produce

TTNB educational trajectories, shaping both access to schooling and the capacity to remain within it, while also being reshaped by educational participation and collective organization. The section therefore relies mainly on writings, archives, and data generated by and for trans, *travesti*, and non-binary people, treating these contributions as analytical sources rather than as material to be filtered exclusively through external, cis-centred expertise.

2.2 Material conditions of educational trajectories

In Buenos Aires and in Argentina in general, like in many other nation-states, the conditions of TTNB life are not shaped only by explicit violence, but also through the infrastructures that determine whether survival is materially possible: the availability of stable work, the possibility of secure housing and access to non-violent healthcare. These domains function as key filters through which recognition is translated into life chances. They also make visible how exclusion is reproduced not only through direct acts of discrimination, but through eligibility rules, documentation requirements and administrative routines; these mechanisms that render TTNB people's precariousness durable over time. The first chapter showed that *Bachilleratos Populares* (BP) emerged where the state failed to guarantee educational and basic rights under neoliberal restructuring. Especially, for TTNB communities, as for marginalized groups in general, the same failure is visible across multiple domains, making education inseparable from the broader ecology of survival.

In line with our thesis' overall approach, the discussion draws on statistical evidence collected by and for trans, *travesti* and non-binary people, while also integrating qualitative declarations, testimonies and narrative accounts. As explained in the introduction, this is not simply a matter of methodological balance: the same system that oppresses TTNB lives often reduces them to numbers, as if quantification were the only relevant register for inquiry, while at the same time refusing to change the binary analytic categories (man/woman) through which those numbers are routinely produced and managed. This means that bringing quantitative findings into conversation with lived accounts is necessary to avoid reproducing the reduction and control that underpins institutional violence.

Work access in Buenos Aires has been historically structured by a double mechanism: exclusion from formal labor markets and the channelling of many *travesti* and trans* population's trajectories into informal economies under conditions where discrimination effectively restrict other options. As we have already mentioned, in *La Gesta del Nombre Propio* it appears that sex work is not a marginal phenomenon but the dominant income source for *travesti* lives. Even where the text does not reduce the issue to "lack of will" or "individual choice," the proportion indicates a labor structure in which access to legally protected employment is exceptional rather than widely available.

A decade later, *La Revolución de las Mariposas* (2017) confirms the persistence of this configuration while also allowing a longitudinal comparison across 2005 and 2016. In its «cuadro comparativo 2005/2016» on labor insertion, the report registers that sex work/prostitution remains the main income source (2016: 70.4%), while formal employment remains limited (2016: 9%) and informal work absorbs another segment (2016: 15%); the table also includes state subsidies/benefits as a non-negligible income source (2016: 3.6%) (p. 56). The same section adds a critical indicator of cumulative exclusion: 51.5% report having "never had a job," and 88% report never having had a formal job since revindicating their identity (p. 46). Read together, these figures point to a structural pattern: precarious insertion is life-course oriented, and labor exclusion is both produced by and productive of other forms of precariousness (housing instability, health vulnerability, exposure to policing).

Con Nombre Propio provides updated distributional data and, crucially, links labor insertion to policy mechanisms such as the *cupo laboral* (which will be further analyzed and explained later in this paragraph). In the 2022 survey, among trans and *travesti* population, sex work/prostitution remains the most frequently reported principal income source (56.1%), followed by informal work (16.8%), formal employment (13.5%), and remunerative state benefits (7.1%) (Organización Civil Mocha Celis, 2023a, p. 21). This is not a simple "improvement narrative" relative to 2016: it indicates a partial diversification of income sources while maintaining sex work as a majority-reported livelihood among trans and *travesti* people. The same section makes visible how formal employment, when it occurs, is increasingly mediated by policy instruments rather than by "open" labor markets: among the 13.5% who report formal employment as their main income, 76.19% entered through the *Ley de Cupo Laboral Travesti, Trans* (p. 27). The

cupo many times is just a marginal add-on to a non-functioning labor market; however, it can also be the gateways through which formal employment becomes attainable at all for a subset of the population. The *cupo* functions like an institutional recognition mechanism that partially redistributes access without transforming the structure. It creates entry points while leaving intact the same oppressive system through which marginalization is reproduced.

This is the reason why the *cupo laboral* requires careful explanation and critical evaluation. The relevant legislative framework is the Ley N° 27.636 (“Diana Sacayán–Lohana Berkins”), which establishes a labor quota for *travesti*/trans/non-binary people in the national public administration and introduces additional measures (registries of applicants, incentives for private sector inclusion, and procurement preferences tied to TTNB hiring). *Con Nombre Propio* outlines the law’s operational components, particularly the creation of a *Registro Único de Aspirantes* managed by the Ministry, and documents both awareness and access gaps: almost 80% of respondents know the law, but only 45% of trans and *travesti* population who know it registered in some applicant registry; among those who did not register, 55% report not having done so, and 41.6% of that group cite not knowing the registry existed or not knowing how to register (p. 26).

Perchivale and Ansardi’s (2023) policy brief *Identidades Informadas* provides a quantitative benchmark that clarifies why the “1%” quota cannot be treated as a sufficient response to structurally produced labor exclusion. It states explicitly: «El Cupo Laboral Travesti, Trans y No Binario (TTNB) del 1% equivale a la incorporación de 5551 personas en la Administración Pública Nacional.» (p. 8) It then notes that by the first year of implementation (9 July 2022) «se contrataron un total de 313 personas» i.e., less than 6% of what the law determines, rising to 8.6% by September 2022 according to the Ministry’s monitoring; the law sets a two-year maximum for progressive incorporation (p. 8). Even if implementation accelerated the quota is set at an insufficient 1% of a specific segment (national public administration), while the population affected by labor exclusion is broader, and much of the exclusion occurs in the private labor market and in informal employment circuits where quota compliance is not structurally enforced.

A critical evaluation of the *cupo* therefore has to be two-layered. First, the *cupo* is useful as a corrective mechanism in a labor field that, left to taken-for-granted market functioning, has historically reproduced exclusion. *Con Nombre Propio* includes

testimonies that show the affective and practical dimension of this gateway. One respondent narrates: «Cuando se abrió el registro por cupo laboral, Mala Junta me ayudó a cargar los CV y yo hice el mío, pero, en realidad, nunca pensé que me llamarían. Me llamaron del área de Recursos Humanos de Vialidad Nacional» (Organización Civil Mocha Celis, 2023a, p. 27). This kind of account matters because it shows that the *cupo* is not merely a distributive rule but reorganizes anticipations of possibility and repositions TTNB subjects from “inadmissible” applicants to institutional candidates.

Second, precisely because the *cupo* is a gateway for some, it also risks becoming a narrative substitute for structural transformation if treated as a comprehensive solution. In fact, a policy that targets a small fraction of public posts cannot, by design, absorb the scale of labor exclusion documented across two decades. Moreover, it does not automatically resolve the conditions that shape employability. In other words, the *cupo* is best understood as a necessary but non-sufficient intervention since it produces entry points, but it cannot on its own dismantle the labor structure that makes sex work the default livelihood for many and formal work the exception.

This becomes even clearer when labor is analyzed alongside housing. *Con Nombre Propio*’s housing chapter shows how “access to a roof” is not merely a private sphere issue but a domain regulated by eligibility rules and documentation requirements. The report notes that mainstream housing policies in CABA (for example mortgage credit programs) impose requirements that are «de muy difícil cumplimiento» for TTNB people because of economic precariousness and instability (p. 102). It then describes how emergency housing infrastructures can themselves reproduce gender violence: *paradores* (shelters) often do not respect gender identity; in “female” shelters, trans women may be discriminated against and even expelled by other cis women who perceive them as a “danger”.

Taking into consideration the same housing section we motive how it links precarious housing directly to age and income source. Among trans women and *travesti* aged 18–29, 82.4% live in precarious arrangements such as hotel rooms or occupied buildings (*casa o edificio tomado o no tomado*), making this the group with the worst housing conditions (p. 105). When income source is cross-tabulated with housing type, the report shows that those with formal work mostly access a house or apartment owned or rented (57.1%), whereas for those whose income depends on a plan or pension, the dominant

housing option is a room in a hotel/pension or an occupied building (63.6%) (p. 109). This data explains clearly that labor insertion is not just “income,” but a gatekeeper to housing forms that require contracts and proof of income.

Health access must be read through the same lens: not simply as “service utilization,” but as a structure of access shaped by discrimination. Both 2016 and 2022 data show heavy reliance on the public health system, which is analytically important because it ties health access to other domains (territory, documentation, exposure to public institutions). In the same text, 64.3% of trans women and *travestis* report using the public health system as their most used site of care; the report also notes the growing role of *Fundación Huésped* (37.8%), particularly for hormonal treatments and follow-up, and a smaller fraction using private care or *obra social* (11.2%). For trans men, the distribution is similar in direction: 54.8% public system, 38.7% private/*obra social*, and 12.9% *Fundación Huésped*. For non-binary respondents, the report indicates that public providers remain primary, with a notable share also using private/*obra social*. (pp. 45, 46)

This reliance on public systems should not be interpreted as evidence of “successful inclusion” on its own, because the same sources document how institutional forms and classificatory regimes actively limit and produce barriers. A testimony in *La Revolución de las Mariposas* captures this mechanism concretely through bureaucratic forms that presuppose binary categories and fold sexuality into simplified checkboxes: «Cuando yo me fui a atender, lo que me pasó es que la chica que me atendió, cuando le dije que era una chica trans, no supo cómo llenar el formulario [...] Porque viste que dice si mantenés relaciones homosexuales o si sos hombre o mujer. Y como que son muy limitadas las respuestas» (Organización Civil Mocha Celis, 2017, p. 76). As already showed, *La Gesta del Nombre Propio* (2005) already stresses how health is one of the main arenas in which discrimination is experienced, underscoring that “access” is continuously mediated by stigma and the conditions under which TTNB bodies become valid or not into the care systems.

This clarifies why health access, along with other services necessary to live a life of dignity, is not reducible to “having a hospital or a structure nearby.” Being considered valid in the cis-hetero system, through categories and by institutional routines, conditions the possibility of being treated without harm. *Con Nombre Propio* (2023a) notes that, regarding hormone treatments guaranteed by the law, there are not “relevant differences”

between 2005 and the present for trans people. This is a reminder that formal legal guarantees do not automatically translate into non-discriminatory access.

Across work, housing, health and education the claim is that these dimensions co-produce one another as a system of constraints. Labor exclusion increases reliance on informal economies and reduces access to contractual housing; precarious housing undermines continuity in health care and medication; health barriers limit employability and stability; and all together they are filtered through institutional regimes that demand documentation and stable addresses. This is why the policy significance of the *cupo laboral* is very limited: it can re-route some trajectories into formal employment, but it cannot on its own transform the intersectional structure that reproduces precarity.

These interdependencies also clarify the transition back to the educational field. Indeed, educational participation is shaped by work schedules, housing instability, health interruptions, and the bureaucratic regimes that determine who can be enrolled and named.

Education is a decisive pillar within the same institutional ecology that structures TTNB life chances through work, housing and health. Schooling determines whether marginalization becomes materially durable across the life course, by shaping access to credentials, by distributing legitimacy and “respectability” in a neoliberal labour market, and by producing (or denying) the forms of social recognition that mediate entry into other infrastructures of survival. At the same time, educational institutions are themselves sites where TTNB bodies are administratively controlled and pedagogically disciplined: where norms of appearance are enforced and dissenting expressions are sanctioned. In this sense, the educational field condenses the broader dynamic already traced. The production of recognizability through routines that can seem logical and expected but in reality have cumulative consequences for life trajectories.

La Revolución de las Mariposas describes how «el mundo y la ciencia necesitan categorizar y clasificar todo el tiempo» (Organización Civil Mocha Celis, 2017, p.18) and how, when numbers are exhausted, institutions return to the impulse to label what cannot be counted.

Quantitative evidence across the Buenos Aires based sources indicates that educational exclusion has been structurally patterned rather than episodic. *La Gesta del Nombre Propio* already foregrounds discrimination in the school as a central site where exclusion

is produced, alongside health services, and connects these experiences to the institutionalized policing of gender nonconformity. The book *La Revolución de las Mariposas* also underscores how early gender expression can become a trigger for educational truncation, reporting that 69% of trans women who recognized their identity before age 13 did not finish primary school. (p. 87) Rather than supporting an individualized reading, these data are repeatedly framed as the predictable result of institutions organized around a universalized, binary model of childhood and adolescence. A model that considers gender dissidence as a disturbance to be corrected rather than a life to be recognized. This is precisely where the empirical record resonates with Freire's critique of "banking" education: a model in which students are positioned as receptacles to be filled, rather than subjects whose knowledge and experience can transform the pedagogical encounter.

Con Nombre Propio analyses in depth the mechanism with an analytic distinction between *expulsión directa* (for example, denying admission because «la escuela no está preparada») and *expulsión indirecta*, where prejudices and routine discrimination make continued attendance untenable (Organización Civil Mocha Celis, 2023a).

This logic appears particularly clear in testimonies that describe the violence of school life: misnaming, ridicule and the constant pressure to fit a binary gender order treated as natural and pedagogically non-negotiable. Florencia Guimaraes García (in Organización Civil Mocha Celis, 2023a) recounts being called by the name in her DNI «ese nombre asignado [...] impuesto al nacer» and describes how this produced «burlas, risas,» not only from peers but also from teachers, concluding that «la escuela ha sido un espacio expulsivo y muy violento.» In another passage, she recalls «la pedagogía de la crueldad» and quotes a teacher's humiliating address «¿qué, es marica, usted?» (p. 87) as a crystallization of how authority can weaponize language to violently punish gender nonconformity. These accounts matter because they make visible how microaggressions operate as slow violence: not necessarily spectacular in any single instance, but cumulatively producing silence, absence, and eventual exit.

School routines materialize expulsion through infrastructures like bathrooms. Flor explains: «Yo no pude ir al baño de primero a séptimo grado [...] Te empuja a abandonar el colegio automáticamente» (p. 93) and the report's own survey data on bathroom use in schools highlights the institutional conflict: only 34.5% use the bathroom they choose,

while others are routed to a bathroom they were not comfortable going. “Inclusive” bathrooms, or staff/disabled bathrooms, are ways that the school used to «codificar y expulsar las diferencias.» (p. 93) “Inclusion” cannot be reduced to formal admission: the possibility of being comfortable in the space is materially governed by infrastructures of access, like schools’ bathrooms. If Flor’s testimony shows the cumulative force of interpersonal and pedagogical cruelty, the bathroom regime shows how exclusion is also built into the school’s material and architecture, where “neutral” routines distribute vulnerability.

At this point, bell hooks is analytically useful because her critique names the pedagogical form that TTNB testimonies repeatedly describe. hooks (1994) argues that «to teach in a manner that respects and cares for the souls of our students is essential,» (p. 13) and insists that educators must be committed to their own “self-actualization” if the classroom is to become a space of freedom rather than domination. She frames engaged pedagogy as a practice that enables students to think critically, to take creative risks, to openly express their thoughts and feelings. Read alongside Flor’s accounts of ridicule, misnaming and institutional hostility, hooks’ point is not abstract: where pedagogy is cruel, vertical and discriminating, schooling becomes a site of epistemic and affective injury that reproduces exclusion even before any formal “dropout.”

This becomes even more evident when the analysis turns to Sexual Education. In principle, ESI²³ is a rights-based policy intended to democratize knowledge about bodies, sexuality and relationships; in practice, ESI often reproduces the same binary analytic regime that renders TTNB bodies unrecognized. *Con Nombre Propio* is explicit: it notes that the 2006 ESI law (Ley 26.150) does not include articles that explicitly guarantee the inclusion of *travesti*, trans people, and gender-diverse populations, and the report connects this omission to educational desertion from spaces where TTNB lives are erased or treated as exceptional. The document also links the struggle over ESI to institutional refusal of identity recognition, recalling the 2018 case in which, even after a student’s

²³ *Educación Sexual Integral* (ESI) refers to Argentina’s comprehensive sexuality education framework established by Law No. 26.150 (2006), which recognises the right of all students to receive sexuality education in all public and private schools across the country and defines ESI as an approach that articulates biological, psychological, social, affective, and ethical dimensions of sexuality. The law also created the National Programme for Comprehensive Sexuality Education within the Ministry of Education and mandates implementation across educational levels and modalities. In curricular terms, the Federal Council of Education approved national “*Lineamientos Curriculares*” as a common, obligatory baseline for ESI in all jurisdictions.

suicide, a school denied «a este chico trans su derecho a la identidad,» while graffiti outside demanded: «¡Exigimos ESI con perspectiva de género!» (Organización Civil Mocha Celis, 2023a, p. 91)

Importantly, the problem is not only omission, but it is also framing. The sources repeatedly show that institutional knowledge is organized through restrictive forms that reduce lived realities to checkbox categories and, in doing so, produce harm. While this is documented with particular clarity in healthcare bureaucracies, the mechanism is the same to schooling and ESI delivery: when institutions cannot “place” TTNB lives within their categories, they treat the subject as a problem of form-filling rather than as a subject of rights and knowledge.

What becomes directly relevant is hooks’ insistence that learners are not empty receptacles. In adult education and popular education settings, TTNB students, especially those returning after expulsion, arrive with complex bodies of knowledge produced through survival in hostile institutions. *Travar el saber* makes this claim explicit by insisting that the question is not only how we study but also how we know, and by locating knowledge in lived experience that must be taken seriously as theory-bearing (Martinez & Vidal-Ortiz, 2018). This is not merely an alternative teaching style; it is a refusal of the hierarchy that has historically positioned *travesti* and trans people as objects of study rather than subjects of knowledge; exactly the critique hooks advances when she rejects educational domination and insists on pedagogies grounded in reciprocity and the recognition of lived experience.

The sources used in this chapter make clear that the consequences of educational inclusion or exclusion are materially high in a neoliberal-capitalist context: schooling functions as a pathway that leads to more stable labour insertion and to the bureaucratic competencies required to navigate housing and health systems. *Con Nombre Propio* explicitly frames exclusion from school as life-shaping: «A partir de ahí, no hubo proyecto, no existió nada más que la prostitución» (Organización Civil Mocha Celis, 2023a, p. 87), not to moralize sex work, but to show how institutional expulsion organizes horizons of possibility under conditions of limited choice. When educational trajectories are interrupted early, exclusion from formal employment is not an accidental secondary consequence; it is one of the predictable outputs of a system that sorts populations into differential life chances. In this sense, guaranteeing the right to study is not a symbolic concession. It is a necessary

condition for giving people possibilities beyond the narrow survival economies to which TTNB people have been historically channeled.

Furthermore, it is fundamental to make explicit that expanding access to education cannot be framed as a “solution” that places the burden of adaptation on TTNB people; an implicit expectation that “all the *travas* should go to school” in order to become eligible for dignity. Such a narrative would reproduce neoliberal responsabilization: shifting structural injustice into individualized projects of self-improvement. What the evidence instead suggests is the need for a transformation of the educational system itself: away from discriminatory and binary pedagogies and toward practices that actively undo institutional invisibilization. This includes basic but decisive changes (names in registers, pronouns in interaction, bathroom access), as well as deeper pedagogical shifts toward an «educación como practica de la libertad» (Freire, 1967).

Within this framework the question if *Bachilleratos Populares* can function as a tool of resistance of an oppressive system becomes concrete. If mainstream schooling has functioned as a mechanism of direct and indirect expulsion, the pedagogical promise of popular-educational spaces is not simply that they “include” TTNB students, but that they can contest the terms of inclusion by changing the routines through which binary legibility is enforced. In hooks’ (1994) terms, they can be sites where education becomes “the practice of freedom,” through everyday classroom practices that refuse the reduction of TTNB students to objects of correction and instead recognize them as subjects who co-produce knowledge. In Freirean terms, they can move from banking education to dialogic education, treating learners’ experience as a starting point for critical reflection and collective transformation.

The point is not to idealize education as a singular resistance route, but to show why the right to study remains necessary within a broader struggle against structural exclusion and why the form of education matter. What is at stake is not only whether TTNB people can enter educational institutions, but whether educational institutions can be remade so that TTNB lives do not have to be translated into binary terms in order to be allowed to learn.

2.3 Education as a practice of freedom

The previous paragraph established that inclusion, within the horizon of critical pedagogies, is not reducible to “access” understood as mere physical entry into a classroom. Rather, it concerns the transformation of the conditions under which subjects can become legitimate knowers and rights-bearing people. In this sense, education is at the same time subjective and structural since it unfolds as an intimate reconfiguration of self-perception, while also requiring an institutional reorganization of what counts as knowledge, whose bodies are presumed to belong in educational spaces and which forms of life are rendered livable through schooling. bell hooks condenses this political stake by insisting that «the classroom remains the most radical space of possibility in the academy.» (hooks, 1994, p.12) Read as a claim about power, this statement helps illuminate why education becomes a terrain of struggle for *travesti*, trans and non-binary (TTNB) communities: schooling is one of the principal sites where gender is normalized, where social hierarchies are reproduced through everyday interaction, and where the “insider versus outsider” boundary is often predetermined.

However, the emancipatory promise of education depends on pedagogical and institutional arrangements capable of interrupting the ordinary operations of exclusion, including misgendering, the policing of appearance, the pathologization of dissident bodies, the bureaucratic violence of registries and “legal names,” the tacit curriculum of shame and silence. hooks’ proposition that liberating education requires a holistic presence of “mind, body, and spirit” is useful precisely because it makes explicit what dominant schooling tends to deny that learning is embodied, that the classroom is affectively charged and that the demand for participation can become coercive when it is not paired with reciprocal vulnerability and care. In contexts where TTNB students have historically encountered schooling as a space of correction and expulsion, a pedagogy that acknowledges the body as a legitimate site of knowledge is not optional but a condition of possibility for educational justice.

This double movement, education as liberation for TTNB people and education as a field that must be radically transformed for society as a whole, becomes particularly visible in the Argentine experience of BP, and most notably in those created from and for TTNB communities without being exclusive or exclusionary. The *Bachillerato Popular Travesti, Trans y No Binario* “Mocha Celis”, inaugurated on 11 November 2011, is

presented in *Travar el Saber* as a popular public highschool «no exclusiva, ni excluyente,» (Perchivale & Ansardi, 2018, p.32) explicitly shaped by an integral perspective on citizenship, rights and human development and conceived as a critical response to the *histórica exclusión* of *travesti* and trans* people from education, work, health and housing. This formulation frames schooling as a rights-based intervention against a multi-dimensional regime of oppression, and it locates educational exclusion within a broader architecture of social abandonment rather than within individual “failure.” “Mocha Celis” is also situated as part of a wider genealogy of «instituciones educativas autogestionadas por organizaciones de la sociedad civil» (p. 167)

Bachilleratos Populares TTNB respond to the specific mechanisms through which binary gender operates as an apparatus of exclusion. When an educational institution presumes only two stable genders, it does not merely “fail to include” TTNB subjects but it actively produces them as anomalies or disruptions to order. By contrast, spaces like “Mocha Celis” and other TTNB educational networks are described as schools that *abracen y contengan* gender and sexual diversity, foregrounding dignity and recognition. Moreover, these experiences challenge the broader educational system by exposing how binary gender norms harm everyone: they enforce a narrow regime of understanding, they police bodies and emotions and they naturalize hierarchies through everyday pedagogical routines. In that regard, the deconstruction of binarism is a structural intervention into the school as a disciplinary institution. hooks’ (1994) insistence that genuine empowerment «cannot happen if we refuse to be vulnerable while encouraging students to take risks» (p. 21) offers one way to conceptualize this shift: a non-coercive pedagogy is one that dismantles unilateral authority and replaces it with accountable, relational forms of power.

Testimonies compiled in *Travar el Saber* render this liberatory dimension concrete by naming education as a lived experience of recognition and collective strength. One participant’s attachment to “Mocha” is described not as mere gratitude for schooling, but as a claim about meaning and belonging: «solamente se trata de que la gente conozca la Mocha. Pero tienen que amarla como yo la amo [...] Esta escuela le puede enseñar a otras escuelas sobre la fuerza que tiene estar de pie cuando todo te hace falta. Yo creo que si la Mocha no tuviera piernas igual estaría de pie.» (Perchivale & Ansardi, 2018, p. 163) The passage explicitly links schooling to affect (*amarla*), to endurance (*estar de pie*), and to

pedagogical reversibility: the “marginal” institution becomes a teacher for mainstream schools. Liberation here is not represented as an individual escape from exclusion, but as the collective creation of a space where people can rebuild self-knowledge through relationships that refuse abandonment: «tenemos que conocerla, cada uno de nosotros nos tenemos que conocer a nosotros mismos» (p.164). Such statements are analytically relevant because they show how TTNB educational spaces intervene at the level of subject formation allowing students to imagine themselves otherwise, not by disembodimenting their histories of violence, but by converting those histories into shared understanding.

The concept of integral accompaniment is crucial to understanding why these experiences are liberating beyond the classroom. In *Travar el Saber*, “Mocha Celis” is characterized by «una fuerte perspectiva integral» (p.167), indicating that the school’s mission exceeds curricular delivery and instead addresses the interdependence of rights (education, work, health, housing) systematically denied to TTNB people. This is present also in the federal discussions consolidated through the *Encuentro Federal de Educación Travesti Trans*²⁴ (EFETT), where the problem of *terminalidad educativa* is linked to broader policies and to the conditions enabling students to remain alive, housed and fed while studying. The point is not rhetorical: recommendations emerging from the EFETT 2021 process explicitly include material supports such as «bolsones de alimentos y viandas,» (Organización Civil Mocha Celis, 2022, p.91) Furthermore, it is stressed that special attention is given to students who are migrants, in street situations or engaged in sex work, indicating that educational rights cannot be secured through classrooms alone. In this framework, liberation is infrastructural: it requires social reproduction to be collectively organized, especially for those most exposed to precarization.

“Mocha Celis” operationalizes this “integral approach” (*abordaje integral*) through a set of interlinked programs that treat educational permanence as inseparable from material

²⁴ The *Encuentro Federal de Educación Travesti-Trans* is a national gathering convened to articulate a collective agenda on education from TTNB perspectives. The first EFETT was held virtually in July 2021 and was organized by the *Bachillerato Popular Travesti, Trans y No-Binarie* “Mocha Celis”, with participation from national authorities and civil-society actors. Rather than functioning as a conventional academic conference, EFETT is structured as a series of participatory working sessions oriented toward (i) exchanging experiences among educational projects, teachers and students, (ii) systematizing needs and barriers faced by TTNB people across educational trajectories, and (iii) producing proposals for public policy aimed at non-discrimination and educational inclusion, comprehending the conditions for educational completion and teacher training.

subsistence, psychosocial well-being, legal recognition and access to employment. The clearest example is *Teje Solidario*, which emerged in the first days of the COVID-19 mobility restrictions as an emergency network of mutual aid: through a volunteer-based territorial map, donations were transformed into groceries purchased and delivered to TTNB people who could not guarantee a plate of food in the absence of formal employment, while the same material support functioned as an affective containment network in a context of generalized uncertainty and subjective distress. In parallel, “Mocha’s” rights-oriented support work extends to health and legal needs through structures that exceed the pedagogical sphere: “Mocha’s” practices are made possible by multidisciplinary professionals (including social workers, psychopedagogues, medical staff and lawyers) that assists students in navigating health services and institutional procedures and in responding to problems that “exceed” schooling narrowly defined. This same integral logic is reflected in the development of an employment-insertion area, oriented to improve employability and facilitate links with labor-market opportunities through coordinated initiatives and partnerships, thereby confronting the structural links between educational exclusion and labour precariousness.

Con Nombre Propio conceptualizes educational practice itself as weaving: liberatory education is not only what happens in a lesson; it is what happens when knowledge is collectively produced as a resource for life (Organización Civil Mocha Celis, 2023a, p. 80). This resonates with hooks’ insistence that teaching must create conditions where learning can “begin” at the deepest level through care for students. If mainstream schooling tends to compartmentalize the student as a cognitive subject abstracted from material vulnerability, *Bachilleratos Populares* TTNB reorganize education as a social ecology, thereby politicizing the very boundaries of what schooling is presumed to be. From this perspective, it becomes possible to understand why “Mocha Celis” operates not as an isolated “exception,” but as a generative precedent. The EFETT reports explicitly position the federal encounter as an instrument for making TTNB educational experiences visible, articulating them, and producing shared proposals for transformation. In its 2021 edition, EFETT’s aim is defined at rethinking education «desde las pedagogías feministas y transfeministas con perspectiva de garantía de derechos para las personas travestis, trans y no binarias» and systematizing «necesidades, reclamos y propuestas» (Organización Civil Mocha Celis, 2022, p. 1) across institutions, educators, and students. The 2023

report reiterates EFETT as a space of collective reflection carried out through working tables, oriented to dialogue and rethinking education from critical feminist and transfeminist pedagogies with a rights-guarantee perspective. These definitions matter because they show that the liberatory horizon is explicitly twofold: the strengthening of TTNB-focused spaces and the transformation of education for everyone which the 2023 report states directly when it insists that TTNB educational experiences are «claves para la transformación social y la educación de todas las personas.» (Organización Civil Mocha Celis, 2023b, p. 6)

The EFETT process also documents how “Mocha Celis” pioneering role expanded into a heterogeneous landscape of experiences across Argentina. The 2022 report lists eighteen participating educational spaces, including, among others, CETRANS Tucumán (San Miguel de Tucumán), the non-exclusionary terminality center “Maite Amaya” (Córdoba), the trans-*travesti* school “Shirley la Bombón” (La Plata), an *Espacio Educativo Secundario Travesti/Trans* (Santa Fe), and multiple programs in CABA and Buenos Aires Province, alongside the *Asociación Civil* “Mocha Celis” itself. The 2022 report also mentions a wide set of participating spaces, such as the University UNDAV, underscoring that TTNB education is simultaneously community-based and increasingly connected to public institutions through negotiated articulations.

A point important to stress is that these experiences are not replicas of the *bachillerato* “Mocha Celis”. They are adaptations shaped by territory, local governance and distinct assemblages of activism and institutional negotiation. The 2023 report, for instance, describe the “Espacios Educativos Trans de la Ciudad de Reconquista (Aula Trans)” as emerging through a pilot experience initiated during the pandemic, in a context where «Educación tiene una especie de resistencia a pensar cómo acompañar a las personas con identidades diversas,» (p. 16) thus naming state institutions simultaneously as potential allies and as sources of inertia. The same account emphasizes accompaniment through bureaucratic procedures and rights access (medical appointments, migration paperwork, human rights-related processes) presenting the school as «lugar de encuentro, ayuda y compañerismo» (p. 16) rather than as a purely academic service. Such descriptions reinforce the thesis that liberation in TTNB education is relational and infrastructural: educational spaces become hubs for restoring social rights precisely where the state’s guarantee is uneven or absent.

Direct student testimonies in the EFETT materials further demonstrate how inclusive education is experienced as a reorientation of life trajectories. In the 2023 report, the voice of Pilar, representing the student center of “Mocha Celis”, states: «maduré y crecí como persona. Ahora busco seguir estudiando. Aprendí a relacionarme con otras personas y quiero enseñarles a les demás, poder guiarles por un mejor camino. Mi sueño es ser tripulanta de cabina.» (p. 21) The content of this testimony is not limited to “academic success.” It speaks of sociality, future orientation and the desire to accompany others, dimensions often denied to TTNB subjects through the combined effects of stigma, poverty and institutional violence. In the same section, demands for material support inside educational spaces make explicit that inclusion is materially conditioned and that education cannot be liberating if it is disconnected from the necessities of survival: «Necesitamos un merendero o comedor dentro de los espacios educativos. Muchas compañeras vienen a veces sin haber comido nada.» (p. 20) When read alongside EFETT’s recommendations for food support and for improving conditions for TTNB communities in the interior to avoid forced migration to Buenos Aires, these testimonies clarify that “inclusive education” is a concrete politics of redistribution and collective care.

At the same time, the EFETT documents insist on a strategic tension that is central to the dual analysis required here. On the one hand, TTNB-focused spaces are recognized as necessary «para responder a las urgencias de la comunidad.» (Organización Civil Mocha Celis, 2022, p. 91) On the other hand, there is an explicit insistence that «es urgente que las instituciones trabajen estos temas por sí mismas para incluir a la comunidad TTNB» (p. 91), so that inclusion does not remain delegated to exceptional spaces alone. This claim connects with hooks’ critique of educational domination: if structural exclusions are left intact, “inclusive” practices risk becoming containment strategies that do not alter the normative core of schooling. Which means that the political horizon is not the creation of a parallel system that substitutes the state, but the construction of a networked ecology of educational spaces that simultaneously shelters those most targeted by violence and pressures society toward transformation.

This networked dimension is not merely descriptive; it is articulated as an explicit strategy against oppressive state formations and against the unevenness of rights implementation. EFETT is presented as an «espacio federal de elaboración de acciones posibles» intended

to place «terminalidad educativa» (p. 6) on the public agenda, linked to the effective implementation of laws and to a historical moment opened by the National Law 27.636 on *travesti-trans* labor quota and inclusion. The encounter's federal character, its inclusion of multiple provinces and even regional presences, signals an understanding that TTNB educational justice cannot be centralized without reproducing territorial inequalities. The recommendations also include «acompañamiento entre bachilleratos y compañeres para seguir siendo parte del sistema educativo,» (p. 90) which frames solidarity among institutions not as goodwill but as a mechanism of persistence under hostile conditions. At the same time, the insistence on adjusting administrative records to self-perceived identity and on preventing institutional violence through protocols and TTNB-led trainings demonstrates that structural change must be understood as both cultural and bureaucratic.

TTNB *Bachilleratos Populares* in Argentina can be liberatory infrastructures because they reconfigure education as a collective right sustained through community governance, integral accompaniment and recognition of dissident bodies. They are liberating for TTNB students insofar as they undo the binary and punitive logics that have historically expelled them, enabling new narratives of selfhood and aspiration, as seen in testimonies that connect schooling to love, struggle and social change. At the same time, these experiences expose how the mainstream educational system must be transformed: the deconstruction of binarism is framed as a change into the very criteria of who education is “for,” and into the institutional practices that silently reproduce gendered hierarchies. hooks’ insistence on the classroom as a radical space offers a critical language to interpret why such transformation is ethically and politically necessary beyond TTNB communities alone.

The analysis will now shift to a comparative examination of TTNB educational experiences outside Buenos Aires. It will combine semi-structured interviews with participants from provincial initiatives and a reflexive reading of “Mocha Celis” as a reference case, grounded in internship-based experience, without treating Buenos Aires as a universal benchmark. The federal mapping of spaces (Córdoba, Reconquista, Rosario, Chaco, La Plata and Tucumán) already indicates that territoriality matters and that institutions are shaped by local configurations of state resistance and material resources. By comparing provincial experiences, it becomes possible to identify which

institutional and territorial factors enable or obstruct the translation of *abordaje integral* and de-binarising pedagogy into durable educational trajectories.

CHAPTER III - How TTNB Schooling in Argentina is Made Possible

3.1 From activist desire to material realization

Focusing on TTNB educational experiences beyond Buenos Aires entails more than a change of location: it marks a shift in the political and institutional conditions under which TTNB educational projects become possible. In the cases discussed here, this shift entails moving from the capital's dense ecosystem of activism, NGOs, universities and state offices to provincial and semi-peripheral contexts. In these contexts, state presence is often experienced as discontinuity of funding, programs or institutional authorizations; socially conservative dynamics become legible through the costs of public visibility and bullying; and activist infrastructures often rely on a smaller number of bodies doing an enormous amount of invisible work. I am not treating "the provinces" as a homogeneous outside of CABA (Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires). Instead, I approach each experience as a situated assemblage of relationships among activists, educational bureaucracies, territorial organizations, universities and everyday survival infrastructures.

Scope and method are therefore integral to what follows. The chapter maps and analyzes six experiences of TTNB counter-education in Argentina, specifically in La Plata ("Escuela Trans-Travesti Shirley la Bombón"), Córdoba ("Centro de Terminalidad Educativa para Personas Trans-travesti No Excluyente Maite Amaya"), Tucumán ("CETRANS"), Reconquista ("Aula Trans") and Rosario in Santa Fe ("Espacio Educativo Secundario Travesti-Trans") and Chaco. I chose these six sites not as a representative sample of "the provinces" but because, taken together, they allow me to trace how a shared political demand (secondary education, dignity, safety and recognition) is translated across different territorial configurations of institutional availability, activist capacity and material scarcity.

To make visually clear to the reader what spaces are mentioned, I modified a map present in the report of the EFETT 2021 and signaled the educational realities that will be considered in this chapter.

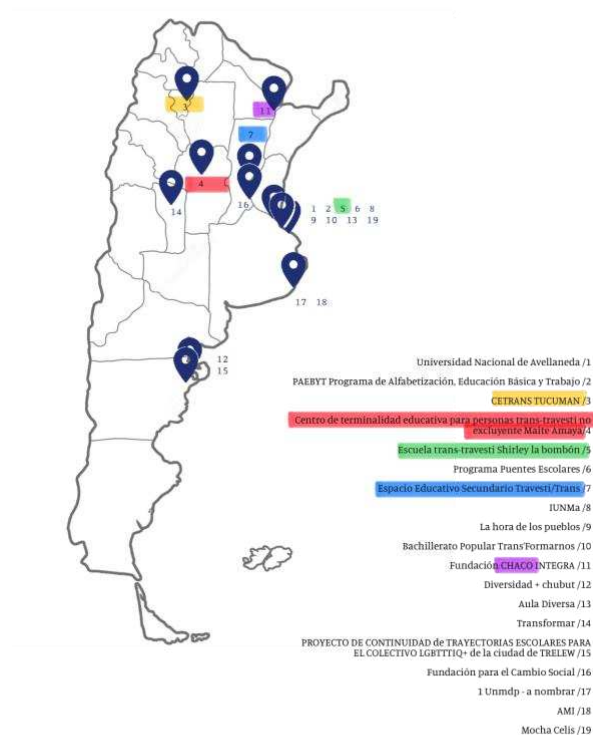


Image 3.1 - *Primer Encuentro Federal de Educación Travesti-Trans*, Organización Civil Mocha Celis, 2022, p.13

To sustain our research, we conducted six interviews (one per educational experience), each one with a referent who has been directly involved in sustaining or organizing the project. The depth of description will be intentionally uneven, because the documentary trace and the density of interview reconstruction is not the same across the six experiences. I provide thicker accounts where the available materials allow it, without implying a hierarchy of political relevance. These interviews were carried out in November and at the beginning of December and are complemented by documentary sources that the initiatives themselves circulate and/or that were produced by provincial and networked actors, including thesis such as *Disidencias y Diversidades Sexuales en la Escuela* and materials connected to national encounters and interprovincial meetings referenced later in this chapter, such as EFETT 2021 and 2022. In this sense, “mapping”

does not mean producing an exhaustive cartography; it refers to a relational reconstruction of how projects become possible and how they endure or not through specific institutional “doors” (programs, agreements, buildings, paid hours) and through negotiated legitimacies.

Our access to the field was mediated by interpersonal and organizational networks that we accessed thanks to the internship in the *Bachillerato Popular* TTNB “Mocha Celis”. This is important to mention, because these were not detached interviews but conversations mediated by trust and by a shared political horizon, shaped by the urgency of building educational spaces where TTNB lives are not treated as a problem to manage but as subjectivities to sustain. For reasons of safety and confidentiality, interviewees are anonymized through initials (e.g., B. referring to the person we interviewed for La Plata, N. for Córdoba, BR. for Tucumán, NI. for Rosario, S. for Reconquista, J. for Chaco), moreover identifying details are minimized unless they are already public in widely circulated documents.

In that sense, this map is not only geographic. It is also institutional and affective: it follows where doors opened and closed, who carried the project on their shoulders and what kinds of negotiation were required for an educational space to become reality. At the end of Chapter II, we argued that education in TTNB *Bachilleratos Populares* cannot be isolated from material conditions and from the regimes of recognizability that govern bodies. In the six experiences discussed, this argument becomes visible through different configurations of survival and institutional anchoring. Some projects leverage municipal recognition and national adult-education programs such as Plan FinEs, others take shape through university articulations and formal adult-education structures, others are framed as reparative policy initiatives tied to provincial legislation and labor inclusion and others remain unfinished horizons, where the pedagogical demand is present even when space and funding are not yet secured.

The “Shirley La Bombón” (La Plata) case is important because it shows how an educational space can emerge from a collective intuition within the community and then consolidate into an infrastructure of recognition. What the analysis evidence is not an administrative creation story but a process in which the idea of making a school circulates among activists and community networks as a concrete response to long-standing exclusion. In this sense, “Shirley La Bombón” functions primarily as a symbolic reference

and as a name that holds memory and horizon together, and not a linear origin tied to a single event. In EFETT 2021, this community-grounded birth is narrated as the idea of opening a school that has surfaced during a party when a neighbor voiced a simple but decisive intuition, «aquí tendría que haber una escuela» (Organización Civil Mocha Celis, 2022, p. 66). Framed this way, the school is not born from a top-down plan but from a shared recognition that the territory already contained the need and the political imagination required to make education possible on its own terms.

What appeared when we talked with B. is very close to what we described in Chapter II as counter-education: an educational space built not only to provide credentials, but to make survival more livable, to counter isolation and to convert a city's queer networks into something like a pedagogical home. The interviewee emphasized how La Plata is a territory with «una grande comunidad cuir, que se sostiene y ayuda» (interview 01). In this case, that queer density matters because it conditions the feasibility of an autonomous school project: it provides potential educators, allies, students and the informal infrastructures that can be mobilized when institutional responses are partial or delayed. This resonates strongly with what I witnessed in “Mocha Celis”. Even though “Mocha” is now a much larger and more consolidated reality, one of its most powerful strengths is precisely this everyday mutual support: not a rigid, hierarchical division of tasks, but flexible roles that constantly adapt to urgency, needs and to the practical ethics of mutual aid. Seeing how work is redistributed when someone is in crisis, how responsibilities shift without moralizing and how collective routines hold people up, made it clear to me that “community” is not a background feature of TTNB education, but one of its core pedagogical conditions.

In B.'s account, it is also clear that the school is not imagined as a service delivered by professionals to “beneficiaries.” It is imagined as a collective project: assemblies, horizontal decision-making, a “referent” role without hierarchy and monthly moments where educators and students share food and deliberate together. (Interview 01) In this way the “integral” dimension (*abordaje integral*) becomes tangible, even when resources are limited. The educational space becomes a crucial environment that organizes access and care, not as an abstract principle but as a survival practice. This pattern will be developed more deeply in the next paragraph 3.2. Permanence is produced not only

through curriculum, but through care infrastructures that become part of what school materially is.

Administratively, “Shirley La Bombón” is created through the Plan FinEs framework. However, its distinctiveness lies in how community governance and queer territorial density do the work that the program does not cover. Outside of that channel, the contact with institutions appears limited; I keep this point descriptive and leave the broader political analysis of institutional ambivalence to the next part of the chapter. La Plata’s existence also becomes more legible when placed against the long history of expulsive schooling. Projects like this one appear because regular schooling has repeatedly produced expulsion through institutional hostility.

The school “Maite Amaya” in Córdoba enters the map with a different institutional architecture. What stands out immediately, talking with N., is that this project is framed as necessary precisely because Córdoba is not Buenos Aires: the institutional possibilities, the legitimacy of the word *bachillerato* and the available pathways into adult education operate differently. «Mocha como faro» (interview 02) appears not as imitation but as orientation: a precedent that proves a TTNB educational space can exist, while also showing that each province will need its own strategy. What makes Córdoba analytically rich is the way institutional navigation becomes a condition of possibility for the project. In the story N. reconstructs, going directly to the Ministry to propose a TTNB school triggers the fear of being read as a segregated “ghetto,” and the institutional reaction is summarized in a formula that is politically loaded: it is framed as unnecessary because «la ESI es suficiente» (cited in interview 02). In the case discussed here, that response functions as a way of hiding behind a policy discourse while refusing the concrete creation of an educational space that would materially protect TTNB students from expulsion and violence.

The strategic response in Córdoba was to build an institutional triangle: university, ministry and school. In this situation, the university becomes the tool for an extension program, which allows the project to move from an activist desire into a negotiated institutional pathway. N. described a year of negotiation and uncertainty, and the emphasis on fear, conversation and *vínculo humano* is crucial: it reminds us that educational projects are not only administrative procedures but relational struggles that require people inside institutions to resist inertia and people outside institutions to persist

without being absorbed. On this point, the thesis *Centro de Terminalidad Educativa con Orientación Artística para Personas Trans-Travestis No Excluyente: “Maite Amaya”* reconstructs the institutional timeline in a very concrete way, stressing that the project moved from pre-enrolments to formal negotiations with the CENMA²⁵ director and culminated in the signing of the agreement. «Cerramos el 2022 con las preinscripciones a la escuela, reuniones con Daniel Sanchez, su director, para establecer las condiciones de una Escuela con perspectiva, género, diversidad y educación popular, y finalmente el Convenio se firmó el 22 de diciembre de ese mismo año. Comenzó en marzo del 2023 con una matrícula de 20 estudiantes, cerrando el año con 35 estudiantes.» (Juarez et al., 2023, p. 105).

The outcome is a concrete arrangement: a space opened inside a ministerial directorate for youth and adult education, connected to a CENMA structure, with the ministry paying the teaching team, while the project retains a degree of political and pedagogical specificity through its actors and alliances. Córdoba case shows how a TTNB school can be articulated as a pedagogical project (not only a protective space) through explicit axes and an articulated political imagination. N. names three axes that organize the project: art and culture as tools of social transformation, popular education inside the formal system and a human-rights perspective on gender and diversity. This triad matters because it positions the space as more than a TTNB “safe place”: it is a pedagogical proposal with its own political imagination. The mention of *buen vivir* and of TTNB Indigenous identities signals another layer of provincial specificity, weaving a decolonial language into TTNB education in a way that resonates with territorial histories and cosmologies that are not identical to CABA’s dominant vocabulary. This is visible in the way the project is described in institutional and thesis materials, which explicitly combine art/culture orientation, popular education and a human-rights perspective:

La Maite Amaya funciona como sede del CENMA Barrio Acosta, dependiente de la Dirección General de la Educación Jóvenes y Adultos del Ministerio de Educación de la Provincia de Córdoba: este programa de bachillerato para personas trans trabaja bajo la estructura de un proyecto educativo con orientación en arte y cultura y a la educación popular, pero incluye además

²⁵ CENMA is the acronym for *Centro Educativo de Nivel Medio para Adultos*, an Argentine public institution within the modality of *Educación Permanente de Jóvenes y Adultos* (EPJA) that provides secondary-level education for people who did not complete compulsory schooling, organizing certification through flexible formats (e.g., mixed-age cohorts and adapted schedules) oriented to adult and youth re-entry.

ser una escuela con perspectiva de género y diversidad en clave de DDHH. (Juarez et al., 2023, p. 161).

Read through the lens of Chapter I, the project “Maite Amaya” makes visible a classic tension of popular education in South America: what can be taken from the state (wages, institutional shelter, a physical space) without surrendering the project’s capacity to name reality in its own terms. Holding onto that tension is essential, because it reappears, under different institutional arrangements, across the other experiences in this chapter, including those shaped by program dependency, reparative policy frames and contexts of acute scarcity and hostility.

From here, the map expands into other contexts where different combinations of urgency, institutional presence, activist capacity and documentary trace shape what becomes possible: projects that open and close quickly, projects that survive through fragile alliances, and projects that remain in the making, where the need is already clear even when the space is not yet secured. Analytically, I treat each site as a distinct configuration of institutional doorway, survival infrastructure and exposure cost. In the cases discussed here, one recurring issue is how easily a project becomes vulnerable to the closure of a single institutional door, which can collapse the entire ecology of attendance and care.

Tucumán enters the map through CETRANS, a “Centro Educativo Trans” that appears in EFETT 2021 as one of the participating educational spaces (CETRANS Tucumán, San Miguel de Tucumán). What I want to retain here is not only the fact of its existence, but the way its institutional anchoring is narrated as precarious and time bound. In EFETT’s brief reconstruction, CETRANS is described as having «dependido desde el 2019 del Plan FinEs» (Organización Civil Mocha Celis, 2022) and as having closed when the plan ended, continuing afterwards through a virtual modality before closing again in the pandemic context. Read descriptively, this small timeline signals a broader pattern that reappears in other cases: a TTNB educational space can exist through an administrative framework that was not designed for it and, therefore, can be removed without warning. The interview with BR. gives this institutional fragility an even more clear description. In his reconstruction, CETRANS «nace del contacto de gente de Tucumán con Mocha Celis» and takes shape through an «acuerdo político con el Ministerio de Educación» (interview 03) that is operationalized via the Plan FinEs. This is important for the map because it shows a provincial project being born not from replication but from circulation, through contacts and know-how moving outward from CABA while being translated into

a different territorial reality. BR.'s testimony also clarifies that Plan FinEs is materially insufficient and informal in practice, producing high turnover and an overload of invisible labor for a small coordinating core.

A second element that stands out from the interview is the constant presence of “integral” infrastructures that are not formally educational but make schooling possible: *meriendas*, donations, moments of sharing and the need to «cubrir necesidades urgentes» (interview 03), including people in situations of street homelessness. This resonates with my work at “Mocha Celis”, where attendance was sustained through an ecology of care (legal, bureaucratic, affective) rather than through teaching alone. Programs like *Teje Solidario*, for instance, are not “side projects” but concrete ways of sustaining attendance. They create spaces of mutual support where material and affective needs and collective routines overlap with learning. Similarly, “Mocha’s” *Espacio de Acceso a Derechos* made visible something that conventional schooling tends to disavow: for many TTNB students, the ability to remain in education is inseparable from accompaniment through bureaucratic processes, health access, documentation, housing instability and episodes of violence. For a more developed analysis of the *Bachillerato Popular* TTNB “Mocha Celis”, I refer the reader to the complementary Chapter III authored by Chris Scollo, which is grounded in internship-based research and fieldwork conducted within “Mocha” and developed in parallel to this shared thesis project.

If Tucumán shows a project heavily shaped by a national adult-education program and by the spatial politics of survival, Santa Fe (Rosario and Reconquista) enters the analysis through a different institutional configuration: an initiative explicitly framed as a reparative policy connected to labor inclusion and provincial legislation. The text *Disidencias y diversidades sexuales en la escuela describes the Espacio Educativo Secundario Travesti, Trans y Disidente* (EETTD) as arising from a joint initiative between two provincial ministries in Santa Fe, with the explicit objective of guaranteeing the right to education for trans, *travesti* and non-binary people, and as part of «acciones positivas vinculadas a la reparación histórica.» (Dusanto, 2025, p. 30) This text also situates a key political antecedent in 2019, the provincial *Ley de Cupo Laboral Trans**, and it explicitly links educational terminality to the concrete requirement of secondary completion for public employment access. It appears evident that in the cases discussed

here the map is not “only education”: it is an institutional chain in which labor rights reveal (and partially attempt to repair) the educational expulsion that preceded them.

The Santa Fe model also clarifies why the space is not placed inside a conventional school building. The text notes that three «extensiones áulicas» dependent on EEMPAs²⁶ were created in the cities of Santa Fe, Rosario and Reconquista, functioning in «formato plurigrado» inside cultural spaces in order to bypass the «barreras simbólicas» that historically operated in the school sphere and often produced abandonment or expulsion of trans students (pp. 5, 6, 30). This is a crucial mapping detail: the project’s location is itself a strategy, an attempt to avoid re-triggering the institutional memory of humiliation that many trans, *travesti* and non-binary adults carry in their bodies when they re-enter school. The same thesis frames the expulsive dynamic in very concrete language: it describes how the requirement of a completed secondary education becomes an «obstáculo concreto» precisely because many trans people, «debido a la discriminación, el hostigamiento y las violencias institucionales,» were expelled or marginalized early from the education system (p. 30).

In the interview with NI., this policy chain becomes even more legible through the chronology he emphasizes. He explicitly connects the emergence of the space to the 2019 *cupo* law and to the reality that «tenían que tener secundario completo» and then describes the creation of an «espacio educativo travesti trans [...] no excluyente» precisely because an educational institution is often «una barrera.» He also notes July 2021 as the moment the project begins, organized through registrations and documentation to place students by year, and sustained by a minimum set of conditions (materials, food), with articulations that included the Universidad de Rosario and later a TTNB cooperative that could offer labor opportunities. What he also noted was that this project «nace ya con fecha de caducidad,» stressing how the institutions did not plan to make it durable; rather, their interest was aimed at “resolving” a single problem they encountered, without taking responsibility for the broader system of oppression they enable. The work provides the broader frame for that chronology. It states that the EETTD «surgió en febrero del 2021»

²⁶ EEMPA is the acronym for *Escuela de Enseñanza Media para Adultos*, a provincial public secondary school within Argentina’s youth and adult education modality (EPJA) that provides “terminalidad” (completion) of upper-secondary studies for people who did not finish compulsory schooling; it often operates through flexible schedules and, in some provinces, can host “extensiones áulicas” in non-school sites (e.g., cultural centres) to reduce barriers to re-entry and permanence.

as a joint proposal of the Ministry of Education and the then Ministry of Equality, Gender and Diversity in Santa Fe, and that the extensions were created first in Santa Fe city and later in 2021 in Rosario and Reconquista, with classes developed in cultural spaces. (Dusanto, 2025, p. 5)

In the interview with S., Reconquista, in particular, is described as a semi-peripheral context where the feeling of exposure can be sharper and the costs of being publicly visible can be higher. She also mentions the gradual weakening of material supports in the last cycle (no school supplies, no food bags), suggesting how projects can be slowly starved. And yet, the same testimony insists that what kept people coming was not “the subjects” as such but the experience of being treated with dignity and being listened to: «se sentían queridxs, escuchadxs y eso era más importante de las materias.» (Interview 05).

Chaco is a different context again, because it appears as an unfinished horizon in the interview with J., where they are still «armando el proyecto» and the struggle is precisely to secure a physical space and minimum material conditions. In J.’s reconstruction, the provincial context is narrated as more hostile, with bullying and a lack of safety for the community and with a constant awareness that what is “possible” in CABA cannot be assumed in Chaco. The need is clear even before the institution exists, J. describes the urgency as survival-oriented: «podría aportar para salvar vidas, dar luz» (interview 06); while also naming practical barriers such as the incompatibility between class schedules and night-time sex work and the question of how to guarantee food when there is no funding.

Methodologically, the Chaco case forces the map to register incipient schooling as data: the conditions of possibility appear most sharply when institutional recognition is still unresolved. J. mentions alliances across provinces (thinking together with Corrientes) and the idea that education must be built as a «camino posible» without requiring people to stop working in order to attend school. In this sense, Chaco experience is not an “absence”, but a field of political work where the school is not yet secured but the pedagogical desire is already present and begins to be organized through networks.

These contrasts provide a framework for a multi-layered analysis in the next section 3.2. The following paragraph will focus on where projects are anchored and how permanence is actively produced under unequal distributions of time, safety and resources. The same

demand (secondary completion, dignity, safety, recognizability) is materialized through different ‘entry infrastructures’ (programs, agreements, extensions, cultural spaces), each generating distinct vulnerabilities and capacities for permanence. The EFETT 2022 material adds a further layer; in fact, it records demands that are explicitly about what makes education livable (transport support, food), showing that these are not peripheral issues but recurring priorities when TTNB people speak about education in their own voice.

Putting these cases side by side, the map starts to feel less like geography and more like a set of recurring dilemmas: how to “enter” the formal system without being absorbed; how to depend on a program (FinEs, EEMPA extensions, university agreements) without letting that program define the project’s horizon; how to build a space that can survive political shifts; and how to convert mutual aid into an everyday pedagogical method. These dilemmas introduce what comes in the next part of the chapter: a shift from where these projects exist(ed) to how they work(ed), what they share(d), where they diverge(d) and what kinds of difficulties repeatedly threaten their continuity.

3.2 A pedagogy of permanence: naming politics of care

Across the six experiences, permanence emerges as a more analytically precise metric than “access”. What the interviews repeatedly foreground is not only the moment of entry into schooling, but the continuous struggle to remain: to return after interruptions, to endure the unevenness of institutional support and to make education compatible with life conditions shaped by poverty, violence, informal labour and exposure. The thesis’ perspective is that educational projects actively redesign time.

Institutional time is often standardized: fixed schedules, enrollment cycles, bureaucratic deadlines, attendance expectations, a linear sequence of years. For many TTNB people life-time tends to be discontinuous, particularly in contexts marked by survival economies and violence. This is why permanence becomes a pedagogical problem: not a question of “motivation,” but of whether education can be structured without requiring students to suspend the conditions of survival that make attendance possible at all.

This particular time framework is mostly visible where interviewees explicitly connect educational scheduling to work regimes that are incompatible with conventional schooling. Some interviewees nominate the tension between the need for a stable

educational routine and the reality that many potential students work at night, including in sex work, and therefore cannot simply “fit” into pre-existing schedules. The design question becomes: can schooling be built as a *camino posible* that does not demand that people stop working in order to study? In her interview, J. frames this incompatibility in concrete terms, noting that a schooling routine that assumes early morning or late afternoon availability collides with night-time work and therefore risks reproducing exclusion through the timetable itself.

A second temporal axis concerns discontinuity produced by institutions themselves. In some cases, institutional discontinuity appears as a rupture: the abrupt end of a framework, a sudden loss of space, the interruption of paid hours. In other cases, it appears as slow attrition: a gradual withdrawal of supplies, food support, transport assistance, or staffing, producing a “soft” erosion of permanence. The Reconquista case is analytically important here because the testimony of S. emphasizes how support can be weakened over time, producing a cumulative effect on attendance and morale. S.’s account captures ‘slow attrition’ in concrete terms («no útiles, no bolsones, no comida»), while also showing that attendance persisted insofar as the space produced listening as the primary condition of return. (Interview 05)

A third temporal axis is uncertainty as a chronic condition. In Tucumán and other program-dependent contexts, uncertainty was not an exception; it was the baseline. When teaching work is poorly remunerated and staff turnover is frequent, pedagogical continuity becomes fragile, and the future is difficult to plan. Yet this also produces specific temporal skills: improvisation, rapid redistribution of tasks and the capacity to hold a project together through intermittent institutional recognition. In BR.’s reconstruction, this baseline uncertainty is registered not only in institutional dependency but in labour discontinuity: «Se pagaba muy poco por las horas de trabajo y lxs docentes cambiaban muy a menudo.» (Interview 03) He links this turnover to the practical impossibility of planning pedagogical continuity beyond the immediate cycle. These temporalities matter because they reveal that TTNB counter-education is not simply “education plus inclusion.” It is often an attempt to reorganize the relationship between learning and life under conditions where conventional schooling presupposes stability that many TTNB lives are systematically denied.

Since permanence is constantly interrupted, many of these initiatives respond by expanding what counts as “school” through practices of *abordaje integral*, treating care infrastructures as part of the temporal conditions that make returning and remaining possible. *Abordaje integral* appears across the cases not only as a set of services but as a pedagogical logic: a way of defining what education is and what is required for learning to remain possible. Rather than treating food, accompaniment and bureaucracy support as “external” to schooling, these experiences repeatedly position them as internal conditions of educational continuity. This demonstrates that integral practices operate as a pedagogy of permanence: they hold bodies in education by holding bodies in life!

Another point of analysis is that integral care is rarely centralized. It is made by small routines (sharing food, mobilizing donations, accompanying someone through documentation processes, responding to crisis) often sustained by a small team whose labour exceeds what institutions recognize as “teaching.” *Abordaje integral* defines the entire pedagogical relationship. When accompaniment becomes part of schooling, the educator role cannot be reduced to curricular transmission. It becomes relational, interpretive and sometimes emergency oriented. This does not aim to romanticize care, instead it specifies how pedagogical authority is reconfigured. For example, when a student’s attendance depends on transport money, food or the resolution of documentation barriers, the pedagogical task includes coordinating material and bureaucratic conditions. BR. describes how schooling time was repeatedly re-structured around material needs (interview 03), which means that the pedagogical work included making attendance possible in the most literal sense. In La Plata, B. frames these supports less as “services” than as collective routines embedded in governance: «el desafío económico crea vulnerabilidad. La discontinuidad por estos motivos sube. La escuela acompaña en muchos aspectos. Hay un equipo interdisciplinario con abogadx, psicologx y docentes. Además se crea una red a través de los grupos whatsapp y el club de socixs/amiguxs para aportar donaciones.» (Interview 01) Notably, in what J. shared with us the logic of integral care appears even prior to institutional consolidation: J. discusses the project’s feasibility through the question of how to guarantee food and accompaniment without funding, indicating that *abordaje integral* is imagined as a precondition of schooling. Integral care also changes the criteria of educational success. In conventional regimes, success is often measured by completion, grades, progression and constant attendance. In these

experiences, success frequently includes being able to show up, to be safe enough to be visible, to be addressed with dignity and to remain in a collective routine that counters isolation. This is why, in the testimony of S. being listened to is narrated as more important than “the subjects”, it indicates a shift in what counts as education. Finally, integral care produces an ambivalence that is crucial to analyze: it sustains permanence but it can also concentrate burden. If care is essential but the resources are scarce, the risk of overload increases, particularly where projects depend on a small coordinating core. This overload is not translated as “personal burnout”, how it is often framed in capitalistic and profit-oriented narrative. It is a structural vulnerability, because the continuity of care infrastructures can become tied to the exhaustion threshold of a few people. This concentration of burden is narrated explicitly by BR. and S. as the consequence of sustaining both pedagogy and survival infrastructures with minimal staff «se sostenia a pulmón porque eramos poquxs y con mucho trabajo invisible» (interview 03) while facing institutional discontinuity, as S. affirms «se hacia difícil de sostener.»

One response to this structural vulnerability is the governance form that many interviewees describe as part of their organization, which includes assemblies and horizontal decision-making. In these experiences, horizontality is not only an ideological preference, it is a practical attempt to prevent the concentration of labour by redistributing the work of sustaining the school. Governance is where the political strategies of these educational spaces become organizational practice. Across the cases the interviews show that the aim is to shift the logic from a service-provider model to an emphasis of collective decision-making and assemblies and referent roles that coordinate without claiming a structured hierarchy. The fact that people working in these realities have different roles does not mean that the decision-making process is necessarily vertical.

In the “Maite Amaya” project, governance must operate through and alongside formal structures: adult-education directors, ministry offices, university extension programs. This can produce a dual governance structure: internal collective practices (assemblies, mutual aid) coexisting with external institutional requirements (attendance records, agreements, bureaucratic procedures), as the thesis *Centro de Terminalidad Educativa con Orientación Artística para Personas Trans-Travestis No Excluyente: “Maite Amaya”* reconstructs through the *convenio* timeline (p. 105) and the CENMA embedding (Juarez et al., 2023, p. 161). Rosario (and Reconquista) exhibits a similar duality: the

project was institutionally embedded as an *extensión áulica* dependent on an EEMPA and coordinated through provincial ministerial structures, while its pedagogical functioning is re-localized in cultural spaces to reduce the symbolic barriers of conventional schooling (Dusanto, 2025, pp. 5–6, 30). At the same time, while the space is structured through provincial adult-education coordination, NI. describes how its everyday operation had to align with institutional procedures (registrations, documentation checks, and placement *por año*) even as it sought to sustain a collective and TTNB-centred mode of schooling. NI.'s chronology reinforces this duality at the level of everyday administration, describing how compliance requirements and the material work required to sustain attendance are held together in practice. (Interview 04) Furthermore, N. emphasizes the labour required to keep the project's political-pedagogical scope legible within those structures. (Interview 02) Since these projects must negotiate with the same institutions that have historically produced TTNB expulsion, governance is inseparable from a second question: what kinds of claims are valid to the state, and what must be translated in order to secure resources without being de-politicized? In the Córdoba experience, there was the fear of being read as a “ghetto” by the institutions, considering that their response had previously been that “ESI is sufficient”, revealing how the state can use “progressive” and tokenizing discourse to refuse material transformation. In Santa Fe (Rosario and Reconquista), the reparative framing and linkage to labour inclusion suggest a different possible route. Rather than arguing for the legitimacy of a TTNB educational space against “segregation” accusations, the initiative has been articulated as tied to reparation. Yet the claim of built-in caducity indicates that discursive recognition does not necessarily entail long-term responsibility. Indeed, the state can recognize a TTNB educational initiative as “reparative” while still treating it as temporally bounded, effectively externalizing structural responsibility onto a short-term project.

For CETRANS in Tucumán, negotiation operated through programmatic language (Plan FinEs as administrative framework) where TTNB education became possible through a program not designed for it. This suggests a different strategy: rather than relying primarily on rights discourse, actors rely on tactical insertion into existing adult-education frameworks. The advantage here is that it can be offered a pragmatic channel for certification and paid hours. BR. describes CETRANS as taking shape through an «acuerdo político con el Ministerio de Educación» concretized through Plan FinEs

(interview 03), a channel that provides a credential pathway and minimal paid hours while leaving the project exposed to the limits and withdrawal of a framework not designed for TTNB education.

Continuing the research, the pedagogic experience of “Shirley la Bombón” offered another discursive strategy. Here, municipal recognition and community governance allow the project to articulate itself less as a “service” and more as a community-led right-claim. The focus is the production of legitimacy from below, how a school becomes legitimate because community actors treat it as necessary, rather than because institutions declare it legitimate. B. is explicit that institutional interaction is largely concentrated in the FinEs channel; outside of that administrative interface, relationships remain relatively limited, a configuration that both constrains resources and helps preserve community-led autonomy in governance and pedagogy.

Finally, Chaco, as a project in formation, adds the problem of initial recognition. How to speak to institutions in contexts perceived as hostile without triggering immediate refusal or backlash. J. frames the problem of institutional approach as inseparable from basic viability: «antes que abrir el proyecto hay que resolver como garantizar comida y ayuda a lxs futurxs estudiantes.» (Interview 06)

These negotiations, taken together, show that ‘the nation state’ is encountered through different possibilities and limits (programs, ministries, universities, cultural-space agreements), so the analytic aim of this thesis is not to place projects on a single autonomy–institutionalization line but to track how resources are claimed and obtained without surrendering political and decisional power.

The analysis now turns to the work of meaning-making of TTNB educational projects through which they become livable. If part of the chapter foregrounded emergence and discontinuity, this section asks how permanence is produced through the symbolic infrastructures that make re-entry thinkable: the spaces in which schooling is re-localized, the names through which collective memory is organized and the pedagogical line through which certain knowledges become valid. In other words, the question is no longer only where these projects exist, but how they produce a mode of schooling that does not reproduce the embodied memory of expulsion.

Across the cases, “space” is never reducible to a room, a building or a borrowed classroom. It is an assemblage of material availability and cultural meaning: where one

can enter without being exposed, recognized without being policed and remain without having to constantly defend one's right to exist. This is particularly clear in Rosario, where the EETTD was institutionally embedded in adult-education structures but strategically displaced from conventional school buildings. The thesis *Disidencias y Diversidades Sexuales en la Escuela Secundaria* shows that the project operated through the adult-education modality and was oriented to permanence precisely because conventional schooling is repeatedly named as a site of harm and exclusion, with TTNB trajectories marked by «discriminación, maltrato [...] agresiones físicas» (Dusanto, 2025, p. 7) and the systematic negation of self-perceived identity.

This relocation of schooling into cultural spaces can be read as a deliberate practice of “de-formal-schooling” space, not abandoning education, but dis-identifying from the architectural and symbolic regime through which “classic” school has historically disciplined bodies. For this reason, the space is designed as a condition of re-entry. The text provides is explicit about this, it narrates the educational experience as inseparable from the symbolic economy through which learners have previously been interpellated. It describes the weight of institutional memory and the need to resignify the conditions of accessibility and permanence for *travesti* and trans people in the adult-education modality. (pp. 11-13)

NI.'s testimony is analytically important, because it clarifies the dual spatial logic at the level of everyday administration and embodied experience. While the space is embedded through provincial adult-education structures and ministerial coordination, NI. describes how its everyday operation had to align with institutional procedures (registrations, documentation checks and placement based on the school year) even as it sought to sustain a collective and TTNB-centred mode of schooling (cit. NI.). Moreover, the text explains that the EETTD's classroom extension is in a cultural setting. The *Centro Cultural* “La Toma²⁷” is described as the place where the proposal materializes: «La escuela funciona en el Centro Cultural ‘La Toma’ ubicado en la calle Corrientes 1349 [...] en la primera planta junto a la escalera se encuentra el aula donde se desarrollan los

²⁷ *Centro Cultural* “La Toma” is a worker-run cultural and social-economy space in Rosario that emerged from the occupation and recuperation of the former *Supermercado Tigre* premises in 2001; since then, it has operated as a collective hub and has repeatedly faced judicial pressure and eviction threats. “La Toma” (Rosario) is not a neutral “venue” for classes but a pre-existing cultural and political space, historically associated with collective organization and community use.

encuentros de la EETTD.» (p. 32) This description is particularly important, because it shows that the space is intentionally cultural and collective, not a conventional “school corridor”. In that sense, “La Toma” is not just a site, it is a way of making the encounter with schooling less immediately continuous with earlier scenes of expulsion.

Read together, the thesis and NI.’s reconstruction suggest that “space” functions here as a re-localization of the pedagogical encounter in spaces that reduce exposure and symbolic violence, and by reworking school into a site where attendance can be sustained without re-triggering the embodied memory of humiliation. Cultural spaces are not automatically safer, but that they are already embedded in different regimes of belonging, because they carry a cultural and political meaning that can alter the conditions of entry. The La Plata case adds another dimension, space can be read as community infrastructure rather than institutional container. The interview-text *Educación Travesti en las Hendijas del Sistema* is particularly useful here, because it frames the location of “Shirley La Bombón” in “Cösmiko”²⁸ not as an “alternative venue” for schooling but as a possibility of studying emerging through activist infrastructures that operate in proximity to everyday survival and community life. In this configuration, the space is not simply where classes occur, it is part of the pedagogical proposition itself, because it organizes who feels able to enter, how conflict is absorbed and what forms of mutual support become possible.

This is where “Cösmiko” (as the spatial anchoring of Shirley) can be theorized as a cultural and political threshold. If the project is sustained within a space whose meaning exceeds schooling, an environment already marked by queer sociability, mutual aid and territorial politics; then the school inherits an existing cultural grammar of belonging (Canegalli et al., 2002). What I trace is that “safe space” becomes more a relational effect, instead of an architectural attribute. It is produced through repeated practices of recognition, collective routines and the capacity to absorb interruptions without moralizing them.

²⁸ “Cösmiko” is not simply the site where Shirley La Bombón “takes place,” but a pre-existing community space: a cultural and social infrastructure already inhabited by local TTNB/queer networks before the school’s emergence. Anchoring the project there matters because it situates schooling inside an already-recognizable ecology of belonging, mutual support, and political-cultural life, rather than asking participants to re-enter education through the symbolic architecture of conventional school institutions.

With the intent to make clear and tangible to the reader the realities I am describing, I will report two images that show the location of the centers and two photos, taken during a visit, of the entrance of the educational space “Shirley la Bombón” in “Cösmiko”.



Image 3.2 - Google Maps, 25/01/2026.

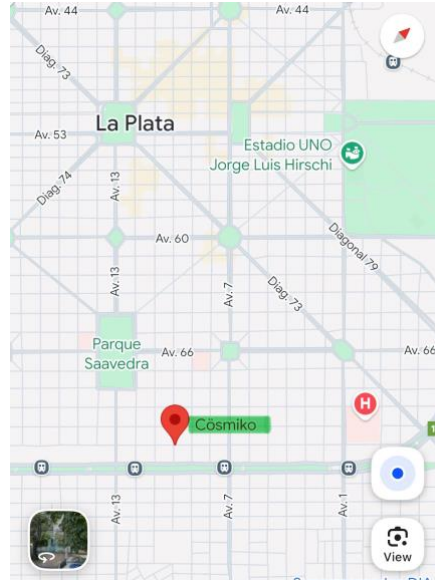


Image 3.3 - Google Maps, 25/01/2026.



Image 3.4 - Photo 20/09/2025.



Image 3.5 - Photo 20/09/2025.

To add from this points it is important to remember that cultural spaces are not neutral, they can also intensify visibility. Here the “safe space” problematic shifts again toward

the political management of exposure. This is precisely where Chaco adds to the analysis, even as a project still in formation. J.'s testimony indicates that, before any timetable or curriculum can be stabilized, the key question is the possibility of having a space where TTNB people can gather without being put at risk. In this sense, the demand for space emerges as pre-institutional, it is imagined prior to schooling, as a condition of possibility for the school to exist at all. (Interview 06) The absence of a secured building does not mean the absence of spatial politics; it means that the spatial dimension becomes visible as struggle: how to secure a place that protects those who enter it.

Comparatively, "space" operates as a technology of re-entry. It reworks the affective and symbolic conditions under which returning to school becomes thinkable, especially for adults carrying embodied memories of expulsion. This is why "safe space" should be treated here as a political and pedagogical production and not as a fixed property. It is made through institutional displacements and the collective and cultural labor of re-localizations.

If space is one way these projects reorganize re-entry, naming is another. Across TTNB educational initiatives, names operate as condensed theory: they index genealogies, articulate ethical commitments and position the school within a political archive of *travesti*, trans and non- binary community struggles. Naming is not an ornamental layer added after the fact; it is part of the pedagogical infrastructure through which participants learn what kind of institution they are entering and what kind of history they are being invited to inherit.

This is especially visible in the La Plata and Córdoba cases, where the school names explicitly materialize as memorial and horizon. In this sense, "Shirley La Bombón"²⁹ functions as a pedagogical sign that keeps together a territorial memory of *travesti* life and the demand that schooling be re-made on different terms. Shirley is describe as a

²⁹ Shirley La Bombón is remembered in La Plata (Buenos Aires Province) as a Peruvian trans/*travesti* migrant and artist whose work circulated within dissident cultural networks and was later institutionalised through exhibitions and documentaries. She died on 14 August 2018, at the age of 61 years old. In the testimonies gathered around her memory, Shirley's life is also narrated through mobility (including travel to Europe), informal work (e.g., selling Peruvian food), and artistic production developed especially in the later years of her life. The adult-education project FinEs Cösmiko in La Plata explicitly adopted the name "Shirley La Bombón" *en homenaje* to her, turning the school's identity into an act of collective remembrance. This dedication is read against the background of the structurally shortened life expectancy documented for *travesti*/trans people in Argentina (often reported around 35–40 years), so that naming the project after Shirley also affirms the political horizon condensed in the demand to "reach old age" despite systematic precarity and premature death.

travesti activist and cultural figure in La Plata, whose name continues to circulate as a marker of presence and struggle. In these accounts, the importance of Shirley is not reduced to biography, it is political. The repetition of her name in institutional and activist references functions as an insistence that *travesti* life is not marginal to education but constitutive of the claim that education must be re-organized.

Similarly, the school in Córdoba “Maite Amaya”³⁰ illustrates how naming can anchor a pedagogical project in a *travesti*-trans genealogy that resists depoliticized inclusion. In the thesis of Juárez, et al. (2023) already discussed in the first part of the chapter, the project is framed as a school «con perspectiva [...] de género y diversidad» and explicitly linked to popular education and an art/culture orientation in a human-rights key (pp. 105, 161). Naming, here, amplifies that orientation by positioning the school within a lineage of political struggle rather than within an abstract rights discourse alone.

To deepen the analytic stakes of naming, it is useful to treat Shirley and Maite not only as “references” but as figures through whom the politics of TTNB education becomes speakable. In other words: what does it mean, pedagogically, to study under a *travesti*/trans* name? For sure, it means that the school begins by refusing the implicit neutrality of educational institutions. Instead of presenting education as an impartial service delivered to “beneficiaries,” the name declares that the school is already situated, it is on the side of those who were historically expelled.

The interview of Maite in “Revista Adynata” (2021) helps understanding this figure as a voice, not as a symbol. It explicitly frames Maite’s self-understanding through political struggle, linking her trans identity to organizing work and the experience of building collective infrastructures under conditions of violence and exclusion. In practical terms, naming reorganizes classroom authority by pre-authorizing *travesti*, trans and non-binary community archives as educational curricula. It changes what can be cited, what can be taught and whose experience is treated as evidence rather than “anecdote.” A school

³⁰ Maite Amaya is remembered in Córdoba as a *travesti*/trans militant whose political trajectory intersected transfeminist organising, anti-capitalist and anarchist activism and the *piquetero* movement (a heterogeneous constellation of organisations of workers that consolidated in Argentina in the late 1990s and early 2000s, widely associated with road blockades, “*piquetes*,” as a repertoire of protest to demand work, welfare, and social rights). She was born and raised in a working-class family in barrio Argüello and in adolescence became involved in multiple struggles: LGBT rights, “*los feminismos*”, anti-capitalist organising, denunciations of carceral violence and the persecution of sex workers, as well as territorial and anarchist organising linked to the *Federación de Organizaciones de Base* (FOB). She died in the morning of 13 June 2017 at the Hospital Rawson at the age of 36. In Córdoba, the educational initiative explicitly took her name as an act of homage.

named after a *travesti*, trans or non-binary person signals that the social world will not be read through the default canon of “neutral” authority, which is never neutral but only presented as such. It cues participants that knowledge is expected to emerge from embodied experience, from community archives and from struggles that institutions often treat as external to education.

Stating that pedagogy is not as an abstract method, but as an explicit politics of knowledge, is of extreme interest for the purposes of the thesis to analyze the pedagogical approach of these realities. What becomes visible across TTNB educational projects is that pedagogy does not imply knowledge hierarchy, where some voices are treated as authoritative and others as anecdotal or some knowledges are institutionalized and others dismissed as “experience.” Against this hierarchy, these initiatives repeatedly produce a pedagogy in which community knowledge is not supplementary but foundational. As Lohana Berkins said in a 2012 interview, «el arma más poderosa que había usado el sistema para controlarnos era la ignorancia.» (Canal GRONCHO, 1:26-1:32, 07/04/2016).

Two dynamics are especially important. The first is the critique of schooling as a pipeline into subordinated labour. In the work of Dusanto (2025), Marlene Wayar³¹ is cited to argue that school should stop functioning as an apparatus that molds subjects into «mano de obra», (p. 8) foregrounding instead a horizon where education does not reproduce the disciplining and exploitation of marginalized bodies. This is not only a normative claim; it is a pedagogical orientation. It implies that curriculum, evaluation and classroom

³¹ Marlene Wayar (born 14 October 1968, Córdoba) is an Argentine *travesti* activist, social psychologist, writer, and communicator who has played a visible role in the consolidation of *travesti*-trans agendas in Argentina across human-rights, cultural, and educational fields. Her trajectory is frequently narrated through a double register: on the one hand, the production of *travesti*-centred public discourse (journalism, interviews, and essays) and, on the other, participation in organisational and institutional arenas connected to rights claims and policy debates. A central landmark is her direction of *El Teje*, commonly described as the first *travesti* newspaper in Latin America, which she and others framed as an intervention against the stigmatisation historically attached to *travesti* identity. In parallel, Wayar has been linked to key organisational processes such as *Futuro Trans* and regional networking (including the “Silvia Rivera” Trans Network of Latin America and the Caribbean), and she has appeared in public debates around the Gender Identity Law: already in 2010 she published an account of the organisational articulation that supported a parliamentary proposal promoted by groups including *Futuro Transgenérico* and MAL. Her published work includes *Travesti: una teoría lo suficientemente buena* (2018) and *Furia travesti. Diccionario de la T a la T* (2021), texts that are often read as attempts to elaborate a *travesti* epistemic and political vocabulary from situated experience.

authority must be reorganized so that TTNB students are not asked to become legitimate through cis-heteronormative institutional scripts.

The second dynamic is the active construction of alternative academic authority. In my internship experience, printing the “Mocha’s” terminalidad materials³² showed me how curriculum can function as an epistemic intervention: authority is redistributed toward *travesti* trans and community authors, so that “valid knowledge” is not anchored in the standardized canon but in situated survival archives. Instead, TTNB and community authors whose knowledge circulates for and within the community were the core of the program and not a “token”, this captures a crucial pedagogical gesture: the curriculum is an archive of survival and struggle. It teaches not only content, but criteria of validity. It trains students to recognize that their lives are not outside knowledge and that intellectual authority can be built from within community worlds.

This is precisely why the Córdoba case remains central for the pedagogy section. Even in the excerpts already mobilized, the thesis frames the project as a pedagogical proposal with explicit axes: art and culture as tools of transformation; popular education within formal structures; and a human-rights perspective on gender/diversity (Juarez et al., 2023, pp. 105, 161). In analytic terms, this triad is not merely descriptive. It structures what counts as “learning”: art and culture authorize expressive and embodied knowledges; popular education authorizes dialogue and problem-posing over banking transmission; the human-rights frame authorizes students as rights-bearing subjects rather than as objects of management.

The consequence is that pedagogy becomes a practice of epistemic repair. Society and consequently schooling historically positioned TTNB bodies as problems, on the contrary these initiatives build curricular and relational practices that treat TTNB subjects as producers of meaning. That repair is not only about “inclusion”, it is about re-writing the distribution of credibility. This is why, even where projects must comply with institutional procedures, the pedagogical line remains a site of struggle. It is where actors

³² In the field of youth and adult education in Argentina, “*materiales de terminalidad*” generally refer to the pedagogical packages produced and circulated to support students who must still regularise and pass outstanding subjects (*materias pendientes/adeudadas*) in order to graduate. Operationally, these materials take the form of *módulos*, *cuadernillos*, or *guías de estudio* that condense “prioritised” content, provide explanations, and structure learning through exercises and integrative activities. Across programmes, the same support function appears in different infrastructures: some modalities provide study materials via virtual classrooms and structured study guides, while others rely on printed materials given to the students.

decide whether institutional legitimacy will be purchased at the cost of depoliticization or if institutional resources can be taken while retaining the right to name reality in community terms.

Taken together, the six cases mapped in this chapter show that TTNB counter-education beyond Buenos Aires makes evident that there is not a uniform institutional form but a shared political demand, translated through different combinations of programmatic insertion, negotiated agreements, community infrastructures and precarious resources. It also stresses that permanence is not only material, it is also produced through symbolic infrastructures that rework the meaning of schooling itself. In this sense, these projects do not merely seek inclusion within existing educational regimes. They contest the conditions under which education becomes livable, asserting that secondary schooling for TTNB people is not a remedial add-on but a site where dignity, safety, collective labor and epistemic authority are actively rebuilt.

From my standpoint, these cases make it impossible to treat schooling as a neutral institution, what appears as access is always already a politics of survival, legitimacy and protection. They show that the prerequisites of education (time, safety, care and credibility) are not pedagogical add-ons but politically distributed resources. For that reason, I read permanence not only as an analytic metric, but as an ethical and political demand that redefines what schooling should be.

Conclusions

This thesis began from the question of what kinds of viable educational routes in Argentina can actually work for marginalized communities, specifically *travesti*, trans, and non-binary (TTNB) people, when the dominant school system is itself one of the infrastructures that excludes and harms them. Our research question was not only about access to education, but about whether a route can be built that does not reproduce the violence and abandonment that the formal educational framework has historically distributed. In other words, the problem is not merely to add TTNB students to schooling as it is, but to ask what it would mean to make education livable for those whose lives have been repeatedly positioned as incompatible with school.

The answer we developed across these chapters is neither celebratory nor pessimistic. TTNB popular education emerges as a political technology for survival and permanence and it does so through a set of material and symbolic operations that recur across sites, even when institutional forms vary. At the same time, this thesis shows that the state is not a stable “ally”. In fact, even when it supports TTNB initiatives, it often does so through temporary programs, managerial logics or “box-ticking” frameworks that can withdraw recognition as quickly as they offer it. Alternative education, in this sense, is always built in tension, within the system for certification and resources and against the system as an apparatus that has historically expelled TTNB lives.

Chapters I and II provide the conceptual ground for understanding why the search for alternative routes is not optional. We argue that the cis-heteronormative order is not merely cultural prejudice added onto schooling. It is a regime that organizes recognizability, survival and life. This means that standard education frequently demands a type of bodily visibility, family norm, gender performance and moral respectability that TTNB students are constantly questioning with their own existence. In this way, school becomes an institution that does not simply fail TTNB people incidentally, but actively produces exclusion and reframes it as a personal problem rather than a political fact.

This is fundamental because dominant narratives of educational inequality often treat exclusion as an individual deficit that, in a meritocratic frame, translates into lack of effort or motivation. This thesis rejects that account, indeed, across the materials we analyzed, exclusion is more accurately described as the consequence of a system that protects its own norms. As showed through the text, when TTNB lives appear in school, they are

often treated as disruptions to be managed and marginalized. This is also why many “inclusion” policies fail, they can change language, protocols or curriculum fragments while leaving intact the deeper grammar through which bodies are sorted into legitimate and illegitimate.

Popular education in Chapter I is read here as a political practice that begins from a different premise, the oppressed are not the object of education but its protagonists and learning cannot be detached from the conditions that make life precarious. Through the analysis and approach of Freire and their later South American elaborations, popular education becomes a way to insist that education is never neutral, it is either complicit with the distribution of inequality or part of reorganizing the world that produces it. In this thesis, that insight is deepened through a TTNB lens, the question and demand become not only education for liberation, but education as a material possibility that counters expulsive schooling.

Taking from this framework, we argue that *Bachilleratos Populares* TTNB and similar initiatives function as counter-education. We describe a form of education not outside society, but an education that contests the terms under which schooling has historically been offered. What makes these projects distinct routes is that they intervene at multiple levels at once. On the structural level, they rework the material prerequisites of learning. Socially, they build community infrastructures that reduce isolation and redistribute burdens through collective practices. Finally, they redesign symbolically what “school” means, through space, naming and curricular authority that centers TTNB histories and knowledges.

At the institutional level administrative access can be granted, at least to someone, but permanence has to be produced against interruptions caused by poverty, violence and discontinuity. Across the cases, TTNB popular education is best understood as a pedagogy of permanence that makes returning possible, not by moralizing attendance, but by reorganizing education around realities that standard school systems treat as external, private or shameful.

This is also where the question of “working within the system” becomes concrete. None of the projects mapped here exist in a pure outside. They must interact with ministries, adult-education structures, municipal recognitions, university extension programs and certification regimes. What matters, as our analysis shows, is how they interact: through

negotiations that secure minimum viability while community actors fight to retain definitional power over the project's purpose and methods. This clarifies a key point: these routes are not utopias detached from reality, a critique often moved against those who try to change the status quo, but practical constructions built in and through struggle, precisely because they attempt to shift entrenched conditions of oppression and violence. A central conclusion of this research is that the state's relationship to TTNB popular education is contradictory and often ambivalent. As Chapter III shows, when the state helps, it frequently helps in ways that preserve control and limit durability. In the Santa Fe (Rosario and Reconquista) experiences, the reparative framing can seem powerful, it names historical harm and links education to concrete rights. Yet the interviews reveal a crucial contradiction, which is that reparative recognition can coexist with institutional unwillingness to sustain the project over time. When an educational space is treated as a temporary fix, something that "solves" an administrative obstacle rather than transforming the conditions that produced that obstacle, it becomes politically constrained from the beginning.

S.'s anger is therefore not a personal reaction, it is an analytic key, because it names the violence of temporary recognition and institutional non-responsibility. As she puts it: «Lo intenté todo para que no cerrara, pero políticamente nada pasó, nadie se movió». Read within our framework, this sentence captures how "support" can be performed discursively while being withdrawn materially. Recognition is offered, but responsibility is refused.

Tucumán makes visible another pattern, projects that exist through a program not designed for them and therefore remain structurally disposable. The testimony about low pay and frequent educator turnover shows how program dependency produces a fragile ecology, made precarious by state absence and by a political choice not to invest in continuity. The key conclusion here is not merely lack of funds. It is that precariousness functions as governance, continuity becomes difficult and the project survives through expanded, invisible labor, when resources are limited and the conditions of the people working not stable.

Chaco introduces a third pattern that is crucial, the difficulty of initial recognition itself. In some contexts, the core problem is not only funding but the feasibility of building an institutional interface without triggering backlash. Here is where silence becomes a

barrier, it is not a clear refusal that can be politicized, but an absence of contact and presence that stalls the possibility of a project even entering negotiation.

If these dynamics risk sounding bleak, our analysis also insists on a counterpoint that is neither naïve nor optimistic, but evidence-based. Some projects, like “Shirley la Bombón” (La Plata) and “Maite Amaya” (Cordoba), endure precisely because community infrastructures do what institutions will not do.

In La Plata, the project’s distinctiveness is not administrative insertion alone. Its strength lies in how community governance becomes educational infrastructure. The school functions as a collective project rather than a service, assemblies, horizontal coordination, care networks and the sense that education is embedded in everyday survival practices. This is an alternative social form, education as a community-held practice that understands permanence as relational.

Córdoba demonstrates how endurance can also be produced through a strategy that navigates the legitimacy politics of adult education in a province where the term *bachillerato* and the institutional doors available do not mirror CABA. The project’s strength is not only its negotiated agreement but its articulated pedagogical imagination, including explicit axes, such as art/culture, popular education, human-rights framing, that keep the school legible as more than a protective environment.

Across both cases, we arrive at a broader conclusion. TTNB popular education persists not because the system finally includes a part of TTNB people, but because TTNB communities and allies build durable forms of governance and meaning-making that convert schooling into a livable collective routine.

Another fundamental point of this research is that evidencing TTNB education beyond Buenos Aires is not only a matter of adding cases, it shifts what becomes visible about power. Because so much documentation concentrates on CABA, the capital can appear as the default horizon of possibility. Our provincial focus disrupts that tendency and shows that territorial location shapes the conditions under which rights can be claimed, negotiated and struggled for.

This has an explicitly intersectional implication, which is that provinciality operates as an additional axis of oppression, not separate from gender, class, race and labor precariousness, but intertwined with them. In this sense, the thesis suggests that intersectionality in Argentina cannot be fully addressed if research remains centered on

the capital. The territorial configuration of state presence and activist capacity shapes what kinds of lives can be sustained through popular educational projects.

Finally, this thesis opens several pathways for further inquiry, not because it is incomplete in a simplistic sense, but because it reveals how much remains under-documented when provincial TTNB education is taken seriously. Starting from here, future research could analyze the cases considered here in greater depth and broaden its scope to other experiences not addressed in this thesis, both within Argentina and across the wider South American context. Such work would not only expand the empirical field, it would also continue to displace the analytic bias toward major urban centers when studying resistance, rights-claims and the infrastructures that make them possible.

To answer our research question, one claim becomes unavoidable: schooling cannot be treated as neutral! What appears as “access” is always already shaped by a politics of survival, legitimacy and protection. TTNB popular education contests the conditions under which education becomes possible within existing regimes of exclusion and it demonstrates, materially, not rhetorically, that alternatives can be built.

At the same time, this thesis refuses the comforting fantasy that the system will naturally support what works. The provincial cases show that institutional recognition is often time limited and shaped by managerial logics that have little interest in durable transformation. The endurance of TTNB educational spaces therefore remains a struggle, this is a practice of building permanence in a system that repeatedly produces interruption.

If popular education teaches that the oppressed must be the protagonists of their learning, *Bachilleratos Populares* TTNB show how communities build the material and symbolic infrastructures that make learning possible when the system’s default function is marginalization. This is the possibility this thesis traces and the political demand it leaves on the table for future research and activism, furthering the ongoing discussion and collective re-making of the characteristics of education itself.

Bibliography and sources

Adynata (2021). Entrevista a Maite Amaya, TRANSPIQUETERA / AjiTamos revista. Revista Adynata. <https://www.revistaadynata.com/post/entrevista-a-maite-amaya-transpiguetera---ajitamos-revista>

Aguiló, V. & Wahren, J. (2014). Los bachilleratos populares de Argentina como “campos de experimentación social”. *Argumentos, UAM-XOCHIMILCO*, 27 (74), 97 -114.

Ampudia, M. & Elisalde, R. (2015). Bachilleratos Populares en la Argentina: movimiento pedagógico, cartografía social y educación popular. *Polifonías Revista de Educación*, Año IV (7), 154 - 177.

Berkins, L. & Fernandez, J. (2005). *La gesta del nombre propio: Informe sobre la situación de la comunidad travesti en Argentina*. Asociación de Madres de Plaza de Mayo.

Berkins, L. (2003). Un itinerario político del travestismo. In *Sexualidades migrantes. Género y transgénero* (p. 59 – 68). Scarlett Press.

Berkins, L. et al. (2015). *Cumbia, Copeteo Y Lágrimas: Informe Nacional Sobre La Situación De Las Travestis, Transexuales Y Transgéneros*. Ediciones Madres de Plaza de Mayo.

Butler, J. (1993). *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of “Sex”*. Routledge.

Butler, J. (1999). *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. Routledge.

Butler, J. (2004). *Undoing Gender*. Routledge.

Canegalli S. et al. (2022). Educación travesti en las hendidias del sistema: Entrevista al FinES Cösmiko Shirley La Bombón. *Memoria Academica*, 6 (2), 1 – 10. Available at: https://www.memoria.fahce.unlp.edu.ar/art_revistas/pr.14908/pr.14908.pdf

Dusanto N. (2025). *Disidencias y Diverisidades Sexuales en la Escuela: una Oportunidad para Conectar la Igualdad Juridica con la Igualdad Real*. [Facultad de Humanidades y Artes]. Universidad Nacional de Rosario.

Escobar Guerrero, M. (2012). *Pedagogía erótica, Paulo Freire y el EZLN*. UNAM.

- Fernández, J. (2004). *Cuerpos desobedientes: travestimo e identidad de género*. Edasa.
- Flores, V. (2015). *Afectos, pedagogías, infancias, y heteronormatividad: Reflexiones sobre el daño*. Available at: <https://educacionute.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/05/Afectos-pedagogias-infancias-heteronormatividad-PONENCIA-2.pdf>
- Foucault, M. (1978). *The History of Sexuality. Volume 1: an Introduction*. Pantheon Books.
- Foucault, M. (1995). *Discipline and Punish. The Birth of the Prison*. Random House.
- Freire, P. (1997). *La educación como práctica de la libertad*. Siglo XXI Editores.
- Freire, P. (2002). *Educación y cambio*. Los Editores.
- Freire, P. (2005). *Pedagogía del oprimido*. Siglo XXI Editores.
- Freire, P. (2010). *Cartas a quienes pretende enseñar*. Siglo XXI Editores.
- Freire, P. (2012). *Pedagogía de la indignación: cartas pedagógicas en un mundo revuelto*. Siglo XXI Editores.
- Freire, P. (2014). *Pedagogía de la esperanza. Un reencuentro con la pedagogía del oprimido*. Siglo XXI Editores.
- Freire, P. 2004. *Pedagogía de la autonomía, saberes necesarios para la práctica educativa*. Paz y Terra SA.
- Gorondy Novak, M. (n. d.) *Popular education in Argentina: a look through Paulo Freire's theory*. Jawaharlal Nehru University. Available at: https://www.academia.edu/15548381/Popular_education_in_Argentina_a_look_through_Paulo_Freire_s_theory
- GRONCHO. (2016, 7th April). *Entrevista a Lohana Berkins* [Video]. YouTube. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CJAzEfQg-Tw>
- hooks, b. (1994). *Teaching to transgress: education as the practice of freedom*. Routledge.
- hooks, b. et al. (2016). *Pedagogías Transgresoras*. Bocavulvaria Ediciones.

- Hypatia, M. L. (2007). Heterosexualism and the Colonial / Modern Gender System. *Hypatia*, 22 (1), 186 - 209. Available at: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4640051>
- Jara Holliday, O. (2020). *La Educación Popular Latinoamericana. Historia y claves éticas, políticas y pedagógicas*. El colectivo.
- Juarez M. et al. (2023). *Centro de Terminalidad Educativa con Orientación Artística para Personas Trans-Travestis No Excluyente: "Maite Amaya"*. [Facultad de Arte y Diseño]. Universidad Provincial de Córdoba.
- Korol, C. & Castro, G. C. (2014). *Feminismos Populares. Pedagogías y políticas: Aprendizajes compartidos y voces desobedientes de Colombia, Argentina, Brasil, Venezuela, Paraguay, Palestina y Cuba*. La Fogata Editorial.
- Luppino, G. (2022). *Transformación y reproducción en experiencias educativas autogestionadas; La gestión educativa en los Bachilleratos Populares del Movimiento de Trabajadores Excluidos*. [Maestría en Políticas y Administración de la Educación] Universidad Nacional de Tres de Febrero.
- Martínez, J. & Vidal-Ortiz, S. (2018). *Travar el saber, educación de personas trans y travestis en Argentina: relatos en primera persona*. EDULP.
- Martínez, J. & Vidal-Ortiz, S. (2022). From rage to love: travesti-centred education in Argentina Sex Education. *Sex Education: Sexuality, Society and Learning*, 23(3), 263 - 270. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14681811.2022.2090916>
- Organización Civil Mocha Celis. (2017). *La Revolución de las Mariposas, a diez años de La Gesta del Nombre Propio*. Published by Ministerio Público de la Defensa de la Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires. Available at: <http://mochacelis.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/La-Revolucion-de-las-Mariposas.pdf>
- Organización Civil Mocha Celis. (2022). *Primer Encuentro federal de educación travesti-trans*. Available at: <https://mochacelis.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/11/EFETT-2021.pdf>
- Organización Civil Mocha Celis. (2023a). *Con Nombre Propio, a diez años de la Ley de Identidad de Género*. Published by Ministerio Público de la Defensa de la Ciudad

Autónoma de Buenos Aires. Available at: <https://mochacelis.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/05/Con-Nombre-Propio.pdf>

Organización Civil Mocha Celis. (2023b). *Segundo Encuentro federal de educación travesti-trans*. Available at: <https://mochacelis.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/09/Segundo-Encuentro-de-Educacion-Travesti-Trans.pdf>

Organización Civil Mocha Celis. (2024). *Resistencias travestis, trans y no binarias en la educación: recontextualización de los espacios educativos desde la experiencia del Bachillerato Popular Travesti Trans Mocha Celis*. Universidad de Buenos Aires. Available at: <https://publicacionescientificas.fadu.uba.ar/index.php/GADU/article/view/2615>

Perchivale, G. & Ansardi M. (2023). *El Derecho al Trabajo*. Fundar.

Preciado, P. B. (2002). *Manifiesto contra-sexual*. Editorial Opera Prima.

Preciado, P. B. (2008). *Testo Yonqui*. Espasa Calpe, S. A.

Puiggrós, A. (2016). *La educación popular en América Latina. Orígenes, polémicas y perspectivas*. Colihue.

Retamozo, M. (2009). Social order, subjectivity and collective action. Notes for the study of the social movements. *Athena Digital. Revista de Pensamiento e Investigación Social*. Available at: <https://research.amanote.com/publication/XqpjAnQBKQvf0BhiBCDX/social-order-subjectivity-and-collective-action-notes-for-the-study-of-the-social>

Rodríguez, L. (2013). *Educación popular en la historia reciente en Argentina y América Latina*. APPEAL.

Salas Moreno, P. L. (2023). Pensamiento educativo de Simón Rodríguez desde la educación popular y emancipadora. *Perspectivas - Revista de Historia, Geografía, Arte y Cultura*, 11 (21). 86- 91. Available at: <https://portal.amelica.org/ameli/journal/413/4134563011/html/>

Scollo C. (2026). *Trans-Forming Pedagogies: from Popular Education to the Case Study of Mocha Celis*. [Faculty of Political Science]. University of Padua.

Sverdlick, I. & Costas, P. (2007). Bachilleratos Populares en Empresas Recuperadas y Organizaciones Sociales. *Ensayos & Investigaciones del Laboratorio de Políticas Públicas*. Available at:

<https://www.fceia.unr.edu.ar/geii/maestria/DoraBibliografia/UT.%204/Sverdlick.Bachilleratos%20populares.pdf>

Wahren, J. (2020). Bachilleratos populares en Argentina: educación desde los movimientos sociales. *Revista de Ciencias Sociales*, 33 (47). 89 - 109. Available at: www.scielo.edu.uy/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S0797-55382020000200089

Zaylín, B. L. (2008). Educación popular, cultura e identidad desde la perspectiva de Paulo Freire. In *Paulo Freire. Contribuciones para la pedagogía*. (p. 29 – 45). Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales (CLACSO).