

# Citizen Education and Identity Policies in the Social Historiography of the Colombian Caribbean

**Review Article**

Volume 3 Issue 1 - 2018

**Rosiris Utria Padilla\****Faculty of Human Sciences, University of Cartagena, Colombia*

**\*Corresponding author:** Rosiris Utria Padilla, Faculty of Human Sciences, University of Cartagena, Colombia, Tel: 3172223290; Email: rutriap@unicartagena.edu.co

**Received:** August 24, 2017 | **Published:** January 08, 2018

**Summary**

This paper analyzes the academic and historiographic management applied to the relationships between social conflict, public educational policies and identity politics that occurred in Colombia in the decades from 1960 to 1980. The emphasis of the analysis lies in the clarification of the role assigned by historiography social identity politics and citizen education in the claims of populations subjected to systematic relationships of false recognition. This task seeks to highlight the disagreement between the practical or ethical profile of citizen education policies and the logic of their implementation and the projection of such tensions in the historiographic analysis. The disagreement would respond to the institutionalization of identity policies based on the ideal of moral and racial eugenics erected as a condition of national unity and development. The point is that social history makes a tenuous questioning of such an ideal contributing to an ideological, substitute and coadjuvant management of the reification of such policies. In particular, the critical opacity legitimizes the underground use of the field of education as a space for the reproduction and naturalization of structural inequalities and injustices, mainly those experiences or practices of inequality or discrimination suffered by the populations now differentiated as ethnic minorities by virtue of their Afro descent. The institutionalization of such practices has hindered the full social, political, economic and cultural inclusion of this population, as well as has disfigured the struggles for the recognition of those same populations.

**Keywords:** Citizen education; Recognition; Ethnic identity; Historiography; Caribbean

This paper deals with the character of the theoretical and historiographic articulations between identity politics and citizen education applied in the historiographical studies of the Colombian Caribbean in the decades of 1960-1980. The analysis is framed within the broader framework of research on the links between education, social conflict and identity policies implemented in Colombia in the second half of the century, articulations subject to the difficulty in determining the principle of legitimacy of the political order that was wanted impose. The commitment to a stable, unified, homogeneous, progressive state is subject to the promotion of a type of man and a certain exercise of citizenship tempered by the virtue of Catholic religiosity, obedience to authorities and civility. To the extent that public education formed good workers and good citizens, well-being and harmony would gradually expand. Despite the apparent excellence of the proposed objectives, strong resistances and social conflicts are generated in the country, because, on the one hand, the defense of a centralized control system based on hierarchies of political, social, economic and regional power is radicalized. traditional justified under the mantle of homogeneity or national unity, the other, begins to raise the idea of social justice in terms of political pluralism, moral, ethnic culture and social equity. This last position joins the denunciation of unintegrated integrationism, social exclusion, educational backwardness, the oblivion or invisibility of the protagonism of the subaltern sectors

and the fact of ethnic cultural pluralism in the formation of the State.

The question is that the historical social research of the time when accounting for these tensions, causes and implications seems not to have the conceptual or comprehensive tools to articulate the emergency context of national unity as an educational project, the regional peculiarities of political, economic, social, cultural and, especially, population, depriving the latter the character of a spur or source of struggle. This work focuses on the interest in the Caribbean region, which, despite the academic acceptance of the character of its spatial, population, cultural, historical, and economic reality, and its dynamics of socialization or sociability, has been one of the last in incorporating and institutionalizing differentiated group policies to address the condition of vulnerability and injustice that the Afro-descendant and indigenous population or ethnic presence has suffered for a long time.

The research that is developed is philosophical historical cut applies a triple methodological perspective: a) analytical, we proceed to the conceptual clarification of social, political, educational categories of pathologies associated with the processes of socialization and identity formation in modern societies; b) empirical, we proceed to the review and analysis of the historiography elaborated in the period of study on the social,

political, economic, cultural dynamics, the design and application of identity policies and citizen education; c) regulations, a critical reflection is made on the evolution of the ideals that guided the policies of identity and citizen education, taking as a criterion the concept of struggles for the reciprocal recognition of the diverse.

The commitment to the conceptual clarification of the categories of social, political and educational thought used by historiography and academic literature on the processes of socialization, the formation of identities and citizen education policies in the region, implies a work that goes beyond the conventional resource of a glossary, because they are issues that go beyond the semantic aspect and the spatio-temporal delimitation to advance in the conceptual analysis, that allows to reveal or to warn the complexity and analytical limits applied to the research object. Let us begin by noting that the suggested problem, in a broad sense, extends to a large part of 20th century history, not only of Colombia, but of Latin America and the Caribbean in general, regardless of the comparison in this work, the truth is that that this period (1960-1980) is characterized by political and social upheaval, measures to overcome polarization would be implemented or tried different ways, but it is agreed that equal citizenship education would bear fruit in the long term. This flag would stumble over the essentialist or naturalistic visions of the eugenic approaches postulated in the first decades of the 20th century and that announce the idea of regenerating the race as part of a nation project that distances itself from the modern ideal of social justice. The task assumed in this work is then to consider the programs of ethical and political foundation of the integration or unification policies, of the practical basis of resistance to that project that opened the way to a constitutional and institutional change of the country in terms of policies of equalization and differentiation in the 1990s.

The definition of citizen education policies and systems as a state mechanism par excellence for directing and correcting the formation of Latin American national identities projects the same in a space of intersection of various community and individual factors that intervene in the process in different ways, this privileged place it ensures a wide margin of control and direction towards specific goals, now that functionality required some legitimacy support that in a singular way contribute, perhaps without explicit disposition, in the discursive elaborations of social researchers and professional historians about the form of government and the issues related to legitimacy and the exercise of authority, insofar as their inquiries are aimed at showing or identifying policies, their materialization and their imprint on the sound evolution of society. Such determinations would be identified in terms of interpretative or hermeneutical theoretical categories and frameworks from which events are assigned a single meaning and with this the official protagonists are revealed and the invisibility or concealment or relegation of intangible identities (which they do not fit into the categories) of other agents of history that escape generalization and all reification [1].

The dominant social historical thought in the period elaborates an understanding of the social dynamics that explains the political, economic and cultural conflicts in terms of struggle for opportunities of self-preservation of the sectors in conflict

(struggle for survival and fear of death violent), but does not question the practical foundation of the structures of power and subordination associated with those conflicts and the moral grievance produced by the negation of intersubjective and social relations mediated by principles of justice. The struggle for freedom and equality involves the extension of the conception of social justice to those situations linked to problems of diversity, which demands the redefinition of a myriad of disparate movements as struggles for recognition. This conceptual approach aims to understand how the fact that the imposition of the unworthy image of one's identity or the sustaining of relationships of false recognition has affected the possibilities of struggle for the recognition of underprivileged populations. This fact is key insofar as the definition or ascription, imposed or voluntary to groups of ethnic identity, may or may not, from the conceptual and practical point of view of the ethics of reciprocal recognition, be constituted on the basis of conformation of relations of justice or social injustice, reciprocal recognition or false recognition. The updated theory of the struggle for recognition welcomes as a practical pattern of formation a scale of social struggles that subjects and groups wage differently by the legal and social recognition of their identity [2]. A relevant aspect is to show that this approach reached a systematic but reductionist development to economic interests in Marx's version of the class struggle. Theory in which the other moral content of the struggle is taken for granted, attributing it a productive role in the historical process. This reduction maintains the theory prey to a practical conception of the struggle aimed at overcoming the antagonism of interests inherent in the structure of the social division of labor [3]. Theory that, on a historical level, is conceived as an illation of events in which the cultural demands of oppressed groups perform in an exacerbated way and reflect creatively. The narrowing of Marx's theory that passes to dominate historical and social research, marginalizes or distorts the relevance of a moral criterion from which to evaluate the justice of relations of recognition among the members of a society.

The central axis of the theory of recognition is the affirmation of the fact that identity is the result of a process of socialization that is always verified according to the same mechanism, the adoption or internalization of the image that the other constructs of me, in a process which is completed in terms of reciprocal recognition [4]. This process is developed primarily as a process of intersubjective communication, however it is not always carried out in a peaceful way but rather as a struggle (the subjects or individuals interact in dissimilar conditions), the differences in the choices generate the advantage of one and the disadvantage of the another, who can demand from the other due respect, but also who dominates requires dealing with equals for their full realization as a subject of freedom. The communicative nature of the process institutes it at the same time as a process of education, every communication process involves educating [5] formal system of education and the school as an educating institution par excellence is essentially a space and mediators of socialization and the formation of individual and collective identities, therefore acts decisively in the concession or denial of mutual recognition. The relationship between recognition and education is subordinated to the conceptualization and intentionalities of the institutionalization of education.

The connection between recognition and education is clarified in perspective of the sociological classification of education as an institution, as a field and as a sphere of socialization and identity formation [6]. As an institution, education should be based on a certain generalization of recognition or false recognition. The meaning of education as a field refers to the set of rules that determine the distribution of both symbolic capital and the rest of capital [7], being imposed rules in processes that from the theory of recognition we understand as reification or reification, contempt or “forgetfulness” or “invisibilization” [8]. In terms of scope, education embraces processes of recognition and ignorance that have their source in other institutions or social fields, which permeate the educational processes and formation of tensions associated with the nature of the field of education.

According to the work scheme, the application of the conceptual framework developed to the case of the black populations of the Colombian Caribbean region, who have suffered various experiences of institutional abandonment and deplorable living conditions that have contributed to their racial or ethnic classification as citizens of second category. In particular, it is about reflecting on the academic profile of the struggle for the recognition of these populations and their contribution to naturalizing a contemptuous image that has become accepted in a certain way by that population. The object of analysis is defined by the definition of the justification of the struggles for recognition as an object of academic and historiographical debate, with emphasis on the role assigned to the moral basis or normative justification of the demands of full integration or compensatory differentiated treatment. in political, social, economic and cultural matters of these people to collapse the distorted image that has been forged over them, opaque their efforts to achieve denied recognition.

The exegetical work applied to the consulted literature renounces to unfold in prosopography or to claim the rigor of the work of the highly specialized historian and interested in the form and circumstances in which the discourses have been structured, reproduced, silenced and documented, obligating to make rectifications in the sitting in that historiography. Fundamentally, in the social history written between the 1960s and the 1980s, dominant considerations of a normative nature are traced, that is, the presence or absence of moral judgment of the motivations or causes of social conflicts and their relation to the ethnic aspects. -racial and civic education as columns of the developing nation project. Basically, the pattern of analysis applied by academic production on the social evolution of Colombian society and the role assigned to the eugenic ideal and the identity policies (ethnic, territorial, gender) in the configuration of social conflicts is considered. contemporary This application must explicitly emphasize the academic studies of the period in the political relations that assume as the axis of internal and external tensions, leaving out the conflicts related to identities or ethnic differences (although also regional or gender).

It is considered that the academic studies of the period focus on political and economic relations, making them the axis of the conflicts unleashed in the country and the region during the study period. Thus, what is related to identities or ethnic differences

(although also regional or gender) is not touched or only addressed as a secondary issue to the partisan struggle (political parties) or class struggle. This comprehensive disengagement draws a weak connection between the study of social classes, political parties, collective actions and identity problems. The comprehensive weakness responds to the irrelevance given to problems of identity in the national order, to be projected as matters of the regional order, something strictly particular and specific, but tangential or little relevant in the conflicts or structural power relations of the nation-state in building. The analysis reveals that the academic management applied to the fledgling problem, reduces the problem of the moral grievance involved in the struggles of these populations for full guarantees of their civil rights to psychological derivative related to the class struggle or political struggle. The complexity of the situation of disadvantage suffered for a long time by that population is dissolved in the available categorical framework of relations of production, of political consumers or claims of culture, according to the applied ideological or theoretical framework. The problem is aggravated as such narrowing involves disabling the practical base -moral- that would sustain the actions of resistance and demands for equal rights of citizenship, participation, representation and social justice of these populations as struggles for recognition. It is then demanded that the line of work of the social history of education define a normative criterion of social justice from which not only describe, explain but denounce the urgency of giving a right course to the long history of false recognition suffered by such population.

Now it is true that to the extent that a self-critical posture of the historiographic discipline unfolds, certain “forgetfulness”, “silences”, “cover-ups” or limitations in the historical recount that overshadow the actions and frustrations of the ethnic racial presences are admitted throughout the national history of the twentieth century, proceeding to correct the course of professional work of the historical. The advance and impact of this new era in the scientific production of historical studies, constitutes a great step to show both the limitations of traditional social history and its practical consequences in the management of the memory of the popular, marginalized or subordinate sectors and of the possibilities of finding in this one references for the reconstruction of a positive image of themselves. In this sense, this work does not claim properly originality, but it does denounce the precariousness of the studies on the political instrumentalization of ethnic or racial differences in the conquest of demands and recognition of the moral damage suffered by populations affected by different forms of false recognition. That is, it calls for the need to identify and analyze the ethical and political implications of the type of unreasonable relationships that can occur and how citizen education policies have acted according to regional and population specificities regarding these pathologies.

Despite the abundance of studies that in the last three decades try to give voice to the discriminated, forgotten or lagging populations as historical actors due to their ethnic racial categorization by linking them as subaltern subjects or minorities, the normative framework has not been clearly defined. evaluation of the correct evolution or of the social pathologies derived

from the injury or harm caused by the exposure not only to the invisibility, but to what we understand as actions or experiences of false recognition attached to the determination of multiculturalist education policies in a political scenario and It is necessary to overcome the ideological enslavement generated both by the armed conflict and by the institutionalization of reifying identity policies [9].

Among the methodological alternatives of the most recent traditional social history, the history of life has opened a type of study of social reality that broadens the heuristic horizon by assigning a renewed and necessary role to factors and elements ignored by traditional historiography on the same social reality (Sarabia, 1987, p.197). Likewise, the proposal to reincorporate the concept of race in the formation of identities in the Colombian Caribbean -as it does, for example: Aline Helg (2004). Likewise, the history of culture has been claiming creativity in the exercise of social action, in the case of the black population of the Caribbean has exalted the versatility (not restricted to conventional categories of analysis) for political insertion in the Republican project of nation (mainly in the electoral colleges), although in an individual and opportunist way in front of the rivalry between the sectors (aristocratic fanfares and merchants) regents of the political scene (Jorge Conde, 2002). This type of analysis deals with conceptual iterations to distinguish between popular culture and elitist culture, defining in each case the presuppositions and conditions that establish the border line between social sectors that come into contact.

Without pretending an inventory of all the new lines of revisionist work on the projection and scope of social and historiographical studies on the subject of which we are dealing, the critique of the paradigms, criteria or study patterns of the populations of interest have really given light and open roads. For example to review the state of social evolution of the nation and the conflicts that have marked the life of the Colombian State in the last sixty years. It begins to raise the need for evaluations that allow an informed stance on the unfounded or pathological development of the policies and decisions that could have an impact on the fragmentation and the chronic nature of the state of armed social conflict (Rueda, 2001; [9]). However, in the case of populations driven to insult their racial and territorial status in order to aspire to be subjects of rights, that is, to aspire to have "right to rights" [10], a perspective has not been defined. clear analysis. How to investigate or understand the determining role of citizen education with an identity politics profile in the rooting of the contemptuous image of a subject institutionally classified as little valuable, as well as the legitimization of that image in the register and academic approach signed by the uncritical assumption of the determinations of that construction and of its naturalization in the historical and sociological memory, source of generalized expectations of behavior of that population.

The search for recognition and social mobility constitutes a sphere of conflicts and confrontations in which strategies of self-image or assessment of individual and group identity are implemented, less by the location in the socioeconomic hierarchy than by differentiating practices (culturally and ethnically). about dignity and moral value [6]. Presence that sees in education

the resource for its consolidation, being this the new field of confrontations and combats for equality and equal respect. The educational field is configured in a space of correction or legitimization of injustices by positioning itself as a device for the promotion of the ideals of stability and defense of society, by introducing citizenship education policies in generators of identity and recognition or of disagreement and conflict between those who They make up the educational community and between these and those who for various reasons (racial, cultural or economic, to name a few) are excluded from it. In the same way that education is considered as a factor of cohesion and social inclusion, it also seems to be projected, among other things, as an institutional barrier to change, in particular with regard to education.

This statement connects with the issue of the capacity of action of the subject involved in relationships of false recognition, their capacity for resistance or mobilization of the subjects will depend on their identification as a fully differentiated or nuanced subject in relation to their gear to the productive system as a peasant , worker, worker (artisans) or marginalized. Once the veil is lifted, the historical dimension of the action of these populations emerges in essentialist and instrumentalist perspectives linked to the territories. It is clear that the efforts to make his voice heard still demand a long way. How can you speak, on behalf of who has been submitted and recognized only from the definitions or ideological theoretical synthesis [11].

The question about the voice of the Caribbean Negro is subsumed by the question of the voice of those who have been prevented from making an impact, or in the Arendtian language, for action. The boundaries move between the ethical and the epistemological, in the gap opened both by the understanding of the subaltern subject and a concrete socio-historical subject, as well as by the difficulty of representing it as such in our disciplinary discourse and in practice within the academic world. The novelty is the commitment to the articulation of a regime of political integration and improvement of the social level of coexistence that involves the idea of nation-state, with a subordinate and passive sense of citizenship to the constituted powers. This articulation demands and legitimizes the control and vigilance of civil society from academic work and moralistic training. It is time for a provisional closure, I insist on the need to overcome the limitations of each of the theoretical frameworks applied by social studies, especially by historiography, which allows not only evidence but reorientation of the role of socio-racial determinations, cultural, political and economic and even religious (identity) in conflicts or obstacles to the construction of a democratic State of law. Comprehensive or theoretical reductionism has been key in the apparent legitimization of the instrumentalization of citizen education as a field of undermined recognition of population sectors subjected for a long time to different experiences of false recognition. The struggles for the recognition of Afro-descendant populations that have inhabited the Colombian Caribbean have been analyzed by social research as a psychological derivative or subsidiary of the class struggle, stripping them of their protagonism in the struggle for political representation and reducing it to cultural demands. So that: the situation of the populations subject to experiences of false recognition must be observed as a pathology attached to

the deficiencies in the system of justice, solidarity and political and legal stability. The politics of citizen education in Colombia has been structured on the basis of a model of racial and moral eugenics conceived by the heirs of the hierarchical structures of a failed republic project, in which the Caribbean region with its black population has been systematically exposed to false recognition relationships. The identity policies related to eugenics ideology makes the social integration and individual autonomy of the personal or group management of the populations affected by their typecasting dependent on contemptuous images of their own worth, so that the claims only apply in function of the voluntary, fortuitous or interested ascription to a network of beliefs, supposedly ancestral practices, but in disuse and particular languages equally in disuse, configuring reified identities. The absence of autonomous public policies on education is particularly problematic to develop educational programs, strategies and norms specifically oriented towards the due recognition of populations traditionally subjected to different forms of contempt for their racial identification, programs that should be committed to seeing and making these populations as equally valuable members of the same social world, not as beneficiaries of the moral progress of the classes and sectors or populations privileged by the lottery of nature and historical endeavor [12-24].

## References

1. Basaure M (2011) Reificación y crítica de las patologías sociales en el marco del proyecto de teoría crítica de Axel Honneth. *Revista Enrahonar* 46: 75-91.
2. Ricoeur P (2006) *Caminos del reconocimiento*. Madrid, España, Spain, pp. 2-165.
3. Honneth A (2009) *Pathologies of Reason*.
4. Mead, George H (1973) *Espíritu, persona y sociedad*. Barcelona, España: Paidós, pp1-404.
5. Dewey J (1995) *Democracia y educación*. One introduction to the filosofía de la formation. Publicado originalmente por The Macmillan Company, Spain. p. 2-13.
6. Bourdieu P (2007) Los tres estados del capital cultural In: Pierre, (Eds.), Bourdieu Pierre, *Campo del Poder y reproducción social*, Córdoba, Argentina, p.11-17.
7. Bourdieu P (1997) *Pastoral meditations*. Paris, France: Threshold.
8. Honneth A (2006) El reconocimiento como ideología. *ISEGORÍA* 35: 129-150.
9. Maya A (2001) *Memorias in conflict of interest in Colombia: discriminación hacia los Negros* In: Daniel Mato (compilador), *Estudios Latinoamericanos sobre Cultura y Transformaciones Sociales in global tempo-2: Caracas and Buenos Aires: UNESCO and Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales (CLACSO), USA*, pp. 179-194.
10. Arendt H (1975) *The origins of the totalitarianism*, Bueno Aires, Argentina: Grupo Santillana de Ediciones, Colombia, pp. 2-427.
11. Spivak GC (1998) ¿Puede el subalterno hablar?. *Orbis Tertius. Gayatri Chakravorti Spivak Columbia University* 3(6): 1-44.
12. Bourdieu P (1998) *Male domination*. Paris, France: Threshold.
13. Conde CJ (2002) *Identidades políticas y grupos poder en los inicios de República*. In *Historia Caribe* 2(7): 29-42.
14. Herrera MC (1999) *Modernización y escuela nueva in Colombia: 1914-1951*. Bogotá, Plaza y Janés, Colombia, pp. 1-282.
15. Honneth A (2004) El reconocimiento como ideología. *ISEGORÍA* 129-150.
16. Honneth A (1997) *La lucha por el reconocimiento*. There is a moral grammar of social conflicts. *108(3): 619-620*.
17. Maya R, Ay Bonnet V (2016) *Balance of knowledge of the history of Colombia al inicio del siglo XXI: Homenaje a Jaime Jaramillo Uribe*. Bogotá 55.
18. Rendón JCV (2007) *The disputed intelectual por el sentido of the revolucion of independencia in the Nueva Granada. Una lectura comparada of Juan García del, Anu colomb histo soc cult Número 34: 85-120*.
19. Santos B de S (1998) *De la mano de Alicia. Lo social y lo político postmodernidad*. Traductora Consuelo Bernal-Mauricio García. Bogotá: Siglo del Hombre, Ediciones, (Eds.), Colombia, pp. 3-234.
20. Solano S (2008) *Informed by the los gobernadores de las Provincias del Real Sucre Department 1861-1882. Colección Historia, Memoria y Patrimonio, Cartagena, Universidad de Cartagena, Colombia, pp. 3-330*.
21. Tovar ZB (1994) *The history of the last of the milenio: ensayos of historiografía colombiana y latinoamericana*, Bogotá, Universidad nacional de Colombia 2: 1-20.
22. Tovar Pinzón H (2017) *Estado real histories of demographics in Colombia*, in *Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura*, Bogotá 44(2).
23. Todorov T (1995) *Nosotros y los otros: Reflexión sobre la diversidad humana*, trad. by Martí Mur Ubasart, Mexico, p. 3-8.
24. Utria PR (2015) *Luchas Por El Reconocimiento En El Caribe Colombiano, 1960-1980. Tesis doctoral. Cartagena, Colombia: Universidad de Cartagena-Rudecolombia, Colombia, pp. 1-312*.