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Exactly 8 months ago to the day in Rio de Janeiro, Marielle Franco was assassinated after speaking at an event called *Young Black Women Moving Power Structures*. Once a young activist from the Maré favela complex, she evinced the deeply racialized, gendered, and capitalist nature of Rio's growing violence and exclusion. At 38, Marielle was the fifth most voted Councilwoman in Rio and the only queer Black woman on the council.

Just last month, despite a far right turn on the national scale, four more Black women from Rio's peripheries were elected into congress and state political office. They were inspired by or worked with Marielle, and like many others, they demand justice to know *who killed Marielle*.

I raise them because they bring to the fore a battle around education and democracy that rages on. These women consistently highlight their trajectories as educators as their struggles - working-class, anti-racist, feminist, and socialist - move from the streets and classrooms to political office. My work more broadly places innovative, feminist forms of political resistance like theirs -- in conversation with popular education -- and similarly critical pedagogy, a philosophy that considers education and teaching as political acts tied to social justice and democracy.

Remarkably, these politicians, like Marielle, present themselves as products of and educators in the *curso pré-vestibular comunitário* or CPV -- a course that prepares students for the college entrance exam, the vestibular. Something like U.S. SAT-prep courses with extra classes on slavery, the dictatorship, LGBT rights. Once reserved for elite students who paid for courses and entered the best public universities, the "popular" or "community" CPV emerged most visibly since the mid 1990s in Brazil. No small phenomenon, there are hundreds in Rio alone, with about 50 that operate according to this hybridity that I explore through ethnography.

Taliria Petrone from Rio, one of the recently elected congresswoman from PSOL, boasted on Instagram that the main national entrance exam, ENEM, had questions about Martin Luther King, George Orwell, femicide, the internet, harassment, memory, democracy. “Education resists!”

“Next year,” a commenter suggested, “will it cite the bible?” An exam—arguably the world’s most unspectacular object of ethnography – becomes a terrain of contesting democracy. Spectacular are practices in the 9 months leading up to the exam day and its stakes.

On a Saturday I went to one of the aulões in Maré in a converted daycare, where purple Marielle silhouette stencils frame a whiteboard. Edu, a long-time educator there who also taught part of the early cohorts of Marielle, Renata Souza and others explained to me:

“It’s what we talk about more in terms of citizenship, right? Of the importance of us preparing students, of education beyond the exam [*para além da prova*]: of the student, of the citizen who will interfere in society.”

It became clear in my preliminary research – a multi cited ethnography of CPVs that is still in very early stages – that this *além* is essential for youth, co-founders, and educators. Alongside preparing students for the exam, the CPVs I’ve been researching have another goal related to the stuff that may enter on an exam but not necessarily.

In this paper I argue that interrogating explanations of *além da prova*, sparks spontaneous and theorizing about the makings of democracy and citizenship. The explanations that I begin introduce are versions of citizenship, iterations of democracy, renditions of resistance.

In an early attempt to inquire about what *além da prova* means, I made an approximation, asking something about the activism part and a co-founder of a CPV quickly corrected me. “Activism? No, that’s individual. It’s more like citizen consciousness: *consciência cidadã*.”

- For the EducAfro CPV, it's having a test on "Citizenship" before one can enter the course; and that kind of citizenship is knowing something about Blackness.
- A way of leading classes, a mix of Freire, Gadotti – which some educators are tested on before volunteering to start
- Teaching 'culture' with examples of favela culture, of funk. Teaching math, with reminders of it's African origins.
- For others it is courses on social movements and current events, special "big classes" / *aulões* on the dictatorship, history of the favela – and topics that currently in the air and in tension.

For the most part, the CPV visions are close to those of the 2003 Affirmative Action policy. With a good score on the exam – the sole criteria for entrance into the public university –working class, Black, indigenous students can enter in a university for the few, working to counter the low percentage - 12% - of Black students in universities in a country where over 54% of Brazilians are Black. As an educational project to overturn decades of elitism and racialized and class-based exclusion, CPVs started this work far before the 2003 quota policy, and it continues a struggle alongside it.

Then, upon graduating from the university, students would have the possibility of class mobility, lending toward a sort of evening out; *practicing in the CPV for a more democratic university, for a more democratic society*. The CPV interrupts ideas of Paul Willis- style education as reproduction of the working class. But Arnaldo, a young history and sociology educator, warned of the danger of thinking of class mobility alone: just by graduating and moving up doesn't guarantee you won't be coopted by capitalism, buy into a consumer class, *forget where you come from*.

For most students and educators, the *além* was about the importance of the CPV in becoming who they were, their explicitly political education - *formação política*. "The CPV prepares us to enter the university *as a political act*," is how Aline put it to me. I entered the ethnographic with some history with Aline, and a few others who I have known since living in Rio from 2010 to 2016.

Their trajectories across this time add a dimension to what I can observe in the present.

Edu told me about a group that formed out of a CPV one year: “It wasn’t like “we’re talking about politics, so let’s elect someone. It’s because there is a big resistance because that democracy that you probably saw [gesturing], completely failed.... “the election [before] of progressive candidates, doesn’t change that much, but in our heads it changes a lot. People think more about the world, even if that doesn’t manifest into a vote. Because *I think democracy is much more than a vote* – [it has to do with] that *people debate more*. That is important.”

So what can we make of a kind of citizenship schooling, ***debate democracy, a dialogue democracy***? In times of tenuous Democracy of the national nature, in times of uncertain political democracy, I argue that these *everyday makings of democracies, practicing of the future* that I focus on in my overall project with youth in multiple scales of temporality and mobility - become more pressing than ever.

I am exploring the educational contours of these everyday democracy makings. At first popular education – most known with Freire’s pioneering work - was instrumental to spread of literacy, which, with urbanization worked to bring political rights, The Vote. But a critical place where it resurfaced and is being reconfigured in the contemporary is the CPV. Dialogue, critical consciousness – the Freire-like elements – like citizen consciousness, are all part of these everyday makings of democracy of dialogue, of learning *learning to debate*. The last aula, big class, debate I went to was on religious tolerance – sparked by an experience of students who were calling some Evangelical peers “closed minded.” Current and former students, the bigger community, sat before 4 religious leaders as the sun baked through side walls and across the Marielle stencils.

Individual meaning making and identity - learning about oneself – from a dialogical or Bakhtinian sense, about one’s place in the world, in a Black feminist collective sense, of what I gathered in an ethnographic sense. Oneself,

one in relation to the world, how one might respond and develop empathy. These dialogic practices mold the larger, collective democratic. For Freire, developing the power to critically perceive one's position in the world involves seeing the world as a reality in transformation. For some it was about the exam too: "if students have to write compelling arguments," one coordinator who was a former student argued, "they need to have issues of the world about which to argue, right?"

And so in these dialogues— discussions where knowledge is not banked and but fostered and disseminated – can be thought of as rehearsings of citizenship. Through the CPV students are **practicing democracy** through the subversive, political act of being a potential university student, being *além*, beyond a potentially mobile social class. To use a phrase from Tianna Paschel, becoming in the sense of becoming Black political subjects. Most will not enter the university, and most do not finish the CPV. Yet even for some who come through the CPV once, twice, three times, they evoke the CPV as a space of political sociality, a kind of first critical, political education, an orientation to the world.

Ethnographic work is necessary to interrogate this unusual "in between" – not just between the exam and the democracy-implicating *além*, but between political space: just upon leaving (state) schooling, youth experience CPVs (non-state, social movement-driven) before entering the (state) university. But the emergent begs the question: in what universities are students preparing to enter?

Perhaps the mostly volunteer-nature of CPVs work to their favor now; their survival, though, is threatened by political, economic, and ideological blows to public education at all levels to the tune of "escola sem partido" a conservative cry for 'school without political party affiliation'.

In the present, are everyday doings of democracy necessarily resistance? Arnaldo deemed being a CPV educator the most direct kind of activism one could engage in to challenge social injustice. The lefty academic talk was a kind of posturing of micro theory. He gestured to the *além* as 'militância' - then corrected himself: *resistência*. Nós por nós: us from the favela for the favela.

Theorizing this “in between” space, theorizing the substance that is beyond an exam but so inseparable from an exam, is resistance terrain.

Marielle – and the Black, the favela resistance, the elenao, the feminist resistance – are current doings of democracy. Insistence on justice for her death. Insistence on critical pedagogy in a transnational era of fake news. Taliria said just after being elected, “it is a tool for transforming social reality.” This tool, the além, beyond, is at a vector of test prep, individual aspiration, collective justice – the language of resistance, citizenship, democracy – remade by youth in the emergent.

“Recordar dói. Recordar dói, as vezes,” Edu told me as we got up from a stair and moved to a class. If ethnography investigates the emergent, what will be of the spaces in which youth learn about memory, in which they create futures?