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Vagabond of the obvious: a biobibliographical presentation of Paulo Freire

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VAGABOND OF THE OBVIOUS: A BIOBIBLIOGRAPHICAL PRESENTATION
OF PAULO FREIRE

Iowa State University

PH.D. 1984

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Vagabond of the obvious:
A biobibliographical presentation of Paulo Freire

by

Jorge Jeria

**A Dissertation Submitted to the
Graduate Faculty in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

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INTRODUCTION

I first came into contact with Freire's work during my studies at the Catholic University of Valparaiso in Chile in 1970. Reading Pedagogia del Oprimido was obligatory for those taking education courses. However, outside of the classroom in the countryside and especially in the agricultural sector, workers were already practicing what we students were learning. "Authentic dialog between learners and educators as equally knowing subjects, that is what schools should be."¹

Later, in 1971, I worked in a literacy program in the rural and urban areas of the province of Valparaiso under the auspices of the Catholic University and the Chilean government. This opened the door for me to a completely new vision of the concept of "pedagogy." The program was conducted as a training ground for teachers in the school of education. We had the opportunity of working with illiterate peasants and urban workers in a program of literacy. It was this experience that continued my interest in Freire's ideas.

In 1980, Paulo Freire returned to Brazil after 15 years in exile that took him around the world. Upon his return, he went back to university teaching. During those years in exile, life in Brazil had changed. Therefore, upon his return, he found himself in "a reencounter with his country." In commenting upon his return, he said, "I return with the humble conviction that exile has not given me the right to teach Brazil, but the opportunity to know the country better." He added, "Brazil did not stop while we were away and we exiles are back home to learn everything over again, even how to cross a street."²

Back in Brazil, Freire did not stop working, teaching, or making headlines. In April 1981, a vacancy for the post of Rector at the University of Campinas occurred. This university--with a population of 7,000 students (40 percent of them graduates), 1,700 faculty members and 2,000 general workers located in one of the most densely populated areas of Brazil--went on strike. As the time for filling the vacancy for the new rector grew closer, students and faculty objected to the appointment of a new rector by a council named by the governor of the state. Instead, they requested participation by the students and faculty in the election. An attempted maneuver by the sitting rector and the governor to outnumber those who opposed the election of a new rector by a council brought a big demonstration and strike by students and faculty. Hence, a symbolic election was held in which Paulo Freire was elected as rector with 6,730 votes.³ Freire received a massive response and recognition from different sectors of the society, for example, the Catholic church, labor unions, intellectuals, and university faculty.

One of the reasons for his popularity in Brazil, besides his long history of work with the Brazilian people, was that he was continually invited to participate in conferences on university campuses in Brazil. He said, "many times students are more interested in hearing about our experiences around the world and our literacy efforts to demythologize education." Freire's efforts have not been limited to academic work, but have been extended to an active participation in politics in the country as well. He participated in the newly formed "Workers Party" (PT) which made its debut supporting the candidacy for governor, Evaristo do Santo "Lula." He was the leader of the metalworker's union of São Paulo.

Together with his continuous work at the University of São Paulo (USP) and the University of Campinas (UNICAMP), Freire lectured throughout Brazil. During university recesses, he lectured in other countries, especially the United States and Canada, offering seminars and workshops. Living in a small apartment outside São Paulo, he confided that he did not have time to answer all of the letters that he received asking him to participate in seminars and courses in universities around the world. He received letters from people engaged in literacy and community work, and students writing dissertations seeking advice, both in Brazil and outside the country. Even in seminars that he offers, Freire tries to find time with his wife Elza to answer questions from those engaged in research about his ideas, and theories. He wants to offer help to those people who are trying to implement new literacy projects.

As Paulo Freire pointed out repeatedly, "people are subject to history, they make history, so they transcend." Freire's ideas have evolved from an initial naïvete to a more perceptive and clearer position in his educational proposal. In his educational ideas, there has been always a clarity in pursuing "the role of culture in the liberation process."⁴ This has been a central axis of his work. At the same time, Freire's life has been characterized by a level of upheaval which transcends that experienced by most educators.

It is also important to note that many people still do not recognize the validity of Freire's educational propositions, and also that not many educators can conjugate philosophical thought that seems to be in disparity at first glance. But once confronted to an objective reality,

they integrate, being possible to bring them to a synthesis.

Freire's name has begun to appear frequently in pedagogical literature. Although his work is closely linked with literacy, it appears in a large range of social science studies. This is important, since Freire believes that it is "our function to rename the world"--that is to create and recreate from existing knowledge.

Despite his prominence, I have tried not to mythologize or maintain Freire's image of the "guru" of radical education. Rather, I have tried to show him as a person who has acted in and reacted to the different historical times in which he was living. I think he was able to interpret reality while participating in that time. He seems to have been able to make full use of his time and understand its conditions. I believe that we must be aware, as Freire himself has expressed, that the proposed task does not have a time limit, but is a work that can transcend ourselves.

NOTES

1. Paulo Freire, "The Adult Literacy Process as Cultural Action for Freedom," Harvard Educational Review 40 (May 1970): 214.
2. Paulo Cannabrava, "The Politics of the Three R's," Third World 7 (1981): 66.
3. Penny Lernoux, "Brazilian University Embroiled in Conflict as Controversial Educator is Chosen Rector," The Chronicle of Higher Education 16 (Dec. 1981): 19. Veja "Lista arquivada," Veja (Oct. 28 1981): 121.
4. Paulo Cannabrava, p. 68.

CHAPTER I. EARLY YEARS OF LIFE

Paulo Freire's father, Joaquin Temistocles Freire, was born in Rio Grande do Norte at a time when many people were moving from the arid and impoverished region of northeastern Brazil to cities in the contiguous state of Pernambuco. Droughts in the northern areas and economic changes due to the introduction of sugar cane caused migration to the city of Recife in the late 1800s. In fact, the main impetus for the rapid expansion of Recife's population was the introduction of usinas (sugar refineries) after 1885.¹ The city became a magnet, attracting both poor and middle class people as commerce and public services expanded.

By 1920, the population of the city was over 239,000 and growing. The population increase brought the expansion of public services and of civil servants for the state and the federal governments. Military establishments of state and federal militia also increased, especially after World War I.² It is not surprising that many of the people coming from the northern part of the country had jobs related to the military structure. Being part of the military, especially in the upper ranks, was not always a secure job. Pay was low, but the prestige was high. Living on a modest income, those in the upper ranks patterned their lives after the elite, considering themselves as gente bem--good families--and responsible citizens of the republic, modern and civilized.³

After settling in Recife, Joaquin T. Freire, an officer of the military police of Pernambuco, married Edeltrudes Neves from Pernambuco. To this marriage four children were born: three boys and one girl. The

youngest was born on 19 September 1921. He was baptized with the name Paulo. During that time, the family lived in the district of Estrada do Encaramento on the north side of Recife. The city itself was divided in different sections, the most fashionable of which are Boa Vista, Casa Forte, Casa Amarela, and Derby. These sections have spacious townhouses for members of the upper and middle classes. At the other extreme, the urban poor lived in mocambos (cottages) or in cortiços (barracks), low houses of crumbling concrete situated in airless winding, narrow streets.⁴

By 1923, general living conditions were so bad in Recife that half of the residents lived in mocambos. Furthermore, the infant mortality rate, which can be used as an indicator of wealth in Recife, was higher than in French and Belgian cities during 1650-1755 and definitely higher than in any other Brazilian city.⁵ This sets a scene that would be familiar during the years that Freire was growing up. Inequalities in economic and social conditions in Northeastern Brazil have been repeatedly pointed out by Celso Furtado, Josue de Castro, and other authors.⁶

Early Life in the City of Recife

A "spiritist" father who provided loving care to his family, as Freire put it, and a devoted Christian mother were for Paulo, the environment that he later remembered as one of the better moments of his life. This atmosphere of freedom of choice, respect for others, and a dialog that always existed in his family were Paulo's earliest learning situation. He would say later: "My father's respect for my mother's

religious belief, taught me from infancy to respect the choices of others."⁷

Speaking about his mother, Freire said: "She was kind and just; she was a devout Catholic, always confident in God." Then Freire, reaffirming his position in a dialogical position, said: "With my parents I learned to dialog. I seek this dialog permanently now with the world, the people, God, my wife, and my children."⁸ In this quotation, it is interesting to note the sequence that Freire uses in referring to his dialog--the world and its people are first, followed by those who are close to him. Perhaps this is the influence of existentialist thinking. The world and the people, along with his family, are a unit linked by historical considerations.

The Freire children were allowed to choose their own paths in life according to their interests. Throughout this early period in Recife, young Paulo had the possibility of dialog with his parents. Freire remembered his father as "a really dialogical man and not an authoritarian man."⁹ It is interesting to note that Freire considers his own experiences as dialogical--that is, deep communication existed between his father and himself. This dialog was important for Freire because he was respected as a son and was able to say "no" to his father. Freire's later emphasis on a quest for dialog characterized the method employed for literacy in Brazil. He describes the dialog situation in his own words as one of the most important and difficult. In Brazil, he says, "A major problem in setting up the literacy program is instructing the teams of coordinators. Teaching the purely technical aspect of the procedure is not difficult; the difficulty lies rather in the creation of

a new attitude, that of dialog so absent in your own upbringing and education."¹⁰ The basis of his method, which he ultimately labelled conscientização, would be dialog as a horizontal relationship between people. As Karl Jasper put it, dialog is the only way for me to become myself and for other men to become themselves. Freire explained that his own father neither showed authority "as a father," nor used a grave or loud voice. His authority was there without the need to show it.

This father/son relationship was particularly strengthened when Freire explained that he was becoming a Roman Catholic. This was the occasion for one of the best and deepest impressions that his father left on him. Freire said: "When I was seven years old, I went to him and I said. 'Next Sunday I will go to church to make my first communion. He kissed me and said O.K. Fantastic. And he went with me, without believing, but with absolute respect for my belief'."¹¹ This is probably one of the most important moments in Freire's life, at least as measured by the frequency with which he has referred to the experience. Those who have written short accounts of his life have invariably included it as one of his most interesting and deepest impressions. His father was not a Catholic practitioner, but rather a spiritualist. He did not follow the Catholic church nor the Protestant church. He showed, however, an open mind to his family by expressing no disapproval of his son's religious choice.

Freire's idea that the teacher learns from the learner comes from the relationship with his parents: mutual respect, dialog, free choice-- something that he later decided was unusual among northeastern Brazilian families. One of the basic characteristics of Freire's process of

learning is respect for the learners through dialog. The way he put his method into practice probably has its roots in this early experience. Freire remembers trying in his early days of teaching Portuguese in a secondary school to establish a dialog with those engaged in the education of the children. "I tried above all to establish a relationship between the parents and the teachers mediated by the students, the children trying to discuss with the parents some problems which their children had at school."¹²

Freire remembers his house in the barrio of Casa Amarela as "spacious," with a large backyard, containing many mango trees and space to work and play.¹³ During Paulo's first ten years, the Freire family lived a life without many problems, except for those of a middle-class family in Recife.

During the ten years that he lived in the Casa Amarela section of Recife, Paulo Freire had his first educational experience "under the shadow of a tree." Here, he learned from his parents the alphabet, his first words, and his earliest readings. "My father introduced me to the process of literacy," he later said.¹⁴

Jabotão, the Period of Economic Difficulty

During the 1920s and 1930s, northeastern Brazil offered few economic alternatives. The Great Depression further aggravated the already shaky economy of the city of Recife. Migration from the coastal cities to the interior or to the newly developing industrial centers, especially São Paulo, were the signs of difficult times. At the national level, the country, which had been dominated by an oligarchy of the coffee growers

and an axis of cattle producers, fell under the pressure of new interest groups. The 1930 Revolution, as it was called, brought an end to republican structures that had been created in the decade of 1890. New models were sought including new economic forms to fight the deep economic problems in which the country was submerged. New answers to those problems of political and economic situations were needed. The raise of the Vargas government, without changing radically the structures of the political spectrum of Brazil, gave to the country a facade of modernization through massive industrialization. It also gave the coffee industrialists the support needed to recover from the depression. Thus, the country entered an era of incipient industrial modernization, leaving the interior of the country to rural plantation owners.

For the Freire family, the 1930s were difficult years. His father lost his job as a military police officer, as a consequence of the general economic depression. Thus, Recife was no longer the place where the family could survive and live as it had before. In 1931, the family moved to Jabotão, a city thirty-five kilometers west of Recife. Here, they hoped to find economic stability and better conditions to rear children. Jabotão was becoming industrialized. For that reason, an extensive railroad development was in progress. Industries such as textiles, paper mills, and large sugar engenhos (farms) occupied the farmland of this municipality of Pernambuco. This attracted many people seeking to make a living. Another phase in Paulo Freire's life began here as he grew up. New "existential experiences," in the words of Freire, added to his life during this period. Jabotão would also bring painful experiences--the loss of his father, economic deterioration of

the family, and finally hunger.

The loss of the Recife house for a smaller one in Jabotão was in a way the loss of prestige and pride for the family. Freire later criticized this period as one in which the family tried to keep a petty-bourgeois identity that it could not maintain. This was symbolized through "status objects" such as a German piano and his father's necktie. These were the items that linked the family to a social structure to which they had aspired but not really belonged. It was the idealization of the middle class or, as Max Weber put it, they were defending a "particular style of life with all its subjective elements: belief, values, manners, and symbols."¹⁵

This symbolism is particularly evident in some groups as expressed through a special lifestyle. It is expected of those who believe that they belong to a special circle or who wish to appear to belong.¹⁶ These symbols require the correct use of language, dress, mannerism, and indeed, an upper strata culture that is difficult to acquire in Latin America unless one grows up in or near that environment. Was Freire's family trying to live on borrowed status? He thinks so.

The Experience of Hunger in School Days

During Paulo's early days in Jabotão many problems developed, especially with his school work and the impossibility of being well-nourished.¹⁷ He thinks that he had many learning problems at this stage, and many of those problems he later used in developing his theory. Those early years were hard. He fell behind his schoolmates and, according to him, some of his teachers believed that he had "a mild mental

retardation." This was another important experience in his life. Some authors have said that in the same way that the symbolic maintenance of middle class identity spared him to worse depression, so can the devastating experience of hunger and school retardation and his works with the trade union in his own opinion be singled out as the milestones of his personal road toward the understanding of oppression.¹⁸

Thus, Freire began grammar school, which proved to be in some ways very difficult because of his problems in learning. As a child, his time was spent in school and with friends and brothers, which he remembers as a time of friendship and struggle for hunger. He explains his experience of being hungry when he says: "We are hungry when we don't know when we can overcome the hunger. At this moment we have known what it is to be hungry. During my childhood I needed to steal because I was hungry. I needed to kill birds with a sling. I needed to fish. I needed to eat. I learned a lot at that time in spite of my childhood."¹⁹ With friends he stole fruits from backyards, fished on the nearby creek (and had his first sexually enlightening experience: "I saw a naked girl in the river.")²⁰ Thus, it is correct to say that Paulo Freire understood the problems of the oppressed since childhood.

Paulo Freire's family members survived the hard times in different ways. The difficulties made Paulo and his brothers integrate with others—"connective children" as Freire once put it. That is, they tenuously belonged to the middle class. But at the same time they had friends from this social class position, they also had others among workers and peasants. Therefore, they established "connections."

In elementary school, Freire had problems with learning. In some

cases, spelling was difficult for him,—he used to write the word "ratón" (mouse) with two "rr's." He recalls, among other problems, difficulty in understanding the lessons of geography and language which according to him did not make any sense:

The times I spent repeating France's capital Paris, England's capital London and I would close my eyes and repeat and repeat, France's capital Paris, England's capital London. But the only geography I could understand at that time was the geography of my hunger and not London and Paris. It did not make sense. So it was tremendously difficult and at that time I thought I was stupid because I was not able to understand what I was reading.²¹

Until 1971, Brazilian education consisted of three levels: (1) primary, four years; (2) middle level, first cycle or ginasio four years and a second cycle or colegio three or four years, and higher. Middle level school in both its cycles consisted of three branches, secondary, technical and normal school, the latter for primary school teacher training. All three branches of middle level education were supposed to be equivalent in qualifying a student for higher education. In reality, however, the ginasio or purely academic branch was considered the most prestigious and attracted more than eighty percent of all middle school students.

In 1937 at the age of 16, Paulo Freire entered secondary school.²² He recalls that he was admitted with enormous difficulties. We must say that in order to enter this level, the Brazilian education system requires an examination for all the students who wanted to enter the ginasio. These exams were called exames de madureza. These exams were held at two levels: as equivalent of first cycle school graduation for students

over eighteen and of secondary level school for students over twenty-one. The madureza exams authorized private schools to organize paid tests and to issue diplomas. As a consequence of this, "the standards of the test differ widely and inversely with the inscription fee."²³ In some cases, people moved to different places in order to enter in these exams according to the easiness or difficulty of the exam.

Physically Freire thought at sixteen he was not well-developed "not too tall and very thin." He had reached his adult height of five feet six inches, but had not acquired the "solid build" he now exhibits with more less the same height of today.²⁴ At this stage, Freire was able to continue his studies with an experience that would translate later into practical work.

Freire has not spoken or written much about his life from age 16 to his early twenties. He completed his secondary studies well-enough to teach Portuguese in a ginasio and to gain admission to the University of Recife.

In 1943, another turning point in the life of Freire began. He married Elza Maria Costa de Oliveira from Recife. Elza, an elementary school teacher in Recife and later school principal, would give him encouragement in following his ideals. Elza continually served as a support and was part of several projects in Brazil, Chile, and Guinea Bissau.²⁵ According to Paulo, Elza has exercised a strong influence: "without her it would have been a very difficult task to write the Pedagogy of the Oppressed," whether submitting ideas or just encouragement. "She is an extension of the dialogue that I learned with my parents." From this marriage, five children expanded the family,

Magalena, Cristina, Fatima, Joaquín, and Lutgardes. It is a family that, according to Freire, represents all his life.

The family knew difficulty as well as good times. There were periods of uncertainty when Paulo was in prison in Rio de Janeiro and Elza ran to different places trying to find him without knowing his whereabouts. But they shared calm moments in Santiago and, as she said "in Cambridge we used to ride the bicycle in the afternoons in the tranquility of the neighborhood."²⁶ Freire ascribes to Elza all loving characteristics when he talks about her: "her courage, comprehension, her capacity of love, her interest in everything that I do, her help--and the fact that she never denied her support even in the most difficult situations" made her a cornerstone in his life.²⁷ Learning, Freire says, never ended, "first with our five children and later with the people. They are our greatest teachers."

Another important development in Freire's life happened while he was a student at the University of Recife. Elza and he joined the youth part (JUC) of the University Catholic Action group. This group "was oriented towards the spreading of generally accepted Catholic ideas and the stimulation of religiously approved behavior by means of the active participation of Catholic militants in their own milieu, that of the university."²⁸ In the country as a whole in the early years, the movement seemed more concerned with spiritual matters than social reality. The exception to this was the university group in Recife which was more preoccupied with the concept of society and social change and acutely aware of the conditions of poverty and hunger in the Northeast. The development of JUC in other more radical groups such as Popular

Action (AP) in Brazilian life during the early sixties would continue to be important in the development of Freire's thought and work.

After his marriage, Freire began studying more systematically, especially the Portuguese language and education. He was more interested in education, philosophy, and psychology than in law courses. In the latter, he confesses, "I was an average student."

In 1945, Paulo Freire graduated from the University of Recife as a lawyer. He opened a practice in Recife with two colleagues from the university. His major work consisted in small claims and as he said, "my first case was also the last one." He describes his first case as a debt. "After talking to a young dentist, a debtor, shy and fearing, at our desk I sent him in peace."²⁹

Thus, Paulo Freire's early years offered the beginning of what he would accomplish later. Slowly, the conditions in which his work would be founded were starting to take form. All through this time, he remained convinced that something must be done for those "wretched on the earth."

NOTES

1. Robert Levine, Pernambuco in the Brazilian Federation, 1889-1937 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1978), p. 15.
2. Levine, p. 143.
3. Levine, p. 58.
4. Levine, p. 59.
5. Levine, p. 165.
6. Josue de Castro, Death in the Northeast (New York: Random House, 1966), Celso Furtado, The Economic Growth of Brazil, trans. by Ricardo W. de Aguiar and Eric Ch. Drysdale (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963).
7. Marcio Moreira, O Cristo do Povo (Rio de Janeiro: Editorial Sabiá, 1968), p. 200.
8. Entrevista a Paulo Freire, Cultura Popular, "No hay educación neutra," Cultura Popular 3(1977): 23. (Copy in the Paulo Freire Special Collection Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, Toronto).
9. Keith Rowe, "Freire Speaks on Freire," Church and Community 31 (1974): 4. (Copy in the Paulo Freire Special Collection, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, Toronto).
10. Paulo Freire, Education for Critical Consciousness (New York: Continuum, 1981), p. 52.
11. Rowe, p. 4.

12. "As Educators We Are Politicians and Also Artists," An Interview with Paulo Freire in Adult Learning: A Design for Action, ed. by Bud L. Hall and Robby Kidd (Toronto: Pergamon Press, 1978), p. 271.
13. Rowe, p. 5.
14. "As Educators We Are Politicians and Also Artists," p. 275.
15. Seymour M. Lipset, "Values, Education and Entrepreneurship," in Elites in Latin America, ed. by Seymour M. Lipset and Aldo Solari (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 34.
16. Luis Ratinoff, "The New Urban Groups," in Elites in Latin America, ed. by Seymour M. Lipset and Aldo Solari (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 74
17. Josue de Castro, a Brazilian author, has documented hunger not only in Brazil but in third world countries as a result of underdevelopment, backwardness, and poverty. Explaining specifically the case of Bahia, a city in northeastern Brazil, he said "nearly forty percent of the school children were found to be suffering from anemia. When a supplement containing iron was added to their diet, the anemia rate dropped in four months to only three percent, confirming the fact that a deficiency was the cause of the disease." Josue de Castro, The Geography of Hunger (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1952), p. 87. Years later, Freire's own works would be the base for studies of nutrition in the northeastern area of Brazil especially in the Maranhão region. In order to break the pattern of malnutrition and poverty, one author describes her project as "an attempt to answer some questions on how simple unlettered people can become aware of their problem of malnutrition

and organize themselves in a more supportive and efficient way."

- Theresa Drummond, Using the Method of Paulo Freire in Nutrition Education: An Experimental Plan for Community Action in Northeast Brazil. Monograph Series No. 3 (Ithaca: Cornell International Nutrition Center, 1975), pp. 17-18.
18. Convergence, "Background on Paulo Freire," Convergence 6, No. 1 (1973): 46.
 19. Rowe, p. 5.
 20. Moreira, p. 201.
 21. Rowe, p. 5.
 22. Fay Hussman and Jerry Harr, Education in Brazil. World Education Series (New Haven, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1978), p. 54.
 23. F. Hussman and J. Harr, p. 102.
 24. Rowe, p. 6.
 25. Paulo Freire, Pedagogy in Process, The Letters of Guinea Biseau (New York: The Seabury Press, 1978), p. 27.
 26. Based on the author's conversation with Elza Freire in Boston, Massachusetts during a seminar with Paulo Freire at Boston College in the summer of 1982.
 27. Moreira, p. 202.
 28. Enmanuel de Kadt, Catholic Radicals in Brazil (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp. 60-61.
 29. Moreira, p. 202.

CHAPTER II. PHILOSOPHICAL INFLUENCE ON FREIRE

In 1939, Paulo was nineteen years old. His brothers and sisters, all older, had begun to work and help in the economy of the family. These were the years of the Estado Novo in Brazil, or the Brazilian version of the fascist movement that was sweeping the political scene around the world. A self-imposed coup in 1937 by then President Getulio Vargas gave him complete power and at the same time dismantled all political parties in the country. From 1938 to 1944, the Estado Novo rested upon the support of the armed forces and the police. Opposition was disorganized and weakened.¹ During this political change, the country was rapidly undergoing a process of economic and social change. Along with population growth, dynamic and industrialized urban centers began to develop--such as Belo Horizonte, Rio de Janeiro, and São Paulo. Freire coincides in affirming that all these changes affected the entire cultural life: "culture, arts, literature, and science showed new tendencies toward research and an identification with Brazilian reality."²

Brazil is predominantly Roman Catholic. The 1950 Brazilian census reported that approximately 93 percent of the population was Catholic. The state of Pernambuco and its capital, Recife, were no exceptions. One of the distinctive features of Freire's work is that he has helped give a new dimension to religion, especially to Roman Catholicism. This is reflected in numerous works written by and about him. His La Iglesia, la educación y el proceso de liberación humana en la historia (The Church, Education and the Process of Human Liberation in History) is a reflection

about the Christian church and its forms during various historical periods. The Catholic church, especially in the case of Latin America, has tended to be traditional and has often educated for oppression. The modern church is in the process of change. It is characterized by the use of new ideas. It educates through a process of liberation, by participating with the oppressed in their struggle for freedom--by participating actively in the historical process of liberation. The same thread runs through Las iglesias en America Latina, su papel educativo (The Church in Latin America: Its Educational Role).

Many of Freire's religious ideas are contained in a 1976 letter that he wrote to Rogerio Almeyda Cunha, when the latter requested Freire's opinion while Cunha was writing his dissertation in Germany. This appeared in print as "Letter to a Young Theologian." In it, Freire refers many times to his work and its relation with "Christianism." Because education is a liberation of the individual, Freire has seen society, and its structures like the church, as tending to oppress instead of liberate. Several authors have examined Freire from this perspective--for example, Wayne Leaver in his study on how to prepare a local church for social action.³ In this work, the emphasis is on an "adaptation of Freire's work in South America to a North American context." Warren Hornung's 1974 dissertation draws similarities between Freire's religious thought and the theology of liberation.⁴ Several Latin American publications deal with the theology of liberation and consciousness as part of the progressive Catholic movement in Brazil during 1960-1964.⁵

We referred earlier to Freire's choice of religion when he received

his first communion and to his father's respect for this choice. Freire contends that his mother was the chief influence in his choice of religion. In this sense, he shows the dichotomy of choice that he had. He was drawn to his father, but accepted his mother's choice instead. Thus, he sees himself as having become Catholic by his own choice, and this emphasis permeates his pedagogical work. The transcendency of religious forms in Freire's writings has lead one observer to comment that Freire is "one of the two or three Catholic Christians since the Renaissance to have achieved a sizeable and nonparochial reputation as an educational pioneer."⁶

A break with Catholicism occurred when Freire was around twenty years old. During that period, he moved away from the church because, he later said, he did not understand the message and the compromise that it required for his participation. It is interesting to note that during these same years, the youth organizations in the church had their lowest point--"they were very impressive on paper but virtually nonexistent."⁷ After this period which lasted one year, Freire, who considers that this was a break with his past (his childhood to his adulthood), was able to come back to the Roman Catholic church. This time he had intellectual foundations given by the readings of Christian philosophers in Brazil and Europe.

The Influence of Modern Christian Philosophers in Freire's Early Life and Work

After a period of uncertainty which took him briefly out of the sphere of influence of the church, young Freire began reading social

Christian philosophers. Among them was a Brazilian who wrote under the name of Tristão de Atayde (real name, Alceu Amoroso Lima). This humanist philosopher gained prominence through his writing and was head of the Centro Dom Vital (so named in honor of a Brazilian bishop). The history of this center can be traced to 1920. It was created as a vanguard for developing and introducing Christian ideas, especially among the Brazilian intelligence.⁸

In 1928, Tristão de Atayde was named director of the center and editor of its journal, A Ordem. Atayde spent thirty-six years in this post. Under the previous director, A Ordem's main themes had been the virtues of "order, authority, morality, Catholicism, and moralism."⁹ In his initial period, Atayde was also conservative. He opposed the military uprising of 1930, and he became general secretary of the Liga Eleitoral Catolica, or Catholic Electoral League (LEC), which pressed for candidates to accept the principles of family and tradition. Later, he turned away from conservatism and offered a new view of man and society. In the center, Atayde began giving a more social view of the church and religion. He became a Brazilian advocate of the teachings of Jacques Maritain. During the 1940s, the center conducted a series of seminars in which the works of Maritain, Mounnier, and others were discussed. Also the center expanded to other cities such as São Paulo, Salvador, and Recife. Many of those who participated in these seminars had an important role in the church and its more progressive stand during the late fifties and early sixties. (For example, one participant Dom Helder Camara, became archbishop of Olinda and Recife and is one of Freire's best friends and a constant disseminator of Freire's ideas.) Also, the

center was instrumental in the revitalization of Catholic Action, which in turn played an important role in disseminating Freire's works during the time when the literacy project was expanded. Catholic Action was an organization conceived by Pius XI as a lay apostolic group, destined to publicly propagandize the teachings of Catholic faith.

At this point, it is important to observe that in Freire's work the teachings of Catholicism and Marxism still had not converged. He was reading the works of Maritain, Bernanos, and Mounnier. By the 1950s, many Latin American churches had begun imitating the Catholic Action groups which were in full swing in Europe in 1930.¹⁰ In the 1930s, however, the advent of corporatist ideas--which took form with the Mussolini government in Italy, Francos's Spain, and the Vichy government in France--were appealing to the Catholic Church in Latin America. In Brazil, the government of Getúlio Vargas was directed along the lines of the corporatist model. In November 1937, in a self-inflicted coup d'etat, Getúlio Vargas obtained broader powers and a new constitution that resulted in an imitation of the European corporatist models such as those in Italy and Portugal.¹¹ It was called the Estado Novo (New State) because it was supposed to bring irreversible political changes in the country and lay the foundations for an overall corporatist economic structure.¹²

On the other hand, in Europe a new frame of ideas emerged. This was the neo-Thomism of Jaques Maritain, and the ideas of Enmanuel Mounier and Theillard de Chardin. These ideas did not take much time to be extended to Latin America.¹³

The Centro Dom Vital played an important role in disseminating the

ideas of Jacques Maritain, Emmanuel Mounier, Teilhard de Chardin and Joseph Bernanos. They become important in developing a set of ideas based in social change, pluralism, and democracy. The center was also important in coordinating other lay movements which included creation of the University Catholic Action group, the Catholic Institute of Higher Studies (later Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro) and the National Confederation of Catholic Workers.¹⁴

By 1933, part of the whole movement was concentrated into what would become the Brazilian Catholic Action movement (officially founded in 1935). Catholic Action adopted in its organization, the Italian model which was concentrated, corporatist, and authoritarian.¹⁵

In its beginning, the Catholic Action movement had little influence on Catholics in Brazil. It did not create a massive drive as its organizers hoped it would. At the intellectual level, however, those groups that were part of the Centro Dom Vital became critical of the existing social structures which did not offer a perspective of change.

This was the time for Freire when reading became one of his most important activities. As he read, he found himself understanding more and comprehending the text of the books better. This was the period in which the readings of different Brazilian and Portuguese authors would lead him into the complexity of language. He began reading classical Brazilian authors such as Carneiro Ribeiro (Serões Gramaticaes) and Ruy Barbosa (Réplica y la Treplica).¹⁶ As his reading became more and more sophisticated, Freire entered the world of Portuguese grammar and syntax. This lead him into the complexity of language and was the beginning of a theory of grammar and syntax that he needed to develop a system for

literacy.

Intellectual Foundations of Freire's Thought

His readings in linguistics later caused him to consider communication and the problem of linguistic signs as one the main concepts that needed to be developed in order to communicate. Referring to this, Freire asserts that he early recognized that syntax and the way that people use words for communicating are essential in a dialogical situation. He began to understand the books he was reading and the way in which the Portuguese language was being used. This caused him to think that the way people communicate was important because of the syntax used for communication permits us to discover, and "discovery is part of knowledge." Discovering the complexity and simplicity of linguistic signs and communication satisfied Freire and increased his love for the study of the Portuguese language. Later, this appreciation of language would show in all his writings on codification. The use of signs and syntax would permeate his method.

Freire had just begun his introduction to the philosophy and psychology of language when he finished secondary school at the age of twenty. Almost immediately he began to teach Portuguese (reading, grammar, and syntax) at a ginasio. In a "kind of awakening for education, I began teaching language very early in my life."¹⁷ Later, he considered himself naive during that period of time, especially in regards to teaching. Considering his past economic situation, his work as a teacher brought some monetary rewards with which he began to help his family. He was able to improve living conditions for himself and his

family.

Another development at this stage was that he became a law student at the University of Recife. The most financially rewarding and prestigious professions were medicine and law. He was only mildly interested in law, however. Much more of his interest and time was dedicated to reading Portuguese literature and European philosophers than to the study of codices and legal work.

At the age of twenty-five, after discovering that he would not be practicing law, Paulo Freire began to work in a state institution in Recife. It was a social service agency, offering programs of education for workers of the area. The foundations of his later work were laid out with the experience of his own upbringing, his Christian commitment, and the philosophical readings from Christians to Marxist. Now working with adults in an educational program would set the course of his life.

NOTES

1. Thomas E. Skidmore, Politics in Brazil, 1930-1964 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 31.
2. Paulo Freire, Education for Critical Consciousness (New York: Continuum, 1981), pp. 30-31.
3. Wayne Leaver, "Preparing a Local Church for Social Action: An Adaptation of Paulo Freire," (D. Min. diss., Wesley Theological Seminary, 1974).
4. Warren Hornung, "Paulo Freire's Contribution to the Theological Education of the Protestant Laity in Chile," (D. Min. diss., School of Theology at Claremont, Claremont School of Theology, 1974).
5. Enmanuel de Kadt, Catholic Radicals in Brazil (London: Oxford University Press, 1970).
6. John Donohue, "Paulo Freire, Philosopher of Adult Education," America 127, No. 7 (September 1972): 167.
7. de Kadt, Catholic Radicals in Brazil, p. 59.
8. de Kadt, p. 56.
9. de Kadt, p. 57.
10. Daniel H. Levine, Religion and Politics in Latin America (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), p. 31.
11. Skidmore, p. 29.
12. Skidmore, p. 40.
13. Jaques Maritain was a French philosopher who was a member of an eminent family of the Third Republic. From his middle teens onward, he pursued his meanings across socialism and symbolism, philosophy

and art. His manhood formation took him to his conversion to Catholicism and his commitment to Thomism. Thomism was for Maritain the center of the universe. He thought that he had the answers for contemporary man during the pre-World War I era, especially in the political and contemporary dimension. Thus, Maritain became one of the major intellectual figures in Christian democratic liberalism in post World War II North and South America. His influence extended well after the 1960s in different Latin American countries.

Maritain proposed a society committed to true democratic ideals which has to be able to maintain the freedom and the rights of citizens. The elements of that society--family, church, state--were to cooperate. Thus, Maritain proposed a type of liberation based on the teachings of Christianity and human personalism. Joseph Amato, Mounier and Maritain (University, Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1975), pp. 59, 75-78.

Emmanuel Mounier was born in a small town in France in 1912. He completed his education in Grenoble and at the Sorbonne. Early influences on him were Jaques Chevalier and Charles Peguy, a French poet. In 1932, when he was twenty-seven, he founded Spirit an alternative journal for European intellectuals of the early 1930s. Maritain was one of its principal supporters, especially during the early years of the journal. As the deteriorating political situation in Europe was creating the conditions for the World War II, Mounier grew increasingly radical in his thinking. All of his criticisms, as well as those of his associates were expressed in Spirit, which was closed only during the Nazi occupation in France.

Also, criticism of the church made church officials look at Spirit as "based upon a common and closed doctrine, a synthesis alongside the synthesis, its Third Force a curious sort of fascist movement with a extreme leftist style." John Hellman, Enmanuel Mounier and the New Catholic Left, 1930-1950 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981), p. 68.

For Mounier, contemporary Christian types were "timorous believers, vaguely aware of the divorce between Church and life" (Hellman, p. 84). He thought it was important to feel a third option which rejected the current liberalism and communism. He advocated a theory of "Personalism," which he defined as a "social force in which man seeks but never achieves perfection but with a human condition which is never static," R. William Ranch, Jr., "Foreword to Personalism" in E. Mounier, Personalism (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1952), p. xviii. Mounier's works were influenced by Nicolas Berdayev, Karl Jaspers, Gabriel Marcel, and Soren Kierkegard among others. His essays covered a wide range of topics: Christianity, aesthetics, culture, education, politics-- in other words all human activity. Mounier sought to find in every ideology something good for humans and for that reason he tried to find a dialogue with Marxists. But he believed that "from the adoption of socialism as a general directive idea for social reorganization, it does not follow that one must approve every measure that may be proposed in its name" (Mounier, p. 104). For this reason, the "attainment of socialism must be, as it was originally formulated, a work of the workers themselves, of

movements of peasants and workers organized with the more enlightened positions of the bourgeoisie" (Mounier, p. 106).

Mounier's rejection of traditional Catholic metaphysics, his political activism, his criticism of the United States and his sympathy for communism and long range prophecies of its providential role have caused him to be remembered by some as a Christian progressive--a man with firm faith in a apocalyptic future, in a humanity transformed by the Christian religion. Hellman, Emmanuel Mounier and the New Catholic Left, p. 244.

14. Thomas C. Bruneu, The Brazilian Catholic Church (London: Cambridge University Press, 1974), p. 45.
15. Bruneu, p. 46.
16. Ruy Barbosa, statesman, diplomat, and writer, was a cosmopolitan figure and admirer of English Protestantism, though he himself was a Catholic. He was deeply involved in social conflicts of his time, notably in the struggle for civil liberties as against the military and the church. He favored a nonsectarian system of education and freedom of divorce. Among other books, he wrote Letters for England. By 1896, Brazilian authors were becoming more independent from Portugal, using more Brazilian language or, as it has been called, the nationalization of language in which authors used their own styles. In 1902, Ruy Barbosa and Carneiro Ribeiro became engaged in a polemic about this issue and what language was to be used in the Civil Code. It was considered that languages were part of national culture that included the concepts of nationalism as one of the most important for writers and had to be exempt from peninsular

attachment. Samuel Putnam, Marvelous Journey (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948), p. 200.

17. Keith Rowe, "Freire Speaks on Freire," Church and Community 31 (1974): 6. (Copy in the Paulo Freire Special Collection, Ontario Institute for Studies on Education, Toronto.)

CHAPTER III. DEVELOPMENT OF THE SYSTEM

From 1946 to 1954, Paulo Freire became director and later superintendent, of the Departamento da Educaçao e Cultura do Serviço Social da Indústria (SESI) in Pernambuco. (This was a social service program for the state of Pernambuco.) This institution was charged with giving assistance to the poor of rural and industrial urban areas that included the city of Recife.

This agency was part of the social service system and welfare in the country, and was operated independently in each state, but under federal social legislation. For this reason, the agency in Pernambuco had a special department of education because of the high rate of illiteracy in the northeastern part of the country. According to the 1940 census in Brazil, 54 percent of the more than forty-eight million people on the country were illiterate.¹

In the SESI, Freire began to develop education program for workers from the fishing industry and in nearby factories. This period he later called a "re-encounter with workers, a re-meeting with workers that he had met when he was a child." This time he was meeting them as an adult and as a learner. It was at this time he decided to do something at the level of adult literacy. Through the next ten years of practical experiences, he was able to understand some of the educational problems "among the people."² Freire sees this as a time of learning experiences when he was experimenting with the adult literacy process. From this beginning, two central tenants of Freire's later theory emerged: 1) He wanted to change the assumption that the learning process was a

unidirectional one from teacher to student. He had come to see adult literacy education as a dialog between educator and educatee in which both learned from each other. He wanted to develop a literacy process which, instead of leading mechanically the illiterate to read and write, would challenge them to understand their reality--in other words, to become aware through the process of conscientization. A corollary insight was that education is not neutral.

Early in the process, working out his approach to literacy instruction, Freire experimented in his own home:

I remember that I invited an old woman, a very good woman, a peasant illiterate. She worked with us at our home. She was a cook. One Sunday I told her, "look Maria" (that's her name) I am thinking to start a new way to help people who cannot read, how to read and I need your help. Would you like to help me in this search? She said "yes" and I invited her to my library, and I projected a picture with a boy and under the picture it was written in Portuguese "menino," which is a boy. And I asked her, Maria what is this? She said "menino," it is a boy, a menino." I projected another picture with the same menino but orthographically the word menino was without the middle syllable (meno). So she said "menino" again and I asked her, "Maria there is something missing?" And she said to me, "Oh yes, the middle is missing." I smiled and I showed another picture with the same menino but orthographically without the last syllable, meni, only meni and I asked again. "Is something missing?" "Yes the last piece of this!" We discussed, we talked more or less fifteen minutes with different situations with menino--menino, meno, nino, meni, etc. and every time she captured the part, rather the lack of the part of the word and she told me "Look, I am tired. It is very interesting, but I am tired." She was able to work really all the day, but nevertheless with ten minutes, fifteen minutes of an intellectual exercise she became tired. It is normal. But she asked me, "Do you think that I was able to help you?" I said, "Yes, Yes, you gave me a great contribution."³

This first experience would contribute to Freire's later working in a practical way with the Movimento de Cultura Popular (Popular Culture Movement) in Recife and with the University of Recife in 1961.

The Conditions of the Northeast

During this period of trial and error for Freire, northeastern Brazil did not change in its social and economic structures at a pace that would indicate a better future for the region. During the drought of 1951, President Getulio Vargas called for "a change and revision of the methods in order to give an economic and social orientation to the study and solution of the problems of the Northeast. Based on this premise, the Bank of the Northeast was created and began its operation in 1954. It received technical assistance for economic development from the United Nations.⁴ By 1956--upon recommendation from the United Nations economic advisory team--the president of Brazil, Juscelino Kubitschek, moved to federally coordinate all economic and social development. The drought of 1958 in the Northeast gave place to the formation of the Superintendency for Development of the Northeast (SUDENE). This agency was in charge of preparing a five year plan for the area. It was submitted to the congress in 1960. This plan sought to establish the foundations of social and economic development for the Brazilian region which was considered one of the most depressed areas in the world. Data from 1950 onward show that illiteracy was evident and that education had had a very low priority: 74 percent of the population five years of age and above was classified as unable to read and write. Two-thirds of the children of primary school age did not have access to

primary school. In a very sketchy estimate, it is suggested that for every 1000 students that entered primary school only two of them would finish the university.⁵

The SUDENE plans did not mention investment in education in its primary phase, however by 1961 it funded a pilot project in "basic education (educação de base) an experiment in popular literacy training and health education."⁶ Another economic factor was the increasing use of the land especially from 1940 to 1960 due especially to the rising consumption of foodstuff. This was a direct result of the massive industrialization and urbanization of the area.⁷ Since the land tenure system was almost feudal in nature, peasants and laborers did not have the means to defend themselves against the loss of their farming plots. This produced increased tensions in the area and led to protests. Thus, in the 1950s, the stage was being set for the social work of Freire. The general conditions of the country, under successive political changes, was moving to what Freire called a society in transition. Brazil was going from one "epoch to another."⁸ Due to the historical conditions of the Northeast, those factors mentioned above would be part of Freire's emergent methods as it would be called in the succeeding years.

The Concretization of Freire's Method

After resigning from his post at SESI in 1954, Freire began teaching history and philosophy of education at the University of Recife. Because his previous work had been in the education department at SESI, it was not difficult for him to begin teaching these subjects at the university.

During the next few years of teaching at the university, he read

more modern philosophers and social theorists. He also read Marxist philosophy which led to a more concrete form in his method. The opportunity to teach at the university, and his previous contacts with workers, and peasants, acted as a catalyst for Freire's literacy project.

In the meantime, the political conditions in the Northeast became increasingly important to the rest of the country. Brazil, as a whole, was entering an era of successive changes on the political and social scene that would have international importance. Freire was lucky to live in a period of emerging historical conflicts in which he was an active part. His work is a product of those historical conditions in which he lived and developed his theory of education for freedom. Other analysts have agreed: "Freire's notion of freedom has always been dynamic and rooted in the historical process."⁹ Then, in order to understand the complexities and his approach, it is necessary to observe some of the factors that gave rise to the conditions of the late 1950s and early 1960s in Brazil. Freire's ideas cannot be understood without a short analysis of this period and those who participated. They are related in one way or another to the developments of this approach.

The Peasant Leagues

The conditions of the rural areas of the Northeast resembled very much those of the feudal period. There have been many studies from different perspectives that have addressed the problems of land tenure, peasantry, economic, social, and political conditions. Among the many topics that have been researched about Northeastern Brazil, the so-called "Ligas Camponesas" (Peasant Leagues) has been the one most written

about. The organization of the Peasant Leagues became one of the factors of concern both for those opposed to social change and for those interested in new forms of political manipulation. The leagues were developed according to some authors in order to respond to the economic conditions associated with the land.

The land was left idle by many of the owners. The change in economic conditions brought a new desire to sell, rent for a better price, or simply to speculate or in some cases to raise cattle as a more profitable business. In fact, many of the landowners tried "to evict the tenants in order to put the land back to market production."¹⁰ The Engenho Galileia (sugar farm) was inoperative after late 1930 and was used as a rented property on which tenants planted and paid rent to an administrator. In 1955, it was turned into a cattle ranch and the tenants faced eviction. The peasants then decided to organize themselves into a mutual aid society and sought the help of a lawyer in the area named Francisco Julião. This was the first peasant league. They increased in rapid succession not only as cooperative groups, but also as an organized political force in which Julião played an important role. The leagues would be an important factor in the overall conditions of the Northeast until 1964. They capitalized upon a growing awareness of class consciousness to the point that conservative groups feared them very much.

The establishment of peasant leagues brought a growing demand for higher salaries, better services and more education. Since most members of the leagues were illiterate, and for that reason unable to participate in the political process, the drive for literacy grew at the pace of the

political conditions.

The Role of Popular Action and The Basic Education Movement

Another factor that would be important in the development of Freire's thought was the growing militancy of the Catholic church, especially in the youth rank and file. The church was slowly modifying its line according to the pace that society was moving. The JUC on the other hand was considered by its militant members as "ineffective, lacking life, characterized by excessive abstract, theoretical discussion, and a lack of engagement with concrete reality."¹¹ JUC militants pointed to social program in cities such as Recife, Belo Horizonte, and Natal--not surprisingly, all of them from the Northeast. The Recife groups had concentrated their efforts on societal problems, health, nutrition, university reform.¹² Elsewhere in the country, the movement languished. After 1950, the Catholic Church in Brazil seemed to be formulating a new ideological orientation. The CNBB (National Confederation of Brazilian Bishops) which was founded under the leadership of Dom Helder Camara, later archbishop of Recife, organized a meeting in 1956 for the bishops of north and east Brazil. The results were a pastoral letter acknowledging the bishops' growing concern about the inequalities of certain regions in the country and with specific mention of the Northeast. The document reflected a desire to respond to social change and an awareness of the problems in "societal structures and injustice in general."¹³ The manifesto also presented detailed proposals for different community projects in the region. The document received the endorsement of President Juscelino Kubitscheck. Three years

later it acquired more relevance with the approval and development of SUDENE.¹⁴ On the other hand, some units of the JUC broke up and former members found their way into other organizations, such as Ação Popular (Popular Action), which were more active politically without the sponsorship of the hierarchy of the church. However, most of its members were or had been members of JUC. On many occasions, both organizations participated together, especially in student elections such as the National Students Union (UNE) which was the umbrella organization for all university students in Brazil. They also jointly organized peasants and labor unions, and also participated in "culture circles." These ultimately provided the people a need for spreading the method of Freire through the Northeast.

Another organization which would become more radicalized was the Movimento de Educação de Base (MEB). The origins of this organization were in the radio schools from the Catholic dioceses of Natal and Aracaju which were in charge of disseminating programs in education, health, and nutrition. In 1958, a meeting of all the radio schools brought the establishment of the Rede Nacional de Emissoras Católicas (RENEC). Later in 1961, with the sponsorship of President Jânio Quadros, there was a massive use of the radio and coordinators under the supervision of the CNBB. A new program was born, this being the MEB.¹⁵

The MEB was progressive in nature--that is, all the participants from the level of directors to the level of field workers saw their function as another element in the democratization of the structures of the society. Literacy for them implied more than learning to read and write. It also meant the participation of those learning in the

different structures of the society. At first, the program was directed mainly to regions where peasants were the largest population. MEB gradually redefined its goals. Then, all those in the society who were illiterate, whether urban or agricultural workers, became part of MEB's literacy efforts.

SUDENE

The conception of SUDENE as a regional development organization has already been explained. SUDENE came about mainly as a result of the growing concern over the situation in the Northeast. It coordinated several organizations and channeled resources in an efficient way. SUDENE was the counterpart of ISEB (Institute for Higher Studies of Brazil). The latter developed a national ideology based on Brazilian human resources. This was the first plan promoting development through national planning without dependence on outside sources. The development of the Northeast was then a matter of national concern that clustered in the objectives of the country as a whole requiring Brazilian solutions.¹⁶ In this regard--as funds for the execution of the planning commission of SUDENE were mainly coming from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID)--these were difficulties and political maneuverings in Brazil as in the United States. The mission delayed the concretization of many of the planned ideas. This took the form of a struggle over deciding which one of Brazil's northeastern states would receive educational support. The U.S. mission was divided between the state of Rio Grande do Norte, with its Governor Aluisio Alves, and the state of Pernambuco where elections were a hot issue between two

candidates--João Cleofas, representing those of reformist tendencies and his opponent, Miguel Arraes, mayor of Recife, who was the candidate of the opposition (and leftist) parties. The consensus in the U.S. mission was "that a successful program would receive publicity and might favor the democratic candidate, that is the Cleofas forces in the election."¹⁷ The peasant league weighed heavily in the decision because they were considered a "communist threat" to the region. The best way to counteract such a threat was thought to be through a school program which would serve the region.¹⁸

The Election of a Mayor

Miguel Arraes was elected mayor of Recife in 1959. As mayor, he developed a series of social programs in which the most important support was the Movimento de Cultura Popular (MCP). The person to coordinate the Adult Education project was Paulo Freire.¹⁹ The MCP was an agency of the municipality of Recife. One of its functions was to develop programs of adult literacy among slum dwellers. This program was one of the first in using a "cartilha" (primer) with the name Livro de Leitura para Adulto (Book of Adult Readings). Some people considered the primer subversive because of its contents. One of the lessons said "the vote belongs to the people," and in lesson twenty-four the student learned that "a good politician always stays at the side of the people."²⁰ The primer, in general, denounced the inequalities of life in the area of Recife. The authors hoped to raise the consciousness of the people through the lessons in the primer. This higher consciousness, according to the primer's authors, would translate later into more votes. On the other hand, the

indictments against the primer were that it was political, unobjective and manipulative of the masses, and directed to influence the people toward leftist parties.

Arraes's election attracted the attention of students, intellectuals, urban and agricultural workers. His programs had wide and enthusiastic support. Students were a major force of MPC in an organized attempt to democratize the culture through discussions of themes such as nationalism, developments, literacy, and remission of profits.²¹ The MCP set up "circles of cultures" in the poor areas and also encouraged popular festivals and performances organized by the students.

Working for the MCP was for Freire the first concrete test in developing his method of adult learning. "This experience led me to mature my early educational conviction" he said.²² In this project, the "cultural circles" were offered as a new dimension of learning, completely different from what had been known up to that time. Freire defines the "cultural circle" as a group in which "instead of a teacher, we had a coordinator; instead of lectures, dialogue; instead of pupils, group participants; instead of alienating syllabi, compact programs that were broken down and codified into learning units."²³

At the same time, in the year 1959, Freire obtained his doctoral degree from the University of Recife. In order to receive that degree, it was necessary for those on the faculty of the university to prepare a dissertation which had to be evaluated by a group of seniors colleagues, distinguished professors in the university. That year Freire and two other candidates presented their theses and defended them in front of a panel. Freire's dissertation was entitled "Educação e Atualidade

Brasileira." After he defended it, he received ninety-eight points of a total of one hundred required to obtain the degree. He was surpassed by two points at the end of the voting session of the commission by one of the other candidates. Since this was very unusual in the history of the university, two doctoral degrees were conferred that year; one of them being given to Paulo Freire.²⁴ The main part of his dissertation was incorporated in his book Education for Critical Consciousness in which he also explains the beginning of his works with the MCP.

NOTES

1. Brazil, Report of the U.S. Technical Commission, Department of State, Publication 3487, 1949, p. 125.
2. Keith Rowe, "Freire Speaks on Freire." Church and Community 31 (1974): 6. (Copy in the Paulo Freire Special Collection, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, Toronto.)
3. Risk, "Education for Awareness: A Talk with Paulo Freire." Risk 6, No. 4 (1970): 10. After choosing sixteen or seventeen generative words, Freire and his colleagues found that they must carefully analyze the sequence in which to present the words. Three principles guided their order of presentation. First, the initial word must be trisyllabic, and each of the three syllables must consist of one consonant and one vowel. Second, less common and more difficult phonetic material should appear towards the end of the list. For example, words with x, z, q, and ao tend to appear later in the list. Third, words that name concrete and familiar objects should come early on the list, while words naming more abstract social and political realities should appear later. Freire believed the ideas represented by the words must be critically discussed before the words themselves were analyzed as graphic symbols. So his team prepared a picture to illustrate each word. For example, for the word "tijolo" (brick) a picture of a construction scene was prepared. This picture was shown first without the word "tijolo." The second picture showing the construction scene together with the word "tijolo" was introduced only after the group had discussed

building with bricks, their own houses, housing as a community problem, obstacles to better housing and whatever other topics were generated. In the third picture or slide, the word "tijolo" appeared alone. In this same manner, pictures were prepared for each of the sixteen words, in order to ensure full discussion of the significance of the words before any linguistic or graphic analysis was made. Cynthia Brown, "Literacy in Thirty Hours: Paulo Freire's Process in Northeast Brazil," Urban Review 7 (July 1974): 252-53. Also, Paulo Freire, Education for Critical Consciousness (New York: Continuum, 1981), pp. 48-58 explains in detail the progress of the program.

4. Stefan H. Robock, Brazil Developing Northeast (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1963), pp. 95-96.
5. Robock, p. 167.
6. Robock, p. 169.
7. Florencia Mallon, "Peasants and Rural Laborers in Pernambuco 1955-1964," Latin America Perspectives 5 (Fall 1968): 53.
8. Freire, Education for Critical Consciousness, p. 8.
9. Denis Goulet, "Introduction" to Paulo Freire Education for Critical Consciousness, New York: Continuum, 1981, p. viii.
10. Florencia Mallon, "Peasants and Rural Laborers in Pernambuco 1955-1964," p. 53.
11. Emmanuel de Kadt, Catholic Radicals in Brazil (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 61.
12. de Kadt, p. 62.
13. de Kadt, p. 75.

14. de Kadt, p. 76.
15. de Kadt, p. 122.
16. Riodarn Roett, suggests an opposition of ideas developed between the Brazilian technicians at SUDENE and their counterpart in USAID, and he quotes Celso Furtado as saying: "although it is probable and necessary to ask foreigners to come in and advise you on the advisability of the project, the responsibility of carrying out projects should be exclusively Brazilian. Robock reaffirms this position when he quotes the deputy head of SUDENE as saying that "bilateral aid is basically motivated by the cold war and the desire to transform the aid receiving country into an example of the merits of the donor country system. Foreign aid," he added, "is too often used as insurance against revolution." Riodarn Roett, The Politics of Foreign Aid in the Brazilian Northeast (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1972), p. 69. H. Stefan Robock, Brazil Developing Northeast p. 36.
17. Roett, p. 74.
18. Roett, p. 76.
19. Freire, p. 41.
20. Joseph Page, The Revolution that Never Was (New York: Grossman, 1972), p. 111.
21. Thomas G. Sanders, "The Paulo Freire Method. Literacy Training and Conscientization." In Thomas La Belle, ed. Education and Development: Latin America and the Caribbean (Los Angeles: UCLA, Latin American Center, 1982), p. 590.
22. Freire, p. 41.

23. Freire, p. 42.

24. Interview by the author with Paulo Freire, Boston, July 1981.

CHAPTER IV. THE PAULO FREIRE METHOD

Today Paulo Freire's method is well-known, not only in Brazil but also in Latin America, Europe, Africa, and in North America. His books have become required reading in several disciplines in the social sciences. They are analyzed and dissected in education courses, symposia, and conferences. However, the road from 1960 to the present was for Freire not an easy one to walk. The early sixties (1960-1964) in Brazil brought a rapid succession of events that were instrumental in maturing and sharpening his method. His interaction with those events also lead to international recognition of his work.

Brazil 1960-1964

During this period, social and political changes permeated all sectors of Brazilian society. For some it was a time of crisis, for others a revolutionary period. Still others called it a time of transition and for some it was a period of confusion. All agreed that society was moving to new forms of relationships. Different forces were in motion and the process was an irreversible one. It was the breaking of an old society and the emergence of a more democratic, pluralistic social order. In this respect, C. Furtado declared that "whenever economic development unleashes forces that operate in an antisocial direction, we can be certain that we are faced with a process that is not evolutionary but revolutionary."¹

The election of Janio Quadros as a president of the country in the fall of 1960 brought new hopes for change and renovation. He had endorsed the plan for the Northeast during his campaign and gave full

support to the development program of SUDENE. With him was elected as vice president, João Goulart. A year later Goulart became president when Quadros resigned in August 1961. During Quadros' short term, the government launched an anti-inflationary program and opened a diplomatic relationship with the Soviet Union. His resignation from the presidency brought some confusion, especially in the most conservative sectors of Brazil where João Goulart was considered a "communist menace."²

During the gubernatorial elections for the state of Pernambuco, two candidates contested the seat--João Cleofas and his opponent Miguel Arraes. Arraes clearly obtained an early lead in the race. He was the acting mayor of Recife and had in this respect a better political name in Brazilian circles where he was often called for consultations with president Quadros and later with president Goulart. The election of Arraes as governor of the state of Pernambuco in October of 1968 proved that Brazil was indeed moving to a more complex political situation that had been seen before.

SUDENE was part of the electoral platform of both Quadros Goulart, and also of Miguel Arraes' campaign. The development of the programs in the Northeast was a primary concern for all the candidates. One of the concepts that SUDENE stressed most in its development was the full use and expansion of education at the university level. The contention was that it was a priority to have the greatest number of qualified technicians in order to accelerate the development of the Northeast region. On the other hand, the United States Alliance for Progress stressed the importance of modernizing the existing structures of universities, which in most cases offered no alternatives for the region

except the classical liberal arts and elitist education. The Alliance approach meant that law school would continue to be more important because of its prestige than the preparation of qualified technicians. Among SUDENE's proposed reorganization of universities was the creation of faculties with emphasis in the social sciences and the creation of the extension services.

An extension service, such as the one in the University of Recife, was created to reach the population of the area with programs and resources from the university. In 1962, the University of Recife in creating the new department of Serviço de Extensão Cultural (Cultural Extension Service, SEC), explained the new operation "as necessary for the diffusion of culture and for popular education."³ The document defended the necessity of dynamic participation of the modern university in the process of social change, a departure from the usual aim "of the traditional university." The explanation continued: "In the Northeast we can begin to create the conditions for a progressive universalization of culture and the total integration of the university in the regional reality." The objectives of this service are "cultural diffusion at all levels--basic, medium, and higher--and reaching those sectors outside of the university through conferences, publications, and information of general interest. Yet the service should turn the to university, better known in the area in which it is located, and reaffirm it as a center of scientific and cultural interest."⁴ Another objective was to initiate contacts with "class associations" (workers unions, peasants, etc.) and other institutions, and to plan extension courses in the university or in their own entities which they will be serving.

Besides the objectives proposed in the creation of the service, a plan of activities was immediately delineated in order to offer from its creation programs to the communities. Among SEC's immediate tasks was the area of "documentation" which would be of utility to schools, and pre-university students in the Recife area. Another was to obtain a roster of "all the intellectuals and academicians whether or not they are linked to the university" in order for them to have access to the university. The last task mentioned in these activities programmed for the year 1962 was the use of the university radio which was to emphasize "programs of university interest." Professor Paulo Freire was named director of the SEC.⁵ The implementation of the program at the SEC was a real boost to Freire's work which up to that time, had only part of the municipality of Recife and, therefore, carried on mostly with students volunteers.

From the initial ideas that began in 1948 in the SESI programs refined later with MEC of the municipality of Recife, and now with the funding and resources provided by the University of Recife, the program was on the road to becoming well-known locally, nationally, and internationally.

The Angicos Project

There was a lack of agreement in the USAID station in Brazil mainly because of differing interpretation over the implementation of the program with SUDENE. Some people felt a sense of wrong direction between what was in the position paper and what was being practiced. The USAID team was divided between those who wanted to counteract the political

advances of the left in Pernambuco (and for that reason favored a program in Recife, even though there was resistance from elements there) and those who wanted to implement programs elsewhere, especially in those areas in the state of Rio Grande do Norte where there was less resistance and a better political climate. At the same time, SUDENE officials wanted to control the channeling and the distribution of all programs. This situation brought a continuous conflict between officials of USAID and those of SUDENE. SUDENE administrators felt they had primary authority and immediately launched some programs.⁶

On 3 December 1962, USAID and Governor Aluisio Alves of Rio Grande do Norte, with the agreement of President Goulart, signed the "Elementary Education Agreement." Since one of the main programs in the platform of the Goulart government was education, this was an important step in order to emphasize the direction and interest of the government in this matter. The Rio Grande education project emphasized school construction, teacher training centers, audiovisual center supplies and services, and a teacher training institute.⁷

One of the objectives of the SEC of the University of Recife was to provide literacy training. Having the experience of previous short programs, Freire decided to participate in the project of the city of Angicos in Rio Grande do Norte through the auspices of the university. Freire's method had an impact in Recife where he had conducted a number of experiments as part of programs in the different institutions where he had worked. This was sufficiently important for the state government of Rio Grande do Norte and the USAID mission to use the method in short-range impact project. According to Freire, his first literacy attempt in

Recife started with a group of five illiterates from which two dropped out in the second or third day. The rest of the participants who had migrated from rural areas, revealed a certain fatalism and apathy in regard to their problems. They were totally illiterate. At the twentieth meeting, he gave a progress test. During the twenty-first hour of study, one of the participants wrote confidentially "I am amazed at myself."⁸

During this period, the "Paulo Freire Method" did not have the full connotations that it developed later. Freire did not make reference "to the political character of education." This was because of a certain naivete of his own and because he was not able at first to clarify the process of "conscientization." But the method from the beginning was a critique of the established system of education, in Brazil, during the early sixties.⁹

In the Angicos project, more than seventy teachers were trained to teach 299 illiterates. At the end of the program, President João Goulart attended the final hour of some classes giving national recognition to the education program and the work of Freire. Thus, the road was paved to begin a national program of literacy. The project itself brought some incidents among the local people that gave a touch of sentimentalism and showed another dimension of the human problem which was reflected in the project. One of the incidents was as follows:

One of the local madames went to a young man in charge of the "culture circle" and accused him of discriminating against the town's prostitutes. "Everyone else is learning," she argued. So the coordinator decided to organize a special class for

prostitutes. The only available classroom space turned out to be the visitors room in the local jail. Eight to nine girls came to class which was held early in the evening. There were no problems until the next visitor's night at the jail, which unfortunately fell on the same night that the class was in session. When the wives of the prisoners saw the girls, they leapt to an obvious, if erroneous, conclusion and made a vigorous complaint to the authorities. As a result the class had to be canceled.

One of the girls who was eighteen years old, wrote a letter to Governor Alves. "I have been a prostitute since the age of twelve when I discovered the only part of my body worth anything. For a moment while I was attending the class I almost believed that I found a way to be free. But now it is finished and I am sorry."¹⁰

Freire stated later (in a workshop at Fordham in 1972) that educators "need to start from the perception of the people, from their own reality and not from the perspective of our own dimension," that is, from the learner's level of consciousness and their vision of the world. "Researching the vocabulary of the group" is the first task for those engaged in a program, then the selection of words and their "existential meanings." Interviews will reveal longings, frustrations, disbelief, hopes, and the impetus for participation. In the case of the Angicos project, the following words served as part of the research for the program. "The month of January in Angicos," said a man from the backlands of Rio Grande do Norte, "is a hard one to live through because January is a tough guy who makes us suffer."¹¹ This is what Freire calls the "minimal linguistic universe." Instruction begins with words that are of common usage among the people being trained.¹² The good results of the program gave Freire a widespread popularity among different

circles in the Northeast, but it also gave a political tone to the literacy program.

USAID officials decided to discontinue supporting the literacy project in January 1964. Some AID people may have considered the program radical, but the problem seems to have been more in disagreements over organization. The AID program did not find the cooperation from the state government that had been offered in the first instance. Mismanagement, delays, excessive bureaucracy, and political compromise diminished efficiency. The overall results of the education project in Angicos did not measure up to the expectations of its organizers, although Freire's part of the program did better than the rest. Most opposition came, however, from Brazilians rather than outside technicians. In this regard, the comments of the U.S. ambassador to Brazil, Lincoln Gordon, are important. In a letter to Governor Aluisio Alves, the ambassador said, "I credit your excellency, that Rio Grande do Norte under your enlightened orientation will become the new springboard of victory from this date against hunger, malaisies, and illiteracy."¹³ USAID director James Howe declared: "contrary to the allegations (such as the newspaper O Globo) that the method of Paulo Freire is really a method of Marxist indoctrination, the technicians (people who are technically familiar with writing programs) have affirmed that this method by itself and in the specific case of Angicos does not have a political or social orientation. The Angicos project was never considered in itself a solution to a complete course of reading and writing, but on the overall starting point in which an adult could obtain a better education. The accusation can result in the misguided

conclusion that teaching people to read and write is bad because it carries indoctrination. I am sure that your excellency will agree that this interpretation is not logical."¹⁴ In reality, Paulo Freire's method, as any other technique of non political learning, will prepare individuals to be influenced by any school of political thinking.¹⁵

National Recognition and its Implications

With Janio Quadros resignation and the advent of João Goulart to the presidency, the country entered a period of political awakening. Since Goulart was feared by the elites and the armed forces, the government ran into constant opposition from different groups. Some more radical groups considered the government weak. This prompted the president not to make concessions to the political right. At the same time, leftist groups pressed in the cities and the country for more radical changes. The government tried to respond to these demands with "populist" measures and asked for the support of the state governments for its programs.¹⁶

One important aspect of the Goulart government was redefinition of the educational policy of the country. An agreement was one of the priorities in signing with the United States, through the Alliance for Progress and USAID. On the other hand, it was necessary to follow a general consensus in programs such as literacy where, by 1963, at least four separate campaigns were underway: (1) The experimental work of SEC of the University of Recife, led by Paulo Freire and working mainly in the northeastern area of Brazil. (2) A group sponsored by the National Conference of Bishops of Brazil, which had funds from the government through the Movimento de Educação de Base (MEB). This was composed of

members and former members of the Juventude Universitária Católica (JUC) who were using Freire's approach to literacy. This group spread all over Brazil by 1963 and worked constantly. (3) Another group sprang from Freire's earlier work with the municipality of Recife and continued with the governor's office. This was the Movimento de Cultura Popular (MCP). This movement spread all over Brazil, organized in many instances by students with small discussion groups. Literacy was not always the most important task. Themes such as arts, and nationalism were also discussed.

In Brasília, in the meantime, President Goulart reshuffled his cabinet as many times as he encountered opposition to his policies. Among those changes was the Minister of Education. Anthropologist Darcy Ribeiro was replaced by Paulo de Tarso. de Tarso was considered a radical in orientation and practice, though he was a member of the Christian Democratic Party. He had been an earlier member of JUC and a personal friend of Paulo Freire's. He knew the work done by the latter in Recife. Because a main aspect of reforming education included a national literacy program, and because by 1963 the Freire approach had caught the imagination of educators all over Brazil, this method was a logical choice. The establishment of a massive literacy program was an idea that had a lot of political and social potentiality, since it was conceived as a mass participation from different sectors of the population. Beginning in June 1963, the method became more widely known through the press in Brazil. The program was described as fast and effective, because a person could learn to read and write in forty hours. Access to coordinators was not a problem, but their training was. As

Freire said, "the major problem in setting up a program was instructing the teams of coordinators--because the difficulty lies in the creation of new attitudes."¹⁷ On the other hand, a program of literacy could not be confined to a mechanical approach, but had to be a critical one."¹⁸

The results of the combined political forces was the National Literacy Program of the Brazilian Ministry of Education and Culture. It was set up and destined to "extend and strengthen" educational work throughout Brazil.¹⁹ Paulo Freire was named national coordinator. The program, as it was conceived, was to have 20,000 culture circles throughout Brazil. As an immediate task, these culture circles were to investigate the themes of the Brazilian people. The themes were to be broken down and analyzed by specialists, who would help prepare filmstrips based on them. With this material available, a post-literacy program was to be prepared including a catalog of thematic breakdowns and bibliographic references available to high schools and colleges. The program should widen participation at the same time that it helps the school to identify the Brazilian reality."²⁰

The overall program was well-planned. Most important of all was not the literacy program per se but rather the fact that included 40 million illiterates in the economic, political, and social life of the country. In this case, literacy was only a means through which a mass of illiterates were to be able to participate in the reality of the country. Freire has contended that "merely teaching men to read and write does not work miracles; if there are not enough jobs for men able to work, teaching more men to read and write will not create them."²¹

In July of 1963, Fr. Almeri Bezerra de Melo temporarily took over the

Cultural Extension Service, replacing Paulo Freire who moved to Brasilia to coordinate the National Literacy Campaign. The Ministry of Education imported 35,000 projectors to be used during the literacy campaign and began the immediate organization of the culture circles. Freire commenting on the cost said, "in Brazil, when we were working at the national level, I don't remember just now precisely the cost of each educational unit, but it was very accessible for an underdeveloped country like Brazil. I remember that the projector which we imported from Poland cost U.S. \$2.50 bought in Brazil and the film strip U.S. \$1.00 more or less for an educational unit."²² Statistics about participation indicate that in the state of Guanabara alone, more than 6,000 people participated in the training for coordinators. The courses for training of coordinators of cultural circles went from the middle of June 1963 to March 1964. Since MEB already had an organization throughout the country and much of the work was being carried out by members of affiliated organizations of the Catholic church, they adopted Freire's method in their work which led to "conscientização." Freire's task was to coordinate all the different programs according to a unified criteria leading to a national program. These criteria were important because the whole issue of content and method was at stake. As Freire put it, "only someone with a mechanistic mentality, which Marx would call 'grossly materialistic' could reduce adult literacy learning to a purely technical action."²³ It is for this reason that the first edition of the MEB literacy primer (called Viver e Lutar--To Live and To Struggle) produced a strong reaction. In the state of Guanabara it was impounded at the printers. The primer was considered subversive in nature and

banned by the governor of the state. It is interesting to note that this was the second primer for adults, the first one was entitled Saber para Viver--To Know for Living. This one aroused no controversy, probably because it had less political content. This first primer was put together by the then minister of Education, Darcy Ribeiro, with the assistance of Sarah Gudschinsky and Dale W. Kutsman of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Santa Ana, California. This primer was published in December 1962.²⁴

Early in 1964, the national program of literacy, which was supposed to be running, was still in its developing stages. The difficulties of the country at this point--because the increasing maneuvers and counter maneuvers on the parties and groups that were part of the government--caused the postponement of part of the already behind schedule program. The differences of opinion among the moderate and radical elements in the Ministry of Education and in the base organizations brought planning problems. There were technical and logistics problems. These were often difficult to solve because of contradictory views. Adding to this were a scarcity of funds and trained people. In most instances, the battle was on the political grounds of the political parties. Since Freire did not belong to any political party in particular, his views were considered more technical than ideological. He did not have to cope with what was happening around him.²⁵

In the deteriorating political situation, attacks from the opposition became continuous to the government's policies. The left moved quickly to gain lost terrain, the army was close to a coup d'etat. On the other hand, the press was accusing the Ministry of Education and

Freire of spreading "foreign ideas throughout the country." The Rio de Janeiro newspaper O Globo led the attack, running stories every day.²⁶ With this, the end of an era in the life of Paulo Freire was near. Next would come exile, a clarification of his thought, international recognition, and a reputation of being some sort of "guru" of radical education. One person said "from all the buildup he got, I thought he could walk on water."²⁷

NOTES

1. Celso Furtado, Diagnosis of the Brazilian Crisis, trans. by Suzuzete Macedo (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967), p. 160.
2. Thomas E. Skidmore, Politics in Brazil, 1930-1964 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 209.
3. J. Alfredo, "A Universidade do Recife cria novo serviço, Extensão Cultural. Entrevista do Reitor João Alfredo publicada nos jornais do Recife," em 1, 4, 1962 Boletim Informativo da Universidade do Recife 8 (May 1962): 45.
4. Alfredo, p. 46.
5. Alfredo, p. 45.
6. Riordan Roett, The Politics of Foreign Aid in the Brazilian Northeast (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1972), p. 83.
7. Roett, p. 121.
8. Freire, P., Education for Critical Consciousness (New York: Continuum, 1981), p. 43.
9. Educación, "Paulo Freire por si mismo," Educacion 8, No. 14 (October 1976): 5.
10. Joseph Page, The Revolution that Never Was (New York: Grossman, 1972), pp. 172-73.
11. Freire, Education for Critical Consciousness, p. 50.
12. Harvard Educational Review, "The Adult Literacy Process as a Cultural Action for Freedom," Harvard Educational Review 40 (May 1970): 218.
13. Marcio Moreira, O Cristo do Povo (Rio de Janeiro: Editorial Sabiá, 1968), p. 193.
14. Moreira, p. 194.

15. Moreira, p. 193.
16. Thomas Skidmore, Politics in Brazil and Joseph Page, The Revolution that Never Was: 1930-1964 talk specially about this period of Brazilian history.
17. Freire, Education for Critical Consciousness, p. 52.
18. Freire, p. 56.
19. Freire, p. 55.
20. Freire, p. 57.
21. Harvard Educational Review, "The Adult Literacy Process as a Cultural Action for Freedom," p. 209.
22. Risk, "Education for Awareness, A Talk with Paulo Freire," Risk 6, No. 4, (1970): 14.
23. Harvard Educational Review, "The Adult Literacy Process as a Cultural Action for Freedom," p. 206.
24. N. J. Pearson, "Small Farmer and Rural Worker Pressure Groups in Brazil," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1968.
25. J. Page, The Revolution that Never Was p. 188.
26. T. Skidmore, Politics in Brazil, p. 406.
27. John Egerton, "Searching for Freire," Saturday Review of Education 1 (March 1973): 34.

CHAPTER V. THE END OF AN ERA

On April 1964, a military coup seized the government of João Goulart. This change of power brought persecution, exile, and death for many who had directly or indirectly participated in the government or in its programs during the four years that it lasted. There were also changes in some of the social relationships which were arduously being interwoven by those participating in the previous government of Brazil. Efforts to democratize, and to spread participation in the "abandoned sectors" of the Brazilian society were stopped. Freire, in commenting on the coup, said it was "an historical retreat which the usurpers of power tried to present as a reencounter with democracy."¹

The National Literacy Campaign was stopped immediately by the new government. Those who were participating in any of the literacy programs were questioned, accused of "bolchevizing" the country and in many cases jailed by the new authorities. The government quickly enacted new laws, among them the "Institutional Act of April 9," which deprived one hundred influential members of the previous government of their political rights for a decade. Paulo de Tarso and later Paulo Freire were among the disenfranchised.

The army moved quickly, especially into those areas that were most "sensitive." Pernambuco was considered a very sensitive area. One of the first moves by the army was to invade the headquarters of the Cultural Extension Service at the University of Recife. They confiscated all the material which was being used in the literacy program. At the time of the coup, Freire was not in charge of SEC. The military

authorities decided to obtain information from Fr. Almerly Bezerra who was the acting Director in Freire's absence. Fr. Bezerra was out of town when the army moved in. He arrived in Recife from Rio de Janeiro on April 7 or 8 and was questioned immediately upon arrival. He explains: "I was asked by two women on the street on a Sunday afternoon in front of the JUC building for the materials of alphabetization used by SEC. I told them that they had to go to the new director, since I was out from the 24th of March. They insisted, saying that they had not found the material that they were looking for, this being the 'Cartilha Paulo Freire.' 'Well, this booklet does not exist,' I answered. But they insisted, 'Yes, it exists!' Then I answered, 'I see, you are better informed than me'."² That same night Fr. Bezerra was questioned by army personnel about the activities of SEC, his relationship with other people on the team, and courses that the Service offered. In other words, SEC was considered "illegal and dangerous" for the security of the country.

Freire, who had been in Brasilia working on some technical problem of the literacy program or in Aracaju (capital of the state of Sergipe) working on details of the literacy campaign, went back to Recife.³ He returned on a safe conduct obtained by a priest who worked for him, but was in virtual house arrest after arrival. In mid-June he was almost dragged to jail. A number of colleagues were also arrested and imprisoned. Much of the questioning revolved around the work of SEC and its possible political implications. Twenty-four hours after Paulo was arrested and taken to prison, Elza was unable to learn his whereabouts or whether he was safe. She feared for his life. Officials of the Fourth Army denied at first that he had been arrested. The family discovered

finally that some captain had taken it upon himself to throw the SEC Director into jail.⁴

Freire was held in jail for seventy-five days; a time which he recounts as "a learning experience." "When I was in a box one meter, seventy centimeters long and sixty centimeters in width, I could think of my children and my wife walking, I knew that I was in prison," he said. Nevertheless, in order for me to be free it was necessary to open the door to go out. I was not free even though I could think of the world outside. To become free from that envelope I needed something more than my consciousness, and this is the main point to be emphasized."⁵

During his period of imprisonment, Freire was moved to different places for further interrogation. He had to clarify his participation in the Goulart regime. Specifically, the military authorities were interested in his work in the National Literary Campaign and in his literacy method for their political implications rather than out of any genuine pedagogical interest. Interrogation lasted eighty-three hours at different times. Freire stated later that old tape recordings of his words were used against him. "I was interrogated by the police. I was asked about the statements which I made four years before, sometimes we had used instruments like the tape recorder for a free and frank discussion, and the police got hold of all these tapes and used them against what I said."⁶ Interrogations continued later in the military police headquarters in Rio de Janeiro. Other authors agree that incitement to revolt was never Freire's direct objective as an educator, though democratization was. Thus, he rejected authoritarian methods of education.⁷ As Freire later said, this was for him another learning

moment because of the experience that he obtained. As a result of this, he concluded that in certain moments we should act more than speak. To know how to be silent and not run the risk of jeopardizing ones own life or create problems for other people seemed ethically wise to him. As part of the learning process, he said, we all must know and clarify what a person can do and cannot do. The moment of life threatening confrontation is for many people very crucial according to Freire, because many of them will be intimidated. They no longer will be able to pursue any act in which their lives will not be safe. For others, the situation will provide a stronger commitment to struggle. Their own convictions will be clarified.⁸

Another point that was used against Freire was the fact that during the early days of the military uprising a shipment of slide projectors destined to the literacy campaign arrived to Recife from Poland. Army officials were suspicious because they thought this was a shipment of armaments, and they proceeded to open the boxes. They considered the machines dangerous and began to destroy them. The projectors became evidence of communist ties between the national literacy program and their supporters. This amounted to an Inquisition bonfire, with the added absurdity that no dangerous ideas could possibly be printed in those neutral machines.⁹

Freire was interrogated and later moved to Rio de Janeiro. His wife and children stayed in Recife waiting for his release. In the meantime, he was expelled from the University of Recife as director of SEC and as a professor of the university. During the interrogation, the colonel in charge of "anti-subversive investigations" at the Ministry of Education

wished to prove that he was an absolutely ignorant.¹⁰ Freire believes that the only charge that the military was trying to prove was that "he was a dangerous person." Toward the end, the military government declared him and international subversive, a traitor to Christ and to the people of Brazil besides being an absolute ignoramus and illiterate." One of the judges asked him "Do you deny that your method is similar to those used by Stalin, Hitler, Perón, or Mussolini? ... Do you deny that with your pretended method you want to bolchevize the country?" He was declared absolutely ignorant and an enemy of the country.¹¹

After seventy-five days in prison Freire was set free, but, because of the wave of persecution in the country, it was possible for many of the people who had been detained to be picked up by the police or the military again under new charges--or even without charges.

After his release from prison, Freire stayed at a small beach house in the middle of a palm grove south of Recife. A friend visited him a few days later said that he expected to find a person broken down from his experience in jail. But what he found was a person who treated the imprisonment as his first real vacation in many years. His cellmates, old friends of more activist inclinations had made him exercise his sedentary muscles daily, and he felt fit. In this time of imprisonment he had even time to read Guimarães Rosa's Grande Sertão Verde, a famous Brazilian novel.¹² But equally important as his good health was the fact that he showed no bitterness toward those who were wrecking his life and work. Freire left the country after taking refuge in the Bolivian embassy in September 1964.

The government of Bolivia gave a safe conduct visa to Freire so he

could live Brazil, but his misfortunes did not end when he left the country. He arrived in La Paz and after fifteen days he had to leave again because a coup d'etat overthrew the government that had granted him asylum. This time his destination was neighboring Chile. From that date, a new stage of life began. Worldwide recognition of his work and system of education gave him the same kind of fame as those Latin American educators in the earlier days of independence and nationhood.

The point of being totally ignorant was always the point that the government tried to make clear in the case of Freire. This is evident later when one of his lawyers was working against the charges to lift his exiled status. The lawyer made the point that under the constitution no person should be exiled because of being ignorant. Besides, the lawyer said, his client accused of ignorance had been teaching at Harvard University and other places around the world. If they considered him dangerous, he should not have been permitted to go to the United States and offer lectures in different universities.¹³ Even with those arguments Freire's exiled status was not lifted until 1981.

The Vagabond of the Obvious

A few years ago a journalist asked Freire how he defined himself. The answer was "I am a vagabond of the obvious, because I walk around the world saying obvious things, such as that education is not neutral."¹⁴ A look at the itinerary of the life of Freire affirms at least the point of the statement about walking around the world. After 1964, his work has been in many places in Latin America, Africa, and Europe. His reputation has grown internationally along with his work. The translation into

English in 1971 of two of his major works--Education for Critical Consciousness and Pedagogy of the Oppressed--made him available to North America as well as more people in Europe.

Work in Chile

There was an exodus of qualified people from Brazil to numerous other countries in Latin America because of the difficulties in working with the new government. In 1964, Chile, under the presidency of Eduardo Frei, was developing a series of reforms in different sectors of the society, one of them being a process of agrarian reform. A literacy program was part of this. Paulo de Tarso, the former minister of Education of Goulart, was hired as a consultant for the Chilean agrarian development project in the Instituto de Desarrollo Agropecuario (INDAP). de Tarso transferred later to ICIRA, an agency of the Chilean government, and the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO). At ICIRA, he became supervisor of the Department of Rural Planning and Teaching Methods. Paulo Freire worked under him as an advisor and authority on literacy training.¹⁵

At the end of September 1964, Paulo Freire arrived in Santiago. Elza and the children moved to Chile later (January 1965). Freire arrived as a special consultant for the literacy program in the agrarian reform project. With him came other Brazilians who had been associated with the National Literacy Campaign, for example, José Luis Fiori and Maria Edy Ferreira. They would work in developing, modifying, and recreating a program of literacy using Freire's method. Freire's own work was centered mostly in an agrarian perspective at this period.

Education played an important role because those participating in the reform were to obtain and produce with the land that they were to receive. The agrarian reform process consisted in the disappropriation of "latifundios" (extensive holdings of land). The land was divided among those who had been salaried workers in that latifundio. In the initial phase, the workers received the name of "asentados" (settlers) and received their land provisionally for a period of three years. During these three years, they received assistance from the agrarian reform program of the government until they become owners by assigning them the land.¹⁶

de Tarso and Freire viewed this opportunity in Chile as advantageous, if not unique because they hoped to elaborate and institutionalize their educational philosophies and experiences in the ongoing program of agrarian reform. It is important to distinguish Freire's work in Chile from that of Brazil. The different political climate in Chile, which was more calm and sophisticated, presented far more advantageous for developing the program of literacy. The Frei government had a goal of transforming Chilean society, which included "broad forms of participation in the development of our community."¹⁷

As result, a department of special planning for adult education was created independent from the ministry of education. The function of the department was to spread through the country special courses (in urban and rural areas) using the Freire method. It was also to develop curriculum material for use in the agrarian reform project. In 1967, the Chilean government received the Mohamad Reza Pahlavi Award through UNESCO for successfully reducing illiteracy in the country.

Freire produced other works during this period which were to be used mostly internally in the agrarian reform project. "To the Coordinators of the Cultural Circle" was a circular sent by Freire to the cultural circles in Chile. It explained the nature of the program, dividing this into two main categories. One revolved about "the fundamental effort of education in the liberation of man." As a coordinator, "you must be humble so you can grow with the group" and the relationship between educator and educatee "is established through a dialog."¹⁸ Another work from the same period, "The Role of the Social Worker in the Process of Transformation," explains the role of social worker and their participation in the culture team. They are to find the themes for studying the language and the cultural aspect of the area. Most of these ideas appeared as part of the book Education as Practice of the Freedom, first book published by Freire in Portuguese.¹⁹ The work done in Brazil, plus aspects of the work done in Chile, comprised this first book published in 1969 in Brazil. This book would be translated and published in an English edition in 1974. Shortly afterward he published Pedagogy of the Oppressed in which he refined the works of the previous book. This book became available for English readers in 1975.

The work of Freire caught the attention of people engaged in education in Chile, especially in the ministry of education. Since one of the programs offered through the ministry was adult education (in which students attended elementary and secondary school at night), one result of Freire's works was the development of a special curriculum to suit the needs of those attending night classes. A primer was also designed for the purpose of teaching in the reformed areas. The

collection was organized by Jefatura de Planes Extraordinarios de Educacion de Adultos of the Public Education Ministry"²⁰ (Office of Adult Education). Elza, commenting in those years in Chile, said that they were very productive, with a life not much different from those in Brazil. She was involved in advising and helping Paulo, especially in the writing of Pedagogy of the Oppressed. He acknowledged this help by saying "without her it will be impossible for me to finish the book."²¹

His contract working with the ICIRA program came to an end in 1969. Since the program was successful, it seemed likely that the contract would be extended. Surprisingly, he did not receive a new offer however. In commenting on this development, Solon Barracolough--a consultant for the United Nations attached to the ICIRA program--contends that "political motives may have had some influence in the termination of Freire's employment at ICIRA." He observes that "when Paulo Freire's contract ended, it was not given any further consideration."²² The political aspect remains largely speculation, however, since long-term associate and collaborator Paulo de Tarso remained at ICIRA in his former position.

In 1969, Paulo Freire, already with an international recognition, became a Fellow of the Center for Studies in Education and Development at Harvard University. He alternated this work with CIDOC in Cuernavaca, Mexico where he was invited to participate in the center directed by Ivan Illich. Freire and Illich had similar educational ideas and both men probably influenced each other in their philosophy.²³ Freire spent his time in Cambridge teaching at Harvard and writing other works (such as "Cultural Action and Conscientization" and "The Adult Literacy Process as

Cultural Action for Freedom").²⁴ He became friends with Jonathan Kozol who was deeply concerned about Freire's concept of education and society. Kozol, commenting on Freire, says: "for more than one year he lived in a relatively poor neighborhood of Cambridge. Each Sunday afternoon for many weeks, I used to visit him ... to sit and talk and drink strong Brazilian coffee for long hours...."²⁵ Most of the work during this period revolved around teaching and supervising the translation of Pedagogy of the Oppressed and Education for Critical Consciousness. Elza, commenting on this period, says, "It was fun to ride bicycles in the afternoons and see the young children growing up."²⁶ She continued to offer suggestions that Paulo incorporated in the books.

At this time, Freire was also in conversation with the World Council of Churches in Geneva about the possibility of becoming a consultant in the education department. It is important to note that for the WCC it was the first time that a non-Protestant was taking such a high place. In January 1970, Paulo Freire left Cambridge to become part of the World Council of Churches program. Jonathan Kozol, in commenting about his departure says: "Freire never won an offer of a professorship at Harvard, even if the university held spaces open for such men as Galbraith, Moynihan, and Kissinger. The school of education could not find room for Paulo Freire."²⁷ Through the Geneva base, Freire developed his work in Portuguese Africa in a reencounter with his native Portuguese, a dream for him.

During the next four years, he would also periodically take part in the seminar "Alternatives in Education" with Ivan Illich at CIDOC in Cuernavaca. Also, during this time, he traveled extensively throughout the

world (New Zealand, Australia, Iran, England, Italy, and India), participating in seminars and explaining his theory of education. In 1973, he was recognized by the Open University in Britain which awarded to him an honorary degree.²⁸

A proposal designed by a team of educators, sociologists, and linguists for the newly independent government of Guinea Bissau took Paulo Freire again to the day-to-day work in the literacy field. This program eventually included Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, Angola, and São Tomé. The team was composed mostly of Brazilians working for the newly formed IDAC (Institute d'Action and Conscientization). This institute sprung from the education department of the World Council of Churches. The result of this work was another book, Letters to Guinea Bissau. It grew out of a succession of letters that Freire sent to Mario Cabral, commissioner for education of the government of Guinea Bissau. It explains the work done by the team (headed by Freire), the difficulties encountered, and the achievements obtained. It is also important to note that Elza participated as a member of the team with Paulo Freire.

The work in Guinea Bissau went from February of 1975 to mid 1978. During these years, his work was centered mainly in three tasks:

1) With the liberation movements in the Portuguese African colonies came "a new educational reality" which needed to be addressed from a new perspective--a liberated and nonoppressive one. Since the old system of education was inherited from colonial administration, it responded to only the necessities of the colonizer rather than those of the colony. It was also exclusive and selective, and rejected the basic cultural life of the colony.²⁹ Freire relied on Frantz Fanon's explanation of the way

of life and culture imposed over the Portuguese colony, thus distorting and creating a foreigner inside the colonized country.³⁰ Thus, one of the first tasks of the education team headed by Freire was to learn the culture of the people of Guinea Bissau and their struggle for liberation. In other words, they had to submerge themselves in the socio-political and economic context of the country and start from that point with the creation of the circles of cultures.

2) A second task was to visit the first liberated zones and establish contact with those who participated in that period in creating and sustaining an educational system. This was in the zone liberated from Portuguese domination, and was called in Freire's words the "analytical part."

3) The third task of Freire and his team in Guinea Bissau "grew naturally for them." This was the synthesis, which was the different analytical parts put together. From this point, the government should be able to set a commission which will coordinate the program of adult education from 1976 onward. At the same time, it was agreed that the team based in Geneva would prepare educational texts and send them to Bissau for their approval. The team would also make periodic visits to Bissau.³¹

Even though the language of instruction was Portuguese, Freire contends that this was one of the problems because Portuguese was the language of the colonizer and it was spoken in the urban areas as an official not a national language. The solution was to use creole which would assure all people's participation.³² This was not the case in São Tomé and Cape Verde where "I was able to speak my northeastern Brazilian

Portuguese."³³

From 1976 to 1979, a series of seminars and conferences brought Freire to the United States. His books were being read more widely and his works were part of many curricula in education programs. In 1978, his experiences in Guinea Bissau were put together in the book Pedagogy in Process: Letters to Guinea Bissau. In it he explains the literacy process carried on by his team in Guinea Bissau.

The Return to Brazil

Finally, in December of 1979, the government of Brazil promulgated a law in declaring an amnesty for those who wanted to participate. The amnesty included hundreds of academics, most of them exiled, public servants, and military personnel who asked to be reinstated in their posts which had been taken by the law of "exceção." Among those who asked not to be reinstated because they were lecturing in other countries (but to be considered in the amnesty law) was "the educator Paulo Freire."³⁴ Among those who received the amnesty with Freire were Miguel Arraes, ex-governor of Pernambuco and one of the first supporters of the "circle of culture" in Recife, and Darcy Ribeiro, minister of education of João Goulart and who preceded Paulo de Tarso. One of the reasons why Freire did not ask for the return of his post of professor at the former University of Recife (today Federal University of Pernambuco) was that he received an appointment to the Graduate Faculty of the University of Campinas in São Paulo and to the Federal University of São Paulo.

At this point, Freire was well-known around the world and with his

works translated into different languages he had the fame of being an outstanding educator.

NOTES

1. Paulo Freire, Education for Critical Consciousness (New York: Continuum, 1981), p. 19.
2. Marcio Moreira, O Cristo do Povo (Rio de Janeiro: Editorial Sábá, 1968), p. 204.
3. There are conflicting statements about Freire's location at the time of the coup. Joseph Page, The Revolution that Never Was (New York: Grossman, 1972), p. 213, states that "Freire himself was in Brasília when the coup began." His source is the newspaper "Última Hora" of April 3, 1964. John Elias, Conscientization and Deschooling (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1976), p. 17, states that "he does not have the source of the information about the location of Freire but ... it was told to him." In this case, I am using information that seems closer to my sources.
4. Joseph Page, The Revolution that Never Was (New York: Grossman, 1972), p. 214.
5. Indian Journal of Youth Affairs "To Know and to Be, A Dialogue with Paulo Freire" Indian Journal of Youth Affairs 1 (June 1976): 2.
6. Indian Journal of Youth Affairs, p. 13.
7. Emmanuel de Kadt, Catholic Radicals in Brazil (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 104.
8. Indian Journal of Youth Affairs, p. 10.
9. Convergence, "Controversy," Convergence 5, No. 4 (1973): 47.
10. Marcio Moreira, A Grain of Mustard Seed. The Awakening of the Brazilian Revolution (New York: Anchor, 1973), p. 115.

11. Marcio Moreira, O Cristo do Povo, p. 202.
12. Marcio Moreira, A Grain of Mustard Seed, p. 109.
13. "Meeting Freire, Letters in the Earth" Taped Interview (Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, Toronto), 1979.
14. Indian Journal of Youth Affairs, "To Know and to Be," Indian Journal of Youth Affairs 1 (June 1976): 12.
15. Philip Fletcher, Paulo Freire and Conscientization in Latin America (New York: Ford Foundation, 1970), p. 53.
16. For the technical and social aspects of the agrarian reform process there is abundant literature. Some of readings for consultation in this area are found in Solon Barraclough and José Antonio Fernandez, Diagnostico de la Reforma Agraria Chilena. Mexico: Siglo XXI, 1974. Also James Petras and Hugo Zemelman Marino "Peasants in Revolt. A Chilean Case of Study, 1965-1971" University of Texas, Austin: Latin America Monographs No. 28, 1972.
17. Fletcher, p. 55.
18. Paulo Freire, "To the Coordinator of the Cultural Circle," Convergence 4, No. 1 (1971): 61-62.
19. Works such as "Extension or Communication" which were published previously by ICIRA (Chile) 1969, as part of the experience of Freire in Chile during the agrarian reform project. These two works will comprise later Education for Critical Consciousness.
20. Paulo Freire, "Cultural Action and Conscientization," Harvard Educational Review 40 (August 1970): 457.
21. Keith Rowe, "Freire Speaks on Freire" Church and Community 31 (1974): 6.

22. Philip Fletcher, "Paulo Freire and Conscientization in Latin America," p. 61.
23. See, in this respect, John Elias, Conscientization and Deschooling (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1976) and the dissertation of the same author "A Comparison and Critical Evaluation of the Social and Educational Thought of Paulo Freire and Ivan Illich, with Particular Emphasis upon the Religious Inspiration of their Thought." Ed. D. dissertation, Temple University, 1974. It explains both Freire's and Illich's works and their respective philosophical orientation. Also in the same respect see: Risk "School or Scandal" Risk 6, No. 5 (1970): 15.
24. Published by Harvard Educational Review 40, No. 3 (1970), and 40, No. 2 (1970).
25. Jonathan Kozol, The Night is Long and I Am Away from the School (New York: Bantam Books, 1977), p. 219. Kozol highly respect Freire's work and considers him as very important influence in his own writings and thinking. "I feel very deeply his philosophy and since we met we are good friends" (From a conversation of the author with J. Kozol, Ames, Iowa, 1982).
26. Personal interview with Elza Freire in Boston, Summer 1981.
27. Jonathan Kozol, The Night is Long and I Am Away from the School, p. 220.
28. Robert Mackie, ed. Literacy and Revolution (New York: Continuum, 1981), p. 133.
29. For a recount of the liberation process of Guinea Bissau and the educational process see: Stephane Urdag, Fighting Two Colonialism.

Women in Guinea Bissau, (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1979).

Also Lars Rudebeck, Guinea Bissau. A Study of Political Mobilization. (Upsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1974). Also Basil Davidson, No Fist is Big Enough to Hide the Sky (London: Zed Press, 1969).

30. Frantz Fanon, The Wretched of the Earth (New York: Grove Press, 1965).
31. Paulo Freire, Pedagogy in Process. The Letters to Guinea Bissau Trans. Carman St. John Hunter (New York: The Seabury Press, 1978), p. 38.
32. Paulo Cannabrava, "The Politics of the Three R's." Third World 7 (1981): 68. Other authors believe that Portuguese is the language medium for all schools. Creole it is not a written language and besides if creole were to come the sole natural language in D. G. Bissau it would isolate the country from the rest of the world. Since independence plans are being developed to have creole written and taught alongside Portuguese. Stephane Urdag "Fighting Two Colonialism," p. 178.
33. Cannabrava, p. 68.
34. Veja, "Anistia, volta parcial" Veja (January 2, 1980): 28.

CHAPTER VI. CONCLUSION

At this point, Freire was well-known around the world and, with his works translated into several different languages, he had the fame of being an outstanding educator. He remained modest. When a journalist asked how he defined himself, Freire replied: "I am a vagabond of the obvious, because I walk around the world saying obvious things, such as that education is not neutral." Whatever the future holds for Paulo Freire, it is likely that he will continue to be a citizen of many countries and to comment perceptively on pedagogical issues. "Without dialogue there is no communication and without communication there can be no education," he has written.¹ Freire will continue to educate.

NOTES

1. Freire, P., Pedagogy of the Oppressed, Translated by Myra Bergman Ramos (New York: Seabury Press, 1973), p. 81.

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I am also indebted to Paulo Freire and his wife Elza Freire who took time to answer all my questions and inquiries while in Boston. Our conversation was for me a truly educational experience and I was able to see and talk with Paulo Freire the person, and not the myth.

I thank also all of those who helped me in the first place in one way or another throughout my career. Mrs. Rachel Evans from Fort Dodge, Iowa who sponsored me at the beginning of my studies. To my friends and family with the most deepest gratitude; in Ames to Max and Eileen Exner, in Chile to my parents, sisters, and mother-in-law. Through the distance I always received encouragement and support much needed. They always lifted my spirit with their kind words and love.

Finally, to my wife, Gilda, with whom "we have made the trail while we walk." Her love, support, and courage have helped me endure these years. To her I dedicate this work.

APPENDIX A: BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WORKS ABOUT PAULO FREIRE

The following bibliography was prepared initially from the holdings of the Paulo Freire Special Collection of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education in Canada and from a bibliography issued by the Center for Studies in Education in The Hague. I have supplemented these by references with every bibliography I could find dealing with Freire. The result is a bibliography that includes most of Freire's own works as well as writings by others related to his ideas and to the development of his programs of adult literacy. Many of the items were issued in small quantities. The material is written not only in English, but also in Spanish, Portuguese, French, German, Danish, Swedish, Italian, and Dutch. This is one reason why these works are scattered around the world and why copies of some items are extremely difficult to obtain.

Fortunately, the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education in Toronto has gathered a special collection of works by and about Freire. Approximately three-fourths of the extant material is in OISE's holdings, and I have used this collection. The bibliography which follows has been completed with the help of OISE and the Library of Iowa State University which have been helpful in obtaining materials on the interlibrary loan. I have not been able to use the holdings at the Center for Studies in Education in The Hague.

My original intention was to provide full citations for all items in this bibliography. This has not been possible for two reasons. One is that I have not been able to see copies of many of the entries for the reasons mentioned above. The other is that even when copies have been

available at OISE, full bibliographic information is not always available. OISE gathered its material from many sources and some of the pieces did not come to them with the complete information. The problem is complicated by the fact that journals and publishers in different Latin American countries sometimes have the same name. To help readers locate copies of items with incomplete citations, I have indicated those items that are located at OISE or the Center in The Hague.

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Guinea Bissau. A Study of Political Mobilization. Uppsala:
Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1974.

Urdan, Stephane

Fighting Two Colonialism. Women in Guinea Bissau. New York:
Monthly Review Press, 1979.

APPENDIX C. PUBLISHED WORKS BY FREIRE

This first item includes most of the books written by Freire including the translations of his major works. A view of Latin America, criticism to the theories of development, agricultural extension and its implications for pedagogy are also discussed. The relationship between educator and educate (Freire's words) and the oppressed and oppressor in a dialogical relationship are part of these works. Also, the role of the church in the context of liberation and their educational experience is included in these writings.

Conscientization

Conscientización: teoría y práctica de la libertad. Traducción Hermana, María Agudelo. Bogotá: Asociación de Publicaciones Educativas, 1974.

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Pedagogy of the Oppressed

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Pedagogia del oprimido. Traducción de J. Mellado. Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1978.

Pedagogia y acción liberadora. Madrid: Zero, 1978.

Pedagogie des oprimes suivi de conscientisation et revolution. Traduit du brasilien. Paris: Maspero, 1974.

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La Pedagogie degli oppressi. Milano: A. Mondadori, 1971.

The Church in Latin America

Las iglesias en America Latina, su papel educativo. Caracas: Laboratorio Educativo, 1975.

Theology of Liberation

Theologie aus der Praxis des Volkes: Neuere Studie zum Lateinamerikan. Christentum u. zur Theologie d. Befreiung Munchen, 1978.

Education in Latin America

Volkserziehung in Lateinamerika: von d. Theorie Paulo Freire zur Polit. Praxis der Unterdruckten. Berlin: 1978.

Paulo Freire Doctoral Dissertation
"Educação e Atualidade Brasileira." Doctoral Dissertation, University of
Recife, 1959.

APPENDIX D. CHAPTERS IN BOOKS

In this section are included those works written by Paulo Freire that have appeared in different publications around the world. These writings are mainly discussions about his methodology (in Spanish and English) and the cultural conditions of Latin America from an oppressive perspective.

"A proposito del tema generador y del universo temático." En Contribución al proceso de conscientización en América Latina. Junta Latinoamericana de Iglesia y Sociedad, Montevideo: 1968.

"Acción cultural y reforma agraria." En Sobre la acción cultural. Santiago: ICIRA, 1969.

"Are Adult Literacy Programmes Neutral?" In Turning Point for Literacy. Edited by Leon Bataille. U.K.: Pergamon Press, 1976.

"Cultural Freedom in Latin America." In Human Rights and the Liberation of Man in the Americas. Edited by Louis M. Colonna. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1970.

"Education as Cultural Action." In Conscientization for Liberation. Edited by Louis Colonna. Washington, D.C.: Division for Latin America, United States Catholic Conference, 1971.

"El rol del trabajador social en el proceso de cambio." En Sobre la acción cultural. Santiago: ICIRA, 1970.

Paulo Freire with Ivan Illich and Pierre Furter, Educación para el cambio social. Buenos Aires: Editorial Tierra Nueva, 1974.

Paulo Freire with Augusto Salazar Bondy, Que es la conscientización y como funciona. Lima: Editorial Causachun, 1971.

APPENDIX E. ARTICLES

These articles written by Paulo Freire cover different topics from literacy programs to agricultural extension (with reference to work done in Chile). Also provided are references to the literacy experience and education as a way of raising consciousness. Many of the works are a product of the experience in Chile and Brazil and the methodology used in that period.

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- "Tercer mundo y teología, carta a un joven teólogo." Selecciones de Teología 13, 50 :178-180. (OISE)
- "Toward a Woman World." IDAC (1975): np.

- "Teoria e practica de la liberazione." Ave Minima (1974): 172 p. (OISE)
- "The Adult Literacy Process as a Cultural Action for Freedom." Harvard Educational Review 40 (May 1975):205-225.
- "The People Speak Their Word. Learning to Read and Write in São Tomé and Príncipe." Harvard Educational Review 51 (April 1981):27-30.
- "The Educational Role of the Church in Latin America." Pasos 9 (Oct. 1972): np. Also in LADOC 3, (Dec. 1972):1-14.
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- "The Role of the Social Worker in the Process of Change." Centre for the Study of Development and Social Change. Harvard University (1969): 3 p. (OISE)
- "The Third World and Theology." Perspectivas de Dialogo (Dec. 1970) 3 p. Also in LADOC Keyhole Series, Washington, D.C. pp. 13-15.
- "Thinking with Paulo Freire." Australian Council of Churches. (1974): np.
- "Trabaja entre nosotros." INDAP Santiago (Nov. 1964): 1 p. (OISE)
- "Une pedagogie de la liberte." Preuves 14 (1972): np.
- "Von der Notwendigkeit die Ganze." Gesellschaft zu Verändern Sonderdruck aus Bruderlichkeit die Vergessene Parole. Herausgegeben von Hans Jurgen Shultz Deutsche Verlag-Hansalt, (1977):103-110.

Transcribed Interviews

These interviews show important aspects of the life of Paulo Freire and how he arrived at his educational philosophy. Many questions are concerned with his early life, his experience in Brazil, and later in Chile and Guinea Bissau. Criticism of his works and the answers of Freire to the critics are included. Also the meaning of conscientization and its definition are explained. Interviews have been done in several countries and many of the interviews have never been published in English. In some cases, the interview has been done by a team of the

publication and no author is given.

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Lamb, James and others

"A Conversation with Paulo Freire: Reflection on the Politics of Struggle in the U.S." Perspectives on Development and Social Change. 10 p.

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"Towards a Pedagogy of the Oppressed." Times Higher Education Supplement 13 (July, 1972) 2 p.

Makins, Virginia

"Interview with Paulo Freire." Times Educational Supplement 20 (Oct. 1972):80.

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"L'educazione in un contesto rivoluzionario." Rocca 5 (1977):26-29.

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"Educazione, linguaggio, liberazione." Rocca 6-7 (1977):36-39.

Portoghese, Anna

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Setler, Alexander J.

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Papers to Conferences, Symposiums, Seminars

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"Alfabetización funcional en Chile." Paper presented to UNESCO, Nov. 1968.

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APPENDIX F. WORKS ABOUT FREIRE

Books

In this section are included all those works that have been published related to the works of Freire's methodology, his theory in practice, as well as assessment to his earlier works and how his methodology has been implemented.

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APPENDIX G. LIST OF ACRONYMS

AESA	American Educational Studies Association
ASPBAE	Asian-South Pacific Bureau of Adult Education (Australia)
CELAM	Consejo Episcopalo Latinoamericano (Colombia)
CENDES	Centro de Estudios y Desarrollo (Venezuela)
CENIED	Centro Nacional de Investigaciones Educativas (Argentina)
CESO	Centro de Estudios Sociales
CEDOC	Conferencia Ecuatoriana de Obreros Catolicos
CIDE	Centro de Investigaciones y Desarrollo de la Educacion
CIDOC	Centro Intercultural de Documentación (Mexico)
CIRA	Centro de Investigaciones de la Reforma Agraria (Colombia)
CIEC	Congreso Interamericano de Educación Católica
CICOP	Catholic Inter-American Cooperation Program
CORA	Corporación de la Reforma Agraria (Chile)
CREFAL	Centro Regional de Educación de Adultos y Alfabetización Funcional para la America Latina (Mexico)
ECA	Estudios Centro Americanos (El Salvador)
HOAC	Hermanidad Obrera de Acción Católica
ICEA	Institute Canadien d'Education des Adultes
ICIRA	Instituto de Capacitación y Investigaciones de la Reforma Agraria (Chile)
IDOC	International Documentation and Communication Center (Rome)
IDAC	Institute d'Action Culturelle (Switzerland)
INODEP	Institute Oecumenique au Service du Developpment des Peuples
INDAP	Instituto Nacional de Desarrollo Agropecuario (Chile)
JPEES	Jefatura Planes Extraordinarios Educación de Adultos (Chile)
LADOC	Latinoamerican Documentation
LARU	Latinoamerican Research Unit
MEP	Ministerio Educación Pública (Chile)
MIEC	Movimiento Internacional de Estudiantes Catolicos
MIJARC	Movement International de la Jeunesse Agricole et Rurale Catholique (Belgium)
OEA	Organization of American States
OISE	Ontario Institute for Studies in Education
SEC	Secretaria de Educación y Cultura
SEDECOS	Secretariado de Comunicación Social (Chile)
SID	Servicio de Investigación y Desarrollo (Nicaragua)
UNESCO	United Nations Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNU	United Nations University (Japan)
USCC	United State Catholic Conference
WCC	World Council of Churches (Geneva)