Paulo Freire as Secretary of Education in the Municipality of São Paulo.

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Table of Contents

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As an educator I give much more emphasis to the comprehension of a rigorous method of knowing. Still we must ask ourselves, to know in favor of what, and therefore, against what to know; in whose favor to know, and against whom to know. Those questions which we pose to ourselves as educators, brings us to the confirmation of another obviousness which is the political nature of education (Paulo Freire).[1]

The political makeup of education is independent of the educator's subjectivity; that is, it is independent if the educator is conscious of this political makeup, which is never neutral. When an educator finally understand this, she or he can never again escape the political ramifications. An educator has to question himself or herself about options that are inherently political, though often disguised as pedagogical to make them acceptable within the existing structure. Thus, making choices is most important. Educators must ask themselves on whose behalf they are working. (Paulo Freire).[2]

To César Chavez, *In Memoriam*[3]

Introduction.

This article discusses educational policy formation in the democratic socialist Municipal Administration of the Partido dos Trabalhadores (Worker's Party) in São Paulo Brazil, under the leadership of Paulo Freire as Secretary of Education of the City of São Paulo between 1989 and 1992. Educational policy-making is analyzed against the backdrop of theories of the State and of social movements.[4]

With 8.511.965 square kilometers, and 146.154.502 inhabitants in 1991, Brazil is the largest Latin American country. It has the largest external debt in the world which amounts to US $166.8 billion, thus expending approximately 5 percent of its GNP to meet its financial obligations with international creditors.[5] After a series of military governments between 1964 and 1985, Brazil's

transition to democratic rule has not been excepted from serious conflicts, aggravated by fiscal and economic crises. The most recent political conflict has been the impeachment by Parliament of President Collor the Melo in 1992. It is in the context of political democratization that the democratic socialist Partido dos Trabalhadores or PT won the Municipal elections of 1988 in São Paulo, obtaining also electoral victories in more than twenty municipalities in Brazil.

The debate around the new educational policies in the Municipality of São Paulo involves a number of crucial issues: What State is being constructed? What kind of democracy is being asked for in a democratic socialist project? What kind of education will eventually emerge from popular public education? Is it possible to establish working relationships between public sectors and social movements without the co-optation and loss of autonomy of the latter? If tensions, ambiguity, and uncertainty are built into the very same dynamic of this relationship, how can a workable agreement be devised for long-term planning and execution of participative educational policies?

The purpose of this article is descriptive and exploratory as well as analytical. It attempts to situate the *problematique* of the relationships between reformist State policies in education and the role of social movements. I do not attempt to offer a definitive explanation of whether the genesis of Freire's program in São Paulo either proves or disproves key tenets of the theory of the State, nor do I wish to offer a definitive explanation of the interactions between State agencies and social movements in education policy formation. The complexity of the subject calls for a very detailed and extensive theoretical discussion and empirical analysis that cannot be fully accomplished within the boundaries of a single article.

The importance of this study for comparative education results from the vibrancy of the subject as well as the apparent odd combination of research dimensions. Although it may seem anachronistic to speak of socialist policies after the demise of the Soviet Union, the drastic changes in Eastern Europe, and the conventional wisdom of the failure of State planning of politics and markets, the policies developed by the Worker's Party and Paulo Freire in Brazil still claim to have a democratic-socialist and anti-capitalist rather than a social democratic orientation. Yet it will be misleading to consider the PT as an homogeneous political party. On the contrary, it is composed

by as many as 15 different factions, with important political differences among themselves, which will be reflected in debates regarding educational policies. In addition, the understanding of State politics in Brazil is difficult, particularly when the different roles of the federal government, state government and municipal government are accounted for. This article does not address the intricate relationships of these different levels of governance in education in São Paulo. Instead, the article focuses exclusively on the local or municipal level politics that has become central to the process of political democratization of Brazil and South American societies more generally. If speaking of socialism may sound anachronistic, to discuss the role of the State as a prominent actor in educational policy formation may also appear esoteric, considering the strong drive for decentralization and privatization of educational services in Latin America, and the diminishing role of the State brought about by structural adjustment policies in the region.[6] Finally, the democratic process of policy making becomes even more complex and convoluted and perhaps less manageable when we consider the contributions of social movements to policy making, including their goals and objectives, *modus operandi* and political rationality.[7]

Thus, this article wishes to intervene (although still in a very exploratory manner), in the theoretical and policy controversies involving the new role of the State in Latin America, the impact of social movements in educational policy making, and the limits and possibilities of democratic socialist perspectives in educational policy planning after the collapse of "real" socialism.

Educational Policy in São Paulo, Brazil.

Educational policy making in São Paulo is an example of tensions between the reproductive functions of the State, and the State as a site for the struggle for greater democracy. When the Worker's Party (or PT) won the Municipal elections of November 15, 1988 in São Paulo, Brazil, Paulo Freire, a member of the party since it was founded in 1979 and President of the Wilson Pinheiro Foundation--an educational foundation sponsored by the PT--, was a natural choice for Secretary of Education of the City of São Paulo. The PT was funded in 1980 as a result of a major metallurgical workers strike in the State of São Paulo. The PT charismatic leader, former

metallurgical worker and current Federal Representative, Luis Inácio Lula da Silva, lost to Collor de Melo by a small margin in a runoff presidential election of 1988.

Appointed by Mayor Luiza Erundina de Sousa, Paulo Freire worked as Secretary of Education from January 3, 1989 until May 27, 1991 when he resigned to resume his academic activities, lecturing and writing. The team that worked with Freire during 1989-1991 continues in charge of policy formation, and his former Chief of Cabinet, Mario Sergio Cortella, a Professor of Philosophy and Theology at the Pontifical Catholic University of São Paulo, was appointed new Secretary of Education until the completion of the mandate in December 1992.[8]

At the beginning of his tenure Secretary of Education Freire implemented drastic changes in municipal education, including a comprehensive curriculum reform at the K-8 grades level, new models of school management through the implementation of School Councils--including teachers, principal, parents and government officials--, and the launching of a movement for literacy training (MOVA-São Paulo) built on participative planning and delivery with support from nongovernmental organizations and social movements.

Educational administration of the city of São Paulo is not a minor undertaking. The City of São Paulo, with a population of 11.4 million people in 1990 is one of the largest municipalities in the world, and the financial center of Brazil, the 10th largest economy in the world.[9] A municipal budget of 2.75 billion dollars for 1989, 3.6 billion for 1990, 3.89 billion for 1991, 3.0 billion for 1992, and 5.5 billion for 1993, is the third largest budget in the country after the budget of the State of São Paulo and the budget of the Federal Government. Freire presided over 662 schools with 710,000 students, and 39,614 employees (teachers, administrators, and service personnel), the latter constituting 30% of the total employees of the Municipality of São Paulo.

This article describes the basic premises and rationale guiding policy formation in the municipality of São Paulo and the work of Paulo Freire as Secretary of Education, analyzing them from a perspective of theories of the State and the political sociology of education. These are synthesized in the model of popular public schooling. A special focus of the analysis is the relationship between social movements and State policies in literacy training. In the concluding

sections, I discuss achievements, conflicts and contradictions in policy formation, and outline some of the main pedagogical and political dilemmas for a research agenda.

Paulo Freire as Secretary of Education of the City of São Paulo: Historical Background.

Analyzing a socialist administration ruling the most important financial and industrial city of capitalist Brazil poses many theoretical challenges. In addition, the personification of a new educational policy in the figure of Paulo Freire, offers us an unique perspective of social struggles and conscientization.[10]

Paulo Freire is not only an outstanding figure in the academic world but also one who has combined theory with practical experience in adult education in a unique manner. A Brazilian who became famous in the early sixties as a result of his powerful experiences in literacy training, his writings have gone beyond mere techniques for literacy training and become the cornerstone of critical pedagogy all over the world.

Freire's work gained attention originally with his writing that documented his earlier experiences with literacy training in Angicos, North-East Brazil. His pedagogical work has been associated with the Movimento de Educação de Base or Movement for Grassroots Education,[11] the Centers for Popular Culture, and the Base Communities in Brazil.[12] Appointed by the populist government of João Goulart as President of the National Commission of Popular Culture in 1963, and as Coordinator of the National Plan of Literacy Training (1963), his work in literacy training has had a profound impact in the constitution of citizenship in Brazil.[13] As the first Director (1961-1964) of the Cultural Extension Service of the University of Recife, in the State of Pernambuco, Freire was associated with the Catholic Left, and his thought has been considered a source of inspiration for the development of a Theology of Liberation in Latin America.[14]

Freire has had personal involvement with important literacy campaigns in the Third World, including Brazil prior to 1964 and more recently in São Paulo (1989-1991), Guinea-Bissau, São Tomé, Principe, and Nicaragua. His books are reviewed as a source for educational innovation

virtually everywhere in the world. His new analyses of the role of liberatory pedagogy in the industrial advanced societies are important subjects for debate and pedagogical thinking.[15]

But what has made Freire's political philosophy of education so current and universal, placing him and some of the "generative themes"[16] he proposed at the center of educational debates in critical pedagogy for the last three decades? Freire argues that rarely is human interaction exempted from oppression of one kind or another; by reason of class, race or gender, people tend to be victims and/or perpetrators of oppression. He points out that class exploitation, racism, and sexism are the most conspicuous forms of domination and oppression, but he recognizes oppression also on other grounds such as religious beliefs or political affiliation.

Starting from a psychology of oppression influenced by the work of psychotherapists such as Franz Fanon and Erich Fromm, Freire has developed a Pedagogy of the Oppressed, using education to improve the human condition, counteracting the effects of a psychology of oppression, and ultimately contributing to what he considers the "ontological vocation of mankind": humanization. In the introduction to his Pedagogy of the Oppressed, he voices his claim that:

> From these pages I hope at least the following will endure: my trust in the people,
>
> and my faith in men and in the creation of a world in which it will be easier to
>
> love.[17]

Freire's Pedagogy of the Oppressed, which has been influenced by a myriad of philosophical currents including Phenomenology, Existentialism, Christian Personalism, Humanist Marxism and Hegelianism calls for dialogue and ultimately conscientization--critical consciousness or awareness-- as a way to overcome domination and oppression among and between human beings.[18] Thus, notions of education for social participation, conscientization, and empowerment are central to Freire's work and political philosophy of education. Freire upon his return to Brazil in 1980 became a member of the PT, emerging as one of its most noted intellectuals and educators. What acquires particular relevance in this case, however, is that the new educational model

embodied in Freire's educational administration takes place in the context of municipal State policies dealing with both public schooling, nonformal education and literacy training.

Education, the Democratic State, and Social Movements: Conceptual Foundations. Theory of the State and Education.

Following a historical-structural approach informed by Critical Theory, a number of queries arise considering the municipal State in São Paulo and its current democratic socialist administration. First, to what extent can a theory of the State explain the educational policy formation of local and municipal governments? Second, to what extent may the attributed class character of the municipal State apparatus permeate educational policies advanced by an elected democratic socialist municipal administration?

The concept of the State has become a fashionable term in political science. It is used here, first of all, as a reaction against liberal-pluralist political approaches that for many decades worked within a 'Stateless' theoretical framework; and secondly, in order to highlight, the role of the State as an actor in policy making. The state is viewed here as a purposeful and relatively independent action while, at the same time, it is a terrain where public policy is negotiated or fought over.

At the highest level of abstraction, I proposed to consider the State as a pact of domination and as a self-regulating administrative system. Brazilian sociologist Fernando Henrique Cardoso has suggested that the State should be considered "the basic pact of domination that exists among social classes or factions of dominant classes and the norms which guarantee their dominance over the subordinate strata."[19] In addition, German political scientist Claus Offe argues that State-organized governance is a selective, event-generating system of rules, i. e., a sorting process.[20]

Offe views the State as comprising the institutional apparatuses, bureaucratic organizations, and formal and informal norms and codes which constitute and represent the "public" and "private" spheres of social life. In Offe's analysis, every capitalist State has a distinctive class character in its policy making. The primary focus, then, is neither the interpersonal relations of various elites nor the decision making process per se. The class character of the State does not reside in the social

origin of the policy-makers, State managers, bureaucracy or the ruling class, but in the internal structure of the State apparatus itself due to its necessary selectivity of public policy; a selectivity that is "built into the system of political institutions."[21]

Claus Offe argues that State actors (in the ministries, parliaments and political parties) find themselves constantly facing the dilemma that "many legally and politically sanctioned demands and guarantees remain unreconciled to exigencies and capacities of the budgetary, financial and labor-market policy of the capitalist economy."[22] For Offe, the role of the State in shaping policy is mostly confined to the definition of the themes, times and methods, that is the establishment of an institutional framework of processes of social power rather than specific outcomes. In so doing, State actors produce strategic calculations or strategies of rationalization in dealing with social problems. Examples of these strategies include relying on preventive rather than curative problem-solving strategies, organization of final rather than conditional policy programs, institutionalized assistance and, in some areas, reprivatization. A structural selectivity is manifested in the State's strategies of rationalization to deal with the contradictions of welfare policies.

Bruce Fuller's[23] interpretation of Claus Offe's work assumes that the state is a totally independent mediator of conflict among various social classes and groups. Thus, in this approach, the state is a structure up for grabs that cannot be consistently controlled by a particular elite. The problem with this interpretation is that it appropriates Offe's structural analysis based on Critical Theory, neo-Marxist and neo-Weberian analyses of state-society relationships, and renders it as a liberal-pluralist interpretation of the state in the context of Fuller's "signaling theory of schooling" and institutional theory. For example, Offe's forms of state action--allocation of material resources, administrative practices, and symbolic expressions--are taken by Fuller out of the context of a capitalist state that, given the contradictions of disorganized capitalism, must promote the private accumulation of capital and, ultimately, legitimate the political system. Thus, in Fuller's view, the state is seen as a bounded institution that responds to a mix of interests or interdependencies. In Fuller's final analysis, however, the state must acquire material capital and technical know-how, and fights for legitimation and achievement of organizational efficacy as a pre-requisite for its own

survival. Thus, the fragility of the state (in developing societies) and the contradictions faced by the state, have more to do with fragile states competing with other modernizing institutions than with the work of external and internal forces that erode state autonomy, particularly in the context of the globalization of world economies. Similarly, the inability of the state to govern (including the ingovernability of democratic systems) is the result of the same state action providing conflicting signals to the communities. Therefore, the intrinsic contradictions of disorganized capitalism (i.e., based on class, gender, race and a myriad of distributional and moral conflicts) or the implications of the changing political coalitions fighting over the symbolic and material distributions of goods and services, are virtually neglected in Fuller's analysis.

While theories of the State have left the relationships between federal, state and municipal governance (and educational policies) considerably under-theorized, the democratic socialist program and popular nature of the PT administration suggests a dual character of the capitalist State and its organizational forms. On the one hand, the State claims to be the official representative of the Nation as a whole. That is the reason why Max Weber views the State as the monopoly of force but also as a site for exchange of services and community benefits.[24] However, Offe expresses a valid concern. This Weberian definition rest on the notion of formal authority of sovereigns acts, but tell us nothing about the direction of the relation of the violence, that is, by whom and against whom this monopoly of force is employed.[25] On the other hand, as a pact of domination, as a corporate actor which assumes the representation of popular sovereignty, and as the political authority that enforces democratic rule (that is democracy as a system of political representation <u>and</u> political participation where subjectivities and rules are not reduced, in the end, to effects of power, gender, race, and wealth[26]), the State also becomes a terrain for struggle of national and socio-political projects.

To clarify the role of the democratic State, we should distinguish between democracy as a method and democracy as practice. Democracy appears to be primarily a method of political representation that includes regular voting procedures, free elections, parliamentary and judicial systems free from the control of the executive (including the notions of checks and balances in the

system), the predominance of individual rights over collective rights, and freedom of speech. The notion of democracy as practice is related to the notion of democracy as a system of political participation by the people in public affairs. It is related to the power of the people (over any other regulatory institution, such as the kinship or bureaucracy), the idea of equal rights for all citizens, and, particularly in the U.S. Constitution, a political philosophy of egalitarianism.[27] In addition, democracy as practice implies changes in the interactions between individuals, both at the level of power exchanges in the micro scenarios (for instance, achieving non-exploitative gender relationships at the level of the domestic unit) and in the macro scenarios (for instance, pursuing gender equality in the social and economic societal exchanges).

Considering theories of democracy, the notion of the state acquires new normative and political dimensions. In theories of the democratic State, the State upholds universalistic, rational and consistent laws that provide a common ground, a level playing field. At the same time the democratic State uses public policy to constitute a modern citizenship, separating the particular interests (of the individuals of the civil society) and what is intrinsically and explicitly general (i.e. the general will).[28] Taking a critical view of theories of the democratic State, Carnoy and Levin argue that public policy is a product of basic social conflict, a conflict that is played off in the State arena. In their research agenda centered on the production of educational policy as a result of class conflict and social movements, advanced capitalist States appear as a terrain of social struggle. Carnoy and Levin argue that to understand the dynamics of the transformation of education, one needs to simultaneously know the dynamics of transformation of the labor process, and how they mutually condition each other. For this approach, the dynamics of transformation in the educational system are best understood as part of a larger social conflict resulting from the nature of capitalist production with its inequalities of income and social power.[29] Despite the cultural and economic differences between advanced capitalist societies and dependent-development capitalist Brazil, Carnoy and Levin's approach may prove useful as a starting point for analysis.

Thus, conceived as an administrative system of political domination, the State can be understood as the totality of political authority in a society, disregarding the level (national,

provincial or local) at which it operates.[30] Through State policies directed toward the constitution and reproduction of the capitalist system, the system is protected from various threats and the democratic State guides its transformation; yet by acting as a factor of cohesion, the State's long-term planning synthesizes the goals of economic and social reproduction of capitalism as a system of commodity production, despite the sectoral or factional short-term needs and disputes of individual capitalist or corporative groups.

But the State also reflects the dynamics of democracy. Basic human rights are protected by laws that are supposed to be enacted and enforced by the democratic State. In many democracies, as an attempt to advance the cause of civil rights movements, the public sectors have became a main source of employment for minorities and women. Health, welfare and educational policies in particular, are sensitive areas of the democratic State in pursuing the satisfaction of the democratic aspirations of its citizens. Thus, through welfare policies, the enforcing of progressive laws, and acting as an employer for minorities and women, democratic States have also advanced the cause of democracy.[31] In the Brazilian context, the major figures in the pursuit of democratic goals are grassroots organizations, social movements,[32] and some political parties such as the PT, which has strong and extensive grassroots support. However whether these new educational policies promoted by social movements are politically feasible and workable, technically competent, and ethically sound, shall be discussed in the last section of this article.

The State, Education and Social Movements.

This section discusses the relationships between grassroots organizations and social movements, and educational policies in São Paulo, taking into account the notion of the State as a relatively independent actor while, at the same time, it is a contested terrain for public policy formation.

Non-governmental organizations are usually defined in terms of their legal foundations. That is to say, they are autonomous and independent from government. Non-Governmental Organization or NGO usually refers to "a nongovernment, nonprofit organization having a principal fund of its

own, managed by its own trustees or directors, and established to maintain or aid...activities serving the common welfare."[33] NGO's may or may not be grassroots organizations. Grassroots organizations in Latin America are often defined as local and private community-based organizations, working to provide democratic leadership, and trying to improve the economic opportunity for poor sectors through job creation, the provision of education and health care, or the development of productive micro-enterprises.[34]

Social Movements refers to conflictual actions and collective behavior toward some change in power. For French sociologist Alan Touraine, there is a type of conflictual action which can be best characterized as defensive collective behavior. For instance, many grassroots organizations and NGO's trying to ameliorate the impact of unemployment, lack of housing, limited health or educational infrastructure in a community can easily be classified as collective defensive behavior or as claims to redress grievances through community actions. Touraine discusses a second type of conflict where conflicts modify decision-making. In this case, those conflicts become social struggles. If conflictual actions of social groups seek to change the social relations of power in cultural actions, ethical values, science or production, these groups may become a social movement.[35] Thus the feminist movement, the ecology movement, the peace movement or the anti-nuclear movement are examples of social movements.

In Latin America and Brazil, social movements include the Christian base communities, neighborhood associations, the feminist movement and ecological associations.[36] If we understand politics as a struggle for power, these social movements should not be unilaterally or exclusively interpreted in political terms; they also represent cultural and moral practices centered on the construction of collective identities and spaces. They originate around certain demands and specific social relations, becoming increasingly autonomous from the traditional institutions of political representation of interests. This is so, Ernesto Laclau argues joining other proponents of social movement theory, because individuals do not any longer find their identity exclusively in their relationships with the means and relations of production, but also as consumers, residents in a

particular neighborhood, members of a church, ethnic, gender or cultural organization, and participants in the political system.[37]

In fact, many social movements may arise as a federation or as alliances of grassroots, community organizations, NGO's, institutions of political representations (such as political parties and/or trade unions), church organizations, and even individuals (e.g., intellectuals, artists, etc.) Since new social movements challenge the increasing bureaucratization, commodification and cultural massification of social life, they are the "expression of a more open and pluralistic form of democracy "striving to enhance "the diffusion of collective and participatory values and practices through an ever-widening range of sites of social struggle."[38]

The diversity and sheer numbers of nongovernmental organizations and social or popular movements in Brazil are impressive. In his research, Moacir Gadotti and his associates surveyed 91 nongovernmental organizations that were considered to be working for the defense of public schooling, and in addition, they studied 89 organizations promoting popular education.[39] Gadotti reports that research conducted at the Superior Institute of Religious Studies in Brazil identified 1041 nongovernmental organizations, 556 of them working for popular movements in 173 cities of Brazil, 251 organizations working with women's movements, and 234 working with African-Brazilian movements. He argues that there are a number of nongovernmental organizations that were not identified in this research, including ecologists, organizations of fisherman, unemployed people, religious communities, indigenous people, etc.

The praxis of social movements is a fertile ground for trying out a "conscientization" approach à la Freire. More often than not, social movements start from the knowledge base of the people and history of struggles, taking into account they organizational capabilities and grievances, thus building their own programs with and from the communities rather than for them. From a critical perspective, a conscientization approach gets mixed reviews: "Freire provides an important source of critical reflection and inspiration for literacy practitioners, through his criticisms of domesticating and elitist approaches to literacy and his insistence on the experiences with the learners, teaching while at the same time learning from them. The Conscientization approach does

not, however, provide sufficient guidelines for a whole literacy strategy, and contains non-applicable elements, especially for large-scale government programs."[40]

These criticisms can be assessed in the context of Freire's experience as a policymaker in São Paulo where literacy training and educational policies in general were informed by the principles of a Pedagogy of the Oppressed, and where policy formation involved large-scale government programs--although this time a partnership between social movements and the Municipal State had been established, linking human resources from the movements, and financial and technical resources from the State.

A fundamental principle of literacy training and educational policy formation in São Paulo is the articulation between the public sector and social movements. Paulo Freire argues that there are several principles of this articulation: "the Secretariat does not want to absorb the movements, but neither does it want to simply give away funding." Freire goes on to argue that, "we are not afraid of the tensions that may arise from this arrangement. We want to learn together how to deal with the conflict. We respect the pluralism, but also we have our own agenda. If the movements do not accept our pedagogical model we will consider it a breach of contract."[41]

This relationship between the so-called "popular municipal administrations"[42] and social movements is not easy. There are major challenges. The social movements argue that their participation should not preclude the State investing in the type of activity (be it adult education or schooling) in which the social movements are collaborating. For social movements, the challenge is to enter into a partnership with the State without being co-opted, thus preserving their political and pedagogical autonomy while achieving higher levels of organization and social practice.

These dilemmas were well expressed in a forum held in São Paulo in 1990 to discuss the partnership between public sector and social movements in adult education activities:

"The material and pedagogical support that municipal administrations offer to popular groups that promote adult education should happen under two basic conditions: that this support will not imply that the public municipal administration is withdrawing from offering quality adult education programs, and that this

support to popular groups be given under conditions that respect and preserve the political and pedagogical autonomy of these popular groups. (...) There are still doubts if this modality of relationships between the municipalities (prefeituras) and the popular movement will not result objectively in a mechanism of institutionalization and loss of autonomy of the popular movements, and co-optation by the State. This is a controversy that only the passing of time and practical experiences will be able to resolve."[43]

Questions and queries about the class character of the municipal State and its bureaucratic behavior seem to haunt democratic and progressive educators trying to link State and social movements. For instance, Moacir Gadotti, a very close collaborator of Freire, argues that "The social movements, even when dealing with progressive municipal administrations adopt an attitude of "being tactically inside and strategically outside." This means that the social movements fighting for popular education, or participating as partners in the elaboration of social policies, always keep one foot inside and other outside the State.[44] Given the misgivings social movements have concerning the nature and character of the municipal State in São Paulo, is it possible to establish a common framework for action, a model, a set of guidelines to orient policy formation for both the municipal State and the social movements? And if it is possible, what kind of framework or model is this?

The next section discusses the pedagogical and political model of popular public schooling. The notion of popular public schooling is the theoretical and political framework that guides the articulation between social movements and the State in Freire's educational administration.

State Policy Making and "Popular Public Schooling"

The overall educational reform advanced by Freire's administration in the Municipality of São Paulo rests on the concept of popular public schooling (a escola pública popular). Originally, the concept of popular education (e.g. the "education of the people") in Latin America was used to define the model of public education conceived by liberal governments, particularly in the last three decades of 19th century Latin America. Public education was defined as free, public, and compulsory. Schools were conceived as a powerful means for social and national integration of the masses and cultural transmission in the face of persisting social strife and civil struggles, and, particularly in the Southern Cone, growing immigration from Europe.

Not only was public education used as a means of socialization and the construction of the nation-State,[45] but in many cases it was a political and pedagogical project implemented by liberal governments.[46] Public education was based on principles of laicism, attempting to eliminate the Catholic Church's control of education.[47] Not only did public education challenge the cultural hegemony of the Church in Latin America, but it also imprinted the mark of positivism upon the educational system--the most successful experience in this regard taking place during the period of Juarez's reform in Mexico.

Most contemporary popular education, however, is related to the original Freirean experiences with pedagogy of the oppressed in the early 1960's, fertilized also by a number of other innovative experiences in the region, arising from political and social analysis of the living conditions of the poor, and aimed at working towards engaging the poor in individual and collective processes of critical awareness and action.[48]

Popular public schooling thus starts by acknowledging serious problems of equality of educational opportunity in Brazilian education in terms of access, permanence, and quality of educational supply. For instance, according to the National Census of 1980, of the 23 million children, ages 7-14 in Brazil, 33% (7.6) million were unschooled; among those attending schools, 27.6% (or 6.3 million children) were placed in lower grades compared to their school age. On average, 46.3% percent of the Brazilian population has 2 years of schooling or less, considered

inadequate to operate at a level of functional literacy. While 75% of the population of five years of age and older have less than 4 years of school instruction, of a population of 87,806,265 Brazilians ten years of age and older, 25.5 were illiterates.[49] Educational constraints are further aggravated by pressing economic problems, poverty and inequality. According to a study by economist Helio Jaguaribe, 64.7% of the economically active population working in diverse occupations were below the poverty level (e.g. receiving two or less minimum salaries).[50] As the Inter-American Dialogue pointed out, in Brazil, as in the rest of Latin America, poverty and inequality are inextricably linked: "In Ecuador, Peru, and Brazil, the wealthiest 20 percent of families earn 30 times more than the poorest 20 percent."[51]

In this context, after assuming his position as Secretary of Municipal Education, Paulo Freire argued that the physical conditions of the municipal school buildings were even in worse shape than the quality of municipal education itself. Hundreds of classrooms were completely dilapidated or destroyed, with desks and chairs totally unusable.[52] As reflected in the evaluation after the first year in office, 654 municipal schools at the beginning of the mandate (January 1, 1989) were in poor physical condition, and 400 of them had serious problems. There was a deficit of 35,000 student chairs and desks, and approved repairs to school buildings were not completed due to the Secretariat's inability to pay. In the first 11 months, public funds were appropriated for repairing 26 schools, and repairs in 20 schools were undertaken. Construction of ten new school buildings initiated by the previous educational administration was completed, and nine other school buildings were under construction. Finally, 24,500 new students' desks and chairs were given to the schools, and more than 6,274 desks and chairs were repaired.[53]

Contributing to educational inequality, school tracking is prevalent in Brazil. There are two parallel systems in Brazilian elementary and secondary schools; a thriving private sector, on occasions subsidized by the State and by and large catering towards a middle class constituency, and public education, catering to the children of the poor and working class families.[54] Advocates of popular public schooling denounce official policies of privatization of public services. They argue that the erosion of educational quality in public education creates growing discontent in the

population, helping a number of educational entrepreneurs to profit from the malaise of public schooling. In this context, the working class and peasants face two choices, either to enter a "demoralizing public schooling or total exclusion".[55]

Moacir Gadotti in his book <u>Uma só escola para todos</u>, documents debates between radical Brazilian scholars about the notions of unifying popular schools or public popular schools and attributes its origins to the work of Paulo Freire, working on parallel lines with other prominent intellectuals, many of them associated to the Workers' Party including Florestan Fernandes, Luiz Eduardo Wanderley, and Marilena Chauí. Similarly, this notion of popular public schooling is associated to the proposals of the PT advanced in several "democratic" municipal administrations in Brazil, including Campinas, Diadema, Porto Alegre, Rio do Sul, Santos, and São Paulo.

Institutionalized racism, unbalanced disciplinary practices or irrelevant curriculum content may push working class children and youth out of the system. The principles of <u>popular public schooling</u> or <u>popular public education</u> include improvement in the equality of access and permanence in the schools, trying to prevent school drop outs and/or structural and organizational routines. Children of the popular sectors find schools' institutionalized cultural capital awkward or at odds with their own cultural experience. As French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu argues, all human activity involves the accumulation of cultural capital based on specific habitus. The notion of habitus refers to an internalized, permanent system of beliefs or meanings, resulting from the interaction of the individual with her or his family and her or his immediate environment or community. Differential social activities and roles result in differential cultural capitals. Differential cultural capitals are hierarchically articulated along social class and (in Brazil) racial lines, and very often related to the possession of elite educational credentials.[56]

Thus, for proponents of popular public schooling, drastic improvements in the quality of education are needed. Children from the working class should be provided with ways to appreciate their own cultural capital, and be exposed to learning from their own habitus, rather than constantly struggling to adapt to a dominant, middle-class cultural capital and habitus. There is also a need to

adapt the supply of schools to the demands and needs of working class students, many of whom, in addition of being students, work part or full time.

Further, popular public schooling is a concept that links education and hegemony in Brazil. Advocates of popular public schooling criticize the pitfalls of public education, its lack of quality, and its authoritarianism. They link its reform to popular (community and social movements') control of planning and implementing of educational policies at the school level. The democratic management of schools is another central feature of the proposal of popular public education. This calls for autonomy in democratic planning, management and control of school operation, with inputs from communities (students, parents), social movements, teachers, principals and functionaries of the State (i.e. municipal administration), and implies a strong critique of technocratic planning and the notion of technical expertise devoid of any democratic control.

In the Freirean perspective, the attempt is to link education with a historical project of social emancipation: Educational practices should be related to a theory of knowledge. Thus, education appears as the act of knowing rather than a simple transmission of knowledge or the cultural baggage of society. Since knowledge and power are considered intimately related, cultural traditions and practices, for example in schooling, are suspected of concealing relations of domination. Thus, critical appropriation of knowledge by the working class implies also a criticism of the culturally arbitrary.

The term 'culturally arbitrary' is used here to refer to school knowledge and how schools produce and distribute unequal cultural capitals. In the context of the analysis here, however, it should be considered descriptive rather than analytic. The notion of the culturally arbitrary was invoked in the new sociology of education referring to each class having its own culture whose contents are arbitrary. Since class relations are unequal, a dominant class may exercise 'symbolic violence' in school curriculum by imposing over the remaining classes its cultural capital--i.e., a system of meanings reflecting a particular cultural heritage, a language and patterns of reasoning, including intellectual, moral and aesthetic perceptions. In the same vein but from a different theoretical perspective, Habermas has argued that the 'bourgeois culture'--based on principles of

possessive individualism, and orientations to achievement and exchange value--is transmitted through socialization in families and schools. A main contribution of cultural reproduction models has been to show that the curriculum is problematic, and that school knowledge is reflective of human interests. Yet it is dangerous to carry the model of cultural reproduction too far.[57] This is true particularly when, following Habermas' analysis, some key principles constitutive of a 'bourgeois culture' become transformed by processes of social change in contemporary capitalist societies. This will make the notion of a culturally arbitrary problematic. For instance, when an ideology of achievement is challenged by the increasing uncertain connection between formal education and occupational success, or when increasingly the orientation to exchange value is undermined by the growth of social groups which are excluded from the social life of wage labor yet subject to relations of capitalist domination, the notion of a bourgeois culture and the ideology of fair exchange cannot any longer and single-handedly account for the legitimation of liberal capitalist systems.[58]

Finally, Freire's proposal is an education for liberation:

"education will be liberating as long as it sponsors the conscious and creative reflection and action of oppressed classes about their own process of liberation. To assume its hegemony, the people (o povo) need an education of quality. They need the tools, appropriation of knowledge, methods, and techniques to which their access today is restricted to a privileged minority. This implies the systematic and critical appropriation of reading, writing and mathematics, and the scientific and technological principles. Even more so, this implies the appropriation of methods of acquisition, production, and dissemination of learning: research, discussion, argument, the use of the most diverse methods of expression, communication and art".[59]

In summary, popular public schooling is an educational model based on democratic-socialist principles that attempt to challenge the need for growing privatization of public services, arguing instead for increasing investment in public education, improving access and quality of education

(democratização do accesso), while at the same time linking school effectiveness with the educational and social needs of children and youth of the popular classes. Finally, by relating public schooling with popular movements, this project emphasizes a democratic control of resources, planning and implementation of democratic schooling (democratização do gestão) against an authoritarian (and/or technocratic) centralization of educational planning, policy-making and implementation.

The implementation of popular public schooling includes a major movement for curriculum reform, new forms of school governance, and a movement of literacy training. The next sections describe and discuss these reform policies in detail, setting the ground for an understanding of the tensions and contradictions in educational policy.

The Movement for Curriculum Reform, K-8.[60]

The central mark of popular public schooling is education as the practice of freedom,[61] and curriculum reform becomes a centerpiece of any strategy for emancipation. Schools should not only be a place of critical reconstruction of knowledge and social critique, but also a center for the production of popular culture.

The basic principles of the curriculum reform movement are the following: a) it is a collective construction based on participation; b) it should reflect the diversity of experiences in unity of purposes, with a fundamental respect for the autonomy of each school; c) it should highlight the value of the unity between theory and practice, with a methodology of action-reflection and new action in curriculum, and d) it should include a model of permanent teacher training, with a continual critical analysis of the curriculum in practice.

The methodology of curriculum reform starts with a process of action, reflection and new action developed collectively by different groups interacting in the educational milieu, including not only teachers but students and parents, members of School Councils, specialists of different areas (within the Secretariat of Public Education, in the Schools, and in the Universities) although through interdisciplinary rather than disciplinary approaches, and the contributions of social movements.[62] Three phases (related to Freire's original method) are defined in this process of

curriculum reform: a) <u>problematization</u>, including a description and critique of current curriculum, and a discussion of innovative experiences for curriculum change; b) <u>organization</u>, including the systematization of responses to a questionnaire discussed in the schools and to the findings of the first phase of problematization; and c) <u>design and implementation</u> of a new curriculum.

The project of curriculum reform starts by administrators and teachers learning how to listen to their students, and how to design through interdisciplinary work, key generative themes, centered on the knowledge of the students and not exclusively on the knowledge of the teachers. For instance, a journal reports that a generative theme selected in a school in the area of Perus, in São Paulo, will focus in the first semester on the issue of housing, in all subjects, from physical education to mathematics. In the second semester the generative theme selected was transportation, to be discussed also from interdisciplinary perspectives.[63]

The process of curriculum reform started in 10 schools (which were pilot experiences, one in each Nuclei of Educational Action or NAE), and was then implemented in 100 schools (10 associated with each pilot site). It was expected to gradually spread to the rest of the system. Simultaneously, a number of initiatives promoting training of teachers (through regular meetings which discuss the practice of teachers in schools and discussions with a number of scholars) has been underway since 1989.

The process of curricular reform is not free of conflicts and contradictions. Paulo Freire refers to a conversation with a school principal. He told us that after a few moments of discussing the school principal's attitude, she became angry and exclaimed: "'Yes, yes, yes, I am authoritarian, and I will continue to be'. I said to her, look, I know that you are authoritarian. I would like to ask you very lovingly to begin to be less authoritarian in this administration. But really I cannot impose on you the taste of democracy."[64] The principal remained in her post.

Governance Reform--The School Councils.

The organization of the Secretariat of Public Education operates through collectives of directors, with the school council at the base. For each 40 school councils, delegates are selected to participate in a higher school council for each Nuclei of Educational Action or (NAE). The

coordinators of each NAE meet in the Intermediate Collegiate, and representatives of this collegiate entity participate in the Central Collegiate, which includes the Secretary of Education, Chief of Cabinet, the Coordinator of CONAE (Nuclei of Educational Action), the Technical Director (who is in charge of overseeing curriculum reform), the Chief of the Administrative Division, and the Technical and Planning Advisor to the Secretary.

Freire describes the school councils, an organizational entity created two municipal administrations ago but never fully implemented as follows:

> "The school council is the representation of some power, it has some power, not only the power of the director of the school, the head of the school. It is constituted by teachers, representatives of the parents, and also of the people (staff) of the school and the students. For example, I constantly am admitting some people to work inside the school, I sign the document, but the approval comes from the council, it is not myself who chooses the person. School Councils are one of the serious attempts we are doing to democratize the school and to decentralize power."[65]

For the school council to function democratically, it was proposed in the draft of the estatuto do magisterio municipal (Statute of the Municipal Teaching Profession),[66] that school Principals, Vice-Principals, and Pedagogical Directors be elected by the school community. People with the appropriate qualifications[67] could be elected to these positions for a period of two years. They could be re-elected for an additional two-year period. However after concluding this second period, they may not run for office again until a two-year period has elapsed. This, in effect, forces school administrators to return to classroom teaching every four years. All parents,[68] all children of 10 years of age and older, administrative staff (including janitors, maintenance and security), and faculty are eligible to vote. Combined parent and student votes account proportionately for 50 percent of the total of votes, while combined staff and faculty votes account for the remaining 50 percent.[69] To remove any school official from the School Council before the

end of their mandates requires a petition signed by fifty percent of the total eligible electors in the school community.

After lengthy discussions with union officials, teachers, and administrators, the draft of the Statute of the Municipal Teaching Profession was overwhelmingly rejected. Teachers and school administrators as well as union officials were vehemently opposed to elected positions in the schools. They were also opposed to new provisions in working conditions that would have forced teachers working in both the State and Municipal system of education to accept full-time employment in only one of them. A new statute incorporating most of the concerns of the teachers union, was drafted and decreed as Municipal Law N° 11.229 of June 26, 1992.[70]

Freire recognizes that his first proposal was flatly defeated. However, he argues that this defeat "does not show that we were politically mistaken, but that the municipal educational system is politically backward."[71] Freire attributes the rejection of the original draft of a statute of the Municipal Teaching Profession to Brazilian corporatism.[72]

The Literacy Training Movement -MOVA, São Paulo. Literacy Training as Cultural Politics?

The dilemmas in the relationships between social movements and the state are clearly displayed in the the Literacy Training Movement or MOVA-São Paulo. MOVA-São Paulo was announced in October, 1989, and launched in January 1990, with the goal of making 60,000 people literate. The organization of MOVA was implemented through an agreement between the democratic-popular administration and a number of social movements concerned with many critical issues, including the struggle for land tenure and housing, health, and education in the city of São Paulo.

In principle MOVA is a federation of movements coordinated in an institution called "The MOVA Forum" which constitutes the leadership of the movement. The Forum includes approximately 50 leaders whose average ages ranged from 18 to 24 years, many of them, lower and middle class university students, and some of them connected with Christian Base Communities or more traditional Church organizations.

Within the office of the Secretariat of Municipal Education there is a central coordination team including pedagogues, administrators, sociologists, and journalists. The General Coordinator reports directly to the Secretary of Education--since the creation of this group, and because of a number of personality conflicts as well as tensions in the relationship between social movements and the Municipal administration, the position of General Coordinator has been occupied by five different individuals. This group is the liaison between the Secretariat and the Forum.

How is MOVA Organized?

The social movements signed individual contracts with the Secretariat of Education. There are 49 social movements that have signed agreements with MOVA. MOVA started with 320 classrooms, with 20-30 learners each (6,400-9,600 learners) in February, 1990, with a goal of reaching 1,200 classrooms by the end of the year. Although is difficult to assess whether that figure was reached, what is clear so far is that many students have dropped out. For instance, by May 1990 12,000 students were registered in MOVA, and it was expected that 9,000 will conclude their program of literacy training. By the time Freire resigned as Secretary of Education on May 27, 1991, MOVA had 640 classrooms of literacy training, with 29,000 students. A year later, by July 1992, there were 18,329 students enrolled in MOVA served by 887 *monitores* (literacy trainers) and 130 supervisors working for seventy-eight social movements which have signed agreements of collaboration with the Secretariat of Municipal Education.

There is a coordination team (<u>nucleo coordinador</u>) which organizes the training workshop (30 hours) to train the literacy trainers or monitors. Teachers (also called literacy trainers or monitors) are selected not by the Secretariat of Municipal Education but by the different social movements, who also recruit the learners. The key responsibility of the Secretariat of Public education is to design the pedagogical content of the training, and of the method to be used, to train the selected teachers, and to finance the process throughout, including paying monitors' salaries.

Monthly training of MOVA monitors (teachers) was organized during Saturdays and Sundays throughout January-March, 1990. After May, 1990 new and longer training sessions were

designed. A principal goal is that learners conclude first grade, and are then ready to enter second grade of regular schooling for adults.

MOVA's Method.

Given that Freire is known for his previous experiences in literacy training, it might be expected that the literacy training methodology of MOVA would closely resemble Freire's previous experiments.   However, this does not seems to be automatically the case.   The [second] coordinator of MOVA argued that:

- there is no Freirean method, but only a theory of knowledge;
- this theory of knowledge is coupled with a political vision and some literacy training techniques. However we are not necessarily going to use all the techniques such as the generative word or the thematic investigation;
- MOVA's method incorporates also the work of Emilia Ferreiro, an Argentinean linguist and pedagogue who lives in Mexico and has developed a new "constructivist" understanding of the process of literacy, especially in children, following the psychology of Jean Piaget;
- finally, MOVA's method incorporates dialectic logic and contributions from linguistics including Vygotsky's notion of an "interior discourse."

In addition to genetic psychology, the contribution of Vygotsky's socio-linguistics to MOVA's method is recognized. Discussing from a whole-language perspective the importance of Vygotsky, Yetta and Kenneth Goodman hint at some commonalties between Freire and Vygotsky:

"In a broader sense Freire was recognizing that learners learn best when they are free to control their own learning. This liberation is neither romantic nor abstract. Teachers cannot liberate pupils from society or from the constraints of social transactions. But they can remove the artificial controls of traditional schooling. They can encourage pupils to enter freely into speech and literacy events, authentic social transactions, in which language is a tool for communication."[73]

Departing from behaviorist models, a basic premise of Ferreiro's psychogenesis of knowledge approach is that "to understand children we must hear their words, follow their explanations,

understand their frustrations, and listen to their logic."[74] From these premises result the notion that achieving learning is the result of the very same activity of learners through a process that in Piagetian genetic psychology is known as assimilation.[75] Thus, "rather than being concerned with whether children know how to speak, we should help them become conscious of what they already know how to do, help them move from 'knowing how' to 'knowing about' a conceptual knowing."[76]

This approach is entirely compatible with Freire's attempt to discover the 'generative themes' and the 'generative words' for literacy training. Likewise, a constructivist approach shares Freire's skepticism of banking education which, being teacher-centered, understands that learning depends on and is derived from the instructional methods.

A former MOVA coordinator defines the method as follows: "basically 80% is Paulo Freire, 15% Emilia Ferreiro, and the rest occupies a small space."[77] Thus, a cursory review of the literacy training material will show that Freire's epistemology--the notion of education as the act of knowing--, Freire's and Vygotsky's perception of knowledge and culture as inherent to the praxis of individuals and communities, and Freire's theoretical perspective on the relationships between politics, power and education, all seem to play a major role in the design of MOVA's method. Emilia Ferreiro's psychogenesis of language also plays a vital role in the constitution of the method. However, the MOVA coordinator cautions us that the Secretariat does not impose the Paulo Freire method: "nos propomos, mas não impomos" [we propose, but do not impose]. . . We cannot obligate our nuclei of literacy training to strictly follow a specific methodology."[78]

The former coordinator of MOVA himself is critical of Ferreiro's contribution. He is particularly critical of Ferreiro's positivism, and of her assumption that there is no return after knowledge has been constructed--that is, there is no apparent loss of knowledge or regression of subjects who have achieved cognition. According to the former coordinator of MOVA, there is also in Ferreiro's approach a very limited perspective of the relationships between education and politics.

This article does not attempt to evaluate the impact of MOVA's literacy training, the preliminary results of a model of governance such as the school councils, or the effectiveness of curriculum reform through interdisciplinarity in São Paulo.[79] However, the next section offers a prelimnary appraisal of some of the achievements as well as conflicts and contradictions of policy formation.

Achievements, Conflicts and Contradictions in Policy Formation.

This article shows the interplay between knowledge, popular education, and the politics of educational policy in São Paulo. Similarly, it provides a valuable example of the relationships between social movements and the State. This analysis of the experience of São Paulo has explicitly avoided offering grand conclusions and claims, while, at the same time, situated this article within important and ongoing debates in several areas of scholarship. Yet, some lessons can be learnt from the experience.

Preliminary results have shown that student retention is consistently up. The retention rate, first grade to eight grade, increased from 79.46% in 1989 to 81.3% in 1990, and to 87.7% in 1991, which are the best rates in the decade--the previously best retention rate was in 1985 with 77.81%. Educational enrollment kept up with population growth, and the PT government solved the educational deficit inherited from the previous municipal administration of conservative populist politician Janio Quadros. During the government of Janio Quadros (1986-1988) a serious deficit of enrollment occurred: despite population growth, there were 0.5% less students at the end of Quadros' administration (i.e. 421,526 students) compared to educational enrollment towards the end of Mario Covas' administration (1983-1985) which had 423,360 students enrolled in the municipal system.[80] The educational administration led by Paulo Freire was able to enroll 50,801 new students by 1992, reaching 710,348 students, an increase of 12%, roughly comparable to the growth of the cohort of 7-14 year olds which grew 12.5%. To reach this goal, Freire's administration created, in 77% of the municipal schools, four school shifts of four hours each, thus increasing the capacity of schools. Towards the end of his tenure, in 1991, Freire concluded that figures on student's retention show that: "With relation to 1988 this means a conquest [gain] of

15,420 students that would have been failed and would have been candidates to drop out, which in practice means the expulsion of students from schools."[81]

Another important result has been the increases in teachers salaries promoted by the PT administration, linking improvements in teachers' working conditions and salaries, and by implication in teachers' satisfaction and well-being, to quality of education. A year after the inauguration of the PT administration (by December 1989), the total increase in nominal salaries was 2,605 %, well above the rate of inflation that was 1,173%. Government reports claim that in 1989, the salary of a teacher increased 112.5% in real terms (i.e., above inflation).[82] In 1992, full-time teachers who taught night school (after 7 p.m.) received a 30% pay increase above their base salaries.[83]

Table I, shows that Freire's administration invested in the areas generally neglected; particularly in the poor urban areas where the lowest economic strata or popular sectors reside. Thus, teachers working in the "less desirable" (e.g. shantytowns, inner city) areas of the city received extra-compensation, in some cases up to 50% above their base salaries. Likewise, in an effort to increase the amount of full-time teachers deemed necessary to increase the quality of education, the new salary scale gives teachers working full-time an improvement in their earnings over part-time teachers, with a range between 19-27% for teachers working night schools, and between 20-30% for teachers working in day schools. Needless to say, most students attending night schools are less privileged than their counterparts in day schools. They usually are people who have dropped out of the system but re-entered formal schooling by attending night courses; students who work part-time or full-time; older students; and adult learners.

INSERT TABLE 1

Thus, during the PT municipal administration, teachers saw a substantial improvement in their working conditions with the approval of the estatuto do magisterio municipal, and changes in their salary scales, in terms of dedication (full/part-time), nigh/day schools, and real salaries.

Teachers in the municipal system now make substantially more than their counterparts of the State of São Paulo school system. Teachers working at night have seen an increase in their pay. In addition, a distinction in salaries has been instituted. Teachers working at central (more desirable) regions, receive comparatively less earnings than teachers working in intermediary regions, or peripheral (less desirable) areas. Differential salary scales respond to the explicit policy goal of the PT administration to attract the most experienced and best qualified teachers to teach in the poorest areas of the city. By international standards, however, teacher salaries are meagre: the best paid part-time teachers in the system (category EM-12-E, 20 contact hours a week) earn $364.75 a month.

Despite progress, tensions and contradictions emerged in policy formation. Tensions between the theory of the State held by the PT administration and the search for autonomy of social movements are evident. Freire has criticized what he considered an authoritarian deviation of grassroots activism, "basism." From a Gramscian perspective, the leadership of MOVA could be considered as made up of "organic intellectuals" related to the struggle for hegemony, therefore the notion of "basism," a neologism in English which tries to convey the meaning of a kind of grassroots activism, should be discussed in this context. Freire argues that:

"There is a kind of illness in the popular politics which we call grassroots movements. But it is not the grassroots movement which is wrong. It is the exacerbation of the value of the grassroots' movement. Basism means that virtue, knowledge, wisdom, and everything else, reside with the masses of the people, the bases, with the grassroots. And those who are not in sight of the grassroots are classified as elites or academics."[84]

We cannot understand Freire's concern with basism unless we understand Antonio Gramsci's notion of hegemony and organic intellectuals. Gramsci's notion of hegemony refer to two rather distinct phenomena. On the one hand, hegemony refers to a process of social and political domination in which the ruling classes establish their control over the class allied to them through moral and intellectual leadership. On the other hand, hegemony refers to the dual use of force and

ideology to reproduce social relations between the ruling classes and the subaltern classes and groups. Hegemony is produced by organic intellectuals of the ruling classes, and is also transmitted by traditional intellectuals (i.e. for Gramsci these intellectuals are linked to classes or groups in extinction such as the authority of priests under feudalism). In Gramsci's theory of political struggle, for the subaltern classes to achieve hegemony in society, they have to produce their own organic intellectuals, and should attain moral and intellectual influence in society (counter-hegemony) before achieving political control.[85]

Cornel West unequivocally defines Paulo Freire as an organic intellectual: "Paulo Freire is the exemplary organic intellectual of our time. If Antonio Gramsci had not coined this term, we would have to invent it to describe the revolutionary character and moral content of the work and life of Paulo Freire."[86] Freire has advocated the need for linking working class organic intellectuals with social movements in the process of building literacy as cultural politics. However, he has criticized the leadership of some social movements as "basist," as a deviation of grassroots activism, and as an anti-intellectual approach to politics and education. This criticism discloses a source of conflict in Freire's administration, a conflict between some social movements following a "basist" political philosophy and the educational administration approach of the PT government.

In a similar vein, another point of friction has been conflicts between the party and the PT municipal administration. Freire has argued that: "There are many people, militants of the left, who are convinced that, at the moment that a comrade-in-arms assumes a position in which he or she has a minimum of authority, this comrade-in-arms stops being a comrade-in-arms, this militant stops being a militant, and becomes part of 'these people of the government'."[87] For instance, criticisms were made by the Municipal Directory of the Workers' Party to the municipal administration of Luiza Erundina, Mayor of the City of São Paulo,[88] and to Freire himself, who was accused of being a Nazi-fascist in the exercise of his authority as Secretary of Education. This criticism came from militants of the PT working in the Secretariat, which prompted Freire to fire three of them from positions of confidence (appointed officials, not career officials) in the Secretariat.[89]

Freire was also accused of being a kind of Brazilian Ceausescu, and like the former dictator of Rumania, a nepotist. This criticism arose because two of his books, and one of his older daughter Magdalena,[90] were included in the bibliography for an examination for teachers to be eventually employed in the Secretariat of Public Education. In addition, a book by then Freire's Chief of Cabinet, well-published and respected pedagogue Moacir Gadotti, was also included in the list. However, it was another institution, the prestigious private foundation Foundação Carlos Chagas (with a commission appointed by the Secretary acting as a liaison), which was in charge of the selection of texts, preparation and application of the examinations, and evaluation.[91]

This attack, and a number of other attacks by right wing journalists and academics, prompted the outcry of support for Freire from people from different political and ideological positions, an exchange of inflammatory letters in the newspapers, and an act of endorsement of Freire's work ("desagravo") by the PT supported by its President, Federal Representative Lula, prestigious sociologist Florestan Fernandez, and the Mayor of São Paulo, Luiza Erundina.[92]

In the debate about the right of the Secretary to use two books by Freire as part of the teachers' examination, Freire was accused of being an ideologue. Criticisms of Freire range from people accusing him of using his position to "force the reading of his deliriums,"[93] to claims by a left wing educator and former Secretary of Education, Giomar Namo de Mello, that "They arrive to power and want to transmit their ideology." But she added: "It is good that people read Freire to discover his mistakes. The Secretary of Municipal Education has legitimacy to use his books, but the examination should respect those who disagree with his thesis."[94] In this debate, there were a number of people who accused Freire of being a profiteer in making his books mandatory reading for a teachers' exam. Many more defended Freire arguing that his books should be included in any teacher training institution, as a prerequisite for hiring teachers.

Unsolved Issues: An Agenda for Research and Policy.

A central proposition of this analysis is that the State is an arena for struggle and competition between political-economic forces and educational projects. More investigation is needed about the relationships between educational reform implemented at the municipal level, the role of social

movements, and conflicts and contradictions of policy formation in Brazil. There are a number of tensions and dilemmas in policy formation at the Municipal Secretariat of Education. These tensions, dilemmas, and even paradoxes may upset or limit the participative character of the new education, and in effect, highlight the contradictions of new educational policies in processes of social transition.[95] One source of conflict that could easily be transposed to the public sector is the intrinsically fragmented ideological nature of the Workers Party. Consider that the PT has a number of factions within it, as many as 15 different factions, with four principal ones, and with ideologies as different as Trotskyist and Liberation Theology (i.e. Christians of Base Communities) among them. These differences will be also reflected in educational policies, especially in the disagreements within the Brazilian left between those who argue for the proposal of a popular public schooling and those who argue for more conventional public schooling as cultural transmission.[96]

There are many questions and queries regarding the feasibility of implementation of reforms in school governance, curriculum, on-the-job teacher' training, and literacy training via MOVA; the impact of these reforms on the communities and their responses, particularly the role of parents vis a vis social movements; and whether school reforms, if successful, will survive the change of municipal administration in 1993. These concluding comments focus specifically on conflicts and contradiction in the Literacy Training Movement, MOVA, and address some unsolved issues of a more general nature.

There is an ongoing debate with respect to who is "in control" of MOVA. While the MOVA Forum claims to be the legitimate leadership of the overall movement, there are debates within the Secretariat of Education of how MOVA can be incorporated within the organizational chart of the Secretariat. In addition to personality conflicts and ideological differences always present in public administration, power struggles within the Secretariat may affect the fate of MOVA. The existence of MOVA as a highly participatory model of policy making and policy implementation, but outside the organizational hierarchy of the Secretariat, may result in eventual competition with a more formalized, pre-existing adult education system, such as Adult Education (EDA), which was

transferred to the Secretariat of Municipal Education from the Secretariat of Welfare. EDA has been in operation for a decade, and its insertion within the Secretariat of Municipal Education, and the coordination with MOVA, pose a number of challenges to the overall policy process.[97] EDA is constituted by approximately 950 instructors--283 who worked previously for the Brazilian Movement of Literacy Training or MOBRAL-- and 700 literacy training centers.[98]

Following the principles of literacy as cultural politics, MOVA's coordinators have justified literacy training mainly on grounds that a) education and literacy training is a human right; b) literacy training as cultural politics implies using literacy as part of the mobilization and organization of the poor c) literacy training is part of a wider social movement reclaiming the citizenship for the poor, and finally, d) as a byproduct, literacy training is also part and parcel of educating militants of social movements, hence, improving their political and social consciousness. In this context, notions of popular/working class resistance and counter-hegemony need to be examined in taking into consideration the framework of the State-social movements. Indeed, it is still unclear what relationships MOVA's policy-makers foresee between literacy training and concrete improvements in the life of the learners, in terms of income, social mobility, and job skills.

Issues of accreditation and evaluation of literacy training are still unresolved. What would happen in terms of quality of education in MOVA if the quality control of hiring remains in the hands of the social movements rather than in specialized agencies of the Secretariat of Municipal Education? Is it possible to establish an evaluation that works both ways, that is to say, meeting the requirements for an existentially-grounded experience of participation and organization as well as meeting the technical requirements of acquisition of functional literacy and numeracy skills?

In addition, a number of political questions remain. What are the political and pedagogical differences between a proposal of democratic socialism advocated by the Workers' Party and conventional social democratic perspectives? What are the possibilities and limits of democratic socialism (and systems built on popular participation) in dependent -development societies such as

Brazil, in the context of a rapidly changing world system, and with the profusion of Neo-liberal governments in Latin America?[99]

A second issue is the relationships between democraty as a process (substantive democracy) and democracy as a method of political representation (procedural democracy). It could be argued that there is a need for enforcement of procedural democracy in Brazil, creating checks and balances, and eliminating clientelist and patrimonialist practices and corruption in the public sector. The dilemma for many critical scholars is how to achieve procedural democracy without losing sight of the need for substantive economic and political reforms pursuant of political and economic democracy.[100]

A key empirical question is whether the proclaimed articulation between public policies and social movement has been achieved. Therefore questions like what State and democracy is being constructed and what kind of education will eventually emerge from popular public education, remain a priority for policy analysis. In addition, central issues for the study of MOVA as a literacy campaign are the following: What are the socio-political and economic objectives of the campaign? What is the organizational model followed in the campaign? How does it relate to previous experiences inspired in Freire's conscientization model? How is the curriculum designed? What methodology has been implemented? How is the evaluation of the campaign organized? How is the campaign financed? What is the role of educational research in the campaign? Finally, what indications can be obtained from the results of the campaign in terms of economic, political, and cultural returns of literacy training for the adult learners?

Angela Miles has argued that social movements provide a congenial ground for a new education. This is an education that "encourages the spirit of equality and the realization of full human potential in an anti-elitist communal process; provides the students with the skills, resources and intellectual tools to understand and confront the structures and practices which perpetuate inequality; integrates vocational training, personal enlightenment/empowerment, and social action; challenges the separation between the world of knowledge production and daily life; refuses the artificial divisions of subject matter by discipline in an interdisciplinary approach to real

world problems; and breaks down the monopoly of knowledge by recognizing the learners as knowledge creators."[101]

Any agenda for social transformation should ask whether the educational reform happening in São Paulo, based on a partnership between the State and social movements, has improved the quality of educational opportunity and quality of education in public schooling. At the same time, we should inquire whether a serious attempt has been made to overcome school and social discrimination based on gender,[102] class and race. Equally important is to ask whether a new educational policy promoted by a partnership between social movements and the State is politically feasible and workable, technically competent, and, on grounds of social justice and fairness, ethically sound.

Very often, technical competence in the context of politically feasible and eventually workable educational reforms is at odds with ethical principles upholding beliefs in social justice and fairness for everyone in the context of political and economic democracies. Sometimes, politically feasible reform projects based on an ethics of democratic compassion lack technical expertise, rendering failure inevitable. Finally, technically competent and ethically sound democratic projects may not be politically feasible or workable giving certain historical conditions, remaining in the realm of illusions, dreams or the unconscious of practitioners, teachers and policymakers.

In his theoretical writings Paulo Freire has always advised his reader to keep these tensions alive; not only as a safeguard for democratic practice, but also as virtually the only possible path for building cooperative and participative democratic alliances. As a policymaker, Paulo Freire has been undoubtedly aware that politics, ethics and technical competence are deeply interwoven in any educational reform. Particularly, when he has been "a pilgrim of the obvious"[103] for more than three decades arguing with tireless energy that education is not neutral and that the political nature of education is independent of the educator and policymaker's subjectivities.

For both social movements and the municipal State, to develop and sustain an educational policy which is at the same time technically competent, ethically sound, and politically feasible and workable in current institutional settings represents an immense challenge, in Brazil and

elsewhere. This is particularly challenging for educators, policymakers and militants of social movements in São Paulo who, following a basic Freirean premise, may have surely asked themselves in favor of what, and therefore, against what, for whom and on whose behalf they are working.

Table 1: Municipality of São Paulo, Brazil: Full-Time and Part-Time Teachers Salaries, daytime and nightly teaching. Cruzeiros, percentages, and US$. August 1992

	(1)	(2)	(1/2)	(3)	(2/3)	(1/3)
(A) FT.Day Teaching*	2.110.366	2.743.475	30.0%	3.165.548	15.4%	50.0%
	US$ 406.19	US$ 528.04		US$609.28		
PT Day Teaching**	1.160.701	1.477.256	27.3%	1.688.292	14.3%	45.4%
	US$223.40	US$284.33		US$324.95		
FT-day/PT-day	45.0%	46.1%		46.7%		
(B) FT. Night Teaching	2.743.475	3.376.585	23.1%	3.798.658	12.5%	38.5%
	US$528.04	US$649.90		US$731.14		
PT Night Teaching	1.477.255	1.793.810	21.4%	2.004.847	11.8%	36.0%
	US$284.33	US$345.26		US$385.87		
FT-night/PT-night	46.1%	46.9%		47.2%		
(A/B) Full-Time	30.0%	23.1%		20.0%		
(A/B) Part-Time	27.3%	21.4%		18.7%		

Note:

Location of neighborhoods: (1) Central--more desirable locations, safest, etc.; (2) Intermediate;

(3) Periphery (poorest neighborhoods, or shantytowns, security problems, etc.);

(•) Full-Time Teacher (*Jornada de Tempo Integral*) 30 hs/week-EM-04A (beginning teacher);

(••) Part-Time Teacher with Higher Education 20 hs/week-EM-041 (beginning teacher).

Source: Prefeitura do Municipio de São Paulo, Secretaria Municipal de Educação, ATP-NPC, Assessoria Financieira, unpublished data, August 1992. Dollar $5.195.53

Footnotes

[1] Paulo Freire, "Educação. O sonho possivel." in <u>O Educador: Vida e Morte</u>. ed. Carlos R. Brandão, (Rio de Janeiro: Edições Graal, 1986) p. 97.

[2] Paulo Freire, <u>The Politics of Education</u> (South Hadley, MA: Bergin and Garvin Publishers, 1985), pp. 179-180.

[3] When I was working on the final draft of this article, I hear on the radio that César Chavez has passed away. César, like few leaders in America has combined his political commitment with a coherent and radical ethics at the service of the poor and dispossessed. The ethics and politics of <u>Pedagogy of the Oppressed</u> were born in South America out of the same struggle, for the same people, and for the same reasons that Chavez fought in the valleys of California. I dedicate this article to the memory of this giant, humble man.

[4] Preliminary versions of this paper have been presented at the American Educational Research Association (AERA) Annual Meeting, Chicago, Illinois, April 4-7, 1991; at the XVth World Congress of Political Science, Buenos Aires, Argentina, July 21-25, 1991; and at the Spencer Fellows Forum, National Academy of Education Fall Meeting, Boston, Massachusetts, October 19, 1991. I would like to thank Jeanny Oakes, Robert Arnove, Erwin Epstein, María del Pilar O'Cadiz, and three anonymous reviewers of <u>Comparative Education Review</u> for their helpful comments. Paulo Freire, Moacir Gadotti, and Mario Sérgio Cortella deserve my gratitud for their kind help, information and criticism to previous versions of the paper. This research has been supported by a National Academy of Education Spencer Fellowship, the Central Research Fund of the University of Alberta, and the Academic Senate, the International Studies and Overseas Programs (ISOP), and the Latin American Center at UCLA.

[5] Moacir Gadotti. "Impact of the External Debt in the Politics of Brazilian Education." Paper presented to the Conference on the Latin American and Caribbean Debt Crisis and Its Aftermath. The University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario, Canada, March 24-26, 1993.

6 Fernando Reimers, "Education, Adjustment, and Democracy in Latin America." (Development Discussion Paper N° 363, Harvard Institute for International Development, November 1990, mimeographed); Fernando Reimers, "The Role of Organization and Politics in Government Financing of Education. The Effects of Structural Adjustment in Latin America." (Comparative Education Review, 27 (1), 1991, pp. 35-52); Torcuato S. Di Tella, Latin American Politics. A Theoretical Framework. (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1990); Arthur Morris and Stella Lowder, (editors) Decentralization in Latin America. An Evaluation. (New York: Praeger, 1992); Lawrence S. Graham, The State and Policy Outcomes in Latin America. (New York: Praeger, 1990); Agustín Cueva, Las democracias restringidas de América Latina. (Quito, Ecuador: Planeta, 1988); Atilio A. Boron, Estado, capitalismo y democracia en América Latina. (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Imago Mundi, 1991); Albert O. Hirschman "The Political Economy of Latin American Development. Seven Exercises in Retrospection" (Latin American Research Review 22 (3), 1987, pp. 7-36).

7 Fernando Calderón Gutiérrez and Mario R. dos Santos "Movimientos sociales y democracia. Los conflictos por la constitución de un nuevo orden" in Fernando Calderón Gutiérrez and Mario R. dos Santos (compiladores) Los conflictos por la constitución de un nuevo orden (Buenos Aires: Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales, CLACSO, 1987), pp. 11-32; Ronald Paulston "Education as Anti-structure: Nonformal Education in social and ethnic movements" (Comparative Education Review 10, 1980), pp. 55-66; Eckstein, Susan, (editor) Power and Popular Protest. Latin American Social Movements. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989); Jane S. Jaquette (ed.) The Women's Movement in Latin America. (Boston, Massachusetts: Unwin Hyman Company, 1989); Bergmann, Emilie et al. Women, Culture and Politics in Latin America. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

8 See the following interviews: Mario Sérgio Cortella "O homen que substituio Paulo Freire" Aconteceu, (576) April 10, 1991, p. 14; "Aqui não inauguramos paredes' Folha Dirigida/Nacional,

24-30, December, 1991, l.d.; and "São Paulo acaba con seriaçáo e fortalece Conselho" Nova Escola, April 1992, p. 50.

9 For the period September 1990-1991, Brazil with a GNP of $375.15 billion ranked 10th after USA ($ 5.237,71 billion); Japan ($2.920,31); Germany ($1,272.96); France ($1.000,87); Italy ($871,96); Great Britain ($834.17); Russia ($650), Canada ($600.34); and China ($393.01). See "Indicadores Económicos Internacionais" Folha de S. Paulo, April 19, 1992, p. 3.

10 The Portuguese word "conscientização," translated as concientization or critical consciousness, was defined by Freire as follows: "The French "prise de conscience," to take consciousness of, is a normal way of being a human being. Conscientization is something which goes beyond the "prise de conscience." It is something which is starting from the ability of getting, of taking the "prise de conscience." Something which implies to analyze. It is a kind of reading the world rigorously or almost rigorously. It is the way of reading how society works. It is the way to understand better the problem of interests, the question of power. How to get power, what means not to have power. Finally, conscientizing implies a deeper reading of reality, [and] the common sense goes beyond the common sense". Conversation with Carlos Alberto Torres in Learning to Read the World, videotape, ACCESS Network, Edmonton, Canada, October 1990. Reproduced in French in Paulo Freire L' education dans la ville (Paris: Païdeia, 1991). See also Carlos Alberto Torres "From the 'Pedagogy of the Oppressed' to 'A Luta Continua': The Political Pedagogy of Paulo Freire," in Peter McLaren and Peter Leonard (Eds.) Paulo Freire: A Critical Encounter. (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 119-145.

11 Celso de Rui Beisiegel, Política e Educação Popular (São Paulo: Editora Atica, 1982); Moacir Gadotti, Concepção Dialética da Educação. Um estudo introdutório (São Paulo: Cortez-Editora Autores Associados, 1986); Thomas J. La Belle "From Consciousness Raising to Popular Education in Latin America and the Caribbean" (Comparative Education Review, 31 (2), 1987), pp. 201-217.

12 Scott Mainwaring, The Catholic Church and Politics in Brazil,1916-1985 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1986), p. 45; p. 66.

13 The importance of literacy training for citizenship building and the constitution of the popular sectors in Brazil cannot be underestimated. It has been argued that: "Since until 1983 only the literate could vote in Brazil, the desire for literacy programs should be understood as a mechanism for increasing the number of voters, which would politically sustain the regime in power. To this extent, the figures are impressive: in the early 1960s, northeastern Brazil had 15 million illiterates out of a total population of 25 million; in 1964, the year of the coup d' état, in the state of Sergipe alone, literacy training added 80,000 new voters to the 90,000 already existing. In Pernambuco, the total of voters went from 800,000 to 1 million." Carlos Alberto Torres, The Politics of Nonformal Education in Latin America (New York: Praeger, 1990), p. 40. From a different theoretical and political perspective than Freire, the Movemento Brasileiro de Alfabetização or MOBRAL attempted to affect the constitution of the Brazilian citizenship. See for instance, Philipe R. Fletcher,"National Educational Systems as State Agencies of Legitimation," paper presented to the 1982 Western Regional Conference of the Comparative and International Education Society (CIES), Standford University, October 22-24, 1982, mimeographed; Hugo Lovisolo, Educação Popular: Maioridade e Conciliação. Salvador, Bahia: Organization of American States-Universidade Federal de Bahia-Empresa Gráfica de Bahia, 1990.

14 Emmanuel de Kadt, Catholic Radicals in Brazil (New York, Oxford University Press, 1970); Scott Mainwaring, The Catholic Church and Politics in Brazil, 1916-1985 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1986); Marcio Moreira Alves, O Cristo do Povo (Rio de Janeiro, Editôra Sabiá, 1968); Ruben Alves, "Towards a Theology of Liberation" (Princeton: Ph D. dissertation, Princeton Theological Seminary, 1969); Carlos Alberto Torres, translated by Richard Young. The Church, Society, and Hegemony in Latin America. A Critical Sociology of Religion in Latin America (Westport and London: Praeger, 1992).

15 Paulo Freire has been a catalyst if not the prime "animateur" for pedagogical innovation and change. The importance of his work is expressed in the fact that his most important books (e.g. Pedagogy of the Oppressed; Education for Critical Consciousness; Pedagogy in Process: Letters from Guinea Bissau) have been translated in many languages including German, Italian, Spanish, Korean, Japanese, French, etc., and some of them, especially Pedagogy of the Oppressed which has been translated into 18 languages has more than thirty-five reprints in Spanish, nineteen in Portuguese, twelve in English, etc. Ira Shor, ed., Freire for the Classroom: A Sourcebook for Liberatory Teaching (Portsmouth, NH: Boynton/Cook Publishers, 1987); Ira Shor, and Paulo Freire, A Pedagogy for Liberation. Dialogues on Transforming Education (Amherst, Mass: Bergin & Garvey, 1987); Peter McLaren, and Peter Leonard, eds., Paulo Freire: A Critical Encounter (London: Routledge, 1992); Ira Shor, Empowering Education. Critical Teaching for Social Change. (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press,1992); Peter McLaren and Colin Lankshear, eds., The Politics of Oppression: Paulo Freire, Pedagogy, and Critical Utopianism. (London: Routledge, in press).

16 A generative theme is an existential and crucial daily life situation for members of a given "oppressed" community. When a generative theme is discovered through thematic investigation and codified, it becomes a knowledgeable object mediating between knowing subjects, and it then lead to discover "generative words" (in turn selected based on their syllabic complexity and richness), the basis for the Freirean literacy training method.

17 Paulo Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed (New York: Herder and Herder, 1970), p. 19.

18 Moacir Gadotti, Convite á Leitura de Paulo Freire (São Paulo: Editora Scipione, 1989); Celso de Rui Beisiegel, Política e Educação Popular. A Teoría e a Prática de Paulo Freire No Brasil. (São Paulo: Editora Atica, 1982); Carlos Alberto Torres, "A dialética hegeliana e o pensamento lógico-estrutural de Paulo Freire. Notas para uma análise e confrontação dos pressupostos filosóficos vigentes na dialética da pedagogia dos oprimidos e do pensamento Freireano em geral" (Revista Síntese, 3 (7), April-June 1976), pp. 61-78; Carlos Alberto Torres, Lectura crítica de Paulo Freire

(Mexico: Gernika, 1978); Carlos Alberto Torres, Educación y Concientización (Salamanca, Spain: Ediciones Sígueme, 1980); Carlos Alberto Torres, The Politics of Nonformal Education in Latin America. (New York: Praeger, 1990).

[19] Fernando Henrique Cardoso, "On the Characterization of Authoritarian Regimes in Latin America." in The New Authoritarianism in Latin America, ed. D. Collier, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1979), p. 38.

[20] Claus Offe, "Structural Problems of the Capitalist State: Class Rule and the Political System. On the Selectiveness of Political Institutions." in German Political Studies, ed. Von Beyme, (Vol. I. Beverly Hills: SAGE, 1974), p. 37.

[21] Ibid., p. 37. See also Claus Offe, Contradictions of the Welfare State (London: Hutchinson, 1984).

[22] Claus Offe, Contradictions of the Welfare State, p. 105.

[23] Bruce Fuller. Growing-Up Modern. The Western State Builds Third-World Schools. (New York and London: Routledge, 1991), see especially pp. 12-24; 108. It is instructive to read Offe's analyses of how, in the context of disorganized capitalism, relations of social power are translated into political authority and, conversely, how political authority transform power relations within civil society. See Claus Offe, Disorganized Capitalism. (Cambridge, Polity Press, 1985).

[24] Max Weber, Economía y Sociedad (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1969, Vol I), pp. 210-215.

[25] Claus Offe and Gero Lenhardt "Social policy and the theory of the State" in Claus Offe Contradictions of the Welfare State, p. 88.

[26] This definition borrows elements from Thomas McCarthy's criticism of Foucault's unidimensional notion of power. See Thomas McCarthy "The Critique of Impure Reason: Foucault and the Frankfurt School." in Thomas E. Wartenberg (editor) Rethinking Power (Albany, New York: SUNY Press, 1992), pp. 121-149.

27 See Carlos Alberto Torres, <u>The Politics of Nonformal Education in Latin America</u> (New York, Praeger, 1990), pp. 102-105. A fascinating discussion of the notions of democracy in Marx and Weber in the context of capitalism and modernity is Derek Sayer, <u>Capitalism and Modernity. An Excursus on Marx and Weber</u>. (London and New York: Routledge, 1991).

28 Martin Carnoy, <u>The State and Political Theory</u> (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1984).

29 Martin Carnoy, and Henry Levin, <u>Schooling and Work in the Democratic State</u> (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985), pp. 24; 76-110; Carlos Alberto Torres, <u>The Politics of Nonformal Education in Latin America</u>, pp. 138-140; Martin Carnoy and Joel Samoff, et. al., <u>Education and Social Transition in the Third World</u>. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990).

30 Hans N. Weiler, "Compensatory Legitimation in Educational Policy: Legalization, Expertise, and Participation in Comparative Perspective." IFG-Stanford University, Report N° 81-A17, September 1981. In São Paulo, the articulation between the state at the local or municipal level, the state level, and the federal (national) level will pose additional complexities for the analysis. However, these are not addressed in our study.

31 In the context of policies of financial austerity and structural adjustment, investment in public works and social sectors associated with investment in human capital (mainly education and health) have fallen, in some cases significantly. Structural adjustment loans sponsored by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank impose a number of conditions, including reduced government spending, real devaluations to promote exports, tariff reductions, and attempts to increase public and private savings by reducing public consumption, and particularly employment in the public sector. The withdraw of state investment has resulted in the increasing privatization of public schooling, "both through parents bearing a growing proportion of public education costs and, as the quality of public education falls, through the flight of those who can afford private education" (Daniel A. Morales-Gómez and Carlos Alberto Torres, "Introduction: Education and

Development in Latin America", Daniel A. Morales-Gómez and Carlos Alberto Torres (editors) Education, Policy, and Social Change. Experiences from Latin America. (Westport, Connecticut and London, Praeger, 1992, p. 5).

32 Scott Mainwaring, and Eduardo Viola, "New Social Movements, Political Culture and Democracy: Brazil and Argentina in the 1980s." Telos, 61, Fall 1984, pp. 17-54.

33 F. Emerson Andrews, Philanthropic Foundations (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1956), cited in Robert F. Arnove, ed., Philanthropy and Cultural Imperialism. The Foundations at Home and Abroad (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980), p. 4.

34 Inter-American Foundation, 1990 Annual Report (Rosslyn, Virginia: Inter-American Foundation, 1990).

35 Alan Touraine, The Voice and the Eye. An Analysis of Social Movements (New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

36 Scott Mainwaring, and Eduardo Viola "New Social Movements, Political Culture and Democracy: Brazil and Argentina in the 1980s." Telos, 61, Fall 1984, pp. 17-54; David Slater, ed., New Social Movements and the State in Latin America (Amsterdam: CEDLA, 1985); Elizabeth Jelin, "Movimientos sociales en Argentina: Una introducción a su estudio." Cuestión de Estado 1 (1), September 1987, pp. 28-37; Carlos R. Brandão, Lutar com a Palabra (Rio de Janeiro, Graal, 1982).

37 Ernesto Laclau, "New Social Movements and the Plurality of the Social" in New Social Movements and the State in Latin America, ed. David Slater, (Amsterdam: CEDLA, 1985), pp. 27-42. See also Henry Pease García, Tomas Moulian, Antonio Melis et.al., América Latina 80: Democracia y movimiento popular. (Lima: Centro de Estudios y Promoción del Desarrollo, DESCO, 1981); Fernando Calderón Gutiérrez and Mario R. dos Santos (compiladores) Los conflictos por la constitución de un nuevo orden (Buenos Aires: Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales, CLACSO, 1987); and Norbert Lechner (compilador) Cultura política y democratización. (Santiago de Chile: Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, FLACSO-

Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales, CLACSO-Instituto de Cooperación Iberoamericana-ICI, 1987).

38 David Slater, "Social Movements and a Recasting of the Political" in New Social Movements and the State in Latin America, ed. David Slater, (Amsterdam: CEDLA, 1985), p. 6.

39 Moacir Gadotti, et al., A Força que Temos (São Paulo: PUC/SP, 1989, mimeographed). For the dilemmas of social movements and the unique experience of the Partido dos Trabalhadores see Tilman Evers, "Identity: The Hidden Side of New Social Movements in Latin America," in New Social Movements and the State in Latin America, ed. David Slater, (Amsterdam: CEDLA, 1985), p. 55.

40 Agneta Lind, and Anton Johnston, Adult Literacy in the Third World. A Review of Objectives and Strategies. (Stockholm: Swedish International Development Authority, Education Division Documents, N° 32, October 1986), p. 63. For a discussion of Freire's experiences with literacy training in Guinea Bissau see Carlos Alberto Torres, "From the 'Pedagogy of the Oppressed' to 'A Luta Continua': The Political Pedagogy of Paulo Freire." in Peter McLaren and Peter Leonard (Eds.) Paulo Freire: A Critical Encounter. (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 119-145.

41 Interview with Paulo Freire, São Paulo, February 21, 1990.

42 Proposta. Experiências em educação popular. Federação de órgãos para assistência social e educacional, FASE-Rio de Janeiro, N° 45, August 1990, pp. 5-37.

43 Fórum de Políticas Municipais de Educação de Jovens e Adultos. Educação de jovens e adultos. Subsídios para elaboração de políticas municipais. São Paulo, Centro Ecumênico de Documentação e Informação (CEDI), 1990, p. 18.

44 Moacir Gadotti, "The Politics of Education and Social Change in Brazil. A Critical View From Within." Paper presented at the American Education Research Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, Illinois, April 4-7, 1991, mimeographed, p. 12.

45 Epitomized in Argentinean President Sarmiento's motto of "barbarism or civilization."

46 See Adriana Puiggrós, Sujetos, disciplina y curriculum en los orígenes del sistema educativo Argentino. (Buenos Aires: Editorial Galerna, 1990).

47 Carlos Alberto Torres, The Church, Society, and Hegemony. A Critical Sociology of Religion in Latin America (Wesport and London: Praeger, 1992), especially pp. 117-197.

48 Gregorio Weinberg, Modelos educativos en la historia de América Latina (Buenos Aires: Kapeluz-UNESCO-CEPAL-PNUD, 1984); Gregorio Weinberg, "A Historical Perspective of Latin American Education," (CEPAL Review, (21), December 1983), pp. 39-55; Carlos Alberto Torres, The Politics, pp. 8-10; 110-111; Celso de Rui Beisiegel, Política e Educação Popular. A Teoria e a Prática de Paulo Freire No Brasil. (São Paulo, Atica, 1982).

49 Moacir Gadotti, Uma só escola para todos. Caminhos da autonomia escolar. (Petrópolis: Vozes, 1990), pp. 165-167; Secretaria de Planejamiento da Presidéncia da República. Fundação Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística-IBGE. Censo Demográfico. Dados Gerais-Migração-Instrução-Fecundidade-Mortalidade. IX Recenseamento Geral do Brasil-1980. Volume 1, Tomo 4, Nº 1. (Rio de Janeiro:Fundação Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística-IBGE, 1983), pp. 114-167; Ministério da Educação.Secretaria de Administração Geral. A Educação no Brasil na década de 80. (Brasília-DF: Sistema estatístico da Educação-MEC/SAG/CPS/CIP, December 1990); Fundação Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística-IBGE, UNICEF-Fundação Centro Brasileiro para a Infancia e Adolescéncia, FCBIA. Perfil estatístico de crianças e mães no Brasil. (Rio de Janeiro: Fundação Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística-IBGE, volume 1, 1990).

50 See Moacir Gadotti, Ibid., p. 166.

51 The Aspen Institute. Convergence and Community: The Americas In 1993. A Report of the Inter-American Dialogue. (Washington: The Aspen Institute, December 1992), p. 43.

52 Conversation with Paulo Freire, Secretary of Public Education, São Paulo, Brazil, February 17, 1990.

53 Boletim 9, Canal de Comunicação entre a Secretaria Municipal de Educação e a Comunidade Escolar. São Paulo, Brazil, December 11, 1989.

54 David Plank and Richard Pelczar "Democratic Politics, Constitutional Reform, and Basic Education in Contemporary Brazil". (Paper presented to the annual meeting of the Comparative and International Education Society, Atlanta, GA, March 1988, mimeographed); David Plank, "Public Purpose and Private Interest in Brazilian Education" (in New Education, (12), 1990), pp. 83-89.

55 Fórum, p. 10.

56 See Pierre Bourdieu and J-C. Passeron. Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture. (London: Sage Publications Ltd., 1977); Pierre Bourdieu. Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, and Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984); Pierre Bourdieu. Coisas Ditas. (São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1990).

57 Linda M. McNeil, Contradictions of Control. School Structure and School Knowledge. (New York and London: Routledge, 1986) p. 165.

58 Thomas McCarthy The Critical Theory of Jürgen Habermas. (Cambridge, MA, and London: The MIT Press, 1979), pp. 372-374.

59 Fórum, p. 20.

60 The process of reforming curriculum is termed "Curriculum Reorientation through Inter-disciplinarity."

61 Secretaria Municipal de Educação. O Movimento de Reorientação Curricular Na Secretaria Municipal de Educação de São Paulo. Documento 1. São Paulo, 1989, mimeographed, p. 1.

62 Ibid., p. 3.

63 Joaquim de Carvalho, "Pedagogía de Paulo Freire chega a mais cem escolas," July 24, 1990, Journal do Educador.

64 Learning the World. Paulo Freire in conversation with Dr. Carlos Alberto Torres. ACCESS Network, Alberta, Canada, videotape, 1990.

65 Conversation with Paulo Freire, videotaped, São Paulo, May 1990.

[66] After sixty years of operation of the municipal educational system, no statute of the teaching profession had been implemented. Freire told us in 1991 that he considered important to correct this omission.

[67] Qualifications for school principals are three years of seniority in the municipal system of education and a proper teaching credential. Estatuto do magistério municipal. Minuta do anteprojeto de lei, (São Paulo: Secretaria Municipal de Educação de São Paulo, March 1991), p. 44.

[68] Whether parents have more than one child enrolled at the school, or whether they are also members of the staff or the faculty of the school will not alter the norm of one parent one vote.

[69] Freire told us that he considered important to correct this omission. Conversation with Paulo Freire, São Paulo, Brazil, July 2, 1991.

[69] Estatuto do magistério municipal, p. 15.

[70] Among key principles of this statute, the first ever in the history of municipal education in the city of São Paulo are the following: monthly salary adjustments by inflation *(garantia de piso salarial profissional)*; changes in working conditions, including the creation of a *Jornada de Trabajo Integral*, that is FTE positions of 30 hours a week, including 20 contact hours and 10 additional hours for extra-classroom activities; guaranteed PTE positions of 20 hours a week, with the possibility for those part-time teachers with tenure to opt for a FTE position; and implementation of a *conselho de escola* (school council) as a deliberative organ comprised by the school Principal, teachers, teachers aid, students and parents.

[71] Conversation with Paulo Freire, São Paulo, Brazil, July 2, 1991.

[72] Ibid. For a discussion on corporatism and education see Daniel A. Morales-Gómez, and Carlos Alberto Torres, The State, Corporatist Politics and Education Policy Making in Mexico (New York: Praeger, 1990).

[73] Yetta M. Goodman, and Kenneth S. Goodman, "Vygotsky in a Whole-Language Perspective." in Vygotsky and Education. Instructional Implications and Applications of Socio-Historical

Psychology. Luis C. Moll, ed., (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 238.

[74] Quoted in Yetta Goodman, "Preface to the English Edition." Emilia Ferreiro, and Ana Teberosky, Literacy Before Schooling (Portsmouth, New Hampshire and Oxford: Heinemann, 1982), p. XII.

[75] For Piaget, cognition is an organizational structure that involves cognitive adaptation. In its dynamic form, intellectual development is characterized by three functional invariances: organization, assimilation and accommodation. The nature of assimilation is that every cognitive act of a subject involves a kind of cognitive structuration or re-structuration of the external object to the systems of meanings already internalized by the subject. Thus, the process of assimilation appears in three forms: cumulative repetition, generalization of the activity with the incorporation of new objects of knowledge, and motor recognition. Jean Piaget, The Origins of Intelligence in Children. (New York: International University Press, 1952).

[76] Emilia Ferreiro, and Ana Teberosky, Literacy Before Schooling. (Portsmouth, New Hampshire and Oxford: Heinemann, 1982), p. 285; Emilia Ferreiro, ed., Los hijos del analfabetismo. Propuestas para la alfabetización escolar en América Latina. (Mexico, Siglo XXI, 1989).

[77] Cited in María del Pilar O'Cadiz, "Social Movements and Literacy Training in Brazil: A Narrative," in Education and Social Change in Latin America. Carlos Alberto Torres, ed., (Melbourne: James Nicholas Publisher, in press).

[78] Cited in María del Pilar O'Cadiz, "Social Movements and Literacy Training in Brazil: A Narrative," in Education and Social Change in Latin America. Carlos Alberto Torres, ed., (Melbourne: James Nicholas Publisher, in press).

[79] There are a number of works in progress, including Pilar O'Cadiz, "The Politics of Schooling in Brazil. A Qualitative Analysis of Educational Reform in São Paulo." Los Angeles, UCLA, manuscript, 1993; Pia Wong, "Constructing a Popular Public Education: Seven Case Studies of Implementation in São Paulo." Palo Alto, Stanford University, manuscript, 1993.

80 See *Folha de São Paulo*, January 3, 1992.

81 D.O.M. São Paulo, "Uma conquista do trabalho coletivo," 36 (47) 13 March, 1991, p. 3

82 Boletim 9, p.1.

83 Of a 1991 municipal budget in São Paulo, 10.6% was spent on education. Professor Mario Sérgio Cortella although cautiously arguing that it is not clear whether increases in teachers salaries will result in improvements in the quality of education, he will contend, however, that research shows that it is clear that meager salaries and poor working conditions deeply affect the quality of education. See Mario Sérgio Cortella "Aqui não inauguramos paredes", *Folsha Dirigida/Nacional*, 24-30 December 1991.

84 Conversation with Paulo Freire, São Paulo, Brazil, videotaped, May 1990.

85 See for instance Mario Manacorda, Il principio educativo in Gramsci. (Cagliari: Armando Editore, 1970); Antonio Gramsci Selections from the Prison Notebooks. (Edited and translated by Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith, New York, International Publishers, 1971); Harold Entwistle, Antonio Gramsci: Conservative Schooling for Radical Politics. (London and Boston: Routledge & Kegan, Paul, 1979); Walter Adamson, Gramsci, Hegemony and Revolution: A Study of Antonio Gramsci's Political and Cultural Theory. (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1980); and Rafael Díaz-Salazar, El proyecto de Gramsci.--foreword by Francisco Fernández Buey. (Madrid: Editorial Anthropos-Ediciones HOAC, 1991).

86 Cornel West, "Preface" to Peter McLaren and Peter Leonard (eds.) Paulo Freire: A Critical Encounter. (London, Routledge, 1992), p. xiii.

87 Freire, in Carvalho, p. 2; "Propostas para la reorganização de Secretaria Municipal de Educação", mimeographed, May 18, 1990.

88 Folha de S. Paulo, February 17, 1990, p. A-5.

89 Carvalho, ibid.

90 Magdalena Freire, Paixão de conhecer o mundo: Relatos de una professora. (Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1983).

91 Articles by Roberto Romano in Folha de São Paulo; March, 1 and 15, 1990.

92 Newspapers of March 13, 1990.

93 O Estado de São Paulo, February 3, 1990

94 O Estado de São Paulo, February 21, 1990.

95 For a discussion on the role of education in social transitions see Martin Carnoy, and Joel Samoff, eds., Education and Social Transition in the Third World. (Princeton: New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1990); Carlos Alberto Torres, "The State, Nonformal Education and Socialism in Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada." Comparative Education Review, 35 (1) February, 1991: 110-130.

96 Moacir Gadotti, Uma só escola para todos, pp. 165-183; José Tamarit, "El dilema de la educación popular: entre la utopía y la resignación." Revista Argentina de Educación. VIII, (13): 7-45.

97 A mimeographed publication, Boletim Informativo Nº 00, of May 1990, has been produced by people working for EDA. It is an attempt to create a channel for communications and a forum for exchange of experiences, information and, eventually, a tool to denounce irregularities.

98 There are disparities in salaries between instructors in EDA and MOVA. EDA instructors (who have in some cases up to 10 years of seniority) receive in 1991 $40,000 Cruzeiros for 20 hours of work while MOVA instructors (who in many cases have no seniority nor experience in teaching adults) perceived $30,000 Cruzeiros.

99 For a discussion of educational policies under Neo-Liberal governments in Latin America see Daniel A. Morales-Gómez and Carlos Alberto Torres (eds.) Education, Policy and Social Change: Lessons from Latin America (Wesport, Connecticut and London, Praeger, 1992).

100 To this extent, the post-modern notion of the decentralization and fragmentation of power in democratic societies poses many analytical challenges for methodologies of substantive democracy in dependent capitalism.

[101] Angela Miles, "Women's Challenge to Adult Education," (Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, May 1989, mimeographed), p. 3.

[102] A naturalistic analysis of the role of gender in literacy training in São Paulo is Nelly Peñaloza Stromquist, "The Intersection of Gender and Social Marginality in Adult Literacy: Becoming Literate in São Paulo." (Los Angeles, School of Education, University of Southern California, February 1992, mimeographed).

[103] See Paulo Freire and Ivan Illich Diálogo Paulo Freire e Iván Illich. (Buenos Aires: Editorial Búsqueda-Celadec, 1975).