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Alternative Education and Social Change in Brazil: A History and Case Study.

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Alternative education and social change in Brazil: A history and case study

Nunes, Maria de Lourdes, Ph.D.
The Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical Col., 1992
ALTERNATIVE EDUCATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN BRAZIL:
A HISTORY AND CASE STUDY

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in

The Department of Curriculum and Instruction

by
Maria de Lourdes Nunes
B.S., Faculdade de Ciências e Letras Notre Dame, 1977
M.Ed., Bowling Green State University, 1986
May 1992
This dissertation is dedicated to my children,

Sérgio

Cristiane

Michèlle Renné

who since August 1985 have struggled through the years of hardship without ever doubting their Mom's ability and capacity as to attain the high standard goals to be reached. It was with their support, their trust, and their confidence that I was able to pursue my educational objectives.
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Brazilian university members - faculty, staff, and students - involved in the hard work of searching for alternative forms of education that might fulfill the needs of the immense population left out of the educational system in our country. The great majority is dedicated to this important social cause despite the adversities they face while carrying on their mission.

The abandoned, marginalized, socioeconomically underprivileged populations in Brazil, who inspired the topic of this dissertation.
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ABSTRACT

In contrast to the elitism of the Brazilian formal education system are the efforts of educators at federal universities in promoting educational alternatives for the socioeconomically underprivileged population. Having reached its peak in the late 1950s and early 1960s and culminating with Paulo Freire's successful "conscientization" experiment in Angicos, educational alternatives were revitalized in the 1980s upon the nation's "return to democracy." Since then, Brazilian universities have committed themselves to contribute to the struggle for social transformation. Mission and objective statements of individual universities express their attitude towards active involvement in the process of alleviating educational and socioeconomic inequities which affect the Brazilian society. Alternatives examined include: Distance Learning - Open University and Educational Television, Adult Literacy programs, developed under Paulo Freire's perspective of education for liberation, and Community Development Programs.

Open university programs function as a powerful resource to provide educational opportunities to hard-to-reach populations. Training a small number of individuals, the programs reach a large number of individuals through successive transfer of knowledge and technology. Research involving educational television indicate that programs are more likely to be effective in educating low-income populations when they are directly related to issues
and problems concerning the community, not when they attempt to simply reproduce the formal education curriculum.

After approximately two decades, Paulo Freire's literacy method is overtly implemented not only on university campuses, to meet the educational needs of illiterate employees, but also as a fundamental component of community development programs. Promoting "conscientization," adult literacy programs enable individuals to reflect and act upon the transformation of their reality. Community development programs resort to interdisciplinary work in order to provide communities with development in several areas concurrently.

Due to the volunteer nature of this research, results are limited in scope to participating universities.
INTRODUCTION

In their efforts to find solutions for their increasing socioeconomic, educational, and political problems, Third World countries are turning more constantly to nonformal and alternative education programs. Brazil is no exception. This dissertation research investigates the role of Brazilian federal universities in enhancing access to education to the socioeconomically underprivileged populations in the country, as a means of providing them with a tool for improvement of their living conditions. The purpose of this research is to persuade Brazilian educators to use alternative educational methods to reach the non-traditional students. It aims at persuading these educators to work with Community Development programs and Adult Literacy programs, particularly using the Freire Method, that seem to be the most effective. A review of various existing programs reveals that non-traditional educational efforts, although still involving a small number of students, staff, and faculty members, are underway.

This dissertation explores several educational alternatives developed by federal universities, focusing on the attempts to improve access to education through pre-planned community programs for the populations unable to receive formal schooling. The study provides a description of the alternative education programs developed, including the difficulties, limitations, and strengths. Recommendations are made for the support of those educational alternatives that seem to meet more adequately the
educational needs of the Brazilian illiterate/semi-literate populations.

For purposes of this study, illiterates are considered those who have never had access to any form of education and who cannot read or write; semi-literates are those who have been engaged in some form of education, but have never completed the elementary level. The illiterate populations are not differentiated in terms of social levels such as peasants, workers, and sub-proletariat, etc. Such criteria involve ideological, political and socioeconomic issues which require specific discussions not within the scope of this dissertation. Although illiteracy is generally associated with the lower socioeconomic classes, for our purposes illiterates and semi-literate are considered to be one group that might be found in any level of society or in any community.

Chapter one provides a socioeconomic and a geographical description of Brazil, its regional characteristics and their impact in the delivery of education. It also contains a brief description of the elementary and secondary level educational system, as well as a more detailed history of the Brazilian university. It provides background information on Brazil's lack of independence in creating its own educational model, one that meets the educational needs of its large population.

Chapter two focuses on the emergence of nonformal education programs after World War II and on the various approaches educators take regarding alternative forms of education. The chapter also contains an initial review of the programs developed
by Brazilian universities concerning Distance Learning under two major areas, Open University and Educational Television.

Chapter three concentrates on the Brazilian educator, Paulo Freire, who has for several decades worked in support of the socioeconomically underprivileged populations. His adult literacy program, the Paulo Freire Method, is still the most successful system in worldwide usage for the eradication of adult illiteracy. This chapter examines Freire's educational theory that calls for social justice and social equity, the need and the possibility for educational and societal changes within countries that give special attention to the education of the socioeconomically underprivileged populations. We look particularly at the concept of "praxis." Alternative education programs focusing in Adult Literacy, Paulo Freire's area of expertise, are described in the chapter.

Chapter four contains a detailed description of the programs developed by the participating Brazilian federal universities in the area of Community Development, the educational alternative that has proven to be the most effective when educating the socioeconomically underprivileged populations. Since development requires action in several areas concurrently, the study indicates that Community Development programs are the most appropriate educational alternative due to the opportunities they offer for interdisciplinary action.

Chapter five provides an analysis of the data collected from Brazilian universities regarding the alternative education programs they have developed. It includes an analysis of the objectives of the
programs, while contrasting them within a Freirean perspective. It analyses the difficulties found in developing the programs in light of political, economic, and social obstacles. It further discusses the positive results obtained, stressing the need to develop interdepartmental programs when alternative education initiatives are undertaken. It also compares and contrasts programs developed within the same or different geographical regions.

Chapter six includes both the researcher's conclusions and recommendations. It reviews how living conditions were improved in socioeconomically underprivileged communities through the creation and maintenance of day-care centers, community schools, health centers, community centers, and community groups. It emphasizes how community organization provided populations with jobs, with higher family income, and with more power to demand that basic community needs be met. It underlies conscientization as the "sole motif" in the struggle for better living. While most educational alternatives are successfully developed within the target communities, the study indicates that community development programs are the most needed and most effective in that they embrace several needed areas of development concomitantly.

The scope of this dissertation is limited to the public federal universities in the country, based on three main principles: to give all states throughout the country equal representation and equal opportunity to participate in the study (one per state), to investigate the similarities and differences of programs developed
in different geographical regions, and to limit the number of participating universities based on the same criterion, that is, federal institutions, funded by the federal government. The inclusion of state universities in this project was avoided due to the large number and uneven distribution of state universities throughout distinct geographical regions. Results found are not to be generalized; they are limited in scope to the contributing universities.

Several major universities in the country were not involved in the study for different reasons. The Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro did not volunteer any information despite the many attempts made to involve it in this project. The Universidade de São Paulo, since its creation, has been a state, not a federal university, and it is, thus, not within the boundaries determined by the study. The Universidade Estadual de Campinas, the most progressive university in the country, was also not within the scope of this dissertation due to its state affiliation. The Catholic Universities (Pontifícia Universidades Católicas: Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo e Porto Alegre), also highly engaged in alternative education programs supported by the Liberation Theology, are private universities.

The research was partially conducted in Brazil, where the interviews occurred, and partially in the United States through bibliographical research. The literature used was largely written in Portuguese, since originals were used in lieu of translations. Aside from references located in the United States, references involving national authors were gathered upon recommendation from
Brazilian educators involved with the efforts explored in this dissertation.

Regarding methodology, a historical approach was employed to provide background leading to the development of alternative education programs in Brazil. A descriptive approach was chosen for reporting on programs developed by the universities. It is appropriate to describe at this point the peculiarities of the research conditions and methodology used in this dissertation.

Much of the material collected for this research came from informal interviews with university faculty members involved in developing different alternative education projects. The climate of such interviews although tense and uncertain at the beginning became easy and comfortable as the interviews progressed. Unanimously, participants expressed their initial hesitation about speaking on the contents of the interviews due to the still recent negative experiences occurred during the military regime from 1964 to 1985. It was only as participants felt assured that the contents discussed were to be used in a dissertation research and that the interviews would not endanger their future performance at the university that they started to be more open about their experiences with the topics under discussion.

Rather than a rigid questionnaire presented to the interviewees, a flexible and generic set of questions were presented. The topics discussed were Adult Literacy/Education Programs, Community Development Programs, and Distance Learning Programs involving two features, Open University and Educational
TV. Questions focused mainly on what programs were developed, what kind of financial support programs received, at whom the programs were aimed, what university personnel was involved in them, what kind of university support the programs received, and what results had been achieved by the programs.

Data also came in the form of written reports and publications donated by the universities, several where faculty members had been interviewed, several that responded to the researcher's written request. Despite the fact that many of the documents forwarded for the accomplishment of this dissertation may not meet the American academic standards for research (unsigned reports, faulty pagination, faulty reference), they constitute what Brazilian universities have as the only records of the research done and of the projects developed. All information was considered valuable since they represent the efforts of few in documenting, in the best way possible, often under precarious conditions, the activities developed at different levels of research and action.

In addition to the data collected in Brazil and in the United States, some information provided in this study also draws upon the professional and academic experiences of the researcher, a Brazilian educator who since 1970 has taught at both public and private schools at the elementary, secondary, and university levels, aside from holding administrative positions since 1978.

International development agencies were not included in the research as originally intended since none of the agencies consulted -- the Institute for International Education, the World Bank, the
United States Agency for International Development, the Partners of the Americas, and the International Development Bank -- support nonformal education programs. International development agencies are likely to support the development of educational programs through the formal education system. The main reason given to justify non-support to nonformal education programs is the lack of control over such programs, both administrative and financial.
CHAPTER 1

Brazil and the Brazilian University

With the objective of exploring educational alternatives developed by Brazilian federal universities that provide socioeconomically underprivileged populations access to education, a brief description of the Brazilian socioeconomic, political, and educational history is imperative in order to establish the background of alternative education programs. The nation's leaders - presidents, congressmen, cabinet members - have traditionally been both economically as well as politically powerful, and have, throughout the nation's history, excluded the socioeconomically underprivileged populations from participating equally in the nation's wealth. Political and education movements which aimed at fighting such disparities are also part of the nation's history. Among the movements which received greater emphasis after World War II are those that attempted to implement alternative forms of education that would benefit the politically and socioeconomically deprived. Examples of such alternatives are the adult literacy programs, the Base Movement (Movimento de Base), and the Brazilian Movement for Education (Movimento Brasileiro de Educação) further discussed in this research.

This chapter describes the Brazilian socioeconomic and geographic characteristics as well as the Brazilian formal educational system. The chapter is divided into two parts. The first, entitled "The Country and Its Characteristics," briefly describes the
nation's geographic regions, population, and socioeconomic components, emphasizing the paradoxical socioeconomic differences and how geographic features as well as population distribution affect the delivery of education. It establishes a context in which to understand how the Brazilian government faces the challenge of educating its population, a common problem among Third World nations.

The second part, entitled "The Educational System," briefly describes how the present formal elementary and secondary public schools function in Brazil, and provides a brief history of the Brazilian higher education system, traditionally modeled after the European system, but, more recently, after the American educational system. This information is crucial to understanding why Brazil lacked the independence to create an educational model based on the needs of its own population and why Brazilian universities, until recently, never seemed to express a concern for mass education. This historical background is essential for understanding the need for new alternatives in the present educational system, a responsibility embraced by federal and state universities mainly upon the return of democracy to the country in 1985.

Issues discussed in the chapter include the lack of steady educational policies, the severe shortage of school seats at all formal education levels, the lack of systematic funding, and the quality control of education. These problems provide strong justification for the development of alternatives to formal education.
The Country and Its Characteristics

Brazil is divided into five geographic regions, each characterized by its own climatic and socioeconomic conditions: Northern, Northeastern, Central-Western, Southeastern, and Southern. The diverse climatic and socioeconomic conditions of these five regions have resulted in an uneven population distribution throughout the country as verified by the statistical data provided in Figure 1. These differences have had a direct impact on the access of the population to education as well as on the delivery of education in each region.

Figure 1. Brazilian population distribution according to geographical area.

Note. From Brazil (pp. 9-11), 1988b, Rio de Janeiro: PETROBRAS.
The Northern Region accounts for forty-two percent of the national territory and holds only four percent of the country's population (see Figure 1). Recent deforestation in the Amazon Forest has drawn international attention to the region and to the political and socioeconomic issues the Brazilian government faces in allowing or restricting the exploitation of the area.

In contrast with the richness of the region's natural resources, the majority of the population is poor and access to most areas is extremely difficult. There are few roads and most are in poor condition. Areas other than the most important cities are reached by rivers or by air, often with precarious means of transportation such as old small planes and boats with little or no maintenance and security. The vast dimension of the region, its geographic hindrances, the lack of appropriate government funding for education, and the scarcity of human resources are some of the obstacles found for adequate delivery of education to the region's scarce population.

The Fundação Universidade do Amazonas [FUAm] and the Universidade Federal do Pará [UFPa] were the two universities in the region which contributed to this research (see Figure 2). While faculty members from the University of Amazonas volunteered to participate in the interviews conducted and contributed with publications, the Federal University of Pará donated literature on the topics explored. Both universities are engaged in developing alternative education programs for the region's geographically hard-to-reach and socioeconomically deprived populations. An account of
the programs administered by the two universities is given in Chapters 2, 3, and 4.

Figure 2. Participating universities according to region

The Northeastern Region occupies an area of eighteen percent of the national territory and holds thirty percent of the population (see Figure 1). It is considered one of the largest and most dramatic pockets of poverty in the world, a consequence of the extremely arid and dry climate in the inland. In most states in the region, life is practically impossible away from the coast. Due to the adverse climatic conditions, its interior holds only fifteen percent of the region's population while the coastal cities are overpopulated, holding sixty-five percent of its population.
It has the highest percentage of migration in the country to other regions, mostly the industrial Southeastern and Southern regions, in search of better living conditions. The difficulty in accessing cities and villages in areas other than in the coast, the lack of government policies and funding that support social development, and the overpopulation of the coastal cities are some of the significant problems found in the delivery of education in the region.

The Universidade Federal de Pernambuco [UFPE] was the region's participating university (see Figure 2). Located in Recife, the state capital, the university is the birthplace of Paulo Freire's teachings, ideas, and ideals. Paulo Freire started his career as an educator at this university and his work is largely carried out by faculty members today. Freire's work in favor of the socioeconomically underprivileged populations culminated with his adult literacy method, The Paulo Freire Method, which became an instructional model of importance at both the national and international levels. Freire's role at the Federal University of Pernambuco will be further discussed in Chapter 3; other alternative education programs developed by this university are described in Chapters 2 and 4 and discussed in Chapter 5.

The Central-Western Region, like the Northern Region, occupies an enormous area of mostly forest, twenty-two percent of the national territory, while only six percent of the Brazilian population lives in the region (see Figure 1). As in other regions, the dispersion of the scarce population in areas difficult to reach and the high
concentration of poor populations in the main cities constitute the
main problems in delivering education to the population in the area.

The Fundação Universidade de Brasília [UnB], located in the
Federal District, participated in this research by contributing to the
interview conducted and by donating university publications and
reports (see Figure 2). Created to model an education for national
development, as further discussed in this chapter, the University of
Brasília became one of the most elitist universities in the country,
serving the dependents of government, Congress, military, and
diplomatic personnel stationed in the nation's capital.¹ Due to the
high percentage of low income populations that surround the
nation's capital and the alarming contrasts between the living
conditions of those living in the city and those living in its
periphery, the University of Brasília has been the stage for many
student movements. However, it was not until the fall of the
military government in 1985 that the University of Brasília overtly
expressed its concern for the education of the socioeconomic
underprivileged populations. It was only in the late 1980s that
reports on Extension Programs were published in order to account

¹Allied with the Fundação Universidade de Brasília, the Universidade
Federal do Rio de Janeiro and the Universidade de São Paulo form the leading
group provoking university disturbances and promoting university reforms.
Due to its location in the nation's capital, the University of Brasília is known
for its political strength. The University of São Paulo is recognized for its
economic power since it is located in the nation's richest state. The Federal
University of Rio de Janeiro is recognized as the intellectual mentor of
university activities and of popular movements since the city of Rio de
Janeiro is known to gather the most prominent intellectuals in the country.
Together, the three universities unite in the most powerful political force, in
its most ample sense, regarding educational issues.
for programs which had been until then informally organized, that is, organized based on individual interests rather than on institutional interest. The efforts of this university in developing alternative forms of education are described in Chapters 2, 3, and 4.

The Southeastern Region which accounts for only eleven percent of the national territory holds forty-two percent of the Brazilian population, the country's largest concentration (see Figure 1). Approximately fifty percent of the region's population live in the cities of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, the largest and second largest cities, respectively. It is the most economically and socially developed region in Brazil, and because of the better living conditions and better job opportunities it offers, it attracts the greatest number of migrants from the poorer regions. The state of São Paulo alone holds forty-five percent of the workers in the country's labor force (PETROBRAS, 1988a).

The Universidade Federal de Viçosa and the Universidade Federal do Espírito Santo were the contributing universities in the region (see Figure 2). Both universities have donated university publications and reports that describe the alternative education programs in which they have engaged. The programs developed by those universities are described in Chapters 2, 3, and 4 and further discussed in Chapter 5. Despite many efforts, the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro did not respond to the request to participate in the research. The University of São Paulo was not included since it is a state not a federal university. Federal universities were chosen over state universities since the latter are much larger in number and
unevenly distributed throughout the country. Federal universities ensure each state equal opportunity to participate in this study, have the same funding source (federal government), and are limited in number.

The greatest educational challenge in the region has been to provide education to the high percentage of socioeconomically deprived illiterate and semi-literate children and adults who live in the rural areas as well as in the shanty towns in the urban areas and in the periphery of the larger cities. To illustrate the problem, not even the recent attempts from the Rio de Janeiro state government in providing full-time public schools for low income children produced the expected results. Due to political antagonism, the majority of the schools was closed down as soon as there was a change in the state government. Consequently, the children served by those schools were once again left without an educational opportunity.

The Southern Region accounts for seven percent of the national territory and holds eighteen percent of the total Brazilian population (see Figure 1). The region is characterized by having the greatest number of European and Asian immigrants who settled in the south due to the climate and rich farming land. Although the region presents better living conditions due to its economic development and European settlements, the educational problems are still similar to those in the other regions. The large number of poor living on the periphery of the main cities constitute the most serious educational challenge in the region.
Participating universities in this region included the Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina and the Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul whose faculty members were not only involved in the interviews conducted but have also contributed with publications (see Figure 2). The details of the programs developed are discussed in Chapters 2, 3, and 4.

Despite the geographic differences, governments in individual regions face similar problems regarding the uneven distribution of the population throughout the country. Housing, education, and street children are among the Brazilian cities' greatest problems. Delivery of education faces the challenges of overpopulation, of diverse socioeconomic backgrounds of the population, and of lack of appropriate policies to guarantee the student population access to public (federal, state, and municipal) school system. Moreover, the fact that there are not enough school buildings to house the student population within the mandatory education age bracket of seven to fourteen years seriously aggravates the educational problems in the country (F. A. Poli, 1988).

The uneven distribution of the population throughout the country together with the lack of a systematic and permanent educational policy (with no steady constitution to support such policy; Brazil adopted its eighth Constitution in 1988) make formal education a difficult enterprise. The high percentage of illiterate and semi-literate children, adolescents, and adults is clearly a consequence of the nation's inadequate educational system (S. W. de Carvalho, interview, October 10, 1988). In order to promote
socioeconomic development, educational policies are needed not only to guarantee access to education for the nation's youth, but also to ensure education for the nation's illiterate and semi-literate adults. Therefore, alternative forms of education that would promptly meet the diversity of problems arising from the socioeconomic conditions of the population and their educational needs have been sought incessantly. The search, initially promoted by populist and leftist government leaders, has increasingly been carried out by higher education institutions as a fulfillment to their mission of spreading knowledge, improving the living conditions of the socioeconomically deprived portion of society, and promoting social justice.

In an attempt to draw the central government closer to the different geographical regions, the nation's capital was transferred in 1961 from Rio de Janeiro to Brasília, in the Central-Western Region. The purpose was to promote a more balanced socioeconomic development throughout the country. The shift aimed at improving communications with the governments of the various states in the Northern, Northeastern, and Central-Western regions which had been rather isolated since colonial times and had, therefore, not developed as fully as the Southern and Southeastern regions. There was much potential for development in those areas. At the same time, a redistribution of the population was expected, with the population moving from the coastal cities towards the interior. Despite the fact that the project was considered by many to be
impossible, it turned out to be a major political and economic success. The population, however, did not shift as much as expected.

The nation's economy has generated in the past three decades astronomical levels of inflation, resulting in loss of quality in living standards and in massive struggles in the nation's socioeconomic lower classes.\(^2\) Poli's study (1988) of Brazil's socioeconomic conditions reveals that although Brazil presently rates eighth in the world in terms of Gross National Product, it is also considered the seventh worst country in the world regarding social problems. Ironically, Poli reminds us that in 1964 (when the military coup occurred) the country had the forty-fifth economy in the world and it was considered the twentieth worst country in social problems. Brazil's economic development clearly did not result in an improvement in social conditions, and education has suffered the consequences of such uneven growth.

Of all problems that characterize the developing countries the one that is probably the most difficult to deal with is that of population growth. Population projections done by Merrick (1986, p. 25) show that by the year 2000, Brazil will have a population of about one hundred eighty million inhabitants with four of the most populated cities in Latin America: São Paulo (15 million), Rio de Janeiro (13 million), Belo Horizonte (5 million), and Porto Alegre (1

\(^2\)Popular struggles such as the strikes in the country, at both the public and private sectors, the mass intern migration to Rio and São Paulo, the murder of street children, the action of death squads, and other news indicative of socioeconomic degradation have been periodically reported in the news worldwide.
million). São Paulo is already included among the ten most populated cities in the world with 12 million inhabitants (PETROBRAS, 1988b). An increase in population implies an increase in the need for health services, housing, and education which are already difficult to meet at the present levels. The needs are even greater when masses of people leave the rural areas and establish themselves in the larger cities. Better living conditions which engender dignity must be developed in the larger cities and in the rural areas. Improving the living conditions in the rural areas would ensure a decrease in the migration towards the urban areas.

The data provided on Brazil's young population, eight percent under five years of age, thirty percent under fifteen, fifty percent under twenty, and about sixty-five percent under thirty (Figure 3), attest for the need of effective educational programs in the country. Characterized "by a precarious and selective educational system, in which schools are instruments to preserve the 'status quo,' and by high percentage of illiteracy" (Freire, 1980, p. 66), the Brazilian society must find viable educational alternatives to meet the educational needs of the nation's socioeconomically underprivileged populations. The fact that the street children population is estimated at fourteen million or more (Bradford Smith, 1987, p. 46), and that one-third of all children in mandatory school age, that is, between seven and fourteen, do not attend school (Riding, 1985, p. 5) just add to the gravity of the lack of educational opportunities for the younger generations.
In the last three decades there has been a gradual yet constant drive to promote access to education to the nation's young population. Emphasis has been given to improving the educational system while adjusting the content of courses to the Brazilian job market, to the availability of job opportunities. The emphasis on secondary and technical/vocational training is an attempt to provide a percentage of the young population with an education that will contribute to the country's economic development.

Still, from 1970 to 1985, with a population growth of forty-two percent, there was a student population growth of eighty-four percent. In elementary education there was an increase from 15.9 to 27.4 million students, in secondary schools from 1 to 3 million, and in higher education from 0.4 to 1.4 million (see Figure 4).
However, despite the significant increase in the student population having access to formal schooling, the number of illiterate children, adolescents, and adults in the country is still outrageously high. Despite the political discourse and the statistics available, it has been evident not only that education has not been established as a priority within governmental goals but also that the funds available for education have been primarily allocated for tertiary education. When carefully reviewing the data provided in Figure 4, it becomes clear that while enrollment at the elementary level did not even double, enrollment in secondary schools trebled, and in higher education was almost four times greater. The accentuated difference in enrollment at different educational levels reaffirms the emphasis placed on higher education.
Hummel (1977) attempts to explain how in countries like Brazil, where there is a high illiteracy rate, governments spend much more on secondary and higher education than on basic education as a way of the ruling elite perpetuating its own powers and privileges. "While such countries denounce the scandal of illiteracy, they reserve the greater part of their educational funds for developing the secondary and university sector, neglecting the primary sector of education, and more particularly adult literacy" (Hummel, 1977, p. 15).

Having briefly examined the elements that have interfered in the delivery of education in the country, geographical hindrances, socioeconomic conditions, and population distribution, the next section follows to briefly examine the current structure and function of the Brazilian formal education system as well as the history of the Brazilian university. As the section develops, it will become evident how, despite the existence of government mandates to ensure education for the nation's young population, the socioeconomically underprivileged populations have been systematically left out of the educational opportunities.
An Overview of Primary and Secondary Education

Education in Brazil is, by constitutional mandate, free at all levels from elementary to graduate school and it is mandatory for children between seven and fourteen years of age. Students usually attend the school nearest their homes, but they may choose to attend another school if there are vacancies. Since there is no public school transportation, the transportation of students to and from school is the family's responsibility. Free public transportation tickets are available to needy students upon request and the furnishing of proof of financial necessity.

As a way to enforce the mandatory enrollment of elementary school-age children, employers in both the public and private sectors request from working parents proof of their children's enrollment at either public or private schools. Such action is a government effort to ensure school-age children's education. However, providing proof of a child's enrollment in a school does not ensure the child's school attendance. Neither does it control the enrollment and attendance of socioeconomically underprivileged children whose parents most of the times are either out of work or working without a contract. The lack of precise information on school enrollment and on school attendance often causes the statistical information to be misleading. An example of such has been presented by Coombs (1985, pp. 78-79) in his analysis of data
provided in UNESCO's 1981 *Statistical Yearbook*. According to Coombs, in 1973, only one out of four school-age children in Brazil were likely to reach eighth grade, compared to the 89 percent gross enrollment reported by UNESCO.

In reality, controlling enrollment and attendance is as difficult as controlling the quality of the education being delivered in different schools at different levels. It is not uncommon in the cities and villages in the interior for the "teacher" to be a third or fourth grade level adolescent or an untrained adult because he/she is the one with the highest level of education in a given community. Fuller attests that "one-third of all teachers in northeastern Brazil have four years of schooling or less" (Fuller, 1986, p. 493). At the secondary level, Lewan registers that "eleven percent of high school teachers have not finished grade school (while) in several states in the poor Northeast, the rate is 40 percent" (Lewan, 1990, p. 8D). C. Brandão's study (1983b) also documents the work of lay teachers in the Amazon Region - country singers, religious agents, and peasants - who teach children "the studies from first to fourth grades."

Certified teachers, in addition to the many problems inherent to the profession, (for example, lack of appropriate instructional materials, large classes, and inappropriate curricula), also face the reality of low salaries. Low salaries combined with the shortage of teachers in the country result in teachers accepting two or three teaching appointments, many times in different schools. The issue of quality control becomes more complex at the higher education level where teaching becomes an alternative job market, not a mission or a
career. In summary, due to the shortage of jobs on several fields, graduates take on part-time or full-time teaching positions in colleges and universities as a profession, inclined neither to conduct research nor to teach or advise students, resulting in a low quality delivery of education.

The structure of the elementary education program consists of two four-year programs established in the Brazilian educational system collectively known as the *primeiro grau*. The first four years correspond to what used to be the elementary school and the last four years correspond to what used to be the junior high school. The present organization of the elementary education system (first to eighth grade) has been modeled after the American educational system that offers eight years of instruction prior to secondary school. A number of public schools offer pre-literacy classes for children six years of age and many offer a kindergarten program for five-year-old children. Although neither program is mandatory, they are an effort to better prepare young children for their first grade experience.

Due to the lack of school buildings to meet the needs of the population, public schools function in two shifts per day, one in the morning and one in the afternoon, with an average of four hours of daily instruction. When the demand is much greater than the availability of physical space, public schools may have to function in three or even four shifts with a reduced schedule and with classes being carried until the evening. Most public schools operate an evening program, supplementary education (*ensino supletivo*) for
the population above fourteen years of age still in need of elementary level education. Despite the number of existing private schools that help supply educational opportunities, Brazil still cannot meet the demand for educating its youth.

Public schools are expected to exercise impact over the socioeconomic development of individual communities, by reinforcing the democratic values of freedom and equal opportunity. Within this scope, all elementary public schools require the use of uniforms and offer a free meal program for all students. In high-need areas, many schools extend the meal program to the community by providing a meal for all youngsters not yet of school age. Schools also provide the needy children with uniforms and school supplies. Funding for this service is provided by donations made by students who can afford to pay a small fee established by the School Fund (Caixa Escolar). Uniforms are mandatory in all public elementary and secondary schools because they help protect students from lower socioeconomic backgrounds from discrimination.

Upon completion of elementary school, students planning on continuing their education can choose to attend a secondary level school, a three-year program, established in the Brazilian educational system collectively known as the *segundo grau*. Options for secondary education are found among a regular high school, a high school within the armed forces, a normal school (elementary teacher preparatory school), or a vocational/technical school. Despite the fact that enrollment drops significantly from elementary
to secondary schools, 27.4 million in elementary schools compared to 3 million in secondary schools in 1985 (PETROBRAS, 1988b, p. 51), the shortage of school seats at the secondary level is as serious as it is at the elementary level. The decrease in enrollment from elementary to secondary school is explained by the fact that education beyond the age of fourteen is not compulsory. Students at the secondary level share the same benefits as students at the elementary level, that is, the use of uniforms as well as free public transportation tickets and support from the School Fund for the needy. However, they do not receive free meals as elementary students do.

A significant number of female students attend Normal School, as the elementary school teacher position is still largely reserved for females. A significant number of male students attend either a military school or a vocational/technical school, for those are still largely considered male careers. A minority of students finishing elementary school, usually the most affluent, whether male or female, will attend a regular secondary school with purposes of reaching university level studies.

A great concern for government officials at the secondary level education has been the development and maintenance of technical/vocational schools that serve the less affluent students. "In Brazil, institutions have to plan carefully to teach skills that can be acquired informally in the garages and backyards of middle-class America" (Kempner and Castro, 1988, p. 479). In their study about education for mid-level technology in Brazil, Kempner and
Castro refer to the National Industrial Apprenticeship Service (Serviço Nacional de Aprendizagem Industrial - SENAI). A secondary level educational institution, the SENAI is a technical school designated to a select group of lower-middle and working classes youth, providing education and training of high quality through the transfer of technology. As described in the study, its major objective is "to provide sound general education (and) specific education related to a trade" (Kempner and Castro, p. 482). Graduating approximately one-half million students a year (O. Nascimento, cited in Kempner and Castro, p. 482), the SENAI offers "the most eloquent example of possibilities for intelligent adaptation of education to the true potential of working-class children" (Castro, cited in Kempner & Castro, p. 485). It has been considered "one of the most successful experiments in the history of Brazilian education (...) because SENAI works so closely related with industry, graduates move directly into jobs." (Castro, cited in Kempner & Castro, p. 491). 

Similar to SENAI, the National Commercial Apprenticeship Service (Serviço Nacional de Aprendizagem do Comércio - SENAC), aims at offering lower-income students professional skills that will enable them entering the job market upon completion of their secondary school education. As technical/vocational schools like SENAI and SENAC seek to provide a good fit between secondary level school education and the job market for lower income secondary level students, Kempner & Castro (1988, p. 478) find that they also propose dilemmas for social mobility for the students.
Colonial Period (1500 - 1822)

Education in Brazil has never been an enterprise of its own; since its beginning, it has been subject to strong foreign influences. As documented by scholars (Carvalho, 1989; Cunha, 1980, p. 24-25; and Poli, 1988), foreign influence was initiated by the Jesuits, who arrived in Brazil in 1549 with the Portuguese colonizers. Their mission was to convert the Indians to Catholicism and give religious support to the colonizers. From their initial indoctrination and religious objectives (Poli), the Jesuits took on an educational mission as they established the first schools in Brazil with the objective of training priests and clergymen. This educational mission was as important as the religious mission, and became the Jesuits' monopoly. Since the Jesuits also directed the University of Coimbra in Portugal (Gomes Tubino, 1985b, p. 175), their interest in education also included spreading European culture to the New World, an effort approved by the colonizers in their eagerness to imitate the Portuguese traditions (Santos, 1987, p. 13). The Colony, divided into two social classes, land-owners and slaves, depended solely on slave labor. Sodré (cited in Santos, p. 13) argues that the link between the Portuguese dominant class (aristocracy) and the Colony's dominant class (land owners) was established, and cultural habits from Portugal were imported, mainly through efforts of the Jesuit education in Brazil. In this context, the educational system
implemented in the country by the Jesuits served the purposes of the dominant class in preserving its position. In analyzing the objectives of Jesuit education in Brazil, Cunha (p. 19) asserts that the kind of instruction which the Jesuits developed could only be understood as the exploitation of the Colony by Portugal.\(^3\)

Romanelli (cited in Santos, 1987, p. 14) and Poli (1988) document that elementary education was offered to both the white male and the male native Indians. Poli and Fagundes (1986, p. 39) argue that education for the native Indians had a religious indoctrination objective. While Romanelli states that secondary education was available only for the dominant class white male, Poli and Fagundes stress that the main objective at this level was to prepare the white male to go onto clerical studies. Higher education was available to those who would join the clergy (Romanelli) and to those who wished to continue their studies in Europe (Poli).

\(^3\)At this moment in its history, Brazilian society was at the stage Paulo Freire refers to as a "closed structure," in which the colonizer/colonized relationship prevails, a relationship that keeps the colonized in a level of intransitive consciousness generating the "culture of silence." Clignet (cited in Altbach and Kelly, 1984) speaks of Freire's "culture of silence" when referring to the colonial situation in South America: "Individuals in the position of colonized are prevented by the ruling class from understanding their position in time and space, and from maintaining contact with their own past. They are only exposed to the elements in the colonizer's culture which are likely to facilitate the perpetuation of the colonial order" (Freire, cited in Altbach and Kelly, p. 84).
Fagundes stresses the Jesuits' objective of creating the local elite through education.4

In contrasting the beginning of formal education in Brazil initiated by the Jesuits with the present day educational system, especially at the higher education level, it is possible to affirm that education today is still a privilege of the more affluent. The roots of favoritism for the socioeconomically and politically powerful rest on the origins of Jesuit education. As further discussed in this chapter, despite the many struggles and attempts to make education a tool for social justice, social mobility, and equal opportunity, the present educational system still uses lower educational levels as steps that lead the affluent young population towards higher education, disregarding the educational needs of the vast majority of the socioeconomically underprivileged populations.

In his studies about the origins of the Brazilian university, Cunha (1980, pp. 28-30) documents that in 1550 the Jesuits created what was probably the first higher education institution in Brazil, the Jesuits School of Bahia, and that Humanities (1553), Arts, and Theology (1573) were the only courses offered. The arts course, also called natural sciences or philosophy, was meant to prepare those who aspired at continuing their education in Europe, mainly

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4The Latin American colonial society, characterized by Freire as a closed society, is characterized "by the conservation of the status or privilege and by the development of an educational system to maintain such status" (Freire, 1987, p. 34). It is the function of the elite installed in the colonial society to govern according to the interests of the metropolis in preserving the sociopolitical and economic status quo. Therefore, education is not meant to be a means of social mobility.
attending the University of Coimbra in the areas of medicine and law. Therefore, the educational system implemented by the Jesuits in the Colony can be seen as thoroughly elitist, with no concern with the education of the masses. Gomes Tubino (1985b, pp. 175-176) records the fact that the graduates from the Jesuit schools who studied in Coimbra constituted the Brazilian elite of the XIX Century.

A total of seventeen schools were founded by the Jesuits during their permanence in Brazil, eight of which included higher education courses. Cunha (1980, pp. 30-35) records their location in Bahia (1550), Rio de Janeiro (1638), Recife (1678), Olinda (1687), Maranhão (1688), Pará (1695), São Paulo de Piratininga (1708), and Mariana (1750). The Jesuits remained in Brazil until 1759, leaving behind what Carvalho (1989), Cunha (pp. 33, 76), Poli (1988), and Santos (1987, p. 14) claim to have been an educational system that since its creation favored the elite.

In 1759, the Marquis of Pombal, virtual dictator of Portugal during the reign of King José, expelled the Jesuits from Brazil (Poli, 1988). All Jesuit schools were closed, and a new educational system was created (Azevedo, cited in Cunha, 1980, p. 51). Inspired by the new ideas of Pombal, who sought a more utilitarian educational system, courses were taught separately in different locations, more closely to today's concept of colleges rather than university. In 1772, with the implementation of the Pombal Reform, the State became responsible for education (Santos, 1987, p. 15). When the Jesuits were expelled from Brazil, other religious orders took over both the religious and the educational leadership in the country. In
1776, the Franciscans created, with Pombal's approval, a higher education course in Rio de Janeiro, and in 1798 another was created in Olinda, Pernambuco, by the Bishop of Olinda (Cunha, pp. 33, 55). They were, in effect, colleges modeled after the University of Coimbra, which had gone through educational reforms influenced by European Enlightenment.

Portuguese influence in Brazilian education increased significantly with the arrival of the Portuguese Royal Family in Brazil in 1808. D. João VI, King of Portugal, moved the Royal Family to exile in Brazil after Portugal was overrun by Napoleon's army. In 1808, medical and military engineering academies were established in Rio de Janeiro, as well as the Botanical Garden, an experimental agricultural station. Other similar stations were created at later dates in Bahia, São Paulo, Pernambuco, and Minas Gerais following the model of the one in Rio de Janeiro, and were later transformed into agriculture schools. The French cultural and educational influence in Portugal also spread to the Colony when in 1816 a French artistic mission was sent to Brazil and its members became the nucleus of the Fine Arts Academy created in Rio de Janeiro in 1820 (Cunha, 1980, p. 118). Castro (1986, p. 11) claims that the schools created after King D. João's arrival aimed at preparing liberal professionals and personnel to serve the elite created in the new society. Educational institutions remained, in this sense, dissociated from educating the population to meet the country's development needs.
Many changes took place as a consequence of the presence of the Royal Family in Brazil. Santos (1987, p. 15) documents that the appearance of new social classes, that did not make their living from slave labor, created the need for a greater variety of educational services.\footnote{Despite the changes that occurred, the Brazilian society was, from a Freirean perspective, still a "closed society" entirely dominated by the colonizer's political and economic power. The appearance of new social classes came from the necessity of creating in the Colony a society to serve the Portuguese aristocracy. "A series of reforms following upon the arrival of the Portuguese court encouraged urban industry and activity and established schools, press, libraries, and technical education; (however,) this transfer of power to the cities, which began to assume a newly active position in the national life, did not as yet signify participation of the common man in the life of his community" (Freire, 1973, p. 27; 1986a, pp. 76-77).} As a result, Brazilian education acquired a more vocational aspect. Silveira (1985, p. 54) suggests that the creation of institutions of higher education having a vocational objective characterized the utilitarian aspect of the learning institutions in Brazil. On the same topic, Fagundes (1986, p. 39) claims that the educational institutions implemented by D. João VI aimed at training technical and administrative personnel. Such institutions created the elite necessary in a society in which patriarchy and slavery prevailed. Within this context, Santos (1987, p. 15) explains that the middle class, dependent on formal education in order to facilitate social promotion, followed the cultural patterns established by the dominant classes, and, consequently, the educational system remained under foreign influences.\footnote{A characteristic of the "closed society," the colonized man wants to be like the colonizer, he follows to imitate the colonizer, and remains at a consciousness level that is entirely dominated by the colonizer.} During this period, the concept of a university was limited to a group of
independent schools (Carvalho, 1989, p. 56; Fagundes, 1986; Poli, 1988; Silveira, 1985, p. 55) which followed the model of the post-1772 reform at the University of Coimbra. Institutions of higher education had a professional and utilitarian characteristic and were influenced by the French educational model on issues concerning curricular structure, manuals, and scholars (Fagundes, p. 39).

Several other courses created until the independence of Brazil occurred in 1822 are also registered in Cunha's study (1980, pp. 104-107); they were: political economics (1808 - Rio de Janeiro), chemistry (1817 - Bahia), history (1817 - Ouro Preto), medicine (1818 - Bahia), design (1818 - Bahia), music (1818 - Bahia), and fine arts (1820 - Rio de Janeiro). These aimed at the formation of liberal professionals who would, in turn, contribute to the maintenance of the social relationships established by the dominant classes.

In summary, education during the Colonial Period was not at all aimed at preparing the population to contribute to national development, but to serve the local elite and preserve its status quo. Influenced by both Portuguese and French cultures, the educational system in Brazil followed foreign models which disregarded the basic educational needs the population.

**Imperial Period** (1822 - 1889)

With Brazil's independence from Portugal in 1822, changes were again made in the educational system. Cunha (1980, pp. 92-
documents the establishment of several educational institutions: in 1827 two law schools were created in São Paulo and Olinda (these became colleges in 1854); in 1832 the medical academies of Rio de Janeiro and Bahia were transformed into colleges with new curricula and new entrance requirements; in 1839 the Pharmacy Institute of Ouro Preto was established; and the School of Music of Rio de Janeiro was created in 1841. He also mentions the creation of two higher education institutions in agriculture, one in Bahia (1875) and one in Rio Grande do Sul (1883), the establishment of the Pharmacy Institute in Rio de Janeiro in 1884, and the creation of a mathematics course in Pernambuco in 1889. Even though Cunha (p. 33) refers to higher education courses created by the Franciscans in the late 1700s, Gomes Tubino (1985b, p. 176) establishes the creation of the Medical and Law Schools and of the Mining and Engineering Colleges as the beginning of higher education in Brazil, since the Schools of Medicine, Law, and Engineering constitute the pillars of tertiary education.

The dual system of education, that is, Central government and provinces holding different responsibilities over the educational system, was established for the first time during the Empire. Ribeiro points out that government officials' interests laid solely on higher education since it developed "the programs meant to form the ruling elite of an aristocratic society such as the Brazilian (society)" (M. L. S. Ribeiro, cited in Fagundes, 1986, p. 39). It became established that the Central Government would take responsibility
for higher education while the provinces would take responsibility for the lower levels, that is, elementary and secondary education (Poli, 1988; Santos, 1987, p. 15). However, the changes were merely structural since the main objective of education remained the same: the lower levels prepared candidates for higher education. It is common knowledge that the objectives of education have not changed much since.

In the mid 1800s, Portugal was politically and economically dependent on England, but culturally dependent on France (Carvalho, interview, October 10, 1988; Cunha, 1980, p. 119; Fagundes, 1986, p. 40). The Latin origin of both Portuguese and French languages, the dominance of Catholic religion in both countries, and the ideology resulting from the social revolution in France seem to be some of the reasons that might have facilitated the French cultural influence rather than English on Portuguese society, and, consequently, on Brazilian society and educational system.

The French influence on the Brazilian educational system occurred more strongly towards the end of the XIX Century. The Ouro Preto Mining School, Brazil's first geology college, was created in 1875 (Cunha, 1980, p. 70) by the Emperor D. Pedro II, under the orientation of Claude Henri Gorceix (Castro, 1983, p. 371), following the model of the Mining School in Saint Etienne, France. It was academically demanding, and by 1922 there had only been 275 graduates. In another study, Castro (1986, p. 7) documents that the Mining School was one of the first institutions to develop research
activities in Brazil, and that although research in the institution did not last long, it was successful while it lasted. The French influence persisted throughout the Republican Period initiated in 1889.7

As the Brazilian society moved towards the 20th Century, education remained dependent upon foreign models. New forces emerged from social, economic, and political transformations started to play an important role in the society, then in transition from a position of colonized to independent. Greater educational demands occurred, but the external economic and political forces were still dominant, not resulting in significant changes in the educational system.

Republican Period - The First Republic/Old Republic (1889 - 1930)

An increase in sociopolitical movements characterized the Republican Period and reflected the new way that Brazilian culture and education were perceived by the population (Santos, 1987, pp.

7It was towards the last two decades in the Imperial Period that the Brazilian society started its transition process away from a "closed structure." Freire (1986a, p. 81; 1973, p. 30) explains that the process began with the restriction in slavery traffic, which had two major consequences: capital investments were switched from slave purchases to industrial activities and immigrants were attracted by new immigration policies. Both factors substantially affected the nation's economy. Until then, Freire claims the Brazilian society to be "silent." As explained by Azevedo, "The beginning of the industrial upsurge in 1885, the vigorous civilizing impulse attributed to immigration, the abolition of slavery which (...) coincides with an increase in production and a free labor economy contributed to transformations in the social and economic structures, which would reflect upon the habits and mentality of, in particular, the urban populations" (Fernando de Azevedo, in Freire, 1986a, p. 82; in Freire, 1973, p. 30). Such transformations resulted in a new political regime.
17-18). The movements were a consequence of the conflicting values existing between distinct social groups, the conservative and aristocrats on one side and the middle class (for example, scholars, military personnel) on the other. Allied to the latter were the proletariat and the new class of immigrants.8

The Republican Period was also characterized by the expansion of higher education which suffered significant changes both quantitatively and qualitatively. As the number of institutions increased, the differences in curricula being offered also increased, and quality control was made more difficult. While only fourteen institutions of higher education had been created from 1808 to 1889 (Imperial Period), sixty-four new ones were created from 1889 to 1924 (Old Republic) (Castro, 1986, p. 4). The Mackenzie Engineering School, in São Paulo, and the Engineering School of Porto Alegre are examples of private higher education institutions created during the expansionist movement that followed distinct foreign models. Mackenzie, created in 1896 by Presbyterian missionaries, followed the American model, and the Engineering School of Porto Alegre, created in the same year, followed the German model

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8From a Freirean perspective, the conflicts between social classes are a consequence of the transition in society which reflect a parallel transition in the individual's consciousness from the intransitive level to that of a naive-transitive consciousness. The individual's perception of his reality changes and he starts feeling part of the world. "In Brazil," Freire declares, "the passage from a predominantly intransitive consciousness to a predominantly naive transitivity paralleled the transformation of economic patterns. As the process of urbanization intensified, men were thrust into more complex forms of life. As men entered a larger sphere of relationships and received a greater number of suggestions and challenges to their circumstances, their consciousness automatically became more transitive" (Freire, 1973, p. 19).
(Cunha, 1980, pp. 156-157). Fagundes (1986, p. 40) also mentions the Engineering School of Porto Alegre as the higher education institution in which for the first time technological research was carried on. As a reaction to the higher education expansionism, a new reform was implemented which required students to take an entrance examination to gain access to higher education, and elitism became once again evident in higher education in Brazil.

Although there had been several attempts since the colonial times to establish a university in Brazil, it was not until 1920 that it was accomplished. By that year there were already six universities in existence in Latin America, from Mexico to Argentina, but the government was still debating the appropriateness of establishing one in Brazil. The first attempt was made by the Jesuits in 1572 when they attempted to create the University of Brazil (Silveira, 1985, p. 55). All other attempts until 1920 failed for various social, economic, and political reasons.9 The University of Manaus (1909), the University of São Paulo (1911), and the University of Paraná (1912), created by private and state initiatives, closed down after short periods of existence (Cunha, 1980, p. 189; Fagundes, 1986, p. 41). They were reorganized and were created again at later dates, but it was not until 1920 that the federal government realized the need for the establishment of a university system in the country (Castro, 1986, p. 7). The University of Rio de Janeiro, created by the

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9The almost 350 years of history of the creation of the first Brazilian university is not discussed here in detail because of its multiple and diverse components.
Decree #14343 on September 7, 1920 (Silveira, p. 64) and the University of Minas Gerais, created in 1927, were the first successful universities to be established (Carvalho, 1989, p. 56; Cunha, p. 190; Fagundes, p. 40; Poli, 1988;).

The creation of the University of Rio de Janeiro in 1920 was done by joining the Medicine School, the Law School, and the Polytechnic School of Rio de Janeiro (Carvalho, 1989, p. 56). They were reorganized under one larger institution, the University of Rio de Janeiro, which was later formally reorganized in 1931. However, the reason that led to the creation of the University in 1920, although not at all academic, is clearly documented by Fernando de Azevedo:

There was the University of Rio de Janeiro, but only on paper. It had been created (...) as a demonstration of cultural status to honor King Albert I from Belgium. The king left after having spent a few days here and the "university" of Rio was closed; it had already fulfilled its obligation. (Fernando de Azevedo, cited in Carvalho, 1989, p. 56)\(^{10}\)

Despite the attempts to increase the population's participation in the educational system through the increase in the number of educational institutions available, the educational orientation was still focused on the elite, following European models of education and instituting entrance examinations particularly at the higher education level. As presented in the next section, it will not be until

\(^{10}\)The original text reads: "Existia na época a Universidade do Rio de Janeiro, mas só no papel. Ela foi criada (...) para numa demonstração de 'status' cultural receber o Rei Alberto I, da Bélgica. Mas o rei foi embora, passou poucos dias aqui e a 'universidade' do Rio foi fechada: já tinha cumprido o seu papel."
the 1930 Revolution that significant changes in higher education will take place, originating a series of educational reforms that will lead to today's universities' concerns about the socioeconomically underprivileged populations.

Republican Period - The Second Republic/New Republic (1930 - present)

After World War I a major shift occurred in education as the society changed its characteristics from agriculture-commercial to urban-industrial. According to Fernandes (cited in Santos, 1987, p. 19), urbanization was the dynamic element that made industrial development possible. Social instability increased as the proletariat became conscious of their ability to take over power, as the elites became more concerned about the nation's socioeconomic and political problems (Santos, p. 18), and as new ideas turned to the democratization and socialization of learning and education. In 1930, after a revolutionary movement, Getúlio Vargas, a populist leader, took over power as dictator until 1945.

Three significant events in education occurred after 1930 when the Ministry of Education and Public Health was created (Carvalho,
1989, p. 56; Fagundes, 1986, p. 47; Santos, 1987, p. 20): the Francisco Campos Educational Reform (Reformas Educacionais Francisco Campos) in 1931, the 1932 New Education Pioneers Manifest (Manifesto dos Pioneiros para a Nova Educação), and the creation of the University of São Paulo in 1934. The Campos Reform established the social objective of the university. It reflected the aspirations of a society renewed by the national consciousness being developed.\textsuperscript{12} Silveira (1985, p. 76) establishes the Campos Reform as the beginning of the Brazilian university expansion. According to Schwartzman (cited in Carvalho, 1989, p. 56), in relation to higher education, the Campos Reform was constituted by three main decrees. The first regulated the Statutes of Brazilian universities; the second decree not only reorganized the University of Rio de Janeiro as the model for higher education institutions in the nation but also considered the creation of a College of Education, Sciences, and Letters; the third decree created the National Council of Education, whose purpose was to organize and control education nationwide and to encourage and support research in institutions of higher education and in research institutions.

The 1932 Manifest established the desirable relationship between education and development. It criticized higher education for serving liberal professions, and it emphasized research as a

\textsuperscript{12}According to Freire's theory, the transition in society leads the oppressed to perceive the world under a different perspective becoming more conscious of his ability to interfere in his own "reality." The individual is able to see his "reality" from a distance and becomes more capable to analyze it more critically, leading into action to transform it.
university's main activity (Silveira, 1985, p. 68). It required that education be free and compulsory for children seven to fourteen, incorporating an organization that would eliminate the privilege of social class and that would give individuals equal opportunities (Santos, 1987, p. 22). Despite all the reforms and proposed changes, educators argued that the educational practices continued to follow the old models.

The University of São Paulo (USP), established in 1934, by Armando Salles (Carvalho, 1989, p. 56), recruited French scholars, including Levy-Strauss, Jacques Lambert, and Roger Bastide (Castro, 1983, p. 371) to join the faculty. The University of São Paulo went beyond the French model, it established the European university model by recruiting scholars and scientists from Italy and Germany (Castro, 1986, p. 12). Carvalho (1989, pp. 56-57) argues that contrary to the previous universities, created through the incorporation of isolated colleges in one university, the University of São Paulo was created within the guidelines proposed by the Campos Reform including a College of Education, Sciences, and Letters. The University of São Paulo has been since its creation the richest university in both financial and human resources.

The period from 1937 until the end of World War II, totalitarian in structure, was characterized by intense economic and political development leading to the beginning of a major social revolution in the country. Plank (1987, p. 367) documents that "the nation was ruled until 1946 by the dictator Getúlio Vargas under a 'corporative' constitution that assigned little importance to the
expansion or improvement of the educational system." In his analysis of this period, Santos (1987) declares that the populist government of Getúlio Vargas established corporations "with equal representation of both industry-owners and workers in a way to compromise the organization of the proletariat without endangering the dominant classes" (Santos, p. 23).

Vargas's populist government established a new Constitution with little support for public education at any level. In the 1937 Constitution, changes relating to education were a regression from educational policies established by the 1934 Constitution; "the long-standing guarantee of a fixed percentage of governmental revenues for educational purposes was dropped from the Constitution" (Plank, 1987, p. 367). The 1937 Constitution re-emphasized the exploitation of education by private institutions, which made education a commercial product, one not concerned with the educational needs of the population. It also declared that public pre-vocational and professional schools were to be attended by the lower socioeconomic classes. In Romanelli's (cited in Santos, 1987, p. 24) view, the State's responsibility of providing education for all members of the society was reduced, in the 1937 Constitution, to a complement in the educational process; in other words, the State only had the obligation to provide education for the needy, for those who could not afford to pay for education in private schools. As a consequence, a clear division of social classes was established by the Constitution: while the affluent children were educated in private schools, with better resources, with greater chances of success,
maintaining their social status, the poor were to attend public schools which received little attention from the central government. Santos (p. 24) views that with the changes, the concept of making education a tool for social equalization was destroyed; education still favored the elite and discriminated against lower socioeconomic classes. He well expresses the reality of the educational system in the late 1930s:

The educational structure (...) came from the top to the bottom (...) a product of what the dominant elite or part of it, who commanded society, thought would be better (...) always going through changes according to external forces allied to the efforts of a dominant minority in preserving its privileges within the society. (Santos, 1987, p. 25)\textsuperscript{13}

While by 1930 there were three universities in Brazil, one in Rio de Janeiro, one in Minas Gerais, and one in Porto Alegre (although not yet called a university), by 1945 there were five: the University of Brazil (previously the University of Rio de Janeiro and renamed in 1937), the University of Minas Gerais, the University of Porto Alegre (created in 1896 as the Engineering School of Porto Alegre and renamed in 1934), the University of São Paulo (created in 1934), and the Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro created in 1941 (Cunha, 1980, p. 206).

According to Castro (1983, p. 372), most higher education institutions in Brazil were, until 1945, under French influence,

\textsuperscript{13}The original text reads: "Toda essa estrutura de ensino (...) veio de cima para baixo (...) produto das elites dominantes ou fruto do que essa parcela, que comandava a sociedade, achava que deveria ser melhor (...) sempre sofrendo mudanças de acordo com o sabor das forças externas, conjugadas ao esforço da minoria dominante em preservar seus privilégios na sociedade."
following an educational model characterized by a traditional, formal, rigid education with emphasis on academic studies, selected staff and student body, with no room for the popular masses, and where the cathedra system, in which the one single ruling faculty member made all decisions, prevailed. The European influence lasted until mid 1900s when major changes in education occurred under strong American influence after World War II.

It was only upon the termination of Getúlio Vargas's dictatorship and the restoration of the democratic government that education became, again, an issue of concern within the Brazilian society.

The restoration of financial guarantees for public education in the 1946 Constitution and the reestablishment of the democratic government (...) increased the political importance of the educational system and augmented the resources available to educational authorities. (Plank, 1987, p. 367)

The elaboration of the educational law entitled Directives and Basis for National Education (Lei de Diretrizes e Bases da Educação Nacional - LDB) in 1948 became one of the most significant factors in the post-World War II period in the Brazilian educational system. There were strong disagreements concerning the new law, and it was not until 1961 that the Lei de Diretrizes e Bases was approved and implemented. In her study about the new educational law, Pinto (1985, p. 95) discusses the two main aspects in the debates, the commercialization of education by private institutions and the concept of decentralization versus centralization of education. On one side, there were the private school owners who exploited
education (they still do); on the other, there were those who defended the public schools.

It was during the late 1950s and early 1960s, that popular educational and political movements proliferated in Brazil among the less privileged socioeconomic classes, the rural and industrial workers. It was a time of political instability when the Brazilian government had to face the imminent threat of Communism spreading among developing Latin American countries. It was the time when Paulo Freire as well as many other educators, politicians, and members of the Catholic Church were most successful in reaching their goals of developing adult education programs throughout the country. The participation of intellectuals and of university faculty and students was significant.14

In the midst of popular movements, the capital of Brazil was transferred to Brasília in 1961. In his remarks about the creation of the University of Brasília, Moreira (1985, p. 116) documents that it became imperative to create in the new capital a university that would support, intellectually and scientifically, the development

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14During the peak years of the "conscientization" movements in Brazil, adult literacy programs were developed in a large scale especially after the success of Freire's experience in Angicos, to be further discussed in Chapter 3. Freire explains the relationship between the political and educational aspects of adult literacy programs: "... the relationship between the literacy education of adults and production was expressed in criticism of the means of capitalist production characteristic of the country (...) this is true of the urban centers and in the critical analysis of social relations in production in the rural areas. (...) it was not in our thinking to relate literacy education to production simply in terms of technical training (...) the Brazilian campaign, without giving up its national character, established certain priorities. Between acting in an area where popular consciousness was still buried and in one where popular rebellion was visible, we did not hesitate in choosing the second" (Freire, 1978, p. 111).
policy implemented by President Juscelino Kubistchek. In his policy for national development, President Kubistchek established a priority of fighting against poverty as a way of preventing the spread of Communism in the country (Silveira, 1985, p. 78). A review of the educational system was seen as imperative.

Consequently, the University of Brasília, created on December 15, 1961 (Araújo, 1985, p. 127), had the objective of modernizing the higher education system in Brazil which would ultimately reflect President Kubistchek's development policy. Darcy Ribeiro, a Brazilian anthropologist, was made responsible for organizing the new university. Ribeiro was engaged in structuring a university that would promote and support national development autonomously, with an active role in overcoming the obstacles that hindered national development. His aim was to create an autonomous university that allowed for social transformation. The basic idea underlying the creation of the University of Brasília was to integrate teaching, research, and science, and the creation of units necessary to enhance them. However, Moreira's (1985, p. 123) study clearly implies that the University of Brasília ended up serving the interests of the dominant classes. As stressed by Carvalho (1989, p. 57), the University of Brasília followed the criteria established by the Lei de Diretrizes e Bases for the creation of institutions of higher education. The major structural changes implemented at the University of Brasília included the organization of departments as the smallest administrative and academic units within the university (American influence), and the extinction of the cathedra
(European influence), thus taking away from the *catedrático*, the faculty member who held lifetime governing privileges over the college, the absolute ruling power he had over his college and its faculty and staff members.

The *Lei de Diretrizes e Bases* (Graciani, 1982, pp 87-88) was finally approved on December 20, 1961. Boaventura (1986, p. 78) claims that this law allowed for the development of educational systems from pre-school to graduate studies in the formal system, and from literacy classes to high technological training courses in the nonformal system. Carvalho (1989, p. 57) emphasizes that the *Lei de Diretrizes e Bases* maintained the university characteristic of a juxtaposition of independent schools, and that it did not bring any significant changes to higher education. The commercialization of education by private institutions was granted by the new law, and the number of private institutions increased significantly, especially in secondary and higher education. In allowing for the commercialization of education, the State renounced its democratic function of providing the population with education; education became once more a privilege of the elite (similar to the consequences brought about by the 1937 Constitution). Bárbara Freitag confirms such elitist attitude:

The *Lei de Diretrizes e Bases* reflects in this way the contradictions and the conflicts that characterize the split in the Brazilian bourgeoisie. Although it contains certain populist elements, this law also has an elitist characteristic. (Freitag, cited in Góes, 1980, p. 58)
Statements such as that of Fernando Henrique Cardoso's, who declared that "education should neither be a privilege nor a business, and that public moneys should be used in public schools," (Cardoso, cited in Santos, 1987, p. 58) were silenced by the Lei de Diretrizes e Bases.

Despite the Brazilian tradition of a centralized educational system, the Lei de Diretrizes e Bases also allowed for the implementation of the decentralization of the educational system, a characteristic of the American educational model. Lauro de Oliveira Lima (cited in Stein, 1984, pp. 43-44), however, alerts us to the fact that the decentralization of the Brazilian educational system still has yet to occur, since it is the federal government that funds the regional educational system and it is the state governments that fund the municipal elementary education system. Furthermore, Lima declares that norms and regulations are still established dependent on the resolutions approved by the Federal Council of Education (Conselho Federal de Educação - CFE).

In the early 1960s, students desired more than a mere university reform; they defended the democratization and the increase of learning opportunities in Brazil (Brum, cited in Fagundes, 1986, p. 59). Education was meant to be an instrument of popular culture within the population's reach. Similar to the Base Education Movement (Movimento de Educação de Base - MEB) (Cunha, 1983, p.
218; Wanderley, 1984), which was destined to provide education to the illiterate and semi-literate, the new educational reform should aim at the population's effective integration in the process of self-construction and of national construction.

During the early 1960s, the urban population of industrial workers, as well as the middle class, already valued education as an element in the dynamics of economic progress and already considered education to be an important factor in social mobility (Santos, 1987, p. 67). The students defended an alliance with the working class. They aimed at furnishing the working class subsidies

15The Base Education Movement was promoted by the Brazilian Bishops National Conference (Conferência Nacional dos Bispos do Brasil - CNBB) and it consisted of radio transmitted classes geared towards the low income populations at the adult level education. Through agreements with the federal government, the CNBB received funding for the educational radio program they developed. The program which was initiated in the Northern, Northeastern, and Central-Western regions was soon extended to all underdeveloped areas in the country.

Wanderley (1984, p. 39) accounts for the diversity of objectives involved in the program: (1) Economic: to eliminate underdevelopment and to obtain national development which ensured structural reforms; the emphasis was on the social integration of man with himself and of all men among themselves and on self-sustained communities; (2) Political: education of the masses with political implications; it aimed at establishing popular organization and group organization within communities, at questioning representational structures and need for reforms, and at forming leaders; (3) Cultural: adult literacy, base education; the emphasis was on the verbal code, on conscientization, and on the valorization of popular culture; (4) Social: to solidify community solidarity, to socialize and re-socialize the peasants, to integrate rural and urban workers, to organize groups and associations involving workers.

16Freire emphasizes that in the 1960s, "as a result of the ambiguity characteristic of the populist leadership, of the populist political style in itself, in which the masses' demands are only partially met, there was, in effect, an emersion of the masses" (Freire, 1987, p. 30). As demands were met, the masses returned to the streets to demand their "voices" to be heard over and over again. "Such historic moment, certainly influenced the learning pace (of the masses)" (Freire, 1987, p. 30).
to accelerate their emancipation process. In exchange, university students expected to receive from the working class the necessary revolutionary support to promote sociopolitical and educational changes in the nation (Cunha, cited in Fagundes, 1986, p. 59). The university became the forum for the defense of popular demands, for the masses' ideological instrument, and for practical action to destroy the political power of the dominant class.\(^{17}\)

The formation of student associations in Brazil in the early 1960s and their active participation in what would become in the late 1960s the University Reform Law is documented by Graciani (1982, p. 61). Promoted by the National Student Union (União Nacional dos Estudantes - UNE), the First University Reform Seminar (Primeiro Seminário de Reforma Universitária) was conducted in Salvador, Bahia, in 1961. The document entitled the Bahia Declaration (Declaração da Bahia) (Fagundes, 1986, p. 59) originated from the seminar, reviewed the three main topics discussed during the seminar: "The Brazilian Reality," "The Brazilian University," and "The University Reform." Similarly, other seminars were developed in Southern Brazil originating two similar documents, Directives for the Southern University (Diretrizes para uma Universidade Sulina) in 1961 (Graciani, p. 62), and the Letter from Paraná (Carta do Paraná) in 1962 (Graciani, p. 63; Fagundes, p. 59). In her analysis of

\(^{17}\)"The national liberation movements in Latin America (...) always had intellectuals and students in the first row of combatants, while they had been formed by the educational systems of countries against which they revolted." ( Lê Thịnh Khôi, in Altbach, 1984, pp. 216-217)
the Brazilian university in the early 1960s, Lourdes Fávero comments on how it was not, at the time, fulfilling its role:

Culturally, since it was not the depository of the national culture and because it was not concerned with research; professionally, since it did not produce professionals to meet the country's needs; socially for its antidemocratic characteristic of access to higher learning, as well as for producing individualistic professionals with no concern for the society's problems. (Lourdes Fávero, cited in Graciani, 1982, p. 62)\textsuperscript{18}

The 1964 military coup supported by the CIA (Parker, 1979) led Marechal Castelo Branco to the presidency of Brazil. It was a time of political and social unrest in the country; however, it was still an optimistic time because the Communists had been defeated. There was hope that the living conditions would improve and that social and political stability would be achieved. Despite this hope, the installed military government proved to be oppressive, dictatorial, and alienated from the national social and educational needs.

The repressive regime persecuted all those who spoke in favor of the socioeconomically underprivileged masses as well as those who confronted the military government with either socioeconomic or political issues. Intellectuals and educators were among the most repressed. Universities were kept under constant close supervision by government agents who were searching for those criticizing the

\textsuperscript{18}The original text reads: "Culturalmente, por não ser repertório da cultura nacional e por não se preocupar com a pesquisa; profissionalmente, por não formar profissionais para atender às exigências da realidade do país; socialmente, pelo caráter anti democrático do acesso ao ensino superior, bem como por formar profissionais individualistas, sem maior preocupação com os problemas da sociedade."
regime. Political, social, and educational movements in favor of the socioeconomically underprivileged were seen, in the eyes of the government, as part of the ideological indoctrination of Communism, and, were, therefore, to be repressed. Brazil's economy went rapidly into the hands of foreign creditors and the nation has not since been able to recover economically. Intellectuals and educators allied with university students and the Catholic Church were in a constant struggle against the repressive military regime. Graciani (1982) and Santos (1987, p. 61) emphasize that student protests were suspended by the implementation of the Institutional Act #5 -- Ato Institutional n. 5 [AI-5], in December 1968, and of the Decree # 477 -- Decreto-Lei n. 477, in February 1969, which gave university and educational authorities:

the power to (...) suspend students involved in activities considered subversive, that is, threatening to national security. During the suspension period (three years), (...) students would not be allowed to register in any other higher education institution in the country. It also allowed for employment termination of employees and professors involved in similar activities, prohibiting them to work at higher education institutions for a period of five years.19 (B. Freitag, cited in Graciani, 1982, p. 67)

Throughout the 1960s, in the midst of numerous student movements, a strong American influence was felt in the Brazilian

19The original text reads: "O poder de desligar e suspender estudantes envolvidos em atividades que fossem consideradas subversivas, isto é, perigosas para a segurança nacional. Durante o tempo de suspensão (três anos) os estudantes atingidos ficariam impedidos de se matricularem em qualquer outra escola de nível superior do país. Previam, também, a demissão de funcionários e professores surpreendidos nas mesmas atividades, impedindo-os de trabalharem no ensino superior durante cinco anos."
educational system. The American government invested heavily in Brazil's economic, social and educational development as part of a plan to help Brazil develop economically and fight against the threat of Communism that surrounded it. From this time on, European influence in Brazil began to dwindle while American influence became systematically stronger. However, by implementing a foreign model that did not take into consideration the nation's specific needs for development, education remained dissociated from Brazilian economic and cultural development.

Political unrest, with populations fighting for equality, social justice, and educational opportunities, characterized the late 1960s. Coombs (1985) comments on the worldwide educational crisis involving developing nations as well as developed ones. Movements involved either confrontations between students/teachers and police/governments or terrorism acts that claimed many lives. Political/student movements, led by universities promoting significant educational and consequent social changes, were seen throughout the world during the late 1960s and in the 1970s.

In 1968, Brazilian students' protests against the political and socioeconomic conditions of the population were largely influenced by similar European student movements, but, according to Castro (1983, p. 369), the Brazilian movement had strong political connotation. Manpower and human capital theories suggesting investment in men and in education were strong in student movements leading to pressure the government to increase school
The students' demand through the slogan "open university doors to the people," resulted in the federal government instructing schools to increase enrollment and fill all vacancies as a way of decreasing student unrest.

Consequently, in two decades there was a substantial increase in the number of students in institutions of higher education. In 1960 Brazilian university enrollment was 93,202 representing 1.1% of the total student enrollment and 0.1% of the total population. In 1970 this number increased to 425,478 representing 2.46% of the student enrollment and in 1980 it increased to 1,377,286 representing 4.9% of the student enrollment; in 1985, although there was still an increase to 1,387,247 in university enrollment, it represented only 4.4% of student enrollment (see Figure 5).

20 The 60s became the historical scenario for the major educational changes politically engaged with the transformation of the Brazilian society. Freire explains: "The (...) movements of rebellion, especially those of youth, while they necessarily reflect the peculiarities of their respective settings, manifest in their essence this preoccupation with man and men as beings in the world and with the world - preoccupation with what and how they are 'being.' As they place consumer civilization in judgement, denounce bureaucracies of all types, demand the transformation of the universities (changing the rigid nature of the teacher-student relationship and placing that relationship within the context of reality), propose transformation of reality itself so that universities can be renewed, attack old orders and establish institutions in the attempt to affirm men as the Subjects of decision, all these movements reflect the style of our age, which is more anthropological than anthropocentric."
In the midst of all foreign investments, with the increase in enrollment came the need to increase the number of educational institutions. Educational deficits expanded at all levels of education while legislation maintained the privileges of the elite. As a consequence, liberal attitudes were taken towards the accreditation of schools and universities resulting in many low-quality private programs. Private institutions of higher education in Brazil account for two-thirds of the nation's higher education enrollment. The private institutions of higher education varied from having excellent standards, such as the Catholic University (Pontifícia Universidade Católica - PUC) to the so-called "fake" universities where diplomas were issued against payment.

Figure 5. Increase in university population: 1970-1985
In his study about private institutions of higher education in Brazil, Levy (1985) accounts for three distinct groups of private universities created in Brazil: the Catholic universities, the "secular elite" or "elite" universities, and the nonelite secular universities. The Catholic universities having been created in reaction to the secularism of the public universities, politically "reflected the power of the Right, and were meant to buttress it" (Levy, p. 444). The elite universities, non-Catholic, were created as a response to the elite's dissatisfaction "with the increasing leftist activism of professors and even administrators, but mostly of students" (Levy, p. 445). As a reaction to the existence of Catholic universities, the non-Catholic elite universities "were created by the bourgeoisie, backed up by the industrialists" (Levy, p. 445). The nonelite secular institutions were often non-selective in admissions. Implicit in the creation of these institutions, "there was a preoccupation to get job related training and to avoid leftist political action" (Levy, p. 447). They were also a consequence of the public institutions of higher education not being able to meet the growth in student demand.

The 1968 University Reform Law, # 5540/68 (Araújo, 1985, p. 128; Graciani, 1982, pp. 20, 59, 82; Fagundes, 1986, p. 73), a consequence of student protests, and which was finally implemented in 1971, formally established the American influence in higher education. It was clearly a reaction to the elitist, traditional European model. Castro (1983, p. 372) insists that the university reform did not happen through negotiations, but it was thrown together in a superficial response to political pressure. The
University Reform Law aimed at offering more vacancies, better education, greater efficiency, and social justice. It also introduced the concept of the "research university" to the Brazilian higher education system. It also emphasized the role of universities in the area of extension programs. It determined that: "The higher education institutions, through their extension activities, (would) provide the student body with the opportunity to participate in programs aiming at the improvement of the living conditions of the community and in the (nation's) development process" (Boaventura, 1986, p. 68; Fagundes, 1986, p. 73).

The major changes resulting from the 1968 University Reform are discussed by Araújo (1985, pp. 128-130), Castro (1983, pp. 372-373), and Graciani (1982, pp. 89-91) who interpret them as a sign of the American influence in the Brazilian higher education system: (1) the implementation of the credit system, (2) the creation of the basic general education cycle (core curriculum), (3) the elimination of the catedrático, the professor who had absolute rule with property rights in the college, and (4) the creation of full-time status for professors, a necessary condition for research. It also structured and regulated both graduate education and the teaching profession. Castro points out that in the 1970s more than ninety percent of the Brazilian students studying abroad were in the U.S. Such students upon returning to Brazil also influenced the Brazilian academia with the knowledge and technology acquired in the American universities as well as from the American educational system itself.
Consequences of the 1968-69 Reform upon the Brazilian higher education system included the integration of different academic areas and the creation of departments. The Reform also established research as a mandatory activity among scholars. However, Castro (1983, p. 373) points out that the Reform was inadequate in the control of academic productivity, that is, in the control of the quality of the research conducted. It promoted rapid growth in research, but it encountered problems of effective implementation which hindered productivity. In summary, Castro considers that the major problem with the Reform seems to have been its attempt to make too many changes at once.

Criticism to the 1968 University Reform included that of Romanelli's: "The modernization created an administrative complexity and an intricate web of control mechanisms inside and outside the university, making the university more conservative in its structure than the previous model" (Romanelli, cited in Araújo, 1985, p. 131). Defending the Reform, Sucupira's support statement justifies it: "Far from being the structural reform a secondary problem (...) the creation of organic and flexible structures constitutes an essential aspect of the Brazilian university reform." He adds, "Universities everywhere are characterized as institutions highly conservative, and throughout History, it is not known when they have promoted substantial reforms" (Sucupira, in Araújo, 1985, p. 132).

Sharing the same view as that of Carvalho's (interview, October 10, 1988), in his analysis of the university reform, Castro (1983, p.
points out a greater enrollment of students from middle-class families, although with no significant representation of the lower class. The colleges of engineering and medicine consistently kept the best students while areas such as literature and education received fewer and fewer students with high scores. The public universities, already considered elite institutions, became more and more elitist while private establishments became less and less demanding. Public institutions ended up enrolling the more financially privileged students at a time when seventy-five percent of higher education enrollment was found in private institutions. There was also an evident social selection in graduate school where most of the students coming from a privileged socioeconomic background received both fellowships and fully-paid leaves of absence from their jobs to pursue graduate studies.

Despite the pros and cons of the 1968-69 Reform, the late 1960s and early 1970s marked the turning point in higher education with enrollment increasing from 278,295 in 1968 to 1,072,548 in 1975. By 1980, enrollment had reached more than 1.6 million. Parallel to the increase in higher education enrollment, Araújo (1985, p. 133) documents a significant expansion in the enrollment in graduate programs, increasing from 4,358 students in 1968 to 33,633 in 1978. The higher education enrollment boom in Brazil occurred mostly during the years of military government and it "placed greater curbs on the public sector's ability to meet the booming demand" (Levy, 1985, p. 447). Meanwhile, Coombs (1985, p. 226) declares Brazil to have been one of the few countries able to
approximate parity between men and women as of 1980, with female enrollment increasing from thirty-eight percent to fifty percent.

Coombs (1985) considers that of all economic factors during the post-World War II period, the one that had greatest impact in education was the oil crisis of the 1970s. Leaving most countries in the world faced with economic recession and accelerated inflation, the rise in oil prices affected both developed and developing countries. The latter, with already scarce financial resources and astronomical foreign debts, were forced to make significant cutbacks in educational budgets, sacrificing the quality of education. Added to the oil crisis, Brazil had to face the reduction in investments made by the Carter government as well as by the Rockefeller and the Ford Foundations, interpreted as a retaliation to the Brazilian government's refusal to sign the nuclear non-proliferation treaty proposed by President Carter. The economic difficulties of the Brazilian government were considerably aggravated.

M. Garrett, F. Silva & P. R. da Silva (interview, October 7, 1988) claim that the Brazilian higher education system has been slowly moving back towards the European model during the last part of the 1980s due to the reduction in foreign financial assistance, the unsuccessful implementation of the American educational model, and the lack of appropriate adaptation of such model to the needs of the country. It is also true that the end of the military era in Brazil, which occurred in March 1985, also contributed to Brazil's
independence from the American economic and ideological control, giving Brazil the opportunity to seek other alternatives for its economic, social, political, and educational development.

In summary, the preoccupation with the implementation of successful foreign educational models (European and American) maintained the Brazilian educational system from providing equal educational opportunities to the population. The emphasis placed on higher education diverted authorities' attention from the education of children and adolescents which maintained the privileges of the educated wealthy class and increased socioeconomic discrimination.

Contrasting with the elitism which has permeated the Brazilian education system, especially at the higher education level, a consequence of foreign influences as here presented, Chapter 2 documents the upsurge of nonformal education programs after World War II. Guided in many instances by the political independence of small nations, nonformal education spread rapidly throughout the world. In the Brazilian case, it came as a response to the lack of formal education opportunities and as a response to hindrances in development. Nonformal education programs came as a solution to provide the population left out of the formal education system with access to alternative educational opportunities. Brazilian universities' efforts towards implementing alternative education programs within the scope of Distance Learning in the areas of Open University and Educational Television are reviewed in the chapter as well.
CHAPTER 2

The Emergence of Nonformal Education Programs

The emphasis placed on education has been one of the most significant post-World War II concerns worldwide. In an effort to reconstruct the economic balance among nations, countries that had suffered less destruction during the war and that had remained in a more advantageous economic situation initiated a joint plan, which incorporated education, to help the nations severely destroyed by the war. Concurrently, many small nations, until then colonies of leading economic countries, initiated independence movements in an also worldwide political crisis. New governments were faced with the challenges in reconstructing new nations economically, educationally, politically, and socially, in order to meet their specific needs according to their new reality as independent peoples, and not based on foreign models.

The Marshall Plan (Coombs, 1985, p. 14) was an economic assistance plan initiated by developed countries to help nations destroyed by the war recover themselves socially, economically, and politically. Upon successful implementation of the Marshall Plan in countries such as Germany and Japan, where there was an infrastructure capable of utilizing foreign assistance, economists and politicians assumed that the Marshall Plan would also be applicable to the developing countries. Versions of the Marshall Plan were then conceived. Castro (1983, p. 368) documents that in the case of
Latin America, the plan entitled "Point Four," in reference to the fourth item in President Harry Truman's inauguration speech (Santos, 1987, p. 47), was implemented in the late 1950s and early 1960s with considerable emphasis on education.

However, the variations of the Marshall Plan did not always work in the developing countries due to the fact that the plans did not consider variables inherent to these countries, such as rapid growth and the lack of infrastructure to receive, absorb, and disseminate the foreign assistance. The programs in "Point IV" covered areas such as agriculture, economics, education, health, and public administration. Many were the criticisms about "Point IV" serving an ideological purpose of political control over Brazil (Santos, 1987, p. 48). Other criticisms claimed that the programs, established by foreign technicians, did not utilize local human resources, competent Brazilian professionals who were more aware of the local problems and limitations.

To support the implementation of "Point IV," the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) was created in 1961, and the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 was passed in the American Congress (Santos, 1987, p. 59). The USAID joined efforts with American corporations and foundations in delivering the necessary technical and financial assistance to Latin American countries aiming at economic development. Massive financial investments were made in Latin America, particularly in Brazil, because of its potential for economic development.
The 1968-1972 military government, characterized by its national development policy, the "Brazilian Miracle," absorbed heavy foreign investment with emphasis on technology and education (Castro, 1983, p. 368). U.S. aid sponsored fellowship programs, subsidies for translation of textbooks, and agricultural programs, as well as a significant investment in higher education. The Rockefeller Foundation, that had been supporting programs with emphasis in medicine since the 1950s, maintained its investments, and the Ford Foundation funded a major revolution in the social sciences which lasted throughout the 1970s.

The economic consequences upon education that resulted from political/educational movements is discussed in Coombs (1985, p. 200). With greater enrollments in the educational system, a surplus of educated manpower was placed in societies which did not have the capacity to produce jobs that could absorb it, generating the phenomena known as educated unemployment. In the Brazilian case, when the Brazilian government was faced with the problem of not having enough jobs for its graduates, it was left with the alternatives of either reducing enrollment or expanding employment. Because Brazil was going through a large and rapid expansion of modern sectors and a significant economic growth, promoted by massive US investments, it was able to provide proportionately more modern sector jobs for the newly educated. Nevertheless, by late 1970s and early 1980s, it was still experiencing, in various degrees, the problems of educated youth unemployment and inflation of educational qualifications.
It was during the 1970s that nonformal education increased substantially in developing countries. The diversity of such programs and their close links with specific development objectives and local needs made them more successful in meeting the educational needs of the large populations in the developing countries. Local people and communities played a key role in providing and utilizing such education in conjunction with local development activities. However, this is not to say that nonformal education programs were only then developed. Coombs emphasizes the fact that "even before the upsurge of interest in the 1970s, far more nonformal education activities already existed in virtually every country than anyone, including the national education authorities, realized" (Coombs, 1985, p. 88). Activities developed in national programs focusing on the socioeconomic underprivileged in Brazil in the late 1950s and early 1960s are illustrative examples of Coombs's statement. Among other efforts, there were the Basic Education Movement (Movimento de Educação de Base - MEB), which was geared towards "the valorization and the encouragement of popular experiences" (Bezerra, 1982, p. 17), the Popular Culture Centers (Centros de Cultura Popular - CCP), which aimed at gathering community members to discuss and seek solutions to community problems, and the Popular Culture Movement (Movimento de Cultura Popular - MCP), which aimed at promoting conscientization.

LaBelle (1982, p. 167) interprets nonformal education programs as a pragmatic response to the needs of Third World
countries in their effort to encounter immediate solutions for their increasing socioeconomic, educational and political problems. With the lack of adequate infrastructure to cope with rapid population growth, urban expansion, economic scarcity, and political instability, government agencies as well as private institutions have turned their attention to the benefits nonformal education programs can bring to the oppressed, the socioeconomic underprivileged, in developing countries. In relation to the recent upsurge of nonformal education, Paulston's and LeRoy's (1982) study shows that the advantages found in nonformal education, that is, low costs, flexible structure, instructional materials, linkage with the occupational structure, and nature of rewards have brought about a growing interest in nonformal education projects and programs.

Nonformal education programs in Third World countries are likely to be more directly related to political and social action groups where the "youth is prepared to assume particular responsibilities during a revolutionary struggle" (LaBelle, 1982, p. 167). Examples of such can be found in Latin America, in countries such as Cuba, Nicaragua, and El Salvador. In Latin America nonformal education programs have aimed at both providing skills for socioeconomic mobility and serving as political socialization. Thus, nonformal education has become a contributor to individual change as well as societal change.

While speaking of mass education, Boli, Ramirez, and Meyer affirm that "education has become increasingly closely related to the national project and is now a virtually indispensable element of
national development" (Boli, Ramirez, and Meyer, 1985, p. 147). On the other hand, Paulston and LeRoy (in Altbach, 1982) emphasize that nonformal education is related to fundamental changes in the concept of national development that have taken place throughout the 1970s. For them, the "concept of 'national development' - what it should aim at and how the necessary changes should take place - have added a growing sense of urgency to search for the low-cost educational supplements and alternatives to formal schools" (Paulston and LeRoy, cited in Altbach, p. 337). However, LaBelle (1982, p. 174) emphasizes that when the aim of nonformal education seeks social changes, especially involving teachers and learners from different socioeconomic or ethnic-religious backgrounds, the potential for conflict exists. Essentially, when divergent ideas are confronted, the dominated rebel and the dominant's fear of losing power is eminent.

Formal and nonformal education programs for children and youth become of primary concern in developing countries due to the high percentage of young population found in these countries. The lack of formal education opportunities requires that alternatives be found. The need for parents to have child care services in order to pursue employment opportunities is presented by LaBelle (1982, p. 166) as a pragmatic reason, given the increasing employment rates among women in some societies. On the other hand, within the poor populations, nonformal education programs many times aim simply at keeping children and youth out of the streets or out of pernicious environments in which they live.
Adult education is definitely another area of great concern in developing countries due to the high percentage of uneducated and semi-educated adults (La Belle, 1982, pp. 168-169). Paulo Freire's adult literacy program has spread rapidly throughout high illiteracy rate developing countries, and it attests for the compliance of such need. The best well-known examples may be found in Brazil, Chile, Nicaragua, and Guinea-Bissau (Freire, 1978; M. Zachariah, cited in Altbach, 1986, 102). Pragmatically, adult participation in nonformal education programs is directly related to needs concerning social and individual development, basic skills (literacy and numeracy) and job training. Adult participation in nonformal education programs also supplies the opportunity for needed skill training where there is a lack of adequate formal programs.

Among nonformal education programs that are successfully proliferating, not only in Brazil but also throughout Third World nations, especially in Latin America, there are the programs being developed by political and religious groups. While religious groups work under the postulates of the Liberation Theology, political groups work under an explicit Marxist Theory. The religious initiative, as explained by LaBelle (1987, p. 207), was mostly sensed "in the Second Vatican Council proclamation in the 1960s that favored liberation theology or the process of reflection about faith as a liberating praxis." Studies cited in LaBelle (p. 207) show that "a new theological focus on contemporary reality with increased awareness of underdevelopment and structural dependency" emerged from the Second Vatican Council. The studies still indicate
that "liberation theology has been associated with considerable controversy within the church, much of it centering on the avowed connection to Marxist analysis, specially class struggle" (LaBelle, p. 207). Both groups, political and religious, concentrate their efforts in educating the masses for a social revolution in which the oppressed, the proletariat, the working class, the socioeconomic underprivileged come to share the social, educational, and political benefits in society still only accessible to the dominant classes, the socioeconomically and politically powerful individuals.

Martin T. Katzman (1986, February) reviews Pastore's study about social mobility in Brazil; Pastore declares that Brazil has traditionally had one of the most unequal distributions of income in the world. In the decade 1960-70, which include the "miracle" years of rapid economic growth, the distribution of income became even less equal. Little evidence indicates that incomes have become more equal during the 1970s. As explained in Pastore's study, increasing income inequality cannot be equated with the lack of social mobility. The transformation of Brazil's occupational structure, away from agriculture and toward industrial-service employment is a common aspect of development. Jobs have grown more rapidly in services requiring high skill than they have in agriculture. Hence, economic development creates considerable opportunities for structural mobility.

Katzman (1986, February) further discusses that Pastore investigated the rate of social mobility in Brazil and found it to be comparable to that in most advanced democracies; about 80% of the
mobility in Brazil can be accounted for by structural change. He has found that the main mechanism of status transmission among generations, that is, mobility into and out of higher social classes, has occurred through access to education. Pastore concludes that one route to equalization, he concludes, is the upgrading of the educational opportunities available to the lower classes.

Despite the fact that there are substantial differences between industrialized and developing countries, there are common needs involving nonformal education in both:

> It is necessary that we know better what already exists and how it functions (...), improve the relationship between formal and nonformal education (...); and accelerate research in such area (nonformal education), little researched, but of vital importance. (Coombs, cited in Santos, 1988, p. 16)

It has been consistently more evident that educational problems in developing countries cannot be solved by the mere importing of foreign expertise or foreign models. Developing countries have found more immediate solutions that realistically meet their needs. Alternatives such as nonformal and popular education are rapidly spreading in these countries. Coombs and Ahmed (1974) define different types of education:

Informal education is "the life long process by which every person acquires and accumulates knowledge, skills, attitudes, and insights from daily experiences and exposure to the environment" ... nonformal education is "any organized, systematic, educational activity carried on outside the framework of the formal system to provide selected types of learning to particular subgroups in the population, adults as well as children" ... formal education is the "institutionalized, chronologically and hierarchically structured educational system, spanning lower primary school and the upper reaches of the
Many are the interpretations regarding popular education. LaBelle (1987, p. 206) stresses that "the popular education rhetoric claims to (...) organize an economy that is based on pooled capital, labor, technology, and marketing opportunities in various collaborative and competitive ways, as opposed to the human capital approach." Popular education is defined by Grossi (1984, p. 383) as being "more than people's education; it is an alternative model for social change at the local level." Garcia Huidobro distinguishes liberation education, associated with Freire's consciousness-raising programs from popular education, which, he says, "is more political and social class oriented and is intended to lead to a more egalitarian and classless society" (Bezerra & Garcia, 1982, p. 50; Huidobro, cited in LaBelle, p. 205). Huidobro claims popular education to be related to creating situations in which theory and practice become closer, in the effort of the subject of social transformation to grasp both (theory and practice). Cariola (cited in LaBelle, p. 205) refers to it as "a participatory education," embracing two distinct objectives: "integrative (which leads) to increase participation within the existing social order" and "liberal (which leads) to transforming institutions and structures critically." Still, Wanderley (cited in LaBelle, p. 206) distinguishes between education for national populism and education for liberation when speaking of popular education. Brandão (1983a) argues that in popular education, the educator's - whom Aída Bezerra (Bezerra &
Garcia, 1982) calls "agents" - role is engaged with a political project of liberating the popular masses.

In a study about educational alternatives (experiências alternativas), Santos (1988, p. 34) defines: formal education as "public or private schools experiences organized within the nation's educational legislation;" nonformal education as "experiences developed outside the school limits, by organized groups concerned with education, with a broader educational spectrum;" alternative experiences or alternative forms of education as "experiences developed in schools and institutions, or by independent groups, through innovative educational projects, engaged with or originated by the interests and needs of the popular masses;" educational innovation (inovação educacional) as "the introduction of something new and different motivated by questioning educational objectives and the school's engagement towards a transformation tool of the social order."

Nonformal education programs are increasingly being developed in Brazil parallel to formal education programs under the responsibility of universities in conjunction with government agencies. Isolated religious and political groups have taken the major responsibility of carrying on popular education. Also, international groups such as the Non-Governmental Agencies [NGOs] and Private Voluntary Organizations [PVOs] are mostly involved with popular education programs in developing countries. They operate in a much larger scale than only in education. NGOs "have a common outlook, one which involves 'popular education' activities
carried out at the grassroots level" (Landim, 1987, p. 34). PVOs initially created to deliver relief aid, "began deemphasizing relief aid and stressing how they could help fulfill development goals that governments could not or would not meet" (Brian Smith, 1987, p. 41). A survey carried out by Fernandes and Landim in 1986 listed the existence of 1,041 NGOs in Brazil.

No matter what form they take, alternative education programs have all similar ultimate goals, to improve the individual's quality of life through access to education. This particular section focuses on two modalities of Distance Learning programs, the Open University and the Educational TV, researched among Brazilian universities as alternative forms of education that contribute to decreasing the lack of educational opportunities and the gap between demand and offer of educational opportunities.

**Distance Learning Programs: The Open University**

Despite the fact that communication satellites are widely used in Brazil, they are not yet used in large scale for educational purposes. Distance learning is a means which facilitates the access to education for those who did not have access to it while in school age as well as for those who for economic, geographical or physical reasons are restrained from attending the conventional educational system. Furthermore, within a continuing education perspective, Garrafa defends that "distance learning provides for the improvement and updating of individuals already included in the
productive system" (Garrafa, 1989, p. 75). Distance learning has therefore been considered a necessary and justifiable alternative to the university responsibility of providing more adequate educational opportunities to the population.

The issue of distance learning has been reviewed by both educational and government institutions (Carvalho, interview, October 10, 1988). Government institutions such as the Commission for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel (Comissão de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal do Ensino Superior - CAPES), until recently against the development of distance learning programs due to problems of quality control and expenses, are now reviewing their policies to favor them. It is an evidence that since it becomes more and more difficult for the Brazilian population to access the university, alternatives are being searched to provide the population with access to higher education. Open enrollment, providing educational technology, and low costs are a few of the advantages the Open University offers.

During the 1960s, Open University programs in Brazil required all students to have attended a formal high school program and have passed all its requirements before enrolling in the Open University program. However, nowadays, as long the students are able to pass the final high school exams (independent from the number of years spent in school) and prove to be qualified for university studies, the students are eligible to start the university level program.
Despite the fact that Open University is considered highly functional, it faces significant obstacles in Brazil. One of the problems expressed by Castro is the fact that "the Brazilian sponsors of the initiative are controversial personalities identified with right-wing sectors, who, because of their political convictions, are constant targets of student protest movements" (Castro, 1983, p. 377). Therefore, the attempt to implement the Open University, associated with conservative educators, usually becomes a controversial issue fomented by political ideologies. Another problem in implementing the Open University is the fear of an inflation of diplomas in a country that already faces the phenomenon of educated unemployment. The Open University would contribute to an even greater shortage of appropriate jobs. However, as controversial as it may be, it is imperative that the Open University remains available to those who might benefit from it. It is a viable and realistic solution to replace the population's limited access to public university and the proliferation of low-quality institutions of higher education.

Programs Developed in the Northern Region

The Fundação Universidade do Amazonas, as affirmed by M. Garrett, P. R. G. da Silva, & L. F. da Silva (interview, October 7, 1988), has developed two major Distance Learning programs, involving the concept of Open University, the Advanced Campus in
Quarios (Campus Avançado de Quarios) and the Maués Project (Projeto Maués).

The Advanced Campus in Quarios (M. Garrett, interview, October 7, 1988), modeled after the Project Rondon which is further discussed in chapter 4, involved sending faculty members to consult with primary and secondary level teachers in distant communities to assess needs and problems in the communities they represented. Following the initial assessment, seminars and recycling programs were then planned and carried out in order to meet the needs of the group. After the first two years of the project's existence, an undergraduate level program was requested by the teachers who had completed all the recycling programs and who felt they needed to advance in higher levels of education. An undergraduate program in pedagogy, aiming at secondary teacher certification (Licenciatura Plena) was implemented with the assistance and under the responsibility of the University of Amazonas. Faculty members were systematically sent to the region to deliver the program.

The Maués Project (M. Garrett, interview, October 7, 1988) involved an interdepartmental program. Courses, recycling programs, conferences, seminars, and parent and student counseling were developed in the project. The work has always been developed based on the information given and requested by the community members, and no programs have ever been planned without consulting with the community.

The centers established in Maués and Quarios served as the nucleus for about forty other surrounding communities that sent
representatives to participate in the programs developed (M. Garrett, P. R. G. da Silva, & L. F. da Silva, interview, October 7, 1988). Upon their return to their communities such participants became the elements responsible for disseminating the information received in the courses and seminars. They functioned as multiplying factors in the project. Thus, although the university only had a direct responsibility to the centers where the programs were developed, the effects of their programs extended to and affected a much greater number of communities.

The financial support for any Distance Learning programs developed by the Fundação Universidade do Amazonas (M. Garrett, P. R. G. da Silva, & L. F. da Silva, interview, October 7, 1988), including Quarios and Maués, has been shared by both the university, by providing human resources, and the communities involved. The latter contributed to the development of programs by (1) releasing teachers (with pay) to attend the seminars, courses, and conferences, (2) providing room and board for the lecturers, and (3) arranging for transportation of university personnel. The travelling in the region is usually made in precarious means of transportation, planes, boats or buses, on trips that might last anywhere from forty-five minutes to two days of travelling.

The Universidade Federal do Pará developed the Federal University of Pará Interiorization Project (Projeto de Interiorização da UFPA) overlapping Open University and Community Development programs. Based on the belief that every citizen has the right to education and trying to retrieve the Federal University of Pará's
commitment to the Amazon Region, the project was developed within the scope of the Interiorization Project for the North, which aims at uniting higher education institutions in the Amazon region in their efforts to better perform their role as agents of social changes. The project seeks to develop university activities in the interior of the state through an aggressive but rational plan, in order to optimize the utilization of its resources in the production of the multiplying effects throughout the region.

Having as its main objective to initiate a process of integration with the reality of the Amazon Region (Universidade Federal do Pará, Projeto de Interiorização), the project was subdivided into two other projects, the first directly related to education, within the concept of Open University. There are 45 secondary schools and 28 secondary module programs in the state. However, the majority of the teachers involved in secondary education are at most licensed to teach at the elementary level. The Federal University of Pará has consequently developed a program to reactivate the Education Centers in several municipalities with the objective of training specialists and teachers for the elementary and secondary level. The project was implemented in university campuses located in eight different municipalities. Each campus functions as a regional center not only for the municipality in which it is but also for the surrounding areas. Parallel to the development of the teacher training program, research projects and programs related to regional and local needs and peculiarities are developed. This way, the Federal University of Pará meets the needs of the municipal
populations while contributing to the growth of individuals in the interior. It also meets its objectives as a higher education institution serving its environment (Universidade Federal do Pará, Projeto de Interiorização).

**Programs Developed in the Northeastern Region**

The Universidade Federal de Pernambuco has followed a different approach in developing Distance Learning programs, within the concept of Open University. E. R. L. Ruiz (interview, October 12, 1988) explains that based on the multiplying factor, the university gathers on its campus a group of teachers from different areas in the interior for professional training. Local government officials request the training from an agency through the university. The Federal University of Pernambuco's role in the program is to assess needs, organize meetings, and define objectives and methodology to be developed.

According to E. R. L. Ruiz (interview, October 12, 1988), teachers selected to participate in the program, upon return to their original communities, train other teachers from different communities within the same methodology they were trained. Such teachers function as multiplying factors among other far-away communities, and are denominated "monitors."

In describing the development of the program under her responsibility, Sandra Molinari (interview, October 12, 1988) declares that monitors attend meetings with professionals from the
training agency on the Federal University of Pernambuco campus to debate on the needs assessment of the communities they represent. Monitors are given bibliographical references on how to assess such needs and are offered references on local professional services, in areas other than education, who could contribute to the success of activity. Professionals include health personnel, social workers, religious leaders, and politicians who would be able to help the monitors in assessing the needs of the community.

Molinari (interview, October 12, 1988) reiterates that upon completion of the initial meetings, monitors return to their communities and are given time to consult bibliographical references and with professionals (theoretical universe), before they meet again with consultants to evaluate the progress and results of the activity. They then meet with other local community teachers, then denominated "trainees," in the communities where the program will be developed and transfer to the trainees the methodology they practiced with the training agency consultants. The trainees then go through the same procedure of assessing needs in their communities and in their classrooms, using the methodology learned. Monitors remain available to observe classes, to consult with trainees, as well as to provide trainees with reading materials and technical support.

E. R. L. Ruiz (interview, October 12, 1988) stresses that throughout the training program, the monitors meet regularly among themselves, with the trainees, with university faculty members, and with training consultants. The process repeats itself
for a period of time involving eight meetings with the consultants until the final objective of the program is reached. At the time this research was under development, the objective of the program was to enable teachers in far-away communities to develop literacy methodology.

**Programs Developed in the Central-Western Region**

In Brasília, in coordination with the Fundação Universidade de Brasília, the Commission for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel [CAPES], a government agency affiliated to the Ministry of Education, has maintained an Open University program [POSGRAD] with the objective of providing graduate courses, at Master's Degree level, to professionals settled in areas where such programs are not available (S. W. de Carvalho, interview, October 10, 1988). It provides further professional and academic training to faculty staff in small interior colleges while it guarantees their permanence in needed areas. The student receives from the university in which he/she enrolled a package of materials containing bibliographical references and assignments. The student works independently and during a two-week long visit, when the candidate meets with the university advisor, the course content is discussed. Papers, tests, and reports are within the scope of the program.

The Distance Learning Coordination (Coordenadoria de Educação à Distância - CED) at the University of Brasília was initially created in 1979 on an experimental basis. Having had its activities
interrupted in 1984, it was reorganized in 1985/1986 (Garrafa, 1989, p. 89). According to the university's Resolution #022/88, Chapter VI, Article 23,

the Distance Learning Program has as its objective to promote pedagogical and methodological experiments in the area of distance learning, both formal and nonformal, with the objective of democratizing the population's access to the academic knowledge, to systematic cultural contents, and to technology adapted to the nation's development. (V. Garrafa, 1989, p. 89)

Since its reorganization, the Distance Learning Coordination has promoted the courses "Law Makers and Constitution" (Constituinte e Constituição), "The Law Found on the Streets" (O Direito Achado na Rua), and "Composition as Liberation" (Redação como Libertação) (Garrafa, 1986, p. 45; 1989, p. 75). "Law Makers and Constitution" involved hundreds of thousands of people in group discussions about the new 1988 Brazilian Constitution while it was being formulated. "The Law Found on the Streets" involved a more restricted public. It promoted a critical reflection about the Law at the same time that it assisted popular human rights lawyers and law assistants in their everyday practice. It aimed at the democratization of justice. "Composition as Liberation" is self-explanatory. It involved small group discussions about man's liberation from self and societal oppression followed by essay writing on the topic discussed. It is imperative to clarify that all programs were developed at national level under the supervision of the University of Brasília.
The Distance Learning Coordination has also promoted a training program for specialists in the area of distance learning with the support of the Organization of the American States [OAS]. OAS still gives support to the University of Brasília to organize the Distance Learning Training Program to be developed in large scale in the future (Garrafa, 1989, p. 76). Despite the fact that the University of Brasília has limited experience with distance learning programs, it is the university that has dedicated more time, effort, and research in developing them. Therefore, the University of Brasília has become the main reference for all other universities in the country that aim at developing distance learning programs.

Programs Developed in the Southeastern Region

In an effort to actively engage in Open University programs, the Universidade Federal do Espírito Santo has developed a series of projects, extension courses, and internship programs targeted at communities within and outside the university's boundaries. Programs aim at contributing to meet communities' needs while considering Extension as an educational, cultural, and scientific process which articulates teaching and research, allowing for transformations within and between university and society (Universidade Federal do Espírito Santo, 1988, p. 8).

Developed under the concept of Open University in an effort to reach out to the needs of distinct communities, the special projects involve community development programs. They aim at raising
students' critical consciousness while contributing to their human and professional development. (Universidade Federal do Espírito Santo, 1988, p. 9)

Special programs and events are developed in various academic, cultural, and professional areas with the objective of supporting, encouraging, and integrating both internal and external communities. Seminars, debates, and congresses contribute to the professional development of students and faculty members (Universidade Federal do Espírito Santo, 1988, p. 25).

Extension courses aim at promoting knowledge and updating working techniques. They are tailored to the needs and interests of special groups. Since the university holds human resources capable of providing the upgrading of professional skills in most areas, the Federal University of Espírito Santo plans most of its programs specifically to meet the professional development needs of the university community, of the public sector, and of the private business (Universidade Federal do Espírito Santo, 1988, p. 45).

Internships allow for the interaction between theoretical universe and practice, in the context of students' professional development. They aim at providing students with political, cultural, and professional learning experiences in order to promote their effective participation in society. Internship programs are funded by federal, state, and municipal institutions as well as by the private sector (Universidade Federal do Espírito Santo, 1988, p. 45).
Within the Distance Learning modality and within the scope of the Open University, the Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina has seen its probably most effective project frustrated: the development of a project which aimed at certifying secondary school teachers at the undergraduate level - High School Teacher Certification - (Licenciatura) (J. E. Calieder, interview, October 3, 1988).

As reported by José Erno Calieder during his October 3, 1988 interview, there are presently in the interior of Santa Catarina eighteen institutions of higher education that aim at certifying secondary teachers; however, lay teachers still comprise more than 50% of the secondary teachers. The secondary school teacher in such areas, similarly to the elementary school teacher, is the person in the community who knows more about a specific subject, not the person who has the expected academic and professional qualifications to teach. The areas most deprived of certified teachers, in order of greatest shortage, are science, mathematics, social studies, and Portuguese.

The Federal University of Santa Catarina proposed a project involving higher education institutions throughout the state. As the project coordinator, Calieder (interview, October 3, 1988) explained that each institution would be made into a "learning center" for the communities in the surrounding areas, while the Federal University of Santa Catarina would function as the key institution to provide secondary teacher training programs in them. The goal was to
revitalize the programs within the higher education institutions in the interior of the state. The project was to be developed initially at the undergraduate level, and it had envisioned that, upon successful implementation and completion of undergraduate programs, extension courses, at the graduate level, could be developed to follow up on the previous ones. Among other features of the program, the project demanded that every other week visits were to be made by the Federal University of Santa Catarina faculty members to the institutions where the programs would be developed. Since reading skills are one of the deficiencies teachers exhibit, a reading laboratory had been planned to provide teachers with the opportunity to develop their reading skills and ability to read extensively and in depth.

Lack of funds and the high work load carried by the university faculty (ten to twelve teaching hours per week combined with research and advising) were pointed out by Calieder (interview, October 3, 1988) as some of the major obstacles to the development of the project. Financial support from the Federal University of Santa Catarina as well as from the institutions involved was not provided. Planning, researching, and developing texts that would allow the student to profitably engage in a self-learning experience demanded extended working hours to be added to the already heavy load most faculty members carried. Furthermore, the Federal University of Santa Catarina, as a state institution, should provide training at no cost to the students; in addition, the higher education institutions in the interior of the state, due to their private nature,
required payment for the program to be offered. One of the suggested alternatives to overcome the problem was to provide all students with scholarships.

Calieder concluded his October 3, 1988, interview by indicating that due to political and economic restrictions, the project was vetoed in its initial stage. It will not be implemented until there is political willingness and interest of government officials.

**Distance Learning Programs: The Educational Television**

Regarding the development of educational alternatives involving mass media, Hummel (1977) expresses that "it is characteristic in Latin America that radio is a strong buttress of literacy projects almost everywhere" (Hummel, p. 77). In her October 12, 1988 interview, E. R. L. Ruiz recognizes that the power of TV in penetrating through the population has brought positive results for the low socioeconomic populations living in the periphery of the big cities. However, she claims that it has not worked in the interior, mainly in the Northern and Northeastern regions, where the living standards and conditions are below the minimum acceptable for human beings. Stein (1984, p. 46) claims that the use of TV, radio, and cinema to transmit information at low cost to a high number of individuals does not represent a decrease in the learner's freedom. It is the mandatory core curriculum, dissociated from the learners' experiences and disseminated through mass media, that impedes the education for all.
Programs Developed in the Northern Region

The only Educational TV program developed at the Fundação Universidade do Amazonas was for the university's low income employees (M. Garrett, interview, October 7, 1988). The program was delivered through a closed-circuit TV system, and consisted of literacy classes and courses at the elementary and secondary level. However, the program was discontinued in its first year of existence due to lack of money.

Programs Developed in the Northeastern Region

Although independent from the Universidade Federal de Pernambuco, the Culture Center Luiz Freire (Centro Cultural Luiz Freire) is the university's main source of didactic material to be used in Educational TV programs (A. C. Jatobá, interview, October 13, 1988). Located in Olinda, the Culture Center Luiz Freire dedicates itself, among other activities, to develop the Live TV Project (Projeto TV Viva) supported by the Dutch government through educational grants (A. C. Jatobá, interview, October 13, 1988).

The Center's 1988 report summarizes its production. Since its beginning in 1984, project participants had developed a total of 101 videotapes involving:

(1) women's issues: prostitution, domestic violence, women's rights, contraceptives, family planning, preventive medicine, and political
participation are discussed and documented in twenty-one videos targeted at the female population (Centro de Cultura Luiz Freire, 1988, pp. 1-4);

(2) children's issues: story-telling, folklore, and circus presentations constitute the set of twelve videos dedicated to children's entertainment and education (Centro de Cultura Luiz Freire, 1988, pp. 5-6);

(3) humor: a set of sixteen videos was produced on a variety of topics involving disease control, political issues, human rights, corruption, and marital relationship in a humorous way meant to reach low income populations (Centro de Cultura Luiz Freire, 1988, pp. 7-9);

(4) culture: fifteen videos concentrate in documenting the works and lives of several unknown popular artists. The value for and the retrieval of communities' cultural heritage are the focus of such documentaries (A. C. Jatobá, interview, October 13, 1988; Centro de Cultura Luiz Freire, 1988, pp. 10-11);

(5) deafness: four educational videos inform the population about early detection, prevention, and treatment of deafness (Centro de Cultura Luiz Freire, 1988, p. 12);

(6) various issues: topics ranging from teachers' strikes to the harms of alcoholism are documented in nine videos aiming at the education and active community participation of low income populations (Centro de Cultura Luiz Freire, 1988, pp. 13-14);
(7) rural issues: the thirteen documentaries in this series comprise efforts related to popular organization, political struggles, and land dispute (Centro de Cultura Luiz Freire, 1988, pp. 15-17);

(8) urban issues: various low-income community problems, as well as solutions found in some cases, are documented in this set of eleven videos (Centro de Cultura Luiz Freire, 1988, 18-19).

It is appropriate to note that out of the total selection, twelve videos received special recognition in various video and film festivals throughout the country (Centro de Cultura Luiz Freire, 1988).

**Programs Developed in the Central-Western Region**

The Fundação Universidade de Brasília has been involved with mass media education through a public education outreach program sponsored by the federal government and implemented by the University of Brasília and other governmental agencies (S. W. de Carvalho, interview, October 10, 1988). Classes are offered through radio and TV broadcasting at both elementary and secondary level, and are on the air twice a day, early morning and early evening. Students may purchase the necessary materials for the classes at any newspaper stand at low cost. Tests are periodically sent to the students by mail upon request. Final examinations are offered at the end of each course and a certificate is provided at the end of each level, primary and secondary.
This radio and TV broadcast program serves the same purposes as the Supplementary Education Program (Ensino Supletivo) (S. W. Carvalho, interview, October 10, 1988), the evening program carried out by the public schools for the population above fourteen years of age who have not completed elementary or secondary school. There are neither age nor time limits to complete each phase of the program.

Programs Developed in the Southern Region

The Federal University of Santa Catarina develops Educational TV programs through the Projeto LARUS, a project involving research and documentation of natural resources in form of videotapes and films (A. C. Jatobá, interview, October 3, 1988), presented at both the Educational Television and at the main TV station. The films are also taken to poor communities that lack access to information about preservation of the environment and to local schools in low-income areas, which contributes to developing awareness for the importance of proper use of resources and their preservation.

According to A. C. Jatobá (interview, October 3, 1988), the project's headquarters are located on the university campus; however, there are no financial resources within the university budget allocated to this kind of research; the Federal University of Santa Catarina only contributes with physical facilities and salaries of the three Projeto LARUS staff members. The film equipment was
assembled on campus by making use of existing material and equipment. This sometimes involved obsolete equipment that were cannibalized and adapted with the assistance of different departments. Production and editing are financed by different institutions.

In summarizing the different approaches reviewed in this chapter, advocates of nonformal education attested to the need to developing educational alternatives for low-income populations that ultimately result in the improvement of the individuals and their living conditions. Among these programs, it is important to enhance Distance Learning as a means to access hard-to-reach populations that otherwise would be unable to experience educational opportunities. Further analysis regarding the development of Open University and Educational Television programs is found in Chapter 5.

In the next chapter, Paulo Freire's concept of education for liberation is emphasized. His fundamental principle that the individual must be the subject of the transformation of his/her reality, therefore the subject of his/her own education is discussed. Within educational alternatives, Adult Literacy programs under a Freirean perspective are examined.
CHAPTER 3

Paulo Freire:
A Radical Model of Alternative Education

Paulo Freire is the most prominent Brazilian educator developing alternatives to the formal education system. His life and work are well known throughout Brazil as well as throughout the world, especially among educators and politicians who believe in the liberation of humankind through active participation in its own educational process. This chapter reviews Freire's contributions to the project of alleviating social, economic, and educational inequalities and disparities within the Brazilian society. It provides information about Freire's life and experiences that influenced his interest in working with the educational and political needs of the underprivileged socioeconomic populations. The research was based mainly on works about Paulo Freire, many of which include interviews with Freire himself, as well as on his own publications. It becomes evident that Freire's educational theory establishes the basis for many of the educational programs recently developed by Brazilian universities in seeking alternative forms of education for the socioeconomically underprivileged populations. Most adult literacy and education programs developed since the 1960s are based on adaptations of Paulo Freire's pedagogical method, if not on the Freirean theory itself, and on his theories and concept of education for liberation.
The chapter includes not only a retrospective of Paulo Freire's life and the philosophical influences that can be identified in his works but also the documentation of his political, educational, and philosophical importance and influence on the search for solutions for the educational problems of the socioeconomically underprivileged populations in Brazil. As the leading educator in search of educational solutions, Paulo Freire explored different approaches as he worked on several community programs and on different popular movements, always searching for the best way to provide low socioeconomic populations with adult literacy skills as well as with the ability to reflect on and ultimately to transform their socioeconomic and political situation.

The chapter also describes the components of Paulo Freire's theory and method. The chapter closes with a description of Freirean Adult Literacy programs developed by the various researched universities.

Paulo Freire: Making Education Accessible to All

Freire's Life and Work

Educational policy in Brazil has been one of consistently importing foreign models of education that do not meet the population's needs for development and education. Massive literacy programs that were developed from time to time, as further discussed in this chapter (see p. 100), were never successful. As
soon as they were started, these programs were discontinued, without producing the hoped results, that is, the education of the underprivileged socioeconomic population to become functionally literate and to contribute to the country's development.

The attempts made to develop educational programs oriented towards national development ended up merely reproducing foreign models because they were based on foreign "know-how." However, Brazil's internal organization, infrastructure, and needs differed significantly from those of the countries from which the programs were imported. In the late 1950's, several successful programs focusing on the education of the socioeconomic underprivileged populations were developed; among them, the programs developed by the young educator, Paulo Freire. Such programs were at no time reproductions of foreign models and they were the first programs to be successfully conducted in large scale in favor of the low socioeconomic populations.

Born on September 19, 1921 in Recife, in the poorest region in Brazil, Paulo Freire grew up in the midst of financial difficulties. His mother, a dedicated Catholic, would influence Paulo Freire throughout his life (Freire, 1980, p. 13), ideologically, politically, and socially, with her strong faith in God and her acute sense of justice. In 1929, as a consequence of the world economic crisis, his lower middle income family moved to Jabotão in the interior of the state. During the decade that followed, Paulo Freire was to experience life among the very poor (Freire, 1980, p. 14; Freire & Frei Beto, 1987, p. 8; Jorge, 1979, p. 8), but without ever conforming to it. His
rebellion against social injustices would lead him later on to engage in activities in defense of the socioeconomic underprivileged.

Paulo Freire (Beiseigel, 1982, pp. 14-22; Freire, 1978, p. 132; 1980, p. 13; Freire & Guimarães, 1984, pp. 14-31) recalls his literacy experience with his parents who taught him to read and write, using a vocabulary that pertained to his universe as a child, not from their experiences as adults. His first experience in elementary school would also influence his pedagogy later. The activities developed required Paulo Freire to make sentences from words that were taken from his experience as a child, first orally and then written. Freire still recalls his experience in an isolated school (Freire & Guimarães, p. 15) which had great impact in developing his methodology in later years. An isolated school, usually situated in low-income areas, serves children at various educational levels, who have a strong knowledge of street-living, emphasized by Freire as an experience which is open, highly creative and innovative. Above all, their language and lives are concrete, without illusions.

At the age of 20, Paulo Freire returned to Recife to study law at the Federal University of Pernambuco. In 1944 he married Elza Maia Costa Oliveira, an elementary school teacher, who greatly influenced him in his endeavors as an educator (Freire, 1980, p. 15; Jorge, 1979, p. 9). When he graduated from law school, after working on his first legal case as a prosecutor, and deciding in favor of the defendant due to compassion (Freire, p. 15), he chose not to work as a lawyer and he started his life as an educator.
Freire (Freire & Guimarães, 1987, p. 15) relates how in 1946 he had a brief experience with the Democratic Left, a subgroup of the National Democratic Union Party (União Democrática Nacional - UDN), but becoming disappointed, he abandoned it. He belonged to no political party until he affiliated himself to the Workers' Party in 1980 while in exile in Switzerland. One of the reasons for Freire's disappointment might be explained by Frei Beto (Freire & Frei Beto, 1987) when he declares that the Brazilian left wing funded the Communist Party in 1922. It had an elitist background:

It did not come from the rural or working classes; it came from liberal professionals under a liberal struggle such as the Modern Art Week (Semana da Arte Moderna) a movement in favor of promoting the 'authentic' Brazilian arts. It was an attempt to import a revolutionary model, while creating the Communist Party, and in importing such a model, it revealed an elitist attitude. (Frei Beto, Freire & Frei Beto, 1987, pp. 36-37)

From 1946 to 1954 Freire worked at the Industry Social Service (Serviço Social da Indústria - SESI) in Recife, Pernambuco, as the Director of the Department of Education and Culture (Beiseigel, 1982, p. 19; Freire & Frei Beto, 1987, pp. 8-10; Freire & Guimarães, 1987, p. 15). It was during this time that Paulo Freire developed the Parents and Teachers Circle (Círculo de Pais e Professores - CPP) (Freire & Frei Beto, 1987, p. 9) which involved meeting with parents and teachers to discuss educational problems and seek solutions for them as a group. Later, in 1959, Paulo Freire would write about the importance of the Parents and Teachers Circles in his Thesis Education and the Brazilian Reality:
The Parents and Teachers Circles can and must become the means for the creation of family associations, within each school. As they integrate with each other, well motivated by the school, it becomes easier, through objective stimuli, to lead them to create their own association. With its own directors. With its own objectives and goals. But, "non-academic," "non-bachelor." (Paulo Freire, cited in Góes, 1980, p. 111)

Freire further argues:

It is the case, for example, of schools located in areas with no sanitary resources (...); discussing the problem concretely, (...) parents associations, with other local groups and (with) the cooperation of the public government, (may) come to a solution. (Paulo Freire, in Góes, 1980, p. 111)

Freire's experiences in the Parents and Teachers Circles would lead him to develop, in 1961, his adult literacy method (Freire, 1980, p. 15). Freire realized that the problems raised in the meetings reached far beyond education, and that there was much to learn from and to share with the people with whom he worked:

During my experiences with parents at SESI, I realized how different my language was from theirs. It was necessary for me to learn their language, its semantics. Without it there would be no possible communication. (Freire, interview with José Evangelista in 1972, in Beiseigel, 1982, p. 21)

Meanwhile, the Adult Literacy Campaign (Campanha de Educação de Adultos) promoted by the Ministry of Education and Health (Ministério da Educação e Saúde) from 1947 on (Di Ricco, 1979, p. 46) had as its objective to provide "basic education" or "common fundamental education" (Beiseigel, 1982, p. 13) to all illiterate Brazilians in the cities and in the rural areas. Such effort was not only endorsed but also supported by educators such as
Freire who were concerned with the education of the socioeconomic underprivileged populations. However, this program as well as other literacy campaigns had not yet been successful in eradicating illiteracy in the country.

It was in the late 1950s that Freire came to conceptualize education as a process of clarification of the consciousness of the masses so they could understand their situation, "... I realized that it was necessary to conceptualize education as an effort to clarify the critical consciousness of the masses, in order for them to be able to perceive their own reality" (interview with José Evangelista in 1972, in Beiseigel, 1982, p. 23). In 1958, during the II National Adult Literacy Congress (II Congresso Nacional de Educação para Adultos), part of the National Literacy Campaign (Campanha Nacional de Alfabetização), participants argued that the mere literacy of adults in itself would not be sufficient to solve the national development problems; it was also essential to eradicate the population's democratic inexperience, which was concisely expressed by Paulo Freire's statement, "(the problem) goes beyond eradicating illiteracy and it is situated in the necessity of also eradicating our democratic inexperience, through an education for democracy, in a society that democratizes itself" (Freire, cited in Beiseigel, p. 110). In other words, while it was necessary to educate the illiterate adult, one must always keep in mind man's needs
regarding self-fulfillment, the independent national development,\textsuperscript{21} and the democratization of society. Also, in preparation for the Congress, Paulo Freire had developed in the Regional Seminar in Pernambuco the theme "Adult Education and the Marginal Populations: the 'Mocambos' Problem," associating illiteracy with poverty (Góes, 1980, p. 45).

As Freire debated a literacy method during the Congress, he realized that:

If literacy is to begin by the words people use, by people's vocabulary, (the key) is to enable the people to analyze their own words, to create and recreate their own language (...) It is the illiterates' job to 'decompose' and 'compose' their own words. Only they can use the words as an instrument of recreation of their language, and, this way, become conscious of their own reality. (Freire, interview with José Evangelista in 1972, cited in Beiseigel, p. 21).

Consequently, from a Freirean perspective, illiterate adult education should also stimulate participation in the community and develop a sense of political and social responsibility. It was necessary to discover procedures that would promote conscientization. One of the recommendations made at the II National Adult Literacy Congress was the use of audiovisual materials and group discussion in place of lectures in adult education classes.

The independent national development was seen at the time as the way to increase the educational level of the socioeconomically

\textsuperscript{21}Independent national development is associated with the country's socioeconomic and political development without the influence and interference of foreign dominant ideology.
underprivileged populations. Development was seen as dependent on the popular involvement in the foreseen changes; that is, the country's industrialization and the rationalization of the economic activities. Consequently, education had to be committed to forming consciousness, to promoting dialogue, self-government, and people's responsible participation in the process of national development.

It was during the late 1950s that Freire became engaged in the Popular Culture Movement (Movimento de Cultura Popular - MCP) (Freire, 1980, p. 15; Freire & Frei Beto, 1987, p. 14). Its main objective was "to promote conscientization through literacy and basic education (...) and to incorporate into the society the thousands of poor (living) in Recife" (Góes, 1980, p. 49). Having started in Recife at the municipal level, the Popular Culture Movement was soon extended throughout the entire state of Pernambuco (Freire & Frei Beto, p. 14; Freire & Guimarães, 1987, p. 16). Promoted by intellectuals and artists, the MCP created schools for the people, making use of rooms in associations in different neighborhoods, in sports or religious institutions. It promoted literacy and increased the cultural level of the masses, making them more aware of their socioeconomic and political situation and their power to change it. It provided those interested with the means to find their cultural roots lost in their alienating social world as to see education as a means of improving their self-image, their community, and their environment.

The tone of the literacy campaign in Brazil was eminently political; it was our interest in the historical situation in which we found ourselves to establish as close a link as
possible between the literacy education and the political consciousness of the masses. (Freire, 1978, p. 110).

Germano Coelho, the movement's initiator, explained that "since the ultimate objective was to fight against ignorance, (the Popular Culture Movement) could not refuse anyone who was willing to help (...) there were Catholics, Protestants, Communists, etc" (Germano Coelho, cited in Beiseigel, 1982, p. 122). With the main objective of promoting conscientization, the activities carried on by the Popular Culture Movement included group work and discussion of problems centered in individual and collective issues, generating an intensive practice of dialogue. They were later diversified to include popular theater, informal education, and diverse artistic projects (Góes, p. 49). The Movement promoted traditional popular celebrations, cultural activities, cultural entertainment, as well as debates about popular culture. All activities made the community aware of their own problems and seek solutions for them.

It was in the Popular Culture Movement that Freire instituted two new group work modalities: the Culture Circles (Círculos de Cultura) and the Culture Centers (Centros de Cultura). Freire coordinated both (Freire & Frei Beto, 1987, p. 14; Freire & Guimarães, 1987, p. 16). The Culture Centers were educational units which involved groups of individuals in activities with similar objectives which would ultimately result in community interest groups.

The objective of the Culture Circles was to gather community members to discuss problems and seek solutions to community
problems. It was from his own experiences in the Culture Circles that Freire's idea of working with adult literacy was born (Freire & Frei Beto, 1987, p. 14). In the Culture Circles, there was no pre-planned program. The themes to be discussed were determined by the participants. The group would debate the problems and initiate action resulting from the discussions.

I started to use audiovisuals, projecting slides of schemes, of drawings, as codes (...) I noticed that participants started to systematize, to organize their thoughts around the analysis of reality, discussing themes that they themselves suggested. I observed that these groups started to take a highly critical and rigorous attitude during the analysis (...) I wondered if the same results could be obtained in a literacy process (...). (Freire, cited in Beiseigel, 1982, p. 139)

Maxine Greene (1978) would later describe Freire's techniques as a way to enable Brazilian peasants to overcome their traditional silences and articulate the themes of their lives.

In March, 1960, the schools in the Popular Culture Movement started to function in Recife. The Municipal government provided forty thousand desks. Morning and evening classes were held for illiterate adults and adolescents. Basic education was the main goal: "to improve the educational level of the population and to provide them specialized education by teaching them how to organize cooperatives, and stressing the importance of syndication" (Beiseigel, 1982, p. 121). It also promoted greater integration of different social groups. In a few months, the Popular Culture Movement and the municipal government in Recife were able to
join efforts in favor of popular education and to meet the needs of about 2000 children in schools in the city's proletariat areas.

Aside from the various cultural activities developed by the Popular Culture Movement, Vanilda Paiva (cited in Beiseigel, 1982, p. 122) documented that in September 1960, the Popular Culture Movement started transmitting literacy programs (fifty to sixty minutes, Monday through Friday, in the evening) and basic education programs (ten to twenty minutes a day) over the radio.

In Freire's experience in the Popular Culture Movement, the literacy book (cartilha) still posed a problem for Freire's concept of adult education. Freire wanted a literacy method that did not use a book, an issue that constitutes the critical difference and the importance of his adult literacy method. He was still in search of a method that would not use a book, the symbol of knowledge given by the "knowledgeable" to the "ignorant," an attitude highly criticized by Freire in his discussion about the "banking" concept of education (Freire, 1974, 1980, 1986a), further presented in this chapter. Freire insisted that he had always been able to discuss themes proposed by the workers and peasants, not imposed on them.

Freire's experiences among the poor showed him that the literacy campaigns developed until then had not taken into account all aspects of the needs of the socioeconomic underprivileged populations. The educational policy was to teach the underprivileged only how to read and write through a methodology that was not at all in accordance with their reality. Freire designed a
methodology that would take into account not only literacy skills but also the individual as a whole. Not only the individual's intellectual development was focused but the individual's perception and participation in his development within society as well. The Paulo Freire (adult literacy) Method was then developed.

On February 8, 1962, the Cultural Extension Program (Serviço de Extensão Cultural) was created at the Federal University of Pernambuco in Recife with Paulo Freire as its first director (Freire, 1980, p. 15; Freire & Guimarães, 1987, p. 13). Its main objective was to integrate the University in the national development process and to provide constant integration of teachers and students in the communities. At this time, the literacy campaign One Can Also Learn When Barefoot (De pé no Chão Também se Aprende) was being

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22Moacyr de Góes (1980) has developed a detailed study of the political, social, and economic situation in Brazil, and more particularly in the Northeast and in the state of Rio Grande do Norte during the Brazilian society "transition" period when the Campaign took place. Here, we limit ourselves to summarize the eight distinct phases of the Campaign:

1. Schools: literacy classes were administered in any available room in the community. All expenses were shared by community institutions (p. 67).
2. School camps: schools were built in municipal areas with no walls, hay roof, and on natural ground (p. 67-69).
3. Mutual Learning: volunteers were to teach small groups of adults resistant to going to school. The solution found was to send volunteers to the adults' homes (pp. 69-70).
4. Cultural Plazas: they consisted of a playground, a sports area, and a library. The emphasis in the cultural plazas was to promote a physical space for social integration, to provide sources of information, and to promote debates concerning the community's interests (pp. 70-71).
5. Teacher Training Centers: the centers developed three programs: a) Emergency Courses training lay monitors in three months to teach in the Campaign classes; b) Teacher Training Courses at Junior High Level; c) Teacher Training Courses at High School Level (pp. 71-72).
6. One Can Also Learn a Trade When Barefooted Campaign: the campaign evolved from academic education to job education. It was at this stage that the Paulo Freire Method was first introduced in the Campaign through the creation of five Culture Circles (pp. 72-73).
successfully developed in Natal, Rio Grande do Norte.\textsuperscript{23} Paulo Freire was then invited by the state government of Rio Grande do Norte to develop a literacy campaign using his method in Angicos in the interior of the state (Freire & Guimarães, 1987, p. 25; Góes, 1980).

The Angicos project was to be financed by the Alliance for Progress, according to Freire, as a strategy to weaken the federal government.\textsuperscript{24} Freire (1980, p. 17) denounced Alliance for Progress for making from the poverty in the Northeastern Region its "leitmotif" in Brazil. He foresaw that the Alliance for Progress would finance the project in Angicos, evaluate it, and put it aside. After

\textsuperscript{23} The title of the Campaign came from a news reporter who wrote about his visit to the school with hay roof, built on natural ground, with no demands for uniforms or shoes. "In Natal," he wrote, "one would learn even when barefooted..." (Expedito Silva, in Góes, 1980, p. 67). Since the mandatory use of school uniforms and shoes constitute an obstacle for the enrollment of children from poverty areas in the public schools, Góes states that "in abolishing such obstacles, the Campaign brought to the schools a large percentage of the population previously condemned to illiteracy. Such population, the needy, gained with the right to attend school, the right to school meals (...), to recreation, to initiation to a trade, to participation in cultural activities, etc." (Góes, p. 101)

\textsuperscript{24} Nonformal education programs such as the ones formerly mentioned proved to be successful in their goals of eradicating adult literacy while making the individual more conscious of and more active in his environment. Such changes certainly stirred the masses against the status quo of the wealthy social classes and disturbed the social equilibrium in the country. The Alliance for Progress coordinators interpreted popular actions as the result of Communist infiltration. The strategy was then to intervene in the programs and declare their failure, not their success.
making that prediction, Freire (Freire & Guimarães, 1987, p. 27) declared that, if that happened, the project organizers should publicly expose the sponsor's colonialist and imperialist intentions.

In October 1962, Paulo Freire went to Angicos to develop his adult literacy program. The result 300 workers became literate in 45 days (Freire, 1980, p. 17) suggested that, through literacy, it was possible to move towards democracy, social justice, and development. Freire's experience in Angicos projected him to both national and international level. Advertised nationally as the beginning of a "revolution for education" (Beiseigel, 1982, p. 217), the Angicos experience was concluded in January, 1964 (Freire & Guimarães, 1987, p. 29); it had helped

more than 300 thousand Brazilians not only become literate but also become more aware of their socioeconomic conditions, the reasons that caused such conditions, and their potential to participate more actively politically in issues that would determine their future. (Beiseigel, 1982, p. 142)

As a consequence of his success in Angicos, Freire was called to Brasília to work in the Ministry of Education coordinating the National Literacy Campaign and organizing the training of monitors. His stay in Brasília lasted from June, 1963, to April, 1964, when the military forces, supported by the CIA (Parker, 1979), took over power. There were 300 Culture Circles in action in the satellite-cities surrounding Brasília when the literacy campaign was

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25 Since the success of Freire's program threatened the stability (economic, political, and social) of the elite, then supported by the U.S., it was not endorsed by the American political forces.
implemented in 1963 (Freire & Frei Beto, 1987, p. 22). They represented the replication of the Culture Circles developed in the Northeast and they facilitated the rapid expansion of Freire's method.

That Freire's method was interpreted as a revolutionary one was exposed by the action of the Alliance for Progress when it interrupted the financial support to the Angicos project. Paulo Freire himself says that the experience in Angicos was interrupted 3 months before the military coup in 1964. He quotes the Alliance for Progress Report:

> In January 1964, the dissatisfaction with the pedagogical technique of Freire and the discomfort around the political context of the program made the Alliance for Progress take away the financial support (from the Angicos Project). (Freire & Guimarães, 1987, p. 29)

At that time, the Paulo Freire Method was being widely and successfully used in adult literacy programs throughout different geographic regions in Brazil.

Freire stresses that by the end of the 1950s, he was already seen as a "dangerous" element (Freire & Frei Beto, 1987, p. 13). However, it was when he started developing activities that reinforced the workers' interests, that he started to become looked upon as a potential subversive (Freire, 1980, p. 16) by the nation's right wing. This perception was reinforced by the Military throughout his interrogations. In the words of Eric Fromm, "to make the popular classes aware of the reasons why they are in the position in which they are and the level of exploitation in which
they find themselves is certainly what threatens the dominant classes" (Fromm, cited in Freire & Frei Beto, p. 13). It is obvious that the dominant classes could not endorse a pedagogy like Freire's.

After the March 31, 1964, military coup, Freire was banished from Brazil as an "international subversive" (Freire, 1980, p. 16) and was exiled to Bolivia, Chile, the United States, and Switzerland. He returned to Brazil in 1979 (Góes, 1980, p. 52). In 1988, Paulo Freire became the Secretary of Education for the city of São Paulo.

**Philosophical and Theoretical Influences**

Paulo Freire became an educator without ever abandoning his concerns with the socioeconomic underprivileged. As he engaged in educational activities seeking to help illiterate adults, Paulo Freire designed his own method that became known and worldwide. Although Freire's method originated in his own personal experiences in life, he was also influenced in the development of his work by several different theories and philosophies. Studies by Jorge (1979) and Beiseigel (1982) document several of such influences.

Alceu de Amoroso Lima (Jorge, 1979, p. 18), known as Tristão de Ataíde, is recognized by Freire as probably the person who most influenced him in his philosophical, educational, and political theories. Ataíde, a Brazilian humanist philosopher, was one of the most prominent Catholic leaders and intellectuals within Brazilian society. Beiseigel (1982, p. 26) stresses that Freire was greatly
influenced by Arafde's "philosophy of existence" and "Christian humanist" orientation.

From Jacques Maritain (Beiseigel, 1982, p. 26; Jorge, 1979, pp. 18, 19), Freire conceived that education cannot be conceptualized if the individual is not the center of it. For Maritain, education can neither be established nor oriented until it is determined what humankind is, including human nature and values. Emmanuel Mounier's theory on "individualism" (Jorge, p. 19), on "personalism" (Beiseigel, 1982, p. 26), is found in Freire's constant demand that the individual's dignity is fundamental. Jorge (p. 19) still writes of Kierkgaard's influence in the form of existentialist philosophy in which the individual is valued in his/her concrete existence. For Freire, the individual is a concrete person who exists in the world and with the world.

Gabriel Marcel's "Christian existentialism" (Beiseigel, 1982, p. 27) also underlies the Freirean existence, a concrete existence not merely an abstract philosophy, but a philosophy that is praxis;26 existence as "a way of life peculiar to man, capable of transforming, producing, deciding, creating, and communicating" (Jorge, 1979, p. 19).

Martin Heidegger and Freire share the concept that the individual must be constantly questioning life while also being the subject in the act of responding (Jorge, 1979, p. 20). The individual is not only encouraged to question but to find answers within one's

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26Praxis as defined by Paulo Freire involves "critical reflection and action upon reality in order to transform it" (Freire, 1986, p. 42).
own experiences. Freire's thought is clearly influenced by Karl Jaspers's constant struggle for communication among men, since, for Jaspers, isolation means destruction, and by Zevedei Barbu's practice of dialogue among men. For Jaspers (in Freire, 1986a, p. 108), "the dialogue is the only response to vital questions of political engagement as well as, in all senses, to a person's existence." For Freire (cited in Jorge, p. 20), it is the dialogue that conducts the individual to freedom. Existence as a dynamic concept implies an eternal "dialogue of man with man, of man with his 'circumstance,' of man with his Creator" (Freire, cited in Beiseigel, 1982, p. 25).

Freire's concept that education must seek the humanization of men under a determined perspective, and, at the same time, situated and dated historically, comes from Roland Corbusier, who claims that "the human reality, the human condition is always situated and dated" (Beiseigel, 1982, p. 25).

Ibsen's influence (Beiseigel, 1982, 39) is seen in Freire's practice of "engagement with the Brazilian reality" and of "critical participation of the population in the national development," while Mannheim's influence is linked to his belief in elementary education as one of the main instruments in democratizing society.

Freire is also clearly influenced by Neo-Marxist scholars (Jorge, 1979, p. 21) in their constant struggle against alienation and massiveness; a cause also embraced by Eric Fromm in the field of psychoanalysis. Fromm has particularly influenced Paulo Freire in his book Pedagogy of the Oppressed (1970) in which Freire
emphasizes certain psychological aspects in both oppressor and oppressed, more specifically the fear of freedom.

Paulo Freire is not free from Marxist influence in his criticism of the capitalist society and in his solution to fight it: dialectics, utopia - to denounce and to announce (denúncia e anúncio), and praxis (action and reflection upon action). However, Karl Marx's radical and atheist thought that History is absolute faces a strong opposition in Freire's Christian beliefs. For Paulo Freire, "the Absolute is God and Christianity is not only profoundly humane but also profoundly revolutionary because it is engaged and utopian" (Jorge, 1979, p. 21).

There is an evident eclecticism in Paulo Freire's theory. He defends the need for a dialogue among individuals, for respect for the individual's autonomy, for the participation of all individuals in the construction of a collective life, and for education as a "conscientization" process. Therefore, every educational practice implies a theoretical role for the educator, involving an interpretation of man and the world. Paulo Freire's experiences always involved a Christian interpretation of man and the world. For him "practice and theory are truly inseparable. (...) There is no true word that is not an unbreakable union of action and reflection" (Beiseigel, 1982, p. 32).

Beiseigel (1982, p. 35) emphasizes that Freire probably had most access to such a variety of ideas not only through his readings but mostly through his work with the progressive sector of the Catholic Church, engaged in the Liberation Theology, and with
Catholic entities in the Brazilian Northeast, all engaged with the socioeconomic underprivileged. To be a progressive Catholic implied engagement with the poor and their reality. The tendency of progressive groups, either from or linked to the Church, has been to form groups of a popular composition, stressing the importance of developing group work, the commitment to working with the socioeconomic underprivileged populations, and the fundamental role of dialogue with the people.

**Paulo Freire's Opposition to the "Banking" Concept of Education**

Freire's concept of involving the individual as the starting point of his own educational process is strongly opposed to what he calls in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* the "banking" concept of education (Freire, 1971, pp. 58-66; 1980, pp. 78-80; 1986b, pp. 66-77; 1987, p. 38). The "banking" concept of education involves a mode of education in which the relationship between the teacher and the students is that of the one who knows and therefore teaches, the knowledgeable, and those who do not know and therefore must learn, the ignorant. Such a view values knowledge only from the perspective of ideological control. The terminology "banking" concept of education is associated with the act of teachers "depositing" knowledge in the students' minds, while the students become the "depositories" of the given knowledge. Students function as "collectors," as "catalogers" of things they store, which results in man himself being filed away from History, from reality, through
the lack of creativity, transformation, and knowledge (Freire, 1971, p. 58; 1986b, p. 66; Pinar, 1975, p. 360). In this situation, students accumulate and memorize knowledge; they do not create, they do not question, they do not revolt. They are kept in a state of passivity from which they are not encouraged to come out.

This relationship is largely based on a dominant/dominated relationship in which the dominated has no say in what he/she is to learn. It is the colonizer/colonized and the oppressor/oppressed relationship. It is in the interest of the colonizer, of the dominant, of the oppressor, that is, the elite in a society, that the knowledgeable teacher only teaches concepts and attitudes that will help the elite maintain its status quo. In so doing teachers ensure a passive audience, incapable of reflexive thinking or questioning, and who believe that their position in society is to learn from others, to be guided, to be commanded. The "banking" concept of education perpetuates the power of the elite over the oppressed. Freire states:

> In the banking concept of education, knowledge is a gift bestowed by those who consider themselves knowledgeable upon those whom they consider to know nothing. Projecting ignorance onto others, a characteristic of the ideology of oppression, negates education and knowledge as processes of inquiry. (Freire, 1971, p. 58; 1986b, p. 67)

In the "banking" concept of education, the teacher/student relationship establishes that the teacher knows everything and the students know nothing; that the teacher must teach and that the students must learn; that the teacher holds the knowledge and that the students are ignorant; that the teacher is active and the
students are passive; that the teacher speaks and the students listen (Freire, 1986b, pp. 67-68; cited in Pinar, 1975, p. 360).

Freire fights against the concept that educators are the only ones who have "knowledge" while the students are "ignorant" individuals waiting to absorb knowledge. William Pinar also links Freire's "banking" concept of education to "Sartre's 'digestive' or 'nutritive' concept of education, a process in which knowledge is 'fed' by the teacher to the students in order to fill them 'out" (Freire, 1971, p. 63). "Regardless of the method," says Pinar, "as long as the 'banking' concept is operative, the teacher pretends knowledge and projects ignorance onto the students" (Pinar, 1975, p. 364).

**A Pedagogy for Liberation**

Paulo Freire proposes a significant change in the educational process, by moving "from a banking mode of teaching to a problem-posing mode in which teachers and learners are both willing to grow through dialogue that breaks down the ideological walls between them and emancipates both to experience higher levels of consciousness" (Freire, cited in Schubert, 1986, p. 259).

Within Freire's concept of education, education is a dialogical process in which all participants share educational experiences, sometimes "teaching," sometimes "learning." Freire's concept of dialogic education (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985) encompasses the educators' responsibility in validating students' experiences and the educators' willingness to learn from students. Freire defends "an
education in which dialogue among all members of society continuously illuminates the practice of freedom and social justice" (Freire, in Schubert, 1986, p. 330). Freire argues that,

*Men will be truly critical if they live in the plenitude of the praxis, that is, if their action encompasses a critical reflection which increasingly organizes their thinking and thus leads them to move from a purely naive knowledge of reality to a higher level, one which enables them to perceive the causes of reality.* (Freire, 1971, pp. 125, 126)

Freire's reflexive concept of knowledge is compared by Aronowitz and Giroux (1985) to Dewey's notion that experience is not reactive but a creative and meaningful relationship between the individual and his historical and contemporary situation where changed circumstances produce new and transformed knowledge.

Today, Freire's theory has been largely discussed among a number of educators who favor educational theories calling for equality of gender, of race, and of wealth distribution. For educators presently seeking significant changes in the educational system, such theories are more appealing than those calling for the preservation of the status quo. Educational theories that call for equity are likely to deal with groups until recently considered irrelevant in society, that is, women and children, non-white race populations, diverse religious populations, the poor, physical or mental handicapped populations, and claim for substantial educational, political, and socioeconomic transformations in societies.

Freire (1971; 1980, pp. 63-66) specifically speaks of "culture of silence" when referring to the populations whose "voices"
(Aronowitz and Giroux, 1985) are traditionally deprived of legitimate participation in political as well as civil society, and whose perspectives were never taken into account. For "culture of silence" we understand the situation of the oppressed in a political domination within the oppressed/oppressor relationship as well as the social oppression of the minority groups. "Minority groups" in this context is not used with the American connotation of black populations; it refers to any social group not largely represented in society and which is a victim of discrimination. It is in this context that Maxine Greene (1978, p. 70) contends that the voices of minority people, of women and children, part of the "culture of silence," have finally been heard for the first time during the past few years.

Freire's notion of education for conscientization and liberation, based on the concept of praxis is nowadays largely discussed among non-mainstream educators who review the educational process. Praxis is defined by Schubert (1986) as

>a radical and participant knowing oriented to transform the world, involving reflection and action upon reality as well as the transformation of it in order to end the overcoming oppression and domination of the masses. It integrates political action with intellectual inquiry in search of understanding and justice; it reveals inequities and seeks to overcome them. (Schubert, 1986)

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27Paulo Freire conceptualizes "conscientization" as the act of dominating reality which cannot occur if not by "praxis," the unit of action/reflection upon action.
Greene (1978) suggests that

praxis involves critical reflection and action upon a situation to some degree shared by persons with common interests and needs (...) praxis involves a transformation of that situation to end the overcoming oppressiveness and domination. There must be collective self-reflection; there must be an interpretation of present and emergent needs; there must be a type of realization. (Greene, 1978, p. 100)

Those within this non-mainstream group of educators in the United States share much of Freire's theory of "praxis' and of an education for liberation. While Greene (1978, pp. 22-23) stresses that the act of learning must be emancipatory and conceptualizes that "freedom ought to be conceived of as an achievement within the concreteness of lived social situations" (Greene, 1988, p. 4), Pinar defines liberation as "a process of freeing - oneself and others - from political, economic, and psychological inequities, and which is inherently temporal" (Pinar, in Giroux, Penna & Pinar, 1981, p. 432). Henry Giroux calls for "a radical pedagogy (...) the necessity of struggling to create a better world" (Giroux, in Schubert, 1986, p. 330) which takes place through a continuity of experience and reflection, that is, through praxis. Greene (1978, pp. 70-71) speaks of a democratic pedagogy which has as its ultimate objective to empower persons to enact democracy. She explains:

To act upon democratic values is to be responsive to consciously incarnated principles of freedom, justice, and regard for others. If individuals can take such principles unto themselves and make them manifest in their confrontations with a concrete, an \textit{interpreted} reality, the way may be opened for \textit{praxis}. (Greene, 1978, pp. 70-71).
In *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Paulo Freire stresses the notion that the form and content of knowledge, as well as the social practices through which it is appropriated, have to be seen as part of an ongoing struggle over what counts as legitimate culture and forms of empowerment. Through his approach, Freire ensures learning as a process of discovery and recovery in response to questions rising out of conscious life in concrete situations.

**Consciousness and Conscientization**

Freire's adult literacy method relies on the need for teaching adults not only how to read and write but also to become transformers of their own reality through praxis - a concomitant reflection about one's world and action upon it. Freire summarizes the objective of adult literacy in the title of his 1987 book, *Literacy: Reading the Word and the World*.

It is not enough for the individual who becomes literate just to decode the written word; it is necessary, above all, that the individual decode his own concrete, existential situation. "The decoding of an existential situation is the representation of that situation, showing some of its constituent elements in interaction. Decoding is the critical analysis of the coded situation" (Freire, 1971, p. 96). Man must learn how to read his own history critically, and gather the means to interfere in it in order to transform it. It is only through "conscientização" - conscientization - that man becomes capable of transforming his own reality.
Paulo Freire took as a basic principle in his theory the fact that an individual only becomes himself when he becomes conscious of himself and of the world around him, when he can provoke and sustain changes around him. In his own words, "an individual is only part of his world when he is conscious of himself in such a world." Humanism, as a radical engagement with concrete man, aims at transforming any objective situation in which man is hindered from becoming more. For Freire, humanization is our primary vocation - the struggle for the "overcoming of alienation," for the affirmation of men and women as persons. It is a matter of affirming human beings as 'subjects of decisions' rather than objects, of involving men and women in the striving toward their own "completion" - a striving that can never end. (Freire, cited in Greene, 1988, p. 8)

Coherent with his Christian origins, Freire states that "in any level of consciousness, man would always be ontologically open" (Freire, cited in Beiseigel, 1982, p. 52). In the lack of such consciousness, Laing (cited in Pinar, 1975, p. 364) attests that man feels ontologically insecure, and Freire finds that "such insecurity prevents and arrests man's ontological vocation of becoming more human, more himself" (Freire, cited in Pinar, 1975, p. 364). Humanization of man, that is, his realization of himself as creator of culture and determiner of his conditions of existence, goes through, necessarily, the clarification of his consciousness, which can only occur in the realm of an increased commitment of man to his reality. This is where, in the Freirean concept, the functions of the
educational process rely. Education in this sense is understood as a "conscientization" process.

Paulo Freire, as the pedagogue of "conscientization," is the defender of an education for liberation, conceptualized as "a semantic construction, not as a utopian transformation concept" (Torres Novoa, 1979, p. 6). "Man's transcendence is (...) in his consciousness (...) of an incomplete being (...). Such relationship, in its essence, will never be of dominated or of dominator, but always of liberation" (Freire, 1986a, p. 40). Conscientization is thus the process through which the oppressed consciousness emerges to the consciousness of oppression. A debate about the different levels of conscientization, which are directly related to consciousness raising, clarifies the process which the individual undergoes in order to become the author of his own liberation.

Claiming that the individual is only found in his plenitude when he develops a critical consciousness, Freire's theory establishes distinct stages of consciousness. The initial stage, the "intransitive" consciousness (Beiseigel, 1982, p. 58; Freire, 1986a, p. 60; Torres Novoa, 198, p. 21) is characterized by the "centralization of men's interests around vegetative forms of life" (Freire, 1986a, p. 60; Poel, 1981, p. 186). In this stage, man is concerned with his immediate biological needs and he lacks engagement with existence. Man is immune to challenges and problems located beyond his biological sphere, which results in a lack of capacity to apprehend the real world.
The intransitive consciousness, also considered the state of "immersion" (Poel, 1981, p. 186), is characteristic of societies in which the oppressed man and his oppressor depend on their relationship to explain their existence. It is inherent of the relationship between colonizer and colonized found in the "closed societies," in the dominated societies. The individual is dominated by the social structures and cannot examine it critically. "The dependent society" says Freire, "is, by definition, a silent society; it cannot be heard; its voice is not authentic, it is merely an echo of the metropolis" (Freire, 1980, p. 67). Freire compares a colonizer/colonized relationship to that between the oppressor and the oppressed:

The oppressed suffer from the duality which has established itself in their innermost being...They are at (...) the same time themselves and the oppressor whose consciousness they have internalized." (Freire, cited in Pinar, 1975, p. 364)

Hegel's contrast between the consciousness of the oppressor and of the oppressed reveals that

the former is independent, and its essential nature is to be for itself, while the latter is dependent and its essence is life or existence for another. In this sense, while in a intransitive consciousness stage, man is the mere object of external determinations. (Hegel, cited in Pinar, 1975, p. 364)

In this situation, man or the group are objects of what is to happen. Consequently, the individual, the group, as well as the national collective cannot be authentic. Their thinking, their
reflection about national development are understood as mere transpositions of the intellectual production of other societies.

Consciousness, at this level, is 'limited' and 'bent' over itself, which immediately implies man's lack of perception of his history due to his inability to apprehend causality. In summary, man is immersed in his magic world. (Poel, 1981, p. 186)

Intransitiveness produces what Freire refers to as "magic consciousness," a state of consciousness that "simply grasps the facts with docility and (...) responds to a challenge with magical actions because the understanding of it is magic" (Freire, 1986a, p. 105; 1987, p. 39). The individual "...does not believe himself 'superior to the facts,' dominating them from the outside, and he does not 'judge himself free to understand them as he pleases' either. He simply grasps them, giving them a superior power, which dominates the individual from the outside, and to which he must submit himself with docility" (Freire, 1986a, p. 105). Torres Novoa (1979) still refers to the "fanatic consciousness," "...whose pathology of ingenuity leads to the irrational..." (Freire 1986a, p. 105), and to "mythical postures" as possible deviations in the individual's intransitive consciousness. Results of such deviations will lead the individual not to a greater consciousness of his reality but to a condition of unreflected action, facilitating either extremist behavior or dominance and oppression.

Directly related to changes in society are changes in the level of consciousness of the individual. As a society goes through changes (usually economic in nature), changes also occur in the individual's
level of consciousness. "In the transition process, the static character of the closed structures allows, little by little, a new dynamics that is reflected in all aspects of social life" (Freire, 1980, p. 69). It also gives room for a new political style. As the masses come out of their silence and start searching for freedom, the elites attempt to maintain their "status quo." The contradictions between the two groups become more evident and bring about conflicts which cause the popular consciousness to become more demanding and the elites to become more fearful of losing their power. In the Brazilian case, Góes (1980, p. 38) stresses that the political turmoil of the early 1960s, the time of the rupture in the Brazilian society, reinforced antagonist social issues which accelerated the radicalization of conflicts and promoted the advancement of reformatory thought and of social immobilization of the dominated classes.

The transitive consciousness situates man above his merely vegetative interests. Man broadens his ability to grasp and respond to the suggestions and questions that originate from his circumstances, and he increases his ability to dialogue not only with other men but also with his Creator and with his world. This increased consciousness is a consequence of structural transformations in the society. "The emergence of the popular masses in societies in transition opens the way to the masses to become conscious of their state of dependency" (Freire, 1980, p. 71). In the transitive consciousness there is a definite search for commitment, for engagement. The transitive consciousness, the state of "emersion" (Poel, 1981, p. 186) is characterized by the
reflection about the very condition of existence: critical thinking by means of which men discover each other to be 'in a situation.' Only as this situation ceases to present itself as a dense, enveloping reality or a tormenting blind alley, and men can come to perceive it as objective-problematic situation - only then can commitment exist. Men emerge from their submersion and acquire the ability to intervene in reality as it is unveiled. (Freire, 1971, p. 100)

Transitive consciousness is initially predominantly naive, characterized by simplicity in interpreting problems. The individual goes through changes not knowing their real cause, only perceiving the more immediate effects (Z. Brandão, 1979, p. 122). The magical orientation from the intransitive consciousness still remains and the interpretation of problems is still a simplistic one. Although there is a more immediate response to the stimuli, "responses are impregnated of magic or mysticism" (Beiseigel, 1982, p. 60).

It is in the naive-transitive consciousness (Beiseigel, 1982, p. 61; Freire, 1980, p. 68; Torres Novoa, 1979, p. 22), that man might encounter either the "evolution" of his consciousness into "...critical-transitive, characteristic of the most legitimate democratic mentality..." (Freire, 1986a, p. 63) or the "distortion" of his consciousness, leading into massiveness which is highly dehumanized. As the individual's consciousness evolves through a critical-transitive stage, he becomes capable of intervening in his own reality to promote necessary transformations. As his consciousness is distorted or deviated from a critical-transitive stage, the individual becomes easily manipulated.
While the process of changing from intransitive consciousness to naive-transitive consciousness is automatic, generally a consequence of economic and political changes that occur in society (thus, not an educational process per se), the change from naive-transitive to critical-transitive is only possible through a critical education process. "The critical transitivity is characterized by profundity in interpreting problems. It substitutes the magical explanations for principles of cause; (...) it implies greater rationalism" (Freire 1986a, p. 61). There is a significant change in man's perception which allows him to conceptualize "political consciousness as a process of dialectic and subjective knowledge which leads into praxis" (Torres Novoa, 1979, pp. 22, 23).

In the stage of critical consciousness, the individual is not only able to act upon the society but also, and above all, is able to transform the world that surrounds him, providing himself and his society with more dignifying and meaningful life experiences and better living conditions. For Paulo Freire (1986), conscientization cannot exist if not in praxis; it cannot exist if not in the unit of action/reflection upon action. Such dialectics constitutes an individual's way of being or of transforming the world and it characterizes all men. Conscientization is therefore the act of dominating reality.

Critical consciousness occurs when an individual or social group reflect about determinant factors of their lives, and act upon them as subjects. When it emerges, it necessarily leads the individual or group to the understanding of conditioning. "It becomes a distinct
and radical way of learning the facts, which results in both an aware and vigilant human conduct and an attitude of dominance over oneself and of the exterior" (Beiseigel, 1982, p. 43). "Criticism" implies the appropriation by man of his position in the context, the liberation of man from his limitations. Beiseigel (p. 75) stresses the importance of not confounding the "becoming critical," that is, gestures, positions, and attitudes resulting from economical changes, with attaining critical consciousness, determined by Freire as the increasing appropriation by man of the elements of his "circumstance." Education thus must be oriented towards decision and practice of social and political responsibility (Z. Brandão, 1979, p. 122). It "...must serve to form personality and consciousness traits. Educational procedures must favor the awakening of critical consciousness making it possible for a democratic personality to be formed" (Beiseigel, p. 93).

Raising consciousness parallel to the literacy process affects not only the individual consciousness but, above all, class consciousness, in such a way that the conscientization process is included in the strategy of popular education not only in the level of discovery of the oppressive reality by the oppressed group but also at the level of establishing an engagement with the practical transformation of such reality. This praxis is part of the class political struggle. The consciousness resulting from this class can only become concrete as a political consciousness.
Freire has never been an academic intellectual, which perhaps explains why his theory and praxis are so strong; "they are permeated by deep existentialism," says Gadotti (in Freire, 1987, pp. 9-10). In order to help the individual to develop his own critical consciousness, Paulo Freire was aware that the individual himself should be the center of education. His revolutionary methodology did not make use of any packet of pre-set ideas, skills, words or theories. Since Freire's objective is to liberate man, the Paulo Freire Method focuses in the individual and his/her environment. The uniqueness of the method lies in its flexibility in developing its curriculum according to each group's reality and needs. The method requires an extensive preparation of materials with the active participation of the group interested in the literacy process.

The first phase of the project (Freire, 1980, pp. 42-43; 1986a, pp. 112-113; Poel, 1981, p. 77) consists of monitors, the group facilitators, experiencing life informally in the community where the program will be developed. They learn the group's concerns, problems, objectives, and needs. While sharing the community's experiences, monitors conduct a survey of the vocabulary most significant and mostly used in the community which will constitute the community's "core universe" (universo vocabular). The vocabulary survey takes into account how words reflect the individuals' concerns about their everyday activities, their
problems, their aspirations, in summary, how the group perceives the world and its reality.

It is from the "core universe" that the "generative words" (palavras generativas) will be selected. "Generative words are those which, when decomposed in their syllabic elements, provide, through the combination of such elements, the creation of new words" (Freire, 1980, p. 43; 1986a, p. 112; Poel, 1981, pp. 79-82). Certain criteria must be followed in the selection of the "generative" words: they must be "phonemically rich," they must have "a live meaning in the community," they must "propose or introduce to the student an 'experience' with the phonetic difficulty of the language," and they must be "pragmatically rich," facilitating their use in different social, cultural or political contexts (Freire, 1986a, pp. 113, 114; Freire & Frei Beto, 1987, pp. 19-20). It is fundamental to the Freire Method that the language difficulties be presented in a gradual level of difficulty.

The "generative words" are organized in terms of "decoding difficulties and of significant themes for discussion among group members" (Freire, 1980, pp. 43-44; 1986a, p. 113; Poel, 1981, pp. 83-84). After the words are selected, monitors must bring about possible themes concerning political, economic, social, and historical aspects which, to a certain extent, refer to the generative words. Such themes, "generative themes," are expected to be suggested and brought up by the class members during the group discussions. It is the third phase of the method and it consists in "creating existential
situations that are characteristic of the group" (Freire, 1986a, p. 114).

The existential situations must be coded in a variety of forms, although the visual or audio-visual forms seem to be the most used. "These codings represent aspects of reality; they express moments in the concrete context. In this way they provide a link between the concrete and the theoretical context (...) the Culture Circle" (Freire, 1978, p. 90). The codings will generate debates among group members enlarging their perspectives related to regional as well as to national problems. The process of discovery of one's reality is also incorporated in this phase of the process. As the literacy class participants get involved in the "decoding" of their concrete reality, they are able to see it more critically. Freire explains:

When an individual is presented with a coded existential situation (a sketch or photograph which leads by abstraction to the concreteness of existential reality), his tendency is to "split" that coded situation. In the process of decoding, this separation corresponds to the stage we call "description of the situation," and facilitates the discovery of the interaction among the parts of the disjoined whole. (Freire, 1971, p. 96)

He specifically discusses the use of codings in his experiences with Brazilian peasants:

In the Brazilian experience this material opened up the discussion on the concept of culture. This discussion (...) is part of a critical apprehension of the relations between human beings and the natural world. From the transformation of this natural world, the specifically human world of culture and of history emerges. In Brazil this discussion preceded literacy work and continued parallel with it. (Freire, 1978, p. 94)
The visual representation of the "generative themes" enables the individual to transpose himself from abstraction to concrete reality with a critical perception of the reality.

Phase four in the method requires the making of 'fichas-roteiro,' (Freire, 1980, p. 44; 1986a, p. 114; Poel, 1981, p. 85) a plan traced to help develop each session in the program.

Phase five consists in making "flash cards that contain the decomposition of the phonemic groups that correspond to the 'generative words" (Freire, 1980, p. 44; 1986a, p. 115; Poel, 1981, p. 92).

Freire's pedagogy is basically concerned with the role of education in the transformation of a society of oppressed individuals to a society of equal opportunities and rights. He does not separate the pedagogical action from the political action, but he does not confound them either. Gadotti stresses that Freire "strives for deepening and understanding the pedagogical aspect in the political action and the political aspect of the pedagogical action" (Gadotti, in Freire, 1987, p. 10). In Freire's concept, education by itself does not promote freedom in an oppressed society; education must free the individual from oppression through the transformation of society.

In supporting a Freirean concept of education, Gadotti (in Freire, 1987, pp. 12, 13) argues that education for freedom will not be possible if discussions are to be kept inside school walls in form of lectures, speeches, and seminars, away from social reality and political decisions. In speaking of education for freedom, dialogue to
be promoted with the masses cannot exclude conflict. If it does, it becomes a naive and empty dialogue with no commitment and no power to transform the conditions of the oppressed society politically and socially. To educate means to make the individual conscious of his reality and fight against class order; it means, ultimately, to subvert it. It is important to see that promoting education against oppression is not to politicize education. Education has always been political; however it has always been in favor of the oppressor. It is against this status quo that Paulo Freire started and still develops his work.

As part of the process in social changes, Freire's view of education implies a search by man, a search in which man is the subject of his own education (Freire, 1987, p. 28), which sustains Freire's concept that nobody teaches anyone, that people learn together. Therefore, in Freire's concept of education, educators and students are to share the relative knowledge they have with each other. Freire alerts educators that "education without hope is not education. Therefore, those who do not have hope in peasant education should seek work elsewhere" (Freire, p. 30).

Adult Literacy / Adult Education Programs

The Freirean concept of education for conscientization and liberation underlies the principle of several contemporary adult education programs.
Literacy is more than simply discriminating and dominating the graphic symbols and some formally organized knowledge. Literacy and domain of basic knowledge is, above all, the discovery of oneself as the subject of one's process of construction and reconstruction, of knowing oneself and the world, of objectively reading oneself as one is and his/her ability of transforming. Such process must take the participant to position him/herself in reality as a social being, part of a determined group that organizes itself in search of overcoming such status. (Fundação Banco do Brasil & Universidade Federal de Viçosa, s/d, p. 3)

It was not until the 1940's that the Brazilian federal government made a decisive move towards adult education to eradicate illiteracy in the country. It was a consequence of the 1940 population census which revealed that more than 50% of the Brazilian population at that time was illiterate. Prior to that, Di Ricco (1979, pp. 42-44) documents some initiatives developed. In 1882, during the Empire, Rui Barbosa already talked about the creation of an adult literacy class, named Model Group (Grupo Modelo), to be offered in the evenings. In 1925, during the Republican Period, the Rocha Vaz Law (Lei Rocha Vaz) also gave special attention to adult education programs. It established that teachers in adult education programs were to have the same benefits as teachers in other regular programs had. For the first time in the history of Brazilian education, the 1934 Constitution declared elementary education mandatory for children as well as for adults. Due to being soon substituted by the 1937 Constitution, the 1934 Constitution was never implemented.

There were several literacy campaigns, documented by Di Ricco (1979), developed after the mid 1940s, including:
(1) Adult and Adolescent Education Campaign (Campanha de Educação de Adultos e Adolescentes - CEEA), from 1947 to 1963 (Di Ricco, 1979, pp. 45, 46-50)

(2) Rural Education National Campaign (Campanha Nacional de Educação Rural - CNER), from 1952 to 1963 (Di Ricco, 1979, pp. 45, 50-53). It aimed at promoting basic education in the rural areas. It followed UNESCO's principle that it was better to teach individuals minimum conditions to develop and act in their own environment than simply teaching them how to read and write.

(3) National Campaign for the Eradication of Illiteracy (Campanha Nacional de Erradicação do Analfabetismo - CNEA), from 1958 to 1964 (Di Ricco, 1979, pp. 45, 53-59). It presented a new perspective in literacy campaigns, that of adult education as a continuous, not an immediate process. It also introduced the idea of functional education, not only teaching reading and writing, but also integrating such skills to the individuals' environment. It pointed out illiteracy as a hindering factor in the struggle for national development. Almost twenty years after the beginning of the first literacy campaign, illiteracy was still considered a "national shame."

Parallel to the Campaign, in 1959, the Basic Education Movement (Movimento de Educação de Base - MEB) was created in the Northeastern Region, through the National Radio Education System (Sistema de Rádio Educativo Nacional - SIRENA) (Di Ricco, 1979, p. 57), under the responsibility of the Ministry of Education. Initiated by the Catholic Church as a consequence of the Brazilian Bishops National Conference (Conferência Nacional dos Bispos do
Brasil - CNBB), it was supported by federal government funding. The objective of the federal funding was to establish 15,000 radio broadcasted schools (p. 65) in the Northern, Northeastern, and Central regions.

(4) National Movement Against Illiteracy (Mobilização Nacional Contra o Analfabetismo - MNCA), from 1962 to 1963 (Di Ricco, 1979, pp. 45, 59-63). It incorporated all existing literacy campaigns into one. The National Radio Education System was maintained by both President Juscelino Kubistchek (1956-1961) and President Jânio Quadros (1961-1961) who were actively engaged in promoting basic education through radio broadcasting as a conscientious means to reach such a disperse population in such a vast territory.

(5) Popular Culture Commissions and the National Literacy Program (Comissões de Cultura Popular e o Programa Nacional de Alfabetização - CCP/PNA), from 1963 to 1964 (Di Ricco, 1979, pp. 45, 63-67). A consequence of the success of the Popular Culture Movement in the Northeast, the Popular Culture Commission was created in Brasília to be presided by Paulo Freire, whose work in the field of adult education was becoming nationally recognized. The Popular Culture Commission was then extended to areas without schools at national level, and adopted the Paulo Freire System (Paulo Freire's adult literacy method) for the National Literacy Program. They were extinguished after the March 1964 military coup.

(6) Brazilian Literacy Movement (Movimento Brasileiro de Alfabetização - MOBRAL), from 1967 on (C. Brandão, 1983a, p. 85; Di
Ricco, 1979, pp. 45, 67-76; Hummel, 1977, p. 76). The MOBRAL was created in 1967 to substitute all other previous campaigns still seen as unsuccessful once they had not produced significant changes in the national illiteracy rates. The success of Paulo Freire's programs, both at Angicos and at the national level, through the former literacy campaign, the Brazilian Literacy Program, were never recognized by the Military government due to the Communist, revolutionary, and leftist connotations imposed on them by the nation's right wing. It was not until September 8, 1970, that the movement was finally implemented at the national level.28

28As a volunteer participant of the National Literacy Movement, this researcher was able to experience the various stages of the program. Contrary to Paulo Freire's principles, the literacy method used was a formal education children's literacy method adapted to be used with adults. The program aimed at teaching illiterate adults how to read and write in a period of 40 hours distributed in twenty two-hour classes. Classes would start with phonemic oral drills, first vowels, then consonants, then the combination of both into syllables and the combination of syllables into words. Once the visual representation of words was apprehended, the class would follow to write the words. From writing the words, students would come up with their own words in which they could identify the learned syllables.

However, in face of the lack of texts and since the method did not include, as Freire's method, the elaboration of texts by class participants, the alternative recommendation made by the project coordinators was to use daily newspapers as the reading material. The use of newspapers should also conduce the students to realize the importance of the skills learned which enabled them to participate more actively in national concerns. The newspapers articles would provide the students with some realistic and meaningful reading material, directly related to their daily lives.

It was then that Freire's "conscientization" process was inadvertently put into practice (considerations were made, at the time, that such procedure revealed the infiltration of leftist members in the program who were trying, by all means, to impose Freire's ideology upon the low socioeconomic populations involved). The results were explosive, for students started questioning the reasons for and the origin of the various news they read, especially those directly related to people like them, the socioeconomically underprivileged. The news would not only raise participants' interest in national and local issues they had never been really involved with but they would also lead to discussions among participants. Unfortunately, a large number of monitors, many young and many from the right wing, were not
It is evident that the Brazilian government had not yet been able to utilize the criticism nor the analysis of decision-making in order to find its own solutions to overcome the illiteracy problem. Once it became evident that different campaigns would not produce the expected results, they were substituted for others, improving the language for the objectives and a means to reach them, as if such changes would suffice for the aims to be reached.

Like Paulo Freire, Lauro de Oliveira Lima is one of the Brazilian educators engaged in contesting the formal education system and in seeking innovative alternatives to formal schooling. In several of his works, Lima expresses his concern about the priority for adult education. In *Technology, Education, Democracy* (cited in Stein, 1984, pp. 61-62), Lima ponders that when child literacy is chosen over adult literacy, such a choice comes from the belief that child literacy will lead to eradication of illiteracy. He supports adult literacy over child literacy as an investment, since adult literacy encompasses the multiplying effect. In other words, literate adults tend to support the education of their children. Lima contrasts the immediacy of adult literacy programs to the long-range process children's education require. Lima argues for adult literacy as a short range process which may involve large part of the population in a national program determined to eradicate illiteracy at national trained to handle such opportunities and use them in a more meaningful way in favor of a class struggle. Many monitors and coordinators lost control of the situation and monitors were notified that the program would be temporarily suspended until the textbooks, the MOBRAL Literacy Book -- *Cartilha do MOBRAL*, were published.
level. On the other hand, Lima contrasts the need of specialized personnel trained to develop children literacy programs. In *Impasse na Educação*, Lima claims that, in relation to literacy, priority must be given to the adults, "either the adults are recovered immediately, or they will have lost forever their historical opportunity" (Lima, cited in Stein, 1984, p. 62).

Programs Developed in the Northern Region

The Fundação Universidade do Amazonas's participation in Adult Literacy Programs has been limited to providing human resources necessary to conduct classes and seminars, since adult literacy programs in Manaus, the state capital, fall under the entire responsibility of government authorities through the Secretary of Education (M. Garrett, interview, October 7, 1988).

P. R. G. da Silva (interview, October 7, 1988) affirms that the university has been much more involved in popular education. The university intellectual community and the students actively engage in working with the population promoting conscientization as modeled by Freire, involving reflection on and understanding of their past and present history in order to transform reality. Although there are no formal movements headed by the Federal University of Amazonas as an institution, university professors and students informally take upon themselves the responsibility of visiting communities and working towards consciousness-raising in issues such as living conditions, demands, and human rights. Their
work is similar to that of the non-governmental agencies in which "direct intervention seems to be the most common and widespread line of work (...)" (Landim, 1987, p. 34).

The main work done by the university members has been in the political area, reveals P. R. G. da Silva (interview, October 7, 1988). They work with community members on issues such as not voting on political candidates in return for their promises and gifts, a common event all over the country. University participants point out to the population that as a candidate offers material goods in exchange for votes, he/she is practicing an act of bribery, not of social assistance. They also orient community members raising their consciousness regarding the fact that carrying on improvements in needed areas is a government's obligation, not a favor. An example of the situation faced by the professors and students from the University of Amazonas is illustrated by Offenheiser in the report about Fundação Esperança, a primary health program developed in the mid-Amazon region:

None of the settlements had formal care systems. Doctors and nurses from state agencies made occasional visits, often turning up only around election time. Like migratory birds, they flocked back to the city once the campaigns were over. Medicine also tended to be stockpiled for distribution during the electoral season. (Offenheiser, 1986, p. 24)

Programs Developed in the Central-Western Region

The Fundação Universidade de Brasília's involvement in Adult Education programs was extended to two of the satellite-cities (also
known as "dormitory-cities") surrounding Brasília, Ceilândia and Paranoá. Other cities were involved but at a broader range, through Community Development programs, to be discussed in the following chapter.

As part of Project Ceilândia (Garrafa, 1986, pp. 11-17), the Paulo Freire Center (Núcleo Paulo Freire) was created in 1987 to support an on-going literacy project initiated in 1985. The 1985 project had been created as a response to the Ceilândia community's request for an adult literacy program to be implemented in the community (Garrafa, 1989, pp. 13, 27). Community members demanded not a system that would merely train them on reading and writing, but a method that would make it possible for the participants to better understand their reality in order for them to act on it. The Paulo Freire Method was chosen.

Community leaders surveyed the number of illiterates in the community, the minimum core vocabulary, and created the Núcleo Paulo Freire (Garrafa, 1989, p. 27). Literacy classes were developed in Culture Circles meeting for two consecutive hours, in the evenings, on alternate days. The Culture Circles have been largely used since the late 1950s among the socioeconomically underprivileged populations and they became one of Paulo Freire's starting points to develop his adult literacy method. In thirty-seven hours, participants were already able to read and write. Work followed to develop post-literacy activities, involving extended reading and numeration as well as enrollment in the Supplementary Education Program - Phase II (Fase II do Programa Supletivo) and
the production of a video-tape, "To Educate is to Discover" (Educar é Descobrir), focusing on the Freire method.

The Culture Circles in Ceilândia had been supported since 1985 by the community's youth, by the students at the Escola Normal, and ultimately by the community churches (Garrafa, 1989, 13). In August 1986 the Núcleo Paulo Freire lost the institutional support from the Educational Foundation (Fundação Educational); however, the commitment to the community and the support of organized groups ensured the continuity of the program, and the Center was transferred to another site, to the Igreja da Glória.

The University of Brasília became active in the community in 1987, by helping the Center with technical support and facilities, through the Extension Permanent Center (Garrafa, 1986, p. 11) and through Project Rondon. The University of Brasília's participation greatly intensified the Center's activities. In 1988 two University of Brasília students and about a hundred twenty youngsters from Ceilândia participated in the project, helping a total of 1,182 community members to become literate (Garrafa, 1989, p. 27).

The most important results from this experience are recorded in Garrafa's report (1989, pp. 27, 28). They were the efficacy of the Freire method (confirmed by systematic evaluations), which promoted a geographic expansion of the method, and the creation of opportunities for the community's youth to actively participate in the experience. Providing youth's participation in the project not only allowed them to interfere in their own socioeconomic and
historical reality but also allowed them to contribute, as scholarship recipients, to their families' income.

The Adult Education Program developed by the University of Brasília in 1988 at the community of Paranoá (Garrafa, 1989, p. 55) aimed at (1) supporting educational programs that allowed participants to acquire political strategies and knowledge which are pedagogically adequate to the community's assessed needs; (2) developing university research that resulted in the elaboration of pedagogical proposals which were innovative and adequate to the historical reality of a shanty town like Paranoá; (3) training sixteen community members in the area of adult literacy as well as providing literacy classes for eighty adults in the community; (4) making the community aware of the need for pre-school education for the young children in the community.

As a result of the Adult Education Project developed in 1988 at Paranoá, the project "Pre-School Education" (Garrafa, 1989, p. 55) was implemented. It basically involved the University of Brasília students working in alternate days with pre-school students and classroom teachers and aides.

Through the Adult Education Programs developed by the communities in which the University of Brasília was active, it is evident that Freire's concept of education for transformation was clearly developed. Community members in different communities not only benefited from learning literacy skills but also organized themselves to demand necessary improvements in the communities, taking responsibility over proposed changes.
Since the Paranoá population is essentially black or of black
descendence, as the Slavery Abolition Centennial was celebrated in
1988, the project "Hello, Hello, Africa" was developed (Garrafa,
1989, p. 55). It aimed at retrieving the cultural identity of the
Brazilian population with emphasis on the black culture roots, its
transposition to Brazil, and its integration in the Brazilian national
life. The program involved researching, promoting, and
disseminating the black culture in the community; developing
workshops in arts, sciences, and music; and developing criticism
stressing the reflection over racism and discrimination in the
Brazilian society. In retrieving the community's cultural roots and in
stimulating the criticism of its reality is Freire's emphasis on
humankind discovery of itself and its understanding of its own
history.

Programs Developed in the Southeastern Region

The Universidade Federal de Viçosa developed its adult literacy
program as a reaction to the fact that, although there have been
more than twenty-five years that both the Brazilian Literacy
Movement (Movimento Brasileiro de Alfabetização - MOBRAL) and
the EDUCAR Foundation (Fundação EDUCAR) have been active in
developing adult literacy programs, the illiteracy level in the
country is unaltered. In view of such reality, the Federal University
of Viçosa aimed at developing a project to identify which adult
literacy method is likely to meet this great social challenge in Brazil,
that is, how to teach all Brazilians how to read, write, and count. While aiming at investigating the viable alternatives for adult literacy, the project is to be transformed, in the future, in a Center for Literacy Studies and Research (Fundação Banco do Brasil & Universidade Federal de Viçosa, p. 2B).

The Literacy Project developed at the Federal University of Viçosa was aimed at its approximately 450 illiterate or semi-illiterate workers (Fundação Banco do Brasil & Universidade Federal de Viçosa, p. 3-D). The project was developed because "the Federal University of Viçosa is an educational institution and due to social justice matters, it wants to offer such employees a life improvement tool" (Fundação Banco do Brasil & Universidade Federal de Viçosa, p. 2).

The Education Department at the Federal University of Viçosa developed in 1986, 1987, and 1988 three weeks of intensive studies with specialists in the field of adult literacy (Fundação Banco do Brasil & Universidade Federal de Viçosa, p. 2). The expected social benefits of the program concern "the worker's self-realization of the use of his/her right to access the cultural assets historically accumulated by the society, as well as the worker's better performance in the institution" (Fundação Banco do Brasil & Universidade Federal de Viçosa, p. 2), an example of Freire's conscientization process. In 1987 and 1988 the project team worked with approximately sixty employees; forty-three of whom became literate and then requested to continue their studies up to fourth grade level.
The methodology chosen, an adaptation of the Paulo Freire Method, was based on the workers' sociohistorical reality, from which the "minimum core vocabulary" (see Chapter 3, p. 126) was determined. Reading involved the discussion of the historical meaning of words, starting from and returning to the participants' social practice (Fundação Banco do Brasil & Universidade Federal de Viçosa, p. 3). Differing from Freire's method, the "generative words" (Chapter 3, p. 126) could be altered at any time due to the workers' or the process demand. The method included a constant dialogue among teachers, students, and project coordinators, including the possibility of introducing changes in the process.

Classes met for two hours daily during working hours. The didactic resources were prepared by the teachers and by the project coordinators. The evaluation was formal. At the end of the program, participants received a certificate of attendance and performance aimed at giving the employee incentive and access to his/her internal career plan at the university (Fundação Banco do Brasil & Universidade Federal de Viçosa, p. 2).

Three literacy classes were initially formed with a capacity of twenty-five to thirty-five students in each. Two other classes were formed for the literate employees who sought completing the first four elementary levels in order to be eligible to take the final exams for supplementary education (exames de suplência) in the formal school system (Fundação Banco do Brasil & Universidade Federal de Viçosa, p. 3-D). Initiated in 1989, the project was meant to last twenty-four months.
When compared to the Freire Method, the basic differences in the methodology used at the University of Viçosa include a formal evaluation, the flexibility in altering the list of generative words, and the exclusion of the reading text to be elaborated by class participants. The latter seems to constitute a common obstacle to those who attempt to work with the Freire Method. The difficulty is explained by the amount of time necessary to carry on the activity.

The other adult education program developed by the Federal University of Viçosa, the Supplementary Education Project - fifth through eighth grade (Projeto de Educação Supletiva de 5ª a 8ª Séries - 1985) aimed at offering supplementary education to the Federal University of Viçosa employees and their fifteen-year-old or above dependents who did not have the opportunity to regularly attend school when in school age. A survey was conducted among the selected group in order to update data on employees and learn the group's reaction to the project (Universidade Federal de Viçosa, 1987, Projeto de Educação Supletiva de 5ª a 8ª Séries).

Program organizers contacted each worker's immediate supervisor who was asked to cooperate in the project by encouraging the worker in his/her area to participate in it. A total of 2,246 employees were classified as not having concluded the eighth grade; 1,986 employees received questionnaires about the project, and 1,459 questionnaires were returned (Universidade Federal de Viçosa, 1987, Projeto de Educação Supletiva de 5ª a 8ª Séries).
The results found generated the creation of the Workers' Education Program (Programa de Atendimento Educacional aos Servidores) which included: (1) Literacy and Supplementary Education Classes - first through fourth grades (Alfabetização e supletivo de 1ª grau/Fase I - 1ª a 4ª séries) developed by the Department of Education in agreement with the EDUCAR Foundation, and (2) Supplementary Education Classes - fifth through eighth grades (Supletivo de 1º grau/Fase II - 5ª a 8ª séries) to be developed through the Supplementary Education Program (Programa de Educação Supletiva), including seven subjects, developed by the National Foundation for the Needy Child (Fundação Nacional do Bem Estar do Menor - FUNABEM) (Universidade Federal de Viçosa, 1987, Projeto de Educação Supletiva de 5ª a 8ª Séries).

All employees studied during working hours; they were released from their working duties a total of sixteen monthly hours. The program for Supplementary Classes were to last four years. Both programs were a result of the government mandate, Portaria n° 26, issued by the Minister of Education, Mr. Marcos Maciel, and were sponsored by the university's Educational Support Unit (Unidade de Apoio Educacional) (Universidade Federal de Viçosa, 1987, Projeto de Educação Supletiva de 5ª a 8ª Séries).
At the Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina, the Adult Literacy Program (M. G. S. dos Santos & M. C. Muzzi, 1985, interview, October 3, 1988) was promoted by the Personnel Department as a response to the request made by university employees for a literacy program to be implemented on the campus. After surveying that a large number of illiterate employees were interested in the program, the Personnel Department requested assistance from the Education Department and the project was carried on.

The project was developed with the assistance of two university professors and two graduate students who were committed to work with the group. Several meetings were carried on in order to determine the needs and objectives of the group. The first claim made by the employees was that classes should be held during working hours since university professors and other employees were granted the right to attend classes, congresses, and meetings during their working hours. For the project organizers (M. G. S. dos Santos & M. C. Muzzi, interview, October 3, 1988), such claim came as a concrete evidence of the group's awareness about their rights, and the administration conceded that classes took place during working hours.

The work was centered in the social reality of the Federal University of Santa Catarina employees. After surveying about the vocabulary that would mostly represent their reality, the word
COMMUNITY (COMUNIDADE) was chosen to initiate the activities, in order to allow the concept to be extended from the university community to their own living community (M. G. S. dos Santos, interview, October 3, 1988). In the first class, a presentation of the university community was made: the vice-rector, the pro-rector, the assistants involved in the project, as well as university members representing different hierarchial administrative positions in different sectors were invited to speak to the classes, in an informal presentation, about their roles in the university community. The strategy was not only a means of developing the concept of "community" but also a means of making the university community aware of and involved in the project. At the end of the first class, students in META II (level 2) could write the word "comunidade" with no difficulties.

The subsequent classes were developed in such way that monitors would elicit from students, through discussions, the word selected to be the "generative" word (M. G. S. dos Santos, interview, October 3, 1988). The words had been previously selected from the vocabulary survey which resulted in the minimum core vocabulary. As students came up with the word, a text, centered on the theme represented in that word, would be developed. However, due to time constraints and participants' (group members and monitors) working overload, the writing of texts was not developed as extensively as it should have been with each individual group.

To enable participants to develop greater awareness of others was another goal of the program, which resulted in participants
helping each other at all times (M. C. Muzzi, interview, October 3, 1988). Since each class had employees from different university sectors, the exchange of information was extensive, which broadened students' awareness of the university community. The project was not expected to exercise attendance control over the literacy class participants, as not to add to the social pressure employees already go through in their daily lives. Attendance was to be seen as a volunteer, as a desired action. However, because a number of participants utilized, for personal business, the time allocated for attending classes, the group saw it necessary to control class attendance (M. G. S. dos Santos, interview, October 3, 1988).

The program also developed students' perceptions of their role in both the university community and their own communities. Students analyzed the kind of work they did, what they used to do, what they would be able to do as a consequence of their participation in the literacy classes, and how their lives would be affected in both communities (Santos & Muzzi, 1985). They critically examined the fact that the literacy classes as well as the university would not solve their problems, but that the classes would be a means of helping them seek solutions and alternatives.

The classes examined the university's obligation at facilitating their access to learning as well as other obligations it had with them (M. G. S. dos Santos, interview, October 3, 1988). They examined the issues of rights and obligations of each party, employers and employees, realizing that having received some benefits such as literacy classes was not the end of the struggle for many other
deserved benefits. They were constantly developing their critical analysis.

M. C. Muzzi (interview, October 3, 1988) comments on the fact that as individual employees finished the program they were called to help in the development of the program for new classes, since the struggle, although involving different socioeconomic classes, concerned mainly their class, the lower socioeconomic employees. The group became aware that among themselves there were individuals able to carry on demands on their behalf even better than other employees in positions, sectors or classes hierarchically above them. Employees in various departments became involved with the project as monitors.

Although the adult literacy program developed by the Federal University of Santa Catarina did not present a purely Freirean framework, by not including class participants in the planning process and by not extensively developing in-class texts, it followed the Freire method very closely. Most important, it stressed the constant critical analysis of class participants' living conditions, in the past, in the present, and what they would foresee for the future. Freire's conscientization process was most valued in the literacy process (M. G. S. dos Santos, interview, October 3, 1988).

Concerning the problems found in the development of the project, Santos & Muzzi (interview, October 3, 1988) commented on the lack of support from other university personnel, on the working overload that university professors and assistants carried, on the shortage of monitors, on the drop-out rates of participants, and on
the lack of financial support. The project was to extend itself and reach the communities outside the campus, but due to the problems mentioned, it was kept within the university boundaries. The fact that policies for the development of the project were determined by the Personnel Department and did not involve the literacy class participants contributed to the limited success of the program.

The adult literacy program at the Federal University of Santa Catarina began in 1985 with four instructional levels (M. C. Muzzi, interview, October 3, 1988). In 1988, level 1 (META I) offered to those who have never been to school, started with nine students; level 2 (META II) offered to those who had attended school at any level between first through fourth grade, started with six students; level 3 (META III) offered to those who were beyond fourth grade level but who did not complete primary schooling (8 years), started with seventeen students. The highest level and the largest group was the supplementary education level (SUPLETIVO) which started with forty-two students, declining later on to thirty-five. The program was affected since its beginning by the numerous and constant strikes the federal university system has gone through in the past years. Such events have brought about a series of difficulties for both instructors and students due to the lack of continuity the program suffers every time a strike occurs, resulting in a higher than expected drop-out rate of class participants.

One of the most significant aspects and an interesting detail in the project emphasized by Delvia V. F. Carvalho (interview, October 3, 1988) was the fact that the adult literacy class participants were
registered as regular university students. They were, therefore, eligible for university student ID cards, transportation passes, and all privileges university students had; they were part of the student body. They received folders and materials pertinent to the program and they would exhibit them as an identification of belonging to the Federal University of Santa Catarina community. The development of the Adult Literacy and Supplementary Education programs at the Federal University of Santa Catarina certainly indicates that the university has opened its doors not only to the knowledgeable ones but also to those who seek education since its very beginning. It is an evidence that the university is opening its doors to the different levels of students and learning.

Alternative education programs have been in existence for approximately four decades; however, they were most successful in Brazil during the late 1950s and early 1960s under the sponsorship of governments concerned with socioeconomic and educational disparities in the country. Paulo Freire, the major exponent in Adult Literacy programs, was recognized nationally and internationally after the success of the Angicos experiment, a combination of literacy skills with "conscientization." The Paulo Freire Method is still in use today in most adult literacy programs, an integral part of community development programs carried on by Brazilian universities in favor of the socioeconomically deprived populations.

Adult Literacy programs developed under a Freirean perspective are further analyzed in Chapter 5. Taking different political approaches, programs developed outside the university
boundaries overtly confront the social order while those developed within the university boundaries seek to compromise with it. However, it is in the confrontation with the socioeconomic and political system, that is, in the liberation of the individual from the oppressing society, that the Freire's method excels. To compromise with the social order is to simply teach adults how to read and write, not to act upon the individual's reality in order to transform it, which is the essence of Freire's literacy method.

The following chapter concentrates on a detail description of community development programs. The most effective educational alternatives, given that they focus on overall development, community development programs utilize an interdisciplinary structure aiming at several development areas concomitantly. Adult literacy and education programs, following a Freirean approach, are a major component in community development programs.
CHAPTER 4

Community Development Programs

The University Reform of 1968 established three basic functions for the Brazilian university: teaching, research, and services (extension programs). Of all three, extension is the area that has received the least financial, political, and academic support; Teaching is mandatory, research is financed and maintained by both government and private business, while extension programs are left to be developed if and when necessary, if and when funding is available. Community development projects are either carried out by the extension department or by individual academic departments in different universities. Due to the little importance and limited resources placed in extension programs and, consequently, in community development programs, academic departments and student body are more likely to participate in the programs on a volunteer basis, most of the times as part of their academic program. The low academic return universities have from students who have completed their experiences in community development programs is one of the obstacles universities find. In other words, it is unlikely for students to apply knowledge gained during their field experiences in the regular classroom, in consonance to the regular curriculum. Practical experiences and theoretical universe are still dissociated from each other in the regular classroom.
A number of community development programs have been developed by Brazilian universities; however, there is an evident lack of accurate reports and appropriate statistic support. The major trend has been to develop programs based on action-research in which researchers develop projects in loco with active and intense participation of community members. On this topic, L. F. da Silva (interview, October 7, 1988) points out that one of the reasons for such trend might be the attitude that research has taken in Brazil towards qualitative research:

The belief that quantitative research did not suit social research allied with limited knowledge of statistical procedures and lack of appropriate equipment to support quantitative research has lead to an abundance of qualitative research without the support of statistical evidence. (L. F. da Silva, interview, October 7, 1988)

However, L. F. da Silva stresses that towards the late 1980s, a new emphasis on qualitative research supported by quantitative research has been developed among researchers and in graduate programs.

**Projeto Rondon**

Community development programs had formal and official university participation through the Project Rondon (Projeto Rondon). The creation of Project Rondon can be established as the beginning of a joint effort among federal, state, and municipal governments and universities in promoting community development programs in Brazil involving active university
participation. Project Rondon was informally initiated by a group action in July 1967. A group of students from the Universidade do Estado da Guanabara spent their school vacation with a university professor in the Territory of Rondônia in the interior of the Northern Region (Mulford, 1983, p. 52). In her report about study-services in Brazil, Monal (1984) documents that "thirty students participated in the Projeto Rondon in 1967, but in 1979 the figure had risen to 91,781. A total of 493,103 students worked in this project between 1967 and 1979" (Monal, 1984, p. 13). The differences in the settings made it evident to the group that university curriculum and action were disassociated from the nation's underdevelopment problems. The students realized that to help promote national development, knowledge and technology acquired at the university level had to be shared with needy communities in order to enable them to find their own solutions within their local reality. A year passed with university and student movements in support of Project Rondon.

Project Rondon was formally established in 1968 as a federal agency "with the dual purpose of broadening university students' education within the scope of national socioeconomic problems while assisting in the development of most poverty-stricken areas in the country" (Mulford, 1983, p. 52). The philosophy of the project was to help the poor by teaching them how to meet their own needs by means of improving health and living conditions and working towards agricultural improvement. Mulford points out that because Project Rondon involved many socioeconomic issues, it became part
of the Ministry of Interior (responsible for economic development) instead of the Ministry of Education.

In her remarks about Project Rondon, Mulford (1983, p. 52) interprets the creation of Project Rondon at national level as a consequence of the student unrest and the national political trauma of the 1960s. Castro claims that it became a governmental response to providing higher education students with a more realistic education. It confronted them with the differences between the traditional European classroom and Brazilian reality, and made them more aware of the difficulties the Brazilian government faced while attempting to solve social and educational problems.

The program consisted of sending university students and faculty members from diverse departments to poor regions for a month during their vacation to work with the local population. Program participants were volunteers, usually seniors, with high scholastic ability. Project Rondon organizers considered "the students' efforts to be a practical and voluntary contribution towards the country's integration and economic development" (Monal, 1984, p. 13). They emphasized that students had to make up the month's work and received neither extra credit nor payment for the time they were involved in the program (Mulford, 1983, PP. 53-54). Medical and dental services, training programs, and programs in hygiene, in sanitation, in education, in water treatment, and in agricultural techniques were among the services provided to the communities. Most important of all was to develop community
spirit and to give members the skills to continue the work on their own after the students had left the region.

As ideological as the program may seem, it held advantages for both students and communities. However, Mulford (1983) reveals that the relatively short period of time (one month) working with the community, the scarcity of resources, and the inadequacy of training for the students enrolled in the program were among the problems encountered and criticisms made of the program. Closer assistance by faculty members, greater faculty and staff participation, and more training seminars were suggested to solve these problems. The preparation was to be done before the group going to the field.

In 1975, Project Rondon became a foundation giving state coordinators more flexibility in dealing with universities and government officials. The program, initially nationwide, came under regional control due to high costs. Students were soon to work directly with unofficial community leaders, eliminating the bureaucratic function of local governments as intermediaries. Proposals were made for universities not only to take greater responsibility over the program but also to restructure themselves in order to do so. "The function of Project Rondon is to change the community, the university - and everything. The structure of the university must change to take on the objectives of Project Rondon" (D. F. Emereciano, cited in Mulford, 1983, p. 53).

Project Rondon has been adapted to the political and socioeconomic changes within the country. However, its initial goal
of helping in the development of poor communities was never lost. Mulford (1983, p. 54) comments on one of the significant changes which occurred in Project Rondon, the creation of the Interiorization Program (Programa de Interiorização e Mão-de-Obra). It places graduates for one or two years in remote areas with government support. Its objective is to provide young people with the opportunity to gain support from the local community or to become self-supporting so they decide to stay in the region. Until 1983, 70% of those who started in the program were still in the community where they were first placed.

Project Rondon was still in existence until late 1980s, coordinating a total of twenty-two advanced campuses among other activities. Its principles underlie most of the community development programs in effect throughout the nation. The advanced campuses were developed by Project Rondon as "national operations, which (took) place during the vacation period in regions other than the place of study" (Monal, 1984, p. 13). The main objectives of an advanced campus as listed in the Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina Participant's Manual (1981) were: to provide university students with field experiences related to the nation's needs, to enable communities to participate in their own development process, and to make it possible for institutions of higher education to effectively participate in national socioeconomic

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29Advanced Campus (Campus Avançado) is the name given by Project Rondon to the area, far from the university site, where a university establishes its community development programs.
development reinforcing the importance of extension. The majority of universities involved in the program were located in the Southern and Southeastern regions, and the majority of the campuses were located in the Northern and Northeastern regions.

University Programs

Programs Developed in the Northern Region

At the Fundação Universidade do Amazonas, as discussed by M. Garrett, P. R. G. da Silva, and L. F. da Silva (interview, October 7, 1988), the majority of extension programs, which include community development programs, have been carried out by individual departments. The most significant community development projects developed in the mid 1980s involving the College of Education were: Project My Son (Projeto Meu Filho), Family School (Escola em Família), and Coroados (M. Garrett, interview, October 7, 1988).

Projeto Meu Filho, which aimed at educating the street children in Manaus, was financed by the Canadian government. Street children are undoubtedly the most scandalous problem in Brazil, a country already full of socioeconomic and political scandals. The tragic social dilemma involves millions of children who are simply abandoned in the streets, living in gangs, sleeping under bridges, surviving by petty crime. Sader (cited in Vesilind, 1987) attests in his survey about street children in Brazil that the police is known to
beat street children to make them confess to crimes that they have not committed. In the city of São Paulo alone, at least one child is killed by the police each day, but frequently more. The scandal becomes even worse when such events are perceived by the population as something normal, as something that is part of daily life.

The project in Manaus as described by M. Garrett (interview, October 7, 1988) consisted of setting up tents in public parks in order to attract the children. A team of teachers, social workers, counselors, and psychologists worked with the children on a full-time basis trying to keep the children away from the streets in a nonformal educational environment. However, it was poorly planned. The tents were set up in public parks, a noisy environment that at no time offered an educational environment. The lack of rest rooms and water fountains forced the children to leave the "school grounds." The lack of appropriate furniture contributed to the difficulty of developing good study and social habits. Although the project was well intentioned, it did not meet its original goals. It did reach children from low income families who could not enroll in public schools due to shortage of vacancies. The street children, the project's targets, were rarely reached. It was more likely for street children to show up during meals and then disappear. "Even more degrading," observes Garrett, "was the fact that the 'schools for street children' became a tourist attraction in Manaus" (M. Garrett, interview, October 7, 1988). The project staff recommended the program be transferred to a more appropriate setting. A warehouse
was adapted into a school building. Presently the program has continued successfully attending to the education, nutrition, and socialization of children from low income families. The street children remain on the streets.

The project *Escola em Família* was developed in Manaus due to the lack of school facilities in the region (M. Garrett, interview, October 7, 1988). Activities developed in this project may be compared to the multi-grade one-room schools found in some rural areas in the U.S. It aimed at creating educational facilities for children who were not attending schools because schools had reached their enrollment capacity. A number of certified teachers was selected to teach a small group of children at the instructors' home. The state provided teachers with salaries, school meals, and didactic materials. A team of supervisors was specifically created to supervise such schools. Although the program was achieving positive results, it was phased out during its evaluation stage due to political changes in government. Since the project was not part of the new governor's political platform, it was abandoned as the new state government officials took office (M. Garrett, interview, October 7, 1988). There has never been a follow-up evaluation.

Coroados is one of the needy communities that has received greatest benefits from the work developed by the University of Amazonas (M. Garrett, interview, October 7, 1988). It is located in an area that belongs to the university and which was invaded by the socioeconomic less privileged populations and made into a slum. The municipal authorities and the university have been working
together in offering its residents a number of community development programs in the areas of education, sanitation, and health, among others.

When speaking of the problems faced in developing educational programs within the different communities in Coroados, M. Garrett (interview, October 7, 1988) commented on: (1) the bad conditions of school facilities and of the environment. In most cases, the school environment is considered inappropriate for educational and intellectual activities to take place; (2) the existing linguistic conflict. Within the student body, children coming from Indian communities or from different regions are socially discriminated by their peers because of their speech. The project plans to develop bilingual programs that attend to the needs of the children with different linguistic backgrounds; (3) the high percentage of drop-outs and repeating students. Teachers' efforts have not been enough to maintain high retention and avoid high drop-out rates.

Although many schools can count on a good teaching staff, their efforts are lost in the middle of a heterogeneous age group of students and the lack of sufficient, quality furniture, of textbooks and didactic materials, and in a vicious environment that exerts a negative influence upon the children (M. Garrett, interview, October 7, 1988). Furthermore, children who would merely attend classes with a minimum of participation were still counted for attendance and enrollment. The result is that such children are considered inaccurately as part of the statistics on educated population in Brazil.
The inaccurate statistical data on school enrollment in Brazilian schools was also discussed by Coombs (1985, p. 78). He wrote of the data provided in UNESCO's 1981 Statistical Yearbook, a reported first grade gross enrollment ratio (GER) of 89. After analyzing the data on net enrollment, on school wastage, and on children never enrolled, Coombs concluded that only one out of four children was likely to reach the eighth grade, the last grade in elementary education. Coombs's observations were certainly much closer to the Brazilian school enrollment reality than the initial estimated statistics reported by UNESCO. Related to the same problem, Chapman and Boothroyd conducted a study on "The Threats to Data Quality in Developing Country Settings." They claimed that: "Errors in reporting school-level data in developing countries stem from three problems: (1) failure to report data, (2) intentional reporting of false data, and (3) unintentional reporting of inaccurate data" (Chapman & Boothroyd, 1988, p. 417).

Despite the much work still to be done in favor of the socioeconomic underprivileged, M. Garrett, P. R. G. da Silva, and L. F. da Silva (interview, October 7, 1988) affirmed that the quality of life among the region's poor populations has significantly improved over the last decade as a result of both university and government efforts. Among the indicators used in the region to measure improvement in quality of life Garrett, P. Silva, and L. Silva mentioned: the increased interest of communities in participating in the educational process, demonstrated by the gradual increase in the number of community members involved in educational
activities and in community meetings involving educational issues; community participation in development programs and their maintenance; the gradual increase in the number of community members involved in these programs; the availability of electricity, which made possible the acquisition of electrical appliances necessary to improve living conditions; the acquisition of fans, a needed survival tool in Manaus due to its climate, and not a luxury item; the acquisition of TV sets which enable the community to become more informed; and among the more educated, more control over pregnancies, which significantly decreased the number of children born.

During her October 7, 1988 interview, M. Garrett also outlined the Department of Education's efforts to focus its graduate program on the true educational needs of the region's population. With this goal in mind, research projects focusing on the study of linguistic and anthropological aspects of the various Indian speech forms have been developed, involving community development programs parallel to the students' academic development. Thus, a multiplicity of studies have emerged from such orientation and many of them emphasize Indian minorities.

Garrett (interview, October 7, 1988) commented on three research projects involving Indian minorities. The first has been financed by the Institute for Educational Research (Instituto de Pesquisas Educacionais - INEP). It studies, under a psycho-sociolinguistic approach, the bilingual condition of Indian children who live on the periphery of Manaus. The bilingual
condition occurs when the family uses a general language or other informal language which is not grammatically formulated and that differs from the language used in the school setting in phonological, syntactic, and semantic aspects. The hypothesis in the study stated that children from different linguistic backgrounds have a high level of anxiety due to their speech. The children felt socially discriminated by both peers and teachers, even though teacher discrimination would occur unconsciously. The study aimed at identifying students' and teachers' behavior patterns and recommending solutions for the integration of minority Indian children into the regular classrooms.

The second Indian-minority research project was related to the perception of Indian communities in elementary and secondary level textbooks (M. Garrett, interview, October 7, 1988). It investigated how textbooks approached the Indian tribe living conditions. The work has been developed by visiting, studying, and analyzing different Indian tribes. Following this phase, it analyzed how accurate customs and traditions were presented in textbooks in order to represent Indian cultures more accurately.

The third Indian minority project discussed during M. Garrett's October 7, 1988 interview concerned speech deficiencies among Indian children. It assessed linguistic differences that need to be overcome in order to better integrate Indian children in the school linguistic universe.

The Universidade Federal do Pará in conjunction with other institutions of higher education in the Amazon region developed the
Interiorization Project for the North (Projeto Norte de Interiorização) to confront the issue of community development in a broader perspective than usual. The work consists of starting new university campuses in the interior of the Amazon region and taking responsibility for several Advanced Campuses maintained in the region by universities located in the South and Southeast. The project seeks to promote educational and socioeconomic improvements in the area by using a combination of formal and nonformal education involving Distance Learning programs, focusing on the concept of the Open University and Community Development programs (Universidade Federal do Pará, Projeto Norte de Interiorização, p. 2).

The project brochure indicates that twenty-five new university campuses are to be located in the interior of six states located in three different geographical regions, Northern, Northeastern, and Central-Western. The activities to be developed in each campus are considered a priority for regional development and they include: (1) Teacher Certification Programs (Cursos de Licenciatura): to improve elementary and secondary teaching skills in order to strengthen the basic education level in the region; (2) Retraining Programs (Cursos de Reciclagem): to help professionals improve their skills in various areas; (3) Training Programs (Projetos de Capacitação): to train professionals to meet the community needs; (4) Artistic and Cultural Programs (Projetos Artístico-Culturais): to identify and strengthen the communities' cultural activities, seeking to retrieve and maintain regional traditions; (5) Applied Research Programs
(Projetos de Pesquisa Aplicada): to encourage regional institutions as well as individual communities to develop research projects which will enable them to better understand the problems and the potential of the Amazon region; (6) Community Development Projects (Projetos de Trabalho Comunitário) (following the Freirean conscientization approach): to develop communities' critical consciousness regarding their socioeconomic reality and to increase their intervention capacity in search of solutions for their problems (Universidade Federal do Pará, Projeto Norte de Interiorização, p. 4).

The human and financial support for the development of the project involves the joint participation of all institutions interested in the region's development. As a consequence, the Interiorization Project for the North expects to improve the level of basic education in the Amazon Region; to retain qualified human resources in the interior of the Amazon Region; to promote the access of students in the interior to higher education; to improve the knowledge concerning the regional problems; to match universities' action with regional needs; to prepare professionals engaged with the regional interests; and to retrieve and maintain regional traditions (Universidade Federal do Pará, Projeto Norte de Interiorização, p. 5).

In conjunction with the Interiorization Project for the North, the Federal University of Pará offers short courses in specific training areas according to the interest and needs of individual communities. The programs are developed based on the principle that the relationship among extension programs, research activities, and teaching must continuously bring together the university to the
society. Among the 35 short courses developed under the responsibility of the Projeto de Interiorização, the ones more closely related to the education field are: (1) Music education: to promote activities that enable participants to develop their musical potential and utilize the musical language as a means of communication. (2) Preservation of the cultural memory: to develop the sense of preservation of the local historical, artistic, and cultural memory through activities such as cultural events, advertising materials, etc. (3) Organization of local folkloric activities: to promote activities that enable the preservation and development of local folklore stressing it to be the cultural aspect that differentiates each region. (4) Professional training at the middle school level: to train Nursing Aid professionals at the middle school level. (5) Foreign languages retraining program: offering English, French, German, and Spanish programs to applicants to the teacher training programs. Most of the remaining were job-related, professional-training projects (Universidade Federal do Pará, Projeto de Interiorização da UFPa, pp. 24-35).

Within the scope of nonformal education, the Federal University of Pará has also developed a project aimed at locating alternative forms of education developed both at the formal and nonformal education levels in twenty-one municipalities in Pará (Santos, 1988, pp. viii, 38). Nazilda Santos coordinated the project entitled "Evaluation of Alternative Education Experiments" (Avaliação de Formas Alternativas de Educação). It was initiated in October 1986 by the Superintendence for the Development of the
Amazon (Superintendência do Desenvolvimento da Amazônia - SUDAM) and the Federal University of Pará Education Center (Centro de Educação da Universidade Federal do Pará), and started in May 1987 (Santos). Due to the diversity of groups contacted, of educational practices, and people involved, the free interview with a flexible guideline was chosen. The data was intentionally processed to outline the qualitative aspects of the interviews.

The study coordinated by Santos (1988, p. 44) shows that eighty-three educational programs were investigated in twenty-one municipalities. A total of fifty-eight alternative education programs were found, nine in the formal education system, two at the elementary level and seven at the secondary level (Santos, p. 112), and forty-nine in the nonformal education system (Santos, p. 114) in the areas of Health (1), Training (2), Socialization (35), Preschool/literacy (3), and Group Conscientization (8). Aims and objectives of each area were:

(1) Health: to maintain and recover man's physical health under the belief that a healthy body contributes to the intellectual development. Preventive and therapeutic programs in nutrition, hygiene, sanitary education, and socialization were developed (Santos, 1988, pp. 45, 113).

(2) Training: to train socioeconomic underprivileged children and adolescents with the objective of placing them in the job market, providing them with better living conditions (Santos, 1988, pp. 45, 113).
(3) Socialization: developed by governmental agencies, programs aimed at integrating the socioeconomic underprivileged children and adolescents in the social environment by preparing them for jobs and sales and keeping them away from delinquency (Santos, 1988, pp. 45, 114).

(4) Pre-school and literacy: to prepare children and adolescents for elementary school, through a methodology that allowed them to participate effectively in their education; the programs originated as an alternative for the official educational system that does not include mandatory pre-school and literacy classes (Santos, 1988, pp. 45, 114).

(5) Group conscientization: to promote group organization and conscientization. Most activities were promoted by the Catholic Church. These aimed at reconstructing moral and social values through political action. Through a progressive interpretation of the Bible, participants developed group organization and conscientization (Santos, 1988, pp. 45, 114). Aimed at the socioeconomic underprivileged classes where activities easily proliferated, community groups were organized and started struggles, among which was the demand for education.

Programs Developed in the Northeastern Region

The Universidade Federal de Pernambuco's participation in community development programs involved three major projects developed in socioeconomic underprivileged areas around the city
of Recife, the state capital. Despite of the fact that some of the programs were initiated in the late 1970s, they were still developed through the 1980s. The projects were; *Projeto Vasco da Gama*, *Projeto Várzea*, and *Projeto Vila da Prata-Torre*.

In her report on the *Projeto Vasco da Gama*, Wanick states that the general objective of the program is "to promote the social function of the Brazilian university, particularly the Federal University of Pernambuco, as an institution engaged with the socioeconomic, political, and cultural problems of the region in which it is located" (Wanick, 1984, p. 12) In relation to the project's specific objectives, and concerning the educational area, it aims at "testing new teaching/learning techniques related to students' practice in the form of field experience, informal education, and community action" (Wanick, p. 13).

Wanick (1984, p. 18) also notes that the number of participants in the interdisciplinary teams, and their academic background, is not pre-determined throughout the project. It varies according to the demand expressed by the community in interaction with the university team. The interdisciplinary teams focus the work in the areas of informal, popular, and adult education, primary health assistance, domestic and community relationships, legal assistance, and recreation, sports, leisure, and cultural events.

Despite the fact that the community of Vasco da Gama faces difficult living conditions, the community's view of education is a concerned one (Wanick, 1984, p. 6). Community members give great importance to their children's education as the only means of social
mobility. Community members see the low salaries they receive as a consequence of their lack of education. The community of Vasco da Gama has an extremely reduced number of university students in it. The highest concentration of students is found in the elementary level (first four grades) and in the pre-school level. There is a significant number of illiterates in the community.

It is documented in Wanick's report (1984, p. 2) that the Projeto Vasco da Gama was initiated in 1976 in order to offer health assistance to more than 50,000 inhabitants of a low socioeconomic community in the area of Recife. However, in 1980, educational and social programs were integrated in the project giving it a community development dimension. Wanick emphasizes the importance for university participants to "hear" and "learn" community members' perception of the project development, how the project's deficiencies, positive aspects, and gaps were viewed by the community. Towards the end of the project's eighth year of functioning, Wanick proposed a redefinition of the Projeto Vasco da Gama. Among other justifications, Wanick claims that the project:

increases the conditions which favor the social function of the Brazilian university, an institution that in gathering the intellectual elites must necessarily commit itself to the search of solutions that would alleviate the problems of the low socioeconomic populations and (that) it discusses and seeks for more efficient ways to promote community organization as a main factor of improving the living conditions of the socioeconomic underprivileged populations. (Wanick, 1984, p. 2)

In order to facilitate the development of the Project, the area where Vasco da Gama is located was divided into 11 subareas.
Although there is great concern among community members about education, there are only few schools available. Wanick (1984, pp. 8-11) cites only three areas in which some work has been done in the educational area:

**Alto da Favela**: There are no public schools in this location; there is only one private school. Among five community groups formed at Alto da Favela, one dealt directly with an alternative form of education, the Educational TV Group (Grupo do Telecurso). It was organized in a joint effort between the Municipal Government of Recife (Prefeitura da Cidade do Recife - PCR) and the Guararapes Foundation (Fundação Guararapes) whose program corresponds to the national Educational TV program (Wanick, 1984, p. 8).

**Alto 13 de maio**: Five community schools were established in this area where there were only one pre-school (literacy only) and one nursing school, under the responsibility of a lay teacher and a trainee nurse. Both schools function in the facilities of the Domino Association (Liga de Dominó Marcílio Dias) a community group (Wanick, 1984, pp. 8-9).

**Jardim Novo Mundo**: The community has organized the Club of the Thirteen (Clube dos Treze) which lends its facilities to the support of literacy and job training classes. The first is sponsored by the Brazilian Literacy Movement (Movimento Brasileiro de Alfabetização - MOBRAL) while the latter is sponsored by the Industry Social Service (Serviço Social da Indústria - SESI) (Wanick, 1984, pp. 10-11).
The Projeto Várzea was created as a means to increase the Federal University of Pernambuco's extension activities at the same time it served as a field experience activity for the university students. The Bairro da Várzea, the site where the project has been developed, is a shanty town located alongside the university campus. According to the report on the Projeto Várzea (Universidade Federal de Pernambuco, Projeto Várzea, n.d., p. 1), the project started in 1978 with the denomination Community Health Project in Várzea (Projeto de Saúde Comunitária da Várzea). The work was planned to be initiated in the community schools, mainly involving the students' parents. Therefore, schools were contacted and school teachers, principals, and parents were interviewed. Three areas were stressed during the interviews: parents' expectations in relation to their children's education, issues about the functioning of the school, and community problems. The data collected was displayed in colorful graphics which were used in parents' meetings. As the debates proceeded, the main issues of community problems and educational responsibility became predominant, resulting in the formation of two groups of approximately twenty-five members each to discuss the topic. As the meetings continued, fewer school parents and more community members participated in them, and the project acquired more characteristics of a community work than of a school activity.

In the Projeto Várzea report (Universidade Federal de Pernambuco, Projeto Várzea, n.d., pp. 1-2) it is also revealed that about a year later, in 1979, the project was restructured,
characterized by community group work, by an increase in the number of groups involved, by the use of funds allocated for the project, and by the change in its focus which involved an interdepartmental experience for the Federal University of Pernambuco participants. The university participants assisted the community in their various activities, that is, group meetings, health center, production groups (which included homemade preserves, arts and crafts, and spaghetti production).

According to the Project Várzea report (Universidade Federal de Pernambuco, 1981, pp. 2-3), from January 1981 until August of the same year, the activities of Project Várzea expanded. There was an increase in the number of community groups, from six to twelve, and of community participants in the meetings. More community members became involved in the community problems, and there was a significant improvement in the level of discussions concerning problems more directly related to each group. During this period, approximately forty-five meetings were held with an average attendance of twenty participants, and two hundred home visits and eleven hundred medical visits were made.

The 1981 report (Universidade Federal de Pernambuco, 1981, p. 6) also documents that the topics of greatest concern in the group discussions involved infra-structure problems (water, sewage, etc.), the demand for a secondary school, health problems, the functioning of the health center, and the reorganization of the work to be done, which involved restructuring existing community groups and
creating new ones with the objective of demanding improvements in the community.

The 1981 report (Universidade Federal de Pernambuco, 1981, pp. 6, 7) still shows changes in the production groups. The homemade preserves production group, Cloves and Cinnamon Group (Grupo Cravo e Canela) increased from eight to twenty participants, with a monthly production increase from 200 kg to 600 kg, and a monthly income increase from Cr$1,400.00 (approximately US$14.00) to Cr$2,500.00 (approximately US$25.00) for each participant. The Quilt Group (Grupo da Colcha de Retalhos) involved forty participants, mostly adolescents, dedicated to the production of quilts, bed linen, table cloth, and kitchen towels. During the period from January to August 1981, the total profit of the group was equivalent to Cr$81,229.00 (approximately US$812.29), giving each participant a share of Cr$2,030.00 (approximately US$20.30) to take home. The 1981 minimum salary was approximately US$20.00.

The Projeto Vila da Prata-Torre Activity Report (Universidade Federal de Pernambuco, 1985, pp. 2-3) shows that the project was initiated in 1982 as a primary health project. In 1985, the activities developed included nursing, medical, nutritional, social, and legal assistance through the community's day-care center, the pre-school, and the health unit, as well as through home visits and community meetings.

Reis (1986) reports that in 1986 the Department of Physical Education developed the Sports for All Development Project (Projeto
de Desenvolvimento do Esporte para Todos - PDET) at Vila da Prata (population 2,200), Bairro da Torre, with the objective of providing an opportunity for Federal University of Pernambuco staff members and student body to participate in a community development activity, based on a reflexive methodology and on the philosophical principles of sports for all, aiming at improving the living conditions of the population from the Bairro da Torre. (Reis, 1986, p. 3)

An improvement in the quality of teaching as a consequence of such interaction was expected.

The philosophical principles of the program are supported in Reis's report (1986, pp. 6-7) by the notion of: (1) sports for all based on leisure, health, social integration, cultural and nature preservation, valorization of body movements, sports, and community services, (2) physical education as means of man's integral and permanent education, and (3) the historical perspective of transformation of reality through the transfer of educational activity. As described by Reis, the project involved: (1) ninety children, three to six years old, in the Projeto Vila da Prata, (2) fifty children, four to six years old, in the volunteer center Pronav/LBA, (3) one hundred ten children, three to sixteen years old, in the Santa Luzia Parochial School (Escola Aberta Paroquial Santa Luzia), and (4) sixty children, four and five years old, in the Barracão da Torre.

30 The National Volunteer Program -- Programa Nacional de Voluntárias [Pronave] -- and the Brazilian Assistance Legion -- Legião Brasileira de Assistência [LBA] -- are two of the main social service institutions in Brazil.
According to Reis (1986, p. 3), the project aimed at the development of activities based on the socioeconomic and cultural reality of the community and with the participation of community members. The program was to be developed in the community's formal system institutions, that is, schools, associations, and health units, as well as in informal groups involving children, adolescents, and adults.

Reis (1986, pp. 3, 4-5) summarizes that, above all, the project stimulated university representatives to reflect, review values, and exercise creativity, contributing to an improvement of the living conditions of the socioeconomic underprivileged populations, through activities organized at the group and community levels, in order to promote popular participation in the transformation of their social reality. As community members realized the need for more leisure and more sports areas, they organized themselves to make demands and forward their requests to the proper authorities. This way, community members developed not only the sense of community group but also the sense of fighting for causes they believe would improve their living conditions.

Despite the fact that Camaragibe is not a project directly sponsored by the Federal University of Pernambuco, there are a few faculty members involved in the project as volunteers; their actions and efforts are also documented within this context. E. R. L. Ruiz (interview, October 12, 1988) is one of the professors from the College of Education involved in the Camaragibe Project as a volunteer. She describes Camaragibe as a very poor community
close to the Federal University of Pernambuco campus. There, a seminarian, who is also a doctor, has developed a preventive medicine program. The group initiates the work by identifying the *curandeiros* in the community. A *curandeiro* is a lay person who has no formal training in medicine studies, but who is wise in using medicinal plants to cure or alleviate people's sicknesses and diseases. As attested by E. R. L. Ruiz (interview, October 12, 1988), the group also identifies youngsters who have leadership qualities and who are willing to work towards helping their community. Through group dynamics, the youngsters are asked to identify other potential participants in the community. The group requests that some community members survey among their neighbors how many children there are in a family, how many have died, death causes, diseases any family members might have, etc. Informally, the group gathers information on infant mortality rates, causes, and existing problems.

According to E. R. L. Ruiz (interview, October 12, 1988), the main objectives in the project is to enable the adolescents to help with simple health problems. More serious problems are to be referred to the health center that serves the community. The group meets systematically and community members are invited to participate in the meetings. During the meetings short presentations and hands-on experience are provided regarding planting of medicinal herbs as well as preparing medicine from such plants. Emphasis is also given to raising simple plants that help provide appropriate nutrition for children.
One of the participants is D. Graciema, one of the many illiterate *curandeiras* in the community who, among other activities, works with community members in obtaining medicine from plants residents might find and/or grow in their own community. University staff involved with community development programs request D. Graciema go to other communities and share her popular knowledge of herb medicine (E. R. L. Ruiz, interview, October 12, 1988). Ruiz stresses that for the community members, the training, the raising of plants, and the production of medicine, represent alternative solutions for health and nutrition deficiencies within their own situation. Local available resources are used at zero cost for the participants. Since D. Graciema is an illiterate adult her main concern is to pass on her knowledge of making and using herb medicine to the mothers in the community. However, although the program is a success where it is presented, D. Graciema faces difficulties with those mothers who either do not find the time or the willingness to develop their own herb medicine garden. Such mothers request that D. Graciema herself does the medicine for them or they choose to walk long distances and wait in long lines to see the doctor at the health center.

**Programs Developed in the Central-Western Region**

At the Fundação Universidade de Brasília, the Extension Department has been extremely active in community development programs due to the peculiarity of the satellite-cities that surround
Brasília. The satellite-cities, also known as dormitory-cities, are inhabited by the low socioeconomic populations that serve Brasília in most of its blue-collar and domestic job markets. The astonishing differences between the living conditions of the population in Brasília and those in the satellite-cities have been as a challenge to the University of Brasília community and to government officials. S. W. de Carvalho (interview, October 10, 1988) affirms that the University of Brasília community has, consequently, increased its efforts to help the low-income communities improve their living conditions. During the 1980s the University of Brasília has established permanent centers in three of these cities, Ceilandia, Novo Gama, and Paranoá. Through these centers the University of Brasília students and faculty members assist the communities in needed areas of development. The creation of the three permanent centers aimed at not only serving the community where the centers were implemented but it also aimed at serving the populations in the surrounding areas.

Garrafa's report (1989, pp. 13-16) documents that in 1988, a total of four hundred eighty students, twenty university professors, and fifteen field specialists were involved in different community development projects developed through the Ceilandia Permanent Center (S. W. de Carvalho, interview, October 10, 1988). Three smaller projects are involved in the Children's Rights Project (Projeto Direito da Criança): Street Children, School Children, and Day-Care Centers.
The Street Children Project (Projeto Meninos de Rua) (Garrafa, 1989, pp. 13-16) was created in 1987 with the objective of retrieving the identity and citizenry of Ceilandia's youth as the first step to break up the poverty cycle. The project was essentially developed by means of artistic activities, with great emphasis in theater, as the pedagogical instrument to retrieve the history, the citizenry, and the identity of the youngsters in Ceilândia. In this project, as described by Garrafa, the community's artist-monitors and the University of Brasília students worked in groups of two or three going to places where the Ceilandia's children could be found (parks, schools, day-care centers) and developed creative activities that required little material. Such activities involved: corporal expression, theater performance, arts and crafts, educational and sports games. Project organizers believed that children were able to develop a learning process within their own reality through their relationship with monitors, with peers, and with the material they handled and created.

The School Children Project (Projeto Meninos de Escola) (Garrafa, 1989, pp. 13-16) basically consisted of theater workshops involving an average of fifteen Ceilândia's school children per session, in the ten to eighteen year age range. The activities were coordinated by a teacher with the participation of university students, former Project Rondon participants. During the 1988 first semester, the Theater Workshops were alternated with Word Workshops, in which activities to enhance verbal and oral
expression were developed. Later on, the activity followed to train new monitors in the community to carry on the activities.

The Day-Care Centers Project (Projeto das Creches) also known as the Child's Integral Development Project (Projeto de Desenvolvimento Integral da Criança) (Garrafa, 1989, pp. 15-19) incorporated the greatest number of interdisciplinary activities, involving activities in the areas of Dentistry, Psychology, Physical Education, Drawing, Arts, Social Service, and Nutrition.

One of the main concerns of the project coordinators while working in the Ceilândia's day-care centers was to ensure that the reasons for which the day-care centers existed as institutions would not be overlooked (Garrafa, 1986, p. 16; 1989, p. 18). From a Freirean perspective, that links education with consciousness raising, it was necessary to focus the centers to the reality of the abandoned children. Coordinators had the responsibility of increasing the debate and the understanding of the structural reasons behind the problem of the abandoned child, children's rights, State obligations, and the mechanisms that might contribute to social development, that is, the need to elevate the community's sociopolitical consciousness, the community's organization, and its strategy for struggle in solving the problems.

Other projects included in the Day-Care Centers Project included the Child's Community Center and the Pre-School at the Expansão do Setor "O" (Garrafa, 1989, p. 24). The Child's Community Center (Centro Comunitário da Criança) is a pre-school created under the community's initiative and administered by the mothers
in the Ceilandia community. In the morning the school houses sixty children, three to seven years old, who are provided with classes, recreation, breakfast and lunch. Due to the limited government funding for maintenance, the mothers use the facility in the afternoons as a handcraft shop and its profit helps in maintaining the school.

The Pre-School at the Expansão do Setor "O" (Pré-Escola da Expansão do Setor "O") was created by the Ceilandia’s Residents Association and it is administered by the mothers in the community (Garrafa, 1989, p. 24). It serves forty-eight children in the three to seven age bracket in the mornings; in the afternoons, it is used by the mothers for continuing education courses.

Garrafa (1989, p. 24) notes the existence of the Bread Children Project (Projeto Meninos do Pão) carried out by a Christian Association (Associação Cristã Pró-Gente), a community organized group. It consists of working with ten children between the ages ten to thirteen, who meet twice a week to produce wheat bread previously ordered by different institutions, mainly social service agencies. Aside from teaching these children a trade, the project also allowed for the children to contribute to their families' income.

As described in Garrafa's report (1986; 1989, pp. 33-37), the activities in the educational area at the Permanent Center in Novo Gama (S. W. de Carvalho, interview, October 10, 1988) aimed at promoting the participation and the integration of the University of Brasília students and professors and the school community with the socioeconomic reality of the community. It aimed at providing
public school teachers with the subsidies that would enable them to evaluate curriculum development through different methodological propositions, comparing the impact of educational alternatives to the formal curriculum (Garrafa, 1989, pp. 33-37). Expected results were to implement curricular changes that would reflect the concrete needs of the community. Furthermore, based on a Freirean concept of education, it aimed at implementing the practice of reflecting about the reality in order to enable the community to seek solutions for the existing problems.

The educational project at Novo Gama consisted of intensively working with public school teachers, students, and community members in different areas that would enhance their participation in debates and activities leading to reflection about and action upon community problems. Garrafa (1989, pp. 36-37) documents that the deficiency in teacher training, the high teacher/student ratio per class (sixty to seventy students per teacher), the heterogeneity in the students' age and knowledge, and the high turnover of the teaching staff were some of the difficulties found to hinder pedagogical action in the community.

Despite the problems found, Garrafa registers that in 1987, an extension course preparing local teachers for the implementation of the Literacy Basic Cycle (Ciclo Básico de Alfabetização) was developed at the local public schools (Garrafa, 1989, p. 38). The Literacy Basic Cycle was mandated by the State of Goiás Secretary of Education (Secretaria de Educação do Estado de Goiás) to be implemented in all public elementary schools in 1989. Reinforcing
Freire's concept of education as opposed to the "banking" concept of education, the program consisted of weekly debates held with local teachers to discuss the local children's concrete reality and their development in the historical-cultural context, emphasizing the need to develop children's pride in their heritage and critical awareness of their environment since early educational stages. Special emphasis was given to the initial instructional levels, that is, those of pre-literacy and literacy levels.

As part of the work developed through the Permanent Center at Novo Gama, the University of Brasília participants had an active role in the development of the project at Olaria (Garrafa, 1989, pp. 40-42), a rural area near Novo Gama. Community members requested a school or a teacher to be provided for the school-age children in Olaria in order to avoid their transportation to the municipality of Pedregal, 6 kilometers away, where the nearest school was located. After several struggles with the municipal Education Secretary, the popular movement ensured the functioning of a multilevel class in the community, serving eighteen children from first to third grade.

Garrafa's 1989 report emphasizes that university assistance in community organization and mobilization at Novo Gama was better achieved through the establishment of several community groups which became involved in the debates of several issues, resulting in the increase of joint actions (Garrafa, 1989, pp. 40-46). Examples of such groups are: (1) Group Demanding a Water System for Pedregal, Pacaembú, and Céu Azul (Grupo Reivindicatório da Agua Encanada
para o Pedregal, Pacaembú, e Céu Azul), (2) Popular Movement for the Establishment of the Rural School in Pedregal (Movimento Popular pela Fixação da Escola Rural do Pedregal), (3) Senior Citizen Group (Grupo de Idosos), (4) Parents and Friends of Pedregal's Children Association (Associação de Pais e Amigos das Crianças do Pedregal), and (5) Education Commission (Comissão de Educação). Such groups developed joint conscious actions in search for alternatives to improve their living conditions, socially, economically, and politically, and they constitute concrete evidence of Freire's concept of education, education for liberation.

The Popular Movement for the Establishment of the Rural School in Pedregal (S. W. de Carvalho, interview, October 10, 1988) involved the University of Brasília participants, in 1987, in a struggle for the construction of a school in the area. The participation of the University of Brasília in the struggle consisted of permanent university assistance in the community leaders weekly meetings, in house visits, in the dissemination of information about other popular movements going on in Pedregal, and in the articulation with the appropriate University of Brasília departments as demands were made (Garrafa, p. 42). As a consequence, the community became fully involved in the movement and the school was built.

The theme "education," developed throughout the struggle, not only motivated the mobilization of the population in favor of the construction of the school building but also promoted a greater movement which valued education as a whole. Such movement
originated the Education Commission (S. W. de Carvalho, interview, October 10, 1988; Garrafa, 1989, p. 42) which aimed at discussing a joint action between the University of Brasília and the population with the objective of reviewing the community's educational process through action-reflection-action. Within the scope of the issue, the University of Brasília promoted the debate "Education - Everybody's Right" (Educação - Direito de Todos) involving about forty community leaders to discuss the theme under different perspectives.

Programs Developed in the Southern Region

Within the scope of Project Rondon, the Extension Department at the Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina has maintained throughout the years the Campus Avançado de Santarém where university students work on community development programs as part of their school experience. It is located in the state of Pará, in the Northern region, and it involves the municipalities of Santarém, Alenquer, and Monte Alegre. The program started in 1971 and it is still in existence as of this writing.

Projects developed in the 1980's are listed in theParticipant's Manual and include: (1) Training and Assistance to Small Business: aims at preparing specialized labor force and assisting small businesses, contributing to the region's business development; (2) Sociojudicial Assistance: seeks to ensure sociojudicial assistance to the needy as prescribed by Law #1060 signed on February 5, 1950;
(3) Community Development Program at the Bairro do Aeroporto: aims at providing improvement in the community living conditions through integrated action of the different areas involving social welfare; (4) Agricultural Development: seeks to encourage the cultivation of plants that enhance improvement in eating habits for the population at Bairro do Aeroporto and to create technology which is appropriate to the region's conditions; (5) Arborization Plan for Santarém and Implementation of the Municipal Arboretum; (6) Veterinary Assistance; (7) Health Programs; (8) Organization of the library at the Cultural Center: aims at supervising the library at the Casa da Cultura while orienting the technical work of library assistants (Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina, 1981).

E. Gomes (interview, October 4, 1988) explains that the project developed at the Advanced Campus in Santarém initially involved a group of ten students accompanied by professors who were sent on a monthly basis to the campus with all expenses paid by Project Rondon. Students and professors did not necessarily belong to the same academic area. However, as fewer financial resources became available from Project Rondon, it became more difficult to continue the project. Gomes notes that the concept of combining teaching, research, and extension was not reinforced through the action of Project Rondon. Project Rondon organizers would systematically recruit individual students from different academic areas to work in needed areas in Santarém. Without involving the departments in the development of the programs, students lacked direct supervision from their academic department professors in their
experience, and the link between academic development and field experience became weak. The lack of coordination among teaching, research, and extension has somewhat dissociated Project Rondon from the university, and UFSC has had a more limited participation.

E. Gomes (interview, October 4, 1988) states that in an effort to provide students with the same experience, alternatives were created without incurring, however, in the high expenses participation in Project Rondon required. The Extension Department at the Federal University of Santa Catarina relocated its program within the state boundaries, developing programs in needed areas pointed out by municipal authorities interested in having the university helping in community development. Such programs were called near campuses.31 The near campuses were also carried out by the Project Rondon as "regional operations, which take place during the vacation period in regions near the place of study" (Monal, 1984, p. 13).

The Federal University of Santa Catarina's most successful community development program, recognized by UNICEF as effective in meeting the development needs of young children (E. Gomes, interview, October 4, 1988), was the Near Campus in Canelinhas (Campus Aproximado de Canelinhas). It aimed at attending to the needs of children ages zero to six years of age, and it required an interdepartmental action, involving among others the

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31Near Campus (Campus Aproximado) is the name given to the area, close to the university site, where a given university establishes its community development programs.
Departments of Education, Social Work, Psychology, and Sanitary Engineering. In Canelinhas as in other community development programs, financial resources were limited and came from the municipal government. Funding was obtained mainly in the form of scholarships that helped university students and faculty pay for transportation and needed materials. The program lasted for four years under the Federal University of Santa Catarina's responsibility until there was a change in the state government and the new governor did not support the program. The program continued with the community’s own human resources, and the Federal University of Santa Catarina presently only contributes to it by providing limited assistance when required. The Federal University of Santa Catarina's main participation has involved recycling programs to the community members now in charge of the programs initiated under the university's supervision. The focus of the program has shifted from the immediate need of finding solutions and solving problems to the maintenance of solutions found.

In concluding the interview about community development program, E. Gomes (interview, October 4, 1988) states that the Department of Social Work at the Federal University of Santa Catarina has been the one which has had more positive results from students' and faculty members' participation in community development programs through the Extension Department. Results involved improvement in the living standards in the community, improvement in the quality of university courses, changes and improvement in the university curriculum, adapting it to a more
regional reality. Some other departments have also altered their curricula in order to include a mandatory internship in needed areas. Through the Extension Department, new areas where services are needed are detected. The interns are placed in such areas until the community is able to carry on activities on their own. As soon as that happens a new area is serviced while the previous ones are supervised as needed. No communities are abandoned as community members take the responsibility of carrying on the programs initiated by the interns.

Among the educational alternatives researched, Community Development programs were the ones most developed and most successful in their endeavors of alleviating the effects of poverty in socioeconomically underprivileged communities. Mostly developed through interdisciplinary action, programs support development in several areas concurrently promoting an overall development in favor of the target community; they essentially aim at promoting Paulo Freire's "conscientization." Involving the community since the planning phase results in high receptivity of programs; they are meaningful to individual communities because the programs are directly related to their own reality. Simultaneously, programs generate greater involvement and participation of community members. Problems and issues to be discussed and acted upon require group organization and community members take leadership.
Brazil's present formal education system evidently does not meet the needs of the majority of its population. The large percentage of the population between the ages of five and fourteen, children who live in the rural areas and in the slums and shanty towns at the periphery of the larger cities, are affected. A great percentage of the population above fourteen, the semi-professionals, as well as the illiterate and semi-literate, have also been left out of the formal education system. As a consequence of the apparent impasse in solving the education problem at national level, alternative education programs have been developed by individual universities, functioning as possible local and regional solutions for educational opportunities.

These programs reflect many of the difficulties faced by those who dedicate themselves to education. They reflect the search for new forms of education and seek to contribute to a more realistic and participatory education. A number of individuals and groups that have dedicated themselves to alternative education programs, political practice or popular engagement have remained anonymous. Furthermore, this research reveals that some of these programs originate from groups or communities based on their own needs. Others originate as a governmental response to the problems
generated by a population increase, that is, lack of school seats, lack of occupational opportunities, incompatibility between school and survival needs of children and adolescents, including problems of juvenile delinquency. Consequently, many programs developed in the area of alternative education have a provisional and immediate character.

The present research has attempted to convey the efforts of university staff and faculty members in developing educational opportunities for those populations that face difficulties in accessing the formal education system, due partly to the traditional elitism surrounding institutions of higher education. The diversity of programs, conditions, environment, and populations described indicate four main categories.

**Formal University Commitment to Social Causes**

One of the main goals set by university communities in the development of alternative education programs was the improvement of the living conditions for the populations involved. Such an objective was constant among all participating universities, Fundação Universidade do Amazonas and Universidade Federal do Pará in the Northern Region; Universidade Federal de Pernambuco in the Northeastern Region; Fundação Universidade de Brasília in the Central-Western Region; Universidade Federal do Espírito Santo and Universidade Federal de Viçosa in the Southeastern Region; and
Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina and Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul in the Southern Region.

The explicit differences among the living conditions of the governing minorities and those of the socioeconomically underprivileged populations, combined with the systematic lack of educational opportunities and consequent hindrances in development, have imposed socioeconomic, educational, and political challenges on many university communities and government officials. Consequently, universities have increased their efforts to help poor communities by developing alternative education programs that would benefit their socioeconomic development and contribute to national development. In a joint effort to meet the educational, political, and socioeconomic development needs of low-income populations, individual universities reaffirm their commitment in the struggle for social transformations, as reflected in the following statement by the Federal University of Pará and other northern institutions:

...a joint action of the higher education institutions of the Amazon region in search of means that lead institutions to better accomplish their role as support agents in the process of social transformation and as a factor of regional development. (Universidade Federal do Pará, Projeto Norte de Interiorização, n.p.)

The Federal University of Pernambuco specifically aims at:

Increasing the conditions that facilitate the social function of the Brazilian university, an institution that, while involving the intellectual elite, must, necessarily, define itself towards the commitment regarding the search for solutions for the problems affecting the socioeconomically underprivileged populations. (Wanick, n.d., p. 2)
The Federal University of Espírito Santo declares as its aims:

To take the theoretical knowledge, discussed and formulated in the University, as a service (...) to the communities (...) that organize with the perspective of becoming instruments of social changes. (Duarte, 1984, n.p.)

It also aims at:

Retrieving the identity of (individuals) as a cultural and political group; organizing (them) in independent and self-governed associations, based on a participatory structure; creating, within democratic dynamics, debates that enable (individuals) to develop a critical consciousness towards the exploitation (...) inserted in their context. (Duarte, 1984, n.p.)

While it reveals the critical conditions of the formal education system, the Federal University of Viçosa expresses its efforts to improve the quality of education at the elementary level:

Considering the importance of Extension as one of the basic functions of the University, ... the absolute priority of the elementary education in the present Brazilian educational context ... the low quality educational level ... the lack of school buildings ... the lack of appropriate conditions to learning and teaching ... the need to support the elementary teaching staff ... (and) the need to increase student teaching opportunities ... we have decided to develop a pedagogical work with socioeconomic deprived children attending 1st through 4th grades." (Bandeira, 1987, p.1)

The Federal University of Santa Catarina justifies the development of literacy programs for low-income employees under a perspective of consciousness raising and improvement of living conditions:

The Project has the objective (...) to promote conscientization and involvement in elementary level studies (...) while investigating the importance of literacy in the professional performance as well as in determining
the individual's future social status. (Santos & Muzzi, 1985, p. 7)

The activities carried out by the Extension Department at the Federal University of Santa Catarina represent the means for the university to reach its objectives:

Contributing effectively to the formation of (professionals) capable of interfering in the historical process aiming at the construction of a society in which the individual can develop (him/herself) in an environment of justice, freedom, and peace. (Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina, 1986, p. 4)

In striving to promote socioeconomic equality, university programs concerning educational alternatives aim at decreasing gender, race, and socioeconomic inequities through the programs developed. In response to their responsibility regarding social justice, Brazilian universities, as educational institutions and as agents of promoting social justice, offer universities' low socioeconomic employees and low socioeconomic community populations a life improvement tool by developing alternative education programs. Adult literacy programs developed to meet educational needs of low-income workers at the universities of Viçosa and Santa Catarina, illustrate efforts in this area. Following Paulo Freire's concept of education, that calls for an education for liberation, the literacy programs in these universities aim at more than teaching reading and writing. They aim at developing a critical consciousness that leads to reflection about employees' historical and socioeconomic conditions and to action upon transforming them. The dialogue promoted among class participants is the
indispensable tool for them to move from a passive, reactionary, "receiving" attitude towards an active interference in their historical and socioeconomic reality, whether within or outside the university boundaries.

Extension activities are largely developed to promote the participation and the integration of the university communities and the socioeconomically underprivileged communities. Universities benefit from such interaction by incorporating in the academic curricula the educational reality of the communities under study. On the other hand, benefits experienced by low-income communities include activities and programs that meet their immediate educational and socioeconomic development needs. Extension programs involving community development facilitate the implementation of the practice of university and community members reflecting about the reality in order to enable communities to seek solutions for their existing problems. This way, activities organized prompt popular participation in the transformation of their social reality.

Reinforcing universities' leadership role in the struggle for national development, programs developed have, many times, the objective of promoting pedagogical and methodological experiments, both in the formal and in the nonformal education systems, with the objective of facilitating, in a democratic way, the population's access to the academic knowledge, to systematic cultural contents, and to technology adapted to the nation's development.
Activating universities' role in conducting research that lead towards alleviating poverty and ignorance, projects developed seek to retrieve popular values, knowledge, and traditions, integrating them into the formal education and research procedures, which will ultimately result in the formation of professionals engaged with local and regional problems. Programs are generally developed under the assumption that the systematic interaction among extension, research, and teaching facilitates universities' mission of contributing to local, regional, and national development.

A last objective common to the universities in developing alternative education programs is to perform universities' function of sharing knowledge and technology among the different segments of society. The knowledge and technology acquired and developed within the university boundaries are to be shared among the population if national development and equity of gender, race, and socioeconomic disparities are to be attained. Santos & Muzzi's (1985, p. 4) project reinforce such objective: "to revitalize the literacy process (...) providing access to more elaborated knowledge." To seclude knowledge and technology within the university boundaries is to deprive the population of development and to perpetuate the present socioeconomic, educational, and political disparities.
The Importance of Interdisciplinary Work

Since the development of Project Rondon activities, one basic characteristic among community development programs has been that of an interdisciplinary action.

Interdisciplinary work is a search for collectivism, an attempt to approximate several areas in order to facilitate intercommunication among them, within the same objective, with no need to interfere in their methods. (Macedo, 1988, p. 2)

This same characteristic is found in the alternative education programs developed by the researched universities. Education involving the socioeconomically underprivileged populations has been promoted with a much broader spectrum of initiatives. It has included activities relating to health care, hygiene, preventive medicine, urbanization, early childhood development, professional training, consciousness raising, human rights, political participation, community leadership, and citizenry, among others. The programs have aimed at a broader education, since the transmission of an academic education per se is evidently not sufficient to eliminate the serious socioeconomic, educational, and political problems poor and rural communities face and need to overcome.

As important as it is to teach community members reading, writing, and numeracy skills, it is also important to help them understand among other issues, the need to maintain good eating habits, how to avoid illnesses, how to help their children develop, how to fight for their human and political rights, how to help
themselves in seeking solutions for problems encountered in their own communities, how to improve agricultural procedures, how to develop and manage their own businesses, how to fight infant mortality, how to develop a sound body, and how to maintain a sound mind; the list of needed know-how is endless.

With such a diversity of aims in focus, universities have utilized the expertise of different departments in order to develop comprehensive extension programs which involve in its majority community development programs. "We know that several areas working together with the same objectives, analyzing, researching, and reflecting, can manifest a more globalized interest of all reality worked upon, within a more critical perception, leading to a greater increase from the academia as well as from the subjects of intervention." (Macedo, 1988, p. 63)

With the understanding that a broader education is needed to help socioeconomically underprivileged communities improve their living conditions, their socioeconomic status, and increase their intervention in their own reality as well as their political participation towards national development, interdisciplinary work has been necessary in the development of alternative forms of education. Interdisciplinary action ensures poor populations assistance in several needed areas concomitantly while promoting communities' involvement and participation in the transformation of their reality.

Recruitment of volunteer undergraduate students at higher academic levels to participate in various alternative education
programs is done in different departments according to the focus of the programs under development. The number of participants also varies according to the needs of the community involved. The Colleges of Education, Social Service, Psychology, Sociology, Health, Sanitary Engineering, Dentistry, and Nursing are the ones most likely to be involved in community development programs within city boundaries. The Colleges of Medicine, Agriculture, and other Engineering Colleges are usually also involved when programs are developed in Advanced Campuses in rural or underdeveloped areas.

**Shared Positive Results among Programs**

Despite the distinct geographical conditions, the approaches used, and the obstacles found while developing alternative education programs, participating universities shared significant positive results in various programs developed.

There was greater participation of the populations involved, resulting in greater consciousness of problems to be faced and in communities' realization of their potential to solve such problems as groups. Community participants became the elements responsible for disseminating, among other community members, the information received in the programs developed in specific communities, functioning as multiplying factors in the projects developed. Such procedure was evident in the execution of community development and distance learning programs developed.
by the University of Amazonas (Projeto Maués and Projeto Quârios),
by the University of Brasília (projects in Ceilândia, Novo Gama, and Pedregal), by the University of Pará (Projeto de Interiorização), by the University of Pernambuco (projects Vasco da Gama, Várzea, and Vila da Prata-Torre), and by the University of Santa Catarina (projects developed at Santarém e Canelinhas).

There was greater involvement of the university community in their role as agents of social changes. The university intellectual community and the students actively engaged themselves in working with populations promoting conscientization. As reported by participants from the University of Amazonas, University of Pernambuco, University of Brasília, University of Santa Catarina, and University of Rio Grande do Sul, numerous times, university professors and students informally took upon themselves the responsibility of visiting communities and working towards consciousness raising in issues such as living conditions and demands for human rights. They have been highly involved in reviewing strategies to promote university active participation in conscientization programs. Significant contribution made in this field by the universities of Brasília (S. W. de Carvalho, interview, October 10, 1988), Pernambuco (E. R. L. Ruiz, interview, October 12, 1988), and Rio Grande do Sul (P. B. G. e Silva, interview, October 5, 1988) has been the inclusion of the adult literacy program methodology course, following Paulo Freire's Adult Literacy Method, in the College of Education curriculum as a mandatory discipline. The change was considered by the interviewees a victory over the
Brazilian elitist educational system, symbolizing the formal commitment of the country's intellectual elite to contributing to the educational and socioeconomic development of the underprivileged populations.

The transfer of responsibility over the programs developed to community leaders was a characteristic in many programs. Those mainly involving community development and adult literacy/education were to continue under local leadership after they had been initiated under universities' responsibility and supervision. Community development programs such as those carried out by the University of Pernambuco in Várzea and Vasco da Gama, the activities developed at the Paulo Freire Literacy Center and by the community groups created in Ceilândia, Novo Gama, and Pedregal, in Brasília, and the Adult Literacy Program involving low-income employees at the Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina are illustrative of such results. Participating universities indicated that the number of community leaders in the different communities taking upon themselves the responsibility of carrying on the activities significantly increased as different programs were developed.

Improvement in the quality of living conditions was detected in different communities as a consequence of programs developed. There was a greater concern, by community members involved in the programs, for education and health care, demonstrated by group actions demanding basic needs such as schools, electricity, sewage, health centers, recreational areas, and greater political participation.
Many of the demands were met either through or without community and political struggle; however, the demands were met, resulting in the improvement in the living conditions of the populations involved. Evidence of improvement in the quality of living conditions was found (1) in the struggle for the creation of a multigrade class in Olaria and a school in Pedregal, Brasília; (2) in the increase in the income of families participating in programs involving the Cloves and Cinnamon Group and the Quilt Group, in Várzea, Pernambuco, and the Bread Children Project, in Ceilandia, Brasília; (3) in the creation and maintenance of schools, health centers, and recreational areas as occurred in Amazonas, in Pernambuco (Vila da Prata-Torre Project), in Brasília (Permanent Centers at Ceilandia and Novo Gama), and in Santa Catarina.

Universities have strived to successfully meet their social and academic functions of sharing knowledge with the different spheres of society, whether among the professional, the lay or the needy populations. Alternative education programs developed by different departments aimed at distinct segments of society. Seminars, conferences, and training programs involved in their majority professionals as well as lay populations while adult literacy programs, conscientization programs, and community development programs were targeted at the low socioeconomic populations. The Universidade Federal do Espírito Santo, specifically, offered a number of programs involving each one of its distinct centers: Agriculture, Arts, Biology and Medicine, Legal and Economic
Paulo Freire's principle that the individual is only able to intervene in his/her reality upon understanding and being conscious of it is the basis for most Adult Literacy and Community Development programs researched. Community leaders and community members were systematically heard during the planning phase of programs, and their input was constant throughout their development. The cultural heritage and the community characteristics were taken into consideration as programs were developed. In other words, the development of activities was based on the socioeconomic and cultural reality of the various communities, as well as on their needs, with the active involvement of community members.

The reinforcement of democratic rights and consequent greater demand for populations' rights were attained by most communities. Detailed evidence was provided by the University of Brasília and by the University of Pernambuco. Initiatives developed at Paulo Freire Center and community group actions in Novo Gama, Ceilândia, and Pedregal, Brasília, and in Várzea, Pernambuco, demonstrated that popular organization, within the scope of a Freirean perspective, that is, the individual placed as the subject of organizing and transforming his reality, was emphasized. Community members not only developed the sense of community group but also realized their strength in fighting as a group towards the demands they
believed necessary to be met in order to improve the quality of their living conditions.

Common Difficulties Encountered

As participating universities, independent from their geographical location, attained common positive results, programs organizers in different universities were faced with similar difficulties in developing educational alternative programs.

The first common obstacle met by those involved in various programs was the physical difficulty in accessing target communities. The problem is related not only to the distance between the university campus and the far-away communities where programs were developed but also to the transportation used to reach such communities, largely done in precarious means of transportation. Within the city boundaries, it also involves reaching poor communities located in the periphery of large cities or housed in the cities' slums and shanty towns, where no roads, no asphalt or no sewage is found.

The systematic strikes on the educational system, which occurred nationwide more intensely between 1985 and 1989 as a consequence of the "return to democracy," seriously undermined the development of a number of programs.

The lack of trust of community participants, manifested during the interviews carried on as part of several studies, became a significant problem to program coordinators and researchers in the
development of special projects. The population still hesitated discussing subjects and topics considered subversive during the long twenty-one years of military regime. In fear of another possible military dictatorship, they were skeptical of working with those willing to help in their class struggle.

The lack of financial support for the development of programs is probably the most significant obstacle encountered. Programs developed are usually financed by both the universities and the communities involved; occasionally they are fully funded by an external agency. Universities' main contribution was to recruit students to work on a volunteer basis and allow staff and faculty members to work on projects during their regular working hours. In other cases, funding comes in form of scholarships, either from universities or from municipal government agencies, which are sufficient enough only to pay for local transportation and for materials needed in the development of the programs. The lack of appropriate government funding for the development of projects aimed at the socioeconomically underprivileged populations becomes, if not the main, one of the main obstacles in the development of many projects.

The high work load carried by the university faculty (10-12 teaching hours per week combined with research and advising) presents another obstacle to the development of different projects. The lack of support from other university personnel, the work overload that university professors and assistants carry, the
shortage of monitors, and the drop out rates of participants contribute to discontinuing several programs.

In the specific researched area, alternative education programs, quite new in terms of university involvement and commitment, there has been an evident and serious lack of concern regarding keeping appropriate records and proper documentation on projects developed; many of the experiments and studies developed, as attested by university researchers, relied solely on participants' memories. There has been little, if any, concern about documenting the work that has been developed. As indicated by educators involved in alternative forms of education, many documents and materials have been accumulated; however, because they are never properly filed, many studies, projects, and reports are lost, many times within university or government institutions.

A number of programs lack continuity as a consequence of changes in local, municipal, state, or federal government. It has been a characteristic among most programs developed that as government officers change, programs under development are likely to be discontinued due to the fact that they were not part of the political platform of the incoming officer. The problem is even worse when officers belong to distinctly opposite political parties rather than from a coalition political party.
A Critical Analysis: Comparisons and Contrasts

In comparing and contrasting programs developed by the different Brazilian universities, Adult Literacy programs, essentially developed by the College of Education, are likely to be a constant. Universities as educational institutions holding the highest level of knowledge and technology are concerned about the high percentage of illiterate employees they hire. It seems only logical that universities attempt to eliminate such disparity by increasing the educational opportunities within their boundaries. Determined to decrease this educational gap, universities are seriously engaged in providing low-income illiterate and semi-literate employees with Adult Literacy programs.

Also based on their mission as educational institutions of transmitting culture, knowledge, and technology, universities are also reaching out to nearby or far-away socioeconomically underprivileged and rural communities, through extended action regarding Adult Literacy programs. Influenced by Paulo Freire's theories, aside from providing community members with literacy skills, universities also provide them with tools to improve their living conditions. Such tools include, above all, a reflexive thinking process about the communities' socioeconomic conditions and about the solutions to improve or overcome them, a process of conscientization regarding their reality and the need and possibilities to transform it.
Although a common practice among universities, Adult Education programs are not developed exactly the same everywhere. Making use of the Paulo Freire Method, universities adapt it to fit the needs and objectives of both communities and universities. Because the method is still considered "revolutionary," it is more likely to be closely followed to its original version when developed in community programs. However, it is more likely to be adapted when developed within the university boundaries.

One major adaptation to be found in the application of the method is related to the literacy book, the *cartilha*, which points significant difference between the Paulo Freire Method and other literacy methods. Adult Literacy programs developed at universities are not likely to develop the literacy book parallel to the development of the program. Program coordinators justify such procedure by claiming that it is less time-consuming to give the students a pre-prepared text than developing it with the students during class time.

Another factor that interferes with the development of the method in its original form is the control factor. In providing students with a text, monitors are implicitly transmitting information and concepts that are permeated by their own ideology and in a certain way by the university's ideology. By allowing the classes to freely explore concepts under discussion is to give them too much power to initiate transformation. This way, the university encourages the reflexive thinking process to the extent that it does not endanger its power position, its status quo. While universities
encourage changes and transformations outside its boundaries, they promote limited participation and action within the campus.

Still related to the usage of the literacy book, while the time element is a common factor in different universities, the issues of control and of transmission of concepts monitors find essential in conveying to the class become more or less accentuated depending on regional characteristics. Universities located in poorer regional areas are likely to exercise less control and promote more independent thinking, therefore allowing for the development of the literacy book, than universities located in more developed regions, more likely to prepare it. Greater development needs characterize the former. As explained by A. C. Jatobá, from the University of Pernambuco, and by M. Garrett and P. R. G. da Silva from the University of Amazonas, university personnel, as an integral part of that environment, are directly involved in their regional problems, therefore, encouraging greater popular participation in the attempts to promote changes. The close relationship educators have with the populations involved help educators better accomplish their role in promoting praxis.

Programs developed within university boundaries, strongly permeated by the ideology of the formal education system, surreptitiously focus on the adaptation of the individual to the university environment while promoting his/her liberation elsewhere, a contradiction resulting from the desire to promote the individual's liberation without endangering universities' power position.
Within Adult Education programs developed in off-campus communities, the struggle becomes exactly the opposite. Monitors attempt to saturate community members with the need for action, for transformation, and for changes, and the recognition of such needs must come from the community members themselves. Consequently, giving them the time and the opportunity to write the text themselves is to encourage them to think reflectively about their living conditions and to encourage their active participation in the transformation of their own reality.

In considering community development programs, the work done has had the major objective of promoting changes that resulted in the improvement of the living conditions of the populations involved. Adult Literacy programs are only one important aspect in this large scenario. Community development programs require the involvement of a diversity of university departments, concurrently, in order to provide the populations involved with a broader education that enables community members to participate more consciously in the transformation of their reality.

Community development programs are carried out by the Extension Department in most Brazilian universities, without regard to their geographical location. Since the university's mission is to share and spread knowledge outside its boundaries, the role of the Extension Department is to be the vehicle of interaction between the university and the communities. Programs are aimed at different segments of the society, according to the subject explored. In the
case of community development programs, they aim at specifically the low socioeconomic populations and several development areas are targeted concurrently.

Child-care centers are developed in order to provide young children with activities that help their intellectual, physical, psychological, and emotional development, increasing their chances of educational success at later stages. Centers implemented in communities such as in Vila da Prata-Torre, Pernambuco, and the Child's Community Center and the Pre-School at the Expansão do Setor "O," in Ceilândia, Brasília, extended their benefits to the youngsters' families. While the children were being looked after, the mothers or older siblings who otherwise would be taking care of young children had the opportunity to learn a trade or to hold a job or, many times, to attend classes themselves.

Community groups are developed in order to provide community members with specific activities that directly impact in their everyday lives. Activities in community groups may involve learning a trade, developing small-scale businesses, group discussion in community-related issues, group discussions in social issues (family relations, women's role, child development), recreation, education, etc. The creation of community groups was the strength in the community development programs under the auspices of the University of Amazonas, Pernambuco, Brasília, and Santa Catarina. They included, among others, production groups (homemade preserves, quilt, and bread), artistic, cultural, and recreational projects.
Under a sociopolitical point-of-view, community development programs promote the active participation and engagement of community members in issues concerning the improvement of their environment and living conditions. The support given by the Social and Political Sciences, as well as by Law Schools, is of great importance in this area. Under a purely educational concept, Freire’s "education for conscientization" is the essential element for community members to understand themselves, their environment, their potential, and their right to act upon their own reality in order to transform it. Through active participation, communities working with most researched universities, Amazonas, Pará, Pernambuco, Brasília, and Santa Catarina were able to overcome struggles and obtain education, sanitation, and "voice" for their communities.

The creation of community schools, usually at the elementary level, helps supplying education for children left out of the formal public education system. Schools such as the ones created at Alto da Favela, at Alto 13 de Maio, and at Jardim Novo Mundo, Pernambuco, are usually created as a consequence of the community members' realization not only of the need for the school to educate their children, but also of their children's right to attend a school.

The establishment of health centers is a characteristic of most community development programs. As a matter of fact, many programs started solely with the participation of health agents working in the communities and later expanded into community development programs. The primary function of health centers is to establish preventive medicine procedures in the community.
Concurrently, health centers have the objective of diagnosing diseases and referring the cases that cannot be treated in the centers to a medical doctor. A third function of community health centers is to teach mothers how to reduce infant mortality. Good health and hygiene habits are greatly emphasized in almost every activity developed in the communities, be it in the schools, in childcare centers or in community groups.

Of all the activities carried on in community development programs, the one that is probably most enjoyed by community members is recreation. Aside from the entertaining objectives recreational activities have, they also aim at developing physical, psychological, and social aspects in both children and adults. Above all, recreational activities provide healthy entertainment to children and adolescents who would otherwise be distracting themselves with pernicious or even dangerous activities.

Although community development programs were initially carried on in communities located distant from the university campus, the Advanced Campus, they are now likely to be developed in the surroundings of the campus, the Near Campus. The change occurred essentially due to the high costs involved in transporting university participants to the Advanced Campuses. Universities in most developed regions, Southeastern and Southern, were the ones most active in community development programs, participating in Advanced Campuses located in the less developed geographical regions, that is, Northern and Northeastern. Since the former still enjoy stronger financial resources, they still participate in a reduced
number of Advanced Campuses. While the activities described in the previous paragraphs are common to programs developed at both Advanced and Near Campuses, activities involving the areas of medicine, engineering, and agriculture are also largely developed in Advanced Campus programs.

In relation to Distance Learning programs, few of the universities investigated carry them out, independent from their geographical location. Within the Open University modality, it is a characteristic to develop the programs through the formal public education system. They mainly consist of training and updating professionals already working at specific areas, with greater concentration in the education field. Programs highly rely on the multiplying factor to spread the knowledge and the technology being offered by the universities responsible for the programs. The programs are cost effective since the training of many professionals is done initially through the transfer of technology to a small number of professionals. Essentially targeted at the training and improvement of educators in the elementary and secondary levels, Open University programs also aim at encouraging educators to proceed into higher education programs at the Master's Degree level. Such educators, like elementary and secondary teachers, will become multiplying factors in transmitting knowledge and technology to other educators under their responsibility, within their geographical areas.

Concerning Educational Television programs, the major responsibility lies in the hands not of educational institutions in
Brazil, but in the hands of commercial television stations. Although effective in the sense that they provide a percentage of the population with an educational opportunity that they would otherwise not have, the Educational Television does not use its potentiality. The commercial Educational Television concentrates primarily in transmitting knowledge pertinent to the formal education system, not directly related to the individual's reality and his/her needs. It operates within Paulo Freire's "banking" concept of education, thus alienating the individual from the educational process. As it has been proposed throughout this research, from Paulo Freire's perspective, the individual must be the subject of his/her own education; only then the individual is capable of acting upon and transforming his/her reality.

Educational Television programs developed at the local level such as the ones produced by TV Viva, in Pernambuco, and by Projeto LARUS, in Santa Catarina, which focus on local and regional issues seem to be more appealing to the populations at which they aim. They seem to be more effective in producing the expected result, that is the concientization of individuals regarding the issues discussed and which are pertinent to their environment and their reality. If universities and educators had more access to this valuable means of mass communication, and if they were given the opportunity to develop programs that met the large illiterate and semi-literate populations' educational needs, there would be greater hope to solve illiteracy in Brazil.
In concluding the analysis on the educational alternatives investigated, it is appropriate to point out that due to their direct link with the formal education system, open university and educational television programs are more associated with adapting the individual to society than liberating him/her from it.

As a result of this research, adult literacy and community development programs may be claimed as the educational alternatives that better seem to meet the educational needs of the socioeconomically underprivileged population. It is evident that the success of such programs are clearly related to Paulo Freire's "conscientization." Programs in these areas tend to involve community participants since the initial stage; programs are planned and developed with the community, not for them. It is the active participation of community members that will enable them to discover, discuss, and find solutions for their problems. Participants are, thus, placed as the subjects of their education, as the subjects of their individual and collective decisions, and as the subjects in the changes to be promoted. From a Freirean perspective, it is only when the individual is placed as the subject of his/her own education that he/she can truly liberate him/herself.
CHAPTER 6

Conclusion and Recommendations

The focus of this dissertation research has been the description and the analysis of alternative education programs that Brazilian educators, affiliated to Brazilian federal universities, have developed during the last decade in favor of the nation's underprivileged socioeconomic populations. It briefly described the geographic socioeconomic Brazilian context in order to set a background for understanding the difficulties the Brazilian government encounters in educating the majority of the nation's population through the formal education system. It attests to the need for educational alternatives for the populations located in either hard-to-reach areas or in overpopulated low socioeconomic areas. Governmental action has already ensured the access to education to the most affluent population and to the middle class, but it has not provided access to education to the socioeconomically underprivileged population, the nation's vast majority.

The history of the Brazilian university indicates the lack of universities' commitment to social development. The Brazilian university developed itself under an elitist principle which has systematically guaranteed the most affluent percentage of the society access. The various reforms which occurred in the Brazilian higher education system were never able to fully favor the masses by providing them access to adequate education at any level.
Despite the many attempts to promote mass education programs and literacy programs, and despite the expansion in enrollment at all levels of education, a significant percentage of the population, of all ages, is still kept out of the educational system and remains illiterate.

Political interests are, above all other causes, found to be a major factor in hindering the education of the low socioeconomic underprivileged populations. Cancellation of programs due to divergence in political opinions or ideologies has been part of nonformal education in Brazil. The lack of commitment of governing minorities impede the development of viable solutions in large scale, except when they are associated with the left wing; Paulo Freire's successful experience in adult literacy programs is a vivid example. The university itself is a part of the governing system, and it serves the purposes of the governing minorities. "The function of the university is not to make changes in society, but to preserve its "status quo" (Paulo Freire, conversation with Dr. William F. Pinar, Dr. Eric C. Christy, and the researcher, São Paulo, September 21, 1987). Within this perspective, it is unlikely to expect that any university as an institution "per se" promotes significant societal changes. Changes in this approach are only possible when the university shifts its focus from serving the governing minorities to engage in political action in favor of alleviating social constraints. The history of the Brazilian university indicates that from time to time universities have attempted to switch from the elitist focus to their social function of facilitating access of the population to knowledge
and technology, if not through the formal system, through other alternatives. The present moment represents one of such shifts, when Brazilian universities are engaged in finding alternatives to facilitate the access of the population to educational opportunities.

Educational opportunities for the underprivileged are not to be seen traditionally, that is, a seat in the formal education system, where a fixed curriculum is taught in an organized and systematic manner. Educational opportunities are to be viewed as learning experiences that help the individual of any age to better accomplish his/her daily-life tasks seeking improvement in his/her individual and collective living conditions. We are speaking of a "global" education that encompasses literacy, health, living conditions, professional skills, job training, individual and collective responsibility, leisure, critical thinking and political engagement. We speak of educational opportunities such as popular education, literacy programs, distance learning, educational TV, community development programs. Any form of education that promotes improvement in the quality of the living conditions of the individual is an educational opportunity for those who otherwise would have none.

Regarding the researched alternative education programs, Open University and Educational Television do not follow a Freirean approach. While both operate basically reproducing mechanisms of the formal education system, Open University programs offer limited opportunities for conscientization efforts among the population, but Educational Television programs do not offer any
due to their passive learning mode. On the other hand, Adult Literacy and Community Development programs operate under the principle that the individual must be the subject of his/her own education and the subject of the transformation of his/her own reality.

In considering Open University programs, it is accurate to say, based on the research conducted, that they become the most resourceful means of transferring knowledge, technology, and methodologies to populations in remote areas. Integrated with the formal education system, Open University programs are powerful in training professionals and specialists, in large scale, through its multiplying effects. Whether developing elementary or secondary teacher training programs, other professional training programs or higher level educational programs at the Master's Degree level, Open University programs make use of the formal education system, that is, school buildings, school staff, and university personnel, in order to carry on their activities. The systematic supervision, not control, of the university involved in the program ensures that high educational standards are met in compliance with governmental mandates required for certification in any specific area of study.

Targeted at a population already involved in the formal education system, results found in Open University programs developed in Pará, Pernambuco and Santa Catarina indicate that the ultimate goals of alternative education programs, improvement of living conditions and contribution to national development, are also
attained. Individuals not only improve their own personal, academic, and professional skills and their socioeconomic conditions, but they also help others improve theirs. Benefits of the program are extended to a number of communities and individuals through the multiplying effect.

Despite the powerful influence of mass media, it is possible to say, as a result of the study conducted, that, among the four alternatives researched, Educational TV is the one least utilized and less likely to be developed. The main reason seems to be the fact that the Educational TV in Brazil has become one more product in the commercialization of education.

Developed by a major commercial TV station, TV Globo, in conjunction with the Fundação Roberto Marinho (whose president is also TV Globo's president) and with the University of Brasília, the educational TV programs developed nationally for courses at the elementary and secondary school levels become a uniform reproduction of knowledge, without taking into consideration local and regional differences, reproducing the formal school system by imposing on students a pre-determined curriculum. Educational TV programs developed at the local level and which are meant to address specific issues and needs of particular segments of the population, such as the ones developed in Santa Catarina (Projeto Larus) and Olinda (TV Viva), seem to appeal more intensely to the target audiences due to the immediate identity and relationship the viewer establishes with the program.
Educational TV is, thus, still a viable educational alternative in the sense that it serves both the formal education system, through the delivery of a formal education curriculum (even providing tests and certificates), and the nonformal education system, through providing an opportunity to the population out of the formal schooling. As a nonformal education tool, it also organizes relevant information pertinent to specific segments of the society in issues of their particular concern or interest.

Many programs involving literacy campaigns have systematically proven to be successful in both the international and national settings. Paulo Freire systematically comments in his interviews about the success of the programs developed under his orientation in Chile and Guinea-Bissau. In Brazil, literacy campaigns using the Paulo Freire Method, the campaign developed in Natal, *Campanha De Pé no Chão Também se Aprende*, the Basic Education Movement, and National Radio Education Movement produced the expected results while in effect during the late 1950s and early 1960s; they were directly carried out by those associated with the left wing, by individuals sympathetic to Socialism, Communism, and Liberation Theology. Other literacy campaigns promoted by the Brazilian government failed. Successful programs developed reading and writing skills, greater awareness of the socioeconomic conditions under which the illiterate lived, as well as consciousness towards their capacity to promote changes which would ultimately benefit the individual and the community. Successful programs were a result of joint efforts of literate and illiterate populations
attempting to effectively solve the illiteracy problem, they were cost effective, and decreased the illiteracy rate among participants. Programs not developed within a strictly or explicitly Freirean approach aimed at similar results, the liberation of man and his intervention in his environment.

Results presented by participating universities show that where adult literacy/education programs were developed, especially as components of community development programs, greater participation in socioeconomic, political, and educational issues occurred, contributing to an improvement in the living standards of the populations involved. Community group action resulted in schools being built in Pedregal and Vasco da Gama, water and sewage systems being installed in Ceilândia, production groups being created in Várzea, benefiting the communities involved.

Among the alternative education programs researched, it is evident that community development programs were the ones that provided greater results to a greater number of people. Resorting to interdisciplinary work, programs attack concurrently several roots of poverty, providing the population with tools to fight it. "Conscientization," as conceptualized by Paulo Freire, is the most powerful tool programs propose. Individuals not only develop a critical consciousness in relation to their socioeconomic and historical reality but they also equip themselves to act upon transforming it.
Despite the success of a number of alternative education programs as described in this research, the Brazilian government has not yet engaged in promoting educational alternatives in large scale. Brazil still faces the shame of widespread illiteracy; it still faces high levels of poverty among its population; it has not yet committed itself to promote national development through providing educational opportunities to its socioeconomically underprivileged population.

The issue here is not constructing a number of school buildings and training a number of teachers to offer the population educational opportunities within the formal education system. This strategy has proven not to be viable since 1500 when Brazil was discovered. For 491 years no government has been able to provide a seat for each school-age child or for each illiterate adolescent or adult. If that had been done, theoretically, there would be fewer illiterates. The issue is to provide education for the population; not to bring the population to the school buildings, but to take education to the population wherever they may be. The issue is not to provide the population with a fixed curriculum, but to provide them with opportunities that enhance their active participation in their own individual and in the nation's development.

Within this perspective, and in light of the many efforts carried on by Brazilian educators in their search for educational alternatives that aim at alleviating the marginalization of the poor populations, it is possible to conclude that the shift which has recently occurred in Brazilian universities is likely to contribute to
the improvement in the living conditions of the socioeconomically underprivileged populations targeted by the universities. However, it is also warranted that despite the evident success demonstrated by a variety of alternative education programs, the political power of the ruling minority in the nation has restricted the replication and the expansion of such programs. Programs that directly benefit the underprivileged are associated with leftist action. They are only allowed to the extent that they be developed by individual efforts, not on massive scale when they would become a threaten to the social order.

Conclusively, educational decisions in Brazil are not based upon what is best for the individual, but in the interest of the governing political forces. Recent history of Brazil has shown that when a populist government has taken power, the problems of education and socioeconomic development are targeted. In the Brazilian case, the issue of adult education has essentially been handled by concerned individuals. Only recently, upon the restoration of the so-called "democracy" in the country, are higher education institutions formally taking upon themselves the mission and responsibility of contributing to social development by alleviating the educational, socioeconomic, and political inequities imposed on the socioeconomically underprivileged populations.

One of the reasons that might well explain the greater involvement of universities in alternative education programs that aim at alleviating the socioeconomic constrains of the poor populations is the fact that the Brazilian university presently holds
less of the socioeconomic elite and more of the middle class. With the deterioration of the Brazilian population's socioeconomic conditions, their purchasing power, the lack of adequate social services support, consequences of the economic external debts and high inflation, the equilibrium within the wealthy class was maintained; however, the middle class decreased and the percentage of the population considered poor increased. It is important to notice that university personnel, at the faculty level, are mostly represented by the middle class, with salaries that vary from the equivalent to US$300 for a Bachelor's degree holder to US$600 for a Ph.D. holder, per month. Salaries by no means keep up with inflation rates. Under such economic constrains, university personnel empathize with the poor, and education comes as the only possible solution leading towards development and contributing to improvement in living standards.

Since education is not available at the formal system for the population in order to promote socioeconomic development; since formal education, in the traditional sense, is not enough to solve socioeconomic development in the country due to the high percentage of illiterate and semi-literate children, adolescents, and adults; since education for the socioeconomically underprivileged populations must involve a global education, attaining to health care, political participation, literacy skills, family relationships, agricultural procedures, and other areas; since education, above all must encompass conscientization of the populations involved in the educational process; then, it is possible to say that the researched
educational alternatives involving adult literacy programs and community development programs are the ones that most adequately meet the educational needs of the socioeconomically underprivileged populations.

This study closes with strong recommendations that community development programs, including the adult literacy component, be extensively promoted as a means of fighting poverty, with the primary concern of promoting "conscientization" and action upon the transformation of the community's social reality. This research has indicated the receptivity of low-income populations to such programs. Therefore, the greater the number of programs developed, the greater will be the number of communities that will benefit from such programs. The inclusion of the adult literacy methods course, following a Freirean approach, as a mandatory discipline in the curriculum of the College of Education at universities such as Pernambuco, Brasília, Santa Catarina, and Rio Grande do Sul is a step towards greater university involvement.

It is also recommended that the four alternative education programs researched be further investigated individually.

(1) Efforts to increase Open University programs must be made because of their powerful repercussion in hard-to-reach areas where competent professionals are needed and must remain. Despite of the fact that they mostly reproduce formal education procedures, these programs still offer some opportunities for conscientization to be developed due to the human interaction involved.
(2) Educational TV programs are to be pursued due to their potential in educating a large number of people concurrently. As indicated in this research, programs that are directly related to communities' interests and reality are likely to be more successful than those that merely reproduce the formal educational system. Therefore, studies on programs that better reflect the educational needs of low-income populations must to be conducted if the educational TV is to be successful in decreasing illiteracy rates and in alleviating the effects of poverty.

(3) Investigation regarding strategies to overcome existing obstacles in reproducing adult literacy programs using the Freire Method is necessary. Issues of confrontation and compromise must be discussed if Freire's method is to be implemented nationwide as the solution for, if not eradicating, decreasing illiteracy in Brazil.

(4) Issues of greater university participation, regarding student recruitment and faculty involvement, must be investigated in relation to community development programs in order to increase them. Interdisciplinary action has proven to be most successful at developing such programs. In order to help program organizers, at the university and community levels, better meet the needs of the involved communities, studies must be conducted on adequate strategies for planning and encouraging departmental participation.

The final recommendation is the provision for technical assistance and support to Brazilian universities in order to encourage and sustain proper documentation of alternative education programs developed.
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APPENDIX A

List of Research Participants

Northern Region: (interviews: October 7, 1988)
Fundação Universidade do Amazonas
Dr. Miriam Garrett, Ph.D., College of Education
Dr. Luiz F. Silva, Ph.D., College of Education
Dr. Paulo R. G. da Silva, Ph.D., College of Education, Graduate Studies

Universidade Federal do Pará

Northeastern Region: (interviews: October 12 - 13, 1988)
Universidade Federal de Pernambuco
Ana C. Jatobá, College of Education
Edvirges R. L. Ruiz, College of Education
Sandra Molinari, Sistema Aberto de Educação à Distância, RJ

Central-Western Region: (interviews: October 10 - 11, 1988)
Fundação Universidade de Brasília
Dr. Sérgio W. Carvalho, Ph.D., College of Education, Science, and Letters

Southeastern Region:
Universidade Federal do Espírito Santo
Universidade Federal de Viçosa

Southern Region: (interviews: October 3 - 6, 1988)
Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina (October 3 - 4, 1988)
José Erno Calieder, College of Education
Délvia V. F. Carvalho, Office for International Affairs
Enio Gomes, Extension Department, Community Development
Mariza C. Muzzi, College of Education
Maria da G. de S. dos Santos, College of Education

Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul (October 5 - 6, 1988)
Neusa M. B. Guidi, M.Ed., College of Education
Zaída G. Lewin, College of Education
Petronilha B. G. e Silva, Ph.D., College of Education, Graduate Studies
Joan A. Tijibo, Ph.D., College of Education, Rural Education
Augusto N. S. Triviños, College of Education

32 All interviews were tape-recorded. Tapes and transcribed notes are available from the researcher.

33 Due to technical problems, the recorded data was lost. Consequently, information relative to this university has not been included in this study.
APPENDIX B
List of Contacted Institutions

Northern Region:
Fundação Universidade do Amazonas
Universidade Federal do Acre
Universidade Federal do Pará
Universidade Federal de Rondônia

Northeastern Region:
Universidade Federal de Alagoas
Universidade Federal da Bahia
Universidade Federal do Ceará
Universidade Federal do Maranhão
Universidade Federal da Paraíba
Universidade Federal de Pernambuco
Universidade Federal do Piauí
Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Norte
Universidade Federal de Sergipe

Central-Western Region:
Fundação Universidade de Brasília
Universidade Federal de Goiás
Universidade Federal do Mato Grosso
Universidade Federal do Mato Grosso do Sul

Southeastern Region:
Universidade Federal do Espírito Santo
Universidade Federal Fluminense
Universidade Federal de Juiz de Fora
Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais
Universidade Federal de Ouro Preto
Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro
Universidade Federal de Uberlândia
Universidade Federal de Viçosa

Southern Region:
Universidade Federal do Paraná
Universidade Federal de Pelotas
Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul
Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina

International Development Agencies
Kellog's Foundation
Institute of International Education (IIE)
Inter-American Bank (IBD)
The Partners of the Americas
United States Agency for International Development (USAID)
Word Bank (WB)
APPENDIX C

Letter of Invitation to Participate in the Research
(Portuguese Version)

Baton Rouge, 3 de Janeiro de 1989

Ilustríssimo(a) Sr(a). Diretor(a)
Faculdade de Educação

Ilustríssimo(a) Sr(a):

Meu nome é Maria de Lourdes Nunes e sou, no momento, candidata ao título de Ph.D. junto ao Departamento de Currículo e Instrução na Universidade Estadual de Louisiana em Baton Rouge. Em 1985 vim do Brasil para os Estados Unidos para completar meus estudos a nível de pós-graduação e me encontro em fase de elaboração da dissertação de doutorado. Já tendo feito intensa pesquisa sobre programas alternativos de educação no Brasil, necessito, agora, da complementação que desejo obter de universidades brasileiras que exprimam, realisticamente, a sua participação nestes programas.

Meu interesse de pesquisa refere-se à área de programas educacionais que visem o acesso das populações carentes às oportunidades educacionais, e, consequentemente, o melhoramento de suas condições de vida. O título de minha dissertação de doutorado, "Como as Universidades Brasileiras Estão Contribuindo nas Mudanças Sociais Através do Desenvolvimento de Programas Alternativos de Educação," exprime fundamentalmente o meu interesse pelas classes menos privilegiadas. Através de pesquisa até então desenvolvida, é evidente que muitas são as universidades brasileiras que, ao demonstrarem preocupações também com tais questões, desenvolvem vários programas alternativos de educação, visando aliviar os problemas de educação da população brasileira socio-economicamente desprivilegiada.

Com este intuito, venho pedir a colaboração desta universidade em ceder cópias de projetos de programas de educação alternativa ou projetos de educação não-formal, que venham a contribuir com o levantamento de dados que, no momento, faço para a minha dissertação. Com a pesquisa até então feita, evidenciou-se o fato de que vários destes programas são desenvolvidos pela Coordenação de Cursos de Extensão ou outros setores afins. Estendo meu pedido, portanto, para que este documento, ou cópia deste, seja encaminhado a quem de direito pois, maior número de projetos recebidos melhor será a retratação que farei dos trabalhos desenvolvidos pela universidades brasileiras. Os tópicos principais de interesse recaem sobre: Educação de Adultos, Educação Popular, Alfabetização de Adultos, TV Educativa, Desenvolvimento Comunitário, e Ensino à Distância.
De modo a facilitar o envio de tão importante material, forneço-lhe um endereço no Brasil para onde poderá ser enviado todo o material disponível. Com a assistência possível no Brasil, não só o envio do material ficará concentrado como também as despesas de postagem ficarão reduzidas. Todo material poderá ser enviado para:

Prof. Maria de Lourdes Nunes
a/c Dr. Edison Vanderlinde Vieira
Gerência de Pessoal
Petróleo Brasileiro S. A. - PETROBRAS

Agradecendo sua valiosa colaboração neste tão significativo empreendimento educacional e profissional, subscrevo-me.

Atenciosamente,

Maria de Lourdes Nunes
Letter of Invitation to Participate in the Research  
(English Translation)

Baton Rouge, January 3, 1989

Dear Sir/Madam:

My name is Maria de Lourdes Nunes and I am presently a doctoral candidate in the Department of Curriculum and Instruction at Louisiana State University in Baton Rouge. In 1985, I came to the United States to work on my graduate studies, and I am now at the dissertation stage. Having done part of the research in alternative education programs, I wish to substantiate it with information to be obtained from Brazilian universities that might document their participation in such programs.

My research interest relates to educational programs that aim at increasing the educational opportunities for the socioeconomically underprivileged populations and, consequently, the improvement of their living conditions. The title of my dissertation, "How Brazilian Universities Are Contributing to Social Changes through Alternative Education Programs," expresses my interest for the underprivileged. The research conducted has shown that many Brazilian universities are concerned with developing alternative education programs that aim at alleviating the educational problems of the socioeconomically underprivileged populations.

I would like to request your cooperation in this research by forwarding to this researcher copies of projects concerning alternative and/or nonformal education programs developed by or involving your college during the 1980 decade. Such projects will be added to the information I now hold for my dissertation. It has also been evident in the research done that many of these programs are handled through the Extension Department. Thus, I would greatly appreciate you sending a copy of this letter to any other appropriate department. This way, I shall be able to make an even more accurate description of the work being done by Brazilian universities. The main topics under study are: Adult Literacy, Educational Television, Community Development, and Distance Learning.

The address below may be used for shipment purposes. This procedure will facilitate the shipment of materials within Brazil, will provide a better control of the materials received, and will reduce postal expenses for those who contribute to the research. Materials may be forwarded to:

(ADDRESS)

I greatly appreciate your valuable contribution to this significant educational and professional endeavor.

Sincerely,
APPENDIX D
Response Letters from Brazilian Universities

UNIVERSIDADE FEDERAL DO ESPÍRITO SANTO
CENTRO PEDAGÓGICO

Vitória, 06 de junho de 1989.

Ofício nº 117/89 - CP/UFES

Da: Diretora do Centro Pedagógico da UFES
Professora Dulce Castiglioni

A: Professora MARIA DE LOURDES NUNES

Prezada Senhora,

Atendendo solicitação de V.Sa., estamos encaminhando, em anexo, os projetos de Educação Alternativa para subsídio de sua dissertação de pós-doutorado.

Atenciosamente,

[Signature]
DULCE CASTIGLIONI
Diretora do Centro Pedagógico da UFES
Em atendimento à solicitação de V.Sa. estamos encaminhando o Catálogo de Atividades, onde constam os projetos que esta Universidade desenvolve através da Sub-Reitoria de Extensão e Departamento de Ensino.

Colocamo-nos à disposição de V.Sa. para outras informações que venham a contribuir com o seu trabalho.

Atenciosamente,

[Assinatura]

Domingos Gomes de Azevedo
Sub-Reitor de Extensão
UFES
Prezada Senhora:

Em resposta ao ofício de Vossa Senhoria, estamos enviando os programas educacionais alternativos, desenvolvidos nesta universidade.

Gostaríamos de esclarecer que o atraso no envio deste material deu-se à ocorrência de greve na universidade de abril a julho do corrente ano.

Esperando ter atendido à solicitação de Vossa Senhoria, colocamo-nos ao seu inteiro dispor, valendo-nos da oportunidade para reiterar nossos protestos de mais elevada estima e consideração.

Atenciosamente,

[Assinatura]

Rubens Leite Viñello
Pró-Reitor Acadêmico
Senhora Professora:

Em atenção a sua carta, datada de 18 de abril de 1989, encaminhado à Pró-Reitoria de Extensão da Universidade Federal do Pará-UFPA, solicitando "cópias de projetos de Programas de Educação alternativa ou projetos de educação não formal" que possam contribuir para a elaboração de sua tese de Doutorado, estamos encaminhando o seguinte material:

01. Cópia do Projeto de Interiorização da UFPA
02. Folder do Projeto de Interiorização da UFPA
03. Folder do Projeto Norte de Interiorização

Informamos que o Projeto de Interiorização da UFPA, vem sendo executado desde o ano de 1986, estando na sua 6a. etapa dos Cursos de Licenciatura.

Desejando pleno êxito na elaboração do seu trabalho, subscrevemo-nos,

Atenciosamente,

Profa. LEILA MOURÃO
ASSESSORA ESPECIAL DE INTERIORIZAÇÃO DA UFPA

ILMa. Sra.
MARIA DE LOURDES NUNES
A/C EDISON VANDERLINDE VIEIRA
ESTRADA DO JOÃO, 88/1001
22610 - SÃO CONRADO - RJ
VITA

Maria de Lourdes Nunes, a Brazilian educator, holds a B.A. degree in English and Portuguese from the Faculdade de Educação, Ciências e Letras Notre Dame in Rio de Janeiro, a M.Ed. degree in Educational Administration and Supervision from Bowling Green State University, Ohio, and a Ph.D. degree in Education, Curriculum Theory, from Louisiana State University. Her professional career embraces teaching, counseling, and administrative responsibilities. Her vast professional experience includes teaching at elementary, secondary, and higher education institutions in Brazil, as well as holding administrative positions at educational institutions in Brazil and in the United States. Among other institutions, she has worked at the American School of Rio de Janeiro, at the Our Lady of Mercy School, at the United States Agency for International Development Binational Center, Casa Thomas Jefferson, in Brasília, and at Louisiana State University. In conjunction with her teaching and administrative activities and her bilingual education specialization, she has served as counselor for international students and their families in Brazil and in the United States. Among her volunteer activities, she has participated in literacy programs and in community work in favor of the socioeconomically underprivileged populations in Brazil.
DOCTORAL EXAMINATION AND DISSERTATION REPORT

Candidate: Maria de Lourdes Nunes

Major Field: Education

Title of Dissertation: ALTERNATIVE EDUCATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN BRAZIL: A HISTORY AND CASE STUDY

Approved:

[Signatures]

Major Professor and Chairman

Dean of the Graduate School

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:

[Signatures]

Date of Examination: APRIL 2, 1992