PAULO FREIRE AND CRITICAL PEDAGOGY: HIS LEGACY FOR A NEW PEDAGOGY OF THE SOUTH

PAULO FREIRE E A PEDAGOGIA CRÍTICA: SEU LEGADO PARA UMA NOVA PEDAGOGIA DO SUL

PAULO FREIRE Y LA PEDAGOGÍA CRÍTICA: SU LEGADO PARA UNA NUEVA PEDAGOGÍA DESDE EL SUR

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ABSTRACT: The article will discuss the relevance of Paulo Freire's thought and action as well as the criticism of his thinking over the last fifty years. In addition, it is proposed to demonstrate the relevance and legacy of Freire for education in the world, especially for Latin America. To continue in the ways we propose, we will first reflect on the context of Freire's writing - Education and Brazilian reality - against the political blows in Brazil (old and current). Then bring to memory the legacy of Paulo Freire as a Latin American classic, followed by the contexts in which his thought and work were conceived, expressing his uniqueness and perhaps his universality. Finally, an analysis will be made of the theses that disagree with the aforementioned universality of Freire's thinking, starting from some concepts/categories of his work. It ends with the challenge of Freire's re-reading in the construction of a pedagogical thought of the South nourished by the debate of the epistemologies of the south.


RESUMO: O artigo trata da relevância do pensamento e da ação de Paulo Freire e das respostas que ele recebeu nos últimos cinquenta anos. Além disso, propõe-se demonstrar a relevância e o legado de Freire para a educação no mundo, especialmente para a América Latina. Para continuar nos caminhos que nos propomos, primeiro refletiremos sobre o contexto da escrita de Freire - Educação e atualidade brasileira - contra os golpes políticos no Brasil (antigos e atuais). Em seguida, trazer a memória o legado de Paulo Freire na condição de um clássico...
The article will address the relevance of Paulo Freire's thought and action, as well as the challenges it has suffered over the past fifty years. Furthermore, it is also proposed to demonstrate Freire's relevance and legacy for education in the world, especially for Latin America. To follow the paths that we propose, first, we will reflect on the context of Freire's writing - Education and Brazilian present - in the face of political coups in Brazil (old and current). Then, we will recall Paulo Freire's legacy as a Latin American classic, followed by the...
contexts in which his thought and work were managed, expressing his uniqueness and, perhaps, his universality. Finally, concluding with the theses that respond to the universality of Freire's thought, under some concepts/categories of his work.

We introduced this text with three important quotations. In the first, we use Paulo's own words about his stay in a brother country, his second homeland, which shows his adaptability to Chilean society and his gratitude for what Chile represented in his intellectual trajectory. In *Pedagogia da esperança: um reencontro com a pedagogia do oprimido* (Pedagogy of Hope: a reunion with the pedagogy of the oppressed), Paulo wrote with nostalgia for this time.

At home, in Santiago - there were many times when, in such a way involved in the work, gratified by it, I was surprised by the small sun illuminating the small room that I had transformed into a library, at Alcides de Gasperi street, 500, Apoquito, Santiago. With the sun and the birds, with the morning, with the new day. Then I looked out the window at the small garden that Elza had made, the rose bushes that she had planted. I don't know if the house will still be there, painted blue as it was then. I could not re-think the *Pedagogia do Oprimido* (Pedagogy of the Oppressed) without thinking, without remembering some of the places where I wrote it, but above all, one of them, the house where I lived a happy time, and from where I left Chile, carrying nostalgia, suffering for leaving, but hopeful to answer the challenges that awaited me (1992, p. 61-62).

The four and a half years that I lived in Chile were years of profound learning. It was the first time, with the exception of the quick passage through Bolivia, that I had the experience of “taking distance” geographically, with epistemological consequences, in Brazil. [...] Deep down, I tried to re-understand the plots, the facts, the deeds in which I was involved. The Chilean reality helped me, in its difference with ours, to better understand my experiences and these, reviewed, helped me to understand what happened and could happen in Chile (1992, p. 43-44).

The following two quotes refer to two important “schoolar” intellectuals from Critical Pedagogy who talk about what Freire represents for Critical Educational thinking. They are Henry Giroux and Michael Apple, who in recent published articles grant Freire a special place.

3 Em casa, em Santiago – não foram raras as vezes em que, de tal forma envolvido pelo trabalho, gratificado por ele, eu me surpreendia com o pequeno sol iluminando o pequeno quarto que transformara em biblioteca, na rua Alcides de Gasperi, 500, Apoquito, Santiago. Com o sol e com os pássaros, com a manhã, com o novo dia. Olhava então pela janela o pequeno jardim que Elza fizera, as roseiras que ela plantara. Não sei se a casa estará lá ainda, pintada de azul como era à época. Não poderia re-pensar a *Pedagogia do oprimido* sem pensar, sem lembrar alguns dos lugares onde a escrevi, mas sobretudo, um deles, a casa onde vivi tempo feliz, e de onde parti do Chile, carregando saudades, sofrido por partir, mas esperançoso para responder os desafios que esperavam por mim (1992, p. 61-62).

4 Os quatro anos e meio que vivi no Chile foram assim anos de um profundo aprendizado. Era a primeira vez, com exceção da rápida passagem pela Bolívia, que eu vivia a experiência de “tomar distância” geograficamente, com consequências epistemológicas, no Brasil. [...] No fundo, eu buscava re-entender as tramas, os fatos, os feitos em que me envolvera. A realidade chilena me ajudava, na sua diferença com a nossa, a compreender melhor as minhas experiências e estas, revistas, me ajudavam a compreender o que ocorria e poderia ocorrer no Chile (1992, p. 43-44).
in educational theory in the world. We begin with quotations to establish our thesis that Freire's work should be on the shelves of libraries for Philosophy and not just in the place of practice, didactics and pedagogy, as designated by pedagogues. Let's see what they say Giroux\(^5\)

At a time when memory is being erased and the political relevance of education is being removed by the adoption of the language of measurement and quantification, it is even more important to remember Paulo Freire's legacy and work. Since the 1980s, there have been few, if any, intellectuals in the North American educational scene who have achieved such theoretical rigor, civic courage and sense of moral responsibility as Paulo Freire. His example is more important than ever: with public institutions of basic and higher education increasingly under siege by a series of neoliberal and conservative forces, it is imperative that educators take ownership of Freire's understanding of empowerment and the democratic potential of education. The language of critical education, of hope, is his legacy, which is increasingly absent from many liberal and conservative discourses about current educational problems and the ways of resolving reforms. Paulo spent his life driven by the belief that it was worth fighting for the radical elements of democracy, that critical education is a fundamental element for progressive social change, and that the way we think about politics is inseparable from the way we understand the world, the power and the moral life we aspire to. Paulo firmly believed that democracy could not last without the formative culture that makes it possible. At the present moment when public institutions of basic and higher education are being associated with the logic of the market, and their conformity to this economic model, to the loss of power, knowing the significant contributions of Paulo Freire's work and legacy is even more important\(^6\).

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\(^5\) Henry Giroux was born in Providence, United States, on September 18, 1943. He taught history at a high school in Barrington, Rhode Island, from 1968 to 1975. After earning his doctorate at Carnegie Mellon University in 1977, he became professor of education at Boston University between 1977 and 1983. In 1983, he became a professor of education and a renowned scholar at the University of Miami in Oxford, Ohio, where he also served as director of the Center for Cultural and Educational Studies (Center for Education and Cultural Studies). He moved to Pennsylvania State University, where he assumed the position of professor of Waterbury from 1992 to May 2004. He also served as director of the Waterbury Forum on Cultural and Educational Studies. He moved to McMaster University in May 2004, where he currently teaches the subject of Global Television Chains in the area of Communication Sciences. In May 2005, Memorial University of Canada awarded him an honorary doctorate in Letters. He is an American cultural critic and one of the founding theorists of critical pedagogy in that country. Known for his pioneering work in public pedagogy, cultural studies, youth studies, higher education, media studies and critical theory.

\(^6\) En un momento en que la memoria está siendo borrada y la relevancia política de la educación es alejada por el abrazo del lenguaje de la medición y de la cuantificación, es aún más importante recordar el legado y la obra de Paulo Freire. Desde los años 1980, ha habido pocos intelectuales, si es que hubo alguno, en la escena norteamericana educativa, que alcanzaron el rigor teórico, el coraje cívico y el sentido de responsabilidad moral de Paulo Freire. Su ejemplo es más importante ahora que nunca: con las instituciones públicas de educación básica y superior, cada vez más, bajo el cerco de una serie de fuerzas neoliberales y conservadoras, es imperativo que los educadores se apropien del entendimiento de Freire sobre empoderamiento y del potencial democrático de la educación. El lenguaje de la educación crítica, de la esperanza son su legado, que está cada vez más ausente de muchos discursos liberales y conservadores sobre los problemas educativos actuales y las vías de hacer las reformas. Paulo pasó la vida dirigida por la creencia de que valía la pena luchar por los elementos radicales de la democracia, de que la educación crítica es un elemento fundamental para el cambio social progresivo, y de que la forma en que pensamos en política es in separable de aquella como comprendemos el mundo, el poder y la vida moral a la que aspiramos. Paulo creía firmemente que la democracia no puede durar sin la cultura formativa que la hace posible. En el momento presente en que las instituciones públicas de educación básica y superior están
The second quote, from Michael Apple, speaks of his colloquies with Freire on theoretical architecture as a significant place for practical action. He announces that Freire never thought dichotomously about theory and practice. Let's start listening to him:

Paulo Freire and I, in many conversations, spent hours discussing the importance, not only of theoretical interventions, but also of the crucial importance of praxis, of intervening in the daily lives of cultural and pedagogical realities and letting these interventions contest (answer) the political and theoretical work that seeks to develop. Unfortunately, many “critical theorists” of education have forgotten the need for such action. The theory "dominates", with a rare exception, coming from institutional realities and real communities, in real struggles. Afro-Brazilian struggles against subjugation were not abstractions for Freire. He saw them as part of the necessary struggles against domination. In this article, even though Freire is not present, I want to follow the dialogue with him on the racial issue. My epistemological basis will be decidedly Freirean. I want to question the “culture of silence” in which we live, so that it can be transformed. Those of us who are committed to emancipatory and anti-racist educational policies and practices would be perceptive in directing their criticism not only to the racial effects on cultural markets and patterns, but also to the “creative forms” used by neoliberal and neoconservative movements to convince masses that these policies are simply neutral technologies that will help us make education more efficient and effective (APPLE, 2016, p. 279).

We must not commit anachronism in history, but we must examine it to hear what the events of the past, although recent, want to tell us. The reason that led Paulo Freire to exile in Chile is the “background” of the political and economic scenario in Brazil in the early 1960s and which has been extended to populist governments since the 1930s, when the country began...
to suffer strong pressure from international capitalism to adopt an economic policy of industrial expansion. Adopting a social policy that was able to maintain and with the future expectation of expanding this economic model as soon as possible, was an imperative condition for Brazil to advance in its economy. However, "This mass policy was being tolerated until its radicalization, which began to create more direct obstacles to the control, by international capital, of the development of the Brazilian economy". This was the real reason for the overthrow of the Goulart Government in 1964, by the national business community associated with international capital (the money elite), which used the military and the middle classes of society, motivated by the anti-communist preaching of the Mass Media. In this sense, any resemblance to the time in which we live in Brazil is a mere fiction of reality.

Let's look at the phrase of a protester in 2015 in Brazil: “Enough with Marxist indoctrination. Enough of Paulo Freire”. This is a phrase that was on a poster in a demonstration against the government of Dilma Rousseff in Brasilia, capital of Brazil, in March 2015. It caused a lot of controversy on social networks, including provoking a UN response on its social networks with the phrases/quotes from Paulo Freire: “Education does not change the world. Education changes people and people transform the world” (facebook/march/2015); “When education is not liberating, the dream of the oppressed is to be oppressive” (Twitter, March 2015). The UN then left in defense of the Brazilian educator, internationally known in critical pedagogy.

Why should we remember Paulo Freire's legacy?

A brief answer would be, first, because it is a Latin American classic, not only of pedagogy, but of the thinking of the humanities of the continent. Second, because it has a vigorous and updated thinking for reflection in our projects for the formation of Latin American men. His conception of man is nourished from the reality of our America. We continue with a brief biographical look and matrices of his political-pedagogical thinking.

Paulo Reglus Neves Freire was born on September 19, 1921 in Recife, Pernambuco, one of the poorest regions of the country, where he was soon able to experience the difficulties of survival of the popular classes. He initially worked at SESI (Social Service for Industry) and at the Cultural Extension Service at the University of Recife. His educational philosophy was first expressed in 1958 in his thesis of entrance for the University of Recife and, later, as professor of History and Philosophy of Education at the University, as well as in his first literacy
experiences, such as that of the northeast (Angico - Rio Grande do Norte), in 1963. Paulo Freire passed away on May 2, 1997 in São Paulo.

Paulo Freire is the author of many works, among which the following stand out: *Educação com Prática da Liberdade* (1967) (Education as a Practice of Freedom), *Pedagogia do Oprimido* (1968) (Pedagogy of the Oppressed), *Ação Cultural para a Liberdade* (1975) (Cultural Action for Freedom). He was recognized worldwide for his educational praxis through numerous tributes, in addition to having his name adopted by many institutions. He is an honorary citizen of several cities in Brazil and abroad. Paulo Freire received the honorary doctorate degree from twenty-seven universities. For his work in the area of education, he received, among others, the following awards: “King Balduino Award for Development” (Belgium, 1980); “UNESCO Education for Peace Award” (1986) and “Andrés Bello Award”, from the Organization of American States, as Educator of the Continent (1992). On April 10, 1997, he released his last book, entitled Pedagogy of Autonomy: knowledge necessary for educational practice.

In Brazil, even his method of literacy does not apply. There are occasional successful experiences, but his philosophy and political-pedagogical proposal are not used to guide educational policy programs. Later on, we will see his work from the point of view of his critics and his legacy in Brazil.

The anti-communist preaching of the past, which we referred to earlier, was part of a package of actions guided by the new educational ideology that violently attacked the Brazilian cultural base and replaced it with an instrumentalist conception of education, which was intentionally organized according to economic growth. The authoritarian and interventionist state organized itself in order to increase different mechanisms of repression that reached, among others, those who were involved with an educational posture that linked any ideological orientation different from the working population. Precisely in this scenario, Paulo Freire developed an innovative experience in the Brazilian educational context. This experience was born in the Popular Culture Movement (*Movimento Cultura Popular – MCP*), created in Recife.

9 In addition to these works mentioned above, the author has a vast work, among others, we highlight the African writings: *Letters to Guinea Bissau* (1980), *The Importance of the Act of Reading and the Process of Liberation* (1982a), the books in dialogue with other intellectuals: with Sérgio Guimarães - About Education; and Learning from one's own history; with Sérgio Guimarães and Moacir Gadotti - Pedagogy; dialogue and conflict; with Antonio Faúndez. For a pedagogy of the question; with Frei Betto. A school called Life; with Ira Shor, Fear and Daring: the daily life of the teacher who risks to practice a transformative pedagogy. The last works published: Education in the city, brings reflections of his challenges in administrative positions at the head of the Municipal Department of Education in São Paulo, in the first government of the Workers' Party and with the first mayor of the city - Luiza Erundina (1989-92) Pedagogy of Hope and Politics and Education, and before his death published, closing his series of Pedagogies, the book Pedagogy of Autonomy, as a summary of his pedagogies.
- PE, in the early 1960s, it was a movement of intellectuals and artists and, within the MCP, Paulo Freire started to coordinate the projects called Circles of Culture and Centers of Culture.

These projects, which are added to others from the Basic Education Movement-MEB, are the main objects of the repressive action of the new dictatorial regime, as they represented the left ideology, concerned with the cultural formation of the working class and was fought at any price under the justification for constituting subversive teaching.

His conception of education and, of course, his educational proposal that showed a highly positive result in the experience in Angicos - RN, consisted in affirming that every educational act is a political act, because education carries the potential for the transformation of society through a critical awareness of reality, a task that both the educator and the student must undertake in an educational act.

With these educational assumptions, he became known as a progressive popular educator and his educational proposal came to the attention of the Federal Government, who, through the invitation from the Minister of Education Paulo de Tarso Santos, who, as soon as he took over the ministry, summoned Paulo Freire to develop a national literacy project. Thus, the National Literacy Program was born, with Paulo Freire as coordinator of an auspicious project, as he wanted politicizing literacy for about 5 million adults.

This politicizing education, also called problematizing, proposed by Paulo Freire, could not be linked to the new ideology that the interventionist state had adopted to maintain the political-economic hegemony. Thus, on April 14, two weeks after the coup that overthrew President João Goulart, the program was extinguished and, on July 16, 1964, the day of the anniversary of his first wife Elza Maia Costa de Oliveira (died in 1986), Paulo Freire was arrested. His exile began in Bolivia, where he stayed for a short time before going to Chile.

Paulo Freire was a visiting professor at Harvard in 1969, 10 years director of Education for the so-called third world countries.

Why is Freire the patron of education? It's simple. In the academic area of education, of pedagogy, nobody has the international recognition that he has. The peer review criterion is fundamental to science; therefore, if your books have been translated into more than 40 languages, if the main universities in the world have given you awards and if your work inspires educational practices, it is a sign that you are important for your field of knowledge.

Freire has been considered a patron of education in Brazil since 2012, he was honored by naming academic institutes in European countries such as Finland, England, Spain and other continents, America (United States) and South Africa. But in his homeland, he has been criticized by protesters for his “leftist influence” in teaching.
Paulo Freire is the third most cited thinker in the world in the area of humanities. The survey was done through Google Scholar by Elliot Green, a professor at the London School of Economics. Freire is cited 72,359 times, second only to the American philosopher Thomas Kuhn (81,311) and sociologist Everett Rogers (72,780). He is more referenced than thinkers like Michel Foucault (60,700) and Karl Marx (40,237).

Another point of recognition for his work was the mention of the “Pedagogia do Oprimido” among the 100 most requested books in English-speaking universities in the world, according to the Open Syllabus project. Freire’s book was the only Brazilian to enter the top 100 on the list of more than one million American, English, Australian and New Zealand university studies.

**Latin America, the cradle of Freire’s universality**

As soon as he arrived in Chile, Paulo Freire became involved in a job that put him in front of many struggles for popular education, but at this moment these struggles would be worked in another territory. About his first work on Chilean soil he reports this:

> If I remember correctly, we arrived in Arica on a Friday, and on the second day Santiago de Mello and Strauss took me to the office of Jacques Chonchol, from the Institute of Agricultural Development. Despite my difficulty in understanding Jacques’ Spanish, we had a very cordial conversation, and I left his office hired as his advisor, for what they called Human Promotion. [...] In fact, what I started to do was popular education work, which could happen both in terms of post-literacy and literacy as well (Idem, p. 88).

It is important to describe the political and social context of Chile at the time that Paulo Freire arrived there, as this also proves to be a determining factor in his attitude towards education and popular movements. In this scenario he comments:

> It is worth remembering that, when I arrived in Chile, there was a real euphoria of Christian democracy in power; there was a real conviction in a large part of the people about the success of what was considered the third way for all of Latin America. In short, it was all that led Christian youth to renounce Christian Democratic discourse and become radicalized, for the socialist, Marxist and Communist parties. Or creating new revolutionary groups (Idem, p. 85).

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10 Si bien recuerdo, llegamos a Arica un viernes, y el segundo día fui llevado por Santiago de Mello y por el Strauss al gabinete de Jacques Chonchol, del Instituto de Desarrollo Agropecuario. A pesar de mi dificultad en entender el castellano de Jacques, tuvimos una charla muy cordial, y salí de su gabinete contratado como su asesor, para lo que ellos llamaban allá de Promoción Humana. [...] En el fondo, lo que empecé a hacer era un trabajo de educación popular, que tanto podía darse al nivel de la post-alfabetización como de la alfabetización también (Idem, p. 88).

11 Es bueno recordar que cuando llegué a Chile había una verdadera euforia con la llegada de la democracia cristiana al poder; había una verdadera convicción en gran parte del pueblo en torno al éxito de lo que se
Among these new groups, the Revolutionary Left Movement - MIR stands out, which was composed, as he claims, of a youth that was always on the left of anything, but always with lucidity. There was also the Popular Unitary Action Movement - MAPU and the Christian Left, both composed of dissidents from Christian democracy.

As for the influence of his ideas in the midst of the new government of Christian democracy that was being established in Chile, he reached groups that were increasingly more radical, as he realized that there were significant traces of a modernist bourgeoisie in Christian democracy, Paulo Freire stated that this radicalization that was unleashed in the country originating, mainly, from the young Christian democracy, with whom he worked directly, was not due to his influence, but that all the groups that formed in this period somehow took advantage, each in their own way, of some of his proposals. (Idem, p. 86).

Chile and its meaning for the construction of his educational thought

Ultimately, my stay at the Institute of Agricultural Development, the Ministry of Education, the Agrarian Reform Corporation, my coexistence with its technical teams, through whom I was able to have a rich experience in almost the whole country, countless peasant communities, to interview their leaders; the very opportunity to have lived the historical atmosphere of the time, all this clarified doubts that brought me to success, deepened hypotheses, assured me positions. It was living the intensity of the experience of Chilean society, of my experience in that experience, that made me always rethink the Brazilian experience, whose living memory I took with me into exile, which I wrote in Pedagogy of the oppressed between 1967 and 1968 (ibidem, p. 53).

The work Pedagogia do Oprimido that was being written when the author had his first contact with Chilean culture, was completed when he was still in exile, but before being

consideraba la tercera vía para toda América Latina. En fin, fue todo lo que llevó a la juventud demócrata cristiana a ir renunciando al discurso demócrata cristiano y a radicalizarse, para el partido socialista, marxista, para el partido comunista. O creando nuevos grupos revolucionarios (Idem, p. 85).

12 En última instancia, mi estancia en el Instituto de Desarrollo Agropecuario, el Ministerio de Educación, la Corporación de la Reforma Agraria, mi convivencia con sus equipos técnicos, a través de quienes me fue posible tener rica experiencia en casi todo el país, un sin número de comunidades campesinas, de entrevistar a sus líderes; la propia oportunidad de haber vivido la atmósfera histórica de la época, todo eso me explicaba dudas que traía para el exilio, profundizaba hipótesis, me aseguraba posiciones. Fue viviendo la intensidad de la experiencia de la sociedad chilena, de mi experiencia en aquella experiencia, que me hacía repensar siempre la experiencia brasileña, cuya memoria viva me traía conmigo para el exilio, que escribi la Pedagogía del oprimido entre 1967 y 1968 (ibidem, p. 53).

13 As all readers of Paulo Freire know, the work Pedagogia do Oprimido was published for the first time in English, although the book is now in its 50th edition in Portuguese. This note is intended to inform that in 2013 on the Freire's 50th anniversary in Angicos, the publication of the originals of the Pedagogia do Oprimido appears facsimile. These originals were in the custody of Jacques Choncol, Minister of Agriculture of the Government of Salvador Allende, in Chile (1970-1973), friend and head of Paulo Freire at the Institute of Agricultural Development (INDAP), during the period of his exile in Chile. In 2013, the originals were handed over to the Brazilian government according to Choncol's own words “Sometimes I even thought that it made no sense to stay...
published, it was in exile that Paulo Freire wrote other works, highlighting his first book, entitled *Educação e atualidade brasileira*, thesis elaborated for the competition for a vacancy of professor in the University of Pernambuco and later wrote “Educação como prática de liberdade”. It was also in Chile that Paulo Freire reviewed the original writings of the thesis that had stayed in Brazil at the time of his immediate departure. After reviewing the entire text, he took advantage of the company of other intellectuals who were there to print a critical opinion. Álvaro Vieira Pinto and Francisco Weffort stand out.

That was a period of intense productivity, because in addition to advising several actions and projects in Chile, he focused on writing, as he himself highlighted: “how I wrote in this period! I even did the math, I wrote 1600 pages in a year and a half, handwritten”14 (Idem, 94). He also published another work, Cultural Action for Freedom, which is the result of experience added to another advisory work he developed in Chile, this time at the Corporation for Agrarian Reform-CORA. His record was described as follows:

For every meeting I went to, I wrote a text. For example, during the time I worked at ICIRA, I offered technical advice to teams that worked at the Corporation for Agrarian Reform (CORA). That was when I wrote all the texts that are in the Cultural Action for Freedom. Anyway, almost all of my texts were so experienced that, from time to time, I start to resort to one and the other and, reviewing here and there, I make a kind of trip to the past, you know? I relived all the moments (Idem, p. 96).15

In fact, these expressions reveal how Paulo Freire was absorbed by all the cultural influence received and changed in the exile experience. After that, for the elaboration of his work of larger volume, *Pedagogia do Oprimido*, it didn't take long, because, as he says “I started, and soon I took a certain taste in writing. It was from that that I wrote and started *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*”16.

In the last two years of exile in Chile, Paulo worked at the Institute for Capacitation and Research in Agrarian Reform and points out this period as one of the most productive moments with it. I thought about donating the manuscript to UNESCO. I'm glad I didn't, because it seems more appropriate for it to stay in Brazil, in the land of Paulo Freire, at the disposal of humanity” (Interview with Jacques Chanchol - published in Pedagogia do Oprimido - The manuscript, p. 32). The work was published by Paulo Freire Institute and University Nueve de Julio, 2018.

14 como escrevi neste período! Cheguei até a fazer a conta, escrevi 1600 páginas em um ano e meio, manuscritas.
15 Para todo encuentro a que iba, escribía un texto. Por ejemplo, durante el tiempo en que trabajé en el ICIRA, ofrecí asesoría técnica a los equipos que trabajaban en la Corporación de la Reforma Agraria (CORA). Fue cuando escribí todos los textos que están en la Acción cultural para la libertad. En fin, casi todos mis textos fueron tan vivenciados que, de vez en cuando, me pongo a recoger uno u otro y, revisando aquí y allá, hago una especie de viaje al ayer, entiende? Revive todos los momentos (Idem, p. 96).
16 I started, and soon I took a certain taste in writing. It was from that that I wrote and started *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*
of his experience in exile, because he had already acquired a broad knowledge of the local reality that was provided by the other ventures in which he took part.

Paulo recognizes the influence of Latin American intellectuals on his educational theorization. He highlighted as contributions of this acquired knowledge the active participation in discussions and debates in the period of exile. In the 1992s, he recognizes the influence of his friends in his work, when he states that “with them I debated at various times that the Pedagogy of the Oppressed was still in the process of writing. I cannot deny the good that their friendship has done me and the intelligent contribution that they have given me” (1992: 53).

Freire's Thought Singularity and Universality (AL, AN, Africa, Europe)

The thought of the educator and educational philosopher Paulo Freire, leads us to consider his work from two directions: one that refers to the uniqueness of his work at the threshold of the transformations of a closed society that tried to open up on the political, social and economic and other, which refers to the universality of his thinking, in view of his reach in other countries. It is in Brazil in the 50s/60s that Paulo, immersed in many intellectual and political influences, focuses on the pedagogical practice on which he later elaborated his entire theory of education.

The singularity of the soil in which the pedagogue carried out his work can be called an expanded singularity, because it was the experience of oppression of third world citizens. It is unique because its project proposes to reintegrate the individual into the world as a being of relations and, therefore, allows the resumption of his nature as homo politicus.

Another direction we refer to points to the universality of his ideas and practices. Of course, we are not saying that Freire's ideas were universally accepted wherever they arrived. His thinking, and especially his pedagogical practice, has suffered numerous criticisms, about this point we will talk about later.

When we talk about universality, we are referring to the repercussion that his ideas had in the places/continents where they passed. What I am calling the singularity and universality of Freire's thought should not be read only in the repercussion of the practical action of his method of literacy in Brazil and in the world, but in his pedagogical proposal for a liberating

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17 He makes reference to two specifically, the Chilean Marcela Gajardo and the Brazilian José Luiz Fiori, who in 1992 worked as researchers and professors at the Facultade Latinoamericana of Social Sciences.
18 com eles debati em vários momentos que a Pedagoga do Oprimido ainda estava em processo de escrita. Eu não posso negar o bem que a amizade de ambos me fez e a contribuição inteligente que eles me proporcionaram”
and conscientizing education, which can be universalized in any space where men and women find themselves in a situation of oppressive and dehumanizing acculturation. Especially at this time when globalization and neoliberalism were able to internationalize markets, consequently internationalizing the misery and oppression of the excluded, the proposal for a problematic and conscientious education of Freire is aimed not only at Brazil and the third world, but at its urgency can be perceived and demanded even in the havens of neoliberal capital.

Professor José Eustáquio Romão (director of the Paulo Freire Institute/Brazil) tells us, in an interview with the BBC - “Once, I was in the desert of Gobi, in Mongolia, with the nomadic people, on a mission. In a tent, I saw goat breeders being literate by two teachers. I didn't understand what they were talking about, but a name sounded a little familiar. It was Paulo Freire. They had the last chapter of the Pedagogia do Oprimido in their hands, translated into Chinese, which deals precisely with the method of literacy”

Critical Pedagogy - the universality of his thinking

As Giroux points out; “For Freire, critical pedagogy meant imagining literacy not only as a domain of specific skills, but also as a way of intervention, a way of learning and reading the word as a basis for intervening in the world”. Critical thinking is not reduced to an objective lesson in carrying out a test or in the task of memorizing the so-called deeds, out of context and unrelated to current conditions. On the contrary, it was a matter of offering a way of thinking beyond the apparent naturalness or inevitability of the current state of affairs, challenging assumptions validated by “common sense”, rising beyond the immediate limits of experiences, entering into a dialogue with history and imagining a future that doesn't just reproduce the present.

Thus, critical pedagogy insists that one of the fundamental tasks of educators is to make sure that the future points the way to a more socially just world, a world in which criticism and possibility in conjunction with the values of reason, freedom and equality are present - function to change the reasons in which life is lived. Even though it denies a notion of literacy as the transmission of facts or skills related to the latest market trends, critical pedagogy is hardly a

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19 “Uma vez, eu estava no deserto de Gobi, na Mongólia, com o povo nómade, em missão. Em uma tenda, vi aos criadores de cabra sendo alfabetizados por dois professores. Eu não entendia nada do que eles falavam, mas um nome soava um tanto familiar. Era Paulo Freire. Eles estavam com o último capítulo da Pedagogia do Oprimido nas mãos, traduzido ao chinês, que trata justamente do método de alfabetização”

20 “A pedagogia crítica, para Freire, significava imaginar a alfabetização não só como domínio de habilidades específicas, mas também como um modo de intervenção, uma maneira de aprender e ler a palavra como base para intervir no mundo”
recipe for political doctrine, as advocates of its standardization insist. It offers students new ways of thinking and acting creatively and independently, making it clear what the educator's task is.

Critical pedagogy insists that education cannot be neutral. Education is always an administrative act in its intention to enable students to understand the world in its depth and their role in history. Furthermore, a deliberate attempt to influence how and what knowledge, values, desires and identity are produced within particular sets of class and social relations is inevitable. For Freire, pedagogy always presupposes some notion of a more egalitarian and fair future; and, as such, it should always function, in part, as a provocation that takes students beyond the world they know, in order to expand the range of human possibilities and democratic values.

It is for these elements, among many others, that his pedagogical conception called critical pedagogy shifted his thinking from the local to the global. The experiences of oppression, of education, of dehumanization are experienced by all societies, from the most just to the most unjust. Freire's epistemological categories continue today, what we should not do is repeat his pedagogy as a recipe, but on the contrary, as he always encouraged us - to make new pedagogies according to each context, as Michael Apple puts it very well. I start from Freire soaked in my own context. We will certainly arrive at the same place. A critical and liberating education of our dehumanizing humanity.

Theses and criticisms of Paulo Freire's thinking

I think that in order to begin the analysis of the criticism of Freire's thought, one should not rely on a chronology of his writings (with the risks of linearity) and the changes that they have been undergoing throughout his theoretical-academic trajectory. We could speak, as is the custom in the history of intellectual trajectories, of at least three Freires, or, better said, three historical moments of Freire's discourse (SCOCUGLIA, 1999): The first corresponds to his writings between the years 1959 to 1970, in which stand out the writings “Educação e atualidade brasileira”; “Educação como prática de liberdade e conscientização”, both elaborated from a liberal and developmental worldview on the construction of a modern nation, and guided by a conception of the philosophical-Catholic humanism of the belief in the Being.

In this sense, there is a vision of Brazilian society in transit, in search of the desired modernization. A project involved in political struggle between two blocks of the bourgeoisie:
the commercial-agrarian and the urban-industrial, hegemonic fractions of the ruling elites between the years 1950-1960.

The first criticisms, in particular that of the Brazilian and Latin American intellectuals, in general, are centered on this period of Freire's initial trajectory and on the first texts. “Critics will praise the analysis of his political and pedagogical thinking as idealistic, subjectivist and reformist”21 (PAIVA, 1980; ROJO, 1948). Paulo himself recognizes some weaknesses in his analysis of reality, but refutes it (1984), stating that critics did not read the development of his thinking. They first settled on Freire.

These are the criticisms that I have been receiving, especially in Latin America. It seems to me, however, that anyone who classifies me in this way, based on naive moments in some of my works, which I also criticized today, should be forced to follow the steps I took. In fact, in my first studies, beside naivety there are also critical positions. Furthermore, I do not adopt the naive and unhealthy illusion of achieving absolute criticality (FREIRE, 1984, p. 24).22

The second, which can be said, historically determinant of Freire's thought, coincides with his period of exile, throughout the 1970s and early 1980s of the last century. This is where his work is found in Europe, Africa and Central America.

Here, the elaboration of his ideas highlighted by the experience lived in Chile, his participation in the popular movement and the great debates and actions on agrarian reform in the country. According to our interpretation, a structured thinking based on two theoretical approaches stands out - the first of a pedagogical nature that appears in the Pedagogia do Oprimido, and the second, of a more specific political-pedagogical nature, that appears in the reflections of the book Ação cultural para a liberadade.

I believe that the criticisms that appear as a result of the previous texts do not lead to think that after the self-criticism and the contributions of the critic, there is a shift in the Freire's work. The proximity to the Marxist-Gramscian categories will contribute and guide his work. The Pedagogy of the Oppressed inaugurates the second Freire, which places himself in dialogue with Luckás, Gramsci, Marx, Sartre. These new contributions that are determining his break with the liberal, nationalist, populist and Catholic humanist positions of the first Freire.

21 “Os críticos elogiarão a análise do seu pensamento político e pedagógico como idealista, subjetivista e reformista”

22 Esas son críticas que se me vienen haciendo, sobre todo en América Latina. Me parece, sin embargo, que quienes me califican así, basándose en momentos ingenuos de algunos trabajos míos, criticados hoy por mí también, deberían obligarse a seguir los pasos que he dado. En realidad, en mis primeros estudios, al lado de ingenuidades hay también posiciones críticas. Por lo demás, no abrigo la ilusión ingenua y poco humilde de alcanzar la criticidad absoluta (FREIRE, 1984, p. 24).
Over time, it is necessary to call attention so that we do not forget that this period does not allow us to affirm a Marxist Freire, as I have said on many occasions, that it was not the Marxist categories that led him to popular education, on the contrary, the experiences with popular education led him to seek theoretical approaches and instruments to better understand popular struggles and experiences.

To get to the third Freire, we need to look at the epistemological turn that he makes of the concept of "awareness". In a closer way, this contribution has been placed in his thinking since the first steps guided by the Isebians\textsuperscript{23}. In other words, “awareness” is generated through increasing stages, ranging from the naivest conception, passing through the transitive and reaching critical consciousness. With these categories, Freire is getting closer to the Lukács class consciousness (LUKÁCS, 2003)\textsuperscript{24} which could be achieved through “dialectical mediation” in which class consciousness arises from an “interaction” between spontaneous consciousness of the working class and the Party's educational work (ZIZEK, 2003).

Indeed, the category “class struggle” brought him many inconveniences for his understanding of conscience (TORRES, 1979), since Freire did not accept class struggle as the engine of History. Even so, according to Scocuglia (1999), with which we agree, this approach to conscience and class struggle constitutes an important leap in his social analysis of education.

In this sense, with politics being “substantive” and pedagogy “adjective”, the initial conception of an education for the “internal” change of man, via awareness of the psycho-pedagogical scope (sic) and that would imply the transformation of the whole society. Indeed, in his last writings, Freire focused on “historical creation” - with workers, students, teachers, in their unions, associations, communities, schools -, of another education that would only be possible in the profound change of society, politics, ethics, the daily lives of individuals and social groups. Resistance education, which does not accept the continued exploitation of the oppressed or other shady pretexts. An education “for autonomy and for the ability to drive” or, as Gramsci argued, for “counter hegemony of subordinates” (p. 35).\textsuperscript{25}

\textsuperscript{23} Isebians refers to intellectuals who were at the forefront of ISEB (Institute of Brazilian Higher Studies) - government agency of the Ministry of Education and Culture, created by decree number 37,608 of July 14, 1955, with the purpose of studying the Brazilian reality of the mid-20th century, with the purpose of promoting studies and formulating proposals for national development. The Institute was the mentor for the elaboration of the national - developmentalist project in Brazil. Its main intellectuals and founders were Helio Juaguaribe, Guerreiro Ramos, Cândido Mendes, Álvaro Vieira Pinto and Nelson Werneck Sodré.

\textsuperscript{24} Lukács, in his studies on class consciousness, even though he denies a historical and systematic typology of possible levels of consciousness, indicates that it establishes itself in levels (LUKÁCS, G, 2003, p. 147).

\textsuperscript{25} Nesse sentido, com a política sendo “substantiva” e a pedagogia “adjetiva”, a concepção inicial de uma educação para a mudança “interna” do homem, via conscientização de âmbito psico-pedagógica(sic) e que implicaria a transformação de toda a sociedade. Com efeito, nos seus últimos escritos, Freire concentrou-se na “criação histórica” - com os trabalhadores, estudantes, professores, em seus sindicatos, associações, comunidades, escolas, de uma outra educação que só seria possível na mudança profunda da sociedade, da política(gem), da ética, do cotidiano dos indivíduos e dos grupos sociais. Uma educação de resistência, que não aceita a exploração continua.
One of the most severe criticisms of Freire refers precisely to the question of the universality of his thinking (method). Linda Harasim\(^26\), in her thesis, points out that Freire's theory and practice were unable to carry out the conscious literacy work that he and his team proposed in Africa, in Guinea Bissau. The author indicates as a main factor of this failure the imposition of a western vision in an African society. Possibly, according to the researcher, Freire thought that his method had universal value and could be appropriate for any third world society\(^27\). The author accuses Freire of a romantic view of education and politics. She claims that the fundamental contradiction of his work in Africa lies in the fact that Freire's concept of politics was rooted in moral and philosophical notions and does not contain an implicit plan of action.

In general, the criticisms are directed to the “method”, since the experiments of his pedagogy form more in the field of adult literacy practice, experienced in literacy campaigns, which occur in Africa and Latin America than other theoretical approaches registered in the method.

According to Kubota (1996), Freire's method presupposed a context already involved, sifted by the capitalist market, in which oppression is the social reality incorporated in the material condition. It is a class society, a certain relationship of oppression would be experienced by the worker, the peasant, etc., and along with it a conscience and interest in literacy. In Brazil, there was a market economy that motivated him to learn to read and write, and also to learn politics, since only literate people could vote. However, critics point out that there was a great contradiction between the assumptions implicit in Freire's strategies and in the socioeconomic and historical conditions of other countries in which he has developed his method (SAENZ, 1981; LA BELLE, 1987; FREYHOLD, 1979; HARASIM, 1983).

In the case of Nicaragua, people may have similar experience with Brazilian workers and landless peasants. In Africa, however, the experiences were different from those in Latin America. For example, in Guinea-Bissau there was not a single language - a common language and there was almost no development of market relations in the most advanced capitalist mode. In the rural sector, peasants were weakly related to market relations. Living only on subsistence...
agriculture, the widespread experience of social oppression in the peasant was not directly submerged in the culture of the oppressor. In this situation, critical literacy may have failed to raise critical awareness among illiterates.

In these terms that we present, the criticism is more accentuated in the method and, therefore, it is necessary to advance in the examination of Freire's thought. As mentioned by Kobota (1996, p. 81):

As part of the reflection on literacy practices in different countries, we recognize that the process of implementing Freire's theory presents a variety of difficulties that depend on many factors, in addition to political orientation, the socioeconomic context, as well as human and material aspects. In practice, the method of dialogue also becomes a kind of oral questionnaire, instead of a stimulating discussion that Freire can inspire and challenge those involved in literacy activities, but does not offer a solution (MILLER, 1982). And we certainly know that there are no magic formulas. The important thing is to challenge people who need to learn and together we create our own future for an authentic practice.

For our part, we are Freireans who maintain one of his advices, that is, forgetting to build chapels and encapsulate their thinking, but advancing the fundamentals of critical pedagogy without dogmatizing the knowledge of the founding “parents”. Therefore, as I have already mentioned in other criticisms of Freire's thinking, especially the use that is sometimes made of him. I stopped using Freire's concepts because I found others more suited to my research phenomena. Reading, understanding and criticizing is a necessary and respectable movement. However, it is unacceptable for the intellectual mediocrity of some, based on “slogans”, to be taken seriously. Those who replicate speeches by digital militias who have never read a single page of the author's book, who “ politicize and moralize” without any criteria, do not deserve consideration. Unfortunately, in my country it was people of this type who tried to remove the title of Patron of Brazilian Education by Paulo Freire (Bill by a Brazilian parliamentarian).

One of the criticisms I mentioned refers to the so-called “Freire romanticism” with his project of education in a conception of man saving. A theological reading of Paulo Freire's concepts became very popular throughout Latin America in the 1980s. Possibly, due to the

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28 Reflecting on the literacy practices in four different countries, we soon recognize that the process of practical implementation of Freire’s theory present a variety of difficulties depending on many factors apart from political orientation, such as social-economic context as well as human and material resources. In practices, the dialogue method also turns into a kind of oral questionnaire rather than a stimulating discussion. Freire can inspire and challenge those who are involved in literacy activities, but he cannot give solution (Miller 1982) And of course, we know there are no magic formulas. The important thing is to challenge people who must learn from others experience and create their own future by authentic praxis (KOBOTA, 1996, p. 81).
thematic similarity with the language of the Latin American Church, after the Second Vatican Council and the Episcopal Conferences of Puebla and Medellín. On the other hand, in the official and conservative Church, very strong criticisms of the ideals and concepts of oppression/liberation also proliferated.

To speak of the importance and influence of the religious in the author's work, we reproduce his own words in a correspondence to a young theologian: “Although I am not a theologian, but a “bewitched” by theology, which marked many aspects of my pedagogy, sometimes, the impression that the third world(sic) can, therefore, become an inspiring source of theological resurgence”.

In order to understand the basic themes underlying the philosophical content of Freire's pedagogy, it is important to recognize the influence of existentialism, phenomenology, Marxism and Christianity. His thought was formed by tensions of philosophical theses along with classical humanism (KUBOTA, 1996).

Much more broadly, we can say that the religious question accompanies Paul's work from the first moments of his intellectual formation. It is possible to perceive in his early writings the outstanding influence of Christian humanism, authors such as Tristán de Athayde, Jacques Maritain, Emmanuel Mounier, among others. From a chronological perspective, we can see the Christian religious orientations that Freire transits. We could say that in the early years, the religious ideas of his work were marked by the humanist current and by existentialism. His work clearly denotes a reaction to worldviews that minimized the potential to be and reduced man to something at the mercy of higher entities, especially the state and the market, in which man loses his own conscience.

The currents of humanism seek to redirect the energies of man to return him to the place of protagonist in history. From where we can perceive its direction to a more existentialist path, in which it is directed to affirm that the definitive being does not exist, because it is existence and, therefore, it is in time and not outside it that man defines himself as a “being”. We understand this as a humanism that appears in all of Freire's work: the value of man and the search for his liberation. With that, Paulo, aware of the concrete reality in which the man lives, reaches Marx, without having ever become a Marxist. In exile, Paulo finds himself facing the

29 “Ainda que eu não seja teólogo, mas um “enfeitiçado” pela teologia, que marcou muitos aspectos de minha pedagogia, às vezes, a impressão de que o terceiro mundo(sic) pode, portanto, se transformar em uma fonte inspiradora do ressurgimento teológico”

30 To understand the basic themes underlying philosophical content of Freire's Pedagogy it is important recognize the influence of the Existentialism, Phenomenology, Marxism and Christianity. His thought was shaped by thesis philosophical strains along with his classical humanism (KUBOTA, 1996, p. 70).
harsh reality of political powers of castration in Latin America, in which he can perceive the importance of Karl Marx’s tools of analysis of thought to look at reality, for having examined economic relations and capitalist production processes. In this situation, Freire perceives the relevance of these instruments in his work.

From this meeting, which reoriented him towards the philosophy of praxis, Freire portrays the relationship of oppressor/oppressed that weaves human relationships through alienating power games, clearly establishing the situation of domination among men. It is this view of the man he has and the search for the ‘new man’ that he elevates liberation determines a religious world view of Paul's work, fundamentally based on the imperatives of the gospel: Hope, love, denunciation/announcement [prophetism], utopia of liberation. As one of his interpreters states: “in Freire, the theological permanently exists as a source of reflection and action, as a commitment and praxis” 31.

Therefore, three antagonisms were constituted as strong concepts in the author's work, they are what we call keys of interpretation of the religious influence in the work of Paulo Freire: Oppression/Liberation; Hope/Consciousness; Denunciation/Announcement and the best tradition of biblical prophetism. For many of his interpreters, these antagonistic pairs are a strong expression of dialectics in Freire's thought.

However, through them, we can jump from anthropology to pedagogy and from this to the theologization of Freire's work. Certainly, he is not a theologian, what we do is an effort to understand him in this way, since he was also "immersed" in the waters of Christianity, in the strong Christian culture in northeastern Brazil. It can be concluded that Freire never left Christian humanism.

Conclusion

After Freire: Freirean reading in the face of a neo-colonized Latin America

In this political moment that we suffer considerable losses in Latin America, with an overwhelming control of the market and capital in the continent, it is time to reflect much more about Freire's work and its special value for the understanding and action in the world in which we live. Not to repeat Freire, but to make new pedagogies, to propose new epistemologies of the SOUTH-SOUTH relationship, to break up and resist the neocolonialism of thought imposed by the old metropolis. We are in a movement, as indicated by Souza Santos (2010) and Mignolo.

31 “in Freire, the theological subsists permanently as a source of reflection and action, as commitment and praxis”
(2003), in search of (de)colonization, not to reject the knowledge we gained with the north, but to affirm that there are other ways of thinking and living, there are other ways of conceiving knowledge, other epistemologies. The youth gave us concrete proof of this, for example, as the student movement that spread throughout Latin America for the resurgence of the movement was rehearsed in Chile, reminding the centennial of the Student Movement of Córdoba.

So, to reflect on this process we can end this essay with some questions: what are the decolonization projects? What projects do we have today in our countries that indicate a struggle against the colonialism of knowledge and power? And that indicate a resistance - an attitude and action of decolonization?

It is possible that the conception of education that can accommodate Freire's ideas today, is a pedagogy of (de) colonization and an approximation of southern epistemologies, in order to change the hegemonic thinking structured in the technical rationality produced by modernity and by capitalism. The challenge of a new reading of Freire now as a classic, it is to build pedagogical thinking beyond capital, as advised by Mészáros (2008).

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32 Here I refer to the concept of "Classic", treated by Italo Calvino (1993). For Calvin, "Classics are books that exert a particular influence when they impose themselves as unforgettable and also when they hide in the folds of memory, mimicking themselves as collective or individual unconscious". [...] "A classic is a book that never finished saying what it had to say." And more: "The classics are those books that come to us bearing the marks of the readings that preceded ours and behind them the traces they left in the culture or cultures they crossed (or more simply in language or customs)". (...) "A classic is a work that ceaselessly provokes a cloud of critical discourses about itself, but continually repels them away." (p. 10-12)


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