

ARTIGO

**LITERACY FROM THE TRENCHES OF SOCIAL MOBILIZATION:
LANDLESS RURAL LEARNING AND THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION
IDENTITIES**

*(Literacy from the trenches of social mobilization: Landless rural learning and the
institutionalization identities)*

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RESUMO

Este artigo discute as representações do ato de ler e escrever para três educadores do campo, formados em uma universidade no Brasil e pertencentes ao movimento social. O escopo teórico concentra-se nos estudos de letramento e alfabetização somados à perspectiva freireana. As representações de leitura, ora se assemelham, ora se distanciam da universidade. As entrevistas semiestruturadas realizadas revelaram que seus discursos/representações refletem seu ponto de vista como leitores no contexto social rural de base, incorporado a uma posição associada ao discurso institucionalizado. O significado de letramento associado ao movimento social e à institucionalização do ensino superior contribui para (re) construções de identidades acadêmicas.

Palavras-chave: Educadores do campo; Leitura e escrita; Movimento social; Universidade.

ABSTRACT

This article discusses the representations of the act of reading and writing for three activist rural educators, graduated from a university in Brazil. The theoretical scope is concentrated on literacy studies complementary to a Freirean perspective. The representations of reading are sometimes similar, or distant from the university's version. The semi-structured interviews conducted revealed that their speeches/representations reflect their point of view as readers point of view based on their rural social context, incorporated into a positionality associated with institutionalized discourse. The meaning of literacy associated with the social movement and the institutionalization of higher education contributes to (re) constructions of academic identities.

Keywords: Rural Educators; Reading and Writing; Social movement; University

RESUMEN

Este artículo analiza las representaciones del acto de leer y escribir de tres activistas educadores rurales, formados en una universidad de Brasil. El alcance teórico se concentra en la alfabetización y literacidad complementares a una perspectiva freireana. Las representaciones de la lectura, son a veces similares o distantes de la versión de la universidad. Las entrevistas semiestruturadas realizadas revelaron que sus discursos/representaciones reflejan su punto de vista como lectores en el contexto social rural, incorporado a un posicionamiento asociado con el discurso institucionalizado. El significado de la literacidad esta de acuerdo con el movimiento social y la institucionalización de la educación superior contribuyendo para la (re)construcción de identidades académicas.

Palabras clave: Educadores de campo; Lectura y escritura; Movimiento social; Universidad

INTRODUÇÃO

This article discusses the representations of writing and reading - situated - at the university. Based on experiences of three rural fieldwork educators, graduated in Bachelor of Language/Portuguese PRONERA- National Education Program in Agrarian Reform, we studied the university relationship with the reading practices carried out in the Social Movement of Landless Rural Workers (MST). This setting is a training space that regularly deals with reading and writing catered to militancy practices of the MST movement. Thus, our research examines the understanding of the processes of reader representations constituted in these two spheres of human activity - the local MST setting and the university. The presence of students at the University is the result of a partnership between the Federal University of Pará (UFPA), the National Institute for Colonization of Agrarian Reform (INCRA) and PRONERA.

In this study, we present part of the results of Bezerra's master's degree research (2014), in the Linguistics Program at the Federal University of Santa Catarina. On one hand, we highlight the representations of reading and writing that permeate the educational preparation/activism of the three educators, living in areas of Agrarian Reform settlements, in the southeastern region of Pará (Brazilian state) - settlements organized by the MST. On the other hand, the reading and writing practices demanded at the university and lived experiences of educators in the discipline subject of Reading and Textual Production, specific practices of the training required in most courses of Linguistics/Portuguese. In this context, we seek to perceive the approximations/similarities and dissonances between these two formative spaces, as well as apprehend the connotations of literacy practices present in the social movement and the university institution, which we will name as social literacy practices and academic literacy practices, respectively. We understand that the concomitant belonging to the aforementioned spaces contributes to the process of identity construction of the educating participant of rural fields, since they influence their collective projects of (re)existences when experiencing the overlapping of these two worlds of literacy (DANTAS, 2012).

We understand representations in this work according to Moscovici (2019), when he argues that the three-layered groups/acts/ideas constitute and transform society, based on certain knowledge apprehended in a situated way. For the author, the idea of collective or social representation was the source of anthropological, linguistic, historical, and social psychology concepts. According to him, “the study of how, and why people share knowledge and thus constitute their common reality, of how they transform ideas into practices”, Moscovici (2009, p. 8). In other words, it is about the understanding of how we apprehend historicity in the construction of situated social phenomena, in which representations are constituted, in addition to considering the necessary complementarity in the valuation of common sense and empirical knowledge, in relation to scientific knowledge.

We understand that educators of the field that transits through these two worlds of literacies is constituted from identities and representations of themselves and their actions with/in/about language, because sometimes they are teachers, sometimes activists militants of the social movement, sometimes students from the Languages/Portuguese/Pronera course, among other identities. This allows us to affirm, according to the socio-interactionist view of language, that “people are largely positioned in identities according to their connection within a discourse” (MOITA LOPES, 2003, p.24). Thus, the centrality of the discursive construction of social identities is reaffirmed - which indicates that they are not fixed and completed, but situated, assuming different positionalities when participating in the historical discursive processes of diverse spheres of human activity (BAKHTIN, 2000).

This article is configured in three main sections; in the first, we briefly present the scope of rural education, in the second and third sections, we address the field of literacy studies and its different epistemological perspectives. Then, we present the methodological procedures of the research, and finally the analysis followed by the final considerations of the work.

1. RURAL EDUCATION: A FIELD IN MOTION

The concept of Rural Education is new, but it is already in dispute, precisely because the movement of the reality it seeks to express is marked by very strong social contradictions. The conceptual debate is important, as it helps clarify what conflicts and practical challenges lie ahead. However, a first necessary understanding is that the concept of Rural Education, as part of the construction of a theoretical and political paradigm, is not fixed, closed; and it cannot be random or arbitrary either: any concept, invented by someone, by a group, an institution, a government, a social movement or organization. "The concept of Rural Education is rooted in its materiality of origin and the historical movement of the reality it refers to." (CALDART, 2008, p. 69). The discussion on Rural Education also needs to be considered, from the beginning, as a fight-for-land demand; of organic experiences from social movements, to government policies. For that, it is important to understand the colonization processes that were thought and imposed upon the Amazon Region, as ensures Martins (1991):

Population contingents have been and still are displaced [emphasis added] to the Amazon by a concentration and expropriation-based land ownership, exacerbated by an open choice for corporations and capitalist land ownership made by governmental policy. The Amazon is currently one of the most tense regions in the country, precisely because it has been accumulating conflicts generated in other areas, while deliberate and exacerbated reproduction of a concentration-based land ownership, that drives out farmers and rural workers, makes it a region of despair (MARTINS, 1991, p. 76).

The above quote briefly illustrates the scenario of this border region, built of complex identity implications, which leads us to affirm that such factors fomented the departure of many farmers from the lands, others died and some resisted in collective ways of acting against the conquest of land. In this regard, social organizations have strengthened the agrarian question in the North Region of Brazil and are configured as formative and educational spaces. In the understanding of Rural Education, social organizations play an important role in the consistent education of farmers. This education does not necessarily happen only in school - which legitimates the ways of learning of the capitalist society we live in. Social organizations also constitute contexts of learning practices, such as: trade unions, churches, associations, cooperatives among other formative spaces that belong

in the lives of those individuals engaged in the struggle for a dignified life in rural areas. Such spaces provide moments of education, as much as schooling does. The accomplishment and consolidation of political spaces, such as unions, are significant strategies for citizenship affirmation. As noted by Hébette, (2004, p. 80): “the land fighters' organized in search of more rights and validation of those rights, Rural Workers Unions (STR's), are a form of organization that ensures the rights of those who fought and are fighting for the possession of the land”.

It is worth mentioning that although the concepts of Education in Agrarian Reform and Rural Education were born simultaneously, they are distinct and complementary. In the words of Michelotti (2006):

Education in Agrarian Reform refers to educational policies for the development of rural settlements. In this sense, Education in Agrarian Reform is part of Rural Education, understood as a process in construction, that includes in its logic the policy that understands education as an essential part of rural development. (MICHELOTTI, 2006, p. 30).

Based on that assumption, there are solid grounds for saying that as you accomplish land it is critical to accomplish education as well; the fight for land is a fight for education in the same proportion. In this sense, we tend to consider spaces that are also educational, the Social Movement, as a non-school space, and relevant in conveying significant reading and writing practices in the militancy formative process of the educators considered in this study, and the school space University, institution recognized as provider of the knowledge legitimated in written-centric society.

2. STUDIES OF LITERACY: A THEORETICAL APPROACH IN CONSTRUCTION

We believe that since we chose the topic Rural Education in this study, we need to introduce a discussion on Literacy, since we believe these two fields interact with each other, and also because we consider that they both include language conceptions that intertwine the practice of rural the educators subjects. The relevance of the concept of literacy for studies focused on reading and writing practices in school and non-school environments, leads us to what was postulated by Kleiman (1995), regarding "the countless situations of social-participatory use of reading, listening and writing in different groups" (KLEIMAN, 1995, p. 17). This prompts us to verify if there is a link between reading and writing processes and the experience of literate social practices provided by the school, in the language practices of the subjects.

Initially, it is noteworthy that, according to Campos (2003), there was a perspective shift in language studies within literacy studies back in the 1980s: a language concept that would lead to an alternative model of writing analysis, based on the meanings of literacy practices in people's daily

lives, that is, understanding literacy not as a universal practice for all people and/or social groups, but on the contrary, as a process intrinsically linked to the interests of individuals and/or social groups involved in it. Therefore, it might have countless purposes, such as adapting conventions brought by official literacy agencies (School/University) to appropriate new knowledge and use it in an original manner in enunciations.

For Street (1984), a striking scholar in the field of literacy theories, in a given time, research in the field of literacy studies were conducted between sociolinguistics and anthropology theories on the one hand, and theories of discourse and ethnographic method, on the other, aiming to discuss the multiple literacies existent in communities and their social determination. Later, Street (2003) confirms his hypothesis, demonstrating the diversity of research emerged in the 1980s, which started investigating the interface between oral and literate practices operating in specific contexts and situations. One of the main tasks of such research, according to the author, is turning their attention to the creative and original ways in which people transform literacy for their own purposes and cultural interests.

That is why it is important for our study to grasp the educators' reading and writing representations, in order to understand their speeches on the act of reading and writing in the university or in the social movement. In this regard, Kleiman (1995, p. 19) asserts that "[...] we may today define literacy as a set of social practices that use writing, as a symbolic system and as technology, in specific contexts, for specific purposes."

Other authors define literacy as something that people do with writing and reading, in situated spaces of these uses (BARTON; HAMILTON, 1998). For these authors literacy lies neither only in people's minds, as something fixed, like skills to be learned, nor only on paper, captured as text to be analyzed.

Zavala (2010), on access processes to reading and writing, believes that the academic literacy discussion is a constitutive aspect of university students' language practices, especially those coming from minority groups, such as the participants in our study. For the author, the concept of literacy involves "speaking and acting in an academic discourse", (p. 72). Indeed, academic literacy must fulfill a "critical and not palliative role in higher education, which implies fighting deficit discourses on the lack of logic and rationality in learners". (p. 91).

We are very much interested in discussing in this article the key character writing assumes, or that is delegated to it in terms of social practices, above all for understanding that discussions on literacy are themed around the meanings that subjects attribute to writing in their fields of human activity. Our focus in terms of situated literacies (BARTON; HAMILTON, 1998) is in the contexts of the Social Movement and the University.

2.1 Paulo Freire: the act of reading and the literacy concept

This subsection is necessary to clarify the similarities between the Freirean understanding of the act of reading and literacy studies. Reflection on critical pedagogies can provide us subsidies to think about the pedagogical doing as a multicultural context, legacy from a thought imprinted in Freire's pedagogy (1973 [2015]); (1981 [2013]); (2008); (2011). Freire (1973) put in question the educational practice in which social structures are never discussed as a problem to be naked - on the contrary, they are mythologized by different forms of action that reinforce learners' "false consciousness" - and therefore does not constitute a libertarian education practice, but a domesticating alphabetizing practice. That is why it is essential that educational practices be rooted in a conscious political position.

Thus, as foreseen in Freirean works, and in dialogue with our study, rural educator's acting also plays a relevant role when engaged in a form of conscious action, for it is naive to expect the ruling classes to develop a form of education that allows dominated classes to perceive social injustices in a critical way. This finding demonstrates the impossibility of a "neutral" education. The fact of not being neutral is what characterizes the liberating character of education. In this context, Freirean education invite students to understand, to unveil reality, in a critical way.

Also according to Freire (1981), domesticating education operates in the perspective of the

[...] necessary dichotomy between those who manipulate and those who are manipulated, while in education for liberation there are not - or at least there should not be - subjects who liberate and objects who are liberated. Therefore, education for domestication is an act of "knowledge" transfer, while education for liberation is an act of knowledge and a transformative action method that human beings must exert upon reality. Thus, the alphabetization process seen from a liberating point of view is an act of knowledge: a creative act in which learners play the role of cognizant subjects, as much as educators do. Obviously then, learners are not seen as "empty vessels", mere recipients of the educator's words, i.e. the banking education (FREIRE, 1981 [2015], p. 105).

Freire (1973) fought against banking education with much emphasis. Instead of being considered "banks to receive or black slates", students are invited not only to learn how to read alienated stories, but to make history and be made by it, developing a reading understanding beyond printed materials.

On the matter of alphabetization and the act of reading, the author considered the problem of political "alphabetization", advocating that the starting point should be the analysis of what is a political "illiterate". If, from a linguistic point of view, the illiterate is one who cannot read and write - that is, one that does not decode the alphabet - then, from a political point of view

[...] The political "illiterate" - it does not matter whether he/she can read and write or not - is one that has a naive magic perception of reality, when politically alphabetized, that perception gives way to an objective view, and from this deepening results awareness of social reality (FREIRE, 1981 [2013], p. 74).

Freire (1981) illustrates what the attitude of a political illiterate would be, even in the case of a literate subject. Even if alphabet knowledgeable, one who does not act critically in their reality is a political illiterate. In this perspective, the subject cannot escape from the reality, in which he/she acts, without assuming, critically, their presence in it.

Regarding this acting, we believe there are similarities between Paulo Freire's legacy, with respect to the concepts of domesticating education versus education for freedom, or critical contrasted to banking pedagogy (FREIRE, 1973), with what STREET (1984) outlines with reference to his theory on autonomous and ideological literacy models. If the individual assumes him/herself only as literate, he/she is closer to the so-called autonomous literacy, as well as to a banking perspective of education. However, when he/she critically acts in the world, he/she is no longer political illiterate and approaches the postulations of the ideological literacy model, and soon demonstrating a critical approach to the act of reading and writing. These are the questions that drive this work in our dialogue with Freire's studies on alphabetization /complementary literacies, along with the topic of rural education.

We would like to stress that these are nuances constructed by us and supported by some scholars. Ferreiro (2003) argues that he does not use the term literacy, believing that alphabetization, in Freirean modes, already includes these studies. Soares (2006, p. 20) reiterates this opinion in one of his first works on the subject. He noted that there was no need to choose the term Literacy, claiming that in Brazil the word Alphabetization already fulfilled this function in Freire's critical conception. Pelandré (2002) ensures that, without using the term literacy, Paulo Freire:

[...] had already advanced in debates on reading and writing conceptions, since the reading and writing for him, meant not only the realm of the process of codifying and decodifying words and phrases, but rather 'the possibilities of the subject, aware of being product and producer of culture, to make use of this technology (read and write) to act in and upon the world'. (PELANDRÉ, 2002, p. 85).

In this sense, Freire e Macedo (2011) stressed that it is not enough only to read and write conventionally, as Freire (1981) exemplifies: "The wing belongs to the bird"; "Eva saw the grape"; "João already knows how to read, now he will get a job." Contrasting these uses is a task that represents the discussions conveyed in theoretical contributions of literacy: "Announcing that reading and writing accomplishment is equivalent, in the same proportion, to succeeding in life, as well as social mobility, is at least a naive attitude." (FREIRE, 1981, p. 15).

In written-centric society, learning how to read and write will not always be a springboard to access material goods and social "status", nor will it ensure being accepted in socially privileged practices (STREET, 2003). In synchronicity with Freire, Street (2003, p. 2) affirms

The ethnographic approach to literacy in development programs derives from recent theoretical arguments that, as in the case of Freire's (1972) work, argue that literacy is not simply a set of uniform "technical skills" to be transmitted to those that do not have them - the "autonomous" model -, but that there are several types of literacy in communities, and that the practices associated with that literacy have social basis [...].

The authors agree that the act of reading goes beyond mastering techniques. Teach that learning to read cannot be done as something parallel to the concrete reality of those involved. As important as writing and reading that "Eva saw the grape" is to (de)construct and (re)create the reading of reality (FREIRE, 1981, p. 17), finding oneself questioning their own life, problematizing the meanings of those who plant and profit from the grape. Thereby, reflecting on who has access and naturally consumes the grape is an important and necessary process in the production of senses during the act of reading.

Thinking about reading and writing senses for rural educators constitutes a dialogic relationship before the materialization of rural education and the discussions on popular education and the meanings of the act of reading - as theorized by Freire (2008). We argue that the discussion on critical and emancipatory alphabetization contained in the Freirean legacy, are assumptions of the discussion on the concept of ideological literacy in Street (1984).

We are not saying that the Brazilian educator theorized the term literacy in his writings, however, the theory of a critical alphabetization practice very much approaches the ideological literacy model in (Street, 1984), since in his experience in youth and adult education he already emphasized the social practices of those involved. Freire (1973) had already announced and enunciated popular education as a politicized alphabetization movement, that was oriented against the oppression of marginalized groups, very close to the cultural dimension of social use of reading and writing contexts, reverberations of Gee's (1994) critical literacy. The methodological procedures of this work are presented below.

3. METHODOLOGICAL PATH AND SUBJECTS OF THIS STUDY⁴

This study is contextualized in the region of the Brazilian Amazon, in the state of Pará. This state is geographically immense and with vast tracts of land destined to small and large agriculture. Besides its potential for the cultivation of agriculture, in its soil there are also large productions of mineral extraction, iron and gold, as well as livestock. All this added to the great struggles for Agrarian Reform between landowners and landless rural workers. Therefore, our study developed in a settlement, organized by the MST.

For the generation of data I spent three months in the April 17 settlement, with 15-day breaks between going to university and the settlement school, where the three participants are teachers of basic education.

The research that constitutes this study is committed to re-enunciating the voices of historically marginalized groups. We have chosen as methodological action, a qualitative⁵ and interpretive ethnographic research paradigm, whose investigative principles are based on "contexts [...] where subjects live and act, taking into account the understanding of the changes related to the socio-cultural, political and historical life they experience" (MOITA- LOPES; CAVALCANTI, 1991, p. 136). It is believed that such paradigm can provide conditions to support this study, whose shifts to non-school contexts enrich and help thinking about the pedagogical actions of the rural educational project. Because of that, we have adopted an anthropological research perspective in investigations on the social uses of reading and writing, since research on the field of Literacy Studies resort to a variety of methods of generating ethnographic-based data - such as participant observation, the interview, the field diary, in combination with documentary evidence, among others (VÓVIO; SOUZA, 2005).

According to Guedes Pinto; Gomes, Silva (2005), the line of studies on teachers' reading histories has increasingly reinforced the aspect of plurality of literacy trajectories, due mainly to singularities found in each narrated history.

such studies, when taking teachers' narratives about their experiences as readers as a reference, reveal how literacy paths get different along the way, receiving different imprints coming from several settings (school, family, religious, etc.), and for that reason, configure specific trajectories in the reader's education. (GUEDES-PINTO; GOMES; SILVA, 2005, p. 73).

⁴ This research was submitted to the Ethics Committee of the Federal University of Santa Catarina: **CAAE:** 21494313.5.0000.0121 **Acceptance Certificate Number:** 065228/2013

⁵ To Vóvio; Souza (2005, p. 49), qualitative approach allows closer examination of the interactions among subjects and the ways they occur in certain contexts.

In this article, we have adopted the interview as data generation tool in our methodological path, in order to verify the reading and writing representations of the educators: subjects responsible for teaching reading and writing in their settlement areas. According to Moita Lopes (2003), the spaces of professional interaction, leisure, and social activism show other languages - only apprehended in these experiences -, because even being a teacher, the same subject plays different roles. They are social identities that live in diverse areas of society, since an individual is a teacher, but also man, woman, political leader, among other functions that can only be viewed, apprehended and interpreted, if the researcher experiences the contexts of the researched subjects (MOITA LOPES, 2003, p. 25).

3.1 The geographic and social context of the research and its social actors

The settlement April 17, in which we conducted the survey, is located in the state of Pará, in the Amazon region of Brazil. Pará experiences times of tension in the struggle for land, particularly in the southeast of the state. The occupation of farms by the MST movement, farms with strong cuts in the use of slave labor, underscore the tension of the struggle for land between farmers and landowners in the Amazon. It is urgent to reflect on degrading work, environmental, and educational issues, and in particular the background that induces such situations and the role of the State as an inducer of activities that disseminate such a framework. In view of the above, the violent deaths of farm workers continue to occur, education and denunciation in our view is a way of diminishing such practices and strengthening rural education as a legitimate area of land disputes, but above all by education of Rural contexts of the country.

The data analyzed in this study were generated from semi-structured interviews with three teachers - two men and a woman -, which we will denominate PF1, PE2 and PR3⁶. Currently, they all hold a degree in Bachelor of Language/ Portuguese / Pronera⁷. The woman of the group is 45 years old, besides being a teacher in basic education; she sells food products in order to increase the monthly income. The other two men, one with 33 years and another with 31. PR3 in the vacant hours is moto boy. The three teachers are settled in the Agrarian Reform in the state of Pará, in the Amazon region of Brazil.

⁶ We chose the letter P, as in "professor" (teacher), due to confidentiality towards the participants' real names; the second letters are equivalent to the letters of the educators' first names, and the numbers were only used to identify an order. The researcher will be simply denominated P.

⁷ Course of Full Degree in Language/Portuguese, funded with resources from the National Education in Agrarian Reform Program (PRONERA). Duration: April 2006 to December 2011.

It is important to emphasize that the three teachers are militants of the MST and reside in the settlement of said research, called April 17. The origin of this settlement is the result of the Massacre of Eldorado dos Carajás⁸. When mentioning the ethnographic character of this study, we highlight the period of one month that the researcher resided in the settlement. Besides the other comings and goings during the community time - classes in the settlement - and university time - classes in the academia - in the period of 2005 to 2006 in the of Bachelor of Language in which the teachers of this research participated.

The experience with the research collaborators happened in university spaces while their education was taking place, during their reading and text production classes, and in the settlement, when meetings were held there. These educators work in the settlement 17 de Abril, in the municipality of Eldorado dos Carajás, state of Pará/Brazil.

4. ANALYSIS - SOCIAL MOVEMENT AND UNIVERSITY: WRITING AND READING REPRESENTATIONS.

The choice of the situations here analyzed and studied is a development of the educational movement of formation of rural educator/s in southeastern Pará. These educators' literacy practices, in their reading representations, through their educational experiences evidenced sometimes in the social movement, and sometimes in the university, reverberate their (re)construction of identities. In this sense, "The subject expresses him/herself through the prism of the social environment that surrounds them, being [the prism] necessary to understand the motivations and points of view expressed in the verbal interaction" (BAKHTIN, 2004, p. 113).

We have paid attention to the highlighted excerpts that describe representations of the act of reading in academic and social movement settings. We must comment here that those subjects' representations are changing and moving. This demonstrates that the educator's life is not defined, ready, finished, but full of situations that harbor painful or joyful, satisfactory or unsatisfactory experiences, reflections of their schooling process - inherent to flesh and blood humans, in Moita-Lopes's (2006) terms. Therefore, our excerpts try to bring this interweaving of voices. Excerpt 1 was built based on the following question: P- Talk a little about the readings done in the Movement's latest education meeting.

⁸On April 17, 1996, nineteen landless rural workers were killed by the military police in the episode known worldwide as the Eldorado de Carajás Massacre in southeastern Pará. Over these twenty years in 2016, more 271 rural workers and leaders were murdered only in the State of Pará, tracing a tragic scenario of the struggle for the right to land in Brazil (MICHELOTTI, 2006).

4.1 Excerpt⁹ I - NON-SCHOOL SPACE: READING PRACTICES IN THE SOCIAL MOVEMENT

PF1- the books that the movement passed on to us ... were those dedicated to rural education ... especially the books that S passed on were texts ... were studies about living together...of militancy...that was when with these readings that we realized what a real militant is... because it's not:: let's say...only the one who picks up a machete a sickle and goes to the front of the group ... of the landless:: militant is one who reads too... that organizes on the ground ... that:: does meetings... that:: ... contributes in the organizations ...

PE2- E: it's:: the readings I did in the movement... it was like a discovery...I went interested to know what the MST is like ... to get to know... to know how it was... because I always heard [...] who lives in the city thinks one thing ... and when we get here and get to know it, it is another thing completely different right? Who is in the city doesn't know why they stop the road ... why everything stops ... then who doesn't know criticizes ... I've done it myself.. before I saw it on the news and already talked sh... after I read the biographies of Olga Benário, Che, some priests you know we start learning...today when I see friends of ours there and then I learned not to judge anymore

PR3- Look :: I just tell you that the education was heavy ... a lot of reading... reading about what the media says about the movement... Paulo Freire's books... I remember one about the act of consciousness... I thought it was heavy because we had a lot of university reading to do so imagine, we had no rest...the way was to be organized to account for the readings of the movement and of the Bachelor of Language... I suffered you know... but it was worth it ((laughs))

The excerpts highlight the educators' non-school reading practices, which bring the Movement's education meetings as central. Signs of a critical stance in PR3's speech are related to the readings of the Bachelor of Language/Portuguese, not in significant joint traces, but of too much labor caused by reading in the movement and at the university, which makes us reflect on the need to establish a dialogue between reading practices in Academia and its intertwinements with those of the MST. We understand that the process is not a dichotomy, but imbricated, since it relates to literacies from Academia (STREET, 1984); (ZAVALA, 2010), with vernacular literacies (BARTON; HAMILTON, 2000), situated in the militancy context.

We have also noticed how the reading experiences of these teachers come from life outside the University, similar to what Freire (2008) called reading the world, before reading the word. The author states that from the beginning, in democratic and critical practice, reading the world and reading the word are dynamically together. "The command of reading and writing happens based on significant themes to the common experience of individuals and not on themes related only to the educator's experience, i.e. the school." (FREIRE, 2008, p. 14). The author claims that reading the real, however, cannot be a mechanically memorized repetition of our way of reading the real. If so, we

⁹ Our interview transcription is an adaptation of the oral text transcription standards, recommended in Preti (1993).

would be falling into the same authoritarianism constantly criticized in pieces on education. Let us move to the excerpts below, in order to observe the act of reading and writing in the academic setting.

4.2 Excerpt II - SCHOOL SPACE: READING AND WRITING PRACTICES IN THE UNIVERSITY

P: Do you remember like... the reading activities you did during the Bachelor of Language/Portuguese...like?

Excerpts: PR3: *hmm I know it was from Dostoyevsky...I think it was (the death and life of Dostoyevsky)... it was really a drama book (...) I usually read a book of a hundred pages ninety pages... but when I got to the university... I met with the seven hundred or so pages I had never read...*

PF1: *in the university it was a lot of text ... we had text to read all week...so the thing I did the most in the course was reading... and it was **read and write because there was the note cards the reviews of everything that was read ...** I remember Paulo Freire's book... that I really liked... Teacher yes, there was not ... I remember others too ... The mother ((name of a book)) ... but what I remember the most was that Paulo Freire one...*

PE2: *like...at first it was bad...I had never done a diary... because you do not know how to do that... **I never did this before entering the university... I didn't have that practice...** the teacher comes in and says write all that you think about the class really everything... but doesn't explain anything... and I thought is it just me that can't write?*

The above excerpts are close to what Zavala (2010) states on academic literacy in Peru. In general, it is assumed that higher education students come to these institutions ready to respond to literacy demands that this level requires them, as indicated by PE2 "I never did this before entering the university ... I didn't have that practice ". It is noticeable that the conflicts and estrangement with university practices happen due to recent enrollment of individuals from indigenous, maroon and peasant contexts in higher education. Specifically because in the past access to higher education has been reserved for educated elite, prepared to know how to operate effectively in the university environment.

Zavala (2010, p. 72) states that "the experience of reading and writing at the University does not differ much from the practices of the homes of the upper classes, that is why those groups recognize themselves in this educational institution." While subjects not belonging to the upper classes do not understand or recognize (themselves in) the required practices, and because of that, they inculcate the certainty that they do not know, as postulated by participant PE2: "*and I thought is it just me that can't write?*"

Excerpts from teachers PR3 "*I think it was (the death and life of Dostoyevsky)... was really a drama book including the end of it ... it left a lesson*", and PF1: "*...I remember others too... The mother*", point to the inclusion of new readings in their reader universe. We believe that this is one of

the roles of the University, to provide and expand individual access to reading and writing practices not accomplished before, allowing them to rethink their reality, in other words, having access to dominant literacies, conveyed in academia, expanding local literacies. (BARTON; HAMILTON, 1998). As endorsed by Freire (2008), it is the School's responsibility to extend what individuals already bring from their reading realities. We agree with Zavala (2010), however, that this process does not occur immediately, nor without conflict.

4.3 Excerpt III - READING IDENTITIES: SCHOOL AND NON- SCHOOL LITERACY

We have chosen the excerpt below because we identify in it the interweaving of discourses from academic literacy and from the Social Movement.

*PF1- at the university it was a lot of text... and there was also the texts... the books we had to read from the movement... my head even hurt... and it was read and write because there was the note cards the reviews of everything that was read... we came to **the community time** and returned with two or three books that the movement gave ... and there was still the field diaries we did in the classes... and there was the seminars of the books they passed on to us ... I can only say it was many readings.*

We would like to call attention to the readings performed during the Bachelor of Language/Portuguese-PRONERA, which were intended to educate rural teachers and readers with engaged political stances. For that reason, the excerpt under analysis intersects speeches about readings from the university and from the movement, as referred to by participant

PF1: "We came to the community time and returned with two or three books that the movement gave... and there was the seminars of the books that they passed on to us", and the readings from academia: "... so the thing that I did the most in the course was reading... my head even hurt... and it was read and write because there was the note cards the reviews of everything that was read ..."

The writing and reading in academia, inherent to the Bachelor of Language/Portuguese, and evidenced in the teachers' reports, sometimes are oriented by practices of the Bachelor of Language/Portuguese-PRONERA, sometimes by the Movement's, notably due to the different epistemological base of the course, and pedagogical organization of interchange (VENDRAMINI, 2011). They are reading and writing activities, carried out either in community time, or in academic time. This organization resembles what Gee (1994) named socio-cultural model to address language, which involves assuming discourses that include thinking, feeling, valuing, and acting differently in each social context.

We emphasize that our analysis allows us to state that the curriculum of courses designed for minoritized groups must be based on dialogical practices between schooled and non-schooled knowledge, as evidenced in the clippings. Such positionality, eventually, needs to face the

predominance of a monological university that, in its historical construction, is responsible for the denial of different knowledge and for providing and maintaining an autonomous model of literacy (STREET, 2003). This model does not allow education beyond the school walls, nor does it empower the agents involved in the educational processes to act in real life.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

This study was focused on the representations of the act of reading and writing expressed in the educators' interview excerpts. It sought to evidence the different practices relevant to understand the use of language pertinent to the teacher's education process, both in academic and MST settings. We have observed in the reading representations of our educators, that the peasant subject, when manifesting their reading memories, invokes reading conceptions not always centered in written text, or even not restricted to a single social context.

There is an interweaving of reading and writing practices stemming from the university and the movement, but a relative overlap of academic literacy can be perceived, as practice that is distant from the educators' real uses of language. Therefore, the non-recognition of specific writing practices from the academic setting is understandable. For example: the written production of note cards and reviews, which corroborates what was postulated by Zavala (2010, p.73) "school / academic literacy is only a way of using language as part of a social practice that has won legitimacy for ideological reasons which fit in the context of power relations". Still, according to the author, from the perspective of literacy studies, it is necessary to conceive writing and reading as symbolic systems rooted in social practice, inseparable from social and cultural values, and not as decontextualized and neutral skills, dedicated to codifying and decoding graphic symbols.

Thus, it is important to remember that for Freire (1981), the act of critically reading is founded on a social practice that associates the learning of reading and writing - as a creative act - to the exercise of the critical understanding of that practice. Without creating an illusion that it is a definitive lever for liberation, but understanding that reading as a creative act can contribute significantly to this process. From this point of view, restricting the attributions of reading and writing significantly only to the School / University is to legitimize a single type of knowledge: the scholastic, the scientific. In this perspective, one that has not been through the academic institution is placed in an inferior condition, therefore, not capable of elaborating scientific knowledge. This University model does not meet the expectations of the working class.

In this sense, it is noteworthy that the debate on Rural Education still challenges us in regards to a necessary partnership: there is no education for praxis without dialogue with social organizations,

social movements, and the recognition that Land Reform is not a fight only for land, but for education: education to improve the conditions and quality of life, especially of rural workers / educators.

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