

ALPHABETIZATION PROPOSALS IN THE BOLSONARO GOVERNMENT: INNOVATION OR RETROCESS?

PROPOSTAS DE ALFABETIZAÇÃO NO GOVERNO BOLSONARO: INOVAÇÃO OU
RETROCESSO?

PROPUESTAS DE ALFABETIZACIÓN EN EL GOBIERNO DE BOLSONARO: ¿INNOVACIÓN O
RETORNO?

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ABSTRACT: This article brings as its theme the alphabetization proposals of the Bolsonaro government present in the current National Alphabetization Plan (PNA) in dialogue with academic theorizations of the last decades and other documents that parameterize Education. We sought to answer the following question: Do the current alphabetization proposals of the Bolsonaro government represent innovations in the educational field or setbacks to old and outdated discussions? To this end, a qualitative study with a documentary approach was developed. The theoretical contribution permeates literacy studies, as well as contributions from education scholars about alphabetization. The results point to significant retrocessions, such as, for example, the defense of the only “savior” alphabetization method; little consideration of the intersubjective dimension of reading and the social side of learning to write; and the erasure of academic theories about literacy.

KEYWORDS: Literacy. Bolsonaro government. Alphabetization Methods. PNA.

RESUMO: O presente artigo traz como tema as propostas de alfabetização do governo Bolsonaro presentes no atual Plano Nacional de Alfabetização (PNA) em diálogo com teorizações acadêmicas das últimas décadas e outros documentos parametrizadores da Educação. Buscou-se responder a seguinte questão: as atuais propostas de alfabetização do governo Bolsonaro representam inovações no âmbito educacional ou retrocessos a antigas e já ultrapassadas discussões? Para tanto, desenvolveu-se um estudo

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qualitativo de enfoque documental. O aporte teórico perpassa os estudos do letramento, além de contribuições de estudiosos da Educação acerca da alfabetização. Os resultados sinalizam para significativos retrocessos, como, por exemplo, a defesa de único método de alfabetização; a pouca consideração da dimensão intersubjetiva da leitura e do lado social da aprendizagem da escrita; e o apagamento das teorizações acadêmicas acerca do letramento.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Alfabetização e Letramento. Governo Bolsonaro. Métodos de Alfabetização. PNA.

RESUMEN: Este artículo trae como tema las propuestas de alfabetización del gobierno de Bolsonaro presentes en el actual Plan Nacional de Alfabetización (PNA) en diálogo con teorizaciones académicas de las últimas décadas y otros documentos que parametrizan la Educación. Buscamos responder a la siguiente pregunta: ¿Las actuales propuestas de alfabetización del gobierno de Bolsonaro representan innovaciones en el campo educativo o retrocesos en viejas y superadas discusiones? Para ello se desarrolló un estudio cualitativo con enfoque documental. La contribución teórica impregna los estudios de letramiento, así como las contribuciones de los estudiosos de la educación sobre la alfabetización. Los resultados apuntan a importantes retrocesos, como, por ejemplo, la defensa del único método de alfabetización; poca consideración de la dimensión intersubjetiva de la lectura y el aspecto social del aprendizaje de la escritura; y el borrado de las teorías académicas sobre el letramiento.

PALABRAS-CLAVE: Alfabetización y Letramiento. Gobierno de Bolsonaro. Métodos de alfabetización. PNA.

HISTORICAL TURNS IN LANGUAGE EDUCATION¹

The changes that took place in the field of language education, especially in the 1980s and 1990s, in an attempt to minimize what was considered a “crisis in teaching”, are widely known. Studies in education such as Geraldi (2006 [1984]; 2003 [1991]), Kleiman (2001 [1989]), Britto (1997), Antunes (2003), Batista (1997) and Zilberman (1993 [1986]), just to name a few; data from official indicators such as the National Indicator of Functional Literacy (Inaf) and international tests applied by the Program for International Student Assessment (Pisa)²; in addition to numerous academic researches focused on the school institution, it was pointed out, at that time, a low performance of Brazilians from different regions of the country in the uses of the written modality of the language, which generated reflections that the school was not assuming its role in the formation of students/users of writing in terms of dominant literacies (Barton; Hamilton, 1998) and secondary discursive genres (Bakhtin, 2010 [1952/53]).

In relation to linguistic theories, in the above mentioned decades, education started to be influenced by the Psychology of Language – with Vygotskian theories and its defense for an integral human formation – and by the Philosophy of Language – with the Bakhtin’s Circle and its concept of genres of discourse (Bakhtin, 2010 [1952/53]). If until then we had the predominance of a “psychologist” view focused almost exclusively on the intrasubjective dimension of reading – reading comprehension *stricto sensu*, focusing on the subject’s cognitive issues –, the emerging theorizations at the time brought a “sociologist” view focused also on the intersubjective dimension of reading – interactional relations of the reader.

More precisely in the field of Education, regarding the alphabetization process, we also had the arrival of the constructivist thought of the Psychogenesis of written language theory proposed by the Argentinean researcher Emília Ferreiro. Silva (2016) points out that, according to this theorization, the learning of the alphabetic writing system occurs with the interaction between the learner and the text, mediated by the mental action of trying to read and write. In these interactions, the subject builds hypotheses about writing and how it works. Therefore, the learner’s prior knowledge is important for new learning, especially in alphabetization. So,

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² Despite being indicators with a massive sociology approach (LAHIRE, 2008 [1995]) – that is, that do not encompass local particularities –, we understand, based on Minayo (2014), that quantitative statistical bases lend themselves to social research with a qualitative focus. We understand that, for example, when it comes to our theoretical bases, Inaf studies are examples of convergences of this order, as in Ribeiro’s (2004) publication. Our mention of Inaf and Pisa here, however, is limited to pointing out the visible difficulties that Brazilian students have in relation to the domains of writing, a focus of interest for those who intend to study the teaching and learning of mother tongue at school. The Pisa works with categories corresponding to intrasubjective reading skills, as will be presented later, regardless of who the readers are in light of their social, historical and cultural background, which allows us to compare Brazilian readers of 15 years of age with Finnish readers of 15 years of age, for example.

the evolution of writing is not linear, but full of challenges and constructions that lead the subject to think about how to write and read.

The so-called New Literacy Studies (which began in the United States and the United Kingdom), in turn, also brought a turn in discussions on language education, by revealing the challenges in alphabetization: it is not enough to appropriate the alphabetic-orthographic writing system, in the action of (de)codifying the written code; it is necessary to know how to make social use of the different modes of writing that circulate in society. Soares (2009 *apud* Grando, 2012) brings to discussion the concept of literacy used in Brazil, from the discussions made in 1980 and 1990 – taken as “social use of writing” – along with literacy, discussing that the search for a single definition for the term is difficult because it covers a wide range of knowledge, skills, abilities and social functions. According to Kleiman (2008 *apud* Grando, 2012), literacy is a phenomenon that goes beyond the school domains, as it is a set of social practices that use writing, thus going beyond the definition of a literate or illiterate student and realizing the types of skills developed by students and their ways of using knowledge about writing.

Finally, we can mention, back to the area of Linguistics, another attempt to solve this “school crisis” under discussion at the time, present in the notorious work *Portos de Passagem* by Geraldi, released in 1991: the proposal of a mother tongue teaching that is, at the same time, **operational** – to teach the student to use the language – and **reflective** – to teach to know about the language (Britto, 1997) –, having as object of study the **text** – and no longer the grammar –, with all its instabilities. The operational nature, however, according to the author, should not dispense with reflection: it is important to learn about the language, becoming aware of the structural mechanisms of the linguistic system should be a later step. In other words, take the student to the consciousness of the language only after he/she has possession of the language (Geraldi, 2003 [1991]). As Freitas (2016) points out, mentioning Geraldi, language is only learned while operating with it, as the student experiences new ways of construction and invests in linguistic forms of meaning (Britto, 1997 *apud* Freitas, 2016). What usually happens in language education and what generates this “crisis” is that educators tend to focus too much on grammar teaching, especially in metalinguistic activities that force students to memorize lists of “useless” classificatory nomenclatures. Opposing this logic and focusing on the verbal interaction, which takes teacher and students as interlocutors, Geraldi (2003 [1991]) thus points out possible paths for the practices of text production, text reading, and reflection on language; he takes reading and writing as meaningful and integrated social practices.

These theories that have been the basis of the discussions on language education since then were the basis of the main parametric documents, such as the National Curricular Parameters of the Portuguese Language (Brasil, 1997). This document represented the consolidation of this new proposal for native language teaching and learning, which focuses on the social practices of language use, that is, on the interpersonal relationships that language establishes in life outside the school. The focus, there, became the work for the development of textual comprehension – listening and reading – and textual production – oral and written –, having the text as the teaching unit. The defense, now, was for a language education that would provide an **integral human formation**, anchored in the **cultural-historical perspective**.

Regarding alphabetization issues, one consequence of these theoretical and epistemological discussions was what Mortatti (2006) points out as “demethodization of alphabetization”: instead of the historical discussions about the best method, the focus became the learning process – **who** learns and **how** they learn. The teaching method, then, is treated as “[...] only one aspect of an educational theory related to a theory of knowledge and a political and social project” (Mortatti, 2006, p. 14-15); that is, it is just one more issue, alongside other issues such as ‘content’ and ‘goals’, for example, it is not the most important, much less the main issue. This is what Soares (2016) also proposes when she designates the different components of the initial learning of the written language as “facets”:

[...] the components of the process of learning written language – its facets – add up to compose the whole that is the product of this process: alphabetization and literacy. A single facet of a polished stone is not the stone; a single component – facet – of the process of learning written language does not result in the product: the alphabetized child inserted into the world of written culture, the literate child. (Soares, 2016, p. 33, author's emphasis)

Because it is a multifaceted topic, the author points to the need to fragment learning (take the facets separately), both to learn specific characteristics (in the case of scholars) and to develop specific skills (in the case of teachers), including, also, the relations between learning the whole – which implies **real reading and writing processes** – with simultaneity among the facets.

Being necessary to observe more than one aspect for alphabetization, teaching needs **to make sense** to children, as taught by Freire (1983 *apud* Alferes, 2017): according to the author, alphabetization is a “creative act” and, therefore, the student needs to be the agent of this learning. From this perspective, alphabetization would not be only a mechanical domain of reading and writing techniques, in which sentences, words, and syllables are memorized, disconnected from the whole historical and social context in which the subject lives. Alphabetization is an attitude of creation and recreation.

Following the influences of the interactionist perspective of language in alphabetization education – in vogue since the 1980s, as already mentioned, which takes the text as the teaching object – we can point out the preference, since then, for the methods considered global, which start from the text. Everything converges, in our view, in the defense of a language education focused on the social practices that each subject assumes in relation to writing, which brings us back to the concept of literacy conceived in its close connection with expressive levels of schooling – the alphabetization process. Language is taught within the social use it has. In this sense, both processes – alphabetization and literacy – are taken as intrinsic, inseparable, because there is no way to think of learning the alphabetic writing system detached from the social uses that are made of writing, as Soares (2004, p. 14) points out:

Dissociating alphabetization from literacy is a mistake because, in the framework of current psychological, linguistic, and psycholinguistic conceptions of reading and writing, the entry of the child (and also the illiterate adult) into the world of writing takes place simultaneously through these two processes: through the acquisition of the conventional writing system – alphabetization – and by developing skills to use this system in reading and writing activities, in social practices involving written language – literacy. They are not independent processes, but interdependent and inseparable: alphabetization develops in the context of and through social practices of reading and writing, that is, through literacy activities, and this, in turn, can only develop in the context of and through learning phoneme-grapheme relationships, that is, in dependence on alphabetization.

When it was believed that all these discussions were already crystallized in academia and reverberated in the parametric documents of Education, we entered a new historical period with profound transformations in the educational field in 2019, with the federal government of the then President Jair Messias Bolsonaro³. Since the beginning of his mandate, the politician has started to give voice to subjects (from the most varied academic backgrounds) who explicitly attack all these theoretical discussions cited here. The main representative of this criticism was the teacher Carlos Francisco de Paula Nadalim, who assumed the Secretariat of Literacy in the MEC at the invitation of the then Minister of Education, Milton Ribeiro⁴.

Carlos Nadalim has a degree in Law from the State University of Londrina (UEL), with a specialization in Philosophy and a master’s in education from the same institution. An advocate of homeschooling, Nadalim gained notoriety when he created the blog “How to educate your child” (online since 2013), in which he works exclusively with the phonic method and sets himself against the studies of Paulo Freire and Magda Soares, thus representing a historical break with all the studies in the field of alphabetization done until then in recent decades. The teacher rejects the global method, the syllabic method, and the concept of literacy, because, for him, this is to apply constructivism to the teaching of reading and writing, which would have, according to him, a direct relationship with an ideological and political concept of literacy. There are countless interviews and texts on the Internet in which the author rails against all these theoretical perspectives described here, blaming them for the high levels of functional illiteracy in Brazil. Here are some excerpts raised by the Nova Escola magazine report (2019):

³ Bolsonaro was president of Brazil from 2019 to 2022. At the time of the research for this article, he was still the president, but he lost the 2022 election.

⁴ Information taken from the website “Por dentro da política”. Available at: <https://www.pordentrodapolitica.com.br/2020/08/ministro-da-educacao-anuncia-carlos.html>. Accessed on: 15 jul. 2021.

ABOUT EMILIA FERREIRO'S IDEAS

“One of the great errors is to believe that children are capable of reading and writing by means of a psycholinguistic guessing game. Simply living with written texts does not allow children to build hypotheses.”

ABOUT PAULO FREIRE'S INFLUENCE

“The conclusion is one: most of our pedagogues are trained to construct buildings without a solid foundation. There is so much concern with fostering a critical view in the child that little time is left to teach the basics and fundamentals.”

ABOUT THE CONCEPT OF LITERACY

“Literacy is a constructivist reinvention of alphabetization. This approach presents an exaggerated concern with building an egalitarian, democratic and pluralistic society, with forming critical, engaged and conscious readers, with ending prejudices and discrimination of all kinds.”

ABOUT THE BNCC

“The Base has confusingly made some concessions to the phonic approach but confuses alphabetization with production and comprehension of text and still proposes as a solution the old binomial alphabetization and literacy.” (Annunciato; Trigueiros, 2019, not paginated)

These positions, considered, to say the least, “controversial” in the academic sphere, implied as a first significant change updating of the National Alphabetization Plan (PNA) by the federal government, through of the decree n. 9.765 (Brasil, 2019), which, among several propositions, advocates the emphasis on phonemic awareness, systematic phonemic instruction, fluency in oral reading, vocabulary development, text comprehension, and written production.

Given this context, this research was born from the desire to reflect on the current historical moment in which we find ourselves, questioning whether such proposals of the then government would represent innovations in the educational area – especially about the literacy process – or imply regression to old discussions already settled and pedagogical practices considered outdated by recent studies. Thus, we took as our research topic **the alphabetization proposals of the Bolsonaro government, represented in the aforementioned decree, in dialogue with academic theories of recent decades and other parametric documents of Education prior to this federal administration**, all briefly mentioned here. To this end, we developed a **qualitative study with a documentary approach** (based on Minayo, 2014), whose data generation was based on some parameterizing documents of Education, such as the BNCC (2018), the PC/SC (2016) and the PC/Florianópolis (2016); and documents of the Bolsonaro government, especially the decree n. 9.765 (Brasil, 2019) and the PNA itself.

Thus, we proposed to answer the following research question: **Do the alphabetization proposals of the Bolsonaro government represent innovations in the educational field or regressions to old and outdated discussions?** This question unfolds in two other questions:

- a) How do these proposals of the Bolsonaro government approach and/or diverge from literacy studies?
- b) How are such proposals from the Bolsonaro government similar to and/or divergent from the parametric documents of Education?

As a **general objective**, this article proposed to analyze the proposals of the Bolsonaro government, focusing on the main changes in the PNA written by the decree in question. And, as **specific objectives**, we sought to raise and analyze possible convergences and/or divergences between such proposals and the studies of literacy, as well as the parametric documents of Education, regarding the concept of literacy and the teaching of alphabetization.

This interest arose, mainly, from our personal, academic, and professional trajectory, as it involves, especially, literacy issues and the importance of them being worked in a way that allows children's autonomy, respecting their social context and time. Moreover, we take into consideration the social relevance that the theme brings, rescuing theoretical-epistemological discussions about alphabetization that seem to be in check at this historical moment the country is in – and that has not yet been the target of academic research analysis. In addition to that, thinking of Brazil, we can think of illiteracy as a pedagogical and social justice problem, becoming a national public issue. The country still has 11 million non-alphabetized people, so the issue continues to be of utmost

relevance in order to seek alternatives to minimize the social ills caused by the low (or lack of) education that impacts the lives of so many Brazilians.

The article is divided into the following sections after this first introductory: the second brings the theoretical background that supported this research – relevant theoretical and epistemological bases in literacy studies, based on discussions led in Brazil by authors Magda Soares and Angela Kleiman, in addition to contributions from Emília Ferreiro and Paulo Freire about alphabetization –; the third section brings the results generated in the research with their respective analyses; and finally, in the fourth and last section, we bring our final considerations, seeking to answer the research questions posed here.

2 ALPHABETIZATION AND LITERACY: FRUITFUL DISCUSSIONS FROM THE LAST DECADES

One of the great names of literacy studies in Brazil, in our understanding, is Angela Kleiman, given her condition as disseminator of theoretical discussions in this field from a more anthropological and social perspective that goes beyond school literacy. **Teacher agent of literacy** and **literacy projects** are examples of conceptions proposed by the author that had significant implications for actions in the field of language schooling at a national level. She also presented and disseminated concepts that were fundamental to the so-called **New Studies of Literacy**, mainly coming from scholars from the United States and the United Kingdom, such as Brian Street, David Barton, and Shirley Brice Heath: concepts such as models of literacy (Street, 1984); literacy practices (Street, 1988) and literacy events (Heath, 2001 [1982]) taken in the ecological relationship proposed by Barton (2007 [1994]); dominant and vernacular literacies. Some of these concepts will be presented and discussed in this theoretical section, followed by their presence in some of the parametric documents of Education.

2.1 ALPHABETIZATION IN LITERACY STUDIES: SOME FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS

Grando (2012) states that the term **literacy** is still considered current in the field of Brazilian education. Citing Soares (2009, p. 33), the author points out that the concept was first used in 1986 by Mary Kato, in the book “No mundo da escrita, uma perspectiva psicolinguística”. This word appeared in the 1980s, in Brazil, when school repetition rates and analphabetism were high, which generated the need to find a term that referred to the opposite condition to analphabetism, defining who is alphabetized and who dominates the use of reading and writing. However, it is known that literacy goes beyond knowing how to read and write, it also comprises the social demands of the individual. It is a broad and complex concept that encompasses diverse knowledge, skills, and abilities.

Literacy, according to Justo (2013), encompasses not only the act of reading and writing but also the interaction between reading and writing, between what is inside and outside the school context. Thus, the literate individual makes use of reading and writing as a social practice, going beyond the alphabetization itself as decoding the alphabetic-orthographic system. Therefore, we do not usually dissociate alphabetization and literacy; they are processes that happen simultaneously. This is why some authors consider both terms as synonyms, as they understand that just the word literacy, nowadays, already includes the term alphabetization; while other theorists, such as Soares, make a point of marking this inseparability in expressions such as “alphabetize through literacy”.

Faced with a range of positions of theorists in the area, sometimes even divergent, we adopt the concept of literacy as a social practice that everyone assumes in relation to writing, anchored in the socio-historical context of which he/she is part. This phenomenon is defined, therefore, according to the activities that involve the meaningful use of writing in the daily life of a subject, member of a society at a given time – being, therefore, a phenomenon greater than alphabetization, as Kleiman (2001 [1995]) and Street (1984; 2003) argue, given its sociological, anthropological, and political implications. According to the author's definition, literacy implies “[...] social practices whose specific modes involved in these practices construct relations of identity and power” (Kleiman, 2001 [1995], p. 11). In this perspective, literacy conceived in this broader design contains several types of literacies (plural), among them school literacies. This article, therefore, adopts this more “anthropological” perspective of the phenomenon, which in Brazil is headed by Kleiman.

Opening some of these concepts, Kleiman (2001 [1995]) presents us with definitions of **literacy practices** and **events**. Literacy practices involve the experiences, values, and ideologies with writing, directly linked to human historicity (Street, 1988). Literacy events are situations in which writing has a significant role in human interactions (Heath, 2001 [1982]), even if it is not physically present. In this case, it is important to understand that, to be in fact a literacy event, writing needs to be part of the interactions between the interactants and their interpretive processes, not necessarily appearing in physical form. Two subjects discussing a news item read in the newspaper, for example, would be an event; or, as Kleiman (2001 [1995]) exemplifies, when a child mentions elements of a fairy tale – “look what the fairy godmother brought today!” – even though the book is not present. An indication that oral literate strategies are used even before alphabetization. In this perspective, the child is considered literate, with literacy as a set of social practices that use writing as a symbolic system in specific contexts and purposes. The practices, in turn, bring to light the ways of using writing, the values, which can explain, to some extent, the behaviors and performances of subjects when participating in a particular literacy event.

We present below Hamilton’s (2000) framework that punctuates the constitutive elements of events – “photographable”, susceptible to empirical observation – and of the practices of literacy – not visible, only decipherable from the analysis of the events:

<i>Elements visible within literacy events (These may be captured in photographs)</i>	<i>Non-visible constituents of literacy practices (These may only be inferred from photographs)</i>
Participants: the people who can be seen to be interacting with the written texts	The hidden participants – other people, or groups of people involved in the social relationships of producing, interpreting, circulating and otherwise regulating written texts
Settings: the immediate physical circumstances in which the interaction takes place	The domain of practice within which the event takes place and takes its sense and social purpose
Artefacts: the material tools and accessories that are involved in the interaction (including the texts)	All the other resources brought to the literacy practice including non-material values, understandings, ways of thinking, feeling, skills and knowledge
Activities: the actions performed by participants in the literacy event	Structured routines and pathways that facilitate or regulate actions; rules of appropriacy and eligibility – who does/doesn’t, can/can’t engage in particular activities

Board 1: Basic elements of literacy events and practices

Source: Hamilton (2000, p. 16)

Literacy practices and events thus constitute the processes of interaction mediated by writing. The subjects attribute to this modality of language several functions and uses, thus, the practices serve as a basis for the events. We have here the metaphor of Hamilton (2000), who compares literacy practices and events to an iceberg: what appears emerging from the water is the top part of the iceberg (only one tip), which would be the literacy events, with their visible uses of writing; while the submerged part, not visible and constituting the largest dimension of the iceberg, are the literacy practices, which imply, as mentioned, the ways of life, values, ideologies. We reiterate that practices thus serve as the base (the largest and most important portion) for literacy events – the top is only sustained by the configuration of the base (Hamilton, 2000).

Bringing such reflections to the area of Education, there would be a possible explanation for the difficulties presented by students in reading and writing activities⁵: for many proposals of school literacy events, the students' literacy practices do not offer enough support for participation that is considered "satisfactory" – valuation attributed to these events and to the experiences that make them familiar or not. Therefore, it is necessary to (re)know the students' out-of-school daily life and characterize their experiences so that school is not only an institutional space for knowledge appropriation but also a place to expand the cultural repertoires of the social uses of writing in the several spheres of human activity. Therefore, the importance of knowing what the students already know and the literacy practices of their sociocultural environment.

Still on this theme, Soares (2004 *apud* Justo, 2013) distinguishes events and literacy practices methodologically, but interconnects them, because literacy practices allow the interpretation of events. Soares (2004), thus, focuses on individual and, especially, school literacy, explaining that, in school, literacy events and practices are planned to aim at learning, while, in everyday life, both arise in circumstances of social or professional life, responding to personal or group interests.

From this perspective, another major challenge for schools is to deal with the dialectical tension between the so-called **dominant versus vernacular literacies**, **global versus local worlds**. Historically, the school was assigned the role of teaching global and dominant literacies starting from the local and vernacular ones – aiming to increase the students' repertoire. Based on Cerutti-Rizzatti and Almeida (2013), we do not take these tensions as synonymous, since there are more complex relations between them. As the authors explain, the global would be what is "potential" in the human race – social uses of writing through which a subject acts rationally with/about the world – such as, for example, science, technology, art, spirituality, philosophy, etc. These are uses (still) without axiological attribution, without voices, because they are abstractions. And what is potential in this global universal is realized in the local – social uses of writing situated, by singular subjects. In turn, it is in the local universe that we have the so-called dominant literacies – uses of writing that historicize the sciences, the arts, the religions, philosophy, etc., and, thus, would gain the "great time" (they talk like past and future) and the "great space" (Bakhtin, 2010 [1975]) – and vernacular literacies – also historicizations, but with only local voices, of the region. In summary, we would have the following movement: **global** uses of writing materialize in **local** uses, whether these uses are considered **dominant** or **vernacular**. Here is the challenge for the school: to teach the dominant literacies considering the vernacular uses carried by the students when they arrive at the institution.

Even with so many challenges, we do not deny the school's role as a **literacy agency** – the main or even the only one, depending on the students' sociocultural context – as Kleiman (2007, p. 4) argues: "I believe that it is in school, the literacy agency par excellence of our society, that spaces must be created to experience forms of participation in literate social practices and, therefore, I also believe in the pertinence of assuming literacy, or rather, the multiple literacies of social life, as the structuring objective of schoolwork at all cycles".

For this, the author proposes to think of school projects as **literacy projects**, that is, activity plans that aim at the student's literacy. Kleiman (2000, p. 238) defines this concept as "[...] a set of activities that originates from a real interest in students' lives and whose realization involves the use of writing, that is, the reading of texts that actually circulate in society and the production of texts that will actually be read, in a collective work of students and teacher, each according to his or her ability".

The proposal of working with literacy projects, thus, complexifies the educational actions of teaching writing, because a literacy project – with any theme and objective – should have enough potential to mobilize knowledge, experiences, skills, strategies, resources, materials, and technologies of uses of the written language from different institutions whose literacy practices offer models of text use to students. Literacy practices, then, mobilize different readings, different knowledge, as advocated in the PCNs (1998). The focus, here, is the social practice, which should organize the classes. The focus, therefore, is on the intersubjective dimension of reading, which is the most complex to work with, since it is related to the students' practices and their familiarity with certain uses of writing. Now, if the focus of the class should be social practice, considering the literacy practices / prior knowledge / vernacular literacies of each student – taken as unique subjects – the main implication of the discussion is the condition of flexibility of planning – a crucial condition in this perspective.

⁵ As infers the research of Irigoite (2011).

Alphabetization – literacy, if you prefer – is a complex process that involves different dimensions. From the perspective of literacy, it goes far beyond the appropriation of the alphabetic writing system. Soares (2016), when dealing with the initial learning of the written language, shows us that, in many moments, only a part of the process is highlighted, a “facet” as the author calls it. However, the written learning process implies the sum of several artifices that allow the product: alphabetization and literacy, that is, “[...] the alphabetized child and inserted into the world of written culture, the literate child.” (Soares, 2016, p. 33). The author argues that there are alphabetization methods⁶, but that methods are **an** issue, not the main issue, much less the only one:

As part of the field of school education, the initial learning of written language is influenced by factors that condition, and may even determine, this field: social, cultural, economic, political factors; it is illusory to suppose that methods act independently of the interference of these factors. Thus, in order to avoid that [...] be attributed an absolute or independent value to methods [...], we highlight here aspects that, acting on them, highlight other issues that interfere in their practice and relativize their power as a determining factor of alphabetization. (Soares, 2016, p. 50)

Methods, therefore, do not work alone. They need interaction between alphabetizer and alphabetized, need the relationship between participants, a collective learning situation, a school context that is inserted in a particular economic community; “That is, methods do not build a linear process, but, as a consequence of several intervening factors, are configured as a process of great complexity.” (Soares, 2016, p. 51).

Soares’ (2016) position points us, precisely, to the importance of relating the **intersubjective dimension** to the **intrasubjective dimension** of reading. It is taken, then, as was outlined in the Introduction, that the intersubjective dimension – sociological view – implies broader interactional relations, bringing the genres of discourse as instruments for reading formation. This dimension considers the familiarity of the subject with reading throughout his/her cultural, social, and historical experiences; which allows us, as a school, to think of the need to provide experiences for the student to adapt to the types of reading. The intrasubjective dimension – psychological view – focuses on reading comprehension *stricto sensu*, with an exclusively cognitivist approach, which involves decoding writing. Here, only cognitive issues are considered as basic conditions for reading, including actions such as locating information, evaluating and criticizing a text, for example.

The problems with directly associating writing with cognitive development are several. Most importantly, comparing unlettered or unschooled groups with lettered and schooled ones may make lettered and schooled ones the norm, the expected, the desired. Thus, we are one step away from deficit conceptions of minority groups. Prejudice is reproduced here, going so far as to create two cognitively distinct species: those who can read and write and those who cannot. This differentiation is supported by the so-called **autonomous model of literacy** pointed out by Street (1984), who sees the written language as a “cognitive technology” of which you can either appropriate or not – there would be only one way to develop literacy, with direct consequences such as progress, civilization, social mobility. This “technology” advocated by such a model is characterized by immanence and the development of logical skills and focused independently of the context in which it is used (Rodrigues; Cerutti-Rizzatti, 2011). Hence the denomination, according to Kleiman (2001 [1995], p. 21-22): “The characteristic of ‘autonomy’ refers to the fact that writing would be, in this model, a complete product in itself, which would not be tied to the context of its production to be interpreted”. As the author explains, the main characteristics of this model are: the inextricable connection between literacy and cognitive development; dichotomization of orality and writing; valorization of intrinsic qualities of writing (taken as a technology).

Ethnographic research pointing to possible cognitive differences between schooled and unschooled children would be the result, Street (1984) criticizes, of an ideology involved in the defense of literacy taken in this autonomous perspective, with a limited definition of the concept, since it does not involve all possible social practices: “[...] the question of literacy is often represented [in the autonomous model] as simply technical: people need to learn a way to decode letters, and then they can do whatever they want with their newly acquired literacy” (Street, 2003, p. 4).

⁶ Taken, here, as a set of procedures.

To counter this model, Street (1984) proposes the so-called **ideological model of literacy**, which defines literacy as a “cultural process” or “social practice”, thus considering that

[...] literacy practices, in the plural, are socially and culturally determined and, as such, the specific meanings that writing assumes for a social group depend on the contexts and institutions in which it was acquired. This model does not assume a causal relationship between literacy and progress or civilization or modernity, because, instead of conceiving of a great divide between oral and literate groups, it assumes the existence, and investigates the characteristics, of large areas of interface between oral and literate practices. (Kleiman, 2001 [1995], p. 21)

In the words of Street (2003, p. 4):

The alternative ideological model of literacy offers a more culturally sensitive view of literacy practices as they vary from one context to another. This model starts from different premises than the autonomous model – proposing on the other hand that literacy is a social practice, not merely a technical and neutral skill, and that it is always wrapped in socially constructed epistemological principles [...]. In this sense, literacy is always contested, both its meanings and its practices, and so specific versions of it will always be “ideological”, will always be grounded in a particular worldview [...].

Building on the detailed descriptions of both models in Kleiman (2001 [1995]), based on Street (2003), we developed the following synoptic framework⁷:

	Autonomous model	Ideological model
Main characteristic	Dissociation of the social and political dimensions in reading and writing practices.	In written materials, it matters not only the content and the communicative situation in which they are produced, but values, ideologies and representations present.
Relationship between writing and context	Writing is detached from social context, from interaction.	Writing and reading linked to social practices. It proposes that literacy should be conceived as a social practice, therefore socio-historically situated.
Teaching	Neutral. Learning would follow the same model, path, process, regardless of social factors.	To understand the uses of writing in school in relation to the power structures that this literacy agency represents and, consequently, the implications derived from this look when it comes to the context of acquisition of this language modality.

Board 2: Autonomous and ideological models of literacy

Source: Construction of the authors (based on Kleiman, 2001 [1995])

In summary, the autonomous model of literacy considers only the individual skills of the subject, the cognitive skills; while the ideological model focuses on multiple literacies, considering not only the school environment, but also the practices that occur outside it and their implications for teaching. Thus, this model involves the autonomy of learners, being more comprehensive than the autonomous model, because it also considers that literacy practices have socio-historical characteristics. As argued by Colaço (2012), such discussions allow a complete pedagogical path for the teaching of reading and writing in the classroom, because they have applicability and contribute to the enrichment of educational practices.

⁷ Based also on the lessons of teacher Mary Elizabeth Cerutti-Rizzatti.

In the face of so much complexity, recalling once again Soares (2016), it is mistaken to consider, therefore, only one facet of learning to write, since alphabetization and literacy are products of a process that considers not only a method, but a school and out-of-school, economic and social context. Literacy methods are only one level within the written modality. The method is important, the intrasubjective dimension is just as important as the intersubjective, but neither can be excluded if we want to achieve learning of the whole. These dimensions have, among themselves, a dialectic relation of tension, of difference, if we take it from a cultural-historical perspective. Thus, we believe and defend, in this article, the potential of uniting both for the alphabetization and literacy process.

Continuing in such reflections about language education from a perspective that considers both dimensions of reading, we also have the legacy of Paulo Freire, and his defense of a alphabetization process that makes sense to the child; and Emília Ferreiro, who takes the child as an active subject of the process, a thinking being. According to Silva (2016), Ferreiro, in her studies on the psychogenesis of the written language, describes how the child appropriates the concepts and skills of reading and writing. The child builds its knowledge at different levels about the writing system, understanding the relationship between speech and writing, until it understands phonetization and builds the alphabetic representation of this modality. Thus, the child is not a mere learner, he is the subject of knowledge, the protagonist of his own development, he/she **builds** knowledge – a constructivist perspective. In this way, the child makes sense of what he or she is interpreting.

Freire, on the other hand, as pointed out by Dreyer (2011), stated that there are many ways to teach, because alphabetization allows for the comprehension of the world and the social reality of the students. For Freire, the literate learner is not the object of literacy, but the subject. According to the author: “[...] alphabetization is not a game of words; it is the reflexive awareness of culture, the critical reconstruction of the world, the opening of new paths” (Freire, 1985 *apud* Alferes, 2017, p. 2). It is, therefore, a Freirian conception of alphabetization, not a method. Alphabetization is a creative act, so it needs to make sense to the child.

2.2 ALPHABETIZATION IN THE PARAMETRIC DOCUMENTS OF EDUCATION: SOME METHODOLOGICAL PROPOSITIONS

It is based on all these fruitful discussions in the last decades, especially in the academic sphere, that literacy has been treated and discussed in parameterizing documents of Education, starting from the cultural-historical perspective that considers both dimensions of reading in dialectical relationship based on Vygotskian. The documents mentioned here adopt the concepts of subject and language from this perspective, taking language as a social object and the text-enunciate (oral or written) as the object of study of language education – based on Bakhtin’s Circle:

A cultural-historical anchoring understands **reading, listening and authorship** not as ‘teaching content’ but as processes through which the **critical expansion of the students’ repertoire of social uses of languages** is sought. To this end, the focus is on the subject’s relationship with the other(s) through languages and not on the subject itself – risk of subjectivism – nor on the language itself – risk of objectivism. (Florianópolis, 2016, p. 76, emphasis added)

The focus, therefore, is the study of language always in social use, marked by the concept of genres of discourse (Bakhtin, 2010 [1952/53]) as the concrete moment of interaction. From this perspective, genre has become the content of language classes, usually the focus of methodological approaches known as didactic sequences, target of criticism by authors such as Geraldi and Britto – a discussion that is beyond the scope of this article. What is of interest here is to point out the significant presence of genres of discourse in the parametric documents, divided and organized in lists by school grade, as stated, for example, in the BNCC (2018). The document justifies such organization:

As already mentioned, from the perspective of the BNCC, the skills are not developed in a generic and decontextualized way, but through the reading of texts belonging to genres that circulate in the various fields of human activity. Hence, in each field that will be presented below, the skills of reading, speaking and writing will be highlighted, contextualized by the practices, genres and different objects of knowledge in question. The cognitive demand for reading activities should increase progressively from the early years of elementary school to high school. (Brasil, 2018, p. 71)

Regarding alphabetization, the BNCC (2018) argues that the pedagogical action in the early years of elementary school needs to focus on such learning. Thus, students should appropriate not only the alphabetic writing system, but also the other reading and writing skills, that is, it considers the perspective of literacy:

In the elementary school – early years, the curricular components theme several practices, considering especially those related to traditional and contemporary childhood cultures. Within this set of practices, in the first two years of this segment, the alphabetization process should be the focus of pedagogical action. After all, learning to read and write offers students something new and surprising: it expands their possibilities of building knowledge in the different components, by their insertion in the literate culture, and of participating with greater autonomy and protagonism in social life. (Brasil, 2018, p. 63)

Reading and writing, according to the document, should expand the possibilities of the students, because it allows the insertion of them in the literate culture and their protagonism in social life, thus providing “[...] experiences that contribute to the expansion of literacies, in order to enable meaningful and critical participation permeated/constituted by orality, writing and other languages.” (Brasil, 2018, p. 67-68). To this end, the BNCC (2018) also assumes the enunciative-discursive perspective of language – as in the PCNs – which takes the text as central content in language teaching:

This proposal assumes the centrality of the text as a working unit and the enunciative-discursive perspectives in the approach, so as to always relate the texts to their contexts of production and the development of skills to the meaningful use of language in reading, listening and text production activities in various media and semiotics. (Brasil, 2018, p. 67)

In turn, the PC/SC (2014) also defends the work with genres of discourse in language education, however, the proposal manages to be based both on the social character – historical and cultural experiences – and on the verbal character of genres, dealing, still, with the tensions mentioned in the Introduction of this article about dominant *versus* vernacular literacies, primary *versus* secondary genres, by worrying about the balance between “[...] writings of the past and the present, dominant and marginal, everyday life and scholarship” (Santa Catarina, 2014, p. 121). Finally, it defends the integral human formation addressed here, aiming not only at participation and survival in society, but also the development of the ability to “[...] deal with the world and life in the sciences, spirituality, arts, philosophy and related fields, including in the arts, the linguistic manifestations characteristic of literature” (Santa Catarina, 2014, p. 121).

From this perspective, in the search for an integral human formation, alphabetization is discussed here as a redefinition of the act of teaching. According to the document:

In learning the alphabetic writing system, or even before it, it is essential that students interact through writing in social and interactional contexts in which they can build meaning in relations with others, mediated by writing [...] whether children can already use writing in a more autonomous and less heteronomous way. It is important, therefore, that teaching processes consider that the progressive mastery of the alphabetic writing system must take place in/for the social uses of writing. (Santa Catarina, 2014, p. 123)

We can thus see the relevance of understanding the whole context of alphabetization and literacy going beyond the decoding of the alphabetic writing system, considering the intrasubjective and intersubjective dimension of reading, together.

Having the purposes of such documents clear, it seems to us that **how to work** based on these theoretical and methodological conceptions – alphabetization process that covers both dimensions of reading, in order to facilitate the insertion of the student in the literate culture and his/her protagonism in social life – is our great challenge as teachers, because such bases prevent us from creating and following “ready-made recipes” that can be applied in any educational context, which would erase the singularities of each learner. It is possible, however, to start from theoretical and methodological propositions that can guide our pedagogical actions in the classroom, and, in our understanding, the document that provides us with such guidance, currently, is the Curricular Proposal of Florianópolis (2016), with the following diagram:

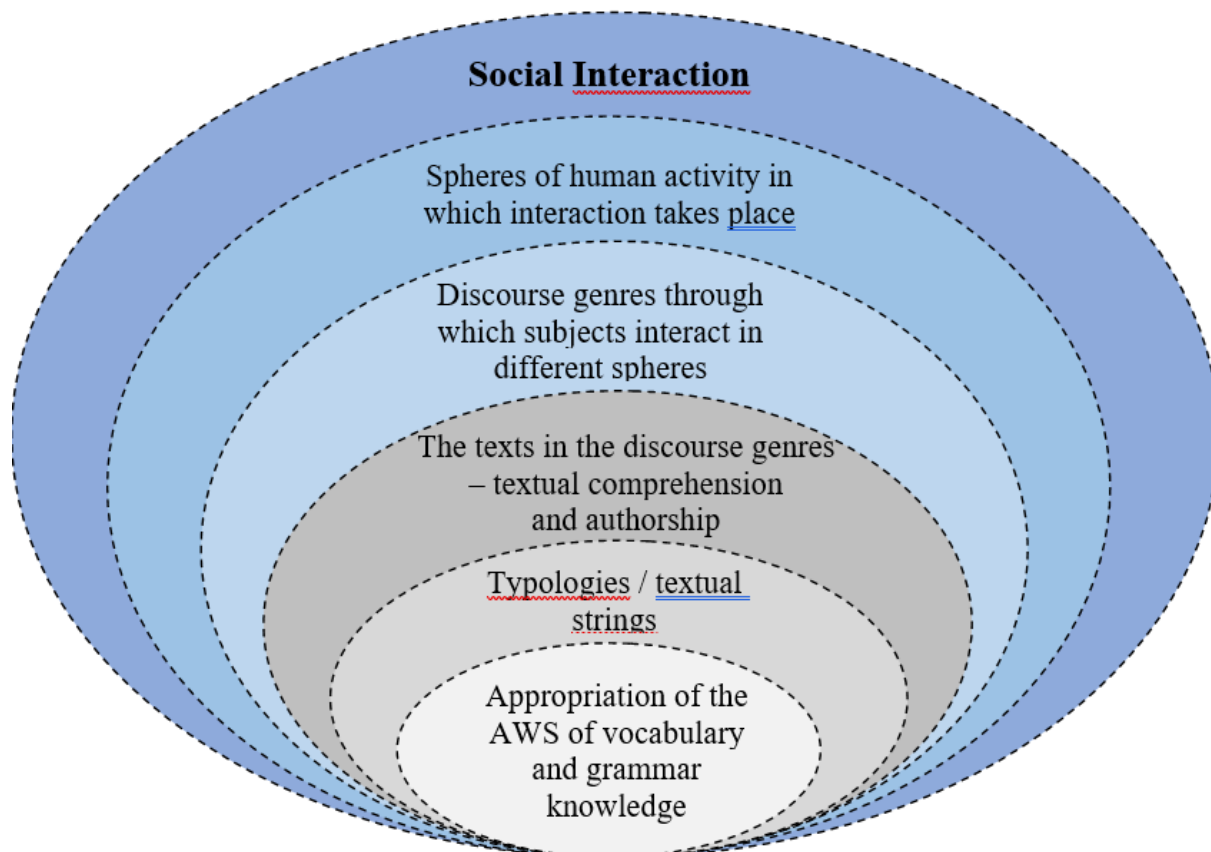


Figure 1: Didactic Integration

Source: Florianópolis/SC (2016)

We can note here that the Curricular Proposal of Florianópolis (2016) allows us to conceive the social dimension of reading and writing without denying the verbal dimension (appropriation of the alphabetic writing system and knowledge of vocabulary and grammar), taking into account the significant character of the interactions in dialogical relationship between the student and real texts that circulate in different spheres of human activity. Detailing the methodological path proposed by the Diagram: the object of study of language classes should be the text, which always belongs to a **genre of discourse** and is inserted in a **sphere of human activity**, where it promotes **social interaction** – the latter comprises the social dimension of the text, the intersubjective dimension of reading –; the **text**, in turn, has certain **typological sequences** – the so-called textual typologies (Marcuschi, 2002) – which will determine the **lexical and grammatical level of the text** – this would be the conceptual level required in a language education (Cerutti-Rizzatti; Pereira, 2016), that is, the verbal dimension of the text, the intrasubjective dimension of reading. The proposal of the document, therefore, is to always consider all these dimensions, all these elements in the work with the text in the classroom, starting, preferably, from the social interactions promoted by it, until arriving, finally, at the issues of appropriation of the alphabetic and grammatical writing system that are relevant to the author’s project of saying. This diagram shows us, once again, the importance of working with the two dimensions of reading – the intrasubjective and the intersubjective – because it considers both cognitive and social issues.

3 INNOVATIONS OR RETROCESS OF THE BOLSONARO ADMINISTRATION: ESTABLISHING (IM)POSSIBLE DIALOGUES

The first point that draws our attention is the frequent repetition that all the alphabetization proposals presented by the federal government, both in the Decree and in the PNA booklet, have a “scientific basis”. And the first question that arises is: What is considered science in this perspective? In the PNA booklet, it is clear that only one scientific branch is considered valid in discussions about reading and writing processes: cognitivist approaches – which they call “cognitive science of Reading” – based on authors such as Snowling and Hulme (2013); Adams (1990) and Dehaene (2012). These are theorizations that dialogue with the findings of neuroscience to study the relationship between mind and brain: “By cognitive science is meant the interdisciplinary field that

encompasses the different disciplines that study the mind and its relationship with the brain, such as cognitive psychology and cognitive neuroscience.” (Brasil, 2019b, p. 20). This kind of “determination” is found, in our understanding, in item III of article 3 of the decree in question: “grounding of programs and actions in evidence from cognitive sciences” (Brasil, 2019, p. 1).

It is explained that, since 1970, new brain imaging technologies have allowed research into how the brain works and the perception of what happens during the learning of reading and writing. However, this is exclusively in favor of the establishment of learning to read and write through more appropriate teaching. That is, when dealing with a means of teaching, a narrative is shown that focuses on a more appropriate method, even if the government denies such a placement: “[...] basing alphabetization on research evidence is not to impose a method, but to propose that alphabetization programs, curriculum guidelines and practices always take into account the most robust findings of scientific research.” (Brasil, 2019b, p. 20).

Now, considering only the “[...] linguistic, cognitive and brain processes involved in learning and teaching reading and writing skills” (Brasil, 2019b, p. 20), as advocated by the document, is to disregard the intersubjective dimension of reading, the social dimension of the learning process of writing. The insistence on the implementation of a single method, focusing on exclusively cognitivist, objective and quantitative issues, ignores the whole social context of the subject that, without a doubt, also shapes him, far beyond just his cognitive individualities – as we argued in the previous theoretical section.

We already notice, then, the exclusive focus on cognitivist theorizations. Moving on to the concept of alphabetization in the proposal analyzed here, we have the following definition – based on the cognitive science of reading: “[...] teaching the reading and writing skills of an alphabetic system.” (Brasil, 2019b, p. 18). In Decree n. 9,765, such definition still gains a complement: “[...] in order for the alphabetizer to become capable of reading and writing words and texts with autonomy and understanding.” (Brasil, 2019a, p. 1). It is, in our understanding, a more comprehensive definition for not being limited only to the decoding of the written code but contemplating the issue of autonomy and understanding. According to these documents, reading and writing with autonomy, differently from what we have proposed so far in the discussions in the previous sections, is to know the alphabetic code and the graphophonemic correspondences to read without mediator intervention. But this basic condition of the alphabetization process, in this perspective, seems to be enough for an alphabetized subject to be able to read and write any word of his or her language, including words never read or heard.

In the PNA (2019b), the alphabetic system is considered as the representation of the alphabet characters. The understanding of the alphabetic principle is the moment when the student realizes that alphabetic characters represent speech sounds and not only graphic signs. And, again, we advocate an explicit and systematic teaching, from the simplest to the most complex, focusing on graphophonemic relations. It is defended, always, the importance in decoding and codifying the graphic signs and the signs expressed in speech and that “[...] the teaching of these reading and writing skills is what constitutes the alphabetization process.” (Brasil, 2019b, p. 19).

It is considered, from then on, that the individual will be able to do this process with any word of his/her language besides reading and writing words and texts with autonomy and understanding, without the need of a mediator, defending a proficiency in learning through activities that stimulate writing and reading, in our understanding. It is taken into consideration that the comprehension of texts, then, will be the final goal of alphabetization, depending on the learning of decoding, automatic identification, and fluency in oral reading, in addition to vocabulary comprehension. This only does not occur, according to the PNA booklet (2019b), when the individual has functional analphabetism, which means limited abilities to read and understand the text, distinguishing from absolute analphabetism of those who can neither read nor write. Now, here is another divergence in relation to the documents and theorizations presented in the previous section: decoding the written code is not enough for reading to happen fully, considering reading comprehension – which is mentioned in the document, but not deepened in the sense of how to develop it.

In Decree n. 9.765, these issues are confirmed through the institution of a promotion of alphabetization based on scientific evidence – in which the government adopts a cognitivist approach – to improve absolute and functional analphabetism (mentioned above) in basic and non-formal education. Finally, having in view the perception of the team that developed this document about science and its understanding of alphabetization, it shows how individuals in the alphabetization process are seen: beings with certain

cognitive abilities that will limit or allow reading and writing, ignoring all the historical and social perspective about the individual, besides the singularities that form them.

The most drastic change in these documents, however, seems to us to be the abolition of the term “literacy”, which disappeared from any texts on education coming from of this government. In its place, the concept of “**literacia**” was adopted, defined as: “[...] consists of the teaching and learning of reading and writing skills, regardless of the writing system used.” (Brasil, 2019b, p. 18). This term came from Portugal and other Lusophone countries as a proposal to align with the scientific terminologies used by this government in the alphabetization proposal. Substituting one term for the other implies taking the knowledge, skills and attitudes of reading and writing and their productive practice at classificatory levels – that is, contrary to what literacy studies advocate from the perspective of the ideological model, literacies in plural. This is how the PNA (2019b) presents such levels: the most basic is “basic literacia”, going on to “emergent literacia” (vocabulary acquisition and phonological awareness), “intermediate literacia” (from 2nd to 5th grade of elementary school), until the most advanced, with the final goal reading and writing in efficient use in the production of knowledge and applicable reading in the specific contents of disciplines (6th grade to high school).

It is, in our understanding, about literacy from a totally individual perspective, and not with an anthropological view, with a focus on individual and cognitive abilities. We can reflect on how harmful it is to erase the term in the realization of alphabetization practices. It goes back to the already outdated autonomous model of literacy, considering only the intrasubjective dimension of reading, that is, the subject’s cognitive abilities. It is, ultimately, a step backwards in relation to all the advances made since the 1980s, mentioned here, reverberated in the guiding documents of Education in Brazil.

Thus, we understand that alphabetizers are seen here in a quantitative way: they know or do not know, they succeed or fail, they have the ability or not. However, we know, as educators working in teaching, that children, young people and adults are much more than cognitive abilities. It is essential that we understand, accept, and, most importantly, welcome differences and use them in favor of an education with and for diversity, inclusive. Not considering inclusion as the process of placing the student inside a learning proposal in the classroom but bringing him/her as an integral and essential part of the whole, after all, we are constituted in the collectivities of school life and beyond. We bring family, social, cultural and economic traits that permeate us. And to have this look is what should move and build education, based on the theories brought and defended in this article.

It is necessary, however, to place in this discussion the concept of **family literacia**, brought by the Bolsonaro government in the documents, alluded to here as the practices and experiences lived with parents or caregivers in relation to language. This seems to us to be the only point that converges with the discussions undertaken in this article: the importance of another learning context, besides the classroom, which is interesting and relevant in the process of teaching writing in school.

According to the PNA (2019b), reading and writing are strongly linked to the family environment and experiences related to reading in this environment, even before entering formal education. It advocates the shared reading of stories to expand and understand the vocabulary, in an awakening to the imagination and a taste for reading, in addition to strengthening the family bond. It also considers conversations with children, storytelling, the handling of pencils and chalk in the first attempts at writing, contact with illustrated books; in short, it all considers the family as essential in the alphabetization process, affirming that it is not only the school that promotes literacy.

These documents also discuss the need to implement family literacia programs and actions to prevent school failure, placing families of lower socioeconomic status as the main beneficiaries, admitting: they are at a disadvantage compared to the others. Thus, we notice, here, a contradiction in the document: it wants to consider only the cognitive issues, the teaching method as most important, but, on the other hand, it considers that the family and its socioeconomic issues influence the subject. It is only in these defenses of actions that we find points of convergence with the discussions that consider the various perspectives of literacy, the ideological model, the intersubjective dimension of reading. But only in this.

Do you see any similarities with the points made in the previous sections? Much, but here, these theories are not referenced, the terms literacy, literacy practices, family literacy, literacies in plural, literacy environments etc. are erased. Thus, the same actions are defended in a generic way, erasing the theoretical bases that built them.

As for the discussions on reading, there seems to be no possible convergence with the discussions cited/evoked/referenced at the beginning of the article, since, in this perspective, the intrasubjective dimension of reading is considered exclusively, based on neuroscience. The description made in the PNA booklet (201b), in the section entitled "how children learn to read and write", is limited to the functioning of the brain, based on the neural studies of reading by the French neuroscientist Stanislas Dehaene. Mention is made, for example, of this author's hypothesis on neuronal recycling: neurons have the plasticity to learn new things that are necessary for the species from a motivation (external interference). This theory is necessary to explain how the human brain, which was not programmed to learn writing, needs to modify itself for this process.

It then focuses on psycholinguistic theories to explain how one reads. First, prediction, which is the guessing of the writing of words by colors, shapes and images. Then, analogy, with a recognition of words by the association of parts (such as rhymes). Then, we move into decoding, with the reading of words until they become automatic. And, finally, automatic recognition when a word is read several times and is recognized immediately. The following phases of reading and writing development are then considered: pre-alphabetic with prediction, partial alphabetic with analogy, fully alphabetic with the understanding of graphemes and phonemes for the decoding and codification of graphemes and phonemes, and, finally, the alphabetic phase, consolidated with the processing of increasingly larger units, leading to fluency.

The theorizations and documents presented in the first part of the article do not in any way denigrate the importance of the discoveries of neuroscience and these detailed descriptions of the physical brain in the processing of reading, which begins in the capture of words (strings of letters), passes through the dismemberment into fragments by neurons, until it passes through reconstruction in the passage to two parallel pathways of reading – phonological and lexical. But this description, first of all, takes reading in its most basic definition, only as decoding. There is no discussion of reading comprehension, no consideration of the intersubjective dimension of reading. It takes the subject as an "ideal reader", representative of the human species, dealing with what is biologically common. The good reader, according to these documents, identifies words accurately and understands them, because we must read to understand. And it is only possible to accomplish this process because of the skills related to understanding language and the alphabetic code, through, again, explicit and systematic instruction. Again, what goes beyond the cognitive part is ignored, reinforcing the intrasubjective dimension of reading. We question, then: What about the singularity of the subject(s)? Their historicity, their familiarity with certain writings, their literacy practices, their constitution in otherness as a singular subject, their experiences situated in a specific cultural, social, and historical environment? Nothing is considered here, everything is erased in the name of theorizations that present themselves as saviors of the Brazil's social problems.

We conclude, therefore, that this government seems to deny the social dimension of the learning process of writing, the singularities of each subject. Ultimately, we can point to a return to the autonomous model of literacy, as mentioned above, since writing is taken, in such documents, as a technology, an individual school exercise whose failure depends on the subject itself, and not as an interactional activity built in human experiences; contrary to what the ideological model argues, in which social practices modify/dominate cognitive skills (the type of language – oral or written – will have more or less value according to the specific practices of the community), as Street (1984) teaches us. Returning to the autonomous model implies considering "[...] the acquisition of writing as a neutral process that, regardless of contextual and social considerations, should promote those activities necessary to develop in the student, ultimately, as the goal of the process, the ability to interpret and write abstract texts, of the expository and argumentative genres, of which the prototype would be the essay type text" (Kleiman, 2001 [1995], p. 44).

This is exactly what we infer in the federal documents analyzed: the defense that the mastery, by itself, of a writing code can provide full reading, writing and comprehension skills.

Rodrigues and Cerutti-Rizzatti (2011) also pointed to the presence of this model of literacy in school settings, by which the written modality of the language is conceived as a uniform activity, outlined a priori and independent of the contexts in which it is

established. It is based on this ideology, even without naming it in the documents, that the federal government defends a single alphabetization method, the phonic one – unique because of the approval of the specific scientific bases adopted there – which would allow, following the autonomous model, the achievement of uniform results in different contexts, given the requirements of the mastery of a specific technology for a pre-established purpose. According to this perspective, it would be enough for the subject to be alphabetized and to have attended a certain school grade in question, which would imply the construction of certain knowledge expected for such grade – defined a priori and universally.

This would be, therefore, the last point of divergence pointed out here: the distancing of the ideological model, defended by the current studies of literacy, which considers reading and writing linked to social practices, that is, it takes into account both the communication situation of written texts and the values and representations permeated by them. We defend, as Rodrigues and Cerutti-Rizzatti (2011) point out, the adoption of this model in school practices, proposing to consider the differences that the reading of texts in a particular genre of discourse brings about in different sociocultural environments. From this perspective, a culturally sensitive pedagogy – as advocated by literacy studies – must act methodologically in a unique way so that such reading has meaning in these different environments. There are, therefore, no “magic formulas” that work in any school context with any students, as suggested by the PNA (Brasil, 2019b).

4 FINAL CONSIDERATIONS: FIRST AND LAST IMPRESSIONS

According to Decree n. 9.765, the proposal for alphabetization in Brazil is based on actions that promote alphabetization with “scientific bases” (considering, especially, the cognitive aspects) in order to combat absolute and functional analphabetism. It is put into question that when a child learns to read and write, he/she has in hand the instrument to overcome social vulnerabilities and the condition to exercise citizenship, providing equal educational opportunities. We know, however, that this is not how it works. That we cannot think of a meritocratic approach in the country in which we live, taking into consideration the vast diversity and continental proportion of Brazil, in addition to the visible social inequality that plagues a large part of the population.

In the Bolsonaro government, the initial learning of the written language has been placed at a distance from the social, cultural, economic and political factors of the country and the context of the alphabetizer. It is an illusion to believe that any isolated alphabetization method can act independently and decisively. And it is a throwback to previous decades, to the 1980s, in which the best alphabetization method to adopt was always discussed – according to Mortatti’s historizations (2006).

And even when the document mentions the family as one of the major agents in the alphabetization process, a questioning arises: aren’t families different from each other? Don’t they have different constitutions and demands? Having positive answers to these questions, it would not be possible, then, to unify this alphabetization process, making it the same for all learners. As we have seen throughout this article, children’s literacy practices are different because they come from different contexts. So, there are not equal opportunities.

The PNA (2019b) also argues that it is not trying to impose a single alphabetization method, but programs, curricular guidelines and practices that meet such selected scientific research. It emphasizes, however, throughout the proposal, the importance of the phonic method, because, according to the PNA (2019b), phonemic awareness is essential and must be developed in an intentional and systematized teaching. According to the document, phonemic awareness is what leads to the understanding that a spoken word is composed of a sequence of phonemes, being crucial to the understanding of the alphabetic principle. Furthermore, phonics is the method most advocated by the neuroscientific-based theories adopted therein, such as Dehaene. Thus, they argue that systematic phonic instruction is not a teaching method, but focuses only on word recognition, spelling, fluency and oral reading, which shows us an intrasubjective dimension of reading, that is, strictly cognitive, ignoring the fact that the literacy process can happen in a more contextualized way in social practices involving reading and writing.

We make, again, a connection with the parametric documents of Education in Brazil until today. Focusing exclusively on systematic phonic instruction is a teaching method that dissociates the terms alphabetization and literacy – or rather, excludes the term literacy. The need for the acquisition of the conventional system of writing and the development of the skills of this system in the social practices involving the written language have been discussed by several theorists until today. So, alphabetization and literacy are

interdependent, as discussed in the first part of this article. The proposals under analysis here, which claim to be based on scientific evidence (the neurosciences), look only at the cognitive, what is objective, what is quantitative. We conclude, therefore, that the PNA documents advocate what would be the autonomous model of literacy, focusing on the individual skills of the subject, ignoring the social practices involving reading and writing. They take writing as a technology, simplify the alphabetization process and, thus, diverge from and deny the theories developed so far. It is a giant chasm in relation to literacy studies.

There is only a vague approximation with the previous parametric documents when the family and its reading practices are brought as important, but the exchange of “literacy” for “literacia” implies another distancing and no possibility of understanding the subject and its particularities. Thus, there would be this proximity when taking into consideration the preschool knowledge, the pre-alphabetization, but then comes the divergence: the social issue, the singularities of the subjects, the gender theories of discourse, the intersubjective dimension of Reading are ignored.

Based on these discussions, we resume, then, the question-problem pointed out in the Introduction of the article: **Do the alphabetization proposals of the Bolsonaro government represent innovations in the educational field or regressions to old and outdated discussions?** And our answer is that they represent retrocesses: the democratic advances achieved by the Brazilian population in recent decades are ignored; the exclusive focus on the intrasubjective dimension of reading is resumed, in the cognitive aspects, disregarding the social aspects of the intersubjective dimension – which tends to blame, consequently, the learner subject for possible learning difficulties – ; the old discussions about the validation of a single “savior” alphabetization method are returned. And all this built by a document that did not question or listen to education professionals, those who are working in schools and educational fields, who know the reality of the students.

Recovering, still, the unfoldings of this issue, regarding **the possible convergences and/or divergences between these proposals and the studies of literacy** treated here, we saw the total denial and abandonment of such theories that were in vogue in the academic sphere in recent decades, as historicized in the Introduction. The latest research and academic studies about literacy are denied, entering a perspective considered by us as biased, which leads us to an excluding education, by defining what is and what is not science.

In relation to the second unfolding of the research question – **How are these proposals from the Bolsonaro government similar to and/or divergent from the parametric documents of Education?** –, we concluded that the only possible approximation would be the defense of the importance of the family in the child’s relationship with writing even before the school phase – defense, we repeat, emptied of its theoretical basis. In the rest, however, it departs significantly by not considering sufficiently the social aspect of the learning process of writing, the intersubjective dimension of reading and the singularity of the subjects – considering, exclusively, the cognitive points common to the human species, based on the neurosciences. There are decades of theoretical and methodological advances in language education that were disregarded by a government that imposed proposals without listening to anyone but its allies, such as Carlos Nadalim.

It is necessary to consider that alphabetization (together with literacy) goes beyond the domains of school and the decoding of writing. It does not represent only the definition between literate and illiterate students, since students have different abilities and ways of using knowledge about writing. It is necessary to consider the social use of writing along with alphabetization, demethodizing it – not in the sense of denying methods but reducing the centrality in the adoption of technicist methods as Soares (2016) argues. The alphabetization method is not a single issue; it does not work alone. It needs the relationship between the participants, the collective learning. We repeat: the alphabetizer is not the object of alphabetization, but the subject – constituted in otherness! To deny all this is, ultimately, to deny education to the socially and economically disadvantaged, those who have in school the main (sometimes the only) agency of literacy, the only place to access certain secondary genres of discourse and dominant literacies.

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