



BILINGUAL TEACHERS TRAINING POLICY ON THE BORDER OF BRAZIL AND PARAGUAY

POLÍTICA DE FORMAÇÃO DE PROFESSORES BILÍNGUES NA FRONTEIRA DO BRASIL COM O PARAGUAI

POLÍTICA DE FORMACIÓN DOCENTE BILINGÜE EN LA FRONTERA DE BRASIL Y PARAGUAY

(iD)

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ABSTRACT: The article aimed to investigate the training of bilingual teachers in the Brazil-Paraguay border region through the Border Intercultural Schools Program (PEIF). The study was grounded in a qualitative approach, with field research involving a semi-structured interview with a manager of a public-school institution in Brazil, specifically in Ponta Porã (MS), which borders the Paraguayan municipality of Pedro Juan Caballero. The results indicated that, although the PEIF ensured theoretical and practical training for teachers at the Brazilian school, it was hindered by the discontinuity of its actions, which prevented the realization of exchange activities between teachers from both countries: Brazil and Paraguay.

KEYWORDS: Bilingualism. Teacher training. Educational politics.

RESUMO: O artigo teve o propósito de investigar a formação de professores bilíngues na região da fronteira Brasil e Paraguai a partir do Programa Escolas Interculturais de Fronteira (PEIF). O trabalho se sustentou pela abordagem qualitativa com o desenvolvimento de uma pesquisa em campo, no qual recorreu-se como instrumento de coleta de dados a entrevista semiestruturada com uma gestora de instituição pública escolar localizada no Brasil, especificamente, no município de Ponta Porã-MS, que faz fronteira com o município paraguaio de Pedro Juan Caballero. Os resultados apontaram que o PEIF, mesmo assegurando a formação teórico-prática aos docentes da escola brasileira, foi prejudicado diante da descontinuidade das suas ações, o que inviabilizou a realização das atividades intercambiais entre os professores dos dois países: Brasil e Paraguai.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Bilinguismo. Formação de Professores. Política Educacional.

RESUMEN: El artículo tuvo como objetivo investigar la formación de docentes bilingües en la región fronteriza de Brasil y Paraguay a través del Programa Escuelas Interculturales de Frontera (PEIF). El trabajo se apoyó en un enfoque cualitativo con el desarrollo de una investigación de campo, en la que se utilizó como instrumento de recolección de datos una entrevista semiestructurada a un directivo de una institución escolar pública ubicada en Brasil, específicamente en el municipio de Ponta Porã-MS. Los resultados mostraron que el PEIF, si bien aseguró la formación teórico-práctica de los docentes brasileños, se vio obstaculizado por la discontinuidad de sus acciones, lo que imposibilitó la realización de actividades de intercambio entre docentes de los dos países: Brasil y Paraguay.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Bilingüismo. Formación de profesores. Política educativa.



Introduction

The border region has numerous particularities arising from its intercultural richness and, thus, becomes a fertile field for various theoretical investigations, including the educational dimension. In the meantime, when it is proposed to look at education in border regions, it means considering its particularities and contradictions, since the school space reflects, from its subjects, cultural diversity. Thus, the present research is anchored in this premise and aims to analyze the training of bilingual teachers in the border region between Brazil and Paraguay from the Intercultural Border Schools Program (PEIF).

The work is based on the analysis of the execution of an educational policy and its implications in the context of implementation (Baker, 2000). To this end, from a qualitative approach, field research was used, with a semi-structured interview in 2018 with the Board of a school in the municipality of Ponta Porã-Brazil, which borders the municipality of Pedro Juan Caballero-Paraguay. It is the only basic education institution on the border between Brazil and Paraguay that has joined the PEIF.

This program initially originated as a bilateral agreement between Brazil and Argentina in 2005, from the then Bilingual Intercultural Border Schools Program (PEIBF). It was an action that was incorporated into the Southern Common Market (Mercosur) as a policy that aimed to contribute to regional integration. In the case of Brazil, a Mercosur member country, the institutionalization of the policy of intercultural schools aimed at bilingual education was institutionalized in 2012, through the Ordinance of the Ministry of Education (MEC), No. 798/2021, which established the PEIF guidelines (Bueno, 2021).

The execution of the PEIF was carried out through the continuous training of teachers through partnerships involving universities, state and municipal departments of education, and schools that joined the program. The training courses facilitated the exchange between teachers from the participating schools' countries. Therefore, the Brazilian teacher would teach in the school of the neighboring country, in the same way that the foreign teacher would do in an institution in Brazil. "In this way, without having the objective of teaching their language, the teacher constituted himself as a living model of the culture of the other country, not teaching language, but promoting intercomprehension and intercultural dialogue" (Lorenzetti; Torquato, 2016, p. 85, our translation).

The program's methodology was supported by learning projects in which teachers from the two countries involved planned the classes together and determined how the execution would take place through the exchange. It was not a mere teaching of a foreign language, but the didactic-pedagogical stimulus of a real setting of bilingualism among students (Bueno; Souza, 2021).

According to Bueno (2019), there is no normative act in Brazil to close the PEIF by the MEC. However, several states that had institutions that joined in Brazil, including Mato Grosso do Sul, ended the program's activities in 2015. Even with its completion, the PEIF corresponded to a necessary policy for the "strengthening of educational policies aimed at the border areas of Brazil, based on the possibility of integrating all the educational processes of the school, with a view to the construction of a pedagogical, political project that has interculturality as its starting point" (Dutra; Godoi, 2019, p. 37-38, our translation).

In addition, it is justified that the phenomenon of the bilingual teacher training policy in the country is a theme still in need of investigation, according to evidence pointed out by Bueno (2019), which demands the choice of the object in question of the present research.

Educational policy on the border in the context of Mercosur

The international border, according to Silva and Almeida (2019, p. 714, our translation), is a fertile territory of social interrelations in its most varied dimensions, be they political, human, economic, educational, ethnic, and cultural. Thus, "the border is seen as a place with symbolisms established from the contacts between subjects, languages and cultures". Brazil borders almost all South American⁴ countries, with a wide border network that expresses numerous potentialities for the development of public policies.

Fernandes (2013) states that border education gained space on the political agenda within the countries that make up $Mercosur^5$ in 2001, through the commitments signed between the countries registered in the third Action Plan for Education (2001 – 2005), in which a series of discussions on bilingual intercultural teaching began.

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⁴ The country borders nine South American countries and French Guiana. Only two South American countries do not border Brazil: Ecuador and Chile. The Brazilian "border strip" region is a 150km wide strip along our land border, encompassing 11 federation units and 588 municipalities (Scherma, 2015, p. 1).

⁵ Member countries since the creation of Mercosur via the Treaty of Asunción in 1991: Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay. In 2012, Venezuela joined as the fifth member country of the bloc, but in 2016, it was suspended indefinitely (Souza; Kerbauy; Silva, 2020). In 2024, Bolivia's accession protocol was approved.

This proposal for bilingual intercultural education for border schools began at a meeting of ministers of education from the Mercosur Education sector, held in Asunción/Paraguay, in 2001. In view of the existing cooperation agenda within Mercosur, one of the objectives of the Project was to deepen, at the bilateral level, many activities already developed at the regional level (Fernandes, 2013, p. 44, our translation).

In the case of Brazil, it is important to emphasize that government initiatives, in this period of preparation and execution of educational projects and programs, were carried out as a result of the agreements signed by the country in the context of Mercosur and provided for in the bloc's action plans. From this perspective, on November 23, 2003, in order to strengthen educational ties between the Mercosur countries, Brazil and Argentina, the border cooperation agreement was signed to strengthen regional integration, which was the Joint Declaration of Brasilia. This political agreement established an educational rapprochement between these two Mercosur nations through continuing education programs for teachers in the border region and meeting local specificities. The first step in this direction was taken with the creation of the PEIBF, which proposed to work through exchange and continuing education for teachers and bilingualism, as well as to bring the border closer to the municipalities of different countries (Brasil, 2008).

In this document, education was reaffirmed as a cultural space for strengthening an awareness favorable to regional integration, and great importance was given to teaching Spanish in Brazil and Portuguese in Argentina (Flores, 2011, p. 16, our translation).

In 2004, a dialogue began with the states of the southern region of Brazil, especially with the border cities, both in the state and municipal networks, seeking the establishment of a partnership and the adhesion of schools to the Project. Initially, two Brazilian companies joined the schools, one in Uruguaiana (RS) and the other in Cerqueira (SC), and both border Argentina. Gradually, the Project expanded in search of exchange and cross-border cooperation, so much so that in 2006, municipalities in Paraná joined the Project (Flores, 2011).

It should be noted that in 2005, the PEIBF was inaugurated by the education ministers of Brazil and Argentina. This Project had the ambition to turn the participating schools into bilingual intercultural institutions, so that they would provide "their students with training based on a new concept of border, linked to regional integration, knowledge and respect for the culture and productions of the neighboring country" (Flores, 2011, p. 17, our translation).

The intercultural approach is necessary in the frontier educational environment. This is because the place presents a peculiar reality due to the presence of individuals of different nationalities, cultures and languages, whether professionals occupying the school space or students studying in the same classroom (Bueno, 2019).

In 2008, the official document that structured the Bilingual Border Schools Program (PEBF) was published, and signed between the Ministry of Education in Brazil and the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology in Argentina, whose document conceptualizes the border as:

[...] a zone of uncertainty and sociolinguistic instability where two or more languages act. This interaction is produced by the speakers of the language and the influence of the media, particularly radio and television, on both sides of the border (Brasil, 2008, p. 10, our translation).

The same document proposed a progressive transformation of border schools into bilingual intercultural institutions, which would offer their students training based on a new concept of border linked to regional interaction and knowledge and respect for the neighboring country's culture (Brasil, 2008).

For the development of this Program, Argentine schools received monitoring and pedagogical advice from specialists hired for this purpose in each municipality that joined the PEBF. In Brazil, this function was performed by the Institute for Research and Linguistic Policy (IPOL⁶), headquartered in Florianópolis (SC). With the advice of the teams, the teachers from both countries carried out the planning of the classes together and determined at which moments of the project the teachers would carry out the exchange (*cruze* or *cruce* – both spellings are found in the documents and authors researched), at least once a week. Therefore, what happened in the PEBF was not teaching a foreign language but teaching a foreign language, thus creating a real environment of bilingualism for the students (Brasil, 2008).

In methodological terms, the document proposed working with Teaching via Learning Projects (EPA) (Project Methodology or Research Projects or Project Pedagogy), which was outlined from a conception of cross-border cooperation, in which the national border ceased to be a barrier permeated by situations of prejudice or cultural differences, to give way to moments of interaction, as well as new forms of organization of the school routine.

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⁶ IPOL is a non-profit, cultural and educational institution, founded in 1999, headquartered in Florianópolis, Santa Catarina, Brazil, which represents the interests of civil society. And, it is made up of professionals from various areas of knowledge such as Anthropology, Ecology, Education, History, Languages, Linguistics, Sociology.

The main contribution of this form of methodological organization is to make it possible to choose the themes to be developed locally, by class, or by school, as considered more opportune and according to the different realities of the schools in question. This implies that other schools or classes can carry out different projects without losing considering the objectives linked both to the learning of characteristically scholastic skills associated with the advancement of literacy, on the one hand, and the attitudinal objectives related to interculturality and the management of the two languages, on the other (Brasil, 2008, p. 27, our translation).

In 2012, the Bilingual Border Schools Program changed its name to the PEIF, expanding the duration and scope of the work, with the Federal Universities as the executing body. The objectives remained the same as those already defined in the PEBF, but, in addition to Argentina, it began to cover the other countries in the bloc. According to the MEC, the PEIF is expected to expand to four more countries: Colombia, Peru, Guyana, and French Guiana. With the entry of these countries, in addition to the Spanish, Portuguese, and Guarani languages, English and French would be added, as they are the official languages of Guyana and French Guiana (Brasil, 2012).

Therefore, Ordinance No. 798/2012 established the Intercultural Border Schools Program, which aimed to promote regional integration through intercultural and bilingual education, as determined by the first paragraph of Article 1.

The Intercultural Border Schools are the State and Municipal public schools located in the border strip and instructed by the "Model of common teaching of the border zone, based on the development of a Program for intercultural education, with emphasis on the teaching of Portuguese and Spanish" [...] (Brasil, 2012, our translation).

The PEIF was created to promote exchange (*cruze*) and continuing education for teachers of the schools participating in the Program, as was provided for in previous policies, such as the PEIBF. The Program's essence proposed innovative work between professors and students, with bilingualism as the main characteristic.

The Program guided teachers to position the student at the center of the learning process and had as a keyword the term Cruze, which means crossing by bridge, ferry or street. According to the proposal, teachers from both countries jointly planned the organization of the pedagogical work and determined how to carry out the exchange between the Brazilian school and the school in a neighboring country (Beck *et al.*, 2016, p. 02, emphasis added).

Policies aimed at education on the border, such as the PEIF, contemplated as an action within the scope of Mercosur Education, represented an initiative to promote regional integration through intercultural language education, which implies the objective of forming a border cultural identity.

Training of bilingual teachers on the Brazil-Paraguay border

According to Ordinance No. 798/2012, Article 9 explicitly states that "it is the responsibility of border schools to implement and develop the Program" (Brasil, 2012, our translation). In the context of research on the Brazil-Paraguay border, only one school adopted the PEIF from 2012 to 2015. This is a state institution offering Elementary and High School education as stages of basic education. An interview with the administrator responsible for this institution during the PEIF implementation period was conducted in 2018. We will refer to the research subject as the Principal.

According to the Principal, the PEIF was implemented at the institution through adaptations to the Political-Pedagogical Project (PPP), which was aligned with the twin Paraguayan school and included plans for teacher exchange activities, known as *cruce*. Despite the modification of the institution's PPP following its adherence to the PEIF, the daily materialization of exchange practices did not occur, compromising the Program's effectiveness as an integrative element.

Regarding the *cruce*, Haygert and Sturza (2015) explain that the countries of the bloc had difficulties in carrying it out in practice due to the lack of authorization to transit, licenses, and transport, for example. For this reason, there were some exchanges between the Brazilian, Argentine, Paraguayan, Uruguayan, Bolivian, and Venezuelan twin schools based on visits by some professionals or even participation in events in the schools.

Even with the non-occurrence of the *cruce*, the PEIF generated implications regarding the interchange methodology of the didactic-pedagogical work of bilingual education. From

this perspective, the Principal mentions that the PEIF proposed rethinking the pedagogical practice in the classroom through teaching via learning project (EPA). This methodology was discussed in the continuing education promoted by the program. Nevertheless, the work with the EPA presupposes challenges pointed out by the Principal, in which she highlights the difficulty of the teacher in adapting to the new methodology:

Another issue is that you convince the professor that he can leave that little manual he has, that he no longer needs it there, and that he can trust the student; most of the time, he directs all this research work. So the teacher was still conditioned, "but what time am I going to give my accounts [...] what time am I going to do my exercises". So he [the teacher] could not visualize that the student was learning, but in a different way (Principal, 2018, our translation).

This setback presented by the Principal reinforces the conception expressed by Orlandi and Martins (2016), which states that it is through dialogue and moments of expressiveness that subjective processes become evident, emphasizing:

In this context, the "rules" of what tends to happen are intentionally subverted to deal with the improbable, the surprising, the unusual, with the subjects being freer to express their emotions, feelings and critical-creative capacity, coming into contact with others and others of themselves, in a condition of reciprocity in teaching and learning (Orlandi and Martins, 2016, p. 88, our translation).

Teaching and learning through the EPA is challenging and causes doubt about its assertiveness as a teaching methodology for basic education. This leads to the developments expressed by the Principal.

[...] Maintaining this methodology, as a principal, I think this is the biggest challenge. The very high turnover, teachers, every year you have to start all the work again, so this is very exhausting, I have even prepared a handout that I pass on to the teachers at the beginning of the year, explaining what our methodology is, how it works [...] (Principal, 2018, our translation).

For the Principal, the work implicit in the position of Principal of a school emanates the complexity of managing a group of people and, in her case, the aggravating factor of maintaining a differentiated teaching methodology. In this sense, Silva (2014) points out that continuous pedagogical monitoring represents a strategy for the success of meaningful learning regarding the actions of the PEIF.

It should be noted that the work with meaningful learning is not exclusive to the PEIF, but the Program used this methodology to adapt the frontier reality to learning with its various dimensions. In this regard, the Principal also stressed the need to build a border solidarity identity.

It is not because he crosses a street that he leaves his identity on the other side, so he brings with him all his difficulties, all his characteristics, and that, in a way, the school needs to find a way to value this. So my role as a manager is precisely this: to ensure that this student who comes in these conditions is well received, is well treated, and feels welcomed, that he is part of this school, not feeling discriminated against (Principal, 2018, our translation).

The manager is assigned the role of minimizing differences and leading those involved to understand the magnitude of their role as an education professional who works in the border region, as emphasized by Sturza (2014):

Exposure to the language (in this case, Spanish, Portuguese, and Guarani) arouses interest in the culture and language of the Other, improving the understanding of the linguistic and cultural diversity of the very border where they live. There are significant changes in attitudes in the relationship with others – less prejudice, deconstruction of negative imaginaries in relation to the neighboring country, and more tolerance to understand and respect the differences in the school routines of each educational system (Sturza, 2014, p. 6, our translation).

Thus, the work of education professionals in a border school is permeated by the awareness of the importance of respect for the "other", aiming at the collective construction of a border identity with respect to cultural differences. The PEIF, based on continuing education, managed, according to the Principal, to promote this awareness. [...] "The fact that the school can look at itself and see itself in this diversity is already a positive point, because although it seems natural, the person who is there involved in this daily life, in this routine, does not realize it" (Principal, 2018, our translation).

Border schools carry out various social activities, they are concerned both with the cultural identity (traditions, languages) of the students, and with creating conditions that value respect among all, natives and migrants, so that within them plurality and integration are contemplated (Flores, 2011, p. 887, our translation).

The PEIF, in the investigated institution, materialized in a restrictive way the continuing education activities promoted, especially by the partnership with federal universities. However, this process of continuing education, according to the Principal, made it possible to identify the challenge of linguistic understanding of Brazilian teachers with Spanish and Guarani, the two official languages of Paraguay. This challenge, according to the teachers, was already materializing, because, mainly, in early childhood education and elementary education, the municipality of Ponta Porã-MS receives many students from Pedro Juan Caballero. Dutra and Godoi (2019) also highlight this educational obstacle in the region.

The region is made up of cultural miscegenation, Paraguayans have Castilian and Guarani as their official language, but in addition to speaking these languages, they also talk the Portuguese they learned from their parents or Brazilian classmates. However, many of the Paraguayans speak only Guaraní, and when their parents enroll them in a school in Brazil, they have difficulty communicating, just as teachers have difficulty teaching, because most of the time, teachers do not speak or understand the language that the child speaks and vice versa (Dutra; Godoi, 2019, p. 40, our translation).

The PEIF, if it had advanced in the interchange practice of the investigated reality, would allow what Lorenzetti and Torquato (2016, p. 90, our translation) pointed out as a differential: [...] "The experience of teachers can be replicated by students. Living with colleagues and students from/in the other country (from/in the other School) will allow them to experience practices of bilingualism and interculturality, which will later be (re)constructed with the students".

For the Principal, the non-concreteness of all the stages of the PEIF by the School came up against the very end of the Program: [...] "the fact that it [the PEIF] has stopped, finished, that everything that was proposed has not been followed" (Principal, 2018). The finalization of the PEIF occurred without having a normative act, since, according to Bueno (2019), there was no revocation of Ordinance No. 798/2012 and not even an official note from the federal government in that period about the discontinuity of the Program.

The suspension of the policy and the limits on the effectiveness of all its stages were also recorded in a study by Lorenzetti and Torquato (2016) between Brazilian municipalities in Rio Grande do Sul and Argentine municipalities. The authors highlighted that:

[...] The information we received from the research participants about the Program was the suspension of the "cruces". On the first trip we made, Brazilian teachers and municipal officials informed us that it was due to the

conditions required of Argentine teachers, regarding insurance, which was costly for the government. In 2015, the cut in MEC funds was added to the obstacles, due to the current political and economic moment, whose effects are felt in public policies at different level (Lorenzetti; Torquato, 2016, p. 93, our translation).

The reality of the research of the aforementioned authors reiterates that the discontinuity of the PEIF was fundamental to the limits of the program as an initiative to promote interculturality, intercomprehension, and bilingualism. Therefore, it is understood that the valorization of linguistic and cultural diversity was largely impaired without the on-site development of bilingual pedagogical practices, even with the occurrence of the training of professionals who would work through the exchange.

Final considerations

The reality investigated highlights favorable and unfavorable points of the PEIF. It is noteworthy that the changes in the pedagogical proposal of the School are favorable, adopting the EPA as a teaching methodology and promoting the proposal of the *cruce* with a Paraguayan school. The continuing education carried out with the university partnership also brought theoretical foundations to the School's professionals.

The unfavorable aspects stem from the lack of continuity of the program, which made exchange practices unfeasible. Therefore, it is emphasized that the promotion of interculturality and the construction of border identity requires time, in the case of the PEIF, it was three years, considering an insufficient period for the implementation of a policy and the analysis of its impacts. It is, therefore, a complex adaptation process that the Program would require, and which could not be carried out with limited time.

In view of the above, it is pointed out that the implementation of a bilingual intercultural policy for the training of education professionals deserves attention beyond the PEIF, demanding other socio-educational political and educational management initiatives.

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