In 1981, the MOBRAL system underwent drastic changes, being disqualified as a foundation. Finally, in 1985, with the a civilian government, MOBRAL was discontinued and substituted with what was called *Fundação Educar* (Educational Foundation), which did nothing in the realm of adult education. *Fundação Educar*, however, has also been terminated by the new Brazilian president, who is in the process of establishing a new literacy program, *Programa Nacional de Alfabetização e Cidadania* (National Program of Literacy and Citizenship)[10]. This program aims to eliminate illiteracy in Brazil by 1998. According to the Minister of Education, Carlos Chiarelli, this new project will involve the country's universities, which will be in charge of training teachers and developing new methodologies which should take into consideration regional differences The program will make use of radio stations and television, and is expected to last five years. Brazil, in Chiarelli's words, "will become a giant classroom" (Jornal do Brasil, November 21/90).

Conclusion

Language planning is undoubtedly an agent of social change. Literacy, as an acquisition planning effort, fulfills the objective of encouraging the learning of a given language (Cooper,1989). In the presentation of the Brazilian efforts toward eliminating illiteracy, we can see that the programs undertaken first in Paulo Freire's National Literacy Plan, and second by MOBRAL, tried to effect Brazil's social structure, even if simply to maintain the status quo, as in the case of MOBRAL. They weren't in any way philosophically neutral (Cobarrubias, 1983), as no human action can be. As Cobarrubias suggests, "the ethical criteria a given society is willing to adopt seem to depend upon certain ideologies the group in control wishes to endorse. Language-status planning is ultimately contingent upon such ideologies" (Cobarrubias, 1983:41).

The question one has to answer is to what type of ideology one wants to conform: one that maintains inequality or one that combats it; one which fosters the maintenance of an unjust reality, or one engaged with changing it. It appears that the MOBRAL program clearly adopted the first position, while Freire's approach, by its very nature, was engaged with the second position. While the student was perceived as the subject of her/his own change in Freire's program, the student was viewed a an object in the MOBRAL system. While the very literacy process was considered a right on its own and an agent of change in Freire's program, it was considered a means of promoting economic development in the MOBRAL case. While the context of

education was one in which the relationship between student and teacher was one of respect, "horizontal", and realized through dialogue in Freire's approach, in the MOBRAL situation the student-teacher relationship was one of dominance, "vertical", and achieved through imposition. Finally, where the results of the literacy process were measured qualitatively in the Freire's approach, they were measured quantitatively in the MOBRAL program, through methods not always trustworthy.

When I decided to compare the MOBRAL program with the program developed by Paulo Freire, I had the naive belief that it would be possible to combine Freire's beliefs, his philosophical and conceptual framework with the actual organization and uncluttered structure of MOBRAL. However, after all the research I have done for this paper and all the ideas that have come with it, I realize that such a combination would be inconsistent with Freire's thought. We cannot liberate and control at the same time. I submit that in Brazil, as long as political concerns prevail over the individual's interests, the educational system will foster the maintenance of the status quo, depicting a clearly unjust and oppressive society.

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[1]The vast majority of the population of Brazil is Catholic.

[2]Freire figured that sixteen words or so would suffice to cover the possible syllabic combinations of Portuguese.

[3]Prior to the creation of the plan, two successful pilot projects were launched, one in the Northeast and the other in the Southeast (Rio de Janeiro).

[4]It is interesting to report a pronouncement of a USAID official: "It [the PNA] wasn't really a literacy program but rather a means of politicizing people. The goal of the method was to arouse the politically apathetic and get them into an uproar" (Page, 1972: 175).

[5]The government expected that through the creation of a literacy program, the United Nations would change the country's status of a "illiterate" country to that of a "literate" one.

[6]MOBRAL continued to be an autonomous foundation until 1981, when it ceased to be independent and became another office of the Ministry of Education (Oliveira, 1982).

[7]At the beginning the target population was that of urban zones. Later, however, the government realized that the rural population had equal needs, and extended the program's actions to those areas.

[8]It is known that the International Monetary Fund (IMF), through the World Bank, also provided funds for MOBRAL.

[9]See Appendix 4 for the figures presented by MOBRAL regarding the program's results for 1971 and estimates for 1972.

[10]See appendix 5 for the results presented by IBGE (Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics), for the evolution of literacy from 1970-1983, and also the figures for 1985. Note that for 1985, the illiteracy rate for the whole country was 22.3%. This figure, however, does not portray the reality, since, as mentioned elsewhere in this paper, we cannot consider literate a person who can only read and write her/his own name. Just to illustrate my point, one of the questions in the 1980 census conducted by IBGE, asked if the person "had learned to read and write but had forgotten." The question by itself is harmless, but in the total computation, that person was considered "literate," if the answer to the question has been "yes."

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Appendix 1
Evolution of Illiteracy in Brazil

Year	population 15 years old and up	illiterates 15 years old and up	%
1940	23,629,769	13,279,899	56
1950	30,249,423	15,272,432	50
1960	40,187,590	15,815,903	39
1970	54,338,606	17,936,887	33

Year	population 15 - 39 years old	illiterates 15 - 39 years old	%
1940	16,515,330	8,937,282	54
1950	20,911,777	9,964,060	46
1960	27,017,011	9,422,610	35
1970	35,954,488	9,911,744	28

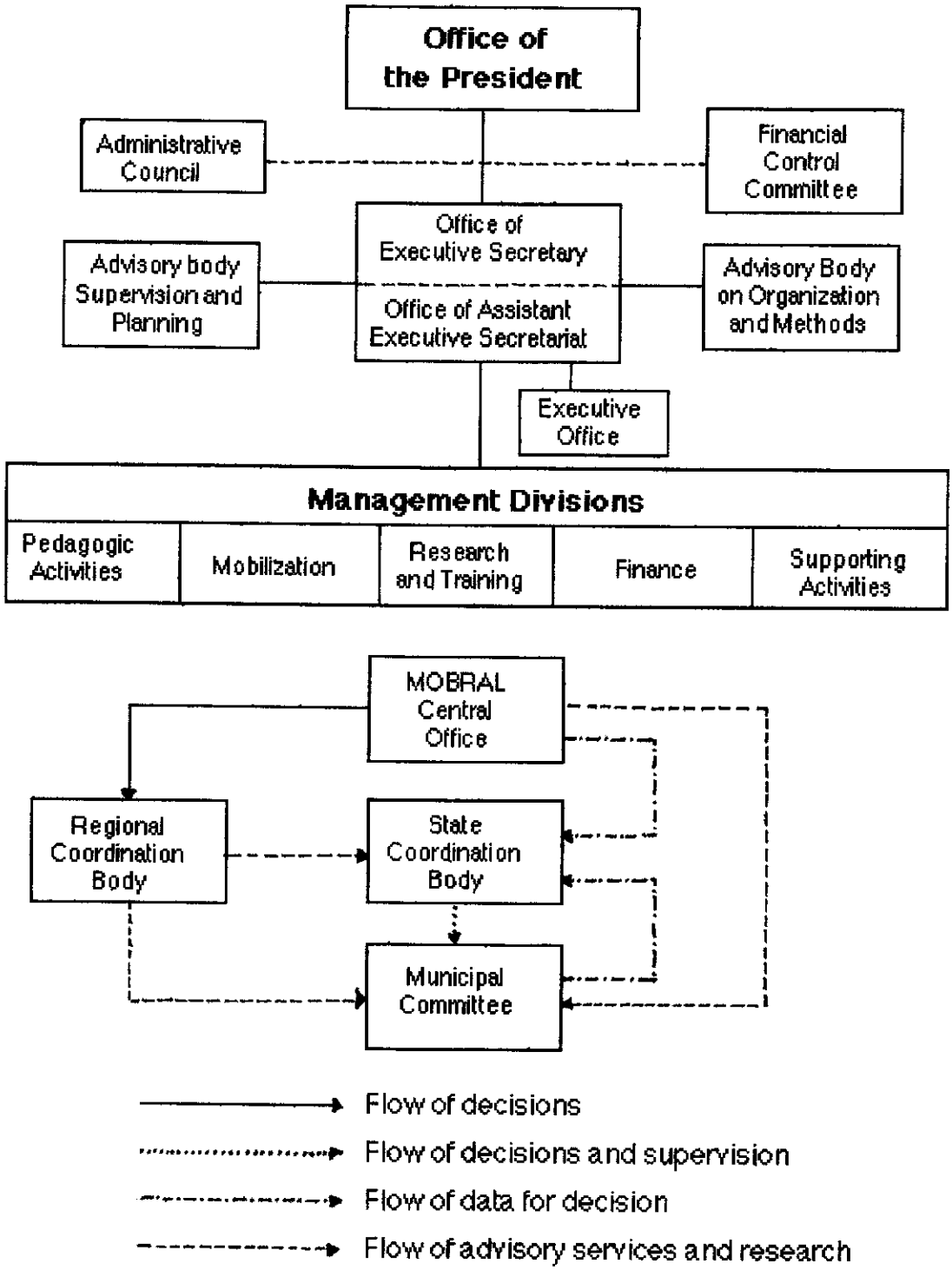
Source: Adult Education in Brazil, 1971, Ministério da Educação e Cultura:14.

Appendix 2
MOBRAL Objectives

1. Develop in the students the reading, writing and calculation skills
2. Develop a vocabulary that allows for the enrichment of the students
3. Develop the students' reasoning, aiming to favor the solution of their personal and community problems
4. Develop positive attitudes and manners regarding working
5. Develop creativity, aiming for the improvement of life conditions through the use of the available resources
6. Induce the students to:
   - know their rights and duties and the best ways of community participation
   - engage themselves in maintaining good health and improving the conditions of personal, family and community cleanliness
   - know their personal responsibility in the maintenance and improvement of the public institutions and goals of the community
   - participate in the community development, focusing on people's welfare.

Source: Oliveira, 1982:160-1.

Appendix 3
Structure of the MOBRAL Central Office



Source: UNESCO, 1975:20-21.

Appendix 4

1970

Region	Students under contract
North	21,386
Northeast	121,889
Southeast	247,036
South	77,149
Middle-West	42,880
Brazil	510,340

1971

Region	Students under contract	Students who became literate
North	56,537	18,261
Northeast	1,336,662	558,725
Southeast	686,163	292,992
South	414,232	169,007
Middle-West	75,268	32,109
Brazil	2,569,662	1,071,094

Estimated Preliminary Goals

Region	Students under contract	Students who became literate
North	228,167	103,382
Northeast	1,944,841	1,100,805
Southeast	1,269,510	703,608
South	504,429	243,854
Middle-West	296,803	137,181
Brazil	4,243,750	2,288,830

Source: Adult Education in Brazil, Ministério da Educação e Cultura, 1971:20-21.

Appendix 5

Literacy Rates by Region, Selected years: 1970-1983

	Urban	Rural	Total
1970	79.5	46.1	65.9
1980	83.1	53.7	74.5
1982			
All of Brazil	84.0	57.0	76.9
Northeast	71.1	41.6	58.0
Rest of Brazil	87.3	70.3	84.0
1983			
All of Brazil	84.8	59.6	78.1
Northeast	71.6	42.2	58.9
Rest of Brazil	88.3	74.7	85.2

Source: Winkler, 1986:57.

1985

	Illiterate Population	% of total population
Females	10,038	23.5
Males	9,047	21.0
Total	19,085	22.3

Source: Wilkie,1988: 156.