Literacy in Brazil: For what purposes?

Márcia Montenegro Velho

The purpose of this paper is to discuss two literacy programs that were implemented in Brazil in the 1960s and 1970s. The first, built on the work of Brazilian educator Paulo Freire, was carried out in the early 1960s. The second program, the Brazilian Literacy Movement (MOBRAL), although created in 1967, wasn't implemented until 1970, and lasted until 1985, when a military government transferred power to civilians. The motivation for discussing these two plans results from their two basic differences. The first difference is related to the programs' philosophical and conceptual bases, while the second difference, a consequence of the first, is the way they were organized and implemented. Before discussing the plans, however, it is necessary to provide some background information about the socio-political situation in Brazil in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s. Language planning is, ultimately, a political decision which is clearly reflected in the way both of their plans were shaped and developed. After situating the historical context of the two plans, this paper will compare and discuss them within a language planning framework.

Historical Background

Beginning in the early 1950s, the Brazilian government decided to economically modernize the country which was at the time characterized by an essentially agricultural economy. Foreign funds started to flow into the country, and the process of industrialization and urbanization began. This process, however, inevitably contributed to changes in the social structure of the Brazilian society, creating social tensions.

In 1958, the Superintendency for the Development of the Northeast (SUDENE), was established by the federal government with technical and financial support from USAID, the United States Agency for International Development. The purpose of SUDENE was to coordinate a federal program of economic development in the Northeast region. I am focusing on the Northeast region because it reflects very well the political uproar across the country. More than in any other region, the number of

leftist movements and the intensity of their actions attracted attention from the national establishment and international organizations.

In 1961, the so-called "Alliance for Progress" was launched by the American government. The Alliance "was a vast cooperative effort, unparalleled in magnitude and 'nobility' of purpose, to satisfy the basic needs of the [Latin] American people, for homes, work, land, and schools" (Page, 1972:12). USAID together with SUDENE was in charge of administering and distributing the American aid.

In 1960 Jânio Quadros was elected president with vast popular support, and there were great expectations for his government. Quadros believed that education was not only a right in itself but a necessity in the Brazilian context, and the problem of adult education was given great attention (Paiva, 1987). Quadros allocated federal funds to that area and during his time in office the Basic Education Movement (MEB) was instituted. Since Brazil is a predominantly Catholic country[1], the organization and coordination of MEB was assigned to the National Conference of Brazilian Bishops - CNBB (Paiva, 1987). MEB used Catholic radio stations as its medium and targeted the North and Northeast, since it was the poorest in the country and had the highest levels of adult illiteracy. MEB concentrated its efforts in rural areas. This movement was identified with radical concepts of social change.

After seven months in the presidency Jânio Quadros resigned, and in August, 1961 the vice-president, João Goulart, took office. He was considered by many to be a leftist, and from the very beginning his government was weakened by a lack of congressional support, and according to Rose and Newson (1982), "In the absence of an effective government, there was no sense of direction and the country drifted" (184).

The National Literacy Plan
(PNA - Plano Nacional de Alfabetização)

At this point we can better situate the work of Paulo Freire. Freire is not only known for his work with adult literacy in Brazil and elsewhere (Chile, Guinea Bissau), but also for his views of what education is, or should be. He was born in the Northeastern state of Pernambuco and the development of his thought was deeply influenced by the social and economic conditions of that region. As Rose and Newson (1982) point out Brazil was, and to a certain extent still is, two countries: the North and Northeast, characterized by an agricultural and aristocratic society, and the Central and Southern, distinguished by an industrial and more democratic society.

As previously mentioned, the industrialization process caused drastic changes in the social structure and inequality sharply increased between those with power and those living at the subsistence level. Paulo Freire understood that the educational system fostered the maintenance of the status quo. For him, the lower classes weren't being educated, but rather domesticated. He believed that only with changes in the social structure could all people live a dignified existence. Freire's thoughts were essentially Marxist and also permeated by Catholic principles. He believed that only through education could a person change his or her life.

In 1954, Paulo Freire started to teach at the University of Recife. It was his belief that the university should be responsible for the spread of education to all people. In 1960, the Popular Culture Movement (*Movimento de Cultura Popular* - MCP) was created in the city of Recife, Pernambuco, by leftist Mayor Miguel Arraes. His ultimate goal was to become governor of the state, and he believed that if he had the support of the lower classes his chances of being elected would significantly increase. Since an illiterate person at that time didn't have the right to vote, he decided to include a literacy program in the Popular Culture Movement. The literacy program, although necessary and justifiable in its own right, was motivated by political interests. Paulo Freire was designated as this adult education program's director, and the program's target was the slum areas of Recife. The work with the MCP was fundamental to the development of the "Paulo Freire Method" of literacy instruction, or *Conscientização* (Consciousness Raising).

In the MCP, the 'Cultural Circles' were created with the objective of offering a new perspective toward learning. The circles were groups in which "instead of a teacher, we had a coordinator; instead of lectures, dialogue; instead of pupils, group participants; instead of alienating syllabi, compact programs that were broken down and codified into learning units" (Freire, 1986:42).

A basic postulate in Freire's work is that the student comes to the learning process already knowing how to read the "world." What s/he needs to learn is how to read the "word." According to Freire, "there is no such a thing as absolute ignorance or absolute wisdom" (Freire, 1986:43). Illiteracy is not a disease that needs to be cured. It is, rather, "one of the concrete expressions of an unjust social reality. Illiteracy is not a strictly linguistic or exclusively pedagogical or methodological problem. It is political, as is the very literacy through which we try to overcome illiteracy" (Freire, 1985:10). The function of the coordinator is to help the person develop a "critical consciousness", as opposed to a "magical" one, which Freire defines as a process in which we "simply apprehend facts and attribute to them a superior power by which it is

controlled and to which it must therefore submit. Magic Consciousness is characterized by fatalism, which leads men to fold their arms, resigned to the impossibility of resisting the power of facts" (Freire, 1986:44). On the other hand, a consciousness that is critical is "integrated with reality," and so leads to change.

There are three ways in which a critical consciousness can be attained: 1) through dialogue; 2) through a change in the context of education; and 3) through the use of "thematic breakdown" and "codification" (Freire, 1986). Freire defines thematic breakdown and codification, respectively, as "a splitting of themes into their fundamental nuclei, and the representation of a theme in the form of an existential situation" (Freire, 1986: 45).

The Cultural Circles were an essential element of Freire's method, since the literacy programs were implemented through them. They were implemented by university students. The "method" itself is comprised of five phases:

Phase I

The universe of the literacy students is explored through the use of informal interviews, conversations in public places, etc., which results in a list of the most common words used in a given community.

Phase II

Through an analysis of the list of words obtained in Phase I, "generative words" are selected. The list of generative words should observe three criteria:

a. It should be phonemically rich, i.e., have the basic sounds of the language;
b. It should be Phonetically difficult, going from the simplest combination of syllables to the most complex ;
c. The words should have pragmatic content.

One of the main points stressed by Freire is that whatever is going to be taught should be relevant for the learner, related to his or her reality. Paulo Freire indicates that in the traditional literacy syllabus, meaningless and absurd sentences are commonly used, and he questions how these sentences can be of any significance to the learner. He appropriately asks: "how can they [students] critically understand their concrete oppressive situation through a literacy work in which they are instructed with sweetness to learn phrases like 'the wing of the bird' or 'Eva saw the grape'?" (Freire, 1985:9).

Phase III

Codifications are developed. Real life situations are used in order to foment group discussion, so that although the codifications depict everyday situations, they also promote the discussion of problems at the regional and national levels. (Freire, 1986).

Phase IV

An agenda is developed. Up to this point no teaching of specific reading or writing skills has been done. The first eight meetings or so are dedicated solely to group discussions. In the fourth phase, then, the whole group (never more than twenty people), organizes an agenda for the remaining meetings.

Phase V

Teaching materials of two sorts are developed:

a. slides and/or pictures containing all the syllables of the Portuguese language[2]
b. pictures portraying a situation to be discussed

A person could be taught to read and write in forty days using the method outlined above. As Page comments, it was a "revolution in forty days" (Page, 1972:176).

Following the success of his literacy work in the Recife slums, Freire was chosen as the director of the University of Recife Cultural Extension Service (*Serviço Cultural de Extenção* - SEC), which had as its main goal the diffusion of popular education. Up to this point, Freire's actions had been restricted to the municipal level.

In 1963 USAID financed the *Angicos Project* in the city of Angicos, Rio Grande do Norte. Paulo Freire was its coordinator. It became one of the first large scale projects in which Freire's method was used. At the beginning, the project was quite small, but when it was terminated, it had reached approximately four hundred people (Paiva, 1987). On the last day President João Goulart attended some of the classes and praised the project and gave national recognition to the work of Paulo Freire (Jeria, 1984). Interestingly enough, despite the project's success USAID chose not renew its contract which expired in January, 1964.

In 1963 the *First National Literacy Meeting* took place in Recife. Its purpose was two-fold: 1) to determine the number of all literacy movements taking place in Brazil, and 2) to articulate the interchange of ideas and methods among the movements, so that they could be coordinated at the national level (Paiva, 1987). There were forty-

four literacy movements at that time, and almost all of them were using Paulo Freire's concepts in one way or another. All of the movements wanted "the advancement of mankind [*promoçau do homen*], the raising of the people's consciousness and the participation in the political life of the country through a non-directive pedagogical action" (Paiva, 1987:251).

The same group that organized the National Literacy Meeting started to work directly with the Minister of Education, Paulo de Tasso, and helped initiate a national literacy campaign. "The federal government would finance and provide technical aid, while the implementation of the program would be given to the local unions and students' associations, which would extend to the whole country the Northeast experience. Using the Paulo Freire Method of adult literacy, the campaign would reach five million people up to 1965" (Paiva, 1987:256). In October, 1963, the National Literacy Committee was established with the objective of elaborating a national literacy campaign. And then, in January 21, 1964, the National Literacy Plan (*Plano Nacional de Alfabetização* - PNA) was instituted[3]. Paulo Freire was chosen as national coordinator of the plan, which had as its goal the creation of 20,000 Cultural Circles throughout the country (Jeria, 1984).

According to Paiva (1987), the PNA was envisioned as a mass literacy program in which the continuity wasn't too important. Its goal was to use Freire's method through the Cultural Circles and help people become literate in forty hours. After the first forty hours the "cultural circles should have been converted to political organizations [not concerned with literacy] for the masses" (Paiva, 1987:258). This position, I would argue, is not consistent with Freire's practice, and in fact, Freire himself contends that "we were planning a post-literacy stage which would only vary as to the curriculum" (Freire, 1986:58).

The literacy plan had many problems, both economic (lack of resources), and political, given the unstable condition of the country. Paulo Freire and the plan itself were accused by politicians, the press and the international establishment of spreading communist ideas. In addition to the political difficulties, Freire encountered problems in the implementation of the plan:

> A major problem in setting the literacy program is instructing the team coordinators. Teaching the purely technical aspect of the procedure is not difficult; the difficulty lies rather in the creation of a new attitude, that of dialogue so absent in your own upbringing and education. (Freire, 1986:52)

Two primers were created. The first one, "*Saber para Viver*" ("To Know is to Live"), was created at the beginning of Freire's work in Pernambuco. The second primer, "*Viver é Lutar*" ("To Live is to Struggle"), was used in the PNA, had a strong impact, and was charged with having communist beliefs:

> In the deteriorating political situation, attacks from the opposition became continuous to the government's policies. The left moved quickly to gain lost terrain, the army was close to a 'Coup d'etat'. On the other hand, the press was accusing the Minister of Education of 'spreading' foreign ideas throughout the country (Jeria, 1984:63).

Despite its promising results, the National Literacy Plan created in January of 1964 was officially terminated in April of that year as a result of a March military coup (Paiva, 1987). All but one of the forty-four literacy movements were also cancelled. The only survivor was the MEB (Basic Education Movement) because of its connection with CNBB (National Conference of Brazilian Bishops). The movement's political orientation, however, was forced to undergo drastic changes in order to survive. Furthermore, not only was the National Literacy Plan extinguished, but most of its documents were lost or destroyed (Brandão, 1985). The plan has been totally dismissed, although it represents an important attempt to eradicate illiteracy in Brazil. It was ignored and never mentioned in the mass literacy program undertaken during the military government and subsequently[4]. This, I will argue, is one of the main obstacles to progress in Brazil, i.e., changes in government inevitably cause changes in policies and programs even if they are being successfully carried out. Individual interests are always subsumed by political interests.

Paulo Freire's own future wasn't promising either. After the coup in June, 1964, he was jailed for his beliefs for seventy-five days, and in September of the same year he chose to leave Brazil, going first to Bolivia and then to Chile, where he stayed until 1969, helping the Chilean government with its literacy campaigns.

MOBRAL - Brazilian Literacy Movement (*Movemento Brasileiro de Alfabetização*)

Following the military coup, almost nothing was done in the field of adult literacy. Of the forty-four movements in existence prior to the coup, only MEB, as pointed out above, survived. The termination of the literacy movements can be explained by the fact that the "literacy and adult education programs promoted in the

early 1960s were perceived as a threat to the established regime, which wanted to preserve the capitalist order" (Paiva, 1987:259). Under international pressure, mostly from UNESCO, the military government was forced to revive its "interest" in the area of literacy[5]. The years of the technocrats of education had began.

One of the first steps the Brazilian government took was to reactivate the *Cruzada ABC (Ação Básica Cristã)*, or Basic Christian Crusade, which was created in 1962 in Pernambuco with the objective of promoting adult literacy. It was first called "Agnes Promotion" (*Promoção Agnes*), founded by an American Protestant church, and financed through the Agnes Erskine Foundation and USAID. Up to 1965-66, the *Cruzade ABC* had a peripheral role in adult education in the Northeast, precisely because of its foreign origin. With UNESCO pressure, however, the government resolved to revitalize the Crusade, and in August, 1967, an agreement between the Ministry of Education (MEC) and the Crusade was signed. The main purpose of the accord was to extend the Crusade's action to the whole country.

In the *Cruzade ABC*, the illiterate person was perceived as an "economic parasite" and that "only through education could s/he begin to produce and participate in the community" (Paiva,1987:268). Its intentions seemed essentially paternalistic. The underlying goal of the accord between the MEC and the *Cruzade ABC* was to "neutralize" the ideological impact that all previous movements had had. The Crusade used a program of food donation to stimulate participation in its courses, and, in fact, food assistance was given only if the person participated in the classes. The Crusade was discontinued sometime between 1970-1971.

It seems that the MEC-Crusade ABC agreement was only a step during the preparation of a more ambitious program of mass literacy. For the first time, real educational planning took shape in Brazil. Although education was the theme and final objective, the "official decisions were driven by predominantly economic, political and ideological criteria" (Paiva,1987:263). Education was viewed not as a course of individual growth, but rather as a way of accelerating economic development. The educational process was perceived as a "profitable" instrument in the National Developmental Plan (*Plano Nacional de Desenvolvimento* - PND), and the "education of adults stood in the first line of attack... it constituted a powerful weapon serving to accelerate development" (MEC, 1971:5).

The direction was chiefly technocratic. The military administration understood that adult illiteracy constituted an impediment to the country's growth and decided to create an official agency which would assume the task of eliminating the "problem" of adult illiteracy. MOBRAL - the Brazilian Literacy Movement (*Movimento Brasileiro de*

Alfabetização) was then established on December 15, 1967. Although it was created in 1967, the program wasn't implemented until September 8, 1970. The architects of MOBRAL understood that the organization would have to be completely independent, which resulted in the establishment of the MOBRAL Foundation[6].

The two main objectives of MOBRAL were, first, to reduce the level of adult illiteracy from 33% (illiterate population aged 15 years and older), and second, to use the eradication of illiteracy as an avenue to economic development (See Appendix 1 for evolution of illiteracy in Brazil and see Appendix 2 for a description of MOBRAL objectives). Among its priorities were: 1) to eradicate illiteracy in urban areas;[7] 2) to reach the population between 15 and 35 years of age; and 3) to give priority literacy programs, rather than to continued education. The rationale behind selecting this population (15-35 year-olds) was "justified by the fact that this group was more likely to return, in terms of increased productivity, the resources invested in its formation during its useful life" (MEC, 1971:15). MOBRAL was financed through resources from the federal government, 30% of the total income of the sports lottery, and through donations from private institutions[8].

MOBRAL was very well structured (See appendix 3 for MOBRAL's central office structure). It was comprised of: 1) the MOBRAL Central Office, which was directed by an economist, and had an engineer as its executive secretary, 2) the Regional Coordinators, 3) the State Coordinators, and 4) the Municipal Boards. The central office had five divisions: 1) Pedagogy, 2) Mobilization, 3) Finance, 4) Supporting Activities, and 5) Research and Training.

The country was then divided into five regions, having Regional Coordinators in charge of each one. Under the Regional Coordinators came the State Coordinators, followed by the Municipal Boards, which were of vital importance to the system, since it was through them that the program was implemented. It was the Municipal Boards' task to enlist the program's students, as well as to provide classrooms, recruit teachers and organize courses (MEC, 1971). In this sense, the Municipal Boards were quite autonomous. According to Tollefson's (1981) classification of language planning processes, the MOBRAL system was decentralized, since it was characterized by a loose degree of coupling at the Municipal Boards level.

A compilation of various methodologies was applied. Interestingly enough, although they had to be approved by the Central Office, the methods used in the program were designed by two publishing companies, which were also in charge of distributing the materials. The materials were: textbooks and drill books, four books for

continued education, and the MOBRAL Journal (the only material produced by MOBRAL itself).

The MOBRAL system was composed of two programs: 1) the Functional Literacy Program, and 2) the Integrated Education Program. As referred to above, priority was given to the Functional Literacy Program. This plan was equivalent to the first grade, and lasted five months. After completion of this basic program, the student could continue in the Integrated Program, which had three sections, each one also lasting five months and equivalent to the third, fourth, and fifth grades respectively (Oliveira, 1982).

All MOBRAL documents lengthily discuss the organizational aspect of the system as well as the implementation of the program. Evaluation, however, is almost always done in an obscure fashion. A UNESCO document (1975) identifies two types of evaluation of the system itself. In the first type of evaluation, each level (Central Office, Regional Coordinators, etc.) evaluates the level below. The second type of measure is a self-evaluation (each level evaluates itself) (UNESCO, 1975). When it comes to the evaluation of the results of the program, however, no specific instrument is offered. In their own estimate, MOBRAL's figures show that the level of illiteracy had dropped from 33% in 1970 to 26% in 1973 (UNESCO, 1975), which demonstrated the program's success.

At the end of each Functional Literacy Program, each student was given a certificate, which enabled them to "cross out" from their lives the stigma of being illiterate. This diploma was provided if the person could: 1) "understand the content of texts and phrases read; 2) write texts and phrases with a complete meaning; and 3) solve basic math problems involving length measurement, money values, mass measurement, etc." (Oliveira, 1982). In the realization of the census, however, it is well known that if the person responded that s/he was able to write and read her/his own name and the name of family members, the person was considered literate.

A statement by a Federal Deputy, however, illustrates very well the program's limitations: "it [MOBRAL] was a salesman of illusions and a total economic waste" (Haussman and Hoar, 1978:119). In fact, as Haussman and Hoar point out, when an evaluation of the program was carried out in Pernambuco state in 1973, it was found that "80% of a group of newly literate rural workers had forgotten how to write less than a year after 'graduation'" (Haussman and Hoar, 1978:119). As Fishman correctly comments, "evaluation of policy by those who formulate and implement policy must, by its very nature, be self-serving to some degree" (Fishman, 1979:17)[9].

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.

---

[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."

References

Adult Education in Brazil (1971). Ministério da Educação e Cultura.

Brandão, C. R. (1985). A Educação como Cultura. São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense S.A.

Cobarrubias, J. (1983). Ethical issues in status planning. In J. Cobarrubias and J. A. Fishman (Eds.), Progress in Language Planning. Berlin: Mouton Publishers.

Cooper, R. L. (1989). Language Planning and Social Change. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Fishman, J. (1979). Bilingual education, language planning and English. English World-Wide. Vol. 1, No. 1.

Freire, P. (1985). The Politics of Education: Culture, Power and Liberation. Massachusetts: Bergin and Garvey Publishers.

Freire, P. (1986). Education for Critical Consciousness. New York: Continuum.

Haussman, F. and Hoar, J. (1978). Education in Brazil. Hamden, CT: Archon Books.

Jeria, J. (1984). Vagabond of the Obvious: A Bibliographic Presentation of Paulo Freire. Iowa State University.

MOBRAL - The Brazilian Adult Literacy Experiment (1975). UNESCO Educational Studies and Documents. Vol. 15. Paris: The UNESCO Press.

Oliveira, M. K. (1982). Cognitive Processes in Everyday Life Situation: An Ethnographic Study of Urban Migrants. Ph.D. dissertation, School of Education, Stanford University.

Page, J. (1972). The Revolution that Never Was: Northeast Brazil, 1955-1964. New York: Grossmann Publishers.

Paiva, V. P. (1987). Educação Popular e Educação de Adultos. São Paulo: Edições Loyola.

Rose, M. and Newson, R. (1982). Paulo Freire's consciousness raising: Politics, education, and revolution in Brazil. Educational Studies. Vol. 13, No. 2.

Tollefson, J. W. (1981). Centralized and decentralized language planning. Language Problems and Language Planning. Vol. 5, No. 2.

Wilkie, J. W. (1988). Statistical Abstracts of Latin America. Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center Publications.

Winkler, D. et.al. (1986). Brazil: Finance of Primary Education. A World Bank Country Study. World Bank, Washington, D.C.

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

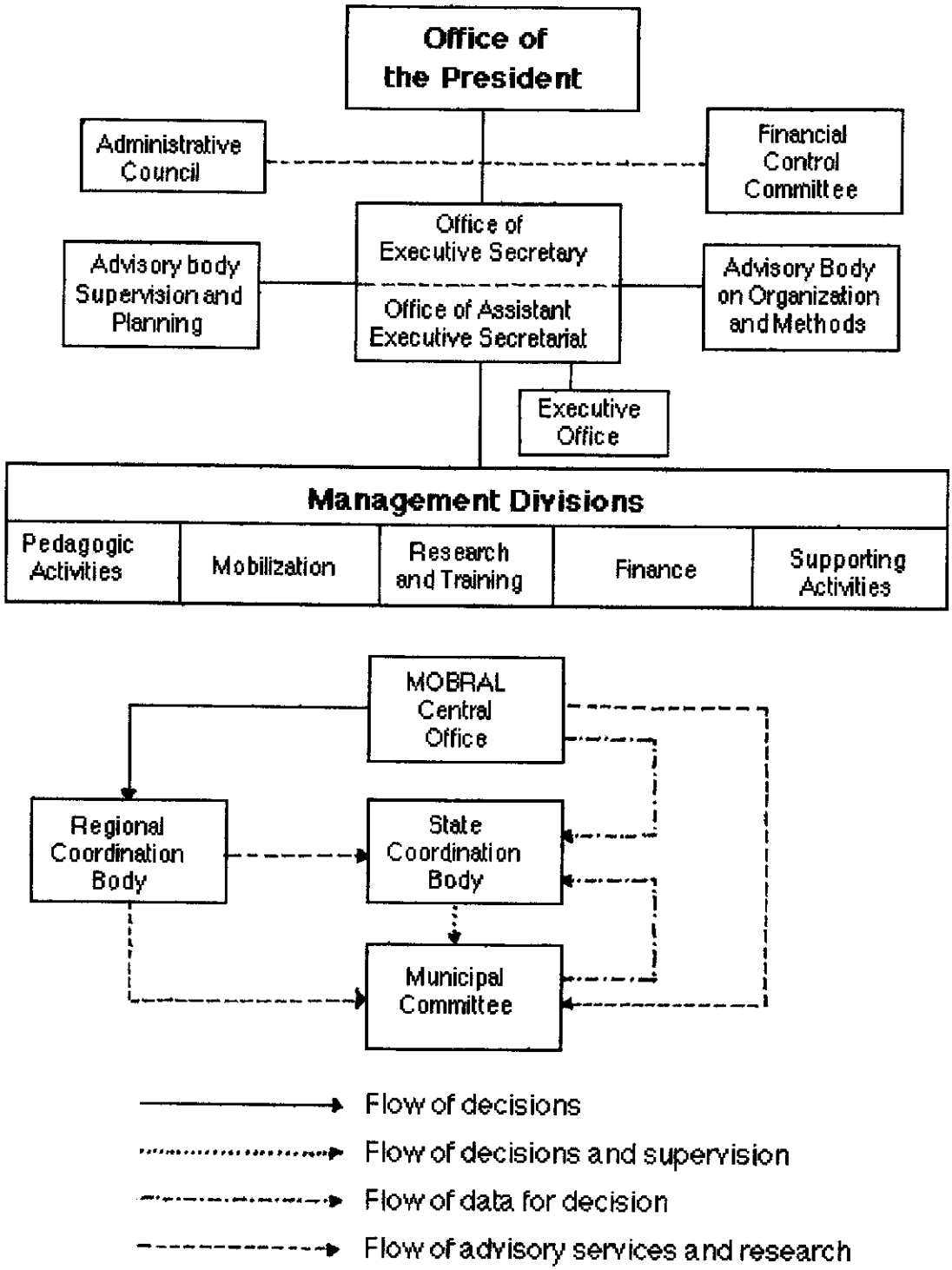
Source: Adult Education in Brazil, 1971, Ministério da Educação e Cultura:14.

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.