

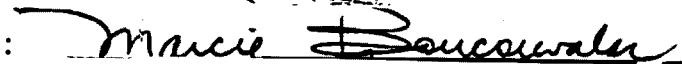
POST-WORLD WAR II ERA OF THE
NATIONAL MASS LITERACY CAMPAIGN IN NIGERIA, 1940-1952:
AN EXAMINATION OF THE ROLES OF THE COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION
AND SELECTED NON-GOVERNMENTAL AGENCIES
IN THE FIGHT AGAINST ILLITERACY

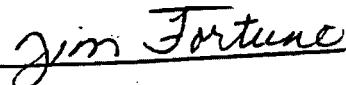
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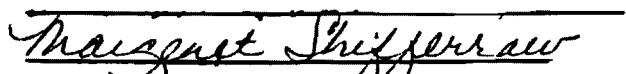
Paul C. Okafor

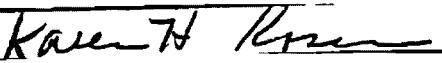
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Doctor of Education
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An Examination of the Roles of the Colonial Administration
and Selected Non-Governmental Agencies in the Fight Against Illiteracy

Paul C. Okafor

(ABSTRACT)

The purpose of this study was to provide an interpretive commentary of the first Mass Literacy Campaign in Nigeria from 1940-1952. The researcher traced earlier events and forces as they interacted to shape the Campaign. Within the context in which they occurred, five major areas were examined: (a) various influential forces; (b) social, economic and political factors; (c) educational process; (d) special adult population; and (5) curriculum content.

This study contributes to increased understanding of internal and external factors that helped or hindered the creation and mass mobilization of the Campaign and could contribute to improved focus for the ongoing Mass Literacy Campaign in Nigeria, 1990-2000.

Interpretive commentary involved telling a story through the eyes of actual participants in the events and through the eyes of the researcher. To establish factual narratives and reach defensible conclusions, the researcher collected, categorized, analyzed, synthesized and told a story in the context in which the event had occurred. Primary data included archival and other documentary

materials from experts on issues germane to the Campaign. Secondary data included writings, primarily from African and British authors. Tertiary data involved the personal opinion of the researcher.

The study concluded, for the most part, that limitations of prerequisites, hampered the propagation of some of the activities. Generally, the activities of the Campaign had more failures than successes in that the planning was not systematic and did not follow an analytical process similar to that of the 1970-1979 National Literacy Campaign in Tanzania, suggested as a model for any developing nation (Unsicker in Arnone and Graff, 1987).

The first Mass Literacy Campaign was not successful. Accurate survey research and findings which could have depicted a correct representation of the masses of illiterates in Nigeria and could have alleviated marginalization of the special adult population were not conducted.

This study suggested that prerequisites could have been addressed prior to the inception of such a monumental venture. Furthermore, a study could be conducted to determine if specific inhibitors such as age, cultural inertia, lack of finance or motivation, linguistic barriers, prejudices and nomadism actually affected the proper mass mobilization of the Campaign.

For my mother, Cecilia Nwaije Okafor,
my father, Paul Nnaemeka Okafor,
my wife, Martha Kay Okafor,
and my children, Paula, Jacquelyn and Victoria

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A special thanks to Dr. Maignet Shifferaw for all her advice, suggestions and perspectives as an African, to Dr. Karen Rosen for her immense contribution to the completion of this study, and to Dr. Albert Wiswell who, during the initial

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Although I visited several libraries and the National Archives Headquarters in Nigeria, I must give special thanks to Dr. Angel Batiste of the African Reading Room within the Library of Congress. She was of great assistance to my research. She provided me with admittance to resources for source materials and to the archives of the Boston University Library.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

Illiteracy has been regarded as an enemy and evil which keeps people in darkness, bound to their traditions and superstitions; [it] makes people resistant to change and new ideas, and isolated from progress, thus unaware and incapable of meeting the demands of their changing environment and ever-progressing world.

A. H. Nasution

The concept of a campaign as an adult education process falls within the scope of mass education, as articulated by Houle (1973) who offers a typology of learning that ranges from individual to mass education. Mass education in Nigeria from 1940-1952 was a learning format designed by the Colonial Administration to secure the improvement of the health and living conditions of the people, improvement of economic status, and development of political institutions and political power until the people could become effectively self-governing.

Through the participation of people in mass education, literacy skills such as exercising rights and duties of citizens, progressive improvement of living conditions, and more effective involvement in the economic and social development of the community would be achieved. In order to operationalize these literacy skills in Nigeria, mobilization of the population was needed, as Ward (1948), a Deputy Educational Adviser to the Colonial Office in London, put it:

It seems that the aim of mass education is, in fact, the education of the whole community, men and women, adults and children. In a wealthy and well-equipped country like England, you have compulsory schooling for every child, and you have a close network of evening classes, women's institutes, adult education classes, Y.M.C.A. centers, educational settlements of every conceivable kind so that every adult has the opportunity to take advantage of them. In undeveloped tropical territories like Nigeria, Ghana (formerly Gold Coast), Sierra Leone, French Cameroon and the Belgian Congo, you have not all this machinery and you cannot soon create it. The technique of mass education was to raise the standard of literacy and of general education in one area at a time that that area will produce leaders who will spread education for themselves from outside it.

Mass education, as an approach to mobilize the population and overhaul the nation, was to ensure that literacy would be used for the attainment of important individual and societal goals. The campaign as a process or design for mass education was looked upon as a means to an end -- a literate village carpenter would gradually be able to make better windows, chairs and coffins, and a literate village woman would be better able to help the family in the areas of health involving personal hygiene, better sanitation, and infant and maternity welfare.

This form of learning, designed to bring change in individuals, communities and society, was initiated in 1940. It was a form of adult education designed by the Colonial Administration to upgrade the standard of living in a number of impoverished countries of Africa, not just Nigeria. Mass literacy education, as a facet of adult education, was established and implemented in Nigeria between 1940 and 1952 to bring the awareness of literacy to the masses who had for years battled the problem of illiteracy. Furthermore, it encompassed a mobilization of large masses of learners and teachers by centralizing authorities who used

elements of social, economic, political, religious and cultural pressures to propagate a particular doctrine. H. S. Bhola defined a mass literacy campaign as a mass approach that seeks to make all adults in a nation literate within a particular time frame (Arnone and Graff, 1987, p. 3).

The aim of this study was to provide an interpretive commentary of the first Mass Literacy Campaign in Nigeria from 1940-1952. The study also examined selected issues that led to the establishment of mass education and challenges that emerged in this first attempt at mass literacy education. Additionally, the findings of this study provide information and possible guidelines for subsequent campaigns against mass illiteracy in Nigeria, especially for the ongoing (1990-2000) Mass Literacy Campaign. It will therefore contribute to the adult education literature on mass education as a learning format and to the campaign as a process as well.

Background of the Problem

Historically, the art of reading and writing, as articulated by Omolewa (1981), was an innovation brought by Muslim traders and teachers into parts of northern Nigeria and by Portuguese priests into parts of southern Nigeria as far back as the 15th century. Literacy skills attracted the Nigerian rulers who began to employ those with literacy expertise as secretaries, counselors and emissaries. The map on Nigeria in Appendix A depicts earlier religious influences in the Northern Protectorate, Southern Protectorate and the Colony of Lagos.

By 1760 Nigeria had become a colony of the British Empire. Due to the industrial revolution in England, the quest for expansion became imperative. The revolution brought about a thirst for acquisition of new markets and new territories where new materials could be obtained for home industries and finished products sold. As stated in African Education: A Study of Educational Policy and Practice in British Tropical Africa (1953), early Colonial government's educational policy emphasized adult education as literacy skills that would enable individuals to function as clerks, cooks, interpreters, stewards and messengers without making any reference to the level of literacy attainment.

This early policy was based on a functional approach to literacy which was both selective and intensive. It was selective because it was directed only at key sectors of the economy and at individuals who could play a determinant role in social, political and economic development. For example, individuals were trained as clerks, messengers and other vocations to carry on various functions when the "master" was away on leave, in other areas of Nigeria for new assignments, or consolidating work already begun. It was intensive since it imparted in these individuals not only the ability to read, write and count, but, above all, to improve their vocational skills.

Some Nigerian scholars have argued that the 1925 educational policy and practice in British Tropical Africa was worthy of note, even though many of its recommendations, such as the following, were not adopted (African Education, 1953):

1. Religion and character training should be of great importance.
2. Educational service must be made to attract the best men from Britain, whether for permanent careers or for short service appointments.
3. African languages, as well as English, should be used in education: "The content and method of teaching in all subjects should be adapted to the conditions of Africa." Special textbooks should be prepared.
4. African teaching staff must be "adequate in numbers, in qualification, and in character, and should include women." The training of teachers was to be made essential.

Anyanwu (1987) argued persuasively that the early Colonial government's educational policy was based on a functional approach to literacy, and what was stated in the educational policy was not actualized in practice. Key individuals were targeted for the early literacy programs, without any reference made to the level of literacy attainment involving mass education, especially adults. He added that Nigerians tend to measure progress not in terms of what has been accomplished under British rule, but in terms of what was left to be done. To argue that Nigeria achieved 5% literacy under British rule does not impress Nigerians. Their concern would lie with the 95% yet to be educated.

The 1925 British educational policy, as indicated above, bypassed mass education as a format for learning, expecting the masses to acquire skills from established educational institutions. This policy which was purportedly established to liberate Nigerians from the economic, cultural, social and political

backwater that would eventually lead to the welfare of the masses was independent of the Mass Literacy Campaign. Key individuals during the mid-1920s tended to glorify the merits of earlier educational policy and ignore the contribution of mass literacy.

Early education for both adults and youths in Nigeria was more the child of missionary organizations which operated independently as non-profit-seeking enterprises (Thorp, 1956). Omolewa (1981) argued that there were no records to indicate that there were any schools (in our modern concept of the term school) in the country before the 1840s. The first school in the country was established in Badagry in 1845 by the Church Missionary Society to educate adults and youth. During this period of the missionary effort, emphasis was placed on the provision of literacy education outside the school system. However, these education programs were not limited to literacy. They also included moral ethics, spiritual values and catechism.

According to Omolewa (1981) there appears to be no doubt that most Nigerians were fascinated by literacy education brought by religious bodies. The Colonial Administration recognized the importance of this arrangement very early. Given limited personnel and finances, the Colonial government could not embark on mass educational programs, yet was aware of the need to improve the content of traditional education. For example, by the late 1800s the government recognized the need to introduce literacy education to the masses so that they

could read government instructions, rules and regulations and thereby appreciate the danger of breaking rules.

As indicated, it is recognized by some Nigerians that early literacy educational policy was geared toward a functional approach to literacy and only a fraction of the Nigerian population was exposed to it. However, the stated purposes of the Campaign were to (a) strengthen the political structure of the nation; (b) enhance the economic growth of the nation; (c) maintain a social order; (d) improve the aesthetic life of the people by developing interests and skills to make creative use of leisure time; and (e) create a self-renewing society by engaging in a continuous process of self-evaluation, self-criticism and self-improvement through education. This idea of a self-renewing society was a neglected facet of the adult learning process in earlier literacy educational policy.

According to Anyanwu (1987), as the challenge for a complete national overhaul continued, there were many questions to be answered. How could adult education best be integrated with other forms of education? Where would be a good starting point? What impact would it have on the masses? Widstrand (1965), as quoted in Anyanwu (1987, p. 49), stated that "the spread among the masses of public awareness has a vital role to play in national development and only through the education of the masses can real democracy be built and safeguarded." Such education must be designed to (a) help people overcome isolation, (b) enhance mobility in the communities, (c) strengthen rationality,

(d) literate outmoded attitudes, and (e) sharpen intellectual tools which people need in order to handle their own affairs in the modern world. In addition, Omolewa (1981) contended that mass education embraces all forms of betterment. Hence, if you know your ABCs, you know your CBA (i.e., Community Betterment in Africa).

Mass education, as a format for learning, involves a whole range of development activities, whether these are undertaken by government or unofficial bodies. From this we may argue that a campaign for mass education could be launched to solve any development problems for which people have a need. Such problems could focus on (a) agriculture, (b) the general economy, (c) health, (d) nutrition, (e) civics, (f) education, or (g) the mode of worship. Anyanwu (1987) further maintained that mass education, adopted by the British for the education of African populations within their colonies, came under the umbrella of adult education.

These educational programs designed by the Colonial Administration were geared to give the masses the opportunity to participate in the conduct of their own affairs. Also, they were to provide the masses with a format of learning designed to enable them to take initiative and display an active interest in matters of local and national government.

Histories written about early literacy education in Nigeria are focused on civilizing a small segment of the population, but very little has been written about mass education. An examination of the period during World War II illustrates the

long-neglected social and economic milieu in Nigeria. Given the early, short-lived literacy work provided by the Colonial Administration and voluntary agencies such as the Church Missionary Society, Wesleyan Missionary Society, Roman Catholic Mission, and the American Baptist Mission, illiteracy still plagued the social, economic and political fabric of Nigeria at an alarming rate. Furthermore, as maintained in the Colonial Office Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies (1943), World War II had forced the African/Colonial Administration to take a much more comprehensive view of adult education and to revise ideas of what could be achieved in a short time in teaching adults in Nigeria. This represented an admitted difference between propaganda and education. Nevertheless, the greater part of war propaganda was carried out in order to educate people in the causes and events of the war, on the one hand, and to impress on them, on the other hand, that they had a part to play in it, whether by enlisting as soldiers, cultivating more food, or using fewer imported goods. The methods of learning used were all those which mass education expected to employ.

Another significant development in fostering the Mass Literacy Campaign during and after World War II in Nigeria was an outcome of the interplay of modern influences. Forces such as social, economic and political problems, likely to prove insurmountable, needed speedy and comprehensive measures which would allow people to share in finding solutions (Anyanwu, 1987). The new hope was that mass literacy education could equip the masses adequately to address

new situations, such as (a) improvement of health and living conditions, (b) improvement of economic well-being, and (c) development of political institutions and political power until people could become effectively self-governing.

Statement of the Problem

This qualitative research was aimed at filling a conspicuous gap in the body of knowledge associated with this historical event. Documented histories written about this Mass Literacy Campaign to transform a pre-literate society into a literate society provided an important but limited analysis of its evolution, operation and collapse.

Among existing histories of the Mass Literacy Campaign, Omolewa's (1981) published material addressed issues pertinent to mass education within the scope of adult education in Nigeria. The major weakness of his work is the sketchy treatment of most issues. His 1983 work, The Failure of the Mass Education Experiment in Nigeria, 1940-1952, provides a historical analysis of mass education during the 1940s: what it was, what it should have been, and how it should have been operationalized. The weakness of his work lies in the consistent generalization present in most sections. Anyanwu's 1987 work covers the entire first attempt of the Mass Literacy Campaign in one chapter, although it concentrates heavily upon internal activities. Finally, Wrong (1946) provides a historical account tracing the Mass Literacy Campaign from its evolution through the 1950s in Nigeria, the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, French Cameroon and the Belgian Congo, although its main focus is on tropical West

Africa and part of Central Africa (see Appendix A). Her work is too broad and was reduced only by manipulating the extent of geographical area covered, thus limiting the investigation to the Nigerian population. No previous attempt has been made, to the author's knowledge, to examine these data in a systematic manner to develop an emerging picture of the depth and breadth of the evolution of the 1940-1952 Mass Literacy Campaign in Nigeria and the forces facilitating such change.

This study addressed questions pertinent to the crux of this problem: What were the major social, economic and political factors that led to the first attempt of the Mass Literacy Campaign in Nigeria from 1940-1952, and who were the influential people who shaped this Campaign in Nigeria?

Dictionaries define campaign as an organized course of action for a particular purpose or to achieve a particular objective, especially to arouse public interest. In a description of events which shaped the Mass Literacy Campaign in Nigeria, Omolewa (1981), an adult education professional, defined the Campaign as an organized course of action by the Colonial Administration in collaboration with District Officers, school teachers, various Christian and Muslim denominational leaders, Mass Education Officers, Ministry of Education Officials, and traditional rulers in an attempt to establish learning centers, teachers, financial resources and other adult learning facilities for the purpose of mass education. Although articulated in the context of the Nigerian experience, a clear

and concise concept of the campaign comes into view as seen through adult education lenses.

Knowles (1980) defines campaign as a process plan, a projection of a flow of events to accomplish a given set of objectives in a sequence guided by a conceptual schema, such as the steps in an operation, the performance of a role, or the functions of an organizational unit. He also observed that a campaign as an educative process or tool is needed for mass education as a learning format. Learning formats encompass three distinct components, as expressed by Verner (1962). The first component is the method: the organization of the prospective participants for purposes of education. The second component involves techniques: the variety of ways in which the learning task is managed to facilitate learning. The third and last component involves devices: all those particular things or conditions which are utilized to augment the techniques and make learning more certain. Furthermore, Knowles (1980) drew upon Houle's (1973) typology of learning which provides invaluable insights into the concept of campaign as an educative process or tool and community development as a learning format. With reference to Houle's typology of learning, the concept of mass education as a learning format was not adequately addressed in terms of individual, group and community formats for learning. Therefore, a gap exists which needs to be filled in terms of a detailed concept of mass education as a learning format, which was addressed in this study.

The eradication of mass illiteracy is a struggle which represents one of the key challenges of our time. Masses of people would be easier to mobilize and made aware of their rights and obligations if they were literate. Literacy is a necessary tool that can assist the masses to adapt to rapid changes with greater ease. Examples are rapid technological advancement and social, economic and political renovation within a nation. This is why the general recourse of the Nigerian government and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) has been to turn to the ongoing national Mass Literacy Campaign of 1990-2000 purposely to eradicate illiteracy by the turn of the century. Nigeria is, at present, passing through a crucial stage of development when literacy is, by all adult citizens, most needed for effective participation in all areas. In accordance with Omolewa's (1981) contention, architects of the 1940-1952 Mass Literacy Campaign did not give much consideration to the importance of this historical event.

Purpose of the Study

This study sought to provide an interpretive commentary of the evolution, operationalization and collapse of the 1940-1952 Mass Literacy Campaign in Nigeria. The study also attempted to examine data pertinent to this Mass Literacy Campaign in a systematic manner to develop an emerging picture of the depth and breadth of forces that interacted to shape this event and major social, economic and political factors that led to its development.

In order to answer the broad questions posed below, several subordinate questions also are framed to serve as a guide to the investigation.

1. What were the major social, economic and political factors that led to the first inception of the Mass Literacy Campaign in Nigeria from 1940-1952?
2. What were the influential forces which constituted the development of the campaign from its inception and evolution to its collapse?
 - a. How did the Department of Education, often in collaboration with other selected agencies, influences the entire process of the campaign?
 - b. What role did A. J. Carpenter, as the Mass Education Officer, play concerning this campaign?
 - c. What were the roles of the Colonial Administration concerning the Mass Literacy Campaign?
3. What type of adult educational process was employed by the Colonial Administration concerning the Mass Literacy Campaign?
 - a. Were there any specific instructional methodologies employed by these agencies and the Colonial Administration concerning the Mass Literacy Campaign?
 - b. Were they taught in English or in their native languages (vernacular)?
4. Were special populations addressed in the Mass Literacy Campaign? To what extent were the following groups included, excluded, or marginalized:

(a) women; (b) nomads, representing 15% of the population, (c) persons with disabilities; and (d) aging population.

5. Was there a notable impact of the 1940-1952 Mass Literacy Campaign on the lives of Nigerian people?

This study lends understanding to questions surrounding social, economic and political conditions of that period and of the influential people who set the educational policy for the Mass Literacy Campaign, and precisely for what reasons. It was intended to shed light on the reasons Nigeria is still plagued with social, economic and political problems which have led to a second attempt to eradicate illiteracy. In general, this study was intended to provide increased understanding of the enigmas of the first Mass Literacy Campaign to assist present-day educators and practitioners to improve educative processes and learning formats to mobilize the masses toward the 21st century.

Significance of the Study

The significance of this study was that it answered the question: "How will analysis of a mass literacy initiative provide answers for the problem of illiteracy which will make some difference not only in Nigeria but in the world?" The findings of such a study should have practical implications. The researcher addressed the following questions:

1. Who will benefit from the findings of this study?
2. In what ways will they benefit?
3. Of what value is it to them to have an answer to this problem?

This study is timely because in 1990 the Nigerian government launched a second nationwide Mass Literacy Campaign in an all-out effort to eradicate mass illiteracy from Nigeria within a decade (2000). It is expected that the findings of this study will make the following contributions:

1. Provide information on ways in which the Mass Literacy Campaign of 1940-1952 evolved and the factors that helped or hindered its creation and mobilization so that present-day Nigerian adult educators will have an informed basis for future modifications.
2. The Nigerian government may utilize this analysis of past enigmas to improve, if necessary, its action plan for all educational activities germane to the eradication of mass illiteracy by the 21st century.
3. It is intended to show practitioners, especially in Nigeria, that lessons could be learned from past events to improve current educational practice. To the researcher and practitioner communities, the contribution of this study will not be a mere confirmation of what is already known. Rather, it will contribute to adult education literature on mass education as a learning format and the campaign as an educational process as well.

Definition of Terms

In defining the following terms, the researcher has exclusively restricted their meanings to only how the words have been used in the research writing. However, a few of the words are used interchangeably because of their similarities in meanings.

1. Adult literacy program: A program designed specifically to impart in adult illiterates the knowledge needed to be able to read and write.
2. An adult: A person who has reached maturity and who is responsible for herself or himself and usually for others or who can accept some responsibility in the community in which she or he is living. In Nigeria, adulthood in women is the time when they first menstruate.
3. Campaign: Campaign is a design format for mass education or an educational process through which literacy awareness could be spread among the masses of people. According to Bhola, "A campaign also suggests urgency and combativeness, it is viewed as something of a crusade, and sometimes may become the moral equivalent of war."
4. Community development: Includes all the processes whereby the efforts of the people themselves are united with those of both central and local governments and voluntary agencies to improve the economic, social and cultural conditions of communities.
5. Cultural hybrid: A partially educated African who had foregone part of his or her cultural heritage in order to participate in Western education.
6. Functional literacy: The ability or knowledge which enables an adult to engage in all those activities in which literacy is required for effective functioning in his group and community and whose attainment in reading, writing and arithmetic makes it possible to continue to use these skills to contribute to community development (Tugbiyele, 1993).

7. Illiteracy: An inability to read and write that can keep a person, institution and society from (a) political stability, (b) economic prosperity, (c) social harmony, and (d) national survival.

8. Influential persons: Individuals, whether internal or external to the Mass Literacy Campaign, who have significantly affected its inception and evolution, including:

- (a) Colonial Administration personnel,
- (b) traditional rulers, and
- (c) religious denominational leaders.

9. Interpretive commentary: Involves telling a story through the eyes of actual participants as well as through the eyes of the researcher.

10. Literacy skills: Encapsulates the use of reading and writing skills to understand the nature of one's own society and being able to contribute to its betterment. Also, according to H. S. Bhola, perceived as a means to a comprehensive set of ends -- economic, socio-structural and political.

11. Mass education: An action project designed as a format for learning to help the masses of a given society, Nigeria, to deal more effectively with their problems and to see societal problems as a vehicle for accomplishing educational objectives.

12. Mass Literacy Campaign: Involves a mobilization of a large mass of learners and teachers by centralizing authorities who have used elements of social, economic, political, religious and cultural pressures to propagate a

particular doctrine. Also, as defined by H. S. Bhola, a mass approach that seeks to make all adults in a nation literate within a particular time frame.

13. Mass literacy skills: Enable communities and the nation at large to achieve collective advancement in social, economic and political spheres and individuals to improve self-concepts, ideological orientations, political dispositions, a feeling of efficacy and commitment to participate in social actions.

14. Mass mobilization literacy campaigns: Encompasses all elements such as materials, media, symbols, methods and instructional personnel that collide in theory to socialize the mass population into a new faith, sometimes a conservative one, sometimes a revolutionary one.

15. Postscript: Provides additional information, an alternative point of view, challenge or disagreement by the researcher.

16. Rural development: A socio-economic process which seeks to bring about a more equitable distribution of resources and income within society. It involves the integration of the rural poor and the vast majority of the population into the national economy.

17. Selective campaigns: A campaign effort organized to impart cognitive skills and knowledge on an affluent segment of the population, who would later serve as gatekeepers, clerks, interpreters, secretaries, counselors and emissaries.

18. The use of 3H: Literate individual's ability to use his/her functional literacy skills (involving his/her head, hand and heart), especially in agricultural and industrial sectors of the economy.

19. The 3Rs: Symbolizes reading, writing and arithmetic as the fundamentals of learning.

20. Traditional literacy: The ability to read, write, and compute (i.e., four mathematical operations: addition, subtraction, multiplication and division).

Limitations of the Study

First, this study was not intended to cover the entire history of literacy education in Nigeria. Rather, it was aimed at providing an analysis and interpretive commentary of ways in which the Mass Literacy Campaign of 1940-1952 evolved.

Second, this study did not attempt to compare the context in which the first Nigerian's Mass Literacy Campaign had occurred with that of the Gold Coast (now Ghana), Sierra Leone, French Cameroon and the Belgian Congo.

Third and last, this study was limited to the establishment of the first Mass Literacy Campaign in Nigeria. It does not parallel the study of other countries such as the Gold Coast (now Ghana), Sierra Leone, French Cameroon and the Belgian Congo, or develop theories akin to the Mass Literacy Campaign of those countries during the post-World War II era.

Organization of the Study

Chapter I introduces the reader to the central thesis of the research. The statement of the problem, its background, its purpose and its significance, was

presented in this chapter. It also advances the research questions, defines terms, states the purposes, significance and limitations of the study.

Chapter II provides the frame of reference and contextual background from which the study derives its focus.

Chapter III sets the stage for how the researcher carried out this investigation and the appropriate method suited to this type of study.

Chapter IV examines the major social, economic and political factors that led to the evolution of the Mass Literacy Campaign in Nigeria from 1940-1952.

The first half of Chapter V reports on the relationship between British educational practice and the indigenous people of Nigeria. The second half of Chapter V examines the influential forces which constituted the development of the Campaign from its inception and evolution to its collapse. It examines the additional dimension of how the Department of Education influenced the entire process of the Campaign. It also examines the roles which A. J. Carpenter, as the Mass Education Officer, played concerning the Campaign as well as that of the Colonial Administration.

Chapter VI examines the type of education process employed by the Colonial Administration and selected non-governmental agencies. Additional components include instructional methods employed by the Campaign.

Chapter VII attempts to examine how inclusive were the special population of adult learners (e.g., the women, nomads, persons with disabilities, and the

aging population). This chapter also examines the impact of the Campaign on Nigerian society.

Chapter VIII provides a summary and conclusions of the study and implications for further study and for practice.

CHAPTER II

Frame of Reference/Conceptual Background

Introduction

In an attempt to establish a conceptual framework for this study, several types of literature were reviewed. A search was made to determine what others have written about the historical background of the 1940-1952 Mass Literacy Campaign in Nigeria, the mission, the entire mobilization process, the collapse of the campaign, and how documents to be used in this study have been interpreted. A search was made to determine the major authorities on the topic and why they are considered experts. Additionally, a search was made to determine what research is currently being conducted on the Campaign. Last, but not least, a search was made of the major theories or points of view of recognized adult educators like Omolewa (1976, 1981, 1983, 1984), Anyanwu (1987), Thorp (1956), Wrong (1946a), Ward (1948), Gioshi (1974), and memorandum from the C.S.O. 26/5, File No. 41694, Vol. I-IV, Mass Education in African Society, 1943-1950.

The conceptual framework of this study was built upon the following guidelines:

1. Campaign refers to mass education as articulated and framed by adult education scholars such as Houle, whose typology of learning ranges from individual to mass education.

2. The Campaign is an educative process, a process plan, a projection of a flow of events for accomplishing a given set of objectives in a sequence guided by a conceptual schema, such as performance of a role.
3. The Campaign is an educative process for mass education to spread literacy awareness among the masses and to enable adults to obtain literacy skills necessary to make them become conscious of their importance in the transformation of the community in which they live.
4. Mass education is an important learning format and avenue for literacy skills which would enable individuals, institutions and society-at-large to benefit from an extended range of mental processes and knowledge and which would make the world around them intelligible and manageable.
5. Mass education is a format for learning designed to bring about "socialization" which focuses on structural aspects of society and development of personal identity which demands some meaningful participational roles in the community in which the individual lives.
6. Mass literacy skills are necessary tools for economic prosperity, social harmony, formation of a democratic public, development of citizens, and formation of civic order.

The scope of the literature reviewed was limited to mass education under the umbrella of adult education. All other facets of adult education activities prior to World War II, including background history of the problem of education in Nigeria and the evolution and mission of Colonial education, while not insignificant, were

not included. The research and writings of other adult educations like Nduka (1964), Ikejiani (1965), Graham (1966), Bittinger (1941), Clarke (1937), and Ajayi (1966) were reviewed and synthesized. Ajayi's study of Mission Education in Nigeria, 1841-1891 was exhaustive and the method used was historical analysis.

The literature reviewed on the national Mass Literacy Campaign in Nigeria from 1940-1952 reveals some commonly agreed upon features as well as some that are not. This seems to be due partly to lack of detailed qualitative studies involving interpretive commentary. Historical analysis and survey, as research approaches, are features commonly agreed upon by experts in the field of adult education in Africa.

These approaches offered the researcher some historical perspective of the 1940-1952 Mass Literacy Campaign in Nigeria. It also provided theories to undergird this study. Disagreements regarding these features were reviewed to state the need for interpretive commentary. Interpretive commentary served the following purposes: (a) took into consideration data from a wide variety of sources, primary as well as secondary; (b) established the background or context of the first mass literacy campaign in Nigeria from a historical perspective; and (c) established the interpretive framework.

Furthermore, to establish the greater context in which the Mass Literacy Campaign between 1940-1952 occurred in Nigeria, it was paramount to make brief mention of other African countries such as the Gold Coast (now Ghana),

Sierra Leone, French Cameroon, and the Belgian Congo which were involved in the same process during this historical period.

Background to the Problems of Nigerian Education

Ever since the Age of Discovery, the states of Europe had cast about for new territories either to explore or to conquer. With the rising tide of nationalism in Europe more than three centuries ago, it added great prestige to the European states to acquire new territories. With the emergence of the industrial revolution, the quest for expansion became imperative. This brought about a thirst for acquisition of new markets and new territories where new materials could be obtained for home industries and final products sold. Thus, Colonial policy was marked by (a) economic exploitation of resources of Colonial territories; (b) sale of manufactured goods to the Colonials; and (c) establishment of political authority under the auspices of "civilizing" the Colonial people by providing some services, such as schools, roads and hospitals, and by exposing the Colonials to the culture of the ruling power.

The policy of "civilizing" the Colonial people was the basic rationale of imperialism. Since it was argued that the Colonials, who were mainly inhabitants of Africa and Asia, were incapable of exploiting their own natural resources, the principal of "sacred trust," which meant "sacred heritage," came into the picture. These Colonials were supposed to be protected both from themselves and from foreign invaders until they were capable of managing their own affairs.

Historically, Nigerians' greatest squabbles with the British educational policy have been spawned by the discrepancy between policy and implementation. The stated policy was that Nigerians would be prepared to take over management of their own affairs. The principal purpose of the policy was to serve the social, political and economic needs of Nigerians which would eventually lead to the general welfare of the masses.

According to Nduka (1964), the Colonial government did not take the initiative to provide education for non-literate Nigerians. In fact, it was a recognizable fact that if people learned to read and write they would be less willing to remain under the umbrella of foreign Colonial control. Plantation owners were not favorably disposed toward education because they feared that educated workers would be less interested in menial plantation jobs. Business entities were not generally in favor of too much education for the Colonials, thinking primarily of how demands for better working conditions would affect immediate business profits. It remained for Christian churches to bring education to Nigerians. As previously mentioned, the real history of school education in Nigeria began with the missionaries in 1842. At first the kind of education brought by the missions aimed primarily at religious education, and Nigerian education in its early stages was intertwined with Christian evangelism.

The Role and Function of Voluntary Agencies in Nigerian Education

Education in Nigeria was the child of missionary organizations, not of the merchants who were in the country before them. There are no records to indicate

that there were any schools in the country, in our modern concept of the term school, before the 1840s. The first school in the country was established by the Church Missionary Society in Badagry in 1845. Four years before, Fergusson, a freed slave from Sierra Leone, in the western part of Africa, had returned to his native town of Badagry with a burning desire to bring back to his people the "good" that slavery had given to him -- the white man's culture. For this reason he begged his chief to invite missionaries to come and open up schools in the town. The following year, Thomas Birch Freeman, a Methodist and himself a descendant of an African slave, answered the call. He landed at Badagry, accompanied by his "fellow servant of the Lord" William de Graft. As things turned out it was the Church Missionary Society and not the Methodist Mission that built the first school at Badagry. This was a boarding school that never grew to be a large school. Like other youth and adult schools that sprang up in various parts of the country during those early beginnings, this "white man's culture" was an unwelcome threat to Nigerian culture. To local chiefs, it thwarted the social, political, and cultural structures of the country. It was labeled a "social nuisance," as it upset the mores of the people. This attitude forced authorities of the Church Missionary Society to cease educational activities in Badagry in 1852. They were not, however, deterred from making the attempt elsewhere. Even prior to 1852 the Church Missionary Society and the Methodist Church had opened up several mission stations in various parts of Yoruba land. Nduka (1964) contended that the school at Badagry was closed to be rebuilt in

Lagos, where, because of trading activities, the people were less hostile to the educational work of the missions. Though the first mission stations were established in the West, the work of the missionaries was not limited to that part of the country.

In eastern Nigeria the first missionary station was established by the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. The Reverend Hope Waddell laid the groundwork for the spread of Presbyterianism in eastern Nigeria in 1846, with the first mission station at Calabar. Since Nigeria was a British protectorate, educational development followed the British pattern. The first half of the 19th century was an era when the major educational problem in Britain appeared to be how the majority of poor children were left without care or were engaged for long hours in factories at starvation wages -- outcomes of industrialization. In an effort to bring about a change of attitude, those children most in need were selected for education that enabled them to participate in the religious life of the community.

The earliest schools in Nigeria were modeled along the lines of the Christian schools in Britain. The curriculum was heavily loaded with religious instruction: (a) recitation of the catechism, (b) reading passages from the Bible, and (c) singing hymns. Some reading, writing and arithmetic were added to the school curriculum. English was taught and sometimes used as a medium of instruction. One reason these early schools in Nigeria developed along the lines of charity schools was that the Church Missionary Society and the Wesleyan Mission were

overseas arms, or branches, of the National Society and the British and Foreign School Society -- the two societies that maintained charity schools in England. There was, however, a fundamental difference between charity schools as they existed in England and early schools which missionaries set up in Nigeria. Both the missions and the government realized the need to train personnel to carry on the work of education and administration when its officials were away on leave, or in other areas for new assignments, or for consolidating work already in progress.

The roles and functions of the religious denominational bodies would not be complete without mention of the educational experiment in northern Nigeria in its cultural setting. According to Bittinger (1941, p. 203), educational institutions and procedures were already present in northern Nigeria when the High Commissioner set forth the basic principles of the British Administration in a speech to the conquered Fulani leaders at Sokoto in 1901. The existing schools were little more than remnants of the ancient educational glories of Timbuktu, Katsina and Kukawa, but they had not lost their Moslem characteristics. Lord Freddieck Lugard, the first Governor General of Nigeria (1914-1919) said in his first official speech, "Government will in no way interfere with the Mohammedan religion." He further stated, "All men are free to worship God as they please." The British immediately drew up an ordinance for "unsettled districts" which excluded missions and mission education from most of the 10 million inhabitants of northern Nigeria. Mission organizations at once took exception to this ordinance and controversy ensued (Bittinger, 1941).

The government asserted that to allow mission education in northern Nigeria would be a denial of their Moslem faith and would have an "unsettling effect upon the country" (Bittinger, 1941, p. 203). The government further maintained that Mohammedanism, as a religion, was much better adapted to the native of northern Nigeria than was Christianity, which had made a successful inroad into the Colony of Lagos and other parts of southern Nigeria. Since the issue was controversial, myriad opinions were set forth concerning mission education, but, as is common in squabbles, each side overlooked certain facts which did not support its position. Morel (n.d.) in Bittinger (1941, p. 204) pinpointed some of the specific reasons for the government contention that Mohammedanism was better adapted to the Nigerian. One was that Islam accepted polygamy. "Islam, despite its shortcomings, does not, from the Nigerian point of view, demand race suicide of the Nigerian as an accompaniment to conversion." Burns (n.d.) in Bittinger (1941, p. 204) likewise stated that "Islam is better adapted than Christianity to the African life." Both involved strange doctrines which the Nigerian rarely understood but, while one prohibited a man to have more than one wife, the other imposed no such restriction. Lord Lugard likewise gave this as a reason for the British bias in favor of Mohammedanism.

The missionaries contended that by refusing to open the pagan tribes to Christian education the government was restricting them to Moslem influence only and thus denying to the Africans the very religious freedom or opportunity to choose which Lord Lugard had promised them.

In agreement with the missions, Victor Murray (n.d.) in Bittinger (1941, p. 207) launched an open attack after his interview with the authorities in Kano in 1929. His experience led him to a critical analysis of the entire system of indirect rule, of which this policy of religious exclusion seemed to be a part. In summation of his findings, he stated that Christianity was not the enemy. The enemy, if it could be called such, was European economic influence.

Theoretical Concept of Literacy

Literacy is a way of life and a culture in itself. However well-endowed a country may be with rich natural resources such as gold, lime, petroleum, tin, zinc-ore and silver, as long as the majority of its people are illiterate and without modern skills to enable them to operate in their communities, the quality of life in that country will remain forever poor. It is a common fact that illiteracy rates correlate highly with mass poverty, malnutrition, infant mortality, low economic productivity, the prevalence of preventable disease, political instability, a low level of social harmony, and population explosion.

Literacy could be said to mean a way of life in which a society or persons make use of written records (i.e., the ability to communicate through the medium of abstract symbols of script). (Okedara, 1981) A literate person is one who, in a language that person speaks, can read and understand everything he or she would have understood if it had been spoken to him or her and can write legibly anything he or she can say (Brown & Okedara, 1981). Literacy must be tackled as a two-edged sword. Traditional literacy involves the ability to read, write, and

compute four mathematical operations: (a) addition, (b) subtraction, (c) multiplication, and (d) division. But a more vital form of literacy which permits people to cope with the rising tide of social and technological change is referred to as functional literacy (Tugbiyele, 1993).

To illustrate, in examining the two concepts of literacy in Tanzania, a literate person is one who can (a) read and write a letter within a family, (b) locate streets and buildings, (c) observe danger warnings in the street and buildings, (d) observe danger warnings in employee manuals at work, (e) follow simple directions in everyday situations, (f) read newspapers and do-it-yourself books, (g) keep records, and (h) read books on better living and better ways of farming. A literate person has acquired the knowledge and skills which enable him or her to engage in all those activities in which literacy is required for effective functioning in a group and community and whose attainment in reading, writing and arithmetic makes it possible to continue to use these skills toward community development (Tugbiyele, 1993).

Mwalimu Julius Kambaraye Nyerere (1979) perceived the purpose of development as the liberation of individual self-liberation and development. Therefore, literacy education is liberation from the restraints and limitations of ignorance and dependency.

Importance of Literacy to the Empowerment of Nigerian Society

A nation of illiterates is a nation of the blind. In the modern world, while literacy may be neither a necessity nor a sufficient condition for individual

survival, a high literacy rate is very important for any human society (Sikuade, 1982). Illiteracy has been regarded as an enemy, an evil which keeps people in perpetual darkness. This formidable enemy has kept people in superstitions and prevented them from acceptance of innovation and change. Illiterates are therefore incapable of meeting the demands of a changing world. There was therefore a need to fight against this cankerworm that for centuries had been sucking on the social, political and economic fabric of Nigeria.

The need for literacy education has been expressed often by various world bodies, religious bodies, countries, and even individuals. UNESCO (1965) held the view that literacy would enable the individual to extend the range of his mental processes and gain the knowledge to make the world around him or her intelligible and manageable. Also, it implied that literacy education serves as an instrument for gaining understanding of one's environment and doing something about it.

When adults obtain literacy skills, they become conscious of their importance in the transformation of the community in which they live. They liberate themselves from superstitions, ignorance and the prevalence of preventable diseases. They attend hospitals when ill and can easily read prescriptions on medicine labels and apply the directions correctly. A literate individual knows the implications of drug abuse and excessive use of alcohol. Such a person can make decisions or can be involved in decision-making processes of the community. Okeem (1982) noted that Tanzania instituted two

crucial policies in its second Five-Year Development Plan, which began in 1969. One policy stated: "All primary schools were to become centers of education for both children and for adults (community schools), and the teachers would become teachers for children and adults."

Gioshi's (1974) view on the importance of literacy was that:

Literacy is a prerequisite, not only for social change and progress but particularly for economic development which needs vocational and technical knowledge. A literate factory worker learns to read manuals of instructions and handles his tools efficiently and with care. He can produce [a] greater quantity of goods with the least amount of effort. He reads the labor codes, understands labor laws and knows his rights and obligations, thereby reducing the chances of getting into conflicts with his employers.

Studies of agricultural development processes demonstrate that literacy is one of the important variables for achieving economic growth and human progress. A literate farmer is a blessing to his community because he is more likely to adopt more readily new techniques in agricultural practices to his farm, resulting in greater increases in production. This includes knowing not only the right quantity of fertilizer, but also when to apply it, how to read modern methods of pest control in crops and animals, and how to select good seedlings and a good breed of animals.

Literate parents, more especially literate mothers, play vital roles in the preschool education of their children and thus are more likely to encourage their children to pursue education. As Brown (1964) pointed out, literacy can change the whole outlook of women with regard to their ability to use new, innovative

techniques in the process of development. Illiterate women, kept from the mainstream of change, might well act to deter change in society.

As President Lyndon Johnson (1965) contended, the family is the cornerstone of any given society. More than any other force, it shapes the attitudes, the hopes, the ambitions, and the values of the child. And when the family collapses, it is the children who are usually damaged. When it happens on a massive scale, the community itself is crippled. So, unless we work to strengthen the family, to create conditions under which most parents will stay together, schools, playgrounds, public assistance and private concerns will never be enough. Therefore, literacy education is very important for women and men in that they know what is involved in better child rearing, for example, (a) home tidiness, (b) prevention of common diseases, (c) the importance of good quality food for their children, and (d) the need for education.

Literate cab drivers are able to read road signs and easily learn the names of different parts of an engine. They are able to make some minor repairs to their cabs due to their ability to read instructional manuals. They know their rights and obligations when stopped by a policeman. They learn to be polite to customers.

Finally, in emphasizing the importance of adult literacy in Nigeria, the Despatch from Colonial Office Report (1943, p. 14) argued that adult literacy was of primary importance because:

1. It has been demonstrated that the attainment of literacy makes people aware of the need for social and economic improvement and to blend more easily with welfare and other agencies that are working on these issues.

2. The rapid or rising tide of change in family and village life makes it a "must" to give people every possible means of understanding and controlling what is happening to them. Health measures in the home and enlightened training of children become possible and acceptable to literate people.

3. If control in local government is to be wide and democratic, it cannot be in the hands of a mass of ignorant and illiterate people.

In summation, based on these collective views of the effects of literacy, it becomes clear that literacy is crucial to the empowerment of any society.

Planning and Organization of Literacy Programs

In 1940 the Colonial government in Nigeria began to encourage the local people and to arouse their interest in proposed evening classes to acquire basic literacy. The classes were offered through voluntary services. Local government bodies and Christian and Muslim religious denominational leaders became zealous in the fight to combat illiteracy. They identified themselves with this responsibility which, from the end of the Second World War, gathered increasing momentum in various territorial divisions of the country. The genesis of this account may be better understood by a thorough review of the developments in the three former regions which are now divided into 21 states.

Northern States (now Sokoto, Banchi, Kano, Niger, Kaduna, Gongola,

Bornu, Plateau States, etc.)

At the end of World War II, the government of northern Nigeria, while still confronted with the problem of providing schools for children of its constituent provinces, was faced with an illiterate adult population. In 1946 an Adult Education Department was organized in the Northern Regional Ministry of Education. This was immediately followed by a pilot project headed by Major A. J. Carpenter, an Education Officer who had acquired experience in mass education during his service in the army. With the assistance of an expert from UNESCO, an adult teaching method was devised to speed up experiments in the teaching of adults.

Film strips and other visual aides were produced, and the Northern Literature Agency (NORLA) was established. This agency did a great job in the production, translation and distribution of literature on adult education in the northern provinces. Steadily, but slowly, practical activities geared toward literacy education became widespread throughout the region. Within a year of the end of the war, the first adult classes were opened in selected areas such as Zura in Niger Province, Kankiya in Katsina, among the Jecira of the Tiv tribe in Benue Province, and among the Birom of Jos Plateau.

In 1949 the response to most of the pilot schemes was so encouraging that the government decided to appoint an Education Officer to give full attention to control of the region. With the full-time Education Officer in charge of the

campaign, initial success in the fight against illiteracy began to emerge. The main feature of this initial phase was that each local government body dealt with teaching adult literacy classes its own way. Not until 1953, however, was a decision reached to teach adult literacy in native languages. A meeting which was held in Zaria, headquarters of the campaign activities, included representatives from the major northern linguistics groups of Hausa, Kanuri, Fulani; Yoruba in the Western Region; and Tiv, Idoma, Igala and Igbirra in the middle belt. This meeting resulted in an agreement to prepare primers or textbooks with approved orthographies for the native languages.

While the overall organization of adult education remained the responsibility of the Ministry of Education and Information, practical administration was the sole function of local government authorities. The campaign was a joint effort between regional and local government authorities. Local governments provided funds for class equipment, and small grants-in-aid were paid to them by the regional government at the end of each six-month period. In summation, as was always the case with late starters, the interest in acquisition of literacy was very high among the people in the northern states and local government bodies were zealous in expanding programs to help the masses obtain education.

Western States (Lagos, Ondo, Oyo Ogun and Kwara)

Immediately following World War II there was a plan for every Native Authority to have an adult education program, with the aim to provide remedial primary education for adults in rural areas. Men and women who had missed or

had not completed formal school, for one reason or another, benefited from this plan. This was supported by the production of literature in their native languages, suitable for adults, and sold at an affordable price. The initial objective was to help adults read and write in their own language so they could enrich their minds and acquire the skills to take part in their own social and political development. Additional activities included home craft instructions for women.

Organization of Adult Education Centers was the responsibility of Adult Education Committees which were under the umbrella of local government councils. Conferences of the committees were held from time to time in order to arouse interest and spread the campaign throughout the region. Village committees shouldered the responsibility of locating and recruiting part-time instructors. Education centers were supervised by adult education organizers with proven ability and teaching experience.

Financial responsibility in adult education in the western states was compartmentalized within regional governments, the Native Administration and villages. The Native Administration's annual contribution totaled up to a maximum of \$400.00. These funds were used toward helping centers with literacy training and for the provision of teaching equipment. The Native Administration had the financial responsibility for salaries and expenses of the adult education organizers. Funds for publications in the native languages also were provided by the Native Administration. Village contributions and pupils'

fees were used for chalk and lighting. The involvement of local government bodies in the development of adult education in the western states remained an ever-present, evolving phenomenon of educational administration in the region.

Eastern Region (Anambra, Imo, Enugu, Abia, Rivers, Cross-River and Calabar States)

Right after World War II it was widely realized by the eastern states that with political progress adult education and its twin sister, community development, must be emphasized. One spectacular development in the organization of adult classes in the eastern states during this period which differed from the western and northern states was that the local people refused to be taught in the vernacular -- their native languages. Anyanwu (1987) cites H. H. Jeffers, Senior Education Officer, who, in a report on experiments in the Owerri Province, wrote: "Aba Division is prepared to accept English but refused the vernacular."

R. I. Uzoma, principal of Okrika Grammar School wrote in connection with classes started by him: "It is with difficulty that we convince the people, even the illiterate, that education must be passed on [in] the vernacular. Many of them say, 'We do not want our language, we want English.'" O. Kubiangha, headmaster of Afikpo Government School wrote: "On the other hand, the average native man sees no good in his being taught to read and write his vernacular. He advocates for English and, failing to get it, his interest vanished." (Anyanwu, 1987)

Anyanwu (1987) further contends that there were three major reasons why the people of the eastern states refused to be taught in the vernacular. First, eastern provinces had different but related dialects, so the people thought that the English language was a good medium for spoken and written words. Second, the people did not like the idea that the whole scheme of mass education was meant for a despised set of people who had not the capacity to learn beyond purely elementary levels. Third, it was thought that English and accounting should be taught to members of town councils. So, in Owerri, Aba, Afikpo, Calabar and Awka adult education classes were organized in English because the average citizen saw no need to be taught to read and write in his vernacular. In all these areas the acquisition of literacy education helped to link the development of individuals with the general development of their communities.

Some Inhibitors Faced by the Colonial Administration Regarding Successful Implementation of the Mass Literacy Campaign

The growing rate of illiteracy in Nigeria remained a matter of concern among Colonial administrators. Why was it, for instance, that almost 99% of Nigerians remained illiterate in spite of annual literacy efforts by religious denominational bodies? The answer may be found in the fact that this early start was itself beset by problems which, from the very beginning, mitigated against its making any impact on the social fabric of Nigeria. There were, for example, problems intrinsic to the structure of Nigerian society itself, as well as problems arising from administrative constraints (Nnorom, 1987).

Poor Attendance and Unwillingness to Learn

The people of Nigeria were so indoctrinated with superstition that literacy programs held little importance. One curious obstacle which was prevalent in several areas was the belief in reincarnation. The attitude of illiterate adults in these places appeared to be "I am sending my children to school to learn. In my next incarnation, my parents will send me to school, so why should I bother to learn now?" At Aisegba in Ondo Province, literacy classes failed because people were angry when their dancing squad was not selected for a Native Dance Competition for the Royal Visit of 1956. When an Adult Education Officer visited the town, only four men and four women were present in the class. At Abak it was impossible to launch mass education campaigns because the Division was still unsettled by the "leopard murders." Some boycotted classes at Ahoada Division because lamps originally promised could not be given to them. There were other related factors that precipitated failure. Promoters failed to sustain the interest of students, teachers and the general public. As one of the promoters indicated, incentives must not be short-lived but must produce "that urge that gives rise to enthusiasm until the desired result is achieved." Many teachers were at a loss as to what to do after their various strategies had failed. They thus concluded that it was "impossible to teach old dogs new tricks," and that old men were both unwilling and incapable of learning.

Inadequate Financial Resources

The issue of funding was a crucial factor. Inadequate budgetary allocations hampered whatever progress could have been made. Eradication of illiteracy by various schemes involved expenditures which the central government was unwilling to provide and incapable of providing. If the government had been convinced about the place of literacy in development, perhaps it would have done more than pay lip-service to the Campaign (Omolewa, 1981). For instance, in the matter of involving the infant University College of Ibadan, Department of Extra-Mural Studies, in the Campaign A. J. Carpenter, the Federal Advisor on Adult Education concluded in 1952 that the Department was not designed to serve peasant farmers.

Opportunities to research literacy programs were limited. Efforts to provide training for instructors were not cohesive. Post-literacy materials were nowhere to be found in most centers and research was ignored. There was no utilization of the assistance given by UNESCO. Thus, there was a lack of zeal to inspire the nation to invest time and energy in the organization, promotion and implementation of the Campaign. Yet the availability of these cited factors were known to have helped China, the Soviet Union, Tanzania, Cuba and Brazil in their efforts against illiteracy.

Lack of Primers

Books for adult literacy must relate to the lives of adults. The lack of appropriate primers was one of the inhibitors of the successful implementation of adult literacy programs.

Poor Staffing

Another major problem that limited the success of the literacy campaign was that the Nigerian Colonial Government did not consider it worthwhile to pay instructors for adult classes. But as Omolewa (1981) contended, "If English served as an incentive to the students, money was a powerful incentive to the teachers." It was true that a few teachers gave their services free and willingly. Such teachers were commended for accepting the philosophy of providing "unpaid social service" to the community. And in most centers it was difficult to recruit instructors without the promise of money, no matter how small the amount, if only to assist with living expenses.

Thus, the adult education organizer at Llaro observed in 1946 (Anyanwu, 1987) that

There is no doubt in my mind that expansion on any adequate scale will not be possible without some financial buoyancy or encouragement for the teachers. From my experience in various provinces, I have found that the percentage of teachers willing to give unpaid social service was very small and does not do more than touch the fringe of the needs of the masses.

In the Muslim north instructors were remunerated directly from education funds. Muslim women could be taught only by women instructors. Arrangements were therefore made for these instructors to visit three or four

villages a week to conduct afternoon classes in needlework and literacy. While such instructors received some financial assistance from the villages, this was supplemented from education funds on the same scale as that of adult education centers, based on travel and time involved.

Poor Adult Learning Environment

A fundamental concept in creating an effective adult learning environment is that, as much as possible, it is better to have an adult atmosphere in the facilities used. School is not just for children is a basic tenet of adult educators. Therefore, it seems reasonable that adult learning facilities should reflect this concept.

Adults are physically uncomfortable in child-size furniture, and they are psychologically uncomfortable in traditional classroom settings which emphasize distance and inequality between teacher and student. Although adults may attend classes in order to obtain guided instruction in a particular subject, they have their own worldly areas of expertise. They appreciate being treated as mature people and as their instructors' peers.

Furthermore, much of the limited research on adult learning environments indicates that adults are even more aware of their surroundings than children. If adults are more aware of details in their environments, then attempts to create pleasant learning situations should always be made, no matter how minor these changes may seem. But adult learning environments fell far short of optimum. Those who lived in towns and worked on distant outlying farms could only attend

classes at night. This necessitated the provision of adequate lighting. In Ekiti experiments pupils brought their own lamps -- a practice that was short-lived. Neither could social services provide lighting.

Deep Embrace of the Social and Economic Structure

A well-organized campaign in certain parts of Nigeria was unrealistic because, in practice, it would disrupt social and economic structures. For instance, during cultivating and harvesting months, people were fully occupied. House building could only be done at a certain time in certain places, and there were periods of fasting and festivals among Muslims. During these periods people had no time for mass education classes due to pre-emptive customary and necessary activities. As indicated above, Nigeria was not the only country involved in the 1940s Mass Literacy Campaign in Africa. In order to establish the context in which these events occurred in Nigeria, a brief mention of other African countries is warranted.

The Case of the Gold Coast (now Ghana)

World War II had increased the desire for a mass education campaign as an educational medium in which to spread an awareness of literacy in the Gold Coast during the 1940s. Many men who entered the armed forces were illiterates who were forced to read English because it was the language used in the service. Gold Coast women learned to read and write in order to keep in touch with the men.

A number of chiefs also were interested in the education of adults. Some of these chiefs sponsored and attended schools in their towns. In planning, a great deal of effort was put into that format for learning. District and central welfare committees were set up on which served Africans, Europeans, officials and missionaries. Some community centers were established in country towns.

In the course of World War II, improvement of public health in the Gold Coast became imperative due to the crying need for nutrition and preventive medicine expressed through mass education. In the northern territories of the Gold Coast, the campaign for treating yaws by injection was being implemented. About 50% of the population was said to be infected, while only 20% was being treated (Wrong, 1946). Reinfestation would occur and it was suggested that such campaigns could not be effective unless they were combined with provisions for clean water. Mass education would ensure cooperation through preventive measures. Although there were some commonalities in how and why mass education occurred in the Gold Coast and Nigeria during World War II, there were still disparities in causes and effects.

The Case of Sierra Leone

According to Wrong (1946, p. 51), it is impossible to understand Sierra Leone without reference to its past. It was divided into two parts: the Colony and the Protectorate. In the Protectorate, Bunumbu, a union training college was started in 1933 to train teachers and catechists for rural areas. In 1942 the

college did some research on the possibilities of developing local industries, such as soap and brush making, and in 1943 a start was made in bricklaying. Experiments in teaching adults to read, including the preparation of materials, were initiated and met with such success that a Methodist missionary was seconded to the Christian Council as a full-time literacy worker with a government grant-in-aid.

She further stated that from the start the cooperation of local chiefs and elders was sought and provided in literacy campaigns. Some built village reading rooms which were illuminated by lanterns where would-be readers could gather after dark. Requests for literacy campaigns exceeded available staff for organizing and supplying reading materials. The need to teach women and girls was severely felt, but there were little or no library materials, and town and school libraries, when they existed, were inadequate. Shortage of paper and difficulties with transporting them increased the scarcity of books. Campaigns to spread literacy awareness among the masses of Sierra Leone became practically impossible in terms of achieving desired results.

The Case of French Cameroons

Government plans for extension of education in French African colonies, if carried out, would involve large numbers of teachers from France and a great increase in training of African staff. The expectation was expressed by the Senior Education Officer that the French Government would increase local resources by

grants that would make this expansion possible, including allowances for French staffs that would attract them to work in the colonies.

According to Wrong (1946, pp. 27-28), in the agricultural sphere the government agricultural experiment station in Dschang was concentrating on the production of quinine and had large plantations in which experiments on seed and plant selection were being carried out. In ten years they expected to be producing 15 tons a year. The scientist in charge expressed his hope that the price of quinine would be sufficiently low to make it available to all the people in Cameroon.

Further, Wrong (1946, p. 29) stated that in medical and preventive work, the mission has also been a pioneer. As everywhere else, doctors and nurses were reduced by war conditions. In spite of this mission hospitals were serving large numbers of people. At Metet some of the babies born to leper parents were cared for at mission hospitals by widows, and it was found that the babies thrived better with individual care than they did in orphanages. Government officials had commented on the number of children who survived the hazards of infancy in an area where the mission had established welfare clinics.

The Case of the Belgian Congo

In Wrong's (1946) visit to the Belgian Congo, she commented that many of the Belgian Expeditionary Force returned, and African troops were being demobilized and sent back to their villages. European chaplains who had accompanied them spoke of their experience with the people. They had served

with European troops and had become accustomed to adequate diets, unlike what they were used to in forest areas where malnutrition was rife. They had been supplied with military equipment, and a number who were once illiterate had learned to read. Although the Belgians had made considerable effort to help liberate the people of Congo, there existed little or no social intercourse between Africans and Europeans in the Belgian Congo. Unlike in the Gold Coast, Nigeria, and French Cameroon, a great deal of social intercourse existed between Africans and Europeans of French and English descent.

Summary

The literature reviewed for this study provides historical perspectives for interpretive commentary of the Mass Literacy Campaign in Nigeria from 1940-1952. There is a considerable body of historical literature on the evolution of Christian and Muslim education in Nigeria, emergence of British education in Nigeria, and mass education in tropical African countries like Nigeria, the Gold Coast (now Ghana), Sierra Leone, French Cameroon, and the Belgian Congo. This chapter also provided theories that undergird this study. Then, disagreements regarding inadequacies of previous research were reviewed to illustrate the need for an interpretive commentary approach.

Furthermore, in an attempt to establish the context in which the Mass Literacy Campaign between 1940-1952 occurred in Nigeria, it was paramount to make brief mention of other African countries engaged in the Mass Literacy Campaign during this historical period (i.e., the 1940s). Comparative analysis of

the Mass Literacy Campaign in Nigeria from 1940-1952 with that of other African countries, however, was not included in this study.

Finally, Eisner (1985) contends that an understanding of where schools have been and what social forces currently affect them is critical to understanding the present condition. Consequently, there is a need for a comprehensive examination of some of the issues pertinent to the evolution, purpose, creation and collapse of the Mass Literacy Campaign. Also, in order to establish an interpretive framework for this study, issues pertinent to forces that interacted to shape this Campaign were reviewed to illustrate that there has not been a comprehensive study from the perspective of an interpretive commentary approach, although historical analysis employed by most experts on the topical areas under study provided perspectives that helped to establish the foundation and framework of this study.

CHAPTER III

Research Method

Design

Curtis (1970, p. xi) contends that "there is no standardized format that all historians subscribe to." This research study sought to provide an interpretive commentary of the first Mass Literacy Campaign in Nigeria as it evolved from 1940-1952 and as it was influenced by various individuals, events, and political, social and economic factors. Similar to the approach outlined by Wolcott (1990) in his work, Writing Up Qualitative Research, this interpretive commentary involved telling a story on two levels of how the Mass Literacy Campaign of 1940-1952 occurred in Nigeria. First, it encompassed telling a story through the eyes of actual participants in the events. Second, it involved telling a story through the eyes of the researcher, which included postscripts at the end of Chapters IV to VII to provide additional information/input, an alternative viewpoint, and challenge/disagreement. Additionally, this research approach took into consideration data from a wide variety of sources, primary and secondary as well as tertiary.

Primary data included archival and other documentary materials from experts on issues germane to the 1940-1952 Mass Literacy Campaign in Nigeria. Secondary data included writings primarily from African and British authors. Tertiary data involved postscripts where the researcher, as a human instrument,

expressed personal opinion. These documents, once collected and analyzed, were subjected to external and internal criticism -- the former to determine authenticity of expression and the latter to interpret statements made therein. After analysis, which involved sorting, categorizing and synthesizing, the interpretive commentary highlights the background or context of the first attempt to promote literacy in Nigeria -- the Mass Literacy Campaign from 1940-1952.

This study utilized archival and written materials to accomplish the following objectives: (a) provide raw data, (b) establish the context from a historical perspective, and (c) provide data sources for interpretive commentary.

Although the researcher's personal opinion may have been influential in this study, in the interest of research, a deliberate effort was made to avoid dogmatic or biased opinions. The researcher intended to control personal bias by objectively weighing conflicting and supporting evidence. Although each chapter was comprised of information and quotations drawn from archival materials, published materials and books, the researcher set interpretive comments in summary form at the end of Chapters IV through VII.

The design for this study was focused on the examination of historical events, influential factors, institutions, voluntary organizations, times and context in which they occurred. It was also focused on identifying key individuals and forces that may have interacted to shape the 1940-1952 Mass Literacy Campaign in Nigeria. Furthermore, it tells a story about issues and conditions

pertinent to the purpose and creation of the Campaign as an educative process through which literacy awareness could be spread among the masses in Nigeria.

The conceptual framework for mass education in the Campaign was built upon the following guidelines as (a) articulated and framed by adult education scholars; (b) an educative process, plan and projection of sequential events to accomplish a given set of objectives as guided by a conceptual schema; (c) an educative process to spread literacy awareness and enable adults to obtain the literacy skills necessary to raise consciousness of their role in the transformation of the community; (d) an important learning format and avenue for literacy skills to enable individuals, institutions and society-at-large to extend the range of their mental processes and knowledge and to make the world intelligible and manageable; (e) a format for learning designed to bring about "socialization" focused on structural aspects of society and development of personal identity which demands participation in a community; and (f) literacy skills as necessary tools for economic, social and political development.

Sources of Data

Sources of data for this study were classified in two broad categories: primary sources and secondary sources. The researcher explored two major repositories: (a) The Special Collections Section of the United States Library of Congress (African Reading Room), located in the Adams Building, Washington, DC, and serving as a repository for archival documentation of the first Mass Literacy Campaign in Nigeria. Materials in this collection were extensive and

included original documents pertaining to Africa as a whole. Memoranda on virtually every aspect of educational policies in Africa, most especially Nigeria, were included.

(b) Africana library in Evanston, Illinois, located at Northwestern University, a major source of records and reports by African and English researchers on issues germane to the 1940-1952 Mass Literacy Campaign in Nigeria.

Where these two major repositories failed to provide adequate archival materials, secondary sources of data providing documentary materials were used for interpretive purposes. As pointed out by Corbin and Strauss (1990, p. 22), "Not all the interpretive commentary is, strictly speaking, theoretical in nature but some researchers have this as part of their aim."

Collection of Data

Extensive reading and notetaking of all sources of data, both primary and secondary, from the two major repositories were included. These documents, once collected, were reviewed and subjected to criticism to unveil inconsistencies (even though researchers very seldom encounter inconsistencies in published texts and archival materials). The researcher made every effort throughout the entire process to fairly execute this study, to ensure that the end result reflected as closely as possible the events studied, and to utilize every possible step to determine the authenticity of data in this study (see Appendix C). The entire process of data collection and analysis adhered to ethical principles of qualitative research.

Analysis of Data

To investigate interrelations between past events and roles of the Colonial Administration as they related to the 1940-1952 Mass Literacy Campaign in Nigeria, the technique of event analysis was employed, unless otherwise noted. This technique was conceived and introduced by Kimball and Pearsall (1954) to study the segregated city of Talladega, Alabama, where ordinary observation and interviewing were made impossible due to problems caused by social constraints. The purpose of their study was to discover the social structure of that town and how that structure shaped civic life.

The theory behind event analysis states that as an event unfolds it reveals sociocultural patterns of a larger system of which it is a part. Events are then perceived as microcosms which mirror larger patterns within the structure of a society. The use of event analysis in this study provided the intellectual framework necessary to study internal and external factors concerning specific analysis of processes which include activities, influential factors, institutions and voluntary organizations as they interacted to shape the Campaign. Examining the processes and roles of all these forces as they related to the Mass Literacy Campaign created a cumulative and better understanding.

Event analysis began after the selection of the focal event. The study of this event, the Mass Literacy Campaign in Nigeria from 1940-1952, proved most revealing because it was the crux of the research problem and included, at minimum, representatives of most of the groups which constituted the social

system under investigation. The researcher gathered data in order to present a historical account of the factors which led to its evolution, operationalization and collapse.

Upon completion of data validation, the researcher analyzed by (a) sorting, (b) categorization, (c) comparison, and (d) interpretation. This analytical system facilitated identification of the factors which affected the activities of the Campaign as it evolved, to include underlying events, major social, economic and political factors, influential persons, and forces that led to the inception of mass education as a format for learning. It also facilitated the identification of (a) the influence of the Department of Education, often in collaboration with non-governmental agencies, on the entire process; (b) roles that influential persons (most specifically, A. J. Carpenter) played in the Campaign to heighten awareness of the need for literacy; and (c) the end result of the Campaign.

To reiterate, a data treatment matrix was developed by the researcher (see Figure 1) which employed the model for analysis developed by Kidd (1979). The horizontal axis depicts the periods of the Mass Literacy Campaign (i.e., 1940-1952). The quadrant depicts activities, influences, context and significant time periods.

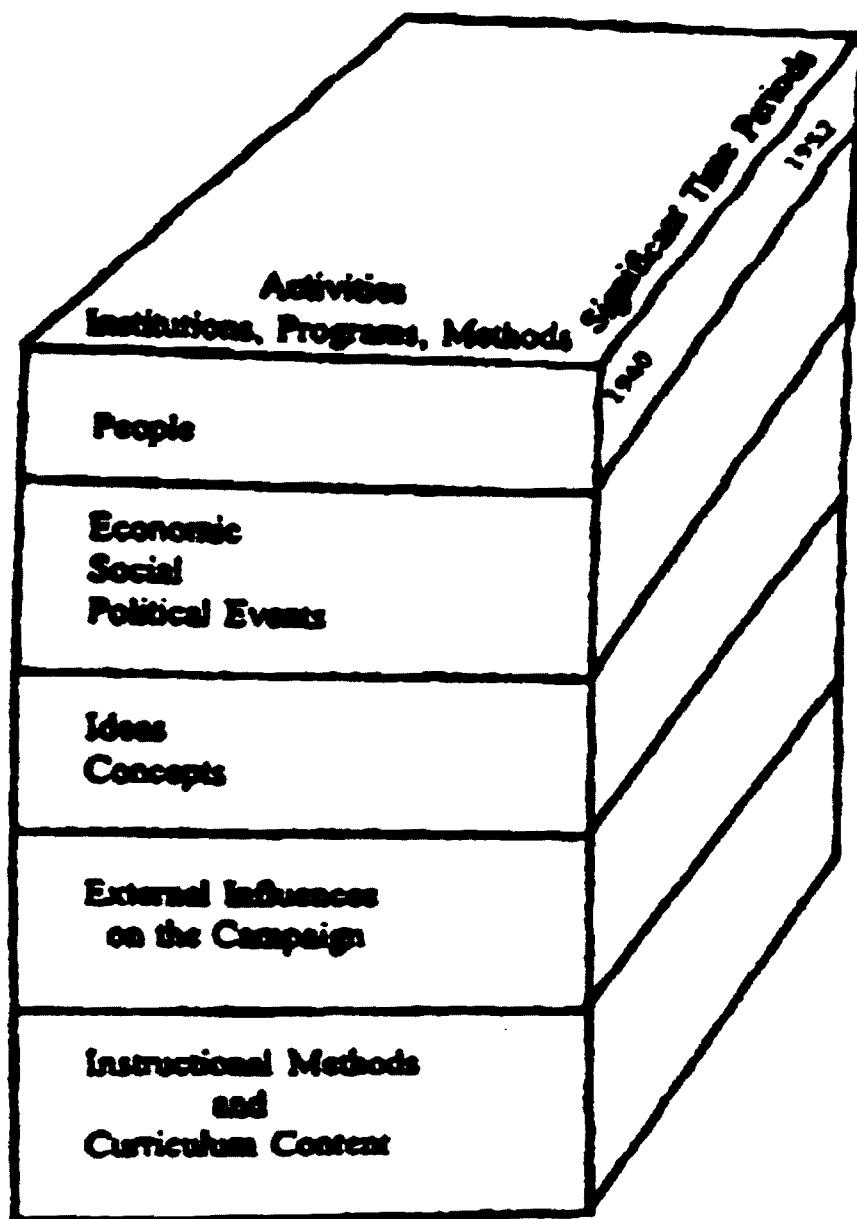


Figure 1. Data Treatment Matrix

Source: Adapted from Kidd, J. Roby. Some preliminary notes concerning an inquiry into the heritage of Canadian adult education. Occasional Papers in Education, No. 19. Vancouver, Canada: Center for Continuing Education, The University of British Columbia, 1979, p. 29.

Summary

The research approach was interpretive commentary which took into consideration data from a wide variety of sources, primary as well as secondary. Primary data included archival and other documentary materials from experts on issues germane to the 1940-1952 Mass Literacy Campaign in Nigeria. Secondary data included writings primarily from African and British authors.

This study traces earlier events and forces as they interacted to shape the Campaign. It also depicts issues and conditions akin to the purpose and creation of the Campaign to spread literacy awareness among the masses of Nigeria.

Finally, an analytic component was used to arrive at conclusions discussed in Chapter VIII of this research. First, the researcher sorted data by identifying the broadest categories that initially came to mind. Questions as to place of the event, and/or time, and/or actors emerged at the start (see Figure 1., Data Treatment Matrix). (Wolcott, 1990, p. 33) The researcher also looked at the target group (i.e., the people targeted for change) and the innovating organization or donor group (i.e., the agents of change). What was it they (agents) wanted for the target group (illiterates) and for themselves as well? After critically examining the two groups separately, the researcher channeled his focus on arenas in which these groups interacted to shape the Mass Literacy Campaign.

Second, application of a "thinking unit framework" (Ely, 1991), such as groups, organizations, relationships, ideas, roles, events, instructor/illiterates interactions, influential persons, Campaign experiences, conditions, instructional

methods and curriculum content, interaction between donor groups, and consequences, aided and assisted the research in organizing and categorizing the data for analysis.

Third, the researcher applied data to categories and subcategories and to discover relationships. Reading "between the lines" and interpreting phrases helped to determine such relationships. To create categories, the researcher carefully analyzed initial, tentative categories which resulted in amendments.

In summation, these procedures of analysis, including comparison of data, paved the way for the resulting interpretive commentary and the conclusion reached in this study.

CHAPTER IV

Major Social, Economic and Political Factors

Historical Development of Literacy in Nigeria

Pre-Colonial Era

To tell the story of the major socio-political and economic factors that triggered the national Mass Literacy Campaign in Nigeria from 1940-1952, it is pertinent to chronicle the origin and development of literacy education from its modest beginnings in the 14th century to its culmination in radical changes that unfolded in the late 1930s. Prior to the passage of the first Nigerian Education Ordinance in 1882 and the subsequent establishment of a Department of Education in 1903, 14th-century Islamic education evolved into a progressive revolution of literacy education.

According to Asiedu, Omolewa and Oyedele (1982, p. 9), literacy efforts, introduced by Muslim scholars, teachers and preachers from the Middle East, North Africa and Nigeria for the express purpose of producing devout Muslims and to train young adults to master the social and religious tenets of the Muslim community, brought a new dimension to record keeping and historical preservation. Reading from existing documents in their possession, principally ancient messages of the prophet Mohammed, the Muslims were able to relate to local adult populations, located mainly in the northern and western parts of

Nigeria. These adults were encouraged to repeat stanzas of the Koran after the priest or imam. Islam teachings thus became the vehicle for literacy education.

In time, Muslim scholars began to gain eminence as men of letters in the royal courts and throughout society as well. Many of them were employed as secretaries, ambassadors and custodians of royal documents. Wherever these Muslim teachings predominated, literacy became a mantle of prestige. Local participants sought to emulate and to familiarize themselves with these Islamic "words of learning." Although this educational vehicle was geared to devotional and religious matters, the inherent elements of literacy encouraged local adult converts to participate in acquiring the new Islamic culture.

As articulated by Asiedu, Omolewa & Oyedele (1982, p. 10), in the 15th century the traditional learning process, based on Islamic education, was interrupted to some extent by the advent of Christian missionaries from Portugal. The Christian missions which were established founded schools along the coastal regions. Trading posts and castles began to be used as learning centers by these Portuguese teacher-priests.

They further stated that, as missionary work began at Benin and Warri in the midwestern region of Nigeria, ruling families took advantage of the new system of learning. The priests who accompanied the early Portuguese explorers and traders were empowered by the Pope to baptize and welcome Nigerians into the Roman Catholic Church. Reading and Mass-singing was curriculum-based,

and participants who were deemed to have an adequate knowledge about Christ were baptized. However, the priests were few in number, many died of malaria, and an active slave trade hindered their missionary ventures.

From the 14th to the 19th century, the age-old tradition of vocational training remained ongoing, although it now operated in juxtaposition with the progress of literacy. The custom of initiation rites also was perpetuated in many areas as well as training at home. It was noteworthy, however, that during this period of educational revolution formal training in schools for the most part went relatively unopposed.

As the old collided with the new, notable contributions were made as a direct result of the teaching influence of missionaries. Among these were the recording of alphabets and the use of grammar and vocabulary in Nigerian languages. By the end of the 1800s, primers emanated from Hausa and Yoruba, and by the second decade of the 1900s the Sudan United Mission produced Primers in the Tiv language.

Colonial Era

Based on Asiedu, Omolewa & Oyedele (1982, p. 11), as literary development steadily advanced and newly-discovered literacy and heightened awareness on the part of the natives became manifest, questions emanated as to why literacy accompanied evangelization and Colonial administration. This can be explained by the fact that denominational bodies of the Christian religion as well as Colonial Administration counterparts incorporated literacy into what

might be called an educational package. This was a means to an end -- the production of teachers, clerks, messengers and interpreters.

In Asiedu, et al. (1982, pp. 5-11), the first fruits of this reasoning appeared to be the desire of those who acquired language arts to exhibit their prowess. On closer examination it was indeed found that illiterate Nigerian rulers began to employ their literate visitors as secretaries. Gradually, secretaries began to function as advisers and assistants. The ruling families themselves started to encourage their children to learn in order to acquire new knowledge and skills. The Colonial Government also was inclined toward generating awareness among the Nigerian population of the laws and greatness of Colonial power. For this particular reason an ability to read was imperative. The introduction of this new skill was eagerly embraced by Nigerians.

Christian missionaries took the teaching of writing, reading and the learning of hymns most seriously. They appreciated that access to literature was a positive aid to conversion. They inculcated numeracy in their instruction and asked participants to read after them "one, two, three"; in Igbo, "ofu, ibua, ato." Less emphasis was laid on computational skills. The ability of Nigerians to calculate in spite of their illiteracy was well known (Omolewa, 1984). Among the Yoruba, for example, reckoning of time and payments was a serious business, hence the saying, "Orie pe bi ori alajo Somolu," translated, "He is as versed in calculating as the moneykeeper [treasurer] of Somolu Village."

Government participation in education was limited in the beginning in that it was interested only in a selective campaign. It seemed the government was interested in educating natives only insofar as the beneficiaries from such education could provide adequate manpower to satisfy political and economic interests. This attitude fueled negative opinions which were often expressed by a few educated Nigerians. Eventually, however, the revolution in education prevailed.

A Department of Education for the southern provinces was established in 1903. Its counterpart for the northern provinces was established in 1910. The first important post-primary educational institution, King's College, was founded in Lagos, and in 1914 and 1915 training departments were added to government schools at Warri, located in the former Midwestern Region, and at Bonny, located in the former Eastern Region. Katsina College opened in the Northern Region in 1921, followed by the opening of Queen's School for Girls in 1927. In 1929 two government colleges were founded; one in Ibadan, in the former Western Region, another in Umuahia, in the former Eastern Region.

It must be noted, however, that this developmental trend was not even throughout Nigeria. The Southerners were very receptive to the new influence ("the white man's book"), whereas the Northerners viewed Western education with skepticism, since it was believed to be a means which was capable of weakening the hold of traditional beliefs and customs.

Early ventures which were geared toward the promotion of literacy education were, without doubt, hindered by negative reactions and prejudices. First, many Nigerians were not easily influenced by the benefits attributed to literacy. To the people of Nigeria, conventional education (Asiedu, 1982, p. 2) was defined as reading, writing and computing, which they welcomed, and what was viewed as propaganda regarding it constituted a mere distraction.

Second, the situation was compounded by the inability of missionaries to cope with demands of illiterate Nigerians who were willing to be familiarized with what they labeled "the white man's book." Early in 1881 some parts of Nigeria had challenged missionaries, whom they criticized for their self-imposed task of imparting a liberal education to the people. Christian denominational bodies channeled their investments toward the education of children at elementary and secondary levels and had little or no resources for the adult masses.

There was also a growing problem of uncertainty in Muslim areas where implementation of adult classes was viewed with suspicion. Muslim opposition feared that such schools would lure promising Muslim adults into Christianity. Compounding these problems during the early periods of development was a reluctance of some missionary bodies to invest in literacy education, fearing the detriment of what they viewed should take precedence -- character training, agricultural and industrial education.

Changing Patterns and Trends:

The Approach of the Second World War, 1929-1940

Earlier developments were soon followed by the financial depression of the 1930s, which forced government to reduce its grants to educational entities. The depression was followed by World War II but, wartime economic depression notwithstanding, increasing demand for education forced development to continue.

Nigerians began to think in terms of developing mass education. The problem of illiteracy and its solution, education, were regarded as issues of vital importance and urgency. When addressing some of the inherent, inhibiting factors extant in Nigeria, the following objectives were kept in mind: (a) wide expansion of schooling for children, with the goal of a universal school system with a measurable time; (b) the spread of literacy among adults, together with widespread development of literature and libraries, without which there was little hope of achieving permanent literacy; (c) planning mass education of the community as a movement within the community itself, involving active support of the local community from the outset; and (d) effective coordination of welfare and mass education plans to form a comprehensive, balanced program (Colonial Office Advisory Committee, 1943).

These comprehensive objectives, combined with the social, political and economic forces called upon for the Mass Literacy Campaign, gave rise to an

undercurrent of national attention which was devoted to their development and implementation.

The Pressure of Social Planning

One of the major pressing factors which the people of Nigeria could not circumvent was that of social planning. It well may be assumed that literate, self-respecting, self-assured and self-fulfilled people want more and more exercise of control over the planning by which their destiny is to be structured. Therefore, if there was to be a structured order for the people of Nigeria, "We must be free to play our own part in the shaping of it." (Colonial Office Paper, 1943) Adopting the idea and philosophy of self-reliance as a formula for national development was the ideal motivator. This concept, as Anyanwu (1987) contended, enhanced innovation. It offered the psychological condition which was necessary for self-improvement. Within this concept could be found the catalyst for the attainment of widespread improvement in the lives of the people. But Nigerians could not develop clear-sighted and responsible direction when an estimated 85%-90% were illiterate (Asiedu, 1982). The solution was the Mass Literacy Campaign, which H.S. Bhola (1987) defined as a "mass approach that seeks to make all adult women/men in a nation literate within a particular time frame." This mass approach, perceived as literacy, was a means to an end, with a broad range of influence -- economic, social structural, and political.

The Pressure of Political Change

The impetus to overcome resistance to social and economic constraints which justified the view that mass education was vital and urgent could be found in new and vigorous forms of political aspirations in Nigeria and beyond. The force of these aspirations was accentuated by the magnitude of the struggle -- a struggle with which, to this day, Nigeria is involved. Further, it was aggravated by the certainty that the issues involved would decide the common destiny (Colonial Office Advisory Committee, 1943). A universal sense of common interest made people responsive to the same forces, even though the pattern of response differed considerably. The stage was set. The concept of a common citizenship began to acquire reality and expression.

This common citizenship was not to be envisaged as a benevolent concession from above. It was intended to be the practical outcome of trial and common effort (Colonial Office Advisory Committee, 1943). This effort and all it encompassed may well have represented the cornerstone of all progress in Nigeria as well as in political relations with the people of Great Britain.

Such a bold concept could not suddenly take form without all the necessary resources for a mobilization of this magnitude. The acquisition of citizenship had its beginnings in a small, compact unity of thought and motivation, where common loyalty and common interests were expressed in daily activities and mutual service. Within this unified spirit, people held tenaciously to what, at first, may have appeared to be a narrow sectionalism, operating

behind barriers which divided them from their fellows. Close contact with the modern world could break down these barricades and expand the social and political horizons of the people. But the concept of this common citizenship was vastly wider. It may be that behind seemingly small, sectioned units and during the onset of an all-embracing citizenship, a previous vision of national unity, an ideology, existed.

The Need for Guidance

Guidance was clearly of the utmost importance during this pre-World War II era if the seeds of this infant ideology were to grow. The effectiveness of guidance given by government was dependent upon the vigor and sincerity with which those in authority confronted the tasks and responsibilities, not only toward the people as a whole, but also as inspiring leaders of agencies which the government itself, either overtly or covertly, controlled. Within these agencies, District Officers had an important role to play. Their close and varied impact on the lives of the people afforded tremendous opportunities for worthwhile guidance.

A central role had to be played by departments of education. But no education department, however well-staffed and equipped, could hope to provide the solution for all that was needed. What was required was a recognition and acceptance of close cooperation among all departments of the government. Special officers were needed and some indications were given to requirements which would facilitate the desired interdepartmental cooperation. Additionally,

the need for wide-ranging cooperation of many agencies, including administrative departments, would be called upon to contribute their share (Colonial Office Advisory Committee, 1943).

Churches had a special contribution to make, the importance of which cannot be exaggerated. The missionary, even more than the District Officer, maintained a close contact with the people. Missionaries shared their lives, not solely as leaders, but as those who were one with the people. As the African Church has grown in responsibility and independence, this sense of fellowship has deepened. The churches were in the best position to infuse into the changing outlook a sense of spiritual values without which inspiration would die, particularly where old beliefs and rules of life were giving way under the stress of new conditions. Guidance, however, is weakened and ineffective unless it engenders and inspires wise leadership among the people.

Leadership Among the People

Without the key element of leadership, mass education would not be worthwhile or revitalizing. Measures taken by those in authority were meant to be assimilated by the individual and to evoke participation by the community itself. Success presupposed objectives with which the people could readily identify, to the extent that they were understood. It was left to those who guided to ensure the understanding and willingness to create and sustain an effort that would be accomplished only if real cooperation of the people was secured --

a corps of leadership which would spring directly from the people. However, wise leadership (i.e., community revitalization models) in Nigeria would not likely emerge and take effect in a community which had not yet learned to discern between a true leader and a self-seeking opportunist. The risk of exploitation was great for people who lacked experienced with authority (Colonial Office Paper, 1943).

The best form of protection for a group of people in circumstances such as these consisted of development of their own power of criticism and discrimination. To develop effective discerning characteristics, mass education would have to provide adequate definition and development of leadership traits. The hoped-for result would depend on acquired knowledge and the freedom of well-informed discussion and criticism. The use of mass literary education as a vehicle to extend the range of knowledge was germane to changing conditions.

The pressing need for a mass education campaign to enhance civic education throughout Nigeria was widespread in view of concerns for the social, moral, cultural and political decadence which plagued the country. Civic education, an important component of mass literacy education, would promote programs about government, community development, voting and political affairs, the handling of the census, government revenue and expenditure, and public and international affairs. Objectives of government, if properly carried out, would create community-revitalizing leaders from among the masses. It would also create enlightened electorates capable of understanding how the government

functioned, able to assume responsibilities more effectively in their local administrations, and would make Nigerian citizens aware of their civic responsibilities to one another and to the nation. It would help people acquire a sense of responsibility and knowledge of how to make personal adjustments to home life, family relationships and community relations. It would provide the means to an end which incorporated encouragement for cultural development and an appreciation of the arts among Nigerians (Anyanwu, 1987).

The inclusion of civic education in a mass literary campaign would heighten national consciousness and promote civic pride, the evolution of a responsible electorate, the desirability of national economic welfare, the importance of national security, and would underscore the evil effects of smuggling and corruption on national development (Anyanwu, 1987). Therefore, to develop leadership among the people of Nigeria, the necessity of incorporating a civic program into a mass literary campaign could well provide the means to full participation and control of local and national affairs.

Finally, the contribution of the Colonial Empire to the great struggle for leadership in Nigeria remained a subject of universal application. That notable contribution involved the voluntary enrollment of many tens of thousands of men in the armed forces of the Commonwealth. These men underwent the discipline of military training and shared that training with men of other races, with whom

they also shared the risks and anguish of bitter warfare. An informal learning process was in progress. Men who had gone far into the field of battle and had come in close contact with men of other countries had much information to share about their cultures. As a result, these Nigerian men acquired a great deal of knowledge that would enable them to participate in local and national affairs. Thus, training acquired through a formal learning process, military service, combined with experiences from an informal learning process, war, made these men a potential reservoir of leadership. The need was great and the opportunity available to guide the people through this emerging ideology. It would have been foolish not to make immediate use of these experienced veterans. Thus, these Nigerian men were used as instructors in the Mass Literacy Campaign.

The Essential Ingredients of Mass Education

Mass education, as a moral equivalent of a war (Arnone and Graff, 1987), is a mass approach which seeks to make literate all adult men and women in a nation within a particular time frame. As it expands and develops, this mass approach should be able to impart knowledge to enable the masses to share in the direction and control of social, economic and political factors. Nothing is more frustrating than the sense of being at the mercy of impersonal forces, and nothing is more contrary to the spirit of true democracy. The true democratic state relies heavily upon the ability of its people to exercise both selection and conservation in the course of changing features of social, economic and political

life. But this ability requires knowledge, disciplined reasoning, insight, individual and societal transformation, and a spirit of self-reliance which would be secured and could only be secured by properly planned, developed and implemented education of the whole mass of communities and society at large (Colonial Office Paper, 1943).

The end of World War II, associated with the break-up of the world's great Colonial Empires, called for new dimensions in national sentiments and a new sense of direction. The Mass Literacy Campaign was urgently needed for a people, within community, to understand and appreciate the fruits of education and the resulting forces which had the power to change their lives so drastically.

Summary

Discussion of the socio-political and economic factors inherent in Nigeria would not be a coordinated and comprehensive effort without tracing the origin of literacy ventures in Nigeria. An attempt has been made in the preceding sections to explain why the development of mass education was paramount to a full understanding of conditions extant in Nigeria. Therefore, reiteration of the historical evolution of literacy education from the 14th century through the pre-World War II era was imperative.

Nigerians may have assumed that the Colonial Government was fully aware of prevailing factors and problems which were of vital importance and urgency. But given the limitations of well-trained personnel, combined with the

problem of limited resources available during that period, the Colonial Government was cautious, hesitant and dismayed by the inevitable cost involved in planning, developing and implementing a great venture such as the Mass Literacy Campaign. The educational policy of His Majesty's Government may have been to enable the colonial people to stand on their own feet, but where the costs of a program and the outcome of that program could not be measured in monetary gain, the only recourse was to delay attempting a program of that magnitude.

Postscript

The earliest literacy education established in Nigeria had its genesis in the 14th century, followed much later by initiatives in 1842, 1847, 1849, 1878, 1880, 1882 and 1895, up through the first three decades of the 20th century. These forerunners of literacy education had few resources and little time to invest on the masses as a whole. Their efforts were focused on specific segments of the Nigerian population. While training and education was ill-equipped for the task, recipients took pride in their accomplishments. They became interpreters, stewards, clerks, secretaries, emissaries and cooks. These earlier literacy education entities became integral parts of the 1940-1952 Mass Literacy Campaign in Nigeria. The complete exclusion of mass education during this period of infancy was more than compensated for as seeds of the Campaign began to germinate.

In spite of the annexation to the Colonial Government by Christian and Muslim religious groups, denominational bodies were not actively involved in the Mass Literacy Campaign prior to the 1940s. Once the educated few began to fuel opinions expressed about the pressing need for mass education of the colonial people of Nigeria, the Colonials began to think in terms of developing a system of mass education. Goals were expressed as "the societal and individual transformations that provide the context for most Mass Literacy Campaigns usually embrace the formation of a new type of person in a qualitatively different society." (Arnove and Graff, 1987). Such transformations would lead people to new visions, new ways of thinking, new ways of doing things, new ways of perceiving and to reconstructing a world where, previously, change had not been acceptable.

CHAPTER V

Influential Forces which Constituted the Development of the Mass Literacy Campaign in Nigeria from 1940-1952

The principal focus of this chapter relates to the evolution of the Mass Literacy Campaign through such influential forces as the Department of Education, the Colonial Administration, Christian and Muslim religious denominational agencies and key individuals. It is imperative, therefore, to tell a story which includes the intrinsic and extrinsic roles played by each of these change agents. However, the story of the monumental roles played by these agents for change would not be adequately portrayed if British educational relationships with the people of Nigeria were not included in the narrative. Behind this rationale lies the fact that those influential forces which constituted the development of the Mass Literacy Campaign from 1940-1952 cannot be totally divorced from prior educational, social and personal relationships which existed between the Colonial Administration and its people. It may be assumed that to narrow the developmental focus of this historical evolution by excluding pre-existing British influences on the indigenous people of Nigeria would propound an exclusivity of one account and would render the other inadequate. After all, the former walked the streets under the umbrella of the latter prior to the onset of the decade which introduced the Mass Literacy Campaign.

The Relationship between British Educational Practice
and the Indigenous People of Nigeria

As may have been evident to the most educated in Nigeria, one people -- the British -- found themselves completely responsible for the education of a pre-literate society of very different culture which inhabited another part of the globe -- the indigenous people of Nigeria. The relationship was peculiar in its limited approach. Educational practice was geared toward very few people instead of a large-scale venture, which would liberate the masses of Nigeria. As was expressed by Sir Christopher Cox in his address at the Sheffield meeting of the British Association (Cox, 1956):

The governments of the many scattered, diverse and as a rule wretchedly poor colonial territories had neither revenue nor personnel to initiate an active educational policy; instead, as happened in Nigeria, the initiative was, in general, to the churches, whose schools, for a long period in most territories, particularly in the Caribbean and in Africa, met the modest needs of government and commerce for literate employees, so in the early days it was the missionaries and not Colonial government who in practice determined the way in which western schooling should be introduced to the colonial people; and the pattern and method which they followed reproduced the familiar models they had known in Britain -- though always, of course, scaled down to the pitifully little, which was all they could afford.

Early planning by the Colonial government itself was influenced by special factors such as the presence of a powerful, non-Christian world religion which gravely limited the activities of the missionary enterprise. In addition, the dominance of Islamic activities and philosophy determined Lord Luggard's

educational policy in the Northern Region of Nigeria. The Emirates as well as the Sudan, which, like India on its infinitely greater scale, were basically in a colonial relationship with Britain. In India itself the influence of Hinduism and Islam was hardly compatible with laissez-faire education. Government purposely established the official educational policy, often associated with Macaulay. As a result, a powerful, centralized bureaucracy was working to define policy, with far-reaching, though not always intended, outcomes.

During the post-World War I era, a more generic Colonial educational policy took shape. The growth of the Colonial educational system and the maturing of professional standards, together with the emergence of strong public opinion and the movement toward self-government (indigenization) combined to progressively reduce the need for formal advice from the Secretary of State (Cox, 1956). On the other hand, the same factors of educational growth and national emergence tremendously increased avenues for contact, for consultation, and for practical help. Formal advice was sought when the guidance that United Kingdom experience could provide was felt to be really needed.

Most notably, this was observed in the area of university education. The Asquith Commission's report in 1945 gave the necessary guidance and has been the inspiration of the most sustained and dramatic contribution which Britain has made to Colonial education since the war. One university and six university colleges were established in these years. The Colonial Development and Welfare Acts made these, like much else, possible. However, advice on policy as well as

practical assistance stemmed from two academic bodies -- the University of London, on the one hand, and the Inter-University Council for Higher Education Overseas, representing all the United Kingdom universities, on the other. This cooperative oversight made all the difference to its acceptability.

In light of the preceding, insight related to the crux of the relationship between British educational practice and the indigenous people of Nigeria would not be comprehensive without the inclusion of the effect of the introduction of Western schooling into a strongly traditional society that perceived it as a sharp divergence between two distinct forms of education; namely, foreign contrasted with traditional, formal with informal, school vs. home and community, and education for livelihood in contrast with that required for living well. British rule brought a widening number of new avenues for material advancement, to which entry was Western education. In other words, Western education was a means to an end -- material advancement. Thus, the latter, by Western standards, liberal curriculum, became for parents and children primarily vocational school. Their spiritual home was somewhere else in the family circle and among a community far removed from Western influence.

This helps to explain why the Colonial Office of Educational Policy of the 1920s, galvanized by such conceived principles and promoted so earnestly from London, still fell short of comprehensive fulfillment. Many factors were involved, of which one was a lack of resources. For instance, there were insufficient funds to establish more key institutions in which the practical application of Colonial

principles could be adequately carried out. Additionally, the insufficient equipment of some of the missionaries in Nigeria and the lack of educators with anthropological training also were significant factors because of the loss of an ability to build rapport with the natives of Nigeria. But the underlying factor which hindered progress lay with the Nigerian people themselves. The reactions of Nigerians to the importation of Western schooling were already surfacing in the Southern Region and were developing in the Northern Region; that of total acceptance of and insistence upon all that the Nigerians wanted from such schooling. Selection by Nigerians in Nigeria, not for Nigerians in Britain became paramount. No policy from Britain could thwart that process.

It should be emphasized, however, that the influential forces which constituted the development of the Mass Literacy Campaign should not be viewed as mutually exclusive, nor should the educational relationships which developed between the Colonial Administration and its people be construed to be the singular result of the influence of Colonialism. Nigerian social forms and personality should be considered to be an integral part of this story.

The Effect of Colonialism on Nigerian Social Forms

The effect of Colonialism on Nigerian social forms were sociological, in the broad meaning of the term, insofar as the West had, in Toynbee's words, "turned indigenous people's lives upside down and inside out." The Nigerian people experienced the impact of Western civilization through various types of economic

exploitation and systems of social control. In many ways Colonialism effected a complete demise of the social structure in which the traditional "behavior, outlook, feelings, and beliefs of individual men and women" was shaped and had meaning (Toynbee, 1948, p. 214).

In an attempt to narrate the story of the nature of the sociological squabbles that emanated as a result of the influence of Colonialism on the social organization and personality of the Nigerian people, it is imperative to acknowledge the changes in physical conditions within which the drama of this new social order was emerging as well as the impact of demographic changes which resulted from European contact and control. The alienation of land restricted traditional socio-economic activities of Nigerians such as hunting, collecting fruits and cattle grazing, and it dislocated customary practices related to cattle keeping.

The colonization of Nigeria and other African countries, such as Kenya and Tanzania, was accomplished through the conquest of the native people, who maintained fierce opposition to European domination during the period leading up to the first world war and for some time thereafter. Force was not employed, however, solely to establish European control. It was utilized to suppress the slave trade, carried on by the Arabs, which had disrupted Nigerian society and depopulated the country. Force was inculcated in an attempt to put a stop to native wars and to establish peace and security among Nigerians. In fact, it was generally agreed by some Nigerian historians (i.e., Omolewa and Ajayi) that one of

the main, notable contributions of Colonialism was the establishment of peace and security. At the same time, the establishment of European control brought about dislocation of the native populations, which had a more negative impact on Nigerian society than that of native wars or the slave trade. It dramatically altered the physical basis of life for large sectors of the native population.

This dislocation of native people resulted from industrialization and urbanization, which are often closely associated. The gradual industrialization of agriculture occurred through the development of plantations (e.g., rubber and palm oil plantations in the British Colonies and French Cameroons), together with large-scale development schemes for commercial crops, such as cocoa. Cocoa farming, once operated by small farm owners, was gradually converted into large plantations with tenants. In cocoa farming on the Gold Coast (now Ghana) as well as in the production of ground nuts in Senegal, much of the labor was now performed by seasonal workers who were employed from the interior. Similar consequences followed the introduction of the timber industry in Nigeria, the Belgian Congo and Kenya.

Changes in the physical basis of social life which resulted from European contact and control have been linked to demographic changes which affected the traditional culture and social organization of native life. With the onset of European contact, natives were drawn from their villages to perform services for the whites. In this abandonment of their traditional way of life (Frazier in Weischedhoff, 1949), they did not act as free agents who chose a new way of life.

For example, it was pointed out by Africans that when initial demands were made for native labor in the mines of the Belgian Congo, the indigenous people were adamantly opposed to accepting employment. In fact, when the natives left the villages, it was against their will and a direct result of the forceful measures employed by Europeans to secure native laborers. This system of forced labor had two objectives: a) to secure a large and regular supply of labor, and b) to have laborers pay taxes levied by Europeans. The system of forced labor was established not only in Nigeria but also on the Gold Coast, Kenya, South Africa and Gabor in French Equatorial Africa. It remained in effect until 1930, when the majority of the Colonial powers agreed in the Geneva Convention on Forced Labor to put an end to compulsory labor.

This underscores an understanding of why the disintegration of Nigerian society resulting from European contact was most pronounced within the family unit. The disintegration of the traditional family is shown first in "petering importance of the collective or group aspect of marriage." Marriage became an arrangement between individuals in which the prospective husband, instead of his kinsmen, provided the bride price. The former role of kinsmen was an important element in cementing family groups. Therefore, the weakening of the authority of the kinsmen resulted in the deterioration of the bond which held traditional society together.

In the rural areas the solidarity of kinsmen gave way to the primacy of individual needs and wishes. Economic factors overshadowed traditional bonds

because of the need for money to pay taxes levied by the Europeans. The concept of money, earned and owed, on the Nigerian economy further secularized the customary bride price and softened the sacred bonds of kinships and the obligations which accompanied them. As the men became the breadwinners and/or wage earners, they preferred to pay the bride price in cash rather than in cattle. These changes in the structure and function of the Nigerian family were attributed to the combined impact of Christian missionaries and European administrations.

Christian missionaries had condemned ancestral worship as a superstitious practice. The demise of this practice had a deleterious impact on the social solidarity which it formerly had created and maintained. For Christian missionaries the practice of polygamy was unwelcome, and for natives to be received into the Christian church there was a condition that they discard the practice of polygamy. While Christian opposition to polygamy, without doubt, had some impact, changing economic conditions had a greater effect on the system of plural marriages. The intolerable attitude of Christian missionaries toward premarital sexual relationships did not debar the continuation of such practices, which, in some traditional ways, had beneficial results (i.e., an increase in bride price if the child were a girl and an increase in agricultural output if the child were a boy).

The advent of Christian teachings and indoctrinations which stood for equality between the sexes gave moral support to women who were escaping traditional subservience to their husbands. It was probably due to an acknowledgment on the part of various Christians that at the La Zunte Conference in Belgium in 1926 there was a "shift in emphasis by all missions from acute condemnation to general sympathy toward African customs," (Frazier in Cox, 1956) of which Nigeria was part. Additionally, missions were recommended to gradually diminish "evil customs" rather than to condemn customs not parallel to Christianity, and to purify and use African customs which had valuable substance, even though some features of them were "evil."

However, as we have seen, Nigerian marriage and family life were built upon economic cooperation among members of the same kinship group. The disorganization of the traditional Nigerian family impacted the organization of labor in the Nigerian villages. The effect of family disorganization was apparent in the fact that the migration of men to mining and industrial centers and cities had placed the burden of agricultural production on women and boys. This resulted generally in decreased production since, with the now ill-structured reconfiguration of the traditional family system, the absent man's kinsmen did not feel an obligation to aid his wife.

Historically, in the Nigerian village the household was the economic unit within which the husband, with his wives and children, cooperated in gaining a living from the soil. The husband, who acted as the head of the family, planted a

garden for his wives. A division of labor was employed throughout each stage of the production process and each stage was undertaken by one person. Sometimes men and women organized separate groups to divide labor between the sexes. The hierarchy of the production process was based upon sex within the household as well as in the village. The village was a larger economic unit under the authority of a head man, or chief, whose responsibilities were determined by kinship ties. In contrast, organized forms of labor outside the kinship group consisted of the duties of slaves (who really lived as members of the family), the short-lived service which women rendered to householders at harvesting period, and group forms of labor known as "working bees."

European relationships with Nigerians were viewed as having brought about the total collapse of the culturally historical organization of labor. For example, following the introduction of the plow in South Africa, men assumed the responsibility for agricultural production, formerly handled by women with hoes. As a result of European contact and control, men whose previous occupation as warriors was taken away began to play crucial roles in agricultural production. Generally, one advantage of the use of the plow by men was an increase in agricultural productivity. However, in Nigeria, as a result of European relationships with the indigenous people, the quest for agricultural production, which was associated with beliefs in the authority of the chiefs, was weakened.

The way in which the European relationship impacted the organization of production also was evident in the case of the institution of cattlekeeping among

the Ngoni in Northern Rhodesia. According to Frazier (in Stillman, 1955, p. 83), to the Europeans, cattlekeeping was an economic activity which was principally geared toward profit and loss in terms of money. The Ngoni did not rear cattle primarily for economic enhancement but as a mark of aristocratic rank. Therefore, with the introduction of money, anyone could buy cattle, which changed the structure that previously represented the wealth and rank of aristocrats.

In narrating the impact of European contact on the organization of labor and agricultural production of the indigenous people of Nigeria, it is imperative to consider the important consequences of European land policies, not only in Nigeria but also in Africa as a whole. Some passing attention has been given to the fact that these policies changed the physical bases of African society (Frazier in Stillman, 1955, p. 84). In this chapter emphasis is placed primarily on the way in which land policies impacted the social organization of natives' lives. The land policies of European powers were based on the belief that Europeans had rights which went beyond the claims of natives which entitled them to occupy and exploit the resources of Nigeria, and Africa in general. Frazier (in Stillman, 1955, p. 84) further stated that Bantu former landowners lamented, "When the white man first came to you, he had the Bible and you the land, but now you have the Bible and he has the land."

Supported by the European governments, European settlers and European companies in search of land proceeded to take the land from the natives. As in

the case of South Africa, the extent to which natives were alienated from their land and the reasons given for the acquisition of their lands were determined by whether or not the land was suitable for European settlement and by the natural resources of the land (Wieschhoff, 1949, p. 49). If the land was conducive to European settlement, the land was taken and in the process the native South African population was ostracized. Ultimately, in areas where the Europeans constituted 1/5 of the population, 7/8 of the land was under their control. In sharp contrast, the natives, who constituted 4/5 of the population, controlled 1/8 of the land (Frazier in Weischhoff, 1949). Likewise, in the highlands of East Africa, especially in Kenya, native lands were taken outright or natives were forced to make concessions to accommodate European settlement. In areas of tropical Africa, such as Nigeria, the use of land by natives was restricted to concessions demanded by Europeans for the exploitation of natural resources.

The alienation of the natives from their land had a tremendous impact on the traditional social and economic structure of Africa as a whole and on Nigeria in particular. The destructive effects of imposed change were evident in the disintegration of the social customs of the Nigerian people, compounded by the pervasive restriction of their traditional economic activities, such as hunting, collecting fruits and cattle grazing. These economic activities were part and parcel of an age-old system of social relationships, reinforced by certain value systems, which were completely fragmented by the alienation of natives from

their lands. As a result of these oppressive conditions, the natives were forced to work on European farms, where they were kept in debt and subjected to a type of control, supported by the passage of laws, which created conditions so dehumanizing that the result was not far-removed from slavery.

In order to escape the suffering imposed by these conditions, natives began to migrate to towns and cities where they hoped to find a better way of life. But the great mass of natives who worked for European industries were placed under the supervision of unsympathetic Europeans and assigned to undertake tasks which held no meaning from the standpoint of the traditional view of labor. Complaints arose about the laziness and inefficiency of native workers. In part, the lack of energy of the natives was due to malnutrition. But the problem behind the so-called laziness and inefficiency on the part of urbanized natives was due to a perceived lack of incentives arising from drastically changed social conditions. For example, when a native went to work in the European industry, that native was quartered as if he or she were a work animal -- a mule -- or a machine. Ample opportunities for a normal family and community life were provided by a social milieu in which new incentives could take root and grow. However, the monetary rewards, which were the main incentives to work, had little or no real meaning for the native within the new but unfamiliar conditions in which he or she worked. Restrictions placed on the amount of money he or she could earn excluded him or her from any competitive interaction with the Europeans. Consequently, the native worker had little or no concern for either

efficiency or increased productivity and continued to see the traditional way of life with kinsmen as the only secure existence.

As the period which would span World War II approached, Nigerian workers in urban environments began to set the stage for the development of unions. However, development was limited to West Africa, of which Nigeria was a part, and the Union of South Africa. In Nigeria about 16% of the natives employed in European enterprises belonged to the unions (Hellman, in Toynbee, 1956, p. 110). The same was true in other West African colonies. The Organization of African Labor in East Africa emerged only on a small scale. In the Union of South Africa, where African workers were prohibited from joining white unions, it was not until 1943 that native labor unions were legally recognized. Due to the occupational color barrier, the antagonism of white workers and the policy of placing natives on a low standard of living, native unions had little influence on their working conditions and standard of living.

At this phase changes occurred in the personality of the Nigerian as an individual as a direct result of cultural upheaval and the emerging trend of a new social structure in Nigeria. As further stated by Frazier (in Stillman, 1955, pp. 70-96), although one could refute Malinowski's opposition to the study and analysis of historical processes involved in and related to cultural transformations, one would concur with his statement that the ethnographer could not "accomplish the task of sorting out a westernized African into his component parts without destroying the one thing in him that matters -- his

personality," and that "the educated African is a new type of human being, endowed with abilities and energies, with advantages and handicaps, with problems and visions to which neither his European neighbor nor his 'blanket' brother are heir," (Malinowski, 1949). Therefore, the personality which some Nigerians acquired as a resultant relationship to social change should be perceived as one aspect of an organic process involving an interaction between changes in the personality and changes in the culture of the group (Ellsworth, 1937).

The first but least important effect of the changes that occurred as a result of European relationships with Nigeria appeared to be the development of an individualism that was not known in traditional Nigerian society. As previously discussed, within traditional African/Nigerian society, the natives were enmeshed in webs of social relationships with implicit demands which, while providing security, created little or no outlet for the assertion of self as an individual. Anesthetization of feelings was paramount. "African society, Nigeria included," writes Westerman, "is characterized by the prevalence of the idea of community." According to Frazier (in Stillman, 1955, p. 91), he adds:

The individual recedes before the group. The whole existence from birth to death is organically embodied in a series of associations, and life appears to have its full value only in these close ties. Though there is in them a well-ordered gradation between persons who command and who obey, yet the prevailing feeling is that of equality. Class distinctions as we know them are absent or but feebly developed. They may be of greater weight in countries where there is a marked distinction between a ruling group and a subject people, but usually within a social unit the consciousness of a strong sense of solidarity is predominant. The group imposes

duties on the individual but it also grants privileges, it takes from its members much of their personal responsibility and offers them its protection.

The economic factor was advantageous to the development of individualism from the initial relationship the native had with European industry. When the individual went to work for a European farm or for the mining industry, that person received wages as an individual; paid tax as an individual. When seeking a hand in marriage, the groom bought the necessary cattle from his earnings instead of relying upon the obligations of his clansmen or kinsmen to contribute. The transition from an animist to a Christian reinforced and provided a moral and religious leverage for the individualism that has emerged as a result of contact with the Europeans. The act of becoming a Christian implied, in a generic sense, an assertion of individuality in opposition to the pressure group. For, as pointed out by Westerman, "Conversion is a personal matter, an affair between man and God. A man may draw his family with him, but for them as for him it is a personal step. When a person living in a pagan surrounding adopts Christianity, he often loses the protection or even membership of his group and has to stand by himself." (Westerman, 1937, p. 102)

As Nigerians have been compelled to "stand by themselves" in economic and social relations, they have been compelled to adopt a new attitude toward the world. But to some Nigerians this never implied an escape from the influence of their traditional world, dominated by magical and religious beliefs and rituals.

Another crucial subject of discussion is the importance of education in developing individualism. The use of education in changing the personality of the Nigerian stemmed from the notion that some Nigerians saw education as a means of acquiring European culture. Whatever antagonistic attitude some Nigerians had toward European rule, they still placed a high value upon European civilization. Native leaders posited an attempt to set up a system of Nigerian education, which was in contrast to European education. Although European education could not completely remove all traces of ancestral cultural heritage, in the new social situation in which some Nigerian saw themselves, the traditional culture lost its meaning. The substitution of Christian beliefs and practices for traditional religious ideas were expected to create conflict. However, the concept that sickness and misfortune were attributed to acts of God differed little from native beliefs concerning similar behavior on the part of pagan gods and spirits.

In academia, the Nigerian assimilated new needs and new aspirations. The almost daily routine of living at school introduced and familiarized them with new needs in terms of food, clothing and health. Moreover, the acquisition of mechanical skills was perceived as a new need pertaining to the world which was coming into existence all about them. Comparing the world from which they had come with the world about them, they aspired to play a role in this new environment. They could choose to become mechanics or clerks or, subjecting themselves to a longer discipline, doctors or lawyers. Each progressive step opened up a larger world of opportunity, to which they aspired. It was in this

fashion that new values became operative in the lives of some Nigerians and therefore they acquired a fresh, new concept of themselves.

According to Frazier (in Stillman, 1955, p. 70-96), conflicts emerged as a result of Christian teachings. These conflicts ran parallel to the natives' new conception of themselves as a result of European contact. Under the old tribal system, Nigerians thought of themselves as members of a group that was bound together by kinship and communal ties. As the old tribal life was breaking up, they began to think of themselves in a broader and a more abstract sense. They thought of themselves as black people as opposed to white people, who exercised control over their lives. Therefore, they became suspicious of Christian teachings regarding humility and perceived them as an instrument of control (Frazier in Stillman, 1955, p. 94).

According to Frazier (in Stillman, 1955, p. 94), a term that emerged, "marginal men" or "cultural hybrids" presented another culture conflict resulting from the European relationship with the natives of Nigeria. In the Union of South Africa, for example, the Cape colored, who had come into existence as the result of miscegenation, represented a marginal group. But the focus rested solely upon the Nigerian who had acquired European skills and ideas and still felt identified emotionally with traditional culture. According to Frazier (in Stillman, 1955, p. 94), "The Christian convert," Park (1950) wrote, "in Asia or in Africa, exhibits many if not more of the characteristics of the marginal man -- the same instability, intensified self-consciousness, restlessness and malaise." As a result

of such intensified self-consciousness, Nigerians who had acquired European culture tended to be sensitive toward their status, especially where the European was concerned. If their education was obtained in European institutions, their marginal status was made more prominent. As a member of the new elite in their native country, they remained indifferent in terms of affairs of the native, but at the same time, opposed to white domination.

According to Frazier (in Stillman, 1955, p. 95), white domination has had a profound, traumatic impact upon the personality of some Nigerians. The extent and depth of this traumatic experience was based on the character and extent of the European relationship with the natives. During the early periods of European conquest and settlement, the traumatic effect upon personality was apparently clear because of the violence which was perpetrated upon them and the systems of forced labor that were formed. But even where a more humane system was extant and where the European had taken seriously the civilizing mission, the personality of some Nigerians had suffered tremendously from the domination of the white race. Embracing the doctrine of Christian humility was often a defense mechanism of deference by some Nigerians in reaction to helplessness in the face of white domination. To some Nigerians, European civilization was more than a separate entity and a different system of values. It represented the superiority of white people over black people.

In order to assuage the traumatic effects of white domination upon their personality, educated Nigerians decided to assume the leadership of a

nationalistic movement or to adopt a revolutionary ideology. Some Nigerian poets and thinkers began to challenge the European attitude toward work and production. Great segments of the Nigerian population who were exposed to European contact and control and who had lost their traditional cultural belief system began to seek alternative avenues to escape the frustration and confusion which they experienced in various religious movements. Although these religious movements lured the natives with a messianic aim, they were also nationalistic in nature. They often offered Nigerians respite from their plight, self-respect, and relief from the trauma which their personalities suffered from white domination when resisting European values. This created the hope of a new world which included Nigerian values.

The impact of British education on the indigenous people of Nigeria during an era of European contact and control over economic factors, social welfare and the role of government regarding the natives of Nigeria sparked a period of profound indignation. The British system of education was a systematic and continuous indoctrination of small groups. The British system did not enter the arena of mass education. According to Frazier (in Stillman, 1955, p. 95), only a small segment of the Nigerian population benefited from it. But those beneficiaries (discussed below), though few in number, began to think in terms of a nationalistic movement, or mass education, that would help meliorate social, economic and political tensions which were emerging from a culturally pluralistic and rapidly growing industrial society. The following depicts influential

benefactors who constituted the development of the Mass Literacy Campaign in Nigeria from 1940-1952 and includes the story of the role played by each benefactor (i.e., the Colonial Administration, Department of Education, missionary bodies, the Native Administration and A. J. Carpenter).

The Impact of the Department of Education on the Development of the Mass Literacy Campaign in Nigeria from 1940-1952

The Colonial powers' interest in adult education was to an extent limited in that the development of the economic, social, political and physical infrastructure was based on the exploitation of natural resources, increased farm peasantry's productivity and the utilization of Nigerian labor for export crops. Colonialism was void of the mass expectation of salaried employment or other privileges reserved for the few. In the wake of World War II, the Department of Education, often in collaboration with district officers, school teachers, traditional rulers, and various Christian and Muslim denominational leaders, began to think in terms of organizing, mobilizing and sustaining a very large-scale literacy campaign. As stated by Bhola (in Arnove & Graff, 1987), this was to be a mass approach that sought to educate, within a particular time frame, all adult men and women in Nigeria into literate citizens. Also, it was a means to enrich Nigerian culture and to enable the masses to perceive, interpret and communicate views of the world in a different way, one that would not be downplayed or denigrated.

However, the role of the Education Department in the development of the Mass Literacy Campaign in Nigeria would not be adequately treated without a brief mention of its background. In 1892 the first Inspector of Schools for the Colony and Protectorate of Lagos was appointed, and in 1899 the government founded its first school in the Colony, which was instituted for the education of Muslim children in Lagos. The Southern Protectorate of Nigeria was established in 1900 comprising the southeastern part of the area now known as Nigeria. That same year the protectorate government took over the Niger Delta Pastorate's Boys' High School at Bonny (now in River's state), the Inspector for the Colony and Protectorate of Lagos having been sent previously to survey the condition of education throughout the area. In 1902 the first Inspector of Schools for the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria was appointed, and in the following year an Education Department for the Protectorate came into existence and an Education Code was promulgated (Education Department, 1948-1949, p. 4).

Public interest in measures taken by the Nigerian Education Department to organize campaigns for adult literacy was clearly reflected in a debate at a meeting of the Legislative Council. The debate was unanimously settled by appointing a Select Committee of two members from each region and one from the Colony to discuss with the Board of Education the problem of mass illiteracy and the steps that might reasonably be taken to combat it. Literacy campaigns were initiated and controlled by the Education Department, usually in cooperation with the Native Administration. Based on the annual report of the Education

Department (1949), the areas particularly associated with the campaign of literacy education for the masses are listed hereunder, in chronological order, with the controlling authority listed in parentheses (the entity which initiated the campaign is cited first):

- 1945 Katsina Province — Principal Towns (Native Administration)
 - Udi Division (Native Administration and Education Department)
- 1946 Ilaro Division (Education Department and Native Administration)
 - Eket Division (Education Department)
 - Kankiya District, Katsina Province (Native Administration and Education Department)
 - Ado-Ekiti Division (Education Department and Native Administration)
- 1947 Misau Emirate (Native Administration and Education Department)
 - Zuru Area (Native Administration and Education Department)
 - Aba Division, Ngwa Clan (Education Department)
 - Abuja Emirate (Native Administration and Education Department)
 - Cameroons, Tiko Plantations (Education Department)
 - Tiv Division, Jecira District (Native Administration and Education Department)
 - Calabar Division (Education Department)
 - Bende Division (Education Department)

1948 Ijebu Division, Parts (Native Administration and Education Department)

Musawa District, Katsina Province (Native Administration and Education Department)

Lagos Town and Badagry (Education Department)

Ikeja and Epe Divisions (Native Administration and Education Department)

Northern Oyo Province (Native Administration and Education Department)

Afikpo Division, Parts (Native Administration and Education Department)

Jos Division, Birom Clan (Native Administration and Education Department)

The term "mass literacy education" was created by the Education Department to describe the impartation of the elements of the three Rs (Education Department, Annual Report, 1942-1953). Inseparably connected with mass literacy education, however, was the reinforcement and improvement of newly acquired skills. The basis for achieving these goals included suitable reading materials to which was added further instruction utilizing these reading materials to impart worthwhile information. Problems that were inherent in Nigeria and the experience gained were influenced by other agencies involved in mass literacy efforts.

Voluntary Agencies — Missionary Bodies

For many years missionary bodies, other voluntary agencies and enthusiastic individuals had been involved in literacy education. Most missionary bodies first began their educational activities in the 1800s with literacy education for adults. However, with their increasingly keen interest in childhood education, less and less attention was paid to the education of adults.

During these years of mass literacy education, the missions stipulated the ability to read (and sometimes to write) as one of their conditions for full membership in the church. Classes of religious instruction were held for this purpose, but the standard required was not very high. In some cases all that was required to qualify for full membership was the ability to read "The Lord's Prayer." In the southern provinces many of the village church supporters were illiterate. In one church not one of a group of twenty regular church attendees was capable of reading the texts on the wall. The southern missions seemed to be heading toward a policy of organizing and consolidating instruction through the vehicle of religious knowledge acquired by their "full" members rather than by expanding instructional facilities for a few new converts. This was probably dictated by their limited teaching resources, with the result that a small amount of attention could be given to classes in which the subject of instruction was reading and writing. One large mission went so far as to put an end to all such classes when it was discovered that they were attended by children, which was an infringement of the Education Code (Education Department, Annual Report, 1942-1953).

In the long-established mission areas of the South, the people were becoming complacent. Many of them devised methods which would enable them to say prayers from memory, thereby rendering meaningless the indoctrination requirement to read "The Lord's Prayer." In the pagan areas of the northern provinces, where most of the Christian missions operated, there was a spirit of renewal, and the expansion of missionary activities was achieved by an increase in literacy. Religious instruction was linked with the indoctrination of reading. However, in the North most of the pupils in the classes of religious instruction (C.R.I.s) were children and their numbers were increasing tremendously.

Although based on directives made by the Education Department in 1949, a compendium of statistical information from the missionary bodies was incomplete and some of the voluntary agencies had no accurate information.

It is known that much was accomplished. Christian churches maintained the follow-up which was absolutely crucial after the first phases of literacy were achieved. But they were also in a position to make a monumental contribution to the elevation of the educational level of the masses as a whole if they would further explore areas of creating for their adherents conditions which would make the practice of reading necessary (Education Department, Annual Report, 1942-1948). One missionary body that was working in the northern provinces claimed that it would be possible to operate many more C.R.I.s in northern areas and so expand literacy by missionary bodies if the method for developing a C.R.I. was less sluggish and rigorous. It was stated that fourteen initial letters or

interviews were necessary and it took a year to open a C.R.I. (Education Department, 1948-1949). The delay was partially due to the need for a Certificate of Occupancy. If it were possible for the village and not the mission to own the building where the C.R.I. was held, this slow progress and the elements of cumbersome bureaucracy could be overcome.

While this background does not totally narrate the story of the entire pattern of mobilization employed in the Mass Literacy Campaign, it does illustrate some of the roles played by Native Administrations. As mentioned, efforts made by the Colonial Administration to educate the masses were politically directed and religiously oriented, sponsored and enforced. Their goals were directed toward the ability of a person to do the following: a) sign his/her name without using a fingerprint, b) read simple books, c) keep his/her own accounts, d) write letters, and e) read and understand newspapers. However, the roles performed in the development of mass literacy education were not single-handedly carried out by the Education Department or religious denominational bodies. They were joint ventures carried out in cooperation with the Native Administrations.

Native Administration as an Integral Part of the Influential Factors

that Waged War Against the Formidable Enemy -- Illiteracy

The Native Administrations of the southern provinces had so far taken little interest in the problem of adult education. That may have been due to financial constraints. In the campaign areas they took a greater interest, in spite of the small amount of funds which were voted and allocated for this purpose.

The northern Native Administrations had for some years taken keen interest in adult education, and the estimates of expenditures for the first two years, as shown below, indicated an accelerated rate of interest (Education Department, Annual Report, 1949).

1947-1948	1948-1949
£2,543	£3,692

Instructions often were associated with Native Administration schools, but unfortunately in many areas there was little supervision. The posting of at least one Mass Education Officer in the North was of great help to the Native Administrations because the officer was to advise them on matters that pertained to obtaining full value for their expenditure. With the existing staff it was not all that possible to give this advice and help, which was severely needed, for, despite the fact that primers had been specially produced and complimentary copies distributed, these special books were seldom used. Visits to adult classes also had shown that, in fact, a pedagogical approach was being used and progress was slow.

Mobilization Patterns of the Mass Literacy Campaign:

A. J. Carpenter's Role in Efforts to Plant Literacy

within the Masses of People in Nigeria

A. J. Carpenter was a loyal advocate and social benefactor of the people of Nigeria. As the Nigerian Mass Education Officer and Federal Adviser on Adult

Education, Carpenter, whose initiative was primarily responsible for the organization of mobilized campaigns throughout the country, designed and developed the literacy components of the Mass Literacy Campaign. He was chosen for this role because of his extensive experience, obtained during his service in the Army. In order to plan this first campaign, Carpenter needed accurate figures to identify the extent of the illiteracy problem throughout the country. According to Omolewa (1983, p. 2), he was not satisfied with broad statements that "the bulk of the population in the country was illiterate." Therefore he concentrated on identifying the patterns of distribution of the illiterate population in Nigeria. To this end, Carpenter designed and conducted the first literacy census in Nigeria (Omolewa, 1983). From the results, which were published by the Education Department in 1948, Carpenter suggested that in the Southern Provinces 82.5% of the people were illiterate and that literacy variations ranged from 50% in the Calabar Provinces to 70% in Ijebu Province. In his estimate, 97% of the population of Northern Nigeria was illiterate (Omolewa, 1983). Following this monumental undertaking, he concluded that a staggering 91% of the Nigerian population was illiterate (Omolewa, 1983, p. 2).

In March 1948 a debate in the Legislative Council made it clear that the Nigerian government was anxious to proceed with the work already started in the area of mass education. This initiative was a direct result of Carpenter's initial efforts. As a result of a resolution passed by the Council, a Select Committee of unofficial members was appointed to represent three regions, East, West and

North. The Colony of Lagos met with the Central Board of Education for discussion. For that particular meeting a comprehensive memorandum was drawn up by Carpenter as the basis for discussion. A painstaking review of the subject was made, at the end of which the Board and members of the Select Committee accepted the following recommendations (Education Department, 1948-1949, p. 104):

"(1) That this Board, in consultation with the Committee, appointed by the Legislative Council, recommends that government should actively assist in the extension of literacy so far as staff and funds permit and in such a way that the expansion of normal schooling will not be prejudiced but rather that the attitude of the people will become increasingly in favor of it and of other forms of development; (2) That the language of the mass education literature should be that normally spoken by the people; (3) That recruits for the post of Mass Education Officer should be mature men, especially interested in this type of work, whose salaries and pension rights should be guaranteed by the government; (4) That government's attention should be drawn to the difficulty of the distribution of literature."

The year under scrutiny was one of consolidation during the expansion of mass education within the limits of available staff, and Carpenter (Education Department, 1948-1949, pp. 104-105) reported in the following terms:

(1) Policy and staff. -- The establishment was increased to one headquarters and three Regional Adult Education Officers, though in the Eastern Region no suitable person could be found to fill the post. In addition, there were five women Education Officers engaged in mass education, two working in the Eastern Region and three in the Northern Region.

(2) In the North it was apparently clear that the period of pilot experiments in the Mass Literacy Campaign were over, if for no other reason than that there was a demand from many other areas for similar campaigns.

The new Regional Adult Education Officer, Mr. Jefferies, who had extensive experience in the affairs of the North, conducted a unique survey solely to determine how this demand could be satisfied. Mass literacy had a unique advantage in that all could participate and it was proven to be a medium for the commencement of programs for social progress. In particular, the development of Katsina Province, which was and is still part of the Northern Region, showed that a Mass Literacy Campaign operated by the Native Authority could be utilized as a forerunner for a wide variety of schemes for social progress. Apart from this, however, the fundamental purpose of mass literacy (Obayemi, 1972, p. 1) was:

- L = Learner learns to live a better and happier life.
- I = Introduces new ideas and means for security.
- T = Teaches 3 Rs and promotes the use of 3 Hs.
- E = Encourages social, economic and cultural emancipation.
- R = Reactivates sense of oneness, emancipation, justice and freedom.
- A = Adapts oneself through appreciation for change and modernization.
- C = Communicates much more easily with the world.
- Y = Yourself. Believes in "Do It Yourself" spirit.

Here emphasis should be placed on the word "everybody." Mass education for everybody was the immediate target not only in the North but in other regions as well, where, historically, most Native Authorities did not appreciate their responsibility for mass education. An initial effort was made among Moslem women in Katsina and Kano. The roles of the pagan women in the Plateau and Tiv areas were progressing. A report on Riyom (Education Department, 1948-1949, p. 105) read:

Great advance, women now all clothed. Many reading and writing simple sentences. Weaving good needlework progressed to point

where women are sewing their own blouses. Women noticeably brighter, and children better.

In the West efforts had been concentrated on making the local authorities mass education-minded, with the purpose that they should shoulder the responsibilities for promotion and organization. This was successful. The policy of priming the pump (i.e., literally, the introduction of fluid into a pump to prepare it for working) by direct government action had paid off. The concept of mass education above ordinary literacy had gained momentum, and in several places the mass education center had become an institution, with a range of other activities. Therefore, the Deputy Director of Education, Western Provinces, wrote (Education Department, 1948-1949, p. 105):

Oke Igbira in Ekiti has erected a meeting hall for which the people contributed more than £150, and the Village of Owode in Egbado has built theirs without contributing a sou, but by the sweat of their brow and the strength of their limbs. Not less than half a dozen other centers have acted similarly, while the villagers of Agbeyangi and Eburo Ogun, both in Egbado, have linked their villages with the main road for the purposes of easy evacuation of their produce.

The focus on women's participation in mass education was, as yet, very limited. Voluntary agencies employed some women and were given financial assistance. The demand for female involvement was soon to arrive, and a specific request made by a group of women from Imota in the Colony area was indicative of this impending change.

In the East the quest for mass literacy education was excellent. Progress in this region was not inhibited by eliciting a response but in establishing the

controlling organization by which this response could be met. The Native Authorities had not yet become fully involved, but a majority of them indicated signs of willingness to operate mass literacy campaigns. The appointment of a regional officer was added as a solution to the problem. Two women education officers were involved in the campaigns. The Deputy Director of Education, Eastern Provinces, wrote (Education Department, 1948-1949, p. 105):

One woman education officer was posted in Kumba, in the Bansom area of Bamenda Province, for work among the pagan and other women of the area. She did some home visiting and ran a home-craft training center. This work retrogressed during her absence on leave and was also seriously interfered with by a political dispute in the town which women from one powerful faction were far-removed.

The policy of mass education for everybody was taking shape. The techniques of the literacy program were formalized and an expanded program was designed to encompass the entire country. The statistics hereunder indicate that the number of campaign areas which were sponsored by the Department dramatically increased from twenty-one to twenty-seven within one year (Education Department, 1948-1949, p. 106):

	North	East	West and Colony	Total
Campaigns in 1948	8	7	6	21
Campaigns in 1949	12	7	8	27

The most successful campaigns were those which were developed, financed and operated in collaboration with the Native Authority. A campaign which was run without links with a Native Authority as one of the decentralized

organizations was bound to collapse. Thus, the Deputy Director of Education, Eastern Provinces, reported (Education Department, 1948-1949, p. 106):

The Abak scheme has proved an outstanding success. Foundations were laid by six-months' intensive preparatory work in close cooperation with the Native Authority. It was hoped to have seventy Centers with enrollment of 3,000, but in fact ninety-six Centers with an enrollment of more than 8,000 were achieved. This campaign was organized on new line instead of a sustained effort being made to keep classes going throughout the year, they were only to operate for four months.

It seemed likely that periods of active campaigning lasting four to six months formed the future pattern of literacy work. The best pattern of organization of a village Mass Education Center was attained in the West. Therefore, the Deputy Director of Education, Western Province, reported (Education Department, 1948-1949, p. 106):

The basis of organization remains the Village Mass Education Committee appointed by the people themselves. These Committees fix the hours and decide the places of meeting, seek the instructors, recruit the pupils, arrange community evenings, and administer and control the fund.

Voluntary service remained one of the main features of instruction at the centers. Such honor accorded to the instructors was decided by the committees, where they were determined to be strong and competent. The Mass Education Officer took it upon himself or herself to let it be known, in a humble manner, that money must be saved for equipment and gas lamps for community evenings, or for a community hall, should the center decide to have one of its own. The Campaign areas were under the direction of adult education organizers, of whom there were five -- two in Ekiti, and one each in Egbado, Ijebu and the Ibadan

Northern District. Slowly but steadily, in increasing numbers, non-school teachers, some of them ex-pupils of the centers, were volunteering to help as instructors. "Out of 285, there were 93 farmers, tailors, gardeners and traders acting as instructors." (Education Department, 1948-1949, p. 107)

One year prior to his retirement in 1952, Senior Adult Education Officer Major A. J. Carpenter toured the Eastern Region from January 8 to February 18, 1951. His brief report follows (in Omolewa, 1981, pp. 127-129) and reflects his monumental role as a Mass Education Officer who traveled widely to propagate the Mass Literacy Campaign and whose presence and input in various campaign centers propelled the mobilization of the Campaign.

1. Enugu (3 days)

Discussions were held with the Deputy Director of Education and the Chief Inspector of Education. The R. M. Prisons where there was an education program for 100 inmates two hours a day were visited on numerous occasions. This was a monumental effort which was operated effectively. The first provisional syllabus was to be reviewed and amended and the new Regional Adult Education Officer will be accorded close attention as it would from the trial model for use in other prisons. The coal mines adult literacy program was temporarily inactive pending reorganization.

2. Afikpo (1 day)

As a result of discussions with the District Officer, it was decided to reorganize the campaign. The system of control through a Divisional Committee employing their own organizer had been far-removed from success. In the new program, control would be through the Native Administration.

3. Okigwi (2 days)

For a long period of time, the District Officer had bent on requesting assistance for a strong-footed Mass Literacy Campaign. This was given and plans were prepared for a campaign starting in June in the northern half of the division. The newly appointed organizer seemed qualified.

4. Umuahia (3 days)

The campaign within the vicinity of Umuahia area was in disarray partly because of the preoccupation of Mr. Chinakwalam with the Igbo Magazine and partially from the political uproar in the area. Some excellent classes were seen, Uzuakoli being outstanding. The demand here was for night classes and the people could afford the lighting. The Igbo Magazine (12 pages) was becoming popular and thereby being produced in conjunction with the Gaskiya Corporation.

5. Aba (4 days)

The full-scale responsibility for mass education shouldered by the Ngwa Native Administration during 1950 provided the campaign with a new dimension. That was the best, well-orchestrated campaign in the East. There were 56 centers with an enrollment of 3,268.

6. Owerri (2 days)

Requests for the organization of a campaign were repeatedly made by the Divisional Education Committee. This was given and plans were set-off for a campaign starting in August in half of the division.

7. Ahoada (6 days)

There were 102 centers with an enrollment of 7,700. Many of the centers and enrollments were nominal. Two experiments were conducted -- the free issue of 9,000 exercise books and pencils and held classes at night. Neither was successful. The free issue was in many places abused. Therefore, in one place where 200 exercise books had been issued, the enrollment after a month was only 20. As a result of lighting difficulties and the cost of fuel, night classes were to no avail.

8. Abak (5 days)

The problems linked with Mr. Simon had naturally affected the campaign in a negative sense. There were 79 centers at the time with an enrollment of 7,385. Mr. Simon sold over £100 of cheap booklets. The suspension of sales in July 1950 to permit investigation of the discrepancies had a tremendous effect on the campaign. Sales with a new accounting procedure had now been restarted. The future program was to change supervision into two halves of the Division for periods of six months. It was not yet possible to finish the audit of Mr. Simon's account, but it seemed that there would be a shortage of about £100, £40 of this would have been the Native Administration's profit.

9. Uyo (1 day)

In Uyo, the new organizer was very enthusiastic. Miss Spence, Woman Education Officer, was consolidating plans for a Central House-Craft Training Center at Uyo. The literacy campaigns helped to locate these areas where women's work would be most effective.

10. Ikot-Ekpene (1 day)

This campaign was being synchronized with the start of the new local government organization. Neither the District Officer nor I were particularly impressed by their Council's choice for an organizer. The Council was informed that if after three months he proved unsatisfactory further funds would not be provided.

Colonial Administration: The Cornerstone for the Development

of the Mass Literacy Campaign

Literacy education actually began in the 14th and 15th centuries, prior to the advent of European contacts and control in Nigeria. After 400-500 years of experimenting with literacy education, the great diversity of social, political and economic conditions which were extant in Nigeria began to force people, Europeans and the natives alike, to think in terms of a Mass Literacy Campaign. During the World War II era, the Mass Literacy Campaign started to align its mission with new tasks mandated by the requirements and needs of the masses of people in Nigeria. In Nigeria, many agencies, official and non-official, began to engage themselves in activities which contributed to the education of adolescents and adults and to the education of communities as a whole.

In view of the great diversity of social, political and economic conditions inherent in Nigeria, the Colonial government began to arrange for a serious plan to organize a Mass Literacy Campaign. Although some coordination between

regions was already emerging, the role of the Colonial Administration in terms of activities and plans for the extension and coordination of the Campaign was paramount to its development.

A white paper on mass education, titled Colonial No. 186 (Education Department, 1947) provoked a great deal of thought and discussion throughout the year. Interestingly, some very fascinating comments were received from administrative officers. On another dimension, a great deal of contradiction arose regarding the meaning of this document. It was suggested that the directive was not as lucid as it might have been. It had been impossible, given the lack of staff, to start a monumental drive in mass education because such a magnanimous venture would require a "general staff," however small. Nevertheless, in many parts of the country enthusiastic local agents, both official and unofficial, had persevered and taken the lead, with general direction from the Colonial Administration.

Although this enthusiastic group was to be highly commended, and while there was a lot to be said for "striking while the iron is hot," there were one or two disadvantages. There was a danger of running out of the published reading material then at their disposal, and the more successful the campaign the more likely such a shortage would occur. The production of literature, however elementary, had been extremely difficult during that period. Another drawback was due to lack of central direction from the Colonial Administration, which presumably was the predominant repository of the purely literary side of the

program. The lack of the Colonial Administration's total efforts notwithstanding, a great deal of success was achieved at the time through the voluntary workers, which included Africans/Nigerians and Europeans, official and non-official.

In conjunction with their efforts, teachers had played greater roles in some areas of the country than in others. Their cooperation had been helpful. Incidentally, it was unreasonable to expect professional teachers alone to shoulder the main burden of a campaign of this magnitude. It would be better for the teachers' mental and physical health to assume other social service duties than the overtime classroom work which was supposedly expected by the Colonial Administration.

In 1945, according to a report from the Education Department, the degree of success varied in different areas of the country. In Benin (former Midwestern Region) classes under the auspices of the government school staff started with great enthusiasm but soon lost momentum. In the Ondo Province (former Western Region) interest was waning, except at Owo. In Ibadom (former Western Region) consistent efforts were made, with mixed success. In Warri (former Midwestern Region), Calabonn and Onitsha (former Eastern Region) there was a strong desire for mass literacy. In Owerri Province (former Eastern Region) the women seemed to be more motivated than the men. The extract from the assistant director's report (Education Department, 1945) may be of interest:

Probably the most spectacular progress was made in the experiment being conducted in the Udi Division of Onitsha Province under the energetic supervision of the District Officer, Mr. E. R. Chadwick. Here, after three-to-four months' attendance at the adult classes,

women who had been completely illiterate were writing letters in Ibo to their husbands and relatives in the forces in the Middle and Far East. Enthusiasm spread throughout the division and in some centers.

Repeated efforts of the voluntary agencies to forward the Campaign did not indicate that the Colonial Administration exuded indifference. All these entities developed, mobilized, operated, directed and, in some way, funded the movement under the umbrella of the Colonial government. Roles involved in this campaign were decentralized. The Colonial government stipulated the following as guides for the campaign (Colonial Office Paper No. 186, 1944, p. 12):

- 1) Plan universal schooling for children;
- 2) Make mass education a people's movement and enlist the active support of the local community from the start;
- 3) Promote the teaching of literacy to all adults under 50 years of age;
- 4) Ensure that the mass education and welfare plans were comprehensive, balanced and coordinated; and
- 5) View the progress of the community as a whole and have definite targets for an all-around advance within a specified period.

In this manner the Colonial government incorporated the "community as a unit to be educated." Although the term "community education" had been organized and carried out under the name of welfare work, the government hoped that the organizers of this campaign would not misconstrue the meaning of "community education" with the introduction of yet another term, "mass

education." The government thought there was justification for introducing the term at this stage because the ideas suggested in the name symbolized a keynote for progress (Colonial Office Advisory Committee, 1943).

Community as an Entity to be Informed

The original idea in mass education was that it would be a popular movement -- a "making up for lost time," as someone described a similar movement in Russia. The content of mass education had to have direct appeal to the mass majority of adults and adolescents in a community, so that individuals would feel that they and their families would benefit from it. Adequate arrangement had to be made in such a way that commencement in planning and execution should come from the people themselves as well as from those adherents in the government and voluntary organizations who were experienced in directing educational and welfare schemes. Moreover, the people, or rather the most energetic and enterprising among them, should be ready to assume positions in teaching and do it in a spirit of public service to the community. These individuals were categorically grouped as students from middle and central schools, leaders from church congregations, skilled workers who came back to the community from towns, and soldiers who returned from active service. The popular movement must, from birth, be closely affiliated with the centers of higher learning, from which some of the planners and chief leaders for the work would be selected. Further, the popular movement should not at any time be

separated between higher learning, village schools, or adult literacy and welfare work, and it should be kept in mind that research and experiments of all types would be an ongoing process geared toward maintaining a close link between them all. China was cited as an example of "how young men and women who have had a higher education both in the country and overseas can devote themselves to mass education work for the advance of their country." (Colonial Office Paper No. 186, 1944, p. 13).

In refocusing attention on the community as an entity to be educated, emphasis was laid on involving the people everywhere to be aware of, to understand and to participate in and ultimately to control the social and economic changes which were occurring among them and which were being advocated for their welfare by the government and other agencies. The people who could partially understand these changes and who therefore sometimes stopped them were, as a rule, those who still lived and embraced the traditions of their ancestors.

The introduction of the modern world upon these indigenous people of Nigeria encompassed the broadening of their horizons and adjustment to new conditions. So far, in Nigeria and other British territories, such as the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone, the Colonial government had acted under the assumption that people would eventually adopt improved techniques of agriculture, a more nutritious diet, better hygienic environments and Western medical ideas without

the benefit of the art and science of learning to read and write. Evidence from mass education movements in the Dutch Colonies, China and Russia was overwhelmingly strong regarding the importance of adult literacy as a necessary means to an end -- national development. The Colonial Administration adopted that view and therefore concluded that adult literacy should be a foremost priority in mass education programs. Here are some of the justifications which delineate the reasoning of the Colonial government that adult literacy should be placed in the forefront of mass education in light of the present needs of the Colonial people (Colonial Office Paper No. 186, 1944, pp. 12-14):

- a) It has been proved that the attainment of literacy makes people aware of the need for social and economic improvements, and therefore they will cooperate more readily with welfare and other agencies working on these lines.
- b) The rapid changes in family and village life make it imperative to give the people every possible means of understanding and controlling what is happening among them. Health measures in the home and village, enlightened training of children, correspondence with absentees, budgeting and account keeping -- all become possible and in time acceptable to the literate people.
- c) In order to progress toward self-government in the modern world, Colonial people of Nigeria must learn to read, and to understand, not only about their own local affairs but those of wider import. If control in local government is to be on a wide and democratic basis, it cannot nowadays be in the hands of a mass ignorant and illiterate people.

The last but not least important consideration was that of the welfare workers whose roles were to persuade the people themselves to adopt certain changes which would enhance their health and standard of living. The

government was aware of the fact that in many places these changes were not occurring at a reasonable pace. For example, many communities had accumulated a lot of material possessions without any rise in the standard of living, such as would be represented by improved housing and dietary conditions. Another well-known example in Nigeria was the backwardness of the women as compared with the men in formal education, in health knowledge and in agricultural techniques.

For this reason, the Colonial government decided to advocate the "campaign" method in mass education, because it was believed to be a means that would ensure that the needs of the community as a whole were being met. The Memorandum on the Education of African Communities, issued in 1935 as Colonial No. 103, advocated the organization of formal groups within the community to carry out the new teaching. The Colonial government felt that a crucial preliminary step, assessment, was paramount and, if necessary, a survey of the community in its present condition, along with projected changes to be brought to the lives of people by educational and welfare activities.

Summary

From the 1800s until 1960, the year Nigeria gained its independence, the Colonial government, in collaboration with Christian and Muslim religious denominational bodies, the Education Department and Native Authorities, expended great effort in service to a unique mission -- education of the masses in Nigeria. Colonial government and other voluntary agencies realized that

responsibility for literacy education was to secure the improvement of the health and living conditions of the people, improve economic well-being, and promote the development of political institutions and political power until the day arrived when the people of Nigeria could become effectively self-governing. Colonial government also realized the significance of imparting literacy education.

With any new mission adaptation, the indigenous people of Nigeria would experience dramatic change. The import of new civilization, socio-political and economic relationships, industrialization, urbanization, communication and transportation associated with a new mission requiring literacy education programs was seen as a means to an end -- indigenization. The growth of industrial centers and the development of commerce and transportation brought into existence large concentrations of native populations in the cities. This urbanization was reflected in new types of housing, to which the natives had to adjust.

European contact and control demanded a corresponding expansion in literacy training requirements in improved hygiene, sanitation and arrangements for familial relationship procedures to integrate civilization, urbanization, industrialization and the natives, who comprised a small segment of the population. The influence of Europeans and Christian/Muslim denominational bodies on the indigenous people of Nigeria also included adaptation of alternative ways of perceiving, interpreting and communicating views of the world, the influence of which should not be downplayed or denigrated. These social,

economic and personal contacts and control notably gave rise to cultural hybrids, dismantled traditional infrastructure, spawned revolutionary ideologies and produced a representation of a small segment of the educated Nigerians. The relationships also gave rise to new missions and techniques of civilizing the masses before World War II.

The Development of the 1940-1952 Mass Literacy Campaign by the Colonial Administration in collaboration with the Education Department, Christian and Muslim denominational bodies, Native Authorities and Major A. J. Carpenter would not be labeled "a centralized effort" by the Colonial government. Rather, it was a series of decentralized activities undertaken by the voluntary agencies. Chief among these volunteer activities was the role of Major A. J. Carpenter.

Major Carpenter possessed an ability to effect change through the use of negotiating skills throughout the decision-making process during these campaigns and through acquired experience in mass adult education during his service in the Army. His roles in positions of responsible national and mass educational leadership demonstrated his educational leadership policy expertise and an awareness of the innate value of the illiterate people of Nigeria. During these campaigns Major Carpenter worked diligently to draft exhaustive mass literacy educational directives and conducted surveys and experiments to settle discrepancies between "what was" and "what ought to be." Among his notable contributions as one of the chief benefactors and adherents was the design,

organization, administration, operation and evaluation of mass literacy components. Also, the magnanimity of his contributions to the development of the 1940-1952 Mass Literacy Campaign in Nigeria forced speculators to conclude that Major A. J. Carpenter's departure from Nigeria brought about the collapse of this campaign in 1952.

The earliest literacy efforts began in the 14th and 15th centuries by the Christian and Muslim religious denominational bodies, followed by the Colonial Administration in cooperation with the Education Department and Native Administrations in 1940. These earlier Christian and Muslim religious bodies and the Colonial Administration prior to 1940 had few assets or time to spend on literacy training and education and nothing for a Mass Literacy Campaign. Literacy training and education for small segments of the Nigerian adult population prior to 1940, although underdeveloped, were distinguished by pride and discipline. Some of these pre-Mass Literacy Campaign organizations were the forerunners of the 1940-1952 Mass Literacy Campaign. The complete absence of a Mass Literacy Campaign within their time was compensated by their monumental efforts as the Mass Literacy Campaign evolved, evidence of which was seen in the educational process by the Colonial Administration in collaboration with voluntary agencies and volunteers.

Postscript

Major influential factors appeared in each of the main periods of literacy education history. A novice reader might be interested in knowing how literacy

education developed from a very marginal phase in the 14th and 15th centuries to a better Nigeria of today. During Colonialism in Nigeria a small segment of the population was provided with the most limited literacy education. This marginal status was maintained until 1940. During this period the Colonial Administration shared with voluntary agencies an ever-increasing reliance on basic education requirements. The Colonial Administration required independence and shared association large enough to afford the resources to develop an appropriate Mass Literacy Campaign and activities to meet its needs.

Remarkable contributions were made by a great mass education officer, Major A. J. Carpenter, who drafted Mass Literacy Campaign directives and who developed, organized and implemented mass education for the whole population of Nigeria solely to make a better Nigeria. His philosophies and visions founded the basis for Nigeria's Mass Literacy Campaign from 1940-1952. Loyalty, financial support and execution by the Colonial Administration, the Education Department and other voluntary agencies also substantiated the mass literacy educational program's value and confirmed practice.

Finally, Colonialism might have dismantled the Nigerian traditional infrastructure, given rise to cultural hybrids and dislocated the traditional belief system, but most of the Mass Literacy Campaign founding members who were of African descent were products of Colonialism. In this contemporary world, no country, however endowed with natural resources, could prosper when the

majority of its population, its greatest resource, was illiterate. Therefore, the Mass Literacy Campaign was the means to an end known as indigenization.

CHAPTER VI

Educational Process Employed by the Colonial Administration during the Mass Literacy Campaign in Pre-Independence Nigeria

The Colonial Administration, in conjunction with the Education Department, Christian and Muslim religious denominational bodies, Native Authorities, and influential persons, continued to provide opportunities for mass illiterates to obtain an education. The educational process targeted individual and community development, increased economic production, social order and political stability. During the post-World War II era, literacy programs were established to provide opportunities to participate in courses that were geared toward agriculture, the general economy, health, nutrition, civics, education, modes of worship and, in general, topics that influenced the lives of the people.

A historical and comparative perspective between Nigeria and other countries where national mass literacy campaigns occurred (i.e., Scotland, Sweden, United States of America, Cuba, Russia, People's Republic of China, United Kingdom, India, Tanzania and Nicaragua) provides the historical underpinning of extant processes which support activities carried out in the 1940-1952 Mass Literacy Campaign in Nigeria. This background enhances the main focus of this chapter which is to provide an in-depth narrative of the educational processes and activities which were employed in the Nigerian

national Campaign, with a general overview of the context in which they occurred in reference to the above-mentioned countries. (See Appendix H)

The post-World War II era of the national Mass Literacy Campaign in Nigeria was (a) centrally instituted, directed, sponsored, enforced, and nationally implemented, but operated in a decentralized manner, allowing much independent control by the Education Department, Christian and Muslim religious denominational bodies, influential persons, communities and local authorities; (b) comprehensive in scope, in that it engulfed all educational armamentaria/activities which would allow for the successful implementation of the campaign; (c) universal in coverage, encompassing every part of the country; and (d) its unique characteristics included a mass literacy campaign based on the teaching of the 3Rs which symbolized reading, writing and arithmetic as the fundamentals of learning.

Since the content of the Mass Literacy Campaign in Nigeria remained the integral part of all educational activities employed to eradicate illiteracy, a specific narrative of that content as it related to mass education, one of the major directives of the Colonial Administration, is deemed necessary in this chapter.

The Content of the Pre-Independence Mass Literacy Campaign in Nigeria

The broad development of the material resources of Nigeria were paramount to planning the campaign. The interests of national development had to correspond to planning and were a hallmark for the social, political and economic prosperity of the indigenous people of Nigeria. In order to progress

toward a literate society, mass education was deemed to be necessary. In this campaign, curricula were conceived which involved all kinds of activities to enhance the development of the common people. It was universal in coverage in that it not only encompassed improvements in health, agriculture and rural economics, but it embodied the build-up of strong units of local government, sound family and social life, and those recreational and leisure-time activities without which longevity in terms of people's lives would unattainable.

Based on the directives issued by the Colonial Administration, widespread literacy was viewed as an immediate objective. However, the acquisition of reading and writing skills should at no stage be the sole aim of a mass education system. The content of the material used in teaching reading and writing would be geared toward targeting peoples' needs and interests and would aid in stimulating their desire to improve and control the inherent conditions in which they lived. Also, in formal classes for literacy there would be, from the beginning, provision for teaching other simple, practical skills other than those of reading and writing, and the place of music, drama and artistic work should not be overlooked.

It was thought that in any given community the curricula for mass education should be planned in relation to issues which presented the main obstacles to progress. It should also be borne in mind that in a five-year plan for a given area the following typical problems might be targeted through the mass education curriculum: (a) ignorance of a particular agricultural technique or

system; (b) decay of local crafts and industries; (c) prodigal waste of forest resources; (d) sub-health due to disease or malnutrition; (e) high infantile mortality rate; (f) juvenile delinquency; and (g) ignorance of the value and use of money." (Colonial Advisory Committee, 1943, p. 17). Furthermore, the teaching of reading and writing should not be the focus of all educational activities. It should include a variety of subjects. For example, teaching designed to reduce the incidence of a particular disease would involve supplementary teaching on general health subjects, food, housing and water supplies.

The method of selecting the inhibiting forces would give purpose to the teaching of the three Rs and of all other approaches and subjects which would be readily appreciated by the community and by all benefactors involved in mass education work. It would, in effect, target goals toward which a community could be directed. If the initial goals were accomplished within a short period of time and if they represented simple projects, some satisfaction would be given at an embryonic stage to a community's desire to ameliorate some of the untoward conditions which controlled its life. Success would, of course, fortify that desire and pave the route for a series of more promising enterprises.

Albeit in any underdeveloped area these inhibitors to advancement loom largest in the eyes of the people and of the government, they must not be allowed to influence the outlook of those organizers of mass education curricula. With a clear understanding that mass education was a people's movement, strong emphasis was placed on the teaching of citizenship and morale, but respect for

past history and pride in traditions of the indigenous people had to be adhered to as well. In many areas of Nigeria, the key characteristics of respect and pride would have to be purposely re-awakened. The guiding principles of local government, acknowledged and operationalized by Nigerian communities in the past, would have to be "modernized" in order to meet new conditions. The wisdom of the older generation would have to be integrated with new learning to bring about a worthwhile and meaningful foundation for local democracy. In the rural areas, traditional forms of recreation had lost their attraction, and new ones would have to be made to revitalize the perceived dullness of village life.

When considering the content of mass education, emphasis would have to be placed on the importance of the juvenile or adolescent section of the population; those approximately 12 to 20 years of age. In some parts of the country, a number of them had a smattering of education, but it was often disconnected from their environment and the possibilities of employment. This smattering of education which encompassed the three Rs demonstrated the desire of parents that their children acquire some education, and expressed an almost ingrained belief in the inherent value of learning to read and write. The content of mass education in an area where there were great numbers of semi-educated juveniles who had no definite economic future would be directed toward some kind of technical training. But to turn out large numbers of young carpenters, masons, mechanics, tailors, or even farmers, would be incomplete if it offered nothing but technical training in these formative adolescent years. For example,

China discovered that in training boys for her industrial cooperatives the program should be expanded to include some literacy instruction, some physical training, and some elementary instruction in civics and economics, if they were to be viable citizens as well as effective technicians.

In Colonial Office Paper No. 186, the suggestions for planning local curricula for mass education required that the special programs for adolescents should be related to the general programs for adults. Additionally, it was suggested that the 1940-1952 Mass Literacy Campaign in Nigeria should encompass certain priorities. First, in a rural community where the expert team was an official one (i.e., one which utilized European and African trainers) which encompassed the spheres of health, agriculture, education, cooperative work, trade unions, etc., a mass education program could be added to the combined elements of a general welfare program. Second, a rural community where a non-official team, comprised of missionaries, church members and other local inhabitants was participating in some form of welfare or educational program, it would accept its assimilation into a mass education project. Third, in an urban community where an official entity was working on or preparing to work on plans related to health, housing, trade unions, etc., a mass education plan could aid materially in their work. The fourth priority depicted a community located on a mine or plantation site, under the auspices of an unofficial European, and whose medical and welfare staff would embrace cooperation in a mass education project.

In all these various forms of communities, the concepts of the mass education organization would be, and were, uniformly implemented. On the one hand, there would be official and non-official teams of experts, and, on the other, local cooperating groups and voluntary workers would be merged into a local association. The planning and implementation of the project would be carried out with their cooperation. That is, a project in reference to the provision of schools, literacy classes, medical and agricultural instruction would be discussed with local associations, a concrete target would be agreed upon by them, and their strong cooperation in future undertakings would be assured. It was paramount in terms of promoting mass literacy education to inform local associations at the outset that success or failure depended on their efforts. Where the local Native Administration was adequately educated to participate in the local association, it would play a crucial role, and this aspect of the Native Administration could influence the choice of areas which were selected for mass education experiments.

The first essential requirement was to base mass education organization upon the characteristics of the local community. Second to this was the Mass Education Officer. In any given locale where an experiment was to be planned, this officer would be part of the "O.C. Combined Operation." Working in juxtaposition with the District Officer, the Mass Education Officer would complete the planned execution of projects which the District Officer could not handle because of the magnitude of other duties. Initially, a Mass Education Officer

might have only one experiment to organize, or may be responsible for more than one if the area was developed enough to require two or more mass education projects. It was imperative that the officer stay within the vicinity of the experiment, actively tasked with all educational activities and within a close distance to a provincial or even a district headquarters.

The duties of the Mass Education Officer would have to include the following (Colonial Office Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies, 1943, pp. 20-21):

- (1) The organization of a local unit headquarters and equipment, the needs of which will be different according to the type of community selected. In rural areas, for example, this may involve the setting up of temporary camps to house the workers.
- (2) The organization of suitable propaganda of all kinds for local projects. This preliminary preparation is essential to its success.
- (3) The drawing up of the local project and target with the help of the local association, and explaining the respective parts to be played by the team of experts and the voluntary workers.
- (4) Seeing that all members of teams, official and voluntary, know how to teach and demonstrate their respective skills in that particular community, thus ensuring the true educational basis of the experiment.

(5) Estimating the success or failure of the plans as they are put into operation, and arranging for improvements and adjustments while the work is in progress.

The success of the unit and of the experiment they conducted rested upon the choice of the individuals in charge. They had to have vast experience in Nigeria and were accorded the status which would help them, as far as ordinary status could, to secure the cooperation which they were required to obtain in many quarters. The choice of Mass Education Officers was not confined to any particular source. Selected men could be found in the Administrative Service in such departments as education, medicine, forestry and agriculture, among welfare officers, in the service of missions and on the staffs of educational institutions. It was essential that if they were seconded they were not liable to recall in the midst of an education program, that they should not be liable to sudden or frequent transfer within the mass education organization, and that their prospects for advancement were to be regarded as enhanced rather than reduced by their selection for a special duty. It was also an important qualification for their work that they be truthfully interested in the welfare of the community they were selected to serve. They should be able by tact and by their general bearing to gain the community's confidence from the beginning, and they should have a bent for teaching and for sociological and kindred studies
(Commented in Colonial Office Paper 186, 1944).

Reference was made by the Colonial Administration to the very strong inhibiting forces which might impact the progress toward securing the interest and cooperation of the community in projects for their own education. In some instances, indifference originated in such conditions of life as continuous sub-health or the degeneration of family life, while in others, hostility or suspicion existed among a self-sufficient people engulfed with a narrow, traditional way of life. Add to these the possible ambition of a class for their own personal advancement and the absence of any operative sense of responsibility for the improvement of the general welfare and any or all could be factors which hinder the start of such work.

While it is not suggested that in areas in which known conditions such as these should be indefinitely limited, it was meaningful that the first experiments in mass education be conducted in conditions which were favorable to early and substantial success. However, it was highly desirable that varied and comprehensive experience in the use of mass education methods be achieved at an embryonic phase, and that teachers upon whom the responsibility for the extension of the mass education system rested be trained in conditions in which their enthusiasm, their initiative and their devotion to their profession would be evoked by the ready cooperation and appreciation of progressive elements in the community.

With this outline in mind, below are some of the educational activities that were being carried out during these campaigns by the Colonial Administration and other adherents:

- (a) Adult literacy schemes organized by the Department in which literacy classes for adults, in the vernacular and in English, were organized in groups of nearby villages under the supervision of adult education organizers, employed by government, and who were often ex-servicemen;
- (b) Adult literacy schemes organized by the department on the principles known as "Each one finds a teacher," under which those who have been taught under the schemes mentioned above in (a) give home lessons to illiterate members of their own small communities;
- (c) Adult women's classes, operated mostly in conjunction with the Domestic Science Centers which were being given by the Department in increasing numbers for the training of girls attending schools in a particular area;
- (d) Marriage Training Homes and vocational classes for women galvanized by the missions and subsidized by the department. The work of the adolescent and young women who participated in these classes was guided and encouraged by the grant of "certificates of merit" and "housecraft certificates" awarded after inspection by officers of the department; and

(e) Extra-mural classes organized up to these periods of the literacy campaigns by visiting lecturers from the Oxford University Extra-Mural Delegacy, but now being taken over by the Extra-Mural Department of the University College, Ibadan.

Albeit the department initiated, controlled and sponsored most of the literacy campaigns described above in (a), employing Adult Education Organizers to oversee various campaign areas, the basis of organization remained the Village Adult Education Committee, appointed by the people themselves, and voluntary service remained the main feature of instruction.

Organization of Instructional Activities

In order to achieve optimal operation of all educational activities in this campaign, the following elements were to be incorporated (Colonial Office Paper 186: Mass Education in African Society, 1944, p. 58):

Literacy Campaigns

- (1) Choose a village campaign manager. A kindly hearted person with the desire to serve is paramount.
- (2) Publicity should be arranged a month prior to the campaign. Posters which literates could read to illiterates were useful. A helpful poster was one stating why people need to read and write. Advance distribution of simple booklets to those who can read sharpens the demand for literacy.

- (3) Make a survey of the number of illiterates in order to obtain adequate supplies of lessons and other materials.
- (4) Teachers should include all literate women/men, and some who may have been to school but have forgotten how to read and write.
- (5) Give those selected as teachers a demonstration in the use of the first chart. This was often introduced by a song.
- (6) Choose a local committee to meet with the manager, organize follow-up, and report to the central organization.

Cooperation of all interested agencies, official and voluntary, is necessary for literacy campaigns for a whole population.

Literacy conferences were useful for planning lessons and literature, for training, arousing enthusiasm, and achieving cooperation.

Experiments in Spreading Literacy among African Women

In Calabar, of the former Southern Protectorate of Nigeria, the Church of Scotland Mission, Calabar held weekly women's schools in rural centers. As many as 400-500 women met at one center. Subjects taught were reading, writing, oral arithmetic, singing, first aid, Bible study, hymn and psalm learning. At the preliminary stages, reading cards were used. When the pupil had reached card 25 in the Efik system, she passed on to a higher level of reading the Bible. Writing lessons were given at the same time. The rationale behind women's desire to learn to read was that they wished to read the Bible, to conduct family

worship, to keep up with their children, who were going to school, and to correspond with absent members of their families.

For literacy classes in the Training Institution for Rural Workers in Gindiri, Northern Nigeria, teachers came in with their families for a course of training. They spoke different African languages, but Hausa was used as the language of instruction. The wives of the teachers learned to read and write Hausa by the end of six months. A Hausa circula letter was sent to ex-pupils which helped to preserve the literacy they had acquired.

There were three methods of literacy instruction: (a) each one teach one, (b) each one find a teacher, and (c) class instruction. The "each one teach one" method had not been utilized due to the doubtfulness of its results, the fact that its progress was very complicated to adopt, and writing was not learned. The "each one find a teacher" method could only be employed in an area with a high percentage of literates. It was being tried out in Lagos, but it was yet too early to disseminate its results. In all other facets of educational activities, class instruction was used. Class pupils, in general, were not found to teach other illiterates, though in one northern part of Nigeria, Misau, this was happening.

At the outset, instruction was organized on a basis of a four-month course, with reading and only a little writing as its principal content. This had to be modified. The initial objective was to teach reading in the shortest possible time and only to teach as much writing as would effectively aid in reading. This, therefore, did not correspond with what the people or their leaders wanted and

organization had to be modified accordingly. A fair degree of skill in writing had been requested everywhere in the country, and the call for longer courses became imperative. In some parts of the Northern Region of Nigeria, the authorities would not support an instructional period of less than six months, and in some instances a year, because they did not have the confidence that pupils would be able to learn in such a short period. In some areas of Ibo-land in the southern part of Nigeria, the Ibo pupils would not attend literacy classes unless instruction in other subjects (e.g., English and Arithmetic) was offered, while in every area there were always some pupils who demanded instruction in post-literacy. Organization of instruction therefore had to be adapted to accommodate varying needs throughout the country.

In the North the course was hitherto either for six months or a year, and old pupils were rejected and new ones were enrolled during these intervals. There were always at least two classes. If there was a dramatic decrease in the number of pupils, the instructor would be transferred by the Native Administration to another village. Instruction was given twice a week for an hour in the afternoon, and that, in practicality, was extended to a year. Only literacy was taught. There was no published syllabus, but a special primer was approved and instructors had teaching notes.

In the South, in an attempt to meet the demand for further instruction, an effort was being made to change the Adult Education Center into a permanent village institution, with a Literacy Section of two or three classes and an

Advanced Section of classes studying English, Arithmetic, etc. Pupils stayed in the Literacy Section from four to six months. In the East there was a published syllabus and in the West one was in preparation. The creation of the Adult Education Center as a village institution was having partial success, but many pupils who, at the outset, requested further instruction were encountering difficulties in learning English and that led to an increase in the drop out rate. Again, when pupils passed out of the Literacy Section, it often required the visit of the Mass Education Officer before any action was taken to get new enrollments. It seemed that some centers appeared to be established possibly for the reason that they were becoming a sort of club and insisted on a regular fee. They often attracted their members by offering additional activities, such as needlework and social evenings. Some of them organized adult education with graduation processions.

Instruction was provided two or three times a week for an hour. It usually took place in the afternoons, but in some areas where lighting fuel could be afforded, literacy classes held at night were an ideal plan and these proved most successful. The center usually planned terms which coincided with the school terms, and sometimes closed completely for two or three months during heavy farming periods (e.g., cocoa harvesting season from November to February in Ilaro). It was possible that with the production of adequate textbooks these centers could implement continuous classes, especially for many adults whose schooling was no more than Infant I or II (Kindergarten or First Grade).

Classes that were limited to twenty or twenty-five were recommended. Larger classes of 35 were tried, but it soon proved that pupils were not getting enough attention to guarantee regular participation. One teacher with a class of 50 pupils lamented that some of his pupils walked out halfway through a lesson. Large classes which resulted in lack of attention to every pupil were one of the major causes of failure.

Pupil's Fees and Equipment

In religious instruction classes where literacy was included in the mass campaign, pupils brought their own equipment and paid small fees of 1d or 2d (one pence/two pence) a month. According to the Education Department Annual Report (1945-1952) in the campaign areas of the North, no fee was required, and equipment such as pencils and exercise books, and in most cases the primer, was provided free to the pupils. These charges were borne by the Native Administration, and the people regarded them as a partial return of their taxes. On the whole, the equipment was well looked after. In one impoverished area, the Gwaris of Abuja, pupils had provided themselves with a little bag. In some areas, where schools were opening, efforts were made to avoid unnecessary losses, for the articles were the property of the Native Administration, and action could be taken, if necessary, in local courts. In the South, except in the Udi campaign, pupils had to provide their own equipment and in most cases also paid 1d or 2d a month, which was collected and kept by the village committee to meet its expenses. In some villages there were no fees. Rather, the families made

contributions. It was obvious that centers where fees were regularly paid proved to be the best. In the Udi area equipment was free and there was no fee, but despite this, and even with organizers, enrollment was only 1,450 adults. In sharp contrast, in Ilaro which was educationally backward, there was a fee, pupils provided their own equipment, and there was only one organizer, and yet there was an enrollment of 1,486.

Many efforts were made in big towns to begin free classes, but that was always short-lived. In close-by, privately owned adult evening schools, the problem of charging fees had loomed large in the eyes of people. Owing to the popularity of adult schools in some urban areas and the demand for good instructors, fees were increasing. In some southern areas where pupils bought their own equipment, fees were difficult to collect because the people were unable to afford the high prices charged for the equipment in local markets. Some Native Administrations were able to surmount these problems by buying at wholesale prices and reselling through the organizers for cost. Later, as the campaign progressed, local traders were able to obtain stock and sold equipment at an affordable price. In the North it would take a longer time before market traders would be able to display writing materials for sale in villages. It was anticipated that Native Administrations would emerge to fill these voids during these intervals, which they did in their role as one of the major benefactors of the Mass Literacy Campaign.

Adult Learning Environment

At the outset, sitting under the umbrella of a tree was considered a conducive atmosphere for learning. This setting may have been satisfactory in the dry season, but in the rainy season it would be unwise to operate under such conditions. Consequently, any sort of shelter became desirable. The demand for writing required that special attention had to be paid to the meeting place for learning and for equipment. In the South providing a conducive atmosphere only occasionally created problems. In most places schools or churches were utilized and voluntary agencies were mostly supportive, although there were instances in Mohammedan areas where the use of the church was a taboo. Sometimes, however, to gain the confidence of the people, it was necessary to resume the classes in a compound or a court house, until after a few months a move to a nearby school could be made.

In the northern parts of Nigeria, if education was available, there was, in general, an inclination by the adults to avail themselves of this opportunity, and the people were encouraged to erect a building. This had been strongly supported in some areas where the Native Administrations provided assistance, such as a cemented floor and a professional thatcher for roofing. In Katsina the allowance per building was about £10. The Tivs were not perturbed by such an encouragement in that they had managed to put up excellent buildings capable of housing 60 or more people, complete with mud benches and seats. Where school blackboards could not be borrowed, wooden or cement ones were utilized.

Financial assistance in the amount of £500 was provided through Native Administrations in the North to help in the erection of simple buildings; similarly, in the East (Udi Division only), £300, and in the West, £450 (Education Department, 1951-52). The expenditure in the East and West had been utilized to assist in erecting village reading rooms in areas which had done particularly well.

Writing required strong financial leverage to provide for the exercise book. Where school benches were unavailable and mud benches could not be provided, wooden boards could be used. Satisfactory boards (18" x 6" x $\frac{1}{2}$ ") could be supplied by the Forestry Department in Ibadan from building materials they used for roof shingles at about £7 per 1,000. These also could be used as slates or sand trays, which were provided in impoverished areas.

Instructors

In classes of religious instruction, instructors were approved by the Voluntary Agency and were supported either by the community or by fees from pupils. It was rare for them to receive instruction in methods of teaching literacy.

Numerous attempts were made to use voluntary instructors for literacy classes. These instructors started with great enthusiasm, but it was short-lived. Perhaps it was difficult to expect people to regularly give up two or three afternoons a week for months and years on end to do this repetitive work. Such attempts often go through stages: first, irregularity on the part of instructors; then frequently changing instructors; then school children utilized as teachers;

and finally the pupils tire of inadequate instruction and stop attending classes. Individual volunteerism was not an ideal feature of village life and was viewed with suspicion by the village. Village achievement was not attained through this process. It was more likely to succeed through the use of collective groups acting jointly who, if necessary, would make provisions for funds.

Much more success and permanent instructors were achieved from those who were involved in instruction on a part-time basis and who received payment of about 5s (5 schillings) a month. They were essentially volunteers, but perceived themselves less as "fairy godmothers," and more as servants of the community. Wherever a group of such instructors was held together by a village headmaster, classes progressed, but, unfortunately, the constant transfer of village headmasters often influenced the progress of classroom instruction. In the South instructors received payments equivalent to their services by the village Adult Education Committee, whereas in the North, where the campaigns were directly controlled by Native Administrations, instructors were remunerated through Native Treasury channels on a standard scale of 5s a month for giving a minimum of two lessons a week. Statistics reported about 1,160 instructors teaching 1,400 classes in the campaigns sponsored by the Education Department (Education Department, 1951-52).

In the southern provinces about half the instructors were school teachers. In some areas of the South, especially in Ngwa, pupils would not participate in classes unless instructors were school teachers. In the North, very few were

school teachers. Non-school teachers made satisfactory instructors if they were supervised and retained, and especially if they were allowed to teach short courses. One of the best learning centers was at Aisegba (Ekiti District) where a group of four farmers had been teaching for over two years. All literacy campaigns were hitherto programmed for short courses. In the South the educational standard required for instructors was about Middle II. In the North a much lower standard had to suffice and was often as low as Elementary II.

In the recruitment of instructors, local residents proved to be the most satisfactory instructors. It was found to be undesirable to use enthusiastic strangers for instruction. In the North it became necessary for the Native Administration to first select instructors and post them to villages who accommodated them. For a period, village and court manuscript copyists were widely used as part-time instructors. However, due to their frequent transfer and dismissal, the practice was very short-lived. At this point instructors in the Northern campaigns were predominantly ex-school boys, selected and detailed by the Native Administration (Education Department, 1947-1978). In order to provide adult education instructors with the pride and interest needed to pursue their work in literacy, a small handbook was produced by the Native Administration.

The Instructional Technique Employed

It was recommended that the Laubach method be employed to teach adults to read the spoken word (Colonial Office Paper 186, 1944, p. 57). Some characteristics of this method are listed below:

- (1) Teaches the student to pronounce syllables and letters as quickly, easily and pleasantly as possible, after which he/she will be able to pronounce every word in his/her language.
- (2) As a framework for the memory, three or four very common key words are used, containing the consonants used in the language followed by a vowel.
- (3) A familiar song is introduced after the first few charts have been mastered.
- (4) One pupil is taught at a time.
- (5) Every house, tree or roadside may become a school at any time of the day or night.
- (6) Each lesson is short, easy to learn, and easy to teach.
- (7) Each student possesses his/her own set of lessons, printed inexpensively.
- (8) As each student learns to read, he/she also learns to write.
- (9) Every learner becomes a teacher after he/she knows the first lesson, teaching others before learning the second lesson.

- (10) When the student completes the primer, he/she is urged to subscribe to a periodical and to read it every day. These periodicals use familiar words, short sentences and short articles of interest.
- (11) Records, songs and tales of the people, etc., are printed. This helps them to appreciate their literature.

As a result of the Laubach method, a linguistic agreement was reached regarding the preparation of basic word lists, concurring on orthography and other linguistic questions as necessary preliminaries for the preparation of lesson material and literature.

Preparation of reading charts was one of the essential means of fortifying instructional techniques. These reading charts were prepared with the assistance of local experts. Different languages required different approaches. Not all recent charts were based on key words. In some of the recent charts, pictures of familiar objects as well as a letterpress were used.

In terms of reading materials, the following were of vital importance: (a) a periodical dealing with issues of keen interest to adults in a vocabulary which they had acquired, and (b) a continuous supply of graded publications on subjects of interest to adults. Preparation of this literature required knowledge of the life and thought processes of the people and the assistance of nationals in its preparation. Distribution of reading materials was part and parcel of these techniques. Efficient distribution of lessons, reading materials and periodicals was necessary through bookshops and depots, colportage, mobile units and

libraries. And the last, but not the least, preliminary step was the training of personnel. Teachers trained to instruct children were not successful in fulfilling their missions with adult learners because the psychological approach for adults was different. Recent literates were sometimes the most successful instructors of illiterates. Therefore, much emphasis was placed on individual instruction and on getting each pupil to pass on acquired knowledge. The foundation for establishing such a method was based on inspiring the initiative to spread literacy on the part of literates to satisfy a desire to learn on the part of illiterates.

A simple technique was developed which was considered to be very important. It was discovered that self-explanatory techniques, when left in the hands of skilled teachers, had produced little or no significant results. This was due to the fact that the instructors were inherently incapable of following the instructions. The standard technique at the time was that "everything was first of all read, then copied, and finally written on dictation." Additionally, Laubach's instructional technique which was incorporated in this educational process was not critical in the campaign, but Dr. Laubach's visit to Nigeria at that period led to his preparation of model Hausa and Yoruba primers.

These primers were being utilized on a trial-and-error basis, but people were still very doubtful as to whether they could be generally used. First, there were numerous pictures (112 in the Yoruba version) and therefore the book was bulky and expensive. Second, unless the teacher was skilled, pupils were inclined to "read the picture" rather than read the word. Third, it took pupils a

longer time to recognize letters and syllables. Finally, writing was not taught. Furthermore, five primers that were written in Hausa, Yoruba, Ibo, Efik and Tiv languages were produced and were being used generally. They all followed the pattern of a gradual build-up.

The initial lesson started with two or three letters and syllables which were put together as words and then presented in sentences. In each following lesson one or two letters were added to give new combinations. Each and every pupil had a copy of the primer for study at home. Charts which were designed as a chain were not recommended because instructors were using them incorrectly. Hence, pupils had no choice but to embrace a parroting-learning technique. Teaching of the alphabet to begin was not required in the beginning because it slowed the pace of progress and decreased pupils' participation rates. Instead, pupils were taught to sound letters phonetically to build up syllables and words. This obscured the more traditional technique of teaching children to recognize and write words.

One of the major difficulties which was encountered was to try to impress upon the teachers this difference in method, but the primers being used at this phase were restructured as an outgrowth of experience. At the rate of two lessons a week, they could produce significant results in about four months. This resulted in an ability to read up to Infant II level (First Grade), with slightly lower writing skills. The pace, however, varied depending on the language and the people. Efiks and Tivs were the fastest achievers. The average length of time was

approximately six months. Script writing was taught in that it was similar to print. Writing began with the first lesson, either in sand or on a slate, and within an interval of six month, pencils and paper were introduced. The first few lessons of some of the primers were printed in script because this was found to be very effective and was later introduced in all primers.

A problem as to the language of instruction within the minority ethnic groups emerged. For example, in one area, Abuja, the attempt to teach literacy in the dominant language, Hausa, had failed because most people of that area could barely speak the language. A corrective line of action was immediately made to teach these people the first elements of literacy in their own language, Gwari, and then to direct this knowledge to the Hausa language. For this purpose, a small, eight-page Gwari Primer and a special Hausa for Starters were prepared. The latter book, as things progressed, had a wide demand in the non-Hausa areas of the North. A similar problem was encountered in the campaign around Jos. In the South the dominant language of instruction was English and no actual campaign had been carried out in a minor language area, but there were a number of small-scale and private ventures which had sought advice from the Colonial Administration. It was suggested by some adherents that it was useless to teach literacy in English when illiterates could not initially speak it. To rectify these problems, a program was developed.

This program first taught the elements of literacy to adults using their own vernacular, and then they were given some spoken English prior to the

introduction of reading. However, it was required that an experimental Easy English for Adults be written. One was written for Nigerians and the other for West African soldiers, but the vocabulary was quite unsuited to civilian life. A conversation handbook, an easy English word list, and reading material based on this word list was needed. With issues of language of instruction still unresolved, the reactions of adult illiterates in Nigeria were mixed.

Reactions of the Illiterates of Nigeria

On the whole, the people of Nigeria were not particularly interested in a mass demand for literacy. It was thought, however, that an apparent mass demand could, however, be created in special circumstances. Thus, some Ibo villages in the Udi Division were given assistance for development projects based on the condition that literacy classes would be conducted. The people attended classes as a group in response to these incentives. Only in one case, however, had interest and enthusiasm outlived the project.

Among the adult population, in areas in which education was introduced, there was: (a) an element that wanted to become literate and only required facilities, (b) an individual who would have liked to be literate but was not ready to make the necessary effort, or (c) an element, usually under 25, who, under little social pressure, was not inclined to become literate. The remainder regarded themselves as either too old, too busy, or they saw no use in it
(Education Department, 1951-1952.)

When a class was first begun, a large number of those who were enrolled fit into the classifications of elements a and b. If the organization was such that it received poor attention, which was often the case, those who were not ready to make the necessary effort were soon forced to leave. Even where the organization was well-orchestrated, many illiterates still left. The number of adults who were disinterested became evident later in established centers, when village authorities realized their responsibility to create interest.

There was a dramatic increase in women's participation in mass literacy education, most especially in the Western Region of Nigeria. Consequently, quite a large number of Village Committees had women as members. In the East, the reaction of the women was varied. For example, in the Aba Division little or no impression was made, but in Eket women were attending literacy classes by the hundreds.

Within the North, it was only in Katsina and to a slight extent among the Tiv people that a few women participated. On the whole, women were more difficult to teach than men, but this was less obvious with female classes conducted by women (Education Department, 1942-1951, p. 72). Women often learned to write very neatly. Whenever possible, female classes with a female teacher were created. In the Western Region, areas such as Ado Ekiti, where many schools were opened to admit children at the age of five or six, found it difficult to limit children who were older from entering the adult classes. This

strong desire among children who were above the school entry age became increasingly common, and their eagerness was supported by the village elders who felt that it was necessary to provide literacy classes for these children.

In the Mohammedan area of the Northern Region of Nigeria, reading was an integral part of religion. Here it was believed that the only value to reading was in its practical application to religion, and the required language was Arabic. There existed a definite prejudice against reading which did not fit this objective. Propaganda could not dispel this prejudice. It could be overcome only through compromise and assimilation of custom. This was effectively carried out in Katsina by the declaration of the emir that it was his wish that his people should read and write the Hausa language. In the South the people combined literacy with Christianity. It was natural for them to hold to the opinion that literacy classes conducted in a mission building were really for the sole purpose of converting pupils to that particular denomination. Many centers had failed or had been only a partial success because action was not carried out to stop this. Once pupils became literates, they were inclined to be eager to continue to learn, but the lack of suitable books, especially in the subject of arithmetic, made it difficult to meet this demand.

Literacy and Other Activities Incorporated in this Venture

There was no well-put-together attempt by the Education Department to combine literacy classes with other activities. A great number of associations had

emerged under local initiatives. Thus, in Katsina, villages which had literacy classes built branch roads linked to main roads, and pupils who were recipients of literacy certificates organized special classes for agricultural instruction. In Tiv, class reading sheets were used that dealt with specific subjects in agriculture and health. In Eket, sewing classes and home craft instruction were added and some 500 women paid 2d a month to participate. In Ilaro, evening instruction was adjourned with community singing. In one area an attempt was made to begin literacy classes simultaneously with the start of a large road-building program, but it failed because the people were too busy with personal affairs to deal with two things at one time. In one village a good center was closed temporarily because the people were too busy rebuilding their town. One of the most successful centers in the North was in a village which was replanned and rebuilt during the period under study.

Production of Vernacular Literature

Before the publication of Colonial Office Paper 186 (Mass Education in African Society, 1944), only the missions took an interest in adult literacy. According to the Education Department (1947, p. 79), no special literature was produced for this purpose. Instead, school textbooks and tracts were being used. After the publication of this paper, a number of small-scale literacy campaigns were initiated by government officials, and soon it became clear to them that literature was necessary. In the meantime, in Ibadan, Port Harcourt, Udi and Calabar, some literature texts had been produced. In Yoruba, Ibo, Efik and

Hausa one or two publications were produced by officers with very limited finances who were also engaged in their normal duties.

Literature with a local circulation had a comparatively low demand in that the editions were small and the price per copy was high. Only large editions could produce low-cost literature. Productions at the district or provincial level were expensive and could not be justified until there was a much larger reading public, with the exception of special cases such as a small language group and special propaganda. With the intention of producing larger editions and more publications, it was necessary to persuade presses such as the Gaskiya Corporation, Ife. Olu Press, and others, to increase their stock of large vernacular type. In addition, at this phase of progress in the campaign, simple vernacular literature appropriate for adults was being published in Hausa, Yoruba, Ibo, Efik and Tiv. Scripts for this literature were produced utilizing one or more of the following methods: (a) written in the vernacular as an original piece of writing, the subject often suggested by the Mass Education Officer; (b) translated from another vernacular; (c) translated from English, (d) adapted and modified in a vernacular rendering of an English script or publication, or (e) produced from an outline prepared by the Mass Education Officer (Education Department, 1947-1978). Materials which provided technical information were often translated into English on the advice of technical experts of departments, who had been most cooperative in the effort. The first method produced the most satisfactory results, but there were very few capable authors. The most common practice was the

fourth method. The Gaskiya Corporation was very helpful, particularly in the production of script.

An overwhelming interest was being taken in the production of vernacular secular literature by publishing organizations. It was suggested that since government sponsorship was in the production of low-priced small booklets for new adult literates, they should produce larger and better quality books at the price of about 9d or above to reach a wider public audience. The Gaskiya Corporation was inclined to produce books which were written in Hausa. Some English publishing entities were located in Yoruba and Ibo. It was apparently clear that the Christian Council of Nigeria was apt to publish books in Yoruba. It came to be understood that a demand existed in rural areas for books costing about 1s (one schilling). For example, the Ibo booklet, with a bright, attractive cover, printed by the Department, was priced at 3d, which was considered very expensive for sale in rural areas. It was given to a book shop to sell, but they refused the offer. Therefore, arrangements were made to sell it in villages for 3d. However, instructions were misinterpreted, it was sold for 6d, and proved to be a best seller.

The requirements for literature which was sponsored by the government were as follows: (a) material was entirely educational and not attached to a religious doctrine; and (b) scripts in English were initially read by the Mass Education Officer, channeled to regional representatives for approval and, if

necessary, to technical departments. Final vernacular versions were evaluated in Yoruba by the Yoruba Translation Committee, in Ibo by the Ibo Translation Committee, in Hausa and Tiv by the Translation section of Gaskiya Corporation, and in Efik by the official departmental translator.

These bodies supervised the vernacular that tendered and ensured uniformity of spelling and the simplicity of short sentences. The spelling of scientific words and words taken from other languages was a problem which hindered efforts to fortify educational activities in the campaign. It was necessary, as perceived by adherents, to include uniformity as an important tool in this process. Three methods were devised: (a) the word was spelled phonetically and the English spelling was placed in brackets; (b) the word was spelled in English and the phonetic spelling was placed in brackets; and (c) occasionally a glossary was used which listed phonetic spellings. The practice of only spelling the word phonetically was not permitted in mass education literature unless it had been sanctioned by long-established use. The rule was that financial assistance would not be given to the local production of booklets unless they were first submitted to the appropriate language committee.

Between the first of January 1947 and the first of November, 1948, 68 booklets in five languages were produced which, together with 8 already published Efik booklets, brought the total to 76 booklets (Education Department, 1951-1952). The booklets were made available and were distributed as follows:

Table 1.

Instructional Booklets Made Available and Distributed
in Five Languages by Education Department

Language	Booklets Produced	Copies Printed	Sales as of 10/1/48
Hausa	26	410,000	265,000
Ibo	13	85,000	40,000
Yoruba	14	95,000	49,000
Efik	15	106,000	26,000
Tiv	8	28,000	unknown
Total	76		

These figures included 120,000 primers, of which stock returns in October 1948 reflected that 76,000 were sold. There were also 17 booklets with the printers.

The distribution of literature by subjects was:

Agriculture and Forestry	17
Health	12
Village Development	10
Folklore, Customs and History	8
Stories and Miscellaneous	21
Primers	6

(table continues)

The most popular subjects for booklets were:

Letter Writing

Travel

Health Matters (especially Child Welfare)

Agriculture

Local Customs and History

Illustrations in the form of black and white drawings and reproduced photographs were being utilized. The latter was not a success because, to keep the price low, a quality of paper was used which could not reproduce photos very well. However, the inclusion of pictures did not add to popularity. Authors and translators were paid at the rate of £1 for 1,200 words, and artists were paid up to £2 per drawing, based on size and detail reported by the Education Department.

As it was the policy to sell the literature, the market had to be studied. The subject matter was of great importance, but almost as important were the appearance and title. A bright, thick cover made all the different to a book's popularity. Difficulties with paper supplies had made it difficult to carry this out. The wording of the title was important. A Hausa book with the title, "Our Money is Finished," was not popular in that it sounded depressing. Another had the word "wuta" which meant "fire" in the title. This also was unpopular because the word "wuta" had connotations of bad luck. Table 2 is an extract of seven vernacular news sheets specifically produced in support of mass education (Education Department, 1951-1952):

Table 2.

Seven Vernacular News Sheets Produced in Support of the
Mass Literacy Campaign

Language	Details	Selling Price	Publisher	Circulation	Financial Assistance
Hausa	4 pages, fortnightly	½ d	Gaskiya Corporation	7,000	Education Department £500; Native Administration £350
Tiv	8 pages monthly (started as 4 pages fortnightly)	1d	Gaskiya Corporation	3,000	Education Department £480; Native Administration £60 + Salary of Tiv editor(s)
Efik	8 pages weekly	2d	Henshaw Press	2,000	Nil
Ibo	4 pages, every 2 months	Free	Education Department	2,000	Education Department £100
Ibo (Udi)	1 page, fortnightly	Free	Native Administration	1,000	Native Administration
Yoruba (Ilaro)	4 pages quarterly	Free	Native Administration	2,000	Native Administration
Yoruba (Ado Ekiti)	4 pages quarterly	1d	Native Administration & Education Department	2,000	Education Department £40

The predominant feature was local news. Facilities for distribution controlled the frequency of publication. The most suitable seemed to be an eight-page monthly. The future of the Yoruba (Ilaro) news sheet was under discussion. The Yoruba (Ado-Ekiti) news sheet was temporarily discontinued until an editor, in place of a visiting teacher, could be found. News sheets were popular and were the potentially the best-devised type of mass education literature. There were very few vernacular newspapers. There was one in Hausa, "Gaskiya ta fi kwab," and three or four others in Yoruba. There were none in Ibo, Efik or any other vernacular. The Yoruba newspapers had a small, spotty circulation. The distribution of vernacular newspapers was largely limited to population centers.

The following figures depict the amount spent by government in sponsoring literature and its total value, comprised of the cost of production and distribution, for fiscal years 1947-1948, 1948-1949 and the 1951-1952 annual report (p. 76):

Table 3.

Amount Expended by the Colonial Government in Sponsoring Literature
Used in the Mass Literacy Campaign

1947-1948		1948-1949	
Government Expenditure		Actual Value	Government Expenditure
		(Estimate)	
Hausa	£822	£1,650	£2,200 (4)
Tiv	60 (1)	90	590 (5)
Yoruba	365	730	710
Efik	240 (2)	240	198 (6)
Ibo	520 (3)	785	350
			530

- (1) £21 recovered from sales
- (2) £100 recovered from sales
- (3) £240 recovered from sales
- (4) Native Administration add £350
- (5) Native Administration add £60
- (6) £100 recovered from sales

Another phase of educational activities employed by the Colonial Administration during these periods of the Mass Literacy Campaign was the printing of vernacular literature. It was the policy to print mass education publications in Nigeria, and only one out of 70 was printed in England. Mission presses were not utilized because they were reserved for mission publications, but they did participate, on occasion, in the printing of mass education booklets. A particular rationale lay behind the need to circumvent the use of mission presses. The reason given was that literature printed by a mission press was ipso facto suspect by Mohammedans and by other Christian denominational bodies. Therefore, in order to avoid these feelings, it was thought best not to use mission presses.

There were only two non-mission presses at this time. These were located at the Gaskiya Corporation in Zaria and at the Ife-olu Press in Lagos, which had the necessary quantities of type to print more than one booklet at one time. The Gaskiya Corporation printed vernacular literature in Hausa, Ibo, Efik, and most other languages. The Ife-olu Printing Press in Lagos was capable of printing vernacular literature in Hausa, Ibo, Efik, Yoruba, and most other languages. The Church Mission Society Press in Port Harcourt printed in Ibo and Efik. The Roman Catholic Mission Press and the Henshaw Press in Calabon printed in the Efik language only. Etinan Press (Qua Iboe Mission) printed in Efik and Ibo. In the Western Region of Nigeria, the Church Missionary Society Press in Lagos, the 20th Century Press, Lagos, N.A. Press, Abeokuta, Sunshine Press in Ibadan and

the Tanimehim Press, Ijebu-ode, all printed in Yoruba. And, finally, the Niger Press in Jos printed vernacular literature in Hausa and other Northern Nigerian languages. These were some of the presses that were capable of doing satisfactory printing of booklets during these campaigns. For unknown reasons, the Ibos had no private presses which were capable of printing in Ibo, such as the ones mentioned above. As a result, there were no Ibo newspapers or locally produced Ibo literature.

The most ideal size for booklets proved to be 7" x 5", and the number of pages was limited to 16. The most important factor to promote sales of these booklets was the cover. Printing costs were high. Printing done in England was the best and cheapest, but it took almost two years to arrive in Nigeria. Therefore, in Nigeria, the Gaskiya Corporation was the cheapest resource for quantities over 15,000, and for small quantities the small presses in the country were cheaper. A small firm which printed 5,000 copies of a 16-page booklet with a hard cover charged about £40, without reduction for increased quantities. For a similar booklet, but printed on newsprint, the Gaskiya Corporation charged £82 for 10,000 copies and £103 for 15,000 copies. Additionally, the booklets already had or were given a serial code number which was printed on the cover. It was not unusual for people to try to collect the whole series. The selling price was printed on the cover. In these educational activities, producing adequate quantities of vernacular literature was not a problem compared to the issues of trying to inform the public, sales agents, and distribution to rural areas.

Distribution of Literature

Distribution of free literature had to be available, but it was never the general policy of the department to produce free literature. There were some experiments in free literature. For example, in the Udi Division and in some parts of Calabar Province, where literature was distributed, the result was that in the Udi Division efforts to sell cheap literature were unsuccessful, while in Calabar Province it took many visits from the Mass Education Officer to convince the people to pay for literature which cost a few pennies. In the Tiv and Ilaro Divisions a sharp contrast was provided by the news sheets. As cited in Education Department (1948-1949, p. 78):

In the backward Tiv Division, a monthly news sheet selling at 1d had its distribution increased from 2,000 to 3,000 because of the demand. In the Ilaro Division a quarterly news sheet, said to be very popular, had 1,000 copies printed and the distribution was free.

The editing committee could not however be convinced to utilize its subsidy for increasing the number printed for sale. As stated in Education Department (1948-1949, p. 79):

Funding, storage and free wholesale distribution of mass education booklets were done for the Hausa publications by the Gaskiya Corporation, and for the Ibo and Yoruba publications it was done by the Cooperative Supply Association; for Tiv publications, by the Tiv Native Administration. Efik publications were stored and distributed by the Co-operative Association but were not funded.

As further stated in Education Department (1948-1949, p. 79):

The Gaskiya Corporation was refunded the total subsidy on a publication and received a commission equal to 20% of the cost of printing for its services that included free distribution. The same

arrangement existed with the Co-operative Supply Association and the Tiv Native Administration, although, in the latter case, the commission was only 5%. For Efik publications the Co-operative Association retained 20% of all sales as commission and subsequently received 5% of the total sales value of all publications stored as a commission for storage.

The entity for wholesale distribution worked satisfactorily. As indicated in Education Department (1948-1949), since mass education booklets were produced from the outset to fortify the mobilization and implementation of the first national Mass Literacy Campaign in Nigeria. They had been sold principally for this purpose. It was quite unprofitable to produce editions of less than 5,000, and the Gaskiya Corporation, with its high speed machinery and complex setting-up processes, was adamant against printing editions of less than 10,000 or 15,000. Editions of 15,000 in Hausa and 1,000 in other languages had been the minimum printed. Almost half the total of every edition was taken up in the campaign areas, and the balance was designated for general distribution. As cited in Education Department (1948-1949, pp. 78-79):

It was initially agreed upon to limit the distribution of this surplus to government, the Native Administration and mission and school officials. Availability of surplus was publicized in press advertisements, handbills and distribution of complimentary copies, but the response was very low, with the exception of Native Administrations in the northern provinces. Even opening purchases to everybody, as had been done in the case of Efik literature, proved to be no more effective.

And even though the booklets were cheap and postage free, there were still no reductions in price. The distribution of literature was faced with one or two inhibiting factors.

Purchasers were not inclined to seek reimbursement of funds. For example, a village schoolmaster or catechist was not apt to spend even 5 shillings on the purchase of literature if there was a risk that he could not recapture his investment. Bigger associations were also skeptical and therefore not inclined to take the risk of sending materials to villages because either the money or the books might not be returned. It was probable that for this reason the church and village mission representatives had made little use of this low-priced literature.

Many other centers of communication had book shops, and it might have been thought that they would have good sales for such literature. But the reverse was true. Those Nigerians who visited a book shop went there with a specific aim, to buy a school textbook, a Bible, etc. Book shops did not sell pamphlets or booklets. In fact, some mission book shops had gone so far as to assert that there was no demand for sales of pamphlets or booklets. This was proven to be a false assertion.

As indicated in Education Department (1948-1949), more inhibiting factors against the distribution of literature came about as a result of poor communications and a lack of postal facilities. This was more deeply rooted in the northern provinces of Nigeria. Lack of a post office within a reasonable distance meant that an individual could not be a private selling agent because he could not purchase a postal order. Under these circumstances there seemed to be no alternative means of distribution other than to use the Native

Administration, and a somewhat tentative jump-start was being made with Native Administration book shops in some areas in the North, such as Katsina, Abuja and Bauchi. Although at this phase of literature distribution people were not really motivated to look for reading materials to buy, they would buy these materials if they were brought to their doorsteps. As stated in the Education Department Annual Report (1947-1948), a booth in a marketplace was inadequate. A bicycle trader sold 400 booklets in villages around Uyo (Calabar Province) in ten days, yet a trader's stand near Uyo market sold nothing during the same period of time. A visit to a local train in Ilorin Station resulted in sales of 32 booklets.

The problem was a difficult and complex one. It was a problem which, for a time, required state assistance in the rural areas. This strategy was implemented in the hope that it would result in a vigorous demand for literature, large enough in volume to make it self-supporting, so that every village would support a place which sold literature. In the northern provinces, it appeared that the only agencies which could distribute literature over vast distances at a minimum transportation cost were the Native Administrations. The Northern Native Administrations bought reasonable quantities of mass education literature, but only in a few instances had they been able to establish subsidiary organizations that would sell it outside their own headquarters. Much of it remained in stores, with sporadic distribution to schools.

Reading Rooms, Libraries

As articulated in Education Department (1948-1949), ideally, the reading rooms and libraries should have had an appeal for adults and a stimulating effect on literacy. Unfortunately, the reading materials on the shelves were almost entirely English and above the reading skills of a great number of people. In larger towns reading rooms had a sizeable clientele, but it was comprised mostly of schoolboys who were studying books similar to textbooks. For example, a rough assessment in the Benin reading room showed that 80% of the borrowers were schoolboys. In rural areas reading rooms were scarcely used because there was almost no literature in vernacular. As cited in Education Department (1948-1949, p. 80):

During this period an experiment in village libraries was being conducted in the Western Region. A large stock of Yoruba books (30 kinds) and 60 simple books in the English language were obtained by the Co-operative Supply Association. If a village bought books worth £2 or more, they received a double order and a bookcase.

While a report on the progress of the experiment was pending, in the process of touring the country, it became apparently clear that these libraries required help and advice in buying literature for their shelves. Book shop managers also reported that they often received letters from District Officers asking for help. As further stated in Education Department (1948-1949), to meet this demand and with the concurrence of the regions, an approved list of some 60 English books was circulated to all District Officers and Provincial Education Officers. Topics were selected in consultation with the C.M.S. Book Shop in Lagos and the British

Council. The books were of a level of English that could be comprehended by a Middle II (Second Grade) boy. The intention was to send out supplementary lists every six months. The same plan was in operation for Yoruba literature (secular), but there were too few books at that period in the other vernacular such as Ibo, Hausa, Efik and Tiv to justify a similar arrangement.

Relationships with Other Departments

As indicated in Education Department (1948-1949), technical departments had been very helpful in checking the manuscripts. Numerous efforts were made to get technical officers to draft and write the scripts. Many promises were made, but there were few scripts. Another effort was made to get scripts from African technical officials. A great number were submitted but none proved suitable. It appeared that the best way to get scripts on technical subjects (especially Agriculture) was to enlist the services of a professional writer, or a person with a literary bent, and then have the text scrutinized and approved by an expert. As cited in Education Department (1948-1949, p. 80):

The Public Relations Officer had been very helpful in making picture blocks, but in the beginning consultation on publications did not occur because the Mass Education Officer was at Ilorin.

Consequently, it was suggested that much cooperation and coordination with the Public Relations Officer was paramount, especially with regard to the production of vernacular renderings of some of his publications to provide copy for local news sheets and to produce reading sheets in simple English.

None of the activities of the campaign could have been properly mobilized without the helpful cooperation of the Administration. However, due to a shortage of staff and heavy duties, it had not often been possible for administration members to visit classes.

Staff and Responsibility

As cited in Education Department (1948-1949, p. 81):

There were only two education officers at that time who were involved in literacy efforts. One was responsible for the Western Region, with an office at Ibadan. The other, who was involved in the overall responsibility, was temporarily assigned to Ilorin, away from the headquarters office in Lagos.

The most demanding duties involved visiting the campaign areas. Under debate was the question of whether more effective methods could be found to spread literacy other than the present system which relied on the visits of an Education Officer to an out-of-the-way village for inspection of the literacy classes. Visits from officers of other departments and administrative officers was crucial, but there seemed to be something important associated with a visit of an Education Officer, especially in the more developed areas of the South. As further stated in Education Department (1948-1949, p. 81):

The Education Officer in the Western Region was able to visit every center at least twice, and sometimes three times, a year. Villages in the regional campaign areas were visited at least once and sometimes twice a year by representatives of the headquarters office.

Supervision over the publication and wholesale distribution of literature was conducted from the headquarters office at Ilorin.

Below is the total expenditure for the program (Education Department, Annual Report on Adult Education 1951-1952), including allowance for and excluding salaries of two education officers:

Table 4.

Total Expenditure for the Mass Literacy Campaign Program

1947-1948	1948-1949
£6,600	North £5,300
	East £2,420
	West £3,780
	Headquarters Colony £2,000

It was paramount to conclude with a brief summary which presented justifications for the continued spread of adult education and literacy for the interim period during which the school child of today could be transformed into the sophisticated counselor of the future.

- (1) It would attempt to minimize the social disunity that was gaining ground between the schooled and unschooled population.
- (2) Since the country was presumably leaning toward democracy in which a form of election would be exercised, and since this would happen in the near future, it would be advantageous if the mass majority of adults were literate.

- (3) It would be some 50 years before the school child of today became the village elder. With a vigorous adult education program, the next generation of village elders could be at least literate.
- (4) The present-day school child regarded schooling as an excuse for avoiding farming, but if parents were literate, there would be less reason for them to have negative attitudes.
- (5) Literacy brings about a social awakening.
- (6) The individual impact of the national Mass Literacy Campaign would provide a more interesting life for the literate person, provide a better chance of protecting himself against unscrupulous persons, enable a person to write letters to relatives who were away from home, allow a person to partake actively in the day-to-day life of the community, and enable a person to read notices, from which progressive ideas could develop.
- (7) The real citadel for learning in terms of a child's education was the home. Village school children spent about five out of 24 hours in school, but if the parents were literate they would be more inclined to cooperate with the school in the education of the child.
- (8) It would provide an opportunity to that sector of the population which was very anxious to become literate.

Finally, Table 5 includes statistics concerning the Mass Literacy Campaign in Nigeria between 1947-1948 (Education Department, Annual Report, 1948). In its Annual Report, the Education Department cites areas of the campaign, date of inception in areas with adult classes, the number of classes, pupils enrolled during the year, pupils registered upon last inspection, approximate number of participants made fully literate within the last 12 months, school and target number of annual enrollment literacy classes, which were clearly evident.

Table 5.

Statistics Concerning Literacy Campaign

STATISTICS CONCERNING LITERACY CAMPAIGN									
Area	Date Started	Places with Adult Classes	Number of Classes	Pupils Enrolled During Year (b)	Pupils Registered on Last Inspection	Approximate Number Made Fully Literate in Last 12 Months	School	Target Number of Annual Enrollment Literacy Classes	
Northern Region									
Kankiya District (Katsina)	November 1946	22	81	3,200	1,689 w/90% Attendance	1,500	1	3,200	
Musawa District (Katsina)	April 1948	--	60	2,100 (a)	1,200 w/? Attendance	1,500	1	2,400	

(table continues)

STATISTICS CONCERNING LITERACY CAMPAIGN

Area	Date Started	Places with Adult Classes	Number of Classes	Pupils Enrolled During Year (b)	Pupils Registered on Last Inspection	Approximate Number Made Fully Literate in Last 12 Months	School	Target Number of Annual Enrollment Literacy Classes
Katsina Province (less above District)	1945	--	240	5,500	?	2,500	32	?
Zuru Area	March 1947	24	46	1,300	650 w/60% Attendance	400	2	1,650
Missau Emirate	January 1947	23	39	683	683 w/40% Attendance	230	4	1,320
Abuja Emirate	May 1947	27	50	855	855 w/60% Attendance	130	12	1,200

(table continues)

STATISTICS CONCERNING LITERACY CAMPAIGN								
Area	Date Started	Places with Adult Classes	Number of Classes	Pupils Enrolled During Year (b)	Pupils Registered on Last Inspection	Approximate Number Made Fully Literate in Last 12 Months	School	Target Number of Annual Enrollment Literacy Classes
Tiv Division	May 1947	40	80	2,900	1,468 w/80% Attendance	1,600	20	3,000
Jos Division	October 1948	27	54	--(a)	--(a)	--	--	2,400
							Total	15,170
Cameroons Plantations	June 1947	--	24	300	300	?	--	600
Eket Division	November 1946	36	108	2,300	1,565 w/60% Attendance	1,600	In most villages	2,300

(table continues)

STATISTICS CONCERNING LITERACY CAMPAIGN									
Area	Date Started	Places with Adult Classes	Number of Classes	Pupils Enrolled During Year (b)	Pupils Registered on Last Inspection	Approximate Number Made Fully Literate in Last 12 Months	School	Target Number of Annual Enrollment Literacy Classes	
Aba Division (Ngwa Clan)	January 1947	26	80	2,000	1,482 w/70% Attendance	1,400	In most villages	2,500	
Calabar Division (not Calabar)	November 1947	21	53	1,000 (a)	720 w/70% Attendance	500	In most villages	1,800	
Afikpo Division (part)	October 1948	(a)	? (a)	? (a)	? (a)	? (a)	--	1,800	

(table continues)

STATISTICS CONCERNING LITERACY CAMPAIGN								
Area	Date Started	Places with Adult Classes	Number of Classes	Pupils Enrolled During Year (b)	Pupils Registered on Last Inspection	Approximate Number Made Fully Literate in Last 12 Months	School	Target Number of Annual Enrollment Literacy Classes
Ado Ekiti	October 1946	48	144	5,000 w/70% Attendance	3,400	3,000	In most villages	5,000
Ijebu-Ode	February 1948	13	34	? (a) Attendance	944 w/70% Attendance	? (a)	In most villages	3,000
Northern Ibadan	November 1948	8	(a)	-- (a)	--	-- (a)	In most villages	3,000
Lagos and Badagry	June 1948	15	(a)	? (a)	700	? (a)	In most villages	4,000
Ikeja and Epe	June 1948	28	(a)	? (a)	900	? (a)	In most villages	
							Total	19,000

Source: Education Department, Annual Report for 1947/48 (Lagos, 1948), p. 82.

?(a) Depicts not included.

--(a) Depicts the period of operation which had been too short to make an assessment.

(b) Shows that the large proportion of these could be regarded as having at least learned to read.

Summary

This chapter illustrates and discusses some of the activities employed by the Colonial Administration in the first Mass Literacy Campaign in Nigeria. An overview of literacy campaigns in vastly different societies such as Sweden, Scotland, Great Britain, 19th-century United States, Soviet Union and China provides a historical underpinning which lends support to the manner in which these activities were conducted in Nigeria (see Appendix H). A variety of Third World countries in the post-World War II era, Tanzania, Cuba, India and Nicaragua, were not intended to present a historical and comparative perspective (see Appendix H). To consider the impact of the various methods and the force with which literacy collided with social, economic, cultural, religious and political life, the reader may need to explore a few of the references cited at the end of the dissertation as well as other records.

The earliest established organizations of literacy education were found in the 14th and 15th centuries, followed by other forms of literacy education up to 1940. These literacy adherents and organizers had few assets, little time to spend on the training and education of a small segment of the population, and nothing for mass literacy education. The training and literacy of a particular segment of the adult population prior to the World War II era continued to be rudimentary, but more pride and discipline began to be included. These pre-World War II-era literacy organizations became the forerunners of the 1940-1952 Mass Literacy Campaign.

In 1940 Nigeria experienced the first mass literacy efforts when the Colonial Administration, in collaboration with the Education Department, Native Authorities, influential persons and religious denominational bodies, established schools and literacy centers for the masses of illiterates throughout the country. These learning centers provided mass education primarily for young boys and girls, and for women and men in the Eastern, Northern and Western Regions of Nigeria. Major A. J. Carpenter, whose impact on the Mass Literacy Campaign was discussed in the preceding chapter, contributed immensely to standardizing and fortifying mass literacy programs throughout his tenure, from 1940-1952.

The publication of vernacular news sheets during this campaign period, which was directed by the Colonial Administration, regulated and supported illiteracy training and education. Other significant efforts made by publishing companies, such as the Gaskiya Corporation and Henshaw Press, the Education Department and Native Administrations combined to assist in the proper navigation of all mass literacy activities through hitherto uncharted territory.

Major contributions to the evolution and development of the national Mass Literacy Campaign in Nigeria were made by Colonial Office Paper 186: Mass Education in African Society, 1944, publications of the Department of Education and the Native Administrations, and by A. J. Carpenter and Laubach, whose instructional techniques were adopted. All four influential factors exhibited the fundamental enthusiasm and initiative required to fulfill training and education needs for mass literacy activities.

Postscript

In an attempt to further discuss the educational process employed by the Colonial Administration in the Mass Literacy Campaign, there are two major, distinct patterns of mobilization to consider: (a) the degree of centralization of political and religious authority exercised over the campaign, and (b) the extent to which the literacy campaign's activities was institutionalized in schooling. The Nigerian national Mass Literacy Campaign, like the literacy campaign in Scotland from 1560-1803 and that of the People's Republic of China (see Appendix H), had a corresponding shift to formal institutions and well-trained cadres of religious denominational leaders and benefactors operating under the auspices of charitable but strong-willed governments. Although the campaign was centrally instituted and nationally orchestrated, it was carried out in a decentralized manner, leaving much to local choice and initiative. It was comprehensive in scope, universal in coverage, religiously oriented and informal/school-based.

Both regional and local campaigns, designed to promote literacy within the often reluctant population of the underdeveloped society of Nigeria, were examples of a domestically based but politically and religiously sponsored or enforced literacy venture, the main focus of which was on informal/formal activities supervised by influential persons, Native Administrations and local religious authorities. The unique features of this literacy-based venture were educational activities in reading, writing, arithmetic, first aid, Bible study, and

hymn and psalm learning. Special emphasis was placed on the educational roles of at-home mothers, as was also the case in the Swedish campaign of 1686 (see Appendix H).

An acceptable, uniform language of instruction (i.e., Hausa) became an insurmountable issue which was difficult to cope with. In minority areas of the campaign (e.g., the Northern Region), languages other than Hausa were spoken. In literacy classes at the Training Institution for Rural Workers, located in Gindiri, Northern Nigeria, teachers came in with their families for a course of training, but they spoke ethnic minority Nigerian languages, not Hausa. Therefore, the use of a major regional language tremendously inhibited the foreseen objectives of efforts to mobilize the illiterate population and reduced the rate of participation by minority groups in that region.

With reference to the issue of gender, the statement that "women were more difficult to teach" (Education Department, Annual Report) is open to debate. To better understand this opinion, as expressed during the Campaign, it would have been helpful if additional information directly related to measurement and validity had been documented by the Education Department.

CHAPTER VII

Special Population of Adult Learners: How Inclusive Were They in the Mass Literacy Campaign? Was There a Notable Impact of the Mass Literacy Campaign on the Lives of the People?

A special population of adult learners in Nigeria, with the exception of nomadic peoples, represented a significant clientele for practitioners, planners and mobilizers of adult education processes over the last several decades.

Current participation data, although limited to informal institutionalized learning environments, show a variety of interests among older learners, including the nomadic Fulanis, and serve to refute the myth that older adults cannot learn, or that the nomads, due to educational inertia, are too inept to be included in the Mass Literacy Campaign.

This chapter attempts to answer broad, mutually exclusive questions related to a special population of adult learners: (a) How inclusive were they in the Mass Literacy Campaign? and (b) Was there a notable impact of the Mass Literacy Campaign on the lives of the people? The first section of this chapter discusses and illustrates the special population of adult learners, and the second section undertakes an assessment of a notable impact of the Campaign on the lives of the people. Previous chapters (i.e., Chapters 5 and 6) reflected and/or indicated that women and girls were mainstreamed in this campaign. The adult population, which represented all adults up to fifty years of age, was included,

but for persons with disabilities and for the nomads marginalization or underrepresentation as a result of nomadism hindered any literacy skills they might have wanted to acquire. The first and one of the foremost considerations relates to the story of the progress made by the benefactors of this campaign from 1940 to 1952 to meet the separate and distinct needs of women and girls.

The Mass Education of Women and Girls

A very notable feature to be reckoned with was the popularity of adult women's work where competent staffs held sensitive positions. The results of their devotion to literacy might not have been noticeable, but the enjoyment evinced by the participants gave no doubt as to their willingness to send their children to school once they themselves had gained some literacy education. This form of community development was considered to be one of the most promising features of departmental activities. In many areas of the country, literacy was not demanded as yet, but the women demonstrated an aptitude for practical training and their happiness in creative work was very real. In the Northern Region successful literacy efforts were initiated by female Education Officers who were assigned to Literacy Centers in the Benne and Plateau Provinces. At Gindiri, seven women were awarded Housecraft Certificates, the first such awards to be given in the Northern Provinces. In addition to the literacy schemes at Gindiri, the Sudan United Mission had opened four classes for adult women in the Plateau Provinces.

At Numan, geographically located in Adamawa Province, over 500 women and girls were receiving literacy instruction from the Society's Danish Branch. A small pre-marriage course was offered by the Roman Catholic Mission at Udel, and the same courses were conducted at Garkida and Oro Agov by the Church of the Brethren and the Sudan Interior Mission respectively. The notable feature of its form in the Western Region was the Women's Community Center at Akure which was supervised by the staff of the Women's Training Center in that location. The influence of the latter extended into the areas of Ekiti, Akoko and Ondo. There was also a rising tide of interest in this type of literacy effort in the Eastern Provinces. Many vocational classes were opened by the voluntary organizations, and the attendance rate was promising. In the Calabar area there was a demand for classes in domestic subjects, and a short-lived refresher course, attended by 24 trainees, was held at Eket to coordinate the work. The Government Centers in Cameroons Province had a high attendance rate, and the female Education Officer who was assigned to the Bamenda Division had a successful year.

The demand for Domestic Science Centers continued. There were Government Centers in the Eastern Regions and in the West, where, in addition, six centers were operated by the Native Administrations. The center at Lagos was formally opened by benefactor Lady MacPherson. In the Northern Region the four extant centers continued to be maintained, even through severe staffing difficulties. In the Western Region good work was achieved in the sphere of

secondary education. A notable event in the area was the completion of the buildings at St. Teresa's School in Ibadan, with assistance from development funds. Our Lady's High School in Kaduna was still the only girl's secondary school in the Northern Region. Great progress was being made with regard to new buildings at Kakuri, and the staff had elevated expectations of increased enrollment. Various phases of development in the East resulted in four secondary schools for girls.

To substantiate the claims that women were not marginalized from the pre-World War II literacy education era to present-day Nigeria, the primary education of girls proceeded apace with the opening of a large number of new girls' schools. According to the Education Department (1951-1952, p. 54), in the Eastern and Western Regions there was a growing inclination toward the separation of girls in coeducational schools. This reinforced confidence in the process on the part of the parents. Overall, however, much of the primary school education for girls continued to be operated in a coeducational fashion. In the Eastern Provinces alone there was a considerable lapse in time until more girls' schools, especially Senior Primary Schools, were established. Little advancement could be anticipated since the standard attained by girls in coeducational primary school was too far below the standard for entry to the Teacher Training Centers.

Training colleges for women had increased in number and existing colleges continued to expand. Unfortunately, a specific figure for these claims was not

given by the Education Department Annual Report. The number of diploma students attending the United Missionary College, Ibadan, was encouraging and reflective of the growing popularity of entry at the post-school certificate phase. Erection of buildings for the first Women's Training Center in the Cameroons Province was completed in a year. The Northern Provinces had three Elementary Training Centers for women, each small, but at least capable of holding out a promise for the future. Therefore, to understand how inclusive women were in the Mass Literacy Campaign and in other facets of education in Nigeria, see Appendix E, which depicts or illustrates the Senior Service Organisation of the Department of Education. The disposition of staff encompassing women and men is reflected in Table 6.

Additionally, Appendices D, E and F reflect not only women's roles and participation in the Mass Literacy Campaign, but also their profound involvement in all other facets of primary, secondary and post-secondary education. Furthermore, having narrated the story in the preceding paragraphs of women's involvement in all educational endeavors in Nigeria, this chapter, in view of the above, attempts to describe to what extent the nomadic Fulani were included or marginalized in the Mass Literacy Campaign of 1940-1952. Consequently, to better understand the context in which this minority group emerged, the historical origin and the militating forces against their participation in the Mass Literacy Campaign are paramount.

Table 6.

Disposition of Staff within the Senior Service Organization

Disposition of Staff	Administration		Institution	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Central (Headquarters & Colony)	6	5	6	12
Northern Region	23	5	25	14
Eastern Region	13	9	16	--
Western Region	13	5	21	2
Technical	3	--	45	--
Total	58	24	113	28

Source: Education Department, Annual Report, 1948/1949 (Lagos, 1950-1951).

p. 16.

- (a) This graph as indicated above shows women's participation in administrative services and institutions.
- (b) Although women were outnumbered by men, they were still mainstreamed in all aspects of literacy and general education.

The Historical Origin of the Nomadic Fulani

The nomadic Fulani traced their origin from the Senegal basin of Futo Turo (Hopen, 1958). However, Crowder states that the nomadic Fulani were hybrids of the intermarriage between the Negro people and the Touregs, Berbers and Moors of North Africa (Crowder, 1978). Lar attests that the Sawtu Linjila claim that "some Fulani people themselves say that they originated from an Arab speaking Greek or Roman from Egypt." (Lar, 1989) The authenticity of each of the three versions remains a controversial issue. The popular view, however, is that the Fulani are descendants of the Arabs, whose nucleus could be traced to Senegal (Lar, 1989). The Fulani people possess distinct physical features from those of other Nigerians. Their narrow noses, thin lips, bronze skin, wavy hair and tall stature make them stand strikingly apart and different from other ethnic groups in Nigeria. Adetoro (1964) described the Fulani as having straight hair, straight noses, thin lips and lightly built bodies. Both female and male are noted for their beauty.

Nomadism is practiced in many other parts of the world for numerous reasons that range from freedom-seeking to economic opportunity to cattle rearing. Nomadism in Nigeria is associated with cattle rearing activities that can be subdivided into two major categories, described as short- and long-term movement. Long-term movement encompasses that which is intra-focused (i.e., local government areas, or intrastate). Interstate movement (i.e., beyond the boundaries of Nigeria) is viewed as long-term movement. The popular view is that

short- and long-term movement could comprise both small and large groups of nomads. Periods of uncontrolled, unpredictable movement may have led the aged to remain settled while the younger population moved with the cattle, to return occasionally solely to familiarize them with new developments.

Nomadism is as old as human existence on earth. The Bible and history inform us that the early men were nomads who wandered from place to place with their cattle in search of pasture. Lar (1989, pp. 2-3) asserts:

This was heard of even during the time of Abraham and his nephew, Lot. Since then, there have been different forms of nomadism. The human race is often associated with adventure. Nomadism is one of the common traits possessed by human beings. As we study the history of the world, it is obvious to discover that movement must have taken place in the life of all nations of the world. Their historical origin could be traced from one part of the world to another. In the course of such migrations, some groups spread all over the world, while others concentrated in small areas, although most of such movements consequently led to the establishment of settlements.

Another type of movement is seasonal, which constricts nomadism because movements are not frequently made. It may occur only twice a year, that is, between winter and summer. This is similar to the type of migrant labor found in Europe and America. The purpose of migration may also be to extend one's inhabitance to new areas, as was the case with Australia, where British criminals were sent to the new land to start a new life (Lar, 1989). This attracted many from other parts of Europe to Australia to be part of this land. Could Nomadism be used synonymously with migration? No. Nomadism is distinct from migration in that the wandering nature of nomadism makes it slightly different.

In Nomadism, nomads have no permanent homes. They move from one place to another in search of pasture for their flocks, cultivated land or hunting grounds. The nomads wander most of the time. Nomadism is a constant movement rather than a migration.

In Search of Pasture: Nomadic Fulani Migrated into Nigeria

It is a commonly held opinion that the Fulani migrated eastward from Senegal into Nigeria through the Hausa land of Grobiv as early as the 13th century (De-St.-Croix, 1972). Since their arrival they have been involved in peaceful activities, except they are forced to fight for self-defense or for the defense of their cattle. Cattle husbandry had been their life, even if it entailed killing other people to protect their cattle, but they could still be very friendly with their neighbors. Seven centuries after their arrival, that is, in the early 20th century, one of their sons, named Shehu Dan Fadio, a learned man in Koran and a brave warrior, fought the Hausa states, conquered and gained political control over them. As victors, many nomadic Fulani settled in Hausa lands. The two ethnic groups eventually developed closer contacts through intermarriage.

The Fulani had great influence over the Hausa people. Their political control over the Hausa people notwithstanding, their culture also was assimilated into the Hausa culture. Groups of Fulani still imbued with the culture are the nomadic ones. In modern Nigeria popularly held opinions are that the Fulani are either herdsmen further removed from homes or that they live in towns. Some of them live as a ruling class. It has been speculated that the Fulani who are

considered as settled in towns still have their relations herding their cattle for them in rural areas. Therefore, the distinction between the town Fulani, known as the settled Fulani, and the nomadic Fulani is that the nomadic group herd their cattle away from the towns. They wander from place to place in search of pasture and water for their cattle, while the settled Fulani permanently reside in towns or cities. The Fulani's main food is milk, which they use in exchange for other food items such as corn and cassava. It is also sold in markets. Milking and marketing are the women's economic activities. The nomadic Fulani live in rough huts made of clay, bamboo and grass. Whenever they decide to move, they carry the bamboo on the backs of cattle or donkeys to another temporary settlement.

These Fulani nomads have great respect for elders. Many are farmers who produce both food and cash crops. They are a very distinct group of people in Nigeria. They are groups who have acquired functional knowledge for earning a living, but they are yet to obtain the technical know-how that would allow them to improve on the skill that had already been acquired in order to exercise their civic rights with greater responsibility.

Most Nigerians have attempted to trace their historical origins mainly to the geographical areas of Central Africa, the East, or Africa north of the Sahara. Since there are no written records about these early movements, assumptions are based on cultural or physical similarities of the areas from which they claim to have originated. Whatever the case may be, it is apparently clear that most

Nigerians migrated from somewhere to their present place of birth for various reasons ranging from herding, light, hunger, search for farmlands, overpopulation, etc. (Lar, 1989).

A few ethnic groups in Plateau State, such as the Angas people of the Pankshin local government area, exemplified the notion that most Nigerians migrated from somewhere in that the Angas themselves claimed to have been driven from Borno at an early date, about 100 A.D., by the Kanuris, who were also driven from Tchd. All these claims were illuminated in the 1934 Gazette of the Northern Provinces. Even when a permanent settlement was discovered, catastrophic forces, such as famine, forced many of them to migrate to the lowlands and beyond from 1947-1950.

In the Plateau State of Nigeria, even the Tarok people claimed that their origin could be traced from the Bantu tribe of East Africa. They believed that their departure from the Bantu tribe was done with the Tiv people of Benne state. They had a brief stop in Cameroon and then arrived at the River Benne, where the two groups separated to go to their present abodes. The Tarok people went further to Southern Kaduna, where they embraced and carried some of the Nok culture, to settle in Banchi for a period of time. They finally emerged at their present settlement which is today geographically located in the Langtang Local Government Area. These claims are highlighted by the Tarok Langtang Committee (1980). In similar fashion, each ethnic group in Nigeria possesses this form of oral tradition about their origins. Finally, nomadism is quite distinct

from this form of historical movement in that it involves constant movement and short-term settlement which may occur more than twice in a lifetime. However, this chapter will not discuss different types of nomadism in Nigeria, as it has little or no bearing on the reason behind the nomad's exclusion from the Mass Literacy Campaign. Therefore, it is enough to supply data as to why nomadism had posed a big problem in reaching the minority nomadic Fulani during a campaign to educate the masses of Nigeria. Reference will also be made to the United Kingdom's effort to educate the Tinkers and Gypsies.

The Hard to Reach Nomads: Was There de jure and de facto Marginalization?

As mentioned earlier, nomadism among the Fulani people of Nigeria is governed by a cattle economy. Movement is necessary for the well-being of the cattle (De-St.-Croix, 1972). Therefore, how could it be possible to influence people who were constantly wandering from one place to another with mass literacy education?

The oldest of the known traveling groups, for example, the Tinker groups of Britain, changed their way of life after the discovery of coal and coke for smelting iron, which made them wealthier. But for nomads in Nigeria, could any meaningful education be galvanized to introduce them to education?

De-St.-Croix (1972) responded by commenting, "The Fulani leave the dry season grazing grounds and following the spring of new grass, move towards their wet season quarters." Furthermore, he asserts that, based on the above statement, it

can be deduced that there are two seasonal movements (i.e., wet and dry seasons) which could make it possible for any educational activities for the nomads to take place (Lar, 1989). He also tried to fortify this statement (Lar, 1989) by stating that:

[The] Fulani chief or leader would decide to give up the nomadic life for that of scholarship, and having a wife, he can retire with her to a town. From time to time he would visit relatives and stay with them and exchange views. When a man of learning was required, he would be called in by them.

Also, it was necessary for the nomads to maintain channels of communication between the rulers and the town. Fulani who were influenced by education thereby provided the illiterate nomads with incentives to participate in the Mass Literacy Campaign. But that effort would be practically impossible in that the town Fulani, who were perceived as "degenerates" and accused by the nomads of selling off their stock to satisfy the desire for luxury, food and fine clothing, could not really influence the nomads, whom they saw as the "hard to reach and backward" group of relatives.

In Britain an attempt was made to eradicate nomadism within the past 400 years, but the attempt failed. The Gypsies navigated their travel with no legal residence, and schooling for their children was impossible. Therefore, they remained illiterate in a literate Western world (National Gypsy Council Education Report, 1978). The Fulani of Northern Nigeria, though isolated from the towns, maintained a close link with the townspeople that perpetuated a relationship

with no complete trust. As for the Gypsy community, this form of structural set-up was to no avail.

According to the 1981 Seminar Report on Nomadic Curriculum Development, the link of the nomadic Fulani with the town Fulani (settled Fulani) was not through their settled kin, but through established functionaries like veterinary clinics, dairies and agricultural offices (Lar, 1989). In this report, the veterinarian stated that "the Veterinary Division of Jos has been in contact with the nomadic cattle Fulani for the past 30 years." He added, "nomads are not the most innovative of people." To verify these claims, how did De-St.-Croix find out that settled Fulani were in many cases owners of large numbers of cattle? How could they be of the ruling class, as revealed by Adetoro (1964)? As reported in the 1981 Seminar Report on Nomadic Curriculum, these apparent contradictions invite the following questions: (a) Could their wealthy possessions and leadership abilities be a result of their being influenced by the discovery of town facilities or exposure to better herding systems, and thus they were able to advise their nomadic people, who represented them in the bush, to improve their cattle production; or (b) Was it through their contact with the veterinary services which in turn has helped them to improve their cattle?

The contribution of a medical officer stressed the need to plan for primary health care among the nomads (Lar, 1989). Had this not been the practice in the past? Had they not improved in health? If so, what was the option? It was revealed that the nomads visited hospitals, clinics and dispensaries in the towns

and villages. In this fashion, the nomads established links with the townspeople in many ways -- through hospitals, veterinary clinics, dairies and agricultural establishments. These relationships have had profound impact on the nomads to improve their cattle industries, personal health and farm products.

At the first annual conference held in February 1982 on Education for the Nomads in Nigeria, Adewole, Adepetu and Ezeoma discussed the needs, aspirations, movements, demographic profiles and socio-economic factors of the nomads (Lar, 1989). Adewole stated that the nomads were faced with de facto/de jure discrimination during the Mass Literacy Campaign since they were not allowed to register in any of the normal, regular schools. To Adewole, this problem was attributed to nomadism, which made it difficult for the nomadic Fulani to participate in normal schooling. Therefore, nomadism among these hard-to-reach minority groups had its pros and cons. It was advantageous, as indicated in the preceding paragraphs, in the profound impact it had on the economic development of Nigeria, and disadvantageous in that temporary settlement made it hard to reach, register and have them involved in literacy education, or any other form of normal schooling that would enable them to increase their economic productivity.

Although in the past there had been some semblance of informal learning through the settled town Fulani, veterinary hospitals, dispensaries, dairies and clinics, recommendations were made by Adewole in the conference that a compensatory education was needed in order to reinforce any form of

literacy/vocational training provided for them. In recent years efforts have been made by the state and local government to provide education for the nomadic people in order to bridge the gap between the privileged (i.e., recipients of general/mass education) and the underprivileged/under-represented nomads. Although, in looking back at history, the settled Fulani (town Fulani) were also the chief beneficiaries of the 14th- or 15th-century Kovanic/literacy education in Nigeria. To fortify the above-mentioned statement, a brief historical underpinning is added here which further suggested that they were not completely marginalized and oppressed, but that they were hard to reach.

As mentioned, the nomadic cattle Fulani migrated into Nigeria through the Hausa land of Gobir. The King of Gobir had oppressed them and levied heavy taxes. This created a situation which was economically difficult to surmount. In 1804, Alhaji Usman Dan Fodio, endowed with bravery and gallantry, became an eminent personality. In fact, Sawtu Linjiila described him as "an outstanding Muslim scholar and teacher, who, on his return from pilgrimage in Mecca, became an ardent preacher for Muslim purity." (Lar, 1989). He was so famous that he became a threat to Nfarta, King of Gobir. Usman Dan Fodio soon mobilized the nomadic Fulani and confronted the King of Gobir in a battle. By 1810, Hausa states such as Sokoto, Katsina, Kano, Zaria and Duara fell to the Fulani and Sokoto was made the capital. Usman Dan Fodio as a political leader as well as a Muslim leader gave the pastoral community the leverage to spread throughout Northern Nigeria. This was further aided by the Declaration of the

Northern Nigerian Protectorate in 1900 by Lord Lugard, the first colonial governor. These claims were revealed by Crampton (1975). This declaration also guaranteed peace and tranquillity which afforded the nomads the opportunity and confidence to move into the interior. The nomads were pleased to depart from Gobir, and Usman Dan Fodio and his groups became the ruling class.

An excursion into the historical origin of the indigenous peoples of Northern Nigeria revealed that of the eight people who have ruled Nigeria, both military and civilian, four of them have a Fulani background:

(1) Alhaji Tafawa Balewa, Prime Minister from 1960-1966; (2) General Murtala Mohammed, Head of State, Commander-in-Chief of the Nigerian Armed Forces, 1975-1976; (3) Alhaji Shehu-Shagari, first post-civil war era Nigerian President, 1979-1983; and (4) General Buhari, also Head of State, Commander-in-Chief of the Nigerian Armed Forces, 1984-1985.

Hopen (1958) observed, "while the ruling class continued to propel the affairs of Nigeria, yet the nomads continued to exist without learning. Thus, their marginalization as a result of nomadism in the Mass Literacy Campaign and other facets of education was due to their limited interaction with the other people of Nigeria, and their isolated life in the rural areas made it very difficult for the Colonial Administration and its adherents to involve them in any meaningful development. Therefore, they continued to be one of the most disadvantaged groups in terms of development. There has been considerable disparity in terms of opportunity to mass education/general education and development between

the nomadic Fulani and the ruling class Fulani. Although the influence of the Fulani ruling class gave the nomadic Fulani more confidence to pursue their cattle rearing activities in the remote areas, it made them a hard-to-reach group in terms of formal schooling.

To reiterate, in support of compensatory education for the nomads to bridge the gap between them and the Fulani ruling class and other masses of people, an educational policy was put forth in the early eighties to include: (a) the objectives of nomadic education; (b) types of schools; (c) curriculum development; (d) training of teachers and their conditions of service; and (e) the administration and funding of activities. To clearly state the nature of the educational activities and the types of skills to be developed within this school system to meet the needs of the nomads, the following objectives were included in Lar (1989, pp. 56-57):

- (1) to eradicate illiteracy through the ability to read and write;
- (2) to develop the child's initiative and scientific thinking, in order to enhance self-reliance;
- (3) to help the child to adapt to any social and physical environments in the process of perpetual environmental changes in the event of constant movements;
- (4) to develop the child's ability to manipulate objects in order to encourage creativity and innovations within the nomadic setting;

(5) to develop the child intellectually, emotionally, morally, physically, and to encourage social and educational integration;

(6) to help the child acquire simple livestock management skills that will enable improvement in production;

(7) to be able to communicate with livestock establishments and public functionaries regarding livestock management;

(8) to promote technological awareness among the nomadic children in the use of modern methods of livestock keeping;

(9) to enhance civic responsibility, thus promoting good citizenship among the nomads; and

(10) to help the child accept his social environment and accommodate other people's, too.

However, since de jure and de facto discrimination was covertly or overtly employed and inaccessibility was an inhibitor to the inclusion of the nomadic people in the 1940-1952 Mass Literacy Campaign, the above-mentioned objectives designed by the State Ministry of Education could have been inculcated in the mass education policy. Furthermore, as an educationally disadvantaged group, a policy such as the one stated above would have removed the handicap of the nomads who had not been able to develop their own society, let alone that of Nigeria as a nation. These objectives were also in agreement with the National Policy on Education 1977 (in Lar, 1989, pp. 57-58):

...to provide equal education opportunities for all citizens of the nation at the primary, secondary and tertiary levels, both inside and outside the formal school system. It clearly spelt out the aims at the pre-primary level up to the university, and included different forms of special education ranging from the education of the gifted to that of the severely handicapped. It also indicated steps to be taken to achieve these objectives.

Finally, whether or not the Colonial Administration was aware of these special groups of people in Nigeria may require an examination of other records.

In summation, it can be concluded that the nomadic Fulani were marginalized in the Mass Literacy Campaign of 1940-1952 in Nigeria based on a wide variety of reasons: (a) historical tribal discrimination, (b) cultural inertia, (c) nomadism, and (d) de jure and de facto discrimination due to backwardness. Other factors which may have contributed to non-participation and disengagement were at institutional, situational or dispositional levels. As disclosed in the Education Department Annual Report regarding persons with disabilities, who were most densely concentrated in the northern parts of Nigeria, no specific arrangements were made by the Colonial Administration, Education Department, Christian/Muslim denominational bodies, Native Administrations and/or influential persons to include this special population in the Mass Literacy Campaign. Although, in the course of implementing primary, secondary and tertiary education in Nigeria, special concessions were made by the Education Department in terms of grant-in-aids to Leper Settlement Schools. Proposals for the education of blind children in Kano were pending, but nothing substantial ever emerged. Proposed schools for blind children at Gindiri, under the auspices

of the Sudan United Mission, never materialized due to other mitigating forces, such as half-hearted initiatives by the government and inadequate financial support for special education in the regions. Therefore, persons with disabilities were not included in the Mass Literacy Campaign in Nigeria. The exclusion may be attributed to the fact that it was an urgent mass literacy effort, with limited time and finances. As for the aging adult population, what constituted an aging population in Nigeria at that time may have been different from that which defined an aging population in the Western hemisphere.

A glance at the ill-developed demographic profile of the Nigerian population reveals that the Mass Literacy Campaign encompassed the population which was 7-under 50 years of age. Given the acute, impoverished living conditions of the people and the prevalence of preventable diseases, the average life expectancy may have been 35 years. The aging population was not inclined to mass literacy education for fear that it might strip them of their cultural nature, which in turn would lead to scientific imbecility, legal pauperization and theological incarceration.

There was a popularly held belief that the aging population was both hesitant and incapable of learning. However, most of the aging were apt to allow their children to participate in the white man's education -- the Mass Literacy Campaign. Many of them generally held the opinion that it was "impossible to teach old dogs new tricks," and this opinion was closely associated with their belief in reincarnation. The attitude of the illiterate aging adult population in

Nigeria appeared to be, "I am sending my children to school to learn. In my next incarnation, my parents will send me to school, so why should I bother to learn now?" However, beliefs in reincarnation, oral tradition, deities and animism not only worked against any attempt to include the hard-to-reach adult aging population, but also led them to believe that white man's education was for their children, youths and adults who could use it to further develop the economic, social and political pressures which were plaguing the nation. The aging population, while committed to learning, was more inclined to allow this attitude to apply to its children as participants in a literacy campaign. Their oral traditions were imbued with the richness of their culture. In addition, they wanted their children to possess alternative methods of perceiving, interpreting and communicating views of the world. This commitment to learning should not be downplayed. Although not perturbed by the Mass Literacy Campaign, yet still deeply embedded in their beliefs, the aging population expressed gratification by stating (Omolewa, 1981):

White man, I greet you. God is with you, man from the Country of Dibos (civilized ones). Spirits have led you into this part to do us good...To the sick, you give a medicine which we do not know...The gods of this village have given you a heart which knows no evil..."

Therefore, in the case of the aging population, unlike the persons with disabilities and the nomads, de jure and de facto measures did not play a part in dealing with this group. Rather, non-participation was a result of being entangled in webs of oral traditions and other cultural beliefs.

Having discussed the broad implications of the 1940-1952 Mass Literacy Campaign on the special population of adult learners, the pros and cons of this campaign to educate the masses of Nigeria needs to be addressed. In preceding chapters some of the triggering events that led to the Mass Literacy Campaign were narrated, forerunners of the campaign were revealed, and their roles in implementing the campaign were discussed. The impact of a campaign of this magnitude had both negative and positive connotations. A description of the success of the campaign would be incomplete without a discussion of its failures and problems. Usually, as exemplified by other mass literacy campaigns in other countries, outcomes may be looked at on an individual, group and collective basis. Consequences may be evaluated as immediate or long-term, and could be viewed in quantitative or qualitative terms. The quantitative side (Arnone & Graff, 1987) refers to numbers of individuals reached by a campaign, the numbers who achieved literacy and who continued on to post-literacy adult educational activities. They state further that frequently these figures are impressive, involving millions of people who participated in a campaign and a dramatic decrease in illiteracy levels. On a more qualitative basis, they contend that literacy itself is too often viewed from a linear perspective: either a person is literate or not literate. But literacy may also be viewed as a continuum: a set of skills that may become more developed over time in response to the complexities of a changing social context, shifting demands on the communication skills of an individual, or the result of an individual's efforts toward advancement.

The second half of this chapter, therefore, includes both qualitative and quantitative approaches in assessing the positive and negative impact of the Mass Literacy Campaign.

Problems and Failures of the Mass Literacy Campaign

The astronomical increase in the rate of illiteracy in Nigeria has remained an issue of concern among adult educators. Why was it that more than 80% of men and more than 90% of women remained illiterates in Nigeria, despite a monumental, early start to promote literacy? The answer may be attributed partially to the fact that this early start was itself surrounded by problems which, from the very beginning, militated against a positive, notable impact on the social fabric of the country. There were, for example, problems internal to the structure of Nigerian society itself and problems which arose from administrative constraints.

In many of the provinces, there was a dearth of educated young men who were old enough to exude some kind of influence on their country, and, of these, few had strong conviction or motivation to contribute to the desired effect, which was to continue the process by teaching their illiterate counterparts in spite of small financial reward for such services. In many instances, however, inexperienced school children were allowed to do the work under seemingly serious conditions. As a result, the desired effect, a standard mass education program, could not be achieved because the controlling force remained with the

social and economic structure of the people themselves. The Igbo, for example, who were less discriminatory (Anyanwu, 1987), did not object to being taught by children, but the more sophisticated Hausa and Yoruba people did not like this arrangement because it had a tendency to wound their sense of pride. Furthermore, the people who dwelled in towns but worked in distant, outlying farms, could be given instruction only at night. This would require lighting. In the case of the Ekiti, the initial solution was that the learners brought their own lamps. This practice was short-lived, and the demand for better lighting as a social service could not be met.

A concentrated campaign in a particular place was not feasible because it would dismantle the social and economic structure of the people. For example, during cultivation and harvesting periods, the people were occupied with busy schedules and the erection of homes could be done only at a certain time in certain areas, and these were periods of fasts and festivals for the Muslims. During these times the people would be less concentrated on the need for mass education classes.

In addition to the fact that the Mass Literacy Campaign was limited by a shortage of instructors, some natural leaders were not pleased with the potential spread of literacy among the masses because they were uncomfortable with its perceived threat on their influence and power. An Illah chief reported to the District Officer at Asaba that he was against the extension of literacy to everybody solely because people who had acquired literacy skills would become less inclined

to participate actively in communal manual labor. His statement was most revealing. The problem that arose from this issue was that for a literacy program to be deeply rooted it must have the strong support of the natural leaders. For any mass literacy campaign, efforts which relied on the people for progress and development, but without the active alignment of the natural leaders, were destined to be unsuccessful. Conversely, leadership efforts which relied on the support of the community were sometimes threatened. For example, some mission publications were viewed with skepticism by benefactors of other missions, more especially by the Muslims. The result was that some parts of the community often boycotted mass literacy programs which they believed were geared toward other sector interests.

According to Anyanwu (1987), in most Mass Literacy Campaign areas, the people were not prepared to participate actively in the mass literacy programs, which was necessary to assure success. The Mass Literacy Campaign could not be facilitated without the spontaneous, popular impetus of the masses. It must be agreed that in such a situation success required the active cooperation of the people. In actual practice, little on-the-spot effort was made by the Colonial officials to discover how much popular enthusiasm might be stimulated. Most wanting, however, in this connection, was the absence of administrative direction. Although the mass literacy schemes emphasized that initiative and enthusiasm must come from the people, without organizational drive, supplied continually by the Colonial government, any such scheme would fall short of its purpose. The

desire for literacy among the people could not be achieved by ordinary reports which provided and were limited to responses to requests for information from London. On the other hand, the desire could be achieved by the efforts of an enthusiastic and determined administrative staff. This was not forthcoming at a level which would hold the promise of success (Anyanwu, 1987).

Financial administration also hampered the mass mobilization literacy campaign. Although it was appreciated, for example, that Native Administrations should be encouraged to support and aid the mass mobilization literacy scheme, financial contributions were very limited. The Colonial Administration in Nigeria did not attempt to devise a solution to the problem, in spite of advice from the Secretary of State that the mass mobilization literacy scheme did not represent an expensive adjunct to a development program, but would provide a means of securing financial and other assistance for the people. The most dominant feeling within the administration was that the spirit of philanthropy and public service, assisted by disinterested but wealthy individuals and which gave rise to social and welfare services in the United Kingdom, was alien to the African way of life. The Colonial officials pretended not to appreciate that the products of these Colonial people had built up the primary wealth and philanthropy at home. In the face of the failure to look at the problem objectively, the administration determined that "it would be unreasonable to try to force on an African village something which is foreign to it." (Anyanwu, 1987)

Consequently, the Nigerian Colonial government determined that it was not meaningful to pay instructors of adult classes, and the mass mobilization literacy campaign was begun with volunteer instructors. In almost all instances the result was the same -- area campaigns were short-lived. In many cases the volunteer instructors quickly withdrew their efforts, while in others attendance became increasingly irregular, very often because of dissatisfaction with the quality of instruction given.

Needless to say, the Mass Literacy Campaign failed to eradicate illiteracy (Omolewa, 1981, p. 38). Contrary to assumptions, it is not wholly true that the departure of A. J. Carpenter in 1952 brought about the collapse of the campaign. As early as 1947, five years before A. J. Carpenter retired, reports were already coming in from most sections of Nigeria which clearly showed increasing enthusiasm and interest, pupil enrollment and teacher participation. For example, L. A. Amadi, the Acting Senior Education Officer, Owerri Province, reported to the Deputy Director of Education for the Eastern Province on the 15th day of January, 1947, that, after the initial enthusiasm for mass education classes, there has been a decline in many areas and a decrease in enthusiasm.

Another inhibiting force to the mass mobilization of the literacy campaign, perhaps the most crucial, was the failure of the promoters to sustain the interest of students, teachers, and the masses in general. As one of the energetic promoters suggested, incentives must not be short-lived, but must produce "that urge that gives rise to a determined effort which is maintained until the desired

result is achieved." (Omolewa, 1981, p. 39) After all their various motivational strategies had failed, many teachers were frustrated about which step to take next. They thus concluded that it was impossible to "teach old dogs new tricks" and that older adults were both unwilling and perhaps incapable of learning.

It was also a popularly held opinion that many students withdrew from classes because English was excluded from the mass literacy programs. As a teacher explained, "I am of the opinion that ability to write good English cannot, other than by the most exceptional person, ever be achieved by the unschooled adult." (Omolewa, 1981, p. 39) The teacher was unable to appreciate the reason which motivated adult attendance at school to learn, among other subjects, English. At Abak, on the 27th of November, 1946, the mass education officials were told by the resident District Officer, the Headmaster of the government school, and the Roman Catholic fathers that "there would be a good response if English was incorporated in the syllabus." (Omolewa, 1981, p. 39) Along the same line, the Adult Education Supervisor for the Eastern Provinces reported on the 17th of November, 1950, that some classes did not start in Ahonda Division because of the disappointment of students in not being allowed to start right away with the study of English instead of Ibo in the literacy classes.

Just as English served as an incentive to students, good remuneration was a powerful incentive to the teachers. It was true that there were a few teachers who gave their services willingly. Such contributions by teachers were appreciated because they embraced the philosophy of providing "unpaid social

service" to the community. But in most campaign centers it was difficult to recruit instructors without the promise of reward in the form of payment, regardless of how small. Payment was believed to be an aid to further progress. However, the mass literacy education adherent at Ilaro noted on the 11th of July, 1946 (Omolewa, 1981, 40):

There is no doubt in my mind that expansion on any adequate scale will not be possible without some financial encouragement for the teachers. From my experience in various provinces, I have found that the percentage of teachers willing to give their services voluntarily is very small and does not do more than touch the fringe of the needs of the mass[es].

Coordinating efforts created further problems. District Officers battled with education officials for control of the programs. The effect of this dissension was a prodigal waste of energy and unwarranted rivalries. Wherever the efforts of the influential A. J. Carpenter did not prevail to propel the components of the Mass Literacy Campaign, more villagers took a greater interest in building bridges than in learning the 3Rs. Some issues were unique to local areas. At Owerri Province, for example, there were reports of the "unwillingness of the people to learn." The Education Officer explained (Omolewa, 1981, 40):

One curious obstacle to keenness I have found in several areas is the belief in reincarnation. The attitude of the illiterate adult in these places appears to be, 'I am sending my children to school to learn. In my next incarnation, my parents will send me to school, so why should I bother to learn now?'

Reiterated in this quotation, the belief in reincarnation held by the aging population was a major inhibiting factor faced by the benefactors of the 1940-1952 Mass Literacy Campaign.

At Aisegba in Ondo Province, literacy classes deteriorated and ultimately ended because the people were angry when their dancing team was not selected for the Native Dance Tournament for the royal visit of 1956. When a Mass Education Officer paid a visit to the town, only four men and four women were present at class. At Abak it was impossible to operationalize the Mass Literacy Campaign because the division was in turmoil over reported leopard murders. Some learners boycotted classes at Ahoada Division because "the tilley lamps originally promised to them were to no avail." Therefore, as discussed in the preceding paragraphs, some of the inhibiting forces were described that hampered the success of the Mass Literacy Campaign. Subsequent paragraphs will reveal some of the notable impacts of the Mass Literacy Campaign as they pertain to individual and national development. The second half of this chapter will delve further into the qualitative aspect and incorporate select, quantitative data for purposes of clarification.

Impact on Individuals and National Development as an Integrated Whole

It is often difficult to achieve change in an individual's self-concept, ideological orientation, political disposition, feeling of efficacy and commitment to participate in social action without the springboard of some type of agitation. In like manner, the collective advancement of community and society cannot be achieved or evaluated without targeting the deeply ingrained concern for the social, political and economic pressures extant in the country at that period. In the Southern states of Nigeria, there existed a degree of agitation and an urge for

the creation of the Mass Literacy Campaign during the post-World War II era. A crucial, driving element behind this desire was to get a job. In the Northern states, on the other hand, the agitation and interest was mild and stemmed from numerous factors. These factors encompassed the influence of European contact, firmly established chieftaincy, and the impact of foreign trade on the indigenous society. Government believed it was possible to use agitation and interest to transform the peasant and the pastoralist into literates, insofar as there existed a desire to read among the people and the willingness to teach by those who were competent enough to do so.

In the Northern states, there was an old, established tradition for literacy education, which extended as far back as the 14th century, directed and sponsored by the Koranic schools. Some of these, like the Sanhuchi School in Kani, were provided with efficient teachers, including graduates from the Northern Provinces Law School, and English-speaking mallams. Youths who were recipients of Arabic instruction, which was taught in these advanced schools, were convinced to extend their studies to include literacy in Roman characters and to impart their knowledge to pupils at the ordinary Koranic schools. In a similar period, influential persons, such as district heads, were encouraged to conduct mass literacy education classes themselves in order to attach to literacy the connotation of responsibility and to propagate the idea that it was essential for maintaining or attaining any social status. To achieve these mass literacy skills, literacy programs also were actualized in practice as part of

rural development plans. To that effect literacy programs were mobilized in these areas: (a) the Suru area around Dirin, Daji and Dabai Sarme (in these areas of Northern Nigeria, there were increased numbers of ex-soldiers who were willing to put their efforts together for the promotion of the Mass Literacy Campaign); (b) the Misau area at Zadawa (this area had an influential Emir, at whose direction the people had already inculcated teachings in their improved method of agriculture); (c) the Abuja and Southern Tiv areas (which were development areas); and (d) the Kankia District at Sekuntum, Yashe and Kafin Danji (these areas engulfed demonstration farms).

The mass literacy programs in Katsina Province owed much to the initiative of Mr. C. K. Brooke-Hunt, the Provincial Education Officer, and Mallam Ahmadu Coomasie, the senior visiting teacher. Instructors consisted of two District Officers, several village heads, alkalis, court scribes, village scribes, dispensary attendants, sanitary inspectors, veterinary assistants and ex-elementary schoolboys. In fact, it was a case of "together we stand," which signified that only with all resources put together would widespread literacy be achieved in the states. The programs were concerned with the fundamental education of adults and centered on literacy education in vernacular. Women and men were involved. The success was such that private family and compound classes very quickly were established to assist the general effort at literacy. This led to improved changes in the customs and habits of the people and propelled

such amelioration. It was the success in Katsina that led to the start of similar programs in the Misau Emirate, in Zuru and the Southern Tiv areas.

In Zaria Province a literacy program was launched in the Anchau District, with the assistance of ten special community schools in the area and with the aid of the Normal Administration School in the District. Children attended classes in the morning and adults participated in the evenings. Literacy classes were delivered by former schoolboys who had a short course of training in Zaria under the supervision of the visiting teacher. The Anchau experiment has been described in the April 1946 issue of "Overseas Education" as an early experiment (Anyanwu, 1987). It rightly deserves commendations, although it did not achieve concrete results because its areas of operation were very expansive and affected small, scattered hamlets. Hence, it did not provide concrete data for Mass Literacy Campaign evaluation. In generic terms, the cooperation of the administration, the Native Authorities, and the religious denominational bodies and influential persons contributed immensely to the success of the Mass Literacy Campaign in the Northern states. Equally important were the central directives given by the Mass Education Officer, A. J. Carpenter.

Also, it must be agreed that the return of ex-servicemen to their homes had a profound impact on village life. The employment of ex-servicemen as adult education organizers and assistants gave a very definite impetus to the Mass Literacy Campaign in these provinces. As the campaigns developed, the adult classes attached to Native Administration elementary schools continued to make

progress. Increased numbers of people continued to attend classes for religious instruction, which targeted the ability to read the Bible and simple notations. These were organized by the missions in non-Muslim areas, notably on the Plateau and in Southern Zaria.

In the Western states, the Colonial Administration, at the onset, adamantly resisted efforts to galvanize and mobilize any form of the Mass Literacy Campaign for fear that initiation of a literacy campaign would equip the people with the intellectual capability with which to fight the government. For example, the local administration was not happy with criticism leveled in the local press against measures taken by the government and felt that a mass literacy campaign would accentuate this trend instead of lessening (Anyanwu, 1987). As a result, Mr. P. V. Main, Secretary of the Western Provinces, commenting on the initiation of a mass literacy campaign to the Western provinces, stated to the Chief Secretary to Government that a mass literacy campaign would ordinarily lead to mass dissatisfaction, which could only express itself in fighting something, and that something was the government. The secretary further proceeded to condemn the whole scheme as one which would succeed in its social consequences in making the people "discontented, unwilling to work and ill-disciplined," converting most of them into street-corner derelicts.

Mr. A. F. Abell, the District Officer at Ibadan was very vocal in condemning the anti-government tendencies of the people as fanned by the daily press (Anyanwu, 1987, p. 63):

There is one other danger I must call attention to. Whatever reading matter is produced for the consumption of the new literate public, the Daily Press will always be the most widely read literature. I am frankly horrified at the thought of millions more readers of "The Pilot." It is surely realized that if mass literacy was to be achieved now, we should merely produce so many more millions discontented with their lot and distrustful of the government, for that appears to be the main object of some of our most widely read papers today. Clubs, welfare centers and the like can do good work, but they can never influence public opinion in the way the press can and does. There are a lot of educated persons in Ibadan; very few take out books from the library, but they all, I should guess, without exception, read the papers.

In the same fashion, Mr. R. H. Gretton, District Officer, Egba, commented that an ability to read and write was notoriously harmful to a willingness to work in the fields. Major L. R. C. Sumner, former resident of Benin, was of the notion that a mass literacy campaign would drain the masses of the uprightness of discipline, since the average school child lacked this moral excellence to a very notable extent, being swollen with a sense of his own self-importance and superiority, considering manual labor as appalling and despising his illiterate brothers at home. The District Officer at Asaba, Major Tristram, was of the belief that as soon as any local person went to school, he became out of hand, independent and idle. And Captain J. A. MacKenzie, former resident of Oyo Province, giving his formal defense against the spread of literacy among the masses, emerged with the conclusion that illiterate chiefs often unveiled a not inconsiderable amount of character and citizenship which was lacking among the educated (Anyanwu, 1987, p. 64). However, the Colonial Administration in Nigeria was urged on by the government of the United Kingdom to devise a

definite policy in favor of a mass literacy campaign as an immediate target. It was only at that period that the local Colonial Administration in the Western provinces was convinced to initiate a policy in favor of the programs of the mass literacy campaign. By the same token, the Western Secretariat felt that the District Officer should be responsible for the Mass Literacy Campaign, only in the wider sense of community development, enlisting the aid and services of technical departments which comprised the Education Department as it deemed suitable. This administration was bent on asserting strongly that the Mass Education Officer should come into Mass Literacy Campaign efforts only when it was required to adapt the campaign to assimilate a community development scheme which was initiated to promote literacy. Accordingly, in a circular letter addressed to the Chief Secretary, and copies to the resident, Western Provinces, and the provincial secretaries at Enugu and Kaduna, the Secretary of Western Provinces stated (Anyanwu, 1987):

For example, if health or agriculture are the particular subjects that require publicity, these subjects will be utilized in reading and writing lessons arranged by the Mass Education Officer, who will help further with explanation of the subjects during such lessons. The actual point of such subjects will of course be prepared by the departments concerned.

Although this was as the arrangement should be, there was no doubt, assessing the entire debate from the vantage point of hindsight, that this letter was coming from an officer who felt distracted from his routine responsibilities. As a result, it was not surprising that the enthusiasm of the villagers rather than

the official directive led to the propagation of the Mass Literacy Campaign in these provinces. And yet, in spite of official resistance, much was achieved.

Controlled experiments were conducted at the two major Literacy Centers, located at Ilaro in Abeokuta Province and Ekiti in Ondo Province. Both were initiated at the same period of time and were operationalized along parallel lines. Ilaro was picked as a conducive place for experimentation, as local initiative had already given rise to some classes, especially in the rural, yet developing village of Ebute Igboro. Programs were extended to Igbogila and Sawonjo. In all three villages an intensive campaign for children's education had begun. Mass literacy classes commenced with instruction in reading and writing. These were taught by such benefactors as the Native Administration clerks and teachers, encouraged by their local village heads, and facilitated by the Native Administration divisional visiting teacher.

The Mass Literacy Campaign scheme commenced on the 1st of August, 1946, when the Mass Education Officer, the Provincial Education Officer and the visiting teacher met the village heads, teachers and other adherents who were most likely to be actively interested. Classes were started at 30 centers, with some 700 adult pupils (Anyanwu, 1987). The syllabus utilized was prepared by the Yoruba Language Society at Ibadan. Most classes were held at night, and each adult participant who attended brought a lamp. A reflector was made for the blackboard. The people were enthusiastic to learn, and within approximately

three months of the commencement of the literacy program, attendance increased to 1,094 (Anyanwu, 1987). Interest continued to grow and the supervising teacher continued with his work accordingly. A number of chiefs and community leaders were supportive of the pupils, due to their belief that the acquisition of literacy would make the pupils more inclined to change, to the betterment of individuals and society at large. Consequently, popular, keen interest in this regard led to the fact that a number of Mass Literacy Campaign Centers became permanent village institutions.

Ekiti was selected as a suitable area for a mass literacy campaign experiment because the people were willing to participate in a mass mobilization literacy campaign (see the definition of terms in Chapter 1) for progress. Mass Literacy Campaign experiments initiated by the C. M. S. Mission had achieved a fair measure of success among the women of the districts. At the same token, this was the most mass-educational-inclined area in the Western Provinces. Programs were operationalized at Ado-Ekiti, Ogotun, Ikole Ekiti and Ijesha-Ishu. A crucial feature of the campaign was that each village operationalized its own programs for which it established a small committee consisting of the village head or chief.

This mass literacy effort began in September of 1946 (Anyanwu, 1987). The operationalization was similar to that of Ilaro. Fifty-seven centers were conceived as possibilities for this area, but after two months only about half the number had been realized, with a total enrollment of nearly 1,000. A Mass

Education Committee was put together and organizers were appointed. The Native Administration visiting teacher gave a monumental amount of assistance in the operationalization and implementation of the Ekiti classes. One notable development was that women constituted a large proportion of the pupils. This resulted in the establishment of a number of village domestic science classes, and the instructors were educated women who had obtained a special course of instruction.

In the case of the Eastern Provinces, official policy was unequivocally inclined to the spread of literacy education to the masses, and, in stages, was anxious to create an initiative. While the program of a mass literacy campaign was on the table within administrative circles, the Chief Commissioner of the Eastern Provinces felt that a decision was needed as to whether the problem of illiteracy should be immediately addressed or whether it should be delayed pending the arrival of Mass Education Officers, which was being contemplated by the Director of Education. From the experiments which had been orchestrated in the Eastern Provinces, the Chief Commissioner was certain that propelling voluntary service would become the norm in the operationalization and the implementation of a Mass Literacy Campaign in these provinces.

The people in numerous areas of the Eastern Provinces, particularly young men, were exhibiting an increasing desire to improve their towns and villages. Practically every clan had its "improvement union." Such adherents, with their affiliations, were readily equipped for the promotion of the Mass Literacy

Campaign in the communities. Furthermore, hundreds of ex-servicemen from different areas had great inclinations to participate in operationalizing and implementing the Mass Literacy Campaign. By the same token, in many districts there were several institutions of higher learning which were advantageous in that the products of these institutions and their teachers could be relied upon for their support of any program for the propagation of literacy and adult education in their communities.

In the Bende and Okigwe Divisions, for example, could be found the Government College and Agricultural Education Center at Umudike, a teachers' training college, theological seminary and secondary school at Uzuakoli, a women's training college for teachers at Old Umuahia, and a girls' school at Ovim. Within these areas there were also great numbers of Europeans involved in full-time education work as well as a large number of primary schools, with a proportionate number of trained teachers. What was more, these localities had two notable problems around which projects could be built (Anyanwu, 1987). These were leprosy and its control, and overcultivation, each with the attendant problems of poor housing and impoverishment. The area was fortunate to have in its midst a Provincial Leprosy Center at Uzuakoli and the Government Agricultural Station at Umudike. There was optimism that the officers in charge of these institutions would align with the Mass Education Officer and welcome any assistance he could provide in the form of propaganda. Additionally, there was the effort of the Church to promote literacy among the masses. Almost all

the churches required literacy as a condition of church membership and had the tools to provide it. As the Church developed, the spread of literacy among the people became astronomical, and the number of classes for religious instruction increased (see Table 7, p. 236). According to Anyanwu (1987, p. 67), the Mass Literacy Campaign in the Eastern Provinces was operationalized at several locations, viz:

- (1) In Owerri Province there were programs at Agwa and the Ngwa District of Aba, where the people were advancing in achieving mass literacy skills;
- (2) In Calabar Province there were literacy experiments at Eket where a number of classes had already commenced; and
- (3) In Onitsha Province the Udi campaign resulted in a leading experiment toward community development.

Classes began in the Agwa area in October 1946. They were geared to teach adult men and women fundamental literacy in English. These were attended by a tremendous number, and the Senior Education Officer at Owerri did not wait for any centralized committee on the Mass Literacy Campaign to approve his program. Through the subsidiary of the government, this officer had five literacy pamphlets published, the first two of these were comprised of a news sheet and a primer. They were distributed to Mass Literacy Campaign participants and, in the effort, most people who were already literate also received them. The key issue of the administration of efforts in this area continued to be experimental. About the same situation was in process at the Efik Centers in

Calabar Province. However, the people had access to advice delivered by local officers who were in charge of the publication bureau. Many pamphlets were printed and distributed. As in the case of Ekiti in the Western Province, women constituted a great proportion of the adult pupils. This, in effect, led to the opening up of several domestic science classes for the benefit of women.

The Udi Campaign, on the other hand, was one which put public works first. It was an effort to transform people's habits by improving their environments. The Udi program encompassed community projects, such as building a dispensary, in conjunction with Mass Literacy Campaign meetings. The driving force was provided by inter-village rivalry. As a result of these meetings, community feelings emerged and the minds of the people were stimulated in favor of community development. The actual impact of this projected transformation was that fundamental education acquired by adults was slight, persistence in literacy as a village habit gradually tended to become primarily an activity of the children (Anyanwu, 1987).

Finally, the propagating principle in the Mass Literacy Campaign in the Eastern Provinces was to awaken in individuals and communities a keen sense of their capacities for further advancement. The major crux of the campaign in these areas was that villages were encouraged to galvanize their own Mass Literacy Campaign Centers through village committees, inculcating fairly competent instructors. Funds were collected by these committees from different sources, comprising village contributions, public subscriptions, and proceeds

from plays and concerts organized by these committees. It was not amazing that results varied widely considering the limited resources and the practical inhibitors which were encountered in the actual operationalization of the Mass Literacy Campaign, especially after objectives in all the provinces of Nigeria were narrowed down to adult literacy, which only covered the basic elements of the 3Rs.

In an attempt to delve into the quantitative aspects of the impact on the individual and national development (Tables 6 to 8), the figures reveal little about the levels of literacy achieved or the uses and implications of literacy acquisition. The more elaborated from the researcher's opinion were those of a more qualitative fashion, narrated in the preceding paragraphs. Table 7 was organized to depict data provided by the major missionary bodies on classes of religious instruction, with special emphasis on instruction in literacy. In the Northern Provinces no returns were received from the Dutch Reformed Church Mission and the Sudan Interior Mission. However, the estimated number of participants acquiring literacy (at least those able to read) in a period of twelve months was 12,500, and a high proportion of these were children. In the Western Provinces the estimated number of participants acquiring literacy (at least able to read) in a period of twelve months was 2,000. In the Eastern Provinces no returns were obtained from the Church of Scotland Mission. The estimated number of learners acquiring literacy (at least able to read) in a period of twelve months was 13,500, which indicated the highest of all the provinces in

Nigeria by 1947. Figure 2 represents estimates of the extension of literacy in the Southern Provinces as a result of schooling and based on the most optimistic outlook. It also depicts the acquisition of literacy between different age groups involved in the Mass Literacy Campaign from 1947-1977, but is limited to 1947-1952.

Table 8 represents an organized, critical overview of the Village Literacy Census in the Northern, Western and Eastern Provinces. The census indicated places within the provinces, the number of adult enrollment, percentage of adult literacy, children's enrollment between the ages of 7-15 and their literacy rate. It also represents the overall enrollment of participants over the age of 7 and their literacy rate. And, finally, it records the total number of literates in the provinces. Although, in attempting to make sense of each, the three different tables (Tables 6, 7 and 8) had very little information to display about the impact on the individual and national development (see Table 7, p. 236).

Table 7.

Data Provided by the Major Missionary Bodies on Classes of Religious Instruction, with Special Emphasis on Instruction in Literacy.

IN THE NORTHERN PROVINCES	
R.C.M.	5,000 pupils in 130 classes participating in a 3-year course
C.M.S.	1,505 pupils in 46 classes attending once a week for 2 years
Assembly of God	390 pupils in 9 classes participating in 6-year course
Church of Brethren	1,700 pupils in 44 classes involved in a 2-year course
United Missionary Society	350 pupils in 30 classes involved in a 3-year course
Methodist	1,136 pupils in 95 classes involved in a 2-year course
Sudan United Mission	7,620 pupils in 381 classes involved in a 2-year course

(table continues)

IN THE NORTHERN PROVINCES

IMPACT:

No returns were received from the Dutch Reformed Church Mission and the Sudan Interior Mission. Estimated number of participants acquiring literacy (at least able to read) in a period of 12 months was 12,500. A high proportion of these were children.

IN THE WESTERN PROVINCES (COLONY OF LAGOS)

R.C.M.	Nil (The supervisor stated, "For some years, in retrospect, we have encouraged the development and growth of religious schools in which reading was a major part. Such schools developed into illegal schools, as usually only children attended.")
Assembly of God	143 pupils in 14 classes involved in a 6-year course
Salvation Army	22 pupils in 2 classes
C.M.S.	Information could not be obtained in that very little literacy was taught
Methodist	4,093 pupils in 232 classes

IMPACT:

Estimated number of participants acquiring literacy (at least able to read) in a period of 12 months was 2,000.

(table continues)

IN THE EASTERN PROVINCES	
R.C.M.	11,000 pupils in 200 classes involved in a 3-year course
C.M.S.	Accurate data was not available. There were 225,000 adherents who theoretically all attended some class once a week. Enquirers Catechumenate, Baptism, Confirmation and Communicants (a generous estimate will be 5,000 leaving to be literate) 8,807 adult; supposedly all literates were baptized in 1947.
Assembly of God	2,205 pupils in 63 classes involved in a 6-year course
Basel Mission	No reading was taught in the religious classes.
Salvation Army	355 pupils in 20 classes
Methodist	9,582 pupils in 504 classes attending a 2-year course

(table continues)

IN THE EASTERN PROVINCES**IMPACT:**

No returns were obtained from the Church of Scotland Mission. An estimated number of learners acquiring literacy (at least able to read) in a period of 12 months was 13,500, indicating the highest of all the provinces in Nigeria by 1947.

Source: Education Department, Annual Report, 1948/49, p. 6.

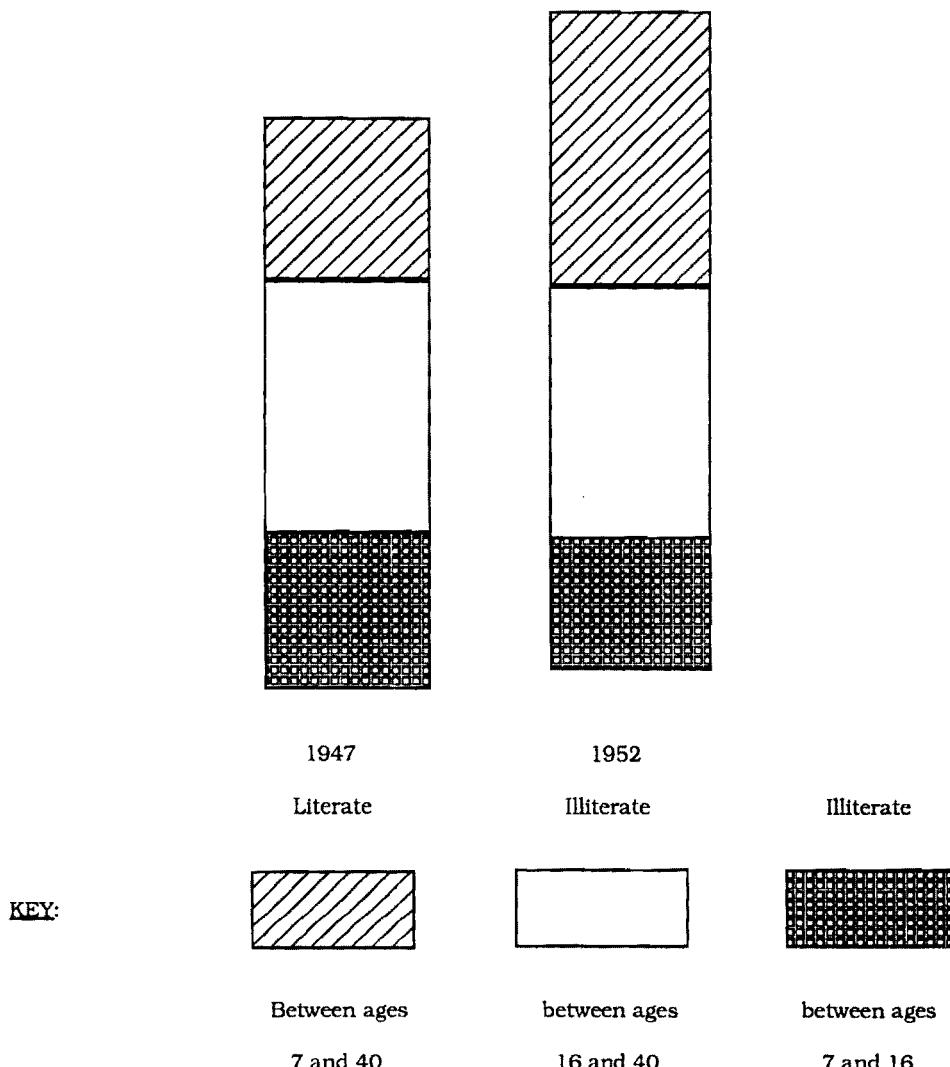


Figure 2. Estimates of the extension of literacy in the Southern Provinces as a result of schooling, based on the most optimistic outlook and the acquisition of literacy between age groups from 1947-1977.

Source: Education Department, Annual Report, 1947-1978, p. 7.

IMPACT: There is a dramatic increase in the number of literates between the ages of 7 and 40 from 1947 to 1952, a reduction in the number of illiterates between the ages of 7 and 16, and, finally, a reduction also in the number of illiterates between 16 and 40 in 1952.

Table 8.

Village Literacy Census

Place	Adults	Per- cent- liter- ate	Children 7-15	Per- cent- Liter- ate	Popu- lation over 7	Per- cent- Liter- ate	Total Number Literate	Remarks
NORTHERN REGION								N.A. school. Area of A.E.
Kankiya (Katsina Province)	1,988	17.5	1,306	17.5	3,294	17.5	546	Campaign, 6 adult classes.
Sukuntuni (Katsina Province)	2,020	4.5	961	10.5	2,981	6.5	191	No school, good adult classes, adolescents attend.
Kusade (Katsina Province)	2,140	4	1,263	5.3	3,403	4.5	151	No school, adult classes.
Bakori (Katsina Province)	3,221	11.2	1,298	11.7	4,519	11.5	514	N.A. school. Adult classes. Big main road trading centre.
Danja (Katsina Province)	3,267	4	1,410	1.5	4,757	3.2	153	N.A. school. An adult class.
Tsiga (Katsina Province)	2,906	1.5	1,434	--	4,340	1	46	No school. An adult class.

(table continues)

Place	Adults	Per-cent-literate	Children 7-15	Per-cent-Literate	Popu-lation over 7	Per-cent-Literate	Total Number Literate	Remarks
Dirin Daji (Zuru)	848	0.7	189	10	1,034	2.4	25	All these places are very far from any school. Numbers are difficult to count owing to frequent traveling, particularly of young men. First 3 have 18 months old classes (include adolescents).
Dabai Same (Zuru)	665	2	222	16	887	5	43	
Kainya (Zuru)	591	1.5	159	4	750	2	16	
Dogo (Zuru)	459	--	281	1.5	1,159	0.3	4	
Rumbo (Zuru)	352	2	71	--	423	2	8	Second 3 classes have recently started. Numbers of literates are certainly an underestimate.
Kakum (Zuru)	293	2.4	58	10	351	3.4	12	
Asan and 5 other Tiv Homesteads (Tiv Division)	337	27	95	36	431	29	125	Good adult classes, adolescents attend. Also, C.R.I.s. with children attending.
Adeku and 4 other Homesteads (Tiv Division)	169	12	48	30	217	16	36	No adult classes, but some C. R. Is.

(table continues)

Place	Adults	Per-cent-Literate	Children 7-15	Per-cent-Literate	Popu-lation over 7	Per-cent-Literate	Total Number Literate	Remarks
WESTERN REGION								
Idowa (Ijebu-Ode Province)	960	17	540	42	1,500	26	390	A Mission school; new adult class.
Ode (Ekiti District)	1,564	16	372	44	1,936	22	427	A Mission school; good adult classes.
Ijesha Isu (Ekiti District)	1,270	16	480	21	1,750	17	305	A Mission school; good adult classes containing some adolescents.
Osi (Ekiti District)	1,505	11	866	45	2,371	24.5	570	Several schools; fair adult classes.
Sawonjo (Ilaro District)	350	27	288	56	638	40	257	A school and good adult classes (with adolescents)
Aburo Ogun (Ilaro District)	90	30	40	25	130	27	34	No school. Good adult class.
Igan Ikoto (Ilaro District)	947	16	283	54	1,230	25	308	Schools. Poor adult classes.
Igbogila (Ilaro District)	2,195	23	719	54	2,914	31	909	Schools. Good adult class.
Ipokia (Ilaro District)	1,873	17	1,248	43	3,121	27	846	Schools. Fair adult class.

(table continues)

Place	Adults	Per-cent-Literate	Children 7-15	Per-cent-Literate	Popu-lation over 7	Per-cent-Literate	Total Number Literate	Remarks
EASTERN REGION								
Umuocha (Aba Division)	344	21	194	86	478	50	242	Schools and good adult classes.
Mgboko Cbete (Aba Division)	837	8	128	90	965	19	189	Schools and very recent adult class.
Owo (Aba Division)	1,024	21	226	67	1,250	30	371	Schools and good adult class.
Ohanze Isiahia (Aba Division)	1,248	21	275	56	1,523	28.5	436	Schools and good adult class.
Mbedeala (Aba Division)	276	9	450	66	1,726	24	423	Schools and very recent adult class.
Udi (Udi Division)	646	20	284	literate children, politically undesirable to take census.			314	Literacy classes for last 4 years.

(table continues)

Place	Adults	Per-cent-Literate	Children 7-15	Per-cent-Literate	Popu-lation over 7	Per-cent-Literate	Total Number Literate	Remarks
Mbagbu Owa (Udi Division)	4,644	4	291	literate children, politically undesirable to take census.			463	Literacy classes for 3 years.
Amakpu Agbni (Udi Division)	930	53	109	literate children, politically undesirable to take census.			158	Literacy classes for 3 years.
Amozalla Affa (Udi Division)	572	4	193	literate children, politically undesirable to take census.			218	No literacy class.

Source: Education Department, Annual Report, 1948/49, pp. 8-10.

Summary

There was an important shift in the mission of the Colonial Administration and other non-governmental agencies from literacy education, which was initiated in the 14th and 15th centuries, to the Mass Literacy Campaign as a result of events which triggered social, economic and political pressures that plagued the nation prior to the post-World War II era. This shift was used as a window of opportunity to enhance economic development as well as cultural and social needs of the Nigerians and their communities. The philosophy of mass education was intended to make it possible for learners to participate actively in the life of society in order to transform society from within and toward a better standard of living.

This Mass Literacy Campaign was centrally instituted and nationally mobilized, but also operationalized in a decentralized manner, leaving much to the choices of the non-governmental agencies. The programs established during the post-World War II era provided opportunities for adult women and men as well as girls and boys to participate in the Mass Literacy Campaign, but there were no outreach programs established to include the special population of learners, such as the nomadic Fulani in Nigeria, persons with disabilities, and the aging population. Although there was unwillingness on the part of these groups to participate in the Mass Literacy Campaign, if the Colonial Administration had incorporated or provided adequate funding, training of personnel, well-organized material production, suitable curriculum, coordinated

efforts and legislation, the mass mobilization of the literacy campaign could have been a success.

With regard to the success or failure of the Mass Literacy Campaign in Nigeria from 1940-1952, the government, non-governmental agencies, organizers of Mass Literacy Centers and ministries affiliated with the promotion of literacy programs did not incorporate the following in their activities: (a) identification of the illiteracy rate through the use of data collection techniques; (b) maintenance of adequate records of enrollment, drop-out and progress; (c) provision of suitable instructional materials; and (d) proper evaluation of the programs at given intervals. The result of the investment of funds, literature, time and energy by the Colonial government and the people of Nigeria was significant. Women and men were involved on a voluntary basis in the building of classrooms using local materials. Native authorities supplied roof timbers, windows, doors and cement for the floors. People did not care about the absence of desks and chairs. They were willing to sit on the floors or in the woods under the shade of palm trees.

Finally, most villages and towns funded adult literacy classes, obtained the services of instructors and owned libraries or reading rooms. The impact was on the tremendous increase in the number of literate citizens capable of writing letters and reading stories and newspaper articles in simple language. Accordingly, at Katsina alone Mallam Ahmadu Coomasie, head of the adult education movement in Kaduna, registered 5,000 adults in his classes (Omolewa, 1981). One-fifth of these participants did obtain certificates of literacy. By 1953,

all twelve provinces had joined (Omolewa, 1981). And in the 1953/54 fiscal year, about 34,000 certificates of literacy were issued. Vanter stated (Omolewa, 1981):

There is an arithmetic poser in Northern Nigeria by which twelve times twelve becomes 1,710,508. Twelve provinces for twelve years, to date, have conducted a literacy campaign which so far has resulted in the enrolling of almost one-and-three-quarter million in literacy classes.

It was estimated that about five million people benefited from the renewed effort of government, local authorities and the people. Of these, about two million could read and write, while the rest could read but could not write (Omolewa, 1981).

Postscript

Colonial Paper No. 186 (1944), "Mass Education in African Society," did not advocate compulsory schooling nor did it provide outreach opportunities such as media to help the special population of adults and children. The willingness of the special population to participate in the Mass Literacy Campaign was a complicated situation. On the contrary, the Colonial Administration emphasized the need for voluntary teaching and voluntary learning only for those, mainly adults, who did not have the privilege of attending schools. It did not contemplate a simultaneous attack on the whole body of illiterates in Nigeria. Rather, it aimed at a series of efforts to attract the public in areas which appeared to promise a popular response (Education Department, Annual Report, 1942/53).

During the 1940-1952 Mass Literacy Campaign in Nigeria, there was little window of opportunity for the special population of adults or outreach

opportunities that would stimulate more especially the nomadic people's interest in literacy education. Historical tribal discrimination, cultural inertia and de jure and de facto discrimination militated against the benefactor's time and attention in considering the needs, aspirations, movement trends, demography and socio-economic factors of the nomad prior to the planning and implementation of the Mass Literacy Campaign. The culture of the nomadic Fulani in Nigeria was not taken seriously given the little finances and other small amounts of resources at the disposal of the Colonial government and its adherents. Although perceived by the Colonial government and the very few privileged Nigerians as sluggish, it could have been that through their culture they could relate themselves to technology, economy, politics and other aspects of human and national endeavor (Lar, 1989). For example, Japan was said to have developed very rapidly because all their advancement policies were and still are embedded in their culture.

As for women and girls being marginalized in the Mass Literacy Campaign, there was no record that indicated non-inclusion of women and girls. The window of opportunity was provided for both women and men, and the willingness to participate in some parts of the provinces was more in the number of women than men. In fact, the curriculum was synchronized and integrated in the development plans to alleviate any issue that was germane to gender. In this study there was no indication that persons with disabilities and the aging population were represented in the Mass Literacy Campaign between 1940-1952

in Nigeria. This did not occur until 1977, when the National Policy on Education was promulgated (Lar, 1989, p. 57):

The National Policy on Education 1977 aims to provide equal education opportunities for all citizens of the nation at the primary, secondary and tertiary levels, both inside and outside the formal school system. It clearly spelt [sic] out the aims at the pre-primary level up to the University, and included different forms of special education ranging from the education of the gifted to that of the severely handicapped. It also indicated steps to be taken to achieve these objectives.

In an attempt to encapsulate the first half of this postscript, based on this study, the special population of adults such as the nomadic Fulani, persons with disabilities and the aging population were under-represented in the 1940-1952 Mass Literacy Campaign in Nigeria. Given the limited amount of funds, the urgency of the campaign, the limited availability of instructors and a lack of spontaneous, popular response from all concerned, the Colonial government and other adherents could not embark on a Mass Literacy Campaign which would synchronize with any outreach opportunities to help this special adult population.

Since the Mass Literacy Campaign of the post-World War II era did not touch the lives of all segments of the Nigerian population, there was still a notable impact of the crusade on individual growth and development and on the collective advancement of the community and the nation at large. In the remaining portion of this postscript, the qualitative aspects of the impact of the campaign are dichotomous in that they combine both the negative and positive impacts as an integrated whole.

However, when the Mass Literacy Campaign was initiated in Nigeria by the Colonial Administration and other non-governmental agencies, there was a sense of heightened enthusiasm and optimism by all the population represented because it envisaged the development of the individual and, in turn, would propose to lead to a progressive transformation of communities and the nation at large. A literate person was expected to display a change in self-concept, a feeling of efficacy and commitment to participate in social action, and, in turn, to aid in the advancement of the community. A person who was considered to be literate who was expected to be patriotic, loyal, honest, and to provide leadership to the society in which that person lived. It was also assumed that a literate person should be informed and enlightened about issues akin to national development. A literate person was expected to be ingrained in the values of tolerance, patience and understanding.

But the Mass Literacy Campaign did not impart what was expected of it. Many illiterates learned to read, write and do simple arithmetic. In spite of the acquisition of these literacy skills, their lives were rarely affected in a positive manner. Literate citizens stole, cheated, robbed, killed and envied their neighbors (Omolewa, 1984). Many were not informed about the importance of family planning, healthy living, nutrition, patriotism, love, courage and endurance. Many were complete failures in their role performance as it related to community development. Parents and colleagues were abandoned, friends were isolated, and society was betrayed. Finally, mass literacy failed to impact the

attitudes of many toward religion and supernatural forces. Incidents of superstition, adoption of traditional practices and belief in gods, goddesses and witches were reported among the literate population. It has been a popularly held notion, according to Opare-Obetia (1970), that "some highly educated Nigerian leaders reinforce and exploit this belief [in the influence of gods on events] with their use of adopted titles, walking sticks, fly whisks and hats." (Omolewa, 1984, p. 14)

CHAPTER VIII

Summary and Conclusions

Summary

The Mass Literacy Campaign, a national "mass approach" which sought to make literate all adult illiterates, men and women alike, within a given time frame, has been little studied and is not commonly known. The several histories which have been written about literacy education efforts in Nigeria have focused on job or skills performance, while very little has been written about the Mass Literacy Campaign in the era preceding World War II. During this time span, the important factors that triggered the Colonial Administration's considerations for a mass literacy campaign were socio-economic and political. Influential forces such as the Colonial Administration, Department of Education, religious denominational bodies, Native Administrations, Mass Education Officers and A. J. Carpenter established campaign activities, developed the educational style that was employed and fortified the support measures needed to sustain the mass mobilization of the literacy campaign.

The problems and issues investigated in this study were:

- (1) What were the major social, economic and political factors that led to the first inception of the Mass Literacy Campaign in Nigeria from 1940-1952?
- (2) What were the influential forces which constituted the development of the campaign from its inception and evolution to its collapse?

(3) What type of adult educational process was employed by the Colonial Administration concerning the Mass Literacy Campaign?

(4) Were special populations addressed in the Mass Literacy Campaign, and to what extend were the following groups included, excluded or marginalized: (a) women; (b) nomads, representing 15% of the population; (c) persons with disabilities; and (d) aging population?

(5) Was there a notable impact of the 1940-1952 Mass Literacy Campaign on the lives of Nigerian people?

The principal sources of information for this study included:

(1) Published materials such as books, journals, dissertations, Department of Education Annual Reports from 1941-1978, Colonial Office Paper 103: "The Education of African Communities," London, 1935, and Colonial Office Paper 186: "Mass Education in African Society," London, 1944.

(2) Unpublished materials such as the Colonial government memoranda, papers from His Majesty's Stationery Office, London, and annual conference programs.

(3) the human instrument which encompassed the researcher's composite vitae and personal opinion, which appears as a postscript at the end of selected chapters.

The significance of this study relied upon interpretive commentary as it depicted a story told through those who experienced (i.e., through the eyes of the people) how the 1940-1952 Mass Literacy Campaign evolved. This research

approach also encompassed telling a story of the evolution of the Colonial government and other non-governmental agencies' interventions in mass illiteracy concerns and the roles these benefactors had played in the development and administration of the Mass Literacy Campaign to serve the socio-economic and political needs of the mass illiterate population in Nigeria. Documentation provided the operational concept of the Mass Literacy Campaign as involving a mobilization of large numbers of learners and teachers by the centralizing authorities, who had used elements of both compulsory edicts and appeals to social status to propagate a particular doctrine. Information was provided about the significant processes of the Colonial Administration and other adherents which were so vital and germane to the future passage of any other mass literacy campaign in Nigeria.

The interpretive commentary incorporated contributions to knowledge spanning the range of authority, activities, sources of limitations of Colonial government and other non-governmental agencies roles as benefactors in the Mass Literacy Campaign, and inhibitors in their roles as advocates for the improvement of the lives of the masses of people in Nigeria. Furthermore, with reference to present and future adult educators/practitioners in Nigeria and the world as well, this study contributed to an increased understanding of the following concepts as they remained the cornerstones and framework of any mass literacy campaign: literacy drives or campaigns, mass literacy campaigns, mass

mobilization literacy campaigns, literacy skills, mass literacy skills, selective campaigns, the teaching of the 3Rs and the use of 3H.

The earliest literacy education established in Nigeria had its origin in the 14th century, followed much later by initiatives in 1842, 1847, 1849, 1878, 1880, 1882 and 1895, up through the first three decades of the 20th century. These forerunner organizations of literacy education had limited resources and time to expend on the totality of the masses. Their efforts were geared at selective campaigns which focused on affluent segments of the Nigerian population to develop in individuals cognitive skills which allowed them to function as gatekeepers, clerks, interpreters, secretaries and emissaries. The training and education of these select segments of the country remained rudimentary for their work, but the beneficiaries took pride in their achievements. These earlier literacy education organizations became part and parcel of the 1940-1952 Mass Literacy Campaign in Nigeria. The deliberate avoidance of a mass literacy campaign during this period of infancy was more than compensated for as the seeds of the Mass Literacy Campaign began to germinate.

In spite of the alignment to the Colonial government by Christian and Muslim religious groups, denominational bodies were disinterested in terms of a mass literacy campaign prior to the 1940s. Once the beneficiaries of the earlier literacy education began to agitate for mass education of the Colonial people of Nigeria due to the socio-economic and political pressures that plagued the

country during that period, the Colonials began to think in terms of developing a mass literacy campaign.

As stated in the postscript of Chapter 4, goals were aimed toward "the transformation that provides the context for most mass literacy campaigns usually embraces the formation of a new type of person in a qualitatively different society." (Arnone & Graff, 1987). Such transformations would lead people to new visions, new ways of thinking, new ways of doing things, new ways of perceiving, and to reconstructing a world where, previously, change had not been acceptable.

Major dominant factors were evident in each of the main eras of literacy education history. One might be inclined to see how literacy education evolved from a very marginal stage in the 14th and 15th centuries to the civilized Nigeria of the 20th century. During the Colonial Era in Nigeria, that is, prior to 1940, a select segment was provided with the most limited literacy education. This marginal status was maintained until the post-World War II period. During this era the Colonial government, in collaboration with non-governmental agencies, showed an ever-increasing reliance on basic education requirements. The Colonial government required autonomy and shared affiliations large enough to provide the resources to mobilize an adequate mass literacy campaign and activities to meet its needs. Furthermore, notable and immense contributions were made by the influential Mass Education Officer, Major A. J. Carpenter, who drafted mass literacy campaign directives and who was instrumental in developing, organizing and implementing the mass mobilization literacy

campaign (see Definition of Terms, Chapter 1). His philosophies and visions unveiled the fundamentals for Nigeria's Mass Literacy Campaign from 1940-1952. Loyalty, funding and execution by the Colonial Administration, the Education Department and other adherents also deeply established the mass literacy educational program's value and confirmed practice.

However Colonialism might have thwarted the Nigerian traditional infrastructure, given rise to cultural hybrids and dislocated the traditional belief system, most of the Mass Literacy Campaign forerunners who were of African descent were products of Colonialism. In this post-modern era, no country, regardless of its endowment of natural resources, could advance when the majority of its population, its greatest resource, was illiterate. Therefore, the campaign was also the means to an end which came to be known and identified as indigenization.

Some of the activities employed by the Colonial Administration in the 1940-1952 Mass Literacy Campaign in Nigeria were discussed. An overview of mass literacy campaigns in vastly different Western and developing societies such as Sweden, Scotland, Great Britain, 19th-century United States, the Soviet Union, China, India, Cuba, Nicaragua and Tanzania was included in Appendix H, although not solely for the purpose of presenting a historical and comparative perspective, but to provide a historical underpinning to how the Mass Literacy Campaign occurred in Nigeria from 1940-1952.

Two distinct patterns of mobilization were considered: (a) the degree of centralization of political and religious authority exercised over the campaign, and (b) the extent to which activities of the campaign were institutionalized in schooling. The 1940-1952 national Mass Literacy Campaign, like the literacy campaign in Scotland from 1560-1803 and in the People's Republic of China, had a corresponding shift to formal institutions and well-trained cadres of religious denominational leaders and benefactors operating under the aegis of a charitable but strong-willed Colonial Administration. However, the Mass Literacy Campaign was centralized and nationally organized. It was mobilized in a decentralized fashion, leaving much of the operation to voluntary agencies' choice and initiative. It was comprehensive in scope, universal in coverage, religiously oriented and informal/school-based.

Both regional and local campaigns, organized to promote mass literacy within the resistant population of the underdeveloped society of Nigeria, were cases of a domestically based but politically and religiously sponsored or enforced literacy effort, the central aim of which were informal/formal activities mobilized by influential persons, Native Administrations and local religious authorities. The major features of this literacy-based effort were educational activities in reading, writing, arithmetic, first aid, Bible study, and hymn and psalm learning. Unique emphasis was placed on the educational roles of home mothers, which was also the case in the Swedish Campaign of 1686.

Furthermore, the acceptable, uniform language of instruction, especially in the Northern Region of Nigeria, which was Hausa, became a difficult issue that proved insurmountable. In minority areas of the campaign (e.g., the Northern Region), languages other than the Hausa language were spoken. In literacy classes at the Training Institution for Rural Workers, located in Gindiri, Northern Nigeria, teachers came in with their families for courses of training, but they spoke languages other than Hausa. Therefore, the use of a major regional language immensely and negatively impacted the foreseen purposes of efforts to mobilize the often reluctant, illiterate population and hampered the rate of participation of the minority groups in that region.

There was an important shift in the mission of the Colonial Administration and other non-governmental agencies from literacy education, which was initiated in the 14th and 15th centuries, to the Mass Literacy Campaign as a result of events which triggered social, economic and political pressures that plagued the nation prior to the post-World War II era. This shift was used as a window of opportunity to enhance the economic development as well as the cultural and social needs of Nigerians and their communities.

The philosophy of mass education was intended to make it possible for learners to participate actively in the life of society in order to transform society from within and toward a better standard of living. This campaign was centrally instituted and nationally mobilized, but also operationalized in a decentralized manner, leaving much to the choices of the non-governmental agencies.

The programs established during the post-World War II era provided opportunities for adult women and men, as well as girls and boys, to participate in the Mass Literacy Campaign, but there were no outreach programs established to include the special population of learners throughout Nigeria, such as the nomadic Fulani, persons with disabilities, and the aging population. Although there was unwillingness on the part of these groups to participate in the Mass Literacy Campaign, if the Colonial Administration had incorporated or provided adequate funding, training of personnel, well-organized material production, suitable curriculum, coordinated efforts and legislation, the mass mobilization of the literacy campaign could have been a success.

With regard to the success or failure of the Mass Literacy Campaign in Nigeria from 1940-1952, the author concluded that the government, non-governmental agencies, organizers of Mass Literacy Centers, and ministries affiliated with the promotion of literacy programs did not incorporate the following in their activities: (a) identify the illiteracy rate through the use of data collection techniques; (b) keep adequate records of enrollment, drop-out and progress; (c) provide suitable instructional materials; and (d) properly evaluate the programs at given intervals.

Finally, most villages and towns funded adult literacy classes, obtained the services of instructors and owned libraries or reading rooms. This impacted the tremendously increased numbers of literate citizens capable of writing letters and reading stories and newspaper articles in simple language. Accordingly, at

Katsina alone, Mallam Ahmadu Coomasie, head of the adult education movement in Kaduna, registered 5,000 adults in his classes (Omolewa, 1981). One-fifth of these participants did obtain certificates of literacy. By 1953, all twelve provinces had joined (Omolewa, 1981). And in the 1953/54 fiscal year, about 34,000 certificates of literacy were issued. Vanter stated (Omolewa, 1981):

There is an arithmetic poser in Northern Nigeria by which twelve times twelve becomes 1,710,508. Twelve provinces for twelve years, to date, have conducted a literacy campaign which so far has resulted in the enrolling of almost one-and-three-quarter million in literacy classes.

It was estimated that about five million people benefited from the renewed effort of government, local authorities and the people. Of these, about two million could read and write, while the rest could read but could not write (Omolewa, 1981).

Conclusions

This study focused principally on the evolution, development and operation of the 1940-1952 Mass Literacy Campaign in Nigeria. The effort may have had its little share of success, but it occurred here and there -- scattered -- and lacked necessary ingredients of a well-mobilized mass literacy campaign. For example, according to Omolewa (1984), less than fifteen lectures were arranged in Ekiti for the year 1947-1948. All the lectures did not appear to display the promotion of a core of values. The number of beneficiaries of the mass literacy programs was too low. By 1948, Ekiti only produced 6,000 literate adults; Egbado, 5,000; and Ijebu, 1,000 (Omolewa 1984). The expectations of

Major A. J. Carpenter that illiteracy would be completely eradicated in the southern parts of Nigeria and the anticipation that the illiteracy rate would be reduced tremendously (to 25%) during the same year in the Northern Region of Nigeria appeared only in the papers of the Department of Education (Department of Education, 1948).

Equally significant, the restriction of the Mass Literacy Campaign appeared in many other forms. For example, its curriculum did not provide the clients' opportunity to advance their general level of literacy and artistic skills. The general level of public health was improved, but no program was designed to provide the certification and diplomas with which educational attainments were quantified like those of Tanzania. There was no evaluation of any kind for the measurement of mass literacy skills and knowledge acquired beyond the demonstration of completed post offices, public latrines, and so forth. Education acquired had a minimal utility to the person and to Colonial society, where jobs were competitive and opportunity for advancement was inhibited by inadequate educational facilities. In its ideal concept, the Mass Literacy Campaign provided the potential for development, liberation and emancipation, but, obviously, those objectives could have wiped out Colonialism. The Colonial Administration and other voluntary agencies did not expand the scope of the Mass Literacy Campaign in Nigeria. If they had, there wouldn't be another mass literacy campaign effort currently in process in the country today.

Furthermore, one might be inclined to ask whether the Colonial Administration was intentionally deceptive regarding the issue of the use of the term mass literacy campaign, or whether they had a clear-cut operational concept to that effect? Thus, this study has clarified those ambiguities. The plan to establish a mass literacy campaign in Nigeria was, by the same token, considered to be commendable. It may be argued that the Colonial Administration recognized the problems and difficulties of undertaking such a venture only after it was launched. It was, however, not an accident that the Colonial benefactors started to use mass literacy education and fundamental education interchangeably. While a large segment of Nigerian recipients of the program were pleased at the prospect of having infrastructures such as roads, water supplies, dispensaries and a smattering of literacy, Ogunlesi in Omolewa (1984) allowed that ample time had elapsed to think critically about the implications of the new programs. He concluded most aptly that "the campaign, insofar as the Department is the sole or chief agent, is mainly one of fundamental education for brief literacy." (Department of Education, 1948)

The debate that the Colonial Administration used the term, unnoticed, would fail because these benefactors, as native speakers of English, could recognize the concept of a mass literacy campaign. Besides, they would be cognizant of the work of James Stuart and the university extension services of 1876, the Workers Educational Association efforts since 1903, and the Directives on Recreational Education to Local Education Authorities in the 1944 Act.

It would have been known that any issue encompassing the mass mobilization literacy campaign was an involvement of a majority, if not the whole population, including the young and old, male and female, literate and non-literate, employed and unemployed, rich and poor, nomadic Fulani and persons with disabilities in Nigeria. In light of the above, a mass literacy campaign also should have involved the provision of all factions of education, including the primary and secondary, higher and further education. It should have embraced out-of-school education as well as the formal school system. That the Colonial benefactors and adherents appreciated the implications of the concept and its utilization was clearly displayed by the resolution adopted at the Cambridge Conference of 1948.

There were limitations on prerequisites for mass literacy campaigns, such as financial resources, sources of mass literacy campaign personnel, management of the mass literacy campaign and outside influences, post-literacy education, curriculum needs, production of mass literacy campaign materials and program evaluations. However, when the Phelps-Stoke Commission of America paid a visit to Nigeria in 1920 and called for mass education, that call targeted the school population. The Colonial benefactors in Nigeria were aware of the report of that Commission. They were not in a position to carry it out. When the demand for a mass literacy campaign was reiterated in 1929, a Colonial benefactor had cynically commented (Omolewa, 1984, p. 20):

What steps does Government propose to take to provide education for the mass of children unable to obtain schooling? Here is our old friend again. The answer is that Government is quite alive to the problem, but it is useless to open schools until they can be

sufficiently staffed, especially when the Code is framed to obtain the closure of those which are inefficient and not in the interest of the children...Education can only have its share of Government Revenue and it is getting that. I do not believe that any education is better than none.

A mass literacy campaign which would encompass a massive adult, non-school education program was therefore not thought of. No fundamental change took place in the allocation of financial resources, material resources and personal availability between 1929-1946 to spark the Colonial benefactors to alter their opinions on the feasibility of the mass literacy programs. It was reasonable to argue that the Colonial Administration merely toyed with the use of the concept in the hope that luck would yield results, in spite of all odds. This argument was not convincing given the importance attributed to planning and the appropriate use of terms by Colonial government representatives. It seemed reasonable to conclude that the Colonial government continued to use the term "mass literacy campaign" in spite of its ambiguities because they were not concerned with the issue of the contradiction created by the use of the concept.

It was of vital importance to know that in 1952 the Colonial government redesignated, without justification or explanation (Omolewa 1984), Mass Education Officers as Adult Education Officers. In the same year the District Officers mobilizing campaign efforts in the Eastern Region of Nigeria were redesignated Community Development Officers. Mass literacy education was thereafter used to describe the special adult education work, which continued haphazardly in Nigeria until independence in 1960. In summation, a spade was finally called a spade, and it was agreed upon by Nigerian adult educators that no

mass education work was being done in Nigeria (Omolewa, 1984). To reinforce this assertion, at the time independence was declared, the illiterate population was approximately 80 percent (Omolewa, 1984). Therefore, it was clear that education remained elitist and outreach opportunities had been denied to the masses.

Gidy, an advocate of "small is best" in English education, stated that education is a liberating factor which must stay closed to the poor and laboring classes. Opposed to his views were adherents of a mass literacy campaign who propounded that everyone must be lifted through education to "take his fate into his/her hands." No such dream was realized in Africa and the experience of Nigeria is notable. It became obvious that little progress can be made when the illiteracy rate remains high and the quality of education is inferior. The Conference of Ministers of Education of African Member States of UNESCO put this view forcefully, as asserted by Mengot (1980) in Omolewa (1984, p. 21):

Mass education must be provided for the entire population -- children, young people, and adults as well. It ought, therefore, to mobilize all the educational resources of the community. It must not be looked on as a "second best" education offered by way of compensation to the most disadvantaged groups. What is needed, rather in order to introduce mass education, is to provide a whole set of educational activities catering for different clienteles and using different methods. Within the framework of academic or outside the school system, and on a full-time, part-time or recurrent basis, it should enable those who have broken off their studies too early, regardless of age, to take them up again.

The question to ponder was this: Have indigenous, independent governments in Nigeria achieved success in this direction?

Summary of Conclusions

Based on the above, certain overall conclusions were reached:

1. Historically, until the Mass Literacy Campaign was established in 1940, literacy education was largely the responsibility of Christian/Muslim religious denominational bodies and the Colonial government alone to plan, develop and execute curriculum geared toward educating a small segment of the Nigerian population.
2. During the campaign, the Colonial Administration did not involve itself in a major way with determining prerequisites, such as concise concepts of a mass literacy campaign, mass mobilization literacy campaign, literacy campaign, mass literacy skills, and the appropriate target audience. To attempt to turn more than 80 percent of an illiterate population into literates required a huge investment. Prerequisites such as personnel, literacy materials, infrastructure and other related equipment required money and, given the limited finances, the Colonial government could not properly propagate such a monumental venture.
3. The operational concepts of a mass literacy campaign, mass mobilization literacy campaign, literacy campaign, and mass literacy skills were not clearly defined, which led to constant changes in the aim, structure and implementation of the Mass Literacy Campaign.
4. The issues of for whom and for what purpose a mass literacy campaign would be designed were not clearly streamlined. In attempting to provide answers to these two questions, it would be reasonable to bring out the relevance

of each version of literacy in relation to circumstances. When organized nationally, the 1940-1952 Mass Literacy Campaign was supposed to be for national development rather than individual growth and development, although it was geared toward the individual, which would only make him a more productive person in order to add to national productivity. When reading, writing and arithmetic arose as a learning process, it was for the purpose of satisfying individual needs, which might not be of immediate relevance to the nation. But as a member of society the individual would be satisfying certain needs, both individual and national, except that the impact might be inconsequential until many individuals were engaged in the process of learning. Therefore, the two questions raised above were not properly addressed in this campaign effort because it did not target all the individuals within Nigeria. For example, persons with disabilities, old people and nomads faced de jure/de facto discrimination that kept them unrepresented in the Mass Literacy Campaign. In these efforts not all individuals who could have contributed to the social, economic and political development of Nigeria were mainstreamed. Therefore, for the campaign to aid in the development process of a nation, all individuals should have been involved in the political mobilization as well as a whole set of economic, social and cultural rearrangements.

5. To attempt to transform almost 99% of the illiterate population into literates during the post-World War II era required a huge investment. Given the Colonial Administration's limitations in personnel, mass literacy materials,

infrastructure and other related equipment, it could not properly propagate and propel such as monumental venture as the Mass Literacy Campaign. In many Mass Literacy Campaign Centers of Nigeria, there were no suitable structures. For example, many centers were without school buildings or other public buildings. The major centers were not planned or structured from the outset and the nuclei of the centers were built without provision of space for schools or recreation. Ibada exemplified a city whose infrastructure was haphazardly planned. There were no road links from the communities to these Mass Literacy Campaign Centers. Therefore, campaign program organizers needed to take into account expenditures for suitable structures where space was available or restructuring existing buildings at appropriate times. Volunteer instructors needed comfortable salaries, which they never received. Recruitment of unpaid voluntary agencies in Nigeria at that time was very unrealistic. The mass majority of people were poor and often worked two or three jobs to maintain their families comfortably. Very few workers were inclined to forego the extra money they made in other jobs to participate in voluntary Mass Literacy Campaign efforts. To pay instructors a substantial amount of money was required. To properly propagate and propel any mass literacy campaign, outside assistance is required. This may take the form of expert advice, consultants, personnel, equipment or money, or a combination of all these.

6. The instructional techniques utilized by the Colonial Administration and other voluntary agencies were somewhat pedagogical. The Freirean method

which could have been well suited for illiterates in the most impoverished countries of Africa was not yet known. To Paulo Freire the concept and practice of education extant in the West was not the appropriate approach for the education of adults when the objective was to offer a system which would help them to be more efficacious in making their own decisions and thereby become more responsible for their own affairs. He had the strong opinion that the essence of man was his ability to make his own judgments about critical issues that were germane to his life (in Asiedu, et al., 1982, pp. 68-69). After working for a number of years with illiterates in the most impoverished sections of northeastern Brazil, Freire confirmed that the traditional system of education which was employed by the Colonial Administration and voluntary agencies during the 1940-1952 Mass Literacy Campaign in Nigeria was dehumanizing in that it was perceived as an instrument used to aid the assimilation of individuals into the logic of the current system and therefore to ensure that they conformed and were controlled. He further stated that the following comments and suggestions be considered and adhered to when practitioners and educators of adults engage in any learning process:

- (a) The concepts and practices of mass literacy education, as extant in the Western hemisphere and developing countries, are oppressive in that often the "objective reality" is hidden from the illiterate. That is to say, the true causes of the illiterates' underprivileged conditions are not made known to them. Freire calls this a "banking system" of education in which what the instructors say

takes precedence over any mutual discussion of issues. Illiterates then become banks, containers, depositories, reservoirs, and collectors of information, as was inculcated in teaching the illiterates of Nigeria during the 1940-1952 Mass Literacy Campaign.

To potential benefactors of a mass literacy campaign in any given society, Freire asserts that a system of education may be a fountain of information through which learners accumulate a lot of knowledge, but it seldom leads to a desire for change, which is all education entails;

(b) Arguing against the traditional system of education which the Colonial Administration and voluntary agencies had used during the 1940-1952 Mass Literacy Campaign in Nigeria, Freire (in Asiedu, et al., 1983, p. 69) advocated "conscientisation" as a process whereby illiterate learners actively participated in the learning process through worthwhile dialogue. Freire stated that instructors were highly devoted to the cause of liberation but were still adamant against communing with the illiterates, whom they continued to see as totally ignorant. Freire's stages of "conscientisation" encompassed dialogue, reflection and communication, which enabled the adult to discuss problems with the facilitators, helped with critical thinking and, finally, encouraged the sharing of reactions with others. These concepts were not even incorporated in the instructional techniques used during the 1940-1952 Mass Literacy Campaign; and (c) The final and no less important suggestion made by Freire, which was never employed by the Colonial Administration or voluntary agencies as an

instructional technique was a method which entailed the actual teaching-learning transaction which commenced with the class discussing a topic for the day. The lesson would then be introduced to them either in the form of a talk, giving the expert's point of view, or in the form of written text, film strips, posters, etc. Second, the learners would react to the expert's point of view, and the class would collectively synthesize ideas emanating from the group. These ideas would be integrated into a reading lesson, which was taught utilizing a whole-sentence technique. The Freirean method asserted that each of the sentences written and read must emerge from the learners themselves and that whatever was written on the board must be sentences which participants must be able to utter. Finally, the Freirean method insists that each lesson must end with a discussion of what is to be done and the mapping of a plan of action leading to community action (Asiedu, et al., 1982). In the campaign, the Freirean method was not even known and was therefore unavailable for use as an instructional technique.

7. A survey as a prerequisite to determine the extent of illiteracy among urban and rural dwellers, men/women, age groups, persons with disabilities, and other special adult population was not conducted. Determination of the extent of illiteracy in Nigeria prior to the establishment of the 1940-1952 Mass Literacy Campaign in Nigeria was not made. For future adult educators/practitioners, the evaluation of the extent of illiteracy in any given society should be included as one of the necessary requirements prior to investing in a monumental venture like a mass literacy campaign.

8. Inadequate production of campaign materials inhibited the dissemination of information in earlier attempts to galvanize human resources for the rapid transformation of Nigeria. Materials used during these campaign periods were limited to two types: (a) primers, with a basic objective to help with the initial learning process; and (b) follow-up reading materials which included posters, news bulletins and newspapers. All these were designed largely on the basis of the Laubach method. Dr. Frank Laubach visited Nigeria in 1947-1948. His method focused on the basic outlines of vernacular orthography, with drawings of objects and stylized types of initial letters to facilitate recall. The limited follow-up reading materials were taken from short stories often written by individual authors who were specifically recruited for this purpose (Asiedu, et al., 1982).

For a successful mass literacy campaign to occur, three means of material production need to be available. These involve the production of materials by private or semi-private agencies, such as the Christian/Muslim denominational bodies or other philanthropic associations; production of materials by the department of government responsible for mass literacy efforts; and production by a specialized entity, such as an independent publisher, but sponsored by the administration.

Management and evaluation were not integral elements of the 1940-1952 Mass Literacy Campaign. To evaluate is to assess. A fuller meaning of evaluation can be found in a dictionary: "to examine, and judge the worth, quality,

significance, amount, degree or condition of something." This kind of examination was not a consideration during these mass literacy efforts. Evaluation is divided into two types -- summative and formative. Summative evaluation encompasses what has happened, for whom and at what cost. Formative evaluation, which was more crucial during these mass literacy efforts, was not thought about. The latter was needed to provide feedback that would have facilitated improvement of programs or effected a change in the program. This critical type of evaluation embraces questions such as: "What is happening?", "How does it compare with what is intended/needed?", and "How can it be made more effective?" (Asiedu, et al., 1982). Formative evaluation is a prerequisite that should be employed in any mass literacy campaign effort.

9. For mass literacy campaigns to yield substantial results and achieve success in transforming all masses of illiterates into productive citizens of a developing nation, such as Nigeria, an orderly, systematic curriculum which included post-literacy education was imperative. The 1940-1952 Mass Literacy Campaign planners did not include post-literacy programs for those who had acquired literacy skills in reading, writing and arithmetic to broaden their horizons in social and political education. For example, a minibus driver who could read or write should not be limited to that alone because that person has the responsibility to interact with passengers, the police, pedestrians, law and government. For women who could read and write, post-literacy programs were not integrated in their duties as housewives, cooks, seamstresses, teachers,

gardeners and traders. The Tanzanian government provided post-literacy curriculum in their 1970-1979 National Literacy Campaign. For Nigerians, inclusion of post-literacy programs in the curriculum could have enabled literates to practice their newly acquired art -- literacy -- and to experiment with their new communication skills. According to Asiedu, Omolewa and Oyedeqi (1982), the end product of investment in post-literacy education is rewarding in that it produces permanent mastery of literacy and eliminates the possibility of loss of skills in all categories of literate men and women. However, the incorporation of post-literacy programs in the curriculum of the first mass literacy campaign in Nigeria would not have enabled the mass recipients of post-literacy skills to express their opinions on all issues of interest. For example, it would allow a farmer to share his farming experiences in newsletters and enable mechanics to compare notes on, say, how a Peugeot car could be repaired after a degenerated engine was reported by a customer. The non-inclusion of post-literacy education in the curriculum negatively impacted the outcome of the first mass literacy campaign organized by the Colonial Administration and other voluntary agencies between 1940-1952 in Nigeria.

These conclusions portray many of the subject areas which need to be considered seriously prior to investing in such a monumental mass literacy venture. It was this researcher's hope that present and future adult educators and practitioners, more especially those from developing nations, would take a critical look at these prerequisites and other areas of concern to the development

of national mass literacy campaigns. This study hoped to set the stage and to help guide any investigation for proposed systematic, orderly and universally based mass literacy campaigns in the Nigeria of tomorrow and elsewhere in the world. Implications cited in the following section also describe many of the subject matter areas which are in need of further research and study.

Implications

The literature review revealed that the Colonial government and other non-governmental agencies in general had developed, organized and implemented a number of basic literacy educational programs over several decades without a mass literacy campaign for the illiterate population of Nigeria. These claims have been confirmed by a large number of Nigerian/African researchers (see Bibliography at the end of the dissertation). Although these researchers studied basic literacy education, limited research has been conducted on the mass illiterates of Nigeria involving the Mass Literacy Campaign.

The study conducted by this researcher contributes to the literature on the Mass Literacy Campaign by providing an understanding of the 1940-1952 Mass Literacy Campaign as it was developed, organized and implemented by the Colonial government and other non-governmental agencies. It systematically addressed the study in terms of the evolution, operationalization, and the impact on the lives of Nigerians.

Implications for Adult Educators/Practitioners

The study contributes to the adult education literature. The study provides an increased understanding of the academic, vocational, mass literacy education, religious and other funded programs in which the illiterate masses of Nigeria were involved between 1940-1952. Adequate information was not available on the actual numbers of Nigerians (illiterates) involved in the Mass Literacy Campaign. For example, the special population of adults, notably the nomadic Fulani, were under-represented in the campaign, ipso facto, indicating that there is no substantial evidence in terms of the number of illiterates represented in the campaign. As previously indicated in the "problem statement" in Chapter 1, few substantial studies focused on the Mass Literacy Campaign in Nigeria between 1940-1952. The current study provides an understanding of this campaign by focusing on the evolution of the campaign, activities employed in the campaign, influence of benefactors, and the impact of the Mass Literacy Campaign on the lives of the people.

The study also has implications for all educational activities in Nigeria. It narrates a story that concludes that this Mass Literacy Campaign was not in competition with other sponsored adult education processes, geared toward selected segments of the population. Rather, it was developed, organized and mobilized to transform a pre-literate society to a literate one. The present adult educators/practitioners can capitalize on these first mass literacy campaigns by

adhering to the following suggestions made by Asiedu, Omolewa and Oyedele (1982):

Planning for mass literacy campaigns involves an attempt to think about future goals. It is consideration of the most suitable ways in which scarce resources can be used to reduce risks. The future is uncertain and risks are unavoidable in planning for the future, but by planning one is attempting at least to reduce risks. It is the laying of the foundation on which to build in the future. Projects that are not planned are bound to fail. Planning itself is no guarantee for success and unless the planner has the facts with which to plan, s/he may not succeed in reducing risks in a project.

The processes and characteristics of planning must involve flexibility in human resources in that the fields of operation should be subject to change. There are many factors that are unpredictable in planning, therefore human resources must be flexible to accommodate future changes.

Second, planning must be timely. The timeliness and goal of a mass literacy campaign should be integrated. For example, if events are delayed, a campaign may be practically useless upon completion. Also, if one had delayed schooling until age 50, upon completion this individual would have little or no time to benefit from or to justify the investment.

Third, planning should be economical in the long run. The investment should be justified by the return on the investment, whether in a monetary form or social benefit. A mass literacy campaign may appear to be economical in the short run but may not be able to surmount the test of time.

Fourth, planning should be problem solving. Unless there are problems to which one or more groups are seeking solutions, planning may have no focus.

Planning should be need-oriented, goal-oriented and problem-solving. A country should search for a problem before it becomes formidable and plan for its solution. When a problem was allowed to continue and to manifest itself in socio-economic and political pressures (e.g., prior to 1940), it was usually formidable, like the illiteracy problems in Nigeria and other West African countries.

Fifth, there are other prerequisites which must be considered prior to planning. In broad terms, these are need identification, availability of data about resources, sufficient finance and strong commitment.

Sixth, in setting the goal of mass literacy education, the needs of various recipients must first be identified. For example, people's needs are different -- a carpenter's needs are different from those of a mason. Even among farmers the needs of crop farmers are different from those of poultry farmers. Finally, in nomadism, cattle nomadism is different from fishing and farming nodadism. In trying to understand the needs of prospective learners, it is important to understand their characteristics and behavior and to constantly remember that the goals of adult learners may sometimes differ from the goals of the instructors or planners of mass literacy programs.

Finally, all possible problems and inhibitors, such as the people, physical conditions, government, climatic conditions or inadequate material resources, should be evaluated before planning for a mass literacy campaign. Customs of the people should always be respected and meaningful strategies employed to divest them of ignorance and poor health practices in the course of any mass

literacy campaign. A painstaking liaison effort is required when a mass literacy campaign is integrated with a rural development project. This may require timing of the project. For instance, seasonal factors will influence an agricultural project. Political squabbles and confrontations should be negotiated thoroughly to allow for smooth development. Inadequate channels of communication may need to be improved for frequency and continuity of mass literacy campaign and rural development.

Many materials available locally can be adapted for teaching in the rural areas. And, most critically, the people can be trained to train others. The people can conduct community development with local initiatives and efforts such as the building of roads, bridges, community centers and the sinking of wells.

Implications for Future Research

The study conducted was similar to as well as different from other studies which have been conducted on the 1940-1952 Mass Literacy Campaign in Nigeria. Concerning the commonalities that exist between this study and other historical studies of the Mass Literacy Campaign, this study characterized the learning experience in terms of the nature of the projects, the resources used, and the preferred learning methods. Concerning the differences, the present study systematically told a story through the eyes of influential persons who were primary and secondary eyewitnesses to the triggering events that led to the Mass Literacy Campaign, its evolution, development, organization, mobilization, and its impact on the lives of the participants.

Although this study laid a foundation for understanding the context in which the Mass Literacy Campaign occurred in Nigeria, there is a need for additional information before the context of the campaign can be fully understood. The current study focused on the triggering events, evolution, operationalization and the impact of the Mass Literacy Campaign. The qualitative and quantitative dimensions of these impact factors did not illuminate the depth of the benefits acquired during these historic periods. A follow-up study could be conducted to determine if the expected benefits of the Mass Literacy Campaign in terms of qualitative and quantitative connotations were realistic and the impact of the Mass Literacy Campaign on the illiteracy rates of the participants.

Overviews of the contexts in which mass literacy campaigns had occurred in Sweden, Scotland, the Soviet Union, Cuba, India, Great Britain, the United States of America, Nicaragua and Tanzania were presented in Appendix H. A study could be conducted to present comparative and historical perspectives of the Nigerian Mass Literacy Campaign with that of other developing nations cited above. Such a study could present some pitfalls that Nigerian adult educators/practitioners might avoid in their efforts toward the eradication of illiteracy by the year 2000 A.D.

Finally, a study could be conducted to determine if inhibitors such as age, cultural inertia, lack of finance or motivation, language questions, reactions and prejudices, and nomadism actually influenced in totality the marginalization of the special adult population during the 1940-1952 Mass Literacy Campaign in

Nigeria. Also, a survey, or an ethnographic study, may be the ideal instrument which may help to better understand their culture which would, in part, enable educators/practitioners to devise ways to provide outreach opportunities for these special groups of people in Nigeria.

APPENDIX A

Map of Nigeria Depicting the
Former Southern and Northern Protectorates and Colony of Lagos --
Also Religious Influences in Those Areas

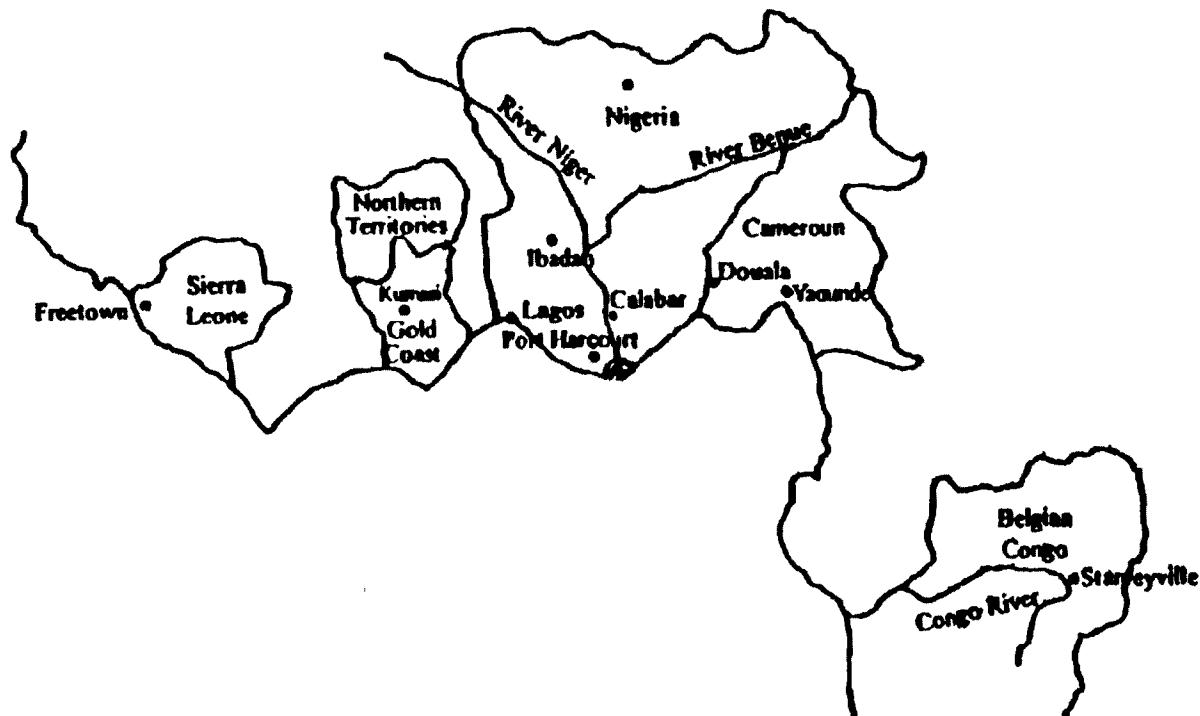


- Dark gray area depicts the then Northern Region consisting of all Native Authority (Northern Protectorate) and Voluntary Agency Schools. Also Muslim religious influence in the North.
- Light gray area depicts the then Eastern, Western Regions (Southern Protectorate) and Colony of Lagos. Also, Christian religious dominance in the South.

Source: Based on information provided in Omolewa, M. (1981). Adult education practice in Nigeria (p. 31). Ibadan, Nigeria: Evans Brothers (Nigeria Publishers), Ltd.

APPENDIX B

Areas of West African Colonies and Belgian Congo where the Mass Literacy Campaign Occurred During Post-World War II Era



Source: Based on information provided in Wrong, M. (1946). West African Journey in the Interests of Literacy and Christian Literature, 1944-1945 (p. 64). London, England: Livingstone.

APPENDIX C

Sampling Method

In this study decisions were made regarding the selection of data, the method of handling the data, and the determination to cease gathering data. The extent of geographical areas to be covered was based on the fact that mass literacy campaigns in some African countries started at the same period as that in Nigeria.

Therefore, in order to better understand the context in which events occurred, the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, French Cameroon and the Belgian Congo were mentioned, but theories that will emerge from this study will not be parallel to these African countries (see Chapter I, Limitations of the Study, p. 19).

Finally, the researcher noted variations among the masses of Nigeria and the events and context in which they occurred.

APPENDIX D

Determination of Facts

The researcher was not able to use the method of direct observation regarding past events because key informants were no longer available. Much of the data was derived from written reports of those who witnessed the events. All data were judged by two criteria: (1) the source, and (2) the authenticity of expression. With regard to sources, some documents provided data for obtaining individual meanings and others for extracting group meanings.

According to Dobbert (1982), most materials, such as policy clarification statements, reports and memoranda from the Office of the Colonial Secretary provided group meanings because the actual wording of documents was the result of a public process wherein phrases and words were altered until a majority, at least, of the group responsible for the directive or memorandum was satisfied that the document expressed a mutually agreed-upon policy. Accurate interpretation of group expression required that the researcher be aware of the composition of groups because the opinions of losing minorities were omitted from public documents.

According to Dobbert (1982), "Authenticity of expression is a measure of the reliability of materials as a storehouse of meanings. Documents are reliable for this purpose only if they contain the exact words of setting members either as individuals or groups, and if they preserve the form given them by the originator."

In other words, documentary materials that had been summarized, paraphrased, cut, or otherwise edited by anyone other than the originator were not used for interpretive purposes in this study.

Survey reports from sources that were used in this study purporting to quote a setting's participants were not used unless it could be ascertained that the words of the participants were indeed reported verbatim and not cut or edited.

Documentary materials of low-authenticity were examined. These included essay-type materials, program proposals, mission statements, and newspapers from unspecified sources within the setting. These were used only to provide general interpretations of meanings and, even then, only if nothing else was available. If used, the researcher subjected these low-authenticity documents to a process of cross-checking for consistencies.

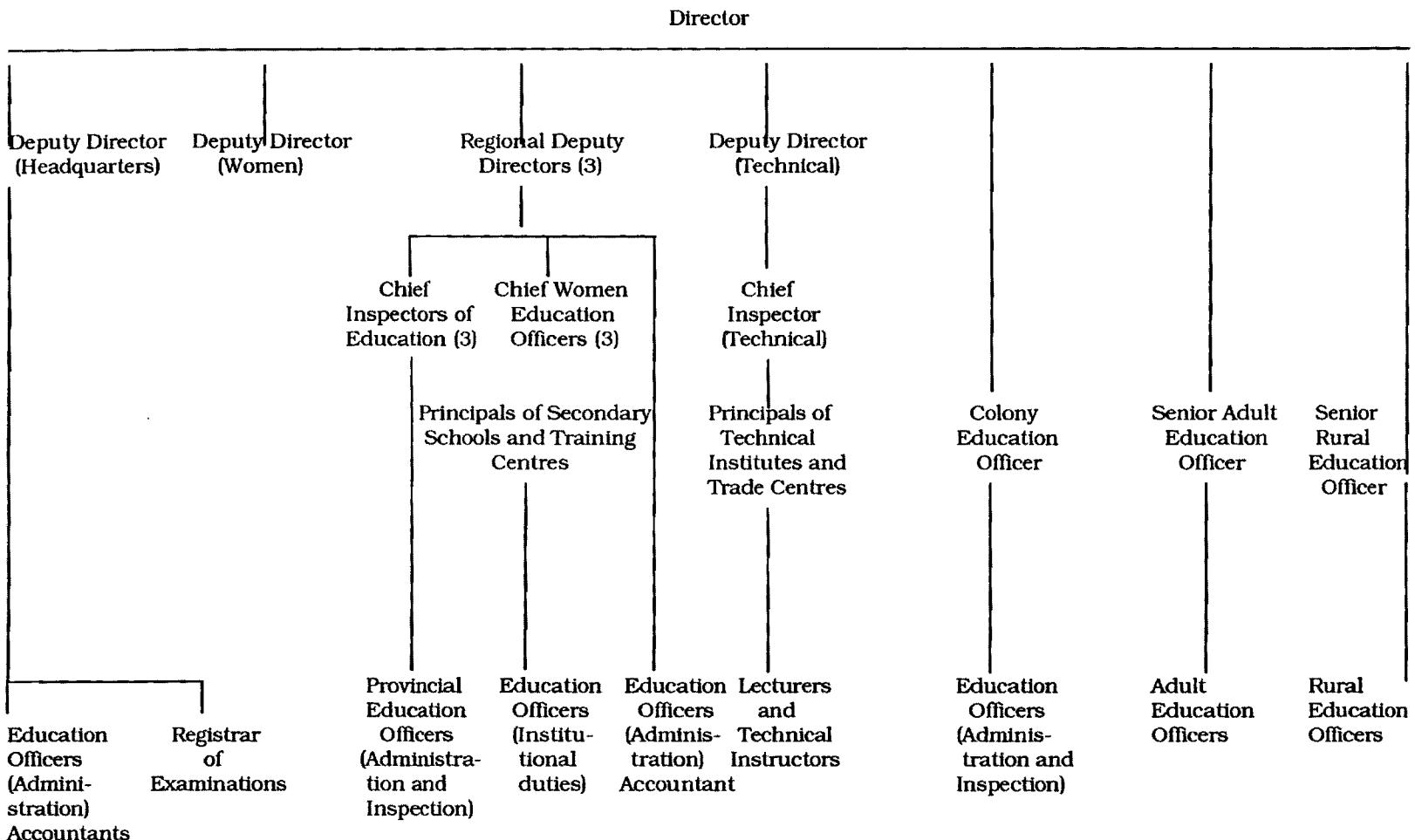
To establish credibility in research (i.e., materials which can be believed by the people who were studied as well as by readers in general), the researcher relied on the criteria of Lincoln and Guba (1985) who stated that a researcher must: (a) have prolonged engagement in the field, (b) perform persistent observation, (c) triangulate, (d) search for negative cases, (e) determine inferential adequacy, and (f) check with the people studied.

The process of triangulation, which depends on the convergence of data gathered by different methods such as observation and interview, was not employed. The researcher did not have prolonged engagement in the field with the opportunity to engage in persistent observation. Rather, the methodology of

negative case analysis was relied upon to help the researcher ascertain validity of data. According to Ely (1991), "Data that stand out like a sore thumb are sometimes called negative cases. Negative case analysis is the search for evidence that does not fit into our emergent findings, and that leads to a re-examination of our finding."

It was the intention of the researcher to take account of documents as part of the social setting under investigation. In so doing, validity and reliability were paramount. Additionally, the researcher intended to carry out the entire research process fairly to ensure that the end product would represent as closely as possible the event under investigation. The researcher further sought to ground the entire process of this study in ethical principles as to data collected, analysis and results communicated as non-defensively and as clearly as possible.

APPENDIX E
1929-1949
SENIOR SERVICE ORGANISATION



Source: Education Department, Annual Report, 1949-1950 (Lagos, 1950), p. 17.

APPENDIX F

NUMBER OF PUPILS ENROLLED AS AT 31ST DECEMBER, 1949									
Classification of Institution	Post Secondary		Secondary		Primary		Total		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Maintained from Colonial or Local Government Funds (Government Native Administration)	--	--	1,869	305	6,418	2,455	8,287	2,760	11,047
Aided from Colonial or Local Government Funds	--	--	2,108	99	40,317	10,783	42,425	10,882	53,307
Maintained by Public Corporations, if any	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
All other Institutions	--	--	4,563	337	145,666	36,892	150,229	37,229	187,458
Total	--	--	20,605	2,753	732,948	200,385	753,553	203,138	956,691

Source: Education Department, Annual Report, 1948/49 (Lagos, 1949), p. 117.

APPENDIX G

TEACHERS CLASSIFIED BY QUALIFICATIONS AS AT 31ST DECEMBER, 1950															
	PRIMARY SCHOOLS						SECONDARY SCHOOLS						POST SECOND ARY	TOTAL	
	Maintained from Colonial or Local Government Funds		Aided from Colonial or Local Government Funds		All other Institutions		Maintained from Colonial or Local Government Funds		Aided from Colonial or Local Government Funds		All other Institutions				
	M Male	F Female	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
With University Degree															
(a) Trained	15	8	11	20	1	8	59	17	113	42	18	5	--	--	317
(b) Untrained	--	--	8	5	12	4	11	--	56	18	15	3	--	--	132
Completed Secondary School Course															
(a) Trained	78	11	69	48	4	1	20	5	112	90	46	7	--	--	491
(b) Untrained	41	--	245	13	2	3	--	--	102	13	232	7	--	--	658
Not Completed Secondary School Course:															
(a) Trained	1,243	105	5,476	1,259	401	101	44	1	322	36	132	14	--	--	9,136
(b) Untrained	1,161	98	19,056	1,457	4,679	2,764	184	4	58	4	74	7	--	--	29,546

Source: Education Department, Annual Report, 1949/1950 (Lagos, 1950), p. 79.

APPENDIX H

Overview of How Mass Literacy Campaigns Were Conducted in Sweden, Scotland, Soviet Union, Nicaragua, Cuba, Tanzania, United Kingdom, 19th-Century United States and India

One point of view contends that literacy drives or campaigns (the terms are synonymous) were classic examples of state-led efforts to impose literacy on an often reluctant population in a pre-industrial society (Arnove & Graff, 1987).

Earlier literacy campaigns in Scotland and Sweden, from the mid-16th century on, and during the 19th century United States' educational revolutions unveiled some distinctive methods of mobilization. These methods could be viewed in relation to (a) the level of centralization of political and religious authority exercised over a campaign, and (b) the extent to which a literacy campaign's activities were institutionalized in schooling. Historically, the Swedish and Scottish campaigns were closely linked to the Protestant Reformation and the subsequent Catholic Counter-Reformation, as was evident in the Scottish literacy campaigns which took place between 1560-1803.

The reformation of the 1560s, as described by Houston (Arnove and Graff, 1987), was a "political event with religious overtones." Anti-French and anti-Catholic nobility, concerned with the establishment and protection of their faith, advocated a nationwide effort to educate the population in the principles of Protestantism. In terms of a mobilizational pattern, the Scottish Literacy

Campaign inculcated a corresponding shift to formal institutions and "carefully trained" cadres of pastors and teachers working under the protection of benevolent but strong-willed governments (E. Johansson, in Arnove & Graff, 1987). The Scottish campaigns were state directed, universal in coverage, comprehensive in scope, religiously oriented, and informal/school based. In fact, all educational activities geared at literacy encompassed a joint venture of the Scottish states and Protestant Kirk. According to Houston (Arnove & Graff, 1987), in Scotland "because of its religious and moral emphases, the form of education was dictated by the wish to transmit an approved body of knowledge and doctrine to the pupil rather than to stimulate critical understanding." Rote learning incorporated catechism, reading, writing and, especially for girls, training in domestic vocational skills such as sewing, knitting and weaving.

The Swedish Literacy Campaign, launched in 1686, was national in scope and operated completely without schools. According to Johansson, any literacy effort must be understood in the context of the Protestant Reformation in Sweden. The Swedish experience should be made an integral part of the process of nation building following a series of great wars. All educational efforts were directed toward comprehending, understanding, and putting words into practice in daily life. These Swedish literacy campaigns exemplified domestically based but politically and religiously sponsored or enforced literacy drives. The campaigns encompassed informal activities, supervised by local religious authorities. Its unique characteristics embodied literacy based on reading ability but seldom on

writing, with special emphasis on the educational roles of mothers at home.

According to Johansson (Arnone & Graff, The Swedish Campaigns), a Church Law of 1686 required children, farm hands and maid servants "to learn to read and see with their own eyes what God bids and commands in His Word." Each person in every household and all villagers were assembled once a year to participate in examinations in reading and knowledge of the Bible which were supervised by the local clergy. The adults whose performance in the examination was unsatisfactory could not participate in Holy Communion and were denied permission to marry. In Scotland and Sweden the Church had the right to deny participation in communion to the grossly illiterate. Other social pressure involved efforts to bring shame upon the ignorant. Additionally, during the Swedish campaign of 1686, the materials used were comprised of special psalm books that combined catechism, Biblical motifs and texts of the ecclesiastical calendar. The most widely distributed book during this period was the 1689 Catechism with Luther's "Explanations." The text consisted of 303 general questions and answers, spiritual passages, questions for young persons and bridal couples, and rules for home worship.

The 19th-century United States' literacy campaigns, according to Stevens (Arnone & Graff, 1987), possessed unique features in that they presented a method which was different from Swedish and Scottish literacy campaigns. "There was no centrally orchestrated policy that brought the power and resources

of the nation-state to bear on the problem of literacy." Rather, the competition of religious denominations, the influence of leading secular and clerical authorities, and local civic initiatives emerged as a combined entity to promote literacy activities.

Literacy ventures in 19th-century America represented a blend of different social forces and widely held beliefs. Because of the competition of different religious denominations to capture souls and a belief in republican government, with its need for an educated citizenry, most activities were galvanized and directed by each state instead of the federal government. States and religious authorities jointly strived to steer literacy promotion away from unregulated and non-school-based situations.

The swift spread of literacy served the same purposes of religious propagation, maintenance of political order, and the formation of national character. According to Stevens, "the process of becoming literate was itself a process of socialization promulgated by those interested in using the school to resolve social, economic and political tensions arising from a culturally pluralistic and emerging industrial society. The process of schooling and hence the process of becoming literate were seen in relation to nation-building, a fervent evangelical Protestantism and technological innovation." (Arnove & Graff, 1987) What was of a notable significance in the United States was that the benefactors advocated a republican-type government based on more active citizen participation in political governance.

The campaigns of the 20th-century Soviet Union were triggered by revolutionary upheavals and attempts by state authorities to establish a new political culture and to create a catalyst for the process of economic development. Here can be seen the most striking cases of massive mobilization that pivot on the provision of literacy and adult education. In the contemporary era, the Soviet Union exemplified the transformation that provided the context for most mass literacy campaigns which often embraced the formation of a new type of person. That was, to create the “new Socialist” man or woman in a society which was organized and based on principles of cooperation, egalitarianism, altruism, sacrifice and struggle.

During the Soviet Union’s 1919 literacy campaigns, the country emerged as the first to adopt a war-seige mentality to combat illiteracy. The December 29, 1919 Decree on Illiteracy, for example, required all illiterates 8-to-50 years of age to learn, equipped the local Narkompros (People’s Commissariats of Enlightenment) with the power to draft literate citizens to teach, and made it a criminal offense to refuse to teach or learn. By June of 1920, the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission for the Eradication of Illiteracy was put together and accorded the power to stipulate regulations with the force of law.

Between 1917 and 1921, as commented by Ben Eklof, an institutional framework was developed to institute Likpunkty (liquidation points) from which to combat illiteracy. The Likpunkty were to provide six-to-ten-week literacy courses. The “New Committee” that was developed to mobilize literacy efforts was

called the gramcheka (*gram* signified an abbreviation for literacy and *cheka* was the initials for the secret police). And, in accordance with Eklof's testimony, looming large in adult literacy efforts was the Red Army. At the end of the 19th century, the Russian army had played a significant role in state efforts to promote literacy. New recruits who could produce a primary school certificate or demonstrate their ability to read had their terms of enlistment reduced.

In the case of the People's Republic of China, it was Bhola's opinion that China had the most massive mobilization of people -- over 48 million. The Mass Literacy Campaign was centrally directed and nationally orchestrated, but it operated in a decentralized fashion, leaving much to local choice and initiative. Recent scholarship, while not rejecting this line of observation, has modified it considerably. Evelyn Sakakida Rawski noted a major reevaluation of literacy and its uses in Late Imperial China. According to Rawski, earlier estimates of overall literacy rates ranged as low as 1% to 2%, for they defined literacy as the ability to read classical prose and to write classical compositions (Rawski, 1979).

Observers of China were amazed with Japan's comparatively faster economic development, assumed China's rate of literacy to be astronomically low, and then used it to "explain" China's poor performance. Inculcating new research materials and a more concise concept of literacy developed from comparative studies, assuming China's early modern economic performance to be in fact comparable to Japan's, Rawski argued that "information from the mid- and late-19th century suggested that 30-45 percent of the men and 2-10 percent of the

women in China knew how to read and write." Conceding that literacy could mean the knowledge of only a few hundred characters, she concluded that "there was an average of almost one literate person per family." Literacy, she argued, could not have been the bottleneck for China's presumed failure to modernize swiftly and cleanly.

Two of the more remarkable campaigns of the 20th century were those in Cuba and Nicaragua which involved literacy workers who were designated as "brigadistas" (brigade workers). The scope of the Nicaraguan Mass Literacy Campaign was one to be reckoned with considering the socioeconomic conditions. In Nicaragua, the herculean attack on illiteracy occurred in a country ravaged by civil war, with many of the country's youth massacred, a national economy in shambles, and a foreign debt per capita among the highest in the world. A literacy campaign of this size had not taken place anywhere. From the onset, to reduce the illiteracy rate from 50% to approximately 15% within a six-month time-frame, almost every person who knew how to read and write would teach anybody who could not.

Only with mass mobilization, with everyone learning, would it be possible to find adults eager to face the agonizing situation and the public embarrassment of trying to write their names on a blackboard. Only with a plan which was universal in scope would it be possible for adults above the age of 60 to be taught to read and write by youths who were 12 and 13 years old. A number of beautifully colored posters and billboards which honored the landscape captured

the spirit and significance of the literacy campaign (Arnove, 1987). One poster stated, "En cada casa un aula. En cada mesa un pupitive. En cada Nica un maestro!" -- "Every home a classroom. Every table a school desk. Every Nicaraguan a teacher!"

The structure of the Nicaraguan Literacy Campaign of 1980 involved deployment, logistical support and protection of literacy army members. Literacy volunteers were being transported to the most rural areas of the country, which were often inaccessible by road and four-wheel vehicles. They were provided with food and shelter, and then safeguarded. The dangers brigadistas were exposed to in the rural, impoverished areas of the country were born of the ravages of underdevelopment, the lack of potable water, the scarcity of food, and endemic diseases such as dysentery and malaria. But the threat of terrorist attacks by several thousand ex-guardsmen who had fled to neighboring Honduras and across the border to terrorize and murder brigadistas was symbolic of the revolutionary changes occurring in Nicaragua (Arnove, 1987). Nine brigadistas were killed during various phases of the crusade by counter-revolutionaries known as Contras. In cases of illness or injury, there was need for quick medical services. With the counter-revolution came attacks and the need for a permanent communications network to signal defense officials. In order to consolidate these literacy ventures, it was necessary to locate and provide the brigadistas with an initial foundation. This was accomplished with activities which publicized the literacy crusade, identified people who could not demonstrate reading and writing

abilities, and encouraged them to attend literacy centers and complete the literacy process.

Mass organizations played a pivotal role in implementing the Literacy Campaign in Nicaragua (C.N.A., i.e., Cruzada Nacional de Alfabetización). They consisted of a National Coordinating Commission, established under the auspices of the Ministry of Education, and a commission comprised of 25 ministerial, political, military, educational, cultural and religious bodies. These were instrumental in the overthrow of the dictatorship and were also the key to the success of the CNA. Arnove attested that following the victory these mass organizations, in many cases renamed and reconstituted, took their place in the battle against illiteracy.

The learning process revolved around the basic reader, "Sunrise of the People." The reader, based in part on pedagogical ideas of the Brazilian adult educator, Paulo Freire, had 23 generative themes. Each particular theme, with a photograph, was comprised of generative polysyllabic words that could be subdivided into basic sound and meaning units and reassembled by the learner to create new words. Paulo Freire's concept of the adult literacy activity as "cultural action for freedom" was relatively open-ended. It was obvious that those countries who borrowed Freire's concept of the adult literacy process, language, and a pedagogical approach in their campaigns had a more specific notion of the desired end-state of literacy promotion and acquisition. Notably, Tanzania and Nicaragua were countries that adopted his ideas in their campaigns. The

outcomes of the Nicaraguan Campaign could be interpreted qualitatively. The most notable results were seen in the number of adult learners who passed the literacy test or who completed a set number of lessons in the primer. An onlooker could notice the improvement in the physical aspects of the communities where literacy workers resided. These outcomes of the campaign could be seen in the transformation of the political culture, the integration of former ostracized sections of the country, the unification of countryside and city, the winning over of youth in the crusade, improvement of the status of women in Nicaraguan society and, finally, a strengthening of the mass organizations.

The problem that presented itself in the Cuban 1961 National Literacy Campaign involved the disparity between putting forth a paper which presented the appearance of progress and the actual mobilization of an entire nation to eradicate illiteracy -- to put the "paper" into practice. That is to say, to determine the appropriate educational tools to use when there was no model to adopt. Who was to be mobilized? What approach would be appropriate? Which pedagogic weapons were to be used? Did thousands of classrooms need to be created? These questions were pondered by the forerunners of the Cuban campaign and they demanded answers. The study of these questions led to the following campaign tactics: (a) identification of the illiterate population, (b) recruitment of literacy workers, (c) training literacy workers, and (d) organizing and implementing the campaign.

Identifying the Cuban illiterate population was initiated by conducting an illiteracy census in 1960 and 1961 by teachers and voluntary organizations such as the Women's Federation, trade unions, and the Farm Workers' Federation. The aim of the census was to obtain pertinent statistical data and to gain practical information for the campaign. Questionnaires were used as instruments to determine residence, occupation, hours of work, history of schooling, etc. The problem of obtaining such data represented international concerns of literacy efforts in general because illiterates "tended to conceal their situation." Those who did so were motivated by fear of losing employment or were strongly opposed to revealing their ignorance.

Based on the census conducted prior to and just following the campaign, Marvin Leiner revealed that 979,000 were illiterates; 707,212 were taught by literacy workers during the campaign, reducing the number of illiterates to 3.9% of the entire population. Of those illiterates taught, 476,155 (about 67%) were rural area dwellers. For example, in Oriente Province, 237,487 of 300,226 illiterates were in the countryside, usually undeveloped, elevated areas of the country (Arnove & Graff, 1987).

To recruit and train literacy workers, Cuba established a program of individual teaching by *alfabetizadores* (adult volunteers) and *brigadistas* (volunteer brigades of school-age youngsters). Following the media blitz in April and May of 1961, television, radio, newspapers, billboards and posters urged

youngsters to join the army of brigadistas. Forty percent of the brigadistas were between the ages of 10-14 years, 7.5% were 15-19 years old, the average age was 14-16, 52% were girls, and almost three-fourths of them were urban dwellers who were assigned to rural provinces. Young people were happy about being part of a brave, bold and patriotic project. The literacy workers' training was geared toward a two-dimensional method: (a) teacher training with instruction on methodology and familiarization with key materials utilizing the primer, Venceremos and a teacher's manual, Alfabeticemos; and (b) orientation to the countryside. One-and-a-half million copies of Venceremos were printed so that each illiterate person could have one. The instructional method utilized what Cuban educators called "social motivation." Material for the text was drawn from political, social and economic dimensions of the Revolution in order to politicize the learner. The stated objective of the teacher's manual, "Let's Teach How to Read and Write" (Alfabeticemos) was to give literacy teachers content background for the topic of each lesson and to elevate political awareness of the teachers. Revolutionary themes included: The Revolution; Fidel is Our Leader; The Land Is Ours; The Cooperative Farms; The Right to Housing; Cuba Had Riches and Was Poor; Nationalization; Industrialization; Friends and Enemies; Imperialism; International Trade; War and Peace; International Unity; Democracy; Workers and Farmers; The People, United and Alert; Freedom of Religion; Health; Popular Recreation; The Abolition of Illiteracy; The Revolution Wins All the Battles; and The Declaration of Havana (Arnone & Graff, 1987).

In their next phase of training, urban brigadistas had to be oriented to the countryside in order to adapt and relate to remote area living. Most of them were unaccustomed to the hardship of peasant life -- one-room houses, inadequate electricity and water supplies, outhouses, different customary foods, hard daily work routines and difficult sleeping accommodations. Therefore, each brigadista was given an equipment package comprised of a primer, the teacher's manual, two books, two pairs of socks, an olive green beret, two pairs of pants, a hammock, and a shoulder patch of Conrado Benitez (the student/teacher who was assassinated in late 1960 by a counterrevolutionary band and for whom the student brigade was named). Also added was a lantern to provide light for lessons in homes without electricity and for travel on dark country roads. The lantern, a Coleman-type adjustable lamp, was sometimes called the "Chinese lantern" by the brigadistas because it was a gift from the People's Republic of China. The Cuban Campaign achieved two major results: (1) strengthening of the bonds between the city and the countryside through cultural exchange, communication, mutual respect, and recognition of the city person and the campesino through an alignment in a joint cause of national development and self-improvement; and (2) a profound impact on young people and adults. These changes allowed the people to explore previously untapped potential by furthering their education and developing new skills and occupational opportunities.

In his annual New Year's Eve address to his country, December 31, 1970, President Julius Nyerere announced that within a year illiteracy should be "completely eradicated" in six of Tanzania's approximately eighty political districts. The following September, prior to the release of the results of the rapidly mobilized six-district Tanzanian literacy campaign, the ruling political party in Tanzania, known as TANU, directed that all citizens in the nation should be well-informed by the end of 1975. According to Jeff Unsicker, "While such ambitious directive are remarkable in any situation, it is all the more so when one realizes that in 1971 the government estimated that there were 5.3 million illiterates, 67% of all Tanzanians above the age of ten." (Arnove & Graff, 1987) Some unofficial estimates placed the figure at 80% or more. Moreover, as one of the most impoverished, underdeveloped nations in the world, Tanzania was not endowed with the financial resources and educated manpower required by a venture of this magnitude. On the other hand, the President, a charismatic leader who had become a "father of the nation" figure due to his influence in the fight for independence during the 1950s, had massive popular support. It should also be emphasized that the government's Ministry of National Education and over 88,000 teachers, high school students and citizen volunteers converged as a united force to set the stage for the National Literacy Campaign. Several foreign countries came forth to lend a helping hand to requests for needed paper supplies and funds. According to Unsicker (in Arnove and Graff, 1987), the Swedish adviser who was responsible for assisting in the development of Tanzania's

campaign plan commented on the outcome (Swedish International Development Authority [SIDA]): "No country in the world has probably been able to mobilize and enroll the people, to raise the general literacy motivation, and to build up the adult education machinery to the same extent within a few years as Tanzania has managed to do."

Within the first four years of the implementation of TANU's directives, over five million persons participated in the National Literacy Campaign. The national examination, designed to evaluate literacy at four different levels, was given to assess the success of the campaign. Unsicker (in Arnove and Graff, 1987) summarized the results in the following four phases:

- Phase 1. Citizen enrolled in literacy classes and attended two-thirds of the sessions.
- Phase 2.1 Citizen able to read words and recognize symbols; to write alphabet letters, numbers and arithmetic signs.
- Phase 2.2 Citizen able to write a short, meaningful sentence; to add and subtract one-figure numbers.
- Phase 3.1 Citizen able to read and write, as above; to add and subtract two-figure numbers.
- Phase 3.2 Citizen able to read simple text in the Swahili language fluently, with understanding; to write simple, short messages; to add and subtract three-figure numbers; to multiply two-figure numbers and to divide by one figure.

Phase 4. Citizen able to read a newspaper in order to keep up with current events and to obtain information; to read "how to" books on better living, farming, etc.; to keep records and solve simple arithmetic problems; to keep a simple book of accounts on income and expenditures.

Given the enrollment statistics, little was known about the actual impact of the literacy campaign on the newly literate or on resulting national development. With reference to the impact of the campaign on individuals, literature was limited. According to Yusuf Kassam, former director of the Institute of Adult Education in Tanzania, a qualitative impact study was conducted in 1977. Unfortunately, that study was confined to in-depth interviews or dialogues with only eight newly literate citizens and, as such, it could not be considered to be representative of the overall impact. But, according to Unsicker (Arnone and Graff, 1987), relying on the words of some of the newly literate, quoted below, one could assume that the campaign had an impact on individuals.

Now that I have become literate, I feel that before I was carrying a small lantern but now a pressure lamp has been brought to me.

The word 'education' used to terrify me. [E]ducation had the aura of some kind of magic. But now I know that anyone can learn and anyone can get education.

Education, we thought, was something that was out 'there,' somewhere far away -- but now you are told it is right here near the river.

The campaign definitely had an impact on national development and on Tanzania's transition to socialism. The nation's economic problems were rectified by improvements in social services in the rural areas. These improvements encompassed education, evolving literacy, health and sanitation. Their effects were seen in increased life expectancy, decreased child mortality rates, and a bridge between the gap of the nation's highest and lowest incomes began to emerge.

In the meantime, India, which had experienced the birth of political independence just two years after the end of World War II, had immediately realized the revolutionary demands which this new political order had brought about. The approach of functional adult education was recognized as a crucial tool that would fortify the Indian people and allow them to play a successful role in a democratic social order. Projects directly germane to economic development were relied upon, and functional literacy remained the crux of the adult education movement among the Indian people. The result was an effort to correlate education with the economic needs of Indian society.

Through bold experimentation, adult education was "aimed at enabling the common man to live a richer life in all its aspects -- economic, social, cultural, as well as moral -- and to develop his powers of initiative, judgment and integrity as a citizen. Great emphasis was laid on functional literacy, which was more readily known as social education." (Anyanwu, 1987) It was purposely geared toward the

general education of adults to build the society and to enable them, as community members, to work toward achieving social, economic and educational development. Hence, literacy projects in most states (i.e., Mysore, Bombay and Mad Pradesh) had a direct link to the economic development of the people.

India realized that the rapid development of science and technology and the spread of sophisticated methods and techniques for increasing agricultural and industrial output resulted in the spread of literacy throughout different sectors of society. Either as farmers or as workers in industry, the Indians required literacy education for national development and increased agricultural productivity. The new nation required that those adults who were farmers or workers, whose tremendous efforts as producers or wage earners prompted the country to fight toward achieving social and economic development, should be able to derive from the acquisition of literacy a knowledge of their work in order to achieve significant national development.

During the post-World War II era, adult education became popularized as a result of changes in social and economic situations throughout Great Britain. Concepts of the welfare state and the affluent society led to enactments which brought to the working people not only a measure of security but also a rise in real income (Anyanwu, 1987). The result was due to an elevation in the standard of living among the lower income groups. From the point of view of adult education, the comparative affluence of the masses resulted in dramatic changes in leisure and education activities.

The Education Act of 1944 ushered in a rising ride toward the expansion of the educational system. Post-war financial constraints had inhibited the development of non-vocational adult education in a manner which was similar to the impact on other sectors of the educational system. However, the post-war period brought an increase in the amount of leisure time. Office and professional workers gained tremendously from reduced working hours, and most especially from five-day work weeks. Workers engaged in manual labor who had to work longer than normal hours chose to increase their incomes with overtime wages rather than opt for increased leisure time. Therefore, no matter what the amount of leisure time people had, the opportunities to utilize it gainfully had multiplied. The increase in the number of private cars, increased facilities for travel, the development of interest in gardening by an increasing number of homeowners were evident changes in the use of leisure, from which much of the British adult population benefited in the post-war years (Anyanwu, 1987).

Developments in adult learning loomed large during the expansion of adult education, and were geared toward the variety of needs and tastes of the British people. The adult education curriculum encompassed not only citizenship education but also science, music and languages, literature and drama, as well as craftsmanship. Today, adult education has developed to multidimensional levels in Great Britain. It is a reality which is essentially changing, innovative, creative, flexible, light, and in touch with every circle in which patterns of relationships and labor relations are made and unmade. Anyanwu confirmed

that it has within it everything that constitutes the "biological tissue" of adult education.

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A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Okafor, P. C." The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Okafor" being the most prominent part.