THE STANDARDS, TIME PERIODS, AND CONSEQUENCES OF ADULT LITERACY TEACHING AS DETERMINED FROM A SURVEY OF LITERATURE AND RESPONSES OF PRACTITIONERS

Thesis for the Degree of M. A.

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

Mushtaq Ahmed

1965

THESIS

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By

Mushtaq Ahmed

AN ABSTRACT

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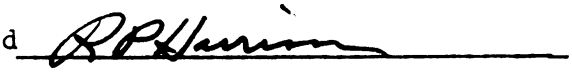
Approved 

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THE STANDARDS, TIME PERIODS, AND CONSEQUENCES OF ADULT LITERACY TEACHING AS DETERMINED FROM A SURVEY OF LITERATURE AND RESPONSES OF PRACTITIONERS

by Mushtaq Ahmed

This study was conducted to find out from agencies and individuals active in the adult literacy field (1) the objectives of literacy teaching, (2) the standard of functional literacy, (3) the period of instruction required to attain the standard, and (4) the consequences of adult literacy. The method used was a mailed questionnaire plus a review of pertinent literature.

Judged from the national point of view, the following seem to be the objectives of literacy teaching: (a) to help the individual to form opinions about public affairs, (b) to help him to understand his culture and modify his attitudes according to the demands of modern times, and (c) to help him to produce more.

There was some evidence to show that a person should be considered literate, i.e., able to meet the above goals, when he had acquired reading and writing skills equivalent to the elementary fourth grade level. The majority of the agencies and individuals seemed to agree with this standard. The research evidence also indicated that the standard might be attained after about 400 hours of instruction, using well qualified and trained teachers and suitable teaching materials. But only five out of 20 agencies and individuals considered this, or an even greater amount of instruction, necessary to attain fourth grade level. The rest thought that this level

could be attained in periods as short as 36 to 240 hours of instruction. It seems that the majority of the agencies do not see very clearly the relationship between the standard of functional literacy and the instruction required to attain it.

Regarding the uses of literacy, the majority of the agencies and individuals were of the opinion that the literacy acquired in the class was not used subsequently, resulting in gradual relapse into illiteracy for a great many graduates of literacy classes. Judging the consequences of literacy from a given set of behavioral changes, less than half of the agencies seem to agree that literacy teaching is effective, and more than half consider it ineffective. There was some research evidence to support the ineffectiveness of literacy teaching.

It seems that the ineffectiveness might be due the fact that the existing conditions of life do not demand the use of literacy, or perhaps the ineffectiveness may be due to the way in which literacy teaching is done.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1. Purpose of the study

This is a survey of some of the problems and practices in adult literacy teaching, based on a study of relevant literature and the replies to a questionnaire mailed to agencies and individuals active in the field. The main purposes of this survey are to find out:

1. What are the expressed or the implied goals of adult literacy and how much instruction seems to be necessary to attain these goals, as determined by the literature?
2. What are the practitioners' definitions of literacy and how much instruction do they think is necessary to attain that standard?
3. What are the students' purposes in wanting to become literate?

What are the consequences of adult literacy teaching as determined by a survey of the literature and as perceived by the practitioners?

The study is limited mainly to an examination of the standards, the goals, and the payoff of adult literacy teaching. Related problems such as the organization of a literacy campaign, its financing, and the production and distribution of teaching materials have not been studied.

2. The problems of adult literacy

a. The extent of illiteracy and UNESCO's proposal for a universal literacy campaign.

More than two-fifths of the 700 million of the world adult population 15 years old and above were illiterate around 1950 (1:14). About 15 per cent

of the world's illiterate adult population lived in Africa, about 75 per cent in Asia, 4 or 5 per cent in Europe, USSR and Oceania (Appendix A). In 1962, there were about 500 million adult illiterates in UNESCO's 67 member states of Africa, Asia and Latin America (2:7) (Appendix B).

UNESCO convened several conferences in these regions which were attended by high level officials of the governments concerned. This resulted in the resolution of the General Conference of UNESCO at its twelfth session (Dec., 1962). The resolution requested the General Assembly of the United Nations to make provision for making two-thirds of the world's illiterate adults between the ages of 15 and 55 functionally literate (2:9). The campaign would have taken 10 years and would have cost $1.9 billion (2:62), or $5.25 to $7.35 to make one person functionally literate (2:61). The cost was calculated on the basis of one hour of instruction per person per day for one year (2:58).

Adam Curle, in his comments and proposal on the UNESCO campaign, suggested that school construction and teachers training costs erred on the high side and estimated that it would cost $1.3 billion or $3.90 to $4.95 per person (3:27).

The member states had sponsored the resolution because they believed "in the right to education as one of the fundamental rights of man as set forth in article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights," and because they shared the view of the General Assembly that "mass illiteracy acts as a brake upon the advance both of individual countries and of human society as a whole along the path of economic and social progress" (2:8).

In spite of the belief in the fundamental right of man to educate himself, the proposal for a universal campaign has been deferred at least for the time being. Member states felt that the problem of adult illiteracy was not of such a high priority as to call for international assistance. But efforts to reduce adult illiteracy continue to be part of government programs in 54 of the 67 UNESCO member states (2:5).

b. The perceived objectives of adult literacy

Literacy is considered by many as a major factor in retarding the political progress of both individuals and societies. UNESCO regards an illiterate person as "outside public affairs" (2:37). The director of the Fundamental Centre India considers talks about efficient functioning of a democratic system of government in a country with high illiteracy as "empty words without content" (4:5). Gerardo Flores of the Philippines regards literacy the basis of effective citizenship:

> That effective citizenship depends much upon literacy is a basic assumption particularly in a democratic country, where the political power and responsibility is assured only when those who assume the duties and wield the prerogative of sovereignty are at least functionally literate (5:24).

Frederick Breitenfeld refers to Plato's conception of democracy which requires an enlightened citizenry:

> Plato suggested that democracy is a most dangerous social experiment. He contended that the burden of responsibility in such a government structure falls upon the individual citizen, and that this requires that the public be enlightened, interested and participant (6:45).

The point of view that an illiterate person is outside politics seems to find support in Lerner's study of Middle Eastern countries (7).

According to him, the symbols of modernity are urbanization, literacy, and media participation, which lead to psychic mobility and skills to empathize. A person lacking in these characteristics is a "traditional" who will have no opinions on public matters because "the traditional man has habitually regarded public matters as none of his business" (7:70). Lerner is also of the opinion that "constrictiveness" is the trait of a non-literate, non-urban person. Analyzing the responses of a poor 30-year-old illiterate worker in a village near the Black Sea, he found that the worker was uninterested in things foreign. He wished to listen to the newspaper read occasionally, not to form opinions about what was happening in the country, but "solely to be informed what the big people of the country were doing." He considered "the big people" his masters (7:150).

From evidence in Turkey, Iran, Egypt, Lebanon and Syria, Lerner came to the conclusion that the "traditional does not participate in shaping policy; nor does he feel that he 'should'... participate; nor is he particularly interested in... participating. For him, enlightenment signifies insecurity, and practical wisdom counsels ignorance" (7:151).

Secondly, literacy is considered important for the social development of man. It is argued that literacy makes it possible for him to understand his culture and provides incentive for further progress. Emphasizing the cultural aspect of literacy the UNESCO Caribbean Commission observed that:

> Illiteracy is at once a symptom and a cause of the deeper evils of ignorance: ignorance of almost all that man has discovered through centuries of efforts and which can enable him to adjust himself better to a constantly changing environment (8:14).

Johnstone's recent survey of adult education in the United States reveals the interesting point that education leads to the desire for further education; the more education, the more participation in self-improvement courses. Regardless of types of occupation and level of income, persons having higher education participated more in adult education activities than persons having less education (9).

Thirdly, illiteracy is considered a block in the communication system of a society striving for modernity. Lewis observes that even the working of a small factory depends upon its system of communication in which every worker from the sweeper to the managing director is called upon to participate (10:137). In a country-wide development program, the illiteracy of the people may serve as a block in the communication process. The development authorities may function almost without feedback from the illiterate receivers who thus may become the weakest link in a chain of communication and development.

Finally, it is emphasized that illiteracy has adverse effects on the economic life of the individual and the country. Reduction of illiteracy is thought essential "to organize more effectively the production capacity of many people" (10:14). Illiteracy is regarded a "great barrier to social and economic development" (11:271). It is said to have an adverse effect on the national economy, reducing national income and lowering farm production (12:54).

But the monetary return of adult literacy seems to be a complicated question. The UNESCO proposal (2) examined the economic aspects of the program in detail and concluded that "though much can be said to specify

the benefits of literacy, a monetary statement suitable for comparison with cost cannot be obtained" (2:64). The main difficulty in calculating the economic return of literacy, according to Harbison, is the impossibility of ascertaining how much is really consumption and how much represents investment (13:11). Perhaps for this reason, expenditure on literacy has so far been relegated to the category of "social service" and has not been regarded as an investment. Thus "education" has seldom been able to claim more than four per cent of the gross national product of most of the underdeveloped countries (2:36).

Now, however, there seems to be a trend among economists to regard expenditure on education as an investment and not as "social service". They put forward the point of view that the return of the expenditure on education should not be measured in purely economic terms; rather it should be regarded a long term investment in human resource development. Sudhir Sen, an outstanding Indian economist, feels that:

> Outlay for education and research are now regarded as the best national investment and, in the long run, the biggest booster of the gross national product. This is overwhelmingly true of the developing countries where without education, economic progress would be inconceivable. For them, freedom from ignorance remains a precondition for freedom from want. As a result, mass literacy in those countries remains an urgent primary task (14:13).

In support of his views, Sen quotes Galbraith who expressed the opinion at the Rajasthan University convocation in 1961 that expenditure on education should be regarded an investment and not a "social service". Galbraith further stressed the point by declaring that "nowhere in the world is there an illiterate peasantry that is progressive and nowhere is

there a literate peasantry that is not" (14:13). Sen also thinks that population, which is growing at a frightening rate, can never be checked unless the people can realize that "this upsurge of population is jeopardizing their future economic prospects" and "they can never realize this as long as they remain illiterate" (14:14).

Perhaps the strongest support for spending on education comes from Harbison who, agreeing with Alfred Marshall that "the most valuable of all capital is that invested in human beings", argues that human resource development is the key to the total development of a country. In his opinion, to measure the return of human resource development solely in the economic terms is misleading because "the aspiration for development is much more than a desire for economic progress. It is a quest as well for status, prestige, recognition and social and political modernization" (13:2). The development of human resources of a country should therefore, in his opinion, be judged in economic as well as in political, social and cultural terms:

> Human resource development is the process of increasing the knowledge, the skills, and the capacities of all the people in a society. In economic terms it could be described as the accumulation of human capital and its effective investment in the development of an economy. In political terms, human resource development prepares people for adult participation in political process, particularly as citizens in a democracy. From the social and cultural point of view, the development of human resources help people to lead fuller and richer lives, less bound by tradition (13:2).

On the other hand, he warns that a purely humanistic approach, e.g., education for citizenship, education for life, to meet the ends of political justice "distorts the true meaning of modern man and modern societies" (13:2).

In his article, "Some Aspects of Educational Planning in Underdeveloped Areas," Adam Curle points out the tremendous differences between the per capita income, standard of health, rate of literacy, and life expectancy among the wealthier countries of the world and the underdeveloped countries. Commenting on the foreign aid that has gone to these countries, Curle expressed the opinion that "viewed as a whole, the results have been disappointing" (15:293). He argues that:

> The character of this help has been largely based on the assumption that the chief lack of the underdeveloped countries was capital, and the technical personnel required to form the capital. The assumption is now being vigorously challenged by many economists, who maintain that underdevelopment is not merely an economic but also a social phenomenon (15:283).

He makes the point that the chief need of underdeveloped countries is a large body of people with changed attitudes, and education is the chief medium of attitude change:

> To my mind countries are underdeveloped because most of their people are underdeveloped, having had no opportunity of expanding their potential capacities in the service of the society. The main reason for this lack of opportunity lies within the social structure and can only be remedied when there are enough people with a new attitude toward society. Education in its various forms is the chief vehicle for changing attitudes. I therefore hold that the emphasis should not be so much on using people to build resources, but on using the resources to produce the people (15:300).

CHAPTER II

THE PRESENT PRACTICES

From the preceding discussion, the objectives of adult literacy seem to emerge as follows:

A literate person:

1. Will have opinions on public affairs,
2. Will be able to understand his culture, developing a new attitude in tune with the demands of modern times, and
3. Will be able to produce more.

We will examine some of the present efforts to make adults literate and see what appears to be the minimum standard of literacy after which it might be expected that the literate adult will be able to attain the above objectives.

1. The standard and the period of literacy teaching

a. The standard.

The standard of literacy teaching, the period of teaching in some of the literacy drives, and the standard recommended by UNESCO are shown in Appendix C. We can see from this appendix that the standards and the periods of teaching differ considerably. Koregaon (India), Tangynika, and the Philippines provided for three months or approximately 72 hours of training only. After this period of training, Tangynika expected the "new literates" to be able to write an "original composition" and the Philippines expected them "to read the newspaper and periodicals and write familiar notes and notices". On the other hand, Traiber's experience in

Guatemala shows that, with superior teachers and regular attendance, it will take about 11 months or 220 hours to attain the ability of reading the newspaper. Turkey expected the new literates to be able to read at the primary school level after five months or approximately 120 hours of teaching, whereas the US Army program, using superior teachers and teaching materials, planned to raise the standard of the soldiers to the fourth grade level in between 216 to 252 hours of teaching. Venezuela and Bombay considered only four months (96 and 132 hours respectively) enough for "becoming literate" and Northern Nigeria was satisfied with only 40 hours of teaching. Cuba elected to provide systematic teaching of primary school subjects up to the third and sixth grade levels. Russia did not consider that illiterate adults would be able to take part in the "industrial, social and political life" of the country unless they had had education up to the fourth grade level in 330 hours of instruction.

The UNESCO experts committee's recommendation avoids mentioning the period of teaching and thus lacks specificity. It can, of course, be argued from UNESCO's definition that if the ability of signing one's name or reading a simple passage is what is required "for effective functioning in one's group and community and for active participation in the life of one's country" that amount of literacy is functional literacy for that person. In the discussion of the objectives of adult literacy, we have seen that literacy is considered desirable because it will enable the individual to raise productivity, participate in public affairs and understand his culture. It seems doubtful that a very low level of

literacy will helpthe individuals to engage in the above activities in most countries except, perhaps, in secluded corners. The countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, where illiteracy is high, seem to be anxious to modernize and catch up with the developed nations of the world. In these countries, a very low level of literacy is not likely to help the so-called "new literates" much in the modernization process.

This raises the question of the minimum standard of literacy before which the adults would not be normally expected to attain functional literacy, or the ability to use literacy to raise productivity, participate in public affairs and understand their culture.

Gray conducted a study in the United States making comparisons between the oral and silent reading abilities of 151 adults with that normally achieved by children during the same period of schooling. He found that "most of the adults who had received less than three years of schooling were unable to score at all on the tests. By the time they left school they were not able to read with much ease or efficiency. Because they later read very little, if at all, they lost the ability" (16:27). Gray, therefore, concluded that "the equivalent in reading achievement of that normally acquired in four years of school, and preferably five, was essential" (16:27).

The Philippines provides a constitutional guarantee of four years of free and compulsory primary education to all children. Flores conducted a nationwide survey (5) in 1948 to find out whether this period (4 years) was sufficient for functional literacy and effective citizenship.

For the purposes of the study he defined "functional literacy" as:

1. Ability to read and interpret satisfactorily reading matter, such as ordinary letters, newspapers, notices and signs, ads and tax receipts.
2. Ability to write an ordinary letter.
3. Ability to make computations involving the four fundamental rules and to solve problems of day-to-day living.

The survey included 6974 pupils in grades II, III, IV, V, VI and the first year of high school, and 6052 adults who had completed grades II, III, IV, V, VI, and VII. On the average the adults had left school from 15 to 17 years previous to the testing and were 25 to 35 years of age.

The table below shows his major findings.

Functional Literacy Tests Given to Adults and Children

Highest grade completed	Reading		Arithmetic		Writing		Language	
	percent of cases scoring 83% or higher		percent of cases scoring 80% or higher		percent rated good or fair		percent rated good or fair	
	adults	children*	adults	children	adults	children	adults	children
II	6.7	6.5	5.6	2.3	39.6	39.4	20.9	18.5
III	18.9	21.4	15.0	4.2	59.7	62.3	35.0	44.9
IV	31.2	39.2	24.7	13.0	71.7	75.0	52.0	65.3
V	42.4	61.2	33.9	31.1	76.8	85.0	64.2	83.5
VI	62.2	69.7	51.0	44.6	89.0	89.7	80.6	87.0
VII	70.2		63.9		89.8		85.7	

*for children, grade II will mean 2 years 6 months, grade III will mean 3 years 6 months, and so on.

It will be seen that, except for the children of grade II, children in all the other grades scored higher than the adults in all subjects except arithmetic. The low scores of adults might be due to disuse or because the children of each comparable grade had had six months more education. But it does not seem that any of the adult group had forgotten literacy skills to a great extent since their scores compare well with children's scores. The adults having only second grade education did equally well in all subjects and better in arithmetic. Therefore, the second explanation seems more probable. If we rule out the lowering of abilities to any great extent because of the lapse of time, the performance of adults who had even four years of education seems very unsatisfactory. Only about one-third of them scored more than 80 percent of the total marks in reading, about one-fourth in arithmetic and, while 71 percent were considered good in writing, only half of them were considered good in language. A great majority of them performed well only after seven years of schooling.

On the basis of this study, Flores recommended seven years of education for children instead of the constitutional guarantee of four "to make a learner functionally literate and for useful citizenship."

On the basis of his experiences in Egypt, Khatir recommended in his proposal to UNESCO that functional literacy cannot be achieved before adults acquire the same abilities of the 3 Rs which a child does after six years of schooling (17).

From Appendix C it will be seen that the US Army program provided

education up to the fourth grade level, and Cuba provides education up to the third and the sixth grades.

A study conducted in India by Gadgil (18) (the Gokhle Institute of Politics and Economics) in 1941, seems pertinent in showing the rates of relapse into illiteracy and retention of literacy skills after the completion of different elementary school grades. The study was undertaken to investigate causes of relapse into illiteracy of the primary school dropouts in a particular district. About 2500 adults between the ages of 15 and 45 were tested. The sample was drawn from the ex-pupils of different types of rural schools who had completed grades II, III and IV between the years 1911 and 1936, i.e., the sample covered ex-pupils of 25 years.

The test to measure the lapse into illiteracy "was deliberately put at a very low level of attainment". (18:14). It consisted of three small paragraphs in simple Marathi (Appendix D). The paragraphs were selected from books especially produced for new literate adults by the government of the state. These were printed on one sheet in fairly bold type. The test consisted in a person reading any one, or parts of more than one (in case he found one paragraph difficult) with understanding, i.e., when the reader was able to convey, in the main, what the passage communicated" (18:12). "Fluency of reading or correct pronunciation were not taken into account. It was laid down to be sufficient, if while a person was reading aloud, others could follow what he was reading" (18:14).

To measure writing ability, two lines from any one of the passages selected were dictated. "In the test almost no attention was, of course,

paid to correct orthography. Not only was the correct writing of compound letters and of long and short vowels and nasals neglected but also any corruption in the writing of words which followed from the current rural usage was also neglected. The omission of a letter in writing was also condoned if this was clearly the result of insufficient attention and not an indication of the inability to write the letter" (18:14). The investigators were conscious of this low level of measurement. As they themselves observed: "It must be said that the writing ability test defined a very low level of attainment and that even with a slightly more rigorous measure perhaps as many as 5 percent of the total number of persons would have, in addition, been adjudged as not retaining writing ability" (18:15).

The results of the investigation are shown below.

Survey Results Classifying the Standard at the Time of Leaving School

Standard		Literate*	Semi literate*	Illiterate*	Total
II	number	503	132	117	752
	percent	66.9	17.5	15.6	100
III	number	741	69	34	844
	percent	87.8	8.2	4.0	100
IV	number	818	17	9	844
	percent	96.9	2.0	1.1	100
IV	number	230	1	-	231
passed	percent	99.6	0.4	-	100

*literates - those who had passed both the reading and the writing tests, were regarded as not having lapsed.

semi literates - those who passed the reading test but not the writing test, were regarded as having lapsed.

illiterates - those who failed to pass either test were regarded as having lapsed.

It will be seen from the above results that out of those who passed the II standard, 33.1 percent relapsed into illiteracy and out of those who passed the III standard 12.2 percent relapsed. Only a very small percentage relapsed among those who had completed the III standard and had entered the IV. But there was only one case of relapse among those who had passed the IV standard. "The partial relapse was due to the inability in writing of the person tested owing to an injury to his arm." On the basis of the study the researchers concluded that: "on the whole it might be said that literacy is lasting among pupils who have passed the III standard and gone into the IV" (18:35).

It should be noted here that during the years in which these ex-pupils were in school the pupils spent almost all their time in learning the 3 Rs as the activity-oriented curriculum was not in vogue then. Secondly, as the researchers themselves admit, the tests measured a very low level of attainment.

b. The period of teaching

If the level of achievement equivalent to the 4th grade of elementary school is considered the minimum standard of functional literacy in most cultures, one very important question arises: how long will a normal adult take to attain that level of achievement? It is generally accepted that an adult will take less time than a child. But how much less? This becomes a crucial question as the literacy classes are set up and financed on the basis of the duration of the teaching period. In some countries the total period is divided into stages, e.g., pre-literacy and post-literacy, or

first, second and third stages of literacy. Usually in the first stage, the teacher introduces the alphabet and provides a certain amount of primer reading and writing practice. Generally it is assumed that since the person can recognize the letters and put them together to verbalize the word he has become "literate." Therefore, class teaching and attendance is considered necessary only in the first stage. In the subsequent stages the learner is usually left to his own devices. In our experience the result of this system of teaching is that the great majority of the students discontinue reading and writing with the discontinuance of class teaching. The skills which they acquire in the first stage are so rudimentary that they cannot be applied to any practical purpose. Therefore, by the minimum period for the attainment of functional literacy we mean the period of class teaching (as in the case of children).

We have come across very little evidence concerning the question of how long an adult takes to attain the 4th grade level except the following:
1. The US Army program of literacy teaching during World War II is considered an outstanding example of short-term successful literacy teaching. We will discuss this program in detail both to examine the factors leading to the success of the program and the results themselves. The discussion is based on the following two sources:

a. Eli Ginzberg's study "The Uneducated" (19), and,

b. Samuel Goldberg's "Army Training of Illiterates in World War II" (20).

During World War II, 716,000 men (about half whites and half Negroes) were rejected from the Army service because they were adjudged as

"mentally deficient." What it virtually meant was that they had such a low level of education that they could not be expected to perform their military duties. In May, 1941, the Army adopted a new policy which laid down that "No registrant in the continental United States will be induced into the military service who does not have the capacity of reading and writing the English language as commonly prescribed for the fourth grade in grammar schools." (20:64)

Prior to June 1, 1943, there were a large number of training units which tried to raise the level of education of the marginal recruits. In June, 1943, these units were reorganized into 24 large Special Training Units, and they were established at reception centers. The main purpose of these STUs was to raise the level of education of the different types of illiterate men (illiterates, Grade V men, physically handicapped, and mentally disturbed) to the fourth grade level and provide them with basic military training within 8-12 weeks. Only in special cases could a recruit stay at the STUs for 16 weeks. The STUs were closed on December 31, 1945.

From June 1, 1943 until the close of the units, 302,838 illiterates, 54 percent whites and 46 percent Negroes, were received at STUs (20:169). Of these the following number had qualified at the close of the units.

Number of Persons Who Qualified
and Were Discharged From the STUs

length of period	Whites	Negroes	Total	Percent
less than 30 days*	60,824	48,221	109,045	42.5
30 to 60 days*	48,614	42,619	91,233	36.5
60 to 90 days*	21,177	22,089	43,266	17.0
90 to 120 days*	4,366	6,362	10,728	4.0
Total	134,981	119,291	254,272	100.0

persons		discharged**
24,826	19,673	44,499

*Neither Goldberg nor Ginzberg have stated anywhere in their books the period of instruction per day. Homer Kempfer states the total period of instruction as 216-252 hours for the entire duration of the course (21:98) i.e., for 12 weeks. It might be remembered that the man were sent to the STUs mainly for literacy training. Therefore, the period given by Kempfer appears to us rather short. It works out as 3 hours per day (84 days minus 12 Sundays = 72 days). What were the soldiers doing the rest of the day? According to Goldberg they were expected to spend about one-third of the time in military training. If we include the military training within the regular working hours, even then the working hour for a day comes to only four hours. We tried to find out the period of instruction per day through Army manuals and Goldberg. The MSU library was not successful in getting the manuals on loan and the letter to Goldberg was returned to us undelivered.

We suspect that the soldiers spent 8 hours per day in the STUs, out of which they would have spent about five and a half hours per day (2/3rd of the time) in literacy training. The basis of the suspicion is as follows:

1. The instructors of the STUs were required to undergo training in the troop schools for indoctrination and in-service training. Regarding the time to be spent by the instructors in the troop schools the basic Mobilization Training Program for the STUs states as follows:

   > The operation of troops schools is considered an indispensable part of the training program. Training will be provided for all instructors to prepare them to conduct the military and/or academic training prescribed by this program and to insure that a high level of instruction is maintained. The time required for troops schools should be in addition to the regular 8-hour training day. (20:241).
   > (underline ours)

   The last sentence indicates to us that the soldiers were required to

It will be seen from the above table that 85.1 percent graduated and only 14.9 did not. Of those who graduated, 79 percent did so in 60 days or less.

To test the capacity of men for the purposes of the Army, it gave new soldiers the Army General Classification Test and classified them into categories. This test measured vocabulary, arithmetic and block-counting. The categories in which the men used to be placed were as follows:

Categories in Which the Men Used to be Placed
According to the AGCT.

standard score	Army grade classification	category
130+	I	very rapid learners
110-129	II	rapid learners
90-109	III	average learners
70-89	IV	slow learners
Below 69	V	very slow learners

(20:42)

The 85.1 percent of the men who graduated from the STUs were classified in the following categories as determined by the AGCT.

---

spend 8 hours per day in getting training at the STUs.

2. The complaint of the soldier regarding the length of the period of training (page 28), though what the soldier means does not seem to be clear.
3. An ex-army American citizen told the author in a discussion regarding the STUs program that all educational programs in the Army were on 8 hours a day basis and that military training was done in extra time. He was not sure of the pattern in the STUs.

It will be interesting to find out the period of instruction in the STUs. If it was about five and half hours per day then it will mean that the 79 percent who qualified in 60 or less than 60 days spent from about 165 to 330 hours in getting literacy training.

**4067 not accounted for as they were transferred to non-duty status.

Categories in Which Qualified Men were Placed

	Percent of men graduated from STUs		
AGCT grade	White	Negro	Total
I	.00	.00	.00
II	.04	.01	.03
III	1.17	.32	.77
IV	69.49	50.76	60.69
V	29.30	48.91	38.51
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

(20:261)

It will be seen that about 61 percent of the men qualified at the Army IV level (which was approximately equal to the school grade IV (20:279)), were adjudged by the Army test as "slow learners" and about 39 percent as "very slow learners." The Army accepted that the fourth grade reading ability represented only a "reasonable critical level for selectees" (20:279) but perhaps accepted the standard because of the pressing demand for men for active duty. As we shall see later, several men complained about the short duration of the training program. But according to Ginzberg "from the military point of view this was not a shortcoming since many of the men were able to perform at a generally satisfactory level after a period of instruction of no more than two months" (19:135).

It seems a remarkable achievement to gain the fourth grade level in 60 days or less by the great majority of men possessing nil to various levels of literacy. The Army did not pin its faith on any particular system of teaching as embodied in a primer, as many who adopt short-cut

methods seem to do. On the other hand, the Army provided the best possible learning situations. Some of the factors which accelerated the learning process seem to be as follows:

1. The men had a strong incentive to learn to read and write, not only because success in the exam was a prerequisite to being absorbed in the Army, but also because writing was often the only means by which they could communicate with their families.

2. The teaching of literacy and military techniques were integrated. The men had opportunities to apply immediately what they learned in the class.

3. The classes were taught by well qualified and highly trained teachers and regularly supervised by highly qualified persons. The qualifications of teachers employed by the STUs is shown below.

Number and Qualification of Teachers

Educational Background	Qualifications	
	uniformed teachers	civilian teachers
Ph.D or Ed.D degree	8	-
Master's degree	90	5
Graduate work*	55	11
Bachelor's degree	233	23
3 years of college	91	-
2 years of college	37	-
1 year of college	37	-
High school graduates	37	-
Did not complete H.S.	12	-
Miscellaneous	-	-
Total	600	46

*not culminating in graduate degree.

To ensure high standards of training, the supervisors and the instructors were required to participate in continuous in-service training courses. Three courses were held at the national level, several at the command level, in addition to regular weekly courses for most of the instructors in the 'Troop Schools' in each STU. It was specified in the Mobilization Training Program for STUs that these troop schools were to function as an "indispensable part of the training program... for all instructors to prepare them to conduct the military and/or academic training prescribed by this program and to insure that a high level of instruction is maintained." (20:241) The wide range of topics covered in the service courses is given in Appendix E.

The qualification and training of teachers in the usual literacy drives, some of which also claim to turn out functional literates in short periods, is, on an average, 5-6 years of schooling, followed by a training of 1-2 weeks. Some claim to have invented such fool proof methods that "a teacher can be trained in the method within two hours only." (22:3). Sometimes even a barely literate person is considered educated enough to "teach" the illiterates as was the case in the Ghana mass literacy drive of 1952. In one instance, when the enthusiasm of the women to become literate became too great to resist "everyone from the lorry driver's mate to the cinema van crew was pressed into service to teach literacy." (23:85) The Christian Council of Churches which was helping in the campaign appealed to all its literate members to serve as teachers and stressed that, "It is not only those who have reached standard 7 who are needed, but anyone who can read and write the vernacular. You will not have to stand

up and teach large classes, but, rather sit down with small groups and individuals." (23:194)

4. The Army used a large number of teaching materials, well graded and specifically written for the program, including visual aids. It also provided continuous pedagogical guidance to the teachers through teachers' manuals and periodical publications (see Appendix E).

We may now examine the background of the men who qualified from the well planned short courses of the STUs to get an idea of the level of reading and writing which they finally attained.

The men who attained the "fourth grade" level in 120 days or less were not totally illiterate. The table below shows the previous education of men who were processed at the reception centers from Dec. 1, 1942, to Dec. 31, 1942, and classified as "illiterate".

Highest Grade Completed by Men Processed at Reception Centers and Classified "Illiterate" (all types) Between Dec. 1, 1942-Dec. 31, 1942

Highest School Grade Completed	Number	Percent
12-4	3713	21.6
3	3304	19.3
2	3569	20.8
1	2650	15.4
0	3925	22.9
Total	17,161	100.0 (20:74)

It should be noted that these men were processed before June 1, 1943,

to Dec. 31, 1945. It is not known whether these were the men who were sent to the STUs, and who later qualified between June 1, 1943 and Dec. 31, 1945. However, all the men at all the STUs were given an initial grade placement test and were placed in graded classes according to their existing levels of literacy. The class levels were roughly equivalent to the first four grades of elementary school (20:75). The following tables show the number of men and their initial level of literacy in 14 STUs, drawn as a representative sample from all STUs.

Initial Grade Placement of Men in Five STUs (1943)

Initial Grade Placement	Number	Percent
IV*	233	29.5
III	130	16.1
II	153	19.0
I**	289	35.9
Total	805	100.0

(20:75)

Initial Grade Placement of Men in Nine Different STUs (1944-1945)

Initial Grade Placement	Number	Percent
IV*	404	27.0
III	281	18.8
II	291	19.5
I*	518	34.7
Total	1494	100.0

(20:76)

*very slow learners
**might be regarded as totally illiterate

These tables show that about 45 percent of the trainees who qualified from the STUs already had education up to the III and the IV grade level, and about 54 percent between grades II and I. It should, however, be mentioned that the majority of those placed in Grade IV were "Grade V men" (very slow learners) as classified by the AGCT. This may mean that though they had had education up to the IV grade they had forgotten the skills of reading and writing, perhaps because of disuse. Compared to the Maharashtra (India) ex-four graders (18) this is somewhat surprising. The median age of the Army men was about 24 years. (20:73) This means that they left school about 14-15 years previously. On the other hand the Maharashtra adults had left school 25 years ago and had made little use of reading and writing, but not one had relapsed into illiteracy.

The success of those who qualified during the short period of Army training can now be judged in better perspective. The success may be partly due to the fact that a large number of these men had once acquired the skills roughly equal to those that the program sought to impart as pointed out by Goldberg:

> It is well to bear in mind, however, that approximately 45 percent of entering trainees started at the third- and fourth-grade levels. (20:275)

But on the whole, the success of the Army program was "phenomenal." Of those who were initially classified at the first grade level and who were, in fact, totally illiterate, 61.6 percent learned to read at the fourth grade level in sixteen weeks of instruction (20:277).

Six years after demobilization, an evaluation was undertaken to

find out if the men liked the classes and if the classes helped them get along better in the Army and in civilian life (19:127). The Army records that existed after the war permitted a sampling of the trainees of three units only. The sample consisted of 400 men, 200 whites and 200 Negroes. Of the 400, 92 had failed in the program and 308 had qualified. Out of the 400, 26 percent had had less than four years of schooling (19:96). The questionnaire was sent to 328 men. Of those who received it (260), just over half of them replied. According to Ginzberg, there was no doubt that the "overwhelming burden of the replies as to whether the special training had contributed to the soldiers adjustment in the Army was favorable." (19:128) But as we are interested in the reading and writing ability attained by the men, we will focus on this point only.

(1) From their replies it seems that at least some of them had acquired satisfactory standards and could write well as the following extracts show:

   a. "They helped me understand about army life and also helped me to write home. If I hadn't gone to school I wouldn't have been able to write home."

   b. "I could scarcely write my name when I went into service. After my schooling I did all my writing."

(2) Some felt that the classes were helpful, but the period was too short; for example:

   a. "My wife is filling this out for me, I don't have enough education to fill it myself. So as you see I need more education bad if possible."

   b. "I think the ideal of the classes was good but they was not long enough...."

(3) Some that felt the classes did help them in learning to read and write could express themselves only with difficulty:

a. "1. I wood not have been any good at all because I could not write ny name before I went in the army. The army has help me a lots in meny ways.
2. it Learn me how to write and spell Just I want to no more about Those Things - which I did not have a chance to get in my going up days."

b. "I was just a country boy and I didn't get much school but when I went in the army I couldnt write my name, but just as you see I can write and by that you know that the school is Helping me and other to My daddy taking sick and I Hand to work and didn't get much education But now I hope that you will understand.
Listen I will like for you to do something for me we got to set in school from 5-30 in to 11-30 at night and dont have no break I want you to try and do some thing about it. Because it is Heart on us and work every day. Please.
Sinc"

(4) Some wrote that the classes did not help them and it is evident from their writing, for example:

"dear sur.

I have just Rec. your letter about the School I had in the army. and I have and all I can about it. But I would like to say that if you want to use my name in your Report you can but the school have not help me at all. Sent I bin out I have megre to get by so far. So I will close
Very truly yours."

In the study sponsored by UNESCO, Gray recommended 240 to 428 hours of teaching to adults for the attainment of functional literacy, roughly equal to the fourth grade level (16: Ch. VIII and XI).

A child spends about 3736 hours in the United States in reading and allied activities from grades I through IV (*). According to Dr. Kempfer,

*calculation based on An Overview of Elementary Education, Lansing Public Schools, Lansing, 1962: 5-15.

children usually spend 6400 to 8000 hours in the first eight grades (21:98). He further reports that in New York City evening elementary schools in 4 years of 100 nights each, 2 hours per night, i.e., 800 hours, illiterate adults are able to learn enough to qualify for the eighth grade diploma (21:98). This may mean that proportionally an adult may take 400 hours for completing the fourth grade or one-tenth of the time which a child usually takes to complete the same grade. This period tallies approximately with Gray's maximum of 428 hours.

During 1960-61, Florence State College in Alabama conducted an experiment in the eradication of adult illiteracy by the use of television instruction (24). The teaching materials used were Dr. Laubach's Streamlined English (picture association and key word method), with picture word cards, phonetic cards, phonetic wall charts, phono word wheels and 37 supplementary books (24:56) and a special weekly newspaper, the Lamplighter.

In all, 608 students enrolled in the classes, 328 whites and 280 Negroes. Of these, 254 continued and 354 or 58.2 percent dropped out before the end of the course. Among the dropouts, 62.8 percent were whites and 53.5 percent Negroes. The median age of all students was 42.4 years; 90 students below 40, and 164 forty and above, completed the course. (24:22). The classes contained illiterates and semi-literates as shown in the following table.

Highest Grade Attended as Reported by Enrollees	Enrolled	Dropped-out	Completed Course
5+	128	75	53
4	47	23	24
3	102	60	42
2	95	57	38
1	61	41	20
0	127	70	57
not given	29	18	11
N	589	344	245

(24:24)

The table shows that of those who were left, a little more than 21 percent had had as much as 5 years of schooling and a little more than 23 percent , none. The level typical of the group was two to three years of schooling. According to the teachers' evaluation, most of the students who continued in the courses were highly motivated (24:45).

There were four types of classes: Representative TV (enrollment 435), Representative person-to-person (in places where the TV reception was poor, enrollment 120), Repeater TV (those who had completed a previous course, enrollment 17), and Non-English TV (enrollment 15).

The first lesson was telecast on Wednesday night, September 28, 1960, from 8:30 to 9:00. Thereafter the lessons were telecast on every Monday, Wednesday and Friday night, with the exception of the Christmas holidays (24:10). Each telecast lesson was preceeded by one-half hour of supervised teaching providing additional help in "reading, writing, and ear training." (24:11)

To measure the level of achievement of the adult students, four informal tests especially constructed for the project were given while the fifth and final test was the Primary II level of the Metropolitan Reading Test. (24:27) The dates on which the tests were given and the period of teaching are shown in the table below:

Dates of Testing and Period of Teaching

Test	Date	Period of Teaching	
		weeks	hours
1	Oct. 7	1	3
2	Nov. 21	7	21
3	Jan. 13	14	40
4	Apr. 17	25	75
5	May 12	29	87

Only 181 students from the TV group (out of 435 who initially enrolled) and 45 from the person-to-person group (out of 120 who initially enrolled) stayed throughout the school year and took the final standardized test (24:28). But it seems that all the students in the TV group did not take all the prescribed tests (four out of five) as the final results are reported only for 173 students.

The first informal test was given on October 7, both to the experimental groups and children in the early months of the second grade of Alabama schools. The results are shown in the table below.

Score Distribution of the Two Adult Groups and of Second Grade Pupils on Informal Test No. 1

Score	TV completed	P-P Completed	Second Grade children
25	21	5	47
22-24	33	6	46
17-21	34	8	38
12-16	16	8	36
7-11	18	2	11
0-6	20	14	2
No. of cases	142	43	180
Median	19.0	14.9	21.6

Neither of the experimental groups did as well as the children in the early months of the second grade on the initial test. Considering the simple nature of the test consisting of matching words of every day use and simple sentences (average length 5.4 words) with pictures, we might say that those who scored between 0-6, i.e., one-seventh of the TV group and one-third of the P-P group were practically illiterate. But the rest possess reading ability in varying degrees.

The result of the final Metropolitan reading test, comparing the adults with a national group of children and not with the Alabama schools is given below. The final test was given after 29 weeks or 87 hours of instruction.

Distribution of Grade Equivalents for Part Scores
of Metropolitan Reading Test for TV and P-P Groups

Grade Equiv.	Word Knowledge		Word Discrimination		Reading	
	TV	P-P	TV	P-P	TV	P-P
3.2+	25	5	32	4	20	11
2.8-3.1	19	8	24	8	24	8
2.4-2.7	49	13	41	9	20	4
1.9-2.6	44	6	27	8	41	8
1.5-1.8	17	8	23	8	28	6
No. of cases	173	45	172	42	171	44
Median	2.40	2.49	2.46	2.35	2.12	2.45

The results indicate that on the three sections of the test the adults at the end of the program (after 87 hours of instruction) performed at the level of children about half way through the second grade. There was no notable difference in the performance of the TV vs. P-P group except in the case of the lower scores the TV group on reading.

It should be noted that this is the level of achievement of 218 (173+45) persons out of the 555 who initially enrolled in these two groups (TV 435 + P-P 120). The teaching method used several visual aids in addition to the text books, a large number of supplementary books and a special newspaper. It took 87 hours for this apparently highly motivated group to achieve the level of two and a half grades of elementary school. Thus proportionally it might have taken them 136 (34 hours for each grade) hours to achieve the fourth grade level. If allowance is made for their initial level of achievement, which was two to three grades, then we

should add another 68 to 102 hours (proportionate time for completing grade II and III) to the 136 hours which would amount to 204-238 hours for attaining fourth grade level.

The evidence discussed above seems to indicate that an illiterate adult might require the following number of hours to attain fourth grade level reading ability:

Gray	240-428 hours
New York City Evening Sch.	400 hours
U.S. Army	216-252*hours
Alabama Study	204-238 hours

The range is fairly wide, 204-428 hours. Regarding these periods of teaching, it will be necessary to note the environmental factors and the methods of teaching used. The students (even in some of Gray's earlier studies on which the main recommendations seems to be based) belonged to a literate society in which the social and economic life of an illiterate person is handicapped. Therefore, it may not be incorrect to assume that the students had a high motivation to learn to read. Secondly, all the programs used (and Gray recommended) well qualified and trained teachers, a number of visual aids, a series of graded text books and supplementary books having content of adult interest, discussions and demonstrations, and devices which made it possible to put to immediate use the skills learned in the class in solving problems of interest and practical use. In the usual literacy class in developing countries these conditions are seldom met. Therefore, it seems more probable that the students in these countries will not require the minimum but the maximum period of teaching to attain functional literacy.

*or 165-330 hours

We will examine in the next section the extent and nature of motivation among illiterates in some of the developing countries and the consequences of literacy, using both short and long periods of teaching.

2. Motivation for learning to read and write

The reason for wanting to become literate and the consequences of literacy are mostly available in the form of articles and books. These are generally based on the experiences of persons connected with adult education. We have come across very few independent studies. The following accounts show the extent and nature of motivation.

Motivation for reading and writing

1. Dr. Laubach reports that he taught a cannibal tribe in New Guinea to read in a week. The cannibals became so excited over their achievement that the next week when Dr. Laubach and his party left "fifteen thousand people swarmed on the airfield, marching, dancing....to celebrate the greatest event in their life" (25:67). It is, however, possible that the excitement was not so much on having become literate but on the prospects of a new faith, since the chief told them, "This is the new great day in our history. We like your religion because it does so much for us. We are all going to be Christians." (25:67)

Similarly Dr. Laubach organized short term literacy drives in the Moro Province of Lanao in the Philippines during the 1930's. The work is reported as a great success. The Manaraw language had sixteen sounds for which Dr. Laubach adopted an alphabet using one Roman letter for each

sound and only one sound for each letter (26:3). He believed that "every student learning to read Maranaw can pronounce every word in his language as soon as he knows the sound of just sixteen letters. Those he can easily learn in two days" (26:4). And when he had the primer ready which was easy to read and easy to teach, he reports that "hundreds and then thousands of people came to ask for lessons." (26:7). The "tremendous success" is further reported in these words:

> "We had a large poster with a picture of a thermometer on it and each week we recorded how many illiterates our volunteer teachers told us they had taught. The number went up 300,500, 1,000 a week until our thermometer showed 70,000 people, which was 70 percent of the entire province" (26:8).

2. Cortright gives the account of the Baylore Literacy Centre in two cities, Abilene in Texas, and Clovis in New Mexico. He describes a class in session to show the deep interest of the learners:

> "The class room is drafty and dimly lit. At one end of the room near the small gas heater the students are gathered. They don't seem to notice the chill. And though the lights are dim, the smile on a young student's face is bright as she proudly reads aloud the simple sentence "This is a cup." (12)

3. A literacy campaign was started in Tanganyika in 1951, covering the North Pare mountain district and the Nbulu district in the south (27). The Pare were a progressive and enterprising people. Some 90% of the children were going to schools built by direct communal effort. Education equipped them for employment in the town and cities. The total population was 100,000. By December 1952, 2000 adults were attending 120 classes and 850 qualified after a period of three months. The report speaks of the

widespread enthusiasm of the Pare people:

> "During 1951, the campaign spread of its own momentum down the mountain slope to the foothills and the plains below, and by the end of the year almost the whole of the two chieftains of North Pare were covered...." (27:164)

One of the supervisors, Mr. Masson, writes about the strong interest of the students who remained in the classes:

> "The sobering fact for the expert in teaching techniques is that these people, without a trained teacher and without any equipment other than the literacy primer and a patch of sand, are struggling toward literacy at, as far as I could judge, more or less the same rate as those on whom we expend our resources of training and apparatus! What matters in literacy, however, is the will to learn." (27:164)

By 1953 the tempo of the campaign slowed down because of a poor harvest and the less enthusiastic response of the southerly people "who are considerably more backward than their fellow tribesmen of the North" (27:164).

4. Anna Lorenzetto of the UNLA (Italy) speaks about the great enthusiasm of the farmers in southern Italy in spite of the absence of jobs:

> "But in spite of all this the people are so intensely anxious to learn that peasants and shepherds will unhesitantly make considerable sacrifices to learn to read. In some cases this means a long walk to class in all kinds of weather, after a heavy day's work."
>
> This desire to learn--both for its own sake, and as a means to better jobs and social position--is so strongly felt that adult education activities seem to represent at one and the same time a way of developing potentialities in tune with the times and a real hope for the future..." (28:71)

Analyzing the reasons for attendance in continuing education classes in the United States, Cyril Houle found that one of the types, which he called

the learning oriented "consisted of participants who sought knowledge for its own sake." They had "an itch to learn," and whatever the course offered, they would be there. (29)

5. Margaret Wrong visited six African countries during 1944-45 and studied educational work especially done by different missions. She reported "much evidence of demand for literacy among both men and women as they discovered that reading is relevant to their interests" (30:71). She found that some African women came for a course on child welfare and "at the end of the course they asked for copies of the charts and the lessons used because 'we wish to teach other women how to keep death from the door of the hut, but without these lessons we shall make mistakes and forget'" (30:71). In some places the interest was due to the desire to read in the Bible, in others it was to keep up with their children who were going to school or to read and write letters. (30:71)

6. Some seem to feel great satisfaction when they are able to read and write, and the ability seems to boost their morale: witness this letter written by a student who had learned to read and write English in a literacy class in the Cameroons (the course lasted from 18 to 24 months):

> "In 1953 I was an illiterate, always surprised when some one is reading and writing. Sometimes I may think he is what is called an angel, sometimes when I think over and over again but could not discover what he is doing I simply say he may be looking at the black dots on the paper. And now I can read and write which is what I believed I couldn't do, I should thank God for my knowledge." (31:31)

7. Alva Graham labels Frank Traiber's literacy work in Guatemala in the State of Jutiapa as "phenomenal." (32) Traiber got 63 volunteer supervisors

interested in the literacy drive who in turn enrolled 1000 volunteers and 10,000 students. The students persisted in the classes and had a feeling of great self confidence when they were able to follow written instructions; for example, how to build a latrine. (32:23) They also became interested in their children's education. The high interest reported of the illiterates sharply contrasts with their poor economic and health conditions. The students suffered from malnutrition so much that their attention fluctuated. Vision of students over 40 constituted a problem. A U.S. citizen tried to gather thousands of used frames, some with glasses, to help meet the needs of older people. In one instance Graham writes "It was sad to observe the frustration of a 60 year old whose partner with glasses had not come to the class on a rainy day." (32:23) One might wonder what reward these people foresaw in becoming literate when they could not even afford reading glasses. Perhaps this group, too, like the ones reported by Lorenzetto and Cyril Houle, was interested in literacy for its own sake. The reported interest of these Guatemalans in becoming literate is quite different from the report from Viet Nam sent to UNESCO which said, "Very poor people with large families who have to work so painfully hard all day for the daily bowl of rice are not much interested in literacy" (2:30). However, more persons were enrolled in the adult literacy classes in Viet Nam than in the United Arab Republic although the UAR had 60% more illiteracy and the total population was a little less than double that of Viet Nam. Similarly Spain was about equal in illiteracy rate with a total population more than double

that of Viet Nam, but the literacy class enrollment figure for Viet Nam was much higher than that of Spain. (Appendix B)

8. During the 1943-56 literacy campaign in Haiti there were 525 literacy classes with a total enrollment of 16,046 which comes to about 30 students per class. In one of the rural classes there were 120 pupils of all ages, reading five hours every day. However, the Creole language classes were not very popular with the illiterates as they wanted to learn French, the language of the elite (33:100).

9. Mallam Ahmadu, in giving an account of the North Nigeria literacy campaign of 1946, talks of the great enthusiasm of the people. He reports that the youth of one village formed a society and refused to admit any one who was illiterate. Some women, having seen a neighboring village nicely laid out with communal roads, "threatened to leave their husbands unless they, too, could attend a literacy class so as to become 'qualified' for a better laid out village. In fact literacy became one of the three prime requisites in a village: bicycle, literacy and wife" (34:39). The reason for the enthusiasm is attributed mostly "to the social prestige which is enjoyed particularly in Muslim communities. They receive the honorary title of "mallam" (scholar) (35:66). The literacy which they were supposed to acquire was given in 30-40 lessons of one hour each (35:67).

These accounts indicate high interest, at least on the part of some illiterates, in learning to read. The enrollment figures from different countries for 1953-54 and 1954-55 reported in UNESCO's World Survey of Education are given in Appendix F. The average enrollment per class ranges

from 20 to 105 with a median of 30. The enrollment figures reported by UNESCO in the proposed World Campaign for Universal Literacy (2) are shown in Appendix B. These figures too indicate on the whole satisfactory enrollment in the classes, from a low of 5 per class in Cyprus (illiteracy 5-7%) and Jordan (illiteracy 30%) to a high of 179 per class in Tunisia (illiteracy 60-70%). The average enrollment per class in countries having varying degrees of illiteracy comes as follows:

Percent of illiteracy	No. of Countries	Average Enrollment
2.2 to 20	8	24
21 to 40	7	45
41 to 60	6	21
61 to 80	5	62
81 to 100 (in some regions)	4	26

Enrollment figures alone are, however, not sufficient proof of continued motivation. Unless we know what the daily average attendance was and how many of those who enrolled in the beginning continued until the end of the course we do not have the complete picture. The accounts studied do not give these figures except for the CENTO literacy seminar report which gives the enrollment and drop-out figures in the adult literacy classes in Turkey. At the beginning of the 1960-61 academic year, the total enrollment in all the three types of literacy classes (classified by level of instruction) was 317,416. The cumulative period of teaching 5 months. "But attendance dropped all the way through, and only 81,450 people completed the courses satisfactorily. Thus only 26% of the people who enrolled actually completed the courses" (36:34).

It seems probable that the total enrollment figure supplied to UNESCO by the Turkish government (Appendix B) is the figure of the same year, i.e., 1961-62, as the difference between the government figure (317,600) and the CENTO report figure (317,416) is slight. If so, only about 5 persons of the 19 in an average class remained until the end of the five-month course and completed it satisfactorily. This figure of course, does not indicate a high interest on the part of a large number of persons in learning to read and write.

The Turkish situation seems to support UNESCO's observation about the problem of attendance in classes all over the world:

> "Reports from all areas showed that although adults may often express the desire to learn to read and write, and although--especially when literacy campaigns are in progress--there is initially an enthusiastic response, attendance at literacy classes often dwindles. Eventually, only those men and women remain who--for some reason clear to themselves--really feel a need for becoming literate." (2:30)

How do the drop-out rates from adult literacy classes compare with the elementary school drop-outs? Data regarding school drop-out for 15 countries is given in Appendix G. The data indicate that the schools, like the adult literacy classes, face heavy drop-outs in most of the developing countries. Of 100 students who enroll in grade one, 21.6% drop-out in grade four in Puerto Rico, whereas 91.4% drop-out in Haiti. The median is 61.0%, and India and Burma occupy the median position.

Whatever the number of persons interested in becoming literate, what are their expectations reward? What values do they attach to learning

which prompts them to join classes? The most prominent drives, which can be inferred from various accounts of literacy campaigns and a few studies, seem to be:

a. self satisfaction, self improvement for its own sake, (21),(27),(29),(40),(39), and

b. social prestige. (36)(4).

The idea of direct " economic gains" seems to enter with advanced education. That it occupies a low position in the scale of values of illiterates can be seen from the following studies.

1. James Le Vine and Arthur Dale conducted a study in Hawaii in 1963(?) to "gain information concerning selected personal social characteristics of students and their reported reasons for enrolling" (37:135) in the seven types of adult education courses provided by the public high school system. The salient reasons for enrolling in three types of courses by different groups of participants is given below.

Salient Reported Values

Course	Number of persons	Values determining enrollment
Basic elementary	Males N=271 Females N=851 28.9% of the total enrollment in all the 7 groups	Learn to speak and write English(m,f) Learn more about the country (m,f) Independence: stand on my own two feet, do things for and myself (m,f) Help me to get my citizenship (m,f)
Advanced elementary	Males N=74 Females N=109 4.8% of the total enrollment in all the 7 groups	Learn to speak and write English(m,f) Learn more about the country (m,f) Opportunity for advancement (f) Independence: stand on my own two feet, do things for and by myself (m,f) Help me to prepare for family living (m)

Secondary	Males N=468 Females N=373 22.7% of the total enrollment in all the 7 groups	Security for employment: help me get a good job (f) Opportunity for advancement (m,f)

The basic elementary group consisted of persons with no schooling or only primary grade training, the advanced elementary of those who had completed four to eight years of schooling, and the secondary group of those adults, who, in youth left school or had their education curtailed and who desired to continue their education. It will be seen that the elementary group does not seem to mention economic gains as a value determining enrollment. Perhaps the females in the advanced elementary group mention it indirectly in their response "opportunity for advancement" (...chances to go up in life.) But the females in the secondary group mention it directly:"security for employment (help me get a good job)." (37:142). It should be noted that the elementary group consisted of persons "with no schooling or only primary grade training" and not only of completely illiterate persons, and this mixed group does not mention economic gains as a salient reason for joining the adult education course. The responses of this group seem to be in line with Harbison's point of view that "the aspiration for development is much more than a desire for economic progress" (13:2).

2. The Alabama study (24) reports the following reasons given by the students who joined the literacy classes:

		Percent
1. Enhance the self: to gain independence, confidence, enrichment.	N=608	32
2. Occupational improvement.		21
3. Communication: to read letters and newspapers.		13
4. Religious purposes: read the Bible, be better leaders in church.		13
5. Better business"skills".		5
6. Help children, encourage spouse.		4
7. Reading for pleasure.		4
8. Good citizenship.		5

(Some students offered no reasons.)

These responses also seem to indicate that only 26% (Items 2 and 5) were motivated to join the classes for economic gains and 71% for self improvement and self satisfaction reasons.

3. The consequences of existing literacy teaching

Do the new literates continue reading and writing for their self improvement, for its own sake or to enhance social prestige? Do they become more mobile, both physically and psychologically? Do they make use of mass media and begin to have opinions on public affairs? Do they make efforts to raise their standards of living? Again, we have not found many independent studies on this, perhaps the most important aspect of literacy teaching, except the following two which were undertaken for different purposes but studied the restricted uses of literacy as well.

1. We have already discussed the Gadgil study (18) which was undertaken to determine the causes of lapse into illiteracy of adults who had completed some early grades of primary school. The findings relating to the use of

reading and writing were as follows:

Assuming that opportunities for exercising reading and writing habits would prevent the lapse of these skills, the investigators collected information about these two factors. The data collected are summarized below. It should be noted that both the information about the occasions for writing and reading habit are as reported by the respondents and were not separately checked by the investigators (18:57).

Reported Occasions for Writing

Writing activities	Total of grades II, III and IV			
	Literate %	Semi-literate %	Illiterate %	Total N
Occasional correspondence	89.2	1.8	---	1120
Accounts	89.7	1.3	---	224
Accounts & correspondence	90.9	9.1	---	22
None	67.1	18.0	14.9	1073
Not given	100	---	---	1
Total	84.5	8.9	6.6	2240

Reported Reading Habit

Reading activities	Total of grades II, III and IV			
	Literate %	Semi-literate %	Illiterate %	Total N
Private correspondence	96.7	3.2	0.1	710
Newspapers	98.5	1.5	---	396
Religious books	96.5	3.5	---	114
Misc. (occasional)	93.5	6.5	---	463
None	58.5	20.5	21.0	757
Total	84.5	8.9	6.6	2440

The comments of the investigators on the above data are as follows:

> "It is noteworthy that quite a substantial number of those who professed to have occasions for reading domestic correspondence etc. were found not to be possessed of any writing ability and that this was true to a small extent even of those who professed to write letters occasionally. Some of the latter could not pass the writing test administered to them. Apart from this, the data are important as revealing the extent to which reading and writing skills remain unutilised in after life. A very substantial proportion confessed to having no occasion either for reading or writing after they had left school. If we consider that those who reported that their reading and writing was confined to domestic correspondence also fall within the category of general non-use of ability (and this assumption can be made easily because of the great infrequency of rural correspondence,) then those who do not find any ordinary use for the skills acquired during school formed evidently a majority in the case of reading and a large majority in the case of writing, of the total population of ex-pupils." (18:56)

From the data it appears that the investigators' comments apply to the writing habit but not so much to the reading habit, since out of 2240, 1683 reported to have been reading. But as they have pointed out, if those who reported to have been reading only correspondence (710) are also classified among non-users, then out of 2240 respondents, only 973, or about 40% could be said to have utilized their reading ability. The extent of utilization for each category is not known.

2. The Bureau of Ghana Languages was commissioned to produce literacy education materials needed by the department of Social Welfare and Community Development. But the number of books purchased by the department for the mass education program was relatively small. Ella Griffin undertook a study (38) "to provide the Bureau an accurate and objective indication concerning the

reading needs and tastes of its potential, if not its actual reading public." The study was confined to one linguistic area with 16 villages. Griffin concluded from the study that "It appeared that the average adult reader was between 20 and 30 years old, and read at least a little every day. He earned his living by farming... He learned to read by attending school, although he completed only the primary level" (38:129).

As she does not report any data, it is impossible to know the total population from which the sample was drawn, and what percentage of the respondents "read at least a little every day." However, it seems that they were interested in reading as she further reports that "...he liked to read traditional tales and Bible stories. But he was even more interested in true-to-life matter concerning historical and current events" (38:130). But the reported ability to read and the reported desire for reading seem rather contradictory. As to the reading behavior, she observes that the typical reader "read primarily for information since he had not acquired enough skills to use reading as a means of recreation" (38:130). This observation implies that the primary school educated adults lacked the ability to read for enjoyment. On the other hand, she reports "...he liked to read traditional tales," which is, indeed, reading for enjoyment. The difference in abilities to read for information about historical and current events, and reading for recreation, i.e., traditional tales, was not discussed.

It can be inferred from her conclusion that the people were anxious to read, as they were ready to buy books and did not consider the expense a problem: If they saw reading matter of interest they bought it (38:130). It seems that they did not read much because the distribution channel was weak, and they did not get many books suited to their skills and interests. No data is reported indicating the number of people who were willing to buy books.

The following accounts also discuss the uses of literacy:

3. Dr. Pedro Orata, a Philippino, deputy head of the Division of Fundamental Education of UNESCO has written in detail about the uses of literacy by the new literates of Dr. Laubach's Philippine literacy drive (26). According to him, the "...new literates, who were taught mechanically in a few weeks to write their names and a few other names without the benefit of character and moral training" (39:357) and critical thinking (39:358) used their meagre literacy to deceive the government. The new literates used their ability to register fictitious names in the voting lists for the then coming election. "The governor of the province found out that whereas the registered inhabitants numbered 500,000 or more, the number of people actually living in the province was only around 300,000. Literacy, half-baked literacy, that is, accounted for the difference"(39:356). This criticism, however, seems to be directed more toward the content of teaching than the non-use of literacy. Also, it does not follow necessarily that a moralistic content would have lead to correct social behavior if the overwhelming demands of the situation encouraged contrary

behavior. It seems that Orata is actually critical of the types of literacy drives which reduce literacy teaching to mechanical learning in a few weeks on the grounds that such literacy is not likely to help the person in making judicious decisions. He writes that:

> There is much more to reading than parroting a language. We have far too simplified education, as a result of which many youths merely learned without being really educated. The remedy is not further simplification, on the ground that a billion and a quarter adults must be made literate in a hurry or they will become communists. (Dr. Laubach's emphasis*) I see no quicker method of making them communists than by training them to read without teaching them to be understanding and critical of what they read. (39:358)

4. One of the purposes of the PARE literacy drive (27) was to use "the goodwill and the cooperation of the people built up during the literacy campaign" (40:31) as a spearhead for other community development programs, e.g., checking soil erosion. Evaluating the effectiveness of the literacy drive, the planners of the campaign report that they reached the conclusion that:

> The experience of becoming literate did not result in any perceptible transformation of the individual or it would be claimed that the knowledge imparted about better methods of agriculture etc. is more likely to remain amongst the literate than among the illiterate, or that all attempts to raise the standard of living of a people will amount to little unless they involve literacy. On the other hand, the literacy campaign has again been found an excellent means of approach for community development generally--it provides an entree for community development staff, it enables them to establish their bona fides. (40:35)

It might be argued that perhaps it was too much to expect "perceptible transformation of the individual" after three months of literacy teaching and that their capacity to acquire knowledge through

*Author's comment.

the printed page must have been very meagre after the amount of literacy they received.

The accounts discussed above are insufficient proof of the use or non-use of literacy skills or the positive or negative consequences of literacy teaching in terms of behavioral changes. However, they do suggest non-use of literacy and hence little behavioral change. The main causes of the negative result seems to be the following:

1. The conditions of life do not seem to demand literacy; hence the learners do not identify it as a necessary tool for everyday living. The enthusiasm created by the organizers does not succeed in stimulating sufficient interest among the learners to make the necessary effort and continue it over a period of time.
2. The literacy imparted is so meagre that the so-called literate is unable to use it for attaining any of the objectives discussed in Chapter I. Therefore, expectations of "perceptible transformation of the individual" are not met.

The first reason seems to strengthen the point of view that literacy efforts should be selective. Efforts should be concentrated on people who have an intrinsic desire to learn to read and write, or where the conditions of life demand the use of literacy skills; or it should be an integral part of a total development program that plans to change those conditions. Commenting on the proposed 1962 literacy drive in Iran, Land stresses the point that a community is not likely to use literacy unless conditions of life demand it and says that it is irrelevant

that the government, or those responsible for such drives, feel the necessity of them. He argues that, "As yet 85% of the Iranian people are illiterate. Their mode of life has little use for the written word. All communication, instruction, etc., is oral. Even business contracts, leases, etc., are often committed to memory only. This almost systematic non-utilization of written evidence (for whatever reasons) demands and enables quite a different behavior and social intercourse than if such means were widely applied." (41:419)

Perhaps the failure of the much-advertised literacy drive of Mexico which started with the passing of the Literacy Law of 1944 supports Land's apprehensions. Writing about the drive, Ruiz expresses the opinion that:

> Among a population beyond reach of books and newspapers there was reason to believe that many who had learnt their alphabet seldom if ever put it to use and consequently forgot it after a year or two. By the Ministry's own admission one third of those previously certified as literate had, for lack of practice, forgotten by 1959 what they had learnt. (42:84)

To summarize:

1. The objectives of adult literacy teaching seems to be:
   a. to enable a person to have opinions on public affairs,
   b. to enable him to understand his culture and develop attitudes in tune with the demands of modern times, and
   c. to enable him to earn and produce more.
2. It seems that the minimum skills of reading and writing required to enable an illiterate adult to attain the above objectives is equal

to about four years of elementary school, which might be achieved in about 400 hours of teaching, using trained teachers and graded text books built around the interest of the learners.

3. The training in literacy offered in most of developing countries usually ranges from 72 to 144 hours. One course lasts 40 hours only (excluding Dr. Laubach's one week), and one provides systematic education up to the sixth grade.
4. A certain number of illiterates in most countries seem to initially be interested in becoming literate mainly for reasons of self satisfaction, though the number of those remaining until the end of the course seem to be small.
5. There is not much evidence to show the extent to which literacy, once acquired, is put to use in the enhancement of the self or in any other manner. Some evidence, though insufficient, indicates the non-use of literacy by the majority of "literates" for various reasons. Among them the main factors responsible seem to be lack of opportunities to use the limited skills of a low level of literacy.

4. The expected consequences

Any discussion of the consequences of adult literacy teaching must consider the objectives of literacy; who wants it and to meet what ends? Some practitioners and illiterates themselves may desire it for some restricted use; for example, to sign one's name instead of making one's thumb impression, to be able to read and write a simple letter, or

to read simple writing of a religious nature. If such are the objectives, they might be considered achieved as soon as the "literate" performs these behaviors. Perhaps neither would he be able to meet more complicated needs of life nor would it be expected of him. We may not, therefore, look for any further consequences of literacy if the objectives are to meet these simple needs. But when we consider the need for literacy teaching from a national scale, we expect a wider use of the literacy skills than these. Perhaps the diversion of national resources for the provision of such rudimentary skills may not be economical, through desirable from some individuals' points of view.

From a national point of view we are perhaps looking for a population literate enough to use literacy to raise productivity, to form opinions about public affairs, and to "marshall and analyze facts for rational decision making." (43:6) A level of literacy to meet such needs might be considered a prerequisite of development. So long as the majority of the people do not acquire this amount of literacy, the burden of decision making and moulding the economics, social and political life of the country will be that of the educated few. The educated few will direct, and the vast illiterate or semi-literate masses will, perhaps, expect to be directed. Helen Butt tries to drive this point home in a forcible manner:

> The man who says that mass literacy is not essential for progress is consigning the mass of humanity to a blindly obedient role. The educated elite could set up systems, granted beneficial intentions, run things for their benefit; it could and would have to direct them pretty much in detail. (43:6)

Batten also stressed this point in his book Problems of African Development. He says that in a society where the people are poor and uneducated, sound political development is difficult because "the views expressed today are of those of a very small minority. There is really no good means of knowing what illiterate people think and feel and want until they can make their needs known themselves and claim authority for ruling themselves." (4:110)

The need for widespread literacy of a more than rudimentary type, it seems, arises from the fact that the developing countries plan to modernize and break away fast from the traditional society. Lerner's (7) major hypothesis in his study of Middle Eastern countries was that the modern society is essentially urban, literate and participant. Empathy and role playing are the skills developed by a person physically moving out of a traditional setting. The horizon of a non-literate person living in a village is limited and "their decisions involve only other known people in known situations." (7:50) But in a modern society an individual making decisions about national policies often has to concur with previously unknown issues and unknown persons. An illiterate person can neither form opinions about national issues, nor feel the need for it; nor develop the expectation that his opinion will count. On the other hand, when it comes to expressing opinions on controversial issues, he feels safe to plead ignorance. Out of the three prerequisites of modernization -- urbanization, literacy and participation--Lerner found the "literacy coefficient highest (.91) and urbanization the lowest (.61)." (7:63) This, according to him, was as it should be because his

data indicated that for "take off" to occur it was only necessary for about 10% of the population to be urbanized and "at this point it becomes economical to develop literacy and media." (7:63)

According to Lerner, physical mobility is necessary for the development of the skill to empathize. It can perhaps be argued that physical mobility may not be essential, though helpful. Learning, being an experience in itself, a literate person can develop psychic mobility by exposing himself to the printed word. The finding relevant here that emerges from his study is that it will be economical for a country to develop literacy and media if about 10% of the population is urbanized. Granted that a country has reached this stage and plans to undertake a mass literacy drive, the crucial question is how many of the 90% mostly illiterate rural population and the illiterate among the 10% urban population will have the incentive to become literate and make the effort to change in order to help in the "take off"; the environment remaining more or less the same--resistant to change.

Land is of the opinion that literacy drives tend to produce a new type of citizen with new skills, who is expected to utilize them, often in the same environment, and "it is not certain therefore that the people will clearly see the reasons why they should learn to read and write." (41:146) Both Land and Lerner seem to agree that literacy is traditionally an element of urban culture; 100% literacy is the result of a slow process of urbanization and technological development. In a sense, it follows the demands of an industralized society and does not precede it.

But the developing countries seem to feel a sense of urgency. They feel that they cannot wait for the slow process of technological development to reach a stage when literacy becomes essential. Moreover, they argue, it is generally accepted that education equips a person with the capacity to manipulate the environment and hasten change. Therefore, some of the countries which wish to plan for the social and economic development of all their people, and not the educated few, feel an urgent need to provide literacy to all as the first basic tool for effective participation and attitude change.

However, the danger pointed out by Land--that people will not be motivated to learn and use literacy to any appreciable extent unless the conditions of life demand it--seems very real. The existing lack of motivation and non-use of literacy, discussed earlier, seem to lend support to his fears. Regarding the existing conditions of life, there appears to be substance in the argument that the countries which are independent and have a general national development plan, have planned, at least in principle, to change the existing conditions of life. The general economic and social conditions may still be not much different than they used to be. But the opportunities to change them are there. It is mostly up to the people to change them. If literacy drives do not succeed, even in these conditions, then, perhaps the reason may lie in the way that the drives are conducted and not totally in the existing conditions.

The most common approach which most of the countries adopt is either to launch a wide-scale program for the eradication of illiteracy

or to include it as one of the routine programs of community development. In the latter case no special effort is made to stimulate or sustain the motivation of the illiterates. After a preliminary talk by one of the functionaries of the community development organization, some people are gathered together in a classroom and an ill-qualified, ill-trained, ill-paid teacher begins to teach. When the adults begin to read and write a little, some sort of an examination is given, most of the people are declared "literate," and this is usually the end of the story.

A study conducted by the author in 1958 in the Hindi-speaking area of India found that of the adults declared "literate" approximately one year before, about 60% were practically illiterate and most of the remaining 40% could only be classified as semi-literate. (45) The countries which start with a motivationalprogram prior to the launching of the drive keep the pattern of teaching and examination generally the same; only the initial approach differs.

We will discuss here the Ghana literacy drive, which seems to be typical of the drives which form part of a community development program, to indicate the general pattern of literacy drives and speculate on the consequences of such drives.

Ghana started a mass literacy drive in 1952. The need for literacy was thus emphasized in the plan:

> There is no single factor contributing more to backwardness than ignorance, isolation and prejudice. What is most needed in the village people of the Gold Coast, and it is needed quickly, is knowledge--knowledge of their own potentialties, of their villages' possibilities and of their country's place in the world. (23-47)

It was accepted from the very beginning that literacy "is not an end in itself... but it is a means to an end, to progress on the farm, in the home and in the village; a means to the further education of adults..." (23:47). The drive was planned as an "integral" part of the overall community development plan. On the economic side, the plan included such subjects as development of agriculture, co-operation, means of communication, and forestry. On the social side it included health, welfare and education. The mass education workers were trained in organizing mass literacy, music and community singing, sports, village drama, discussion groups, first aid, and crafts and hobbies. The workers were continuously reminded not to spend all their time in literacy work, but to concentrate on the other aspects of the plan as well.

The administrative set up was as follows:

1. The Department of Social Welfare and Community Development recruited and trained the mass education officers.
2. The department also did extensive publicity to motivate the people. The minster of education, the director of social welfare, all government officers, political organizations, the churches, the Red Cross, the Boy Scouts, local authorities, the Teachers' union, the training colleges, the university students and the cooperatives all did publicity.
3. A Rural Training Centre was set up in every region to train the voluntary leaders in the Laubach method of literacy teaching and community development. The voluntary leaders who were supposed to teach literacy consisted of the educated few in

the village, e.g., the school teacher, the clerk, the store keeper and any other educated person. The emphasis was on mobilizing local leaders because it was felt that:

> Leadership must call out voluntary efforts...both for its own sake because it is demoralizing to do for people what they can do for themselves; for economy's sake because a campaign by paid effort would be intolerably expensive; and for efficiency's sake because experience elsewhere shows that it would be uninspired, ineffective and the negation of progress. (23:50)

4. A literacy committee in every village was set up by the mass education workers consisting of the village chief, the elders and literate villagers. The committee selected the voluntary leaders who were sent to the Regional Rural Centre for a weekend of training.
5. Immediately after the weekend course, a mass education worker visited the village, registered the learners, and helped the leaders to organize the classes.
6. Then a 3-4 month course was started, and at the end of the course literacy certificates were awarded, usually followed by a great celebration.

The workers were asked to concentrate effort "in time or in space." The method recommended was "an all-in" campaign over a wide area for a short time for literacy, or a prolonged concentration on a village or a group of villages for a demonstration of community development. (23-48)

The community development program, of which literacy formed a part, had a hierarchy of officers, from the headquarters through the

village level. There were 330 mass education assistants, each in charge of about 15 villages. Their main job was to supervise, encourage, and ensure supplies of primers, readers and follow-up books to the classes.

Before a class was started in a village, a cinema van would visit it for two days. Films would be shown, music would be played, meetings held, the literacy committee formed, units for the purchase of light, kerosene and books raised, and the voluntary leader recruited for the training. The classes were at three levels:

a. First Literacy in Vernacular,
b. Advanced Literacy in Vernacular, and
c. Functional English Literacy for Special Groups.

A student was supposed to enroll in the advanced literacy class after passing the first literacy course. The classes were not to go beyond three to four months. There were six books at the advanced literacy level. The qualifying test was writing a letter, addressing the envelope, and showing where the stamp was to be fixed, and a simple arithmetic test involving the four fundamental rules. The test for the first literacy level consisted of simple dictation, reading an unseen passage and answering questions on it. (23:92). No special training for the teachers of the advanced literacy classes was considered necessary. It was, however, thought desirable to give them a weekend refresher course "more from the point of view of prestige than necessity." (23:196)

Between April, 1952, and the end of 1957, about 129,000* literacy

*Adult illiteracy in Ghana in 1948 was 90% (Appendix B). The total population of Ghana, 15 - 59 years old was reported to be 2,471,700 in 1948. Thus the total number of illiterate adults comes to 2,224,530.

certificates, probably at the first literacy level, were distributed. (23:92)

Special reading materials appropriate to the interests of adult readers, including a newspaper, were brought out by the Vernacular Literature Board, which was set up in 1950.

We have discussed the Ghana campaign in detail as it appears to be typical of an administratively well planned campaign in a developing country with high illiteracy. It is also probable that future campaigns will be organized on somewhat similar lines elsewhere.

General characteristics of the campaign which should be noted include the low standard of literacy, the low initial qualifications and the meagre training of the teachers, the distribution of certificates as an index of people made literate, and literacy treaching as a part of the total program of the department.

What might be the expected consequences of the Ghana literacy campaign, or as a matter of fact any campaign, conducted on similar lines in similar situations? Perhaps the answer will depend on how we define consequences.

In view of the broader objectives of literacy, or the stated objectives of the Ghana campaign, or the familiar principle that "literacy is not an end in itself," we should expect the following consequences of adult literacy teaching:

1. Continued use of the skills of reading and writing for information and knowledge, leading to behavioral changes, for example:

1. Adopting improved practices to raise the standard of living, e.g., better agricultural methods, forming or joining cooperatives and other community institutions, safeguarding the health of self and family.
2. Forming opinions about public affairs, both at village and national levels, resulting in active participation in community affairs, and at least expressing opinions about national affairs.
3. Developing a modern and rational outlook about traditionally accepted faiths and beliefs.
4. Becoming more conscious of one's rights and responsibilities; e.g., paying the taxes, respecting public property and standing for one's constitutional rights.
5. Mobility to towns in cases where the amount of literacy achieved might be enough to open vistas of employment.

These consequences are likely to follow only if:

a. a sufficiently high level of literacy is initially provided, say, up to the fourth grade level, and
b. planned efforts are made to develop learning conditions in which continued reading is found rewarding.

Perhaps to ensure continued reading, the UNESCO Experts Committee recommended that literacy "should be integrated into a program of continuing adult education and into the total educational program. It should also be integrated with the development programs of the countries..." (3:9) If "continuing adult education program" implies setting up formal

educational facilities beyond the fourth grade of literacy so that the new literate may continue his education up to the junior high school or the high school or even further, such a program may be beyond the economic and the manpower resources of most of the countries. Moreover, as pointed out by Land, such educated persons may remain idle, and become a constant source of unrest and frustration (41:420) in countries where the economic apparatus does not demand so many educated persons, or which are already facing the problem of the educated unemployed. Even if such facilities are provided, it is doubtful if the majority of the adults would use them. The school drop-out figures in Appendix G indicate that a large number of children do not continue beyond the fourth grade, even though their education is considered comparatively more desirable by the parents.

Integration of literacy teaching with community development appears to be a practical suggestion. But how is this integration to be achieved? Including literacy as one of the programs of community development is perhaps not integration. Setting up of a library of books in every community is, perhaps, not integration. It will be well to remember that indications are that most of the so-called new literates do not continue reading and writing, perhaps because they do not find the effort rewarding (Gadgil, 1941). Therefore, the fact of its being one of the programs of community development is not likely to result in continued reading; hence the non-occurrence of the expected consequences. It might also be noted that most of the suggested consequences require

behavioral changes. And change tends to occur when the effort to change or the magnitude of the conditions demanding change become greater than the resistance to change. Perhaps the external activities, such as setting up a library, showing some films, pasting slogans and posters on the walls, and appeals by leaders, might help to stimulate it momentarily; but these things are not likely to result in the self-identification with the goals and making efforts to achieve them.

The motivation might be stimulated momentarily by external efforts, but soon it is likely to drop down and the pace of life returns to its normal course.

We would like to conceptualize the conditions in which learning or change may occur in terms of learning theory and Kelman's theory of opinion change and see if these theories will help us in understanding the process and the conditions of change better.

The consequences of literacy as presented by us and the stand that literacy is not an end in itself suggest that the literate adult is expected to learn, i.e., adopt new behavior. Learning has been defined as "more or less permanent change in behavior due to reinforced practice." A newly literate farmer will have "learned" if, as a result of the new knowledge communicated to him, he practices line sowing instead of the scattered sowing which he used to practice, evaluates the results, finds it rewarding, and takes up line sowing more or less permanently. Learning might be latent. The farmer might receive the knowledge, try it, find it rewarding, but due to one reason or the other, not adopt the new practice. Such learning may have little economic or social consequences. We are,

therefore, interested in the type of learning which is likely to be translated into action. What is the learning process and what are the conditions which help the process?

According to some theorists there are four essentials to learning:

1. Drive or motivation--the person must want something,
2. Cue or stimulus--he must perceive something,
3. Response or participation--he must do something, and
4. Reward or reinforcement--he must get something he wants.

According to Berlo (47) before a person learns, or a new habit is established, the following process must take place:

Stimulus → perception → interpretation → trial response → reinterpretation of the trial response → stable stimulus-response relationship or habit formation.

The process implies that the presence of a stimulus is essential before any response occurs. The stimulus must be perceived or sensed. Then the mind interprets the stimulus and if the interpretation is that this does not interest me, it is beyond my means, I am not prepared to put out the energy it requires; then there may not be any further response. The matter may end there. But if the response is favorable, a trial response will be made--just to see what happens. The result of the trial response will be reinterpreted, and if found rewarding the response is likely to be made again; i.e., the person will repeat the act, and if the act is rewarding most of the time, he is likely to repeat it in the future. Then we can say that learning has occurred or an established relationship has been formed between the stimulus and the final response. Cronchbach (48) uses seven

concepts to describe the process of learning. They are:

1. Goal--the learner wishes to attain certain objectives; these might be the attainment of objects, a desired response from another person or some satisfying internal feeling.
2. Readiness--indicates his willingness to try to attain the goal. If the situation calls for efforts he cannot make, or if he is too weak or ignorant, he is not likely to try.
3. The situation--it presents both the opportunity and the challenge. To have satisfying consequences the individual must take appropriate action.
4. Interpretation--he studies the situation in detail in the light of past experiences and tries to foresee what might be the result of his action in the situation.
5. Response--if he takes any steps it would be the one which he thinks will most nearly satisfy his wants.
6. Consequences--if the consequences of the action are in accordance with his interpretation of the situation, he feels rewarded; satisfaction results. If they are contrary to what he expected, he usually feels dissatisfied.
7. Reaction to thwarting--thwarting occurs when the person fails to attain his goals. He might reinterpret the situation and make fresh attempts to attain the goal, but if he feels that he cannot deal with the situation, he may give up.

It will be seen that all the concepts at least have three major elements in common for learning to occur: a) the person must have a goal,

and he must want to attain it; b) a situation must be present which can be interpreted as leading to the goal; and c) his effort must be rewarded.

Before returning to the discussion of the likely consequences of a mass literacy campaign, we will describe Kelman's theory of opinion change, which, in a sense, uses the major concepts of the learning process.

Kelman (49) theorizes that a person might change his opinion due to social influence. But he might also change it with the changing of the situation in which he accepted the influence. His emphasis is, therefore, on understanding the situations in which the source or the influencing agent is intentionally trying to change the behavior of the receiver, which is what we ultimately try to do in a community development program, be it the acceptance of an agricultural practice or literacy teaching. If we could analyze the situation in which the influence is accepted, we would be in a better position to know whether the change has occurred on a public level alone or on private level as well, which may lead to habit formation. Also, if we know whether the change is public or private, we would also understand what types of situations lead to what types of changes. According to Kelman, the process of opinion change results in three types of behaviors:

1. Compliance--The person might just comply with the wishes of influencing agent. This may happen when the person does not believe in the content of the message the influencing agent is trying to get across. Nevertheless, he may do what the agent wants him to do because he is

"interested in attaining certain rewards or in avoiding certain specific punishments that the influencing agent controls." (49:62) He does not adopt the intended behavior on a permanent basis. He accepts it only so long as he feels that his behavior is under the surveillance of the agent. This type of attitude change might happen in a government controlled development program in which the government agents try to bring about the social change. The agent might have direct or indirect powers to reward or punish which may lead to compliance on the part of the receiver, giving a false sense of accomplishment to the agent.

2. Identification--This type of opinion change occurs when the individual feels that his self-interest lies with the influencing person or group. It is a way of establishing or maintaining a relationship. He may take on a role playing relationship--do what the agent wants him to do or he thinks the agent wants him to do. Group relationship may lead him to identify himself with the boss of the party or the majority opinion, even though he may not accept internally the majority opinion. Identification lasts as long as the individual finds the agent "attractive," or the relationship useful to his self-interest. It may result in private acceptance of the opinion or remain only at the public acceptance level.

In the context of our discussion, this type of attitude change may occur if the class teacher or the extension agent is found "attractive" by the individual or he feels that his interest lies in the relationship. Then he may try to establish or maintain his relationship with the change agents and may even take on role-playing. In view of their personalities, their leadership qualities, and the limitations of time--especially in

case of the extension agent--that they can spend with individual members, this type of change is very unlikely to occur in the majority of the people.

3. Internalization--This type of opinion change occurs when the behavior which the agent wants to induce is congruent with the value system of the individual. It is not the personality of the agent or the relationship to the agent which is so important as the content of the induced behavior. It is rewarding in itself. The individual adopts the behavior "because it is congenial to his own orientation, or because it is demanded by his own values." (49-65) The personality of the agent does play a part in bringing about this type of change but essentially it is the "credibility," i.e., the "expertness" and the "trustworthiness" of the agent, which helps in the acceptance of the changes he desires to bring about. The recommended change is evaluated and accepted on rational grounds. The individual may accept the recommended practice but may modify it to suit his own situations. This is private acceptance of the opinion. Performance does not depend upon the surveillance of the agent. The individual will hold the opinion so long as he finds it relevant to his value system.

This is perhaps the most desirable but the most difficult type of attitude change to bring about. The acceptance of new agricultural practices family planning, civic responsibilities, non-observance of the caste and the dowry systems--using the printed page as source of new knowledge and information--are seldom congenial to the orientation of the

new literates and seldom demanded by their value system. Therefore, unless their present attitudes are understood and appreciated, and learning situations are developed, internalized behavior, it seems, would be difficult to induce in the majority of cases.

By "learning situations" we mean conditions in which the influencing agent can mainly function as an agent of attitude change and which has the potential to develop the capacities of the learners to interpret written communication and react to them critically. Such a learning situation, in all probability, will lead to the identification of the goal and develop readiness to attain the goal, which, as we have seen, are essential stages in learning. Then, if the stimulus or the situation presented is feasible and the action rewarding, we might expect the formation of the desired habit--the ultimate goal of the learning process. If the learning situation helps to make the induced behavior, for example sending girls to school, a part of his system of changed values, the behavior is likely to be internalized.

It is not possible to suggest "the method" of developing the learning situation. We can only speculate. One possible approach might be as follows:

1. The class room, in addition to providing at least a fourth grade level of literacy, becomes a forum for discussing personal and community problems.

2. It also serves as a nucleus of initiating desired behaviors by the extension agent. He visits it regularly and discusses with the class (never merely lecturing) a feasible project of common interest or

of interest to small groups; for example, developing fisheries if there is a pond in the village.

3. He leaves with the class materials in simple language for the class to read and discuss with a promise to come back on a definite date to discuss the issue further.

4. On the next visit he brings with him some visual aids to demonstrate the process involved in fish raising. He may read to the class a true story, or better, show a film depicting the improved standard of living in a village which adopted fisheries. If the students don't know the village, it should be shown on a map. One of the purposes of this program will be to bring home to them what is potentially available and what they are missing. Thus the agent might purposely try to create dissonance among the members of the class. According to Festinger (50), if little or no dissonance exists between the cognitions of a person, there would be little or no effort on his part to seek out new information and consequently little effort to change. On the other hand, if his two cognitions are in dissonant relationship, he may try to seek information in favor of his existing behavior or in favor of change, leading to a balanced state of mind. His decision whether to stock to his existing behavior or to change will depend upon, taking every thing into account, which is more important to him. Applying this principle of the theory to our example, if the members of the class perceive the improved standard of life of the people of that village as due to the adoption of fisheries, they will know that the life changed there (one cognition); and they know that they have not adopted fisheries

and their life has not changed (another cognition). Then, other things being equal, they might actively seek more information about the new practice. The new knowledge may increase their dissonance still further; and dissonance being psychologically uncomfortable, one way of reducing it might be to adopt the new practice.

5. The individuals who in the end (maybe after several meetings) feel motivated enough to take action should be lead to make a commitment before the whole group. There are numerous studies to show that public commitments made in a group are more often kept than not. (51)

6. They should be helped and guided when the stage of action comes, so that the chances of failure might be reduced to the minimum, thus making it likely that the action results in reward. The experience gained in solving this problem is likely to be used in solving similar problems in the future.

Similar procedures can be adopted if the group is interested in house building, reading the village map, sending children to school, or understanding the system of government. The reward may not always be in terms of money. It might be in terms of better health, improved understanding of the environment, or a satisfying internal feeling. This type of approach for introducing new kinds of behavior does not end with the class. It continues until the community is ready to come to grip with problems on its own. The important point to remember is that the extension agent should continue to rely more on the printed page, group discussions, and study circle methods for the identification of goals and the solution of problems and less on "telling" the people what to do.

This process of inducing new behaviors is likely to:

a) Develop the reading skill, the ability to read for meaning, following details and directions, and the habit of reading for information and knowledge, leading to problem solving.

b) Result in attitude change since the goal has been identified, the situation has been perceived and interpreted, the response made, resulting in reward.

Returning to our discussion of the probable consequences of literacy campaigns: in a nationwide literacy drive the influencing agents are likely to find it almost impossible to make concentrated efforts of this nature to develop the learning situation. The classes are likely to be abandoned once the literacy certificate has been distributed or sometimes after setting up a small library in the village. Most of the learners, not having developed the habit of reading for problem solving or for pleasure are not likely to continue reading. There would be little demand for reading materials, and the normal trade channels consequently would have little incentive to enter the field, unless the government decided to make bulk purchases and distribute the books freely. The use of freely distributed material, if it gets distributed at all, is questionable.

The consequences of a nationwide literacy campaign in a developing country are not difficult to predict. Since there will be little reading activity, the other consequences, which were to follow from continuous exposure to print, are not likely to follow. In other words, the pay off

of such a campaign in terms of raising the standards of living and attitude change is likely to be negligible.

These probable consequences, again, suggest the advisability of the selective approach instead of the nationwide approach. It is not to suggest that none of the graduates of a nationwide campaign will continue making use of literacy skills. A few may. In the course of time they might also adopt new practices and change some of their attitudes. But such changes most probably will be due to environmental factors other than literacy. By and large, unless the learning conditions have been developed, even the literate population will tend to follow the existing pattern of life, which is resistant to change.

We do not have enough data to support the consequences hypothesized above, which is likely to result from a routine type of literacy education, either imparted through a literacy drive or a school program. The results of a study of the socio-economic conditions of a village near Delhi, however, seems to lend support to our hypothesis.

The Census of India (1961) studied in minute detail the socio-economic conditions of the village and has reported its findings in a separate publication (52). The village, Bhalsua Jhangirpur, situated on the bank of the Jamuna River, was seven miles to the north of Delhi city. It had a total population of 857, in February, 1961, when the inquiry was conducted. It was well served with roads and transport buses which connected it with important centers of administration and trade. It had a police post, a railway station, and a post office at a distance of about

a mile. It was one of the first villages to be covered by the community development block, set up on October 2, 1952, at Alipur, four miles from the village. A mobile dispensary van of the Delhi Municipal Corporation visited it every other day and provided free medicine. It had a multi-caste and multi-occupational composition, the majority of the people being agriculturists. Forty persons belonged to the service occupations and went to Delhi to work. Among them was a sub-inspector of police, one army sepoy, one clerk, one teacher, one turner, one bus driver, and one salesman.

There were 144 households; out of them three-fourths had bicycles, used by mostly students to go to school in three localities nearby. Thirty-eight households had their own bullock-carts. In addition to the higher schools in the nearby localities, the village has had a junior basic school since 1958. The education was free and compulsory up to the fifth grade, and all children belonging to the backward classes received scholarships to meet the cost of books and stationery.

The average size of a household was six persons. Of the total households, 93 owned 50.8 bighas of land per household. Little over one-fourth of the total cultivated land was canal irrigated, 8.9%, well irrigated; and the rest, about 34% depended upon the vagaries of rain. About three-fourths of the households had a monthly income up to Rs. 100/- and the remaining three-fourths, above Rs. 250/-

The above account of the village indicates that it was one of the better villages in terms of its nearness to urban centres, communication

and educational facilities, and the mobility of its people. The table below shows the literacy of the village by age and sex.

Literacy in Jhangirpur

Age group	Males			Females			Total		
	No.	literate	%	No.	literate	%	No.	literate	%
0-4	75	-	-	86	-	-	161	-	-
5-14	157	114	72.6	120	19	15.8	277	133	48.0
15-54	187	91	48.7	186	2	1.1	373	93	24.9
55-60+	27	4	14.8	19	-	-	46	4	8.7
Total	446	209	46.9	411	21	5.1	857	230	26.8

The table shows that 26.8% of the total population was literate, which is slightly higher than the all India average of 24%. If we deduct the number of infants, for whom the question of literacy does not arise, then the percentage of literacy in Jhangirpur comes to 33.3 percent. Of the 214 total male adult population 15 years old and above, 95 or about 44.4% were literate, but of the 205 females only two were literate. The educational levels of these 97 literates are shown below:

Age group	Pre-primary	Primary	Middle	Matric	F.A.	B.A.	Army	Literacy drive	Total
15-60+	21	18	30	18	5	1	2	2	97

By pre-primary perhaps is meant those who studied up to the various grades of primary school but did not pass the final grade. According to the literacy standard we have suggested earlier, the 21 may not be

classified as literate, but according to the standards of the usual literacy drives they would be considered literate, as the investigators apparently did. It is interesting to note that out of the 324 (419-95) adult illiterates in the village, only two became literate through the adult literacy drive.

What were the salient features of the social and economic life of this village which was only seven miles away from Delhi, well served by means of communication and schooling facilities, one of the first to come under the community development scheme, with mobility and one-third of its population literate? The main findings are reported below.

1. Reading habits--It is rather surprising that such a detailed study of the life of this village omitted this aspect all together. We do not know how many persons were reading what types of material except that two households were getting a daily newspaper in Hindi. We suspect, however, that if there had been a library in the village or the households had possessed sufficient number of books, the investigators would have reported such facts.

2. Education of children--116 out of 177 boys, and 20 out of 120 girls (age group 5-15) were going to school. The reasons for not sending the boys to schools were given as: "too young" (meaning below six fixed by law), "cannot afford," and "does not go." The reasons for not sending the girls were: "too young" (26 cases), "no appreciation of education for girls" (36 cases), "too old to go" (12 cases), "looks after children at home" (14 cases), etc.

3. Innovation and adoption--There was a definite trend mentioned to prefer improved quality of seeds and chemical fertilizers (no data reported). The villagers preferred chemical fertilizers although free manure was available in abundance from the Municipal refuse dump nearby. Three households who owned over 200 bighas of land had taken to mechanized farming. There were 41 chaffing machines in the village. But most of the agricultural tools used were "primitive and outmoded." (52:63) The investigators comment about the income of the village; "on the whole the data reveals an extremely dismal picture of the village so far as income of its households is concerned." (52-66) The craftsmen, too, used the same old tools. They had not tried to improve them in any way. Most of the houses were dark and ill ventilated. Only 13 had some sort of a bathroom attached to them. But the new pucca houses that were coming up were better ventilated.

No improvement whatsoever had taken place in the habit of borrowing. The village still borrowed from the money lenders whose rate of interest varied from 18 to 36% per annum, though taccavi loans (for productive purposes) were available from the government at 4% per annum. The village borrowed from private money lenders mostly because of the restricted nature of the government loan with its "complicated and cumbersome procedures often beyond the intelligence of the common man" (52-49) and the usual red-tape.

4. Attitude toward social custom and government reforms--Improvement in economic life might have been dependent on many factors and some of them beyond the means of the villagers. But we would expect from this village

somewhat changed attitude toward social customs, better knowledge about, and participation in, government programs initiated to bring about social change. But it does not appear to be the case.

The common man in the village was found a staunch believer in fate and the usual superstious beliefs, (e.g., sneezing, or a black cat crossing the path were regarded as bad omens if one was going out). Heavy debts were still incurred on marriage ceremonies and other social observances. The total income of the village for February, 1961, was Rs. 14,926/-, and the total amount of debt for the same period stood at Rs. 57,650/-. More than 56 percent of the debt was for non-productive purposes. On an average a household spent between Rs. 1500/- to Rs.6000/- on the marriage of a daughter, including the dowry. The anti-dowry act passed by the Parliament was quite unknown to the people.

There was a definite trend to marry boys and girls at a comparatively higher age. But the present mean age at marriage worked out to be 14.8 years for boys and 11.6 years for girls, both below the Sarda Act of 1930, which fixed the minimum marriage age at 18 for boys and 14 for girls.

Only 26 persons knew that according to the amendment of the Hindu Succession Act of 1956, daughters were entitled to an equal share in the property of the father along with the sons. Only 31 persons, out of 144, were in favor of the measure, and 113 opposed it. The majority of those who opposed the measure were agriculturists and the majority of those who were in favor were non-agriculturists.

The village panchayat (the local statuary body) was set up in October, 1959. "The purpose behind the panchayat raj movement was to create local self governing units," (52:95) and the main functions of the village panchayat were:

> Framing of programmes of production for the village, framing budget of requirements for supplies and finances needed for carrying out the programmes, reclamation of waste land under cultivation, registration of births, deaths, and marriages... construction, repair and maintenance of village streets... and sanitation. (52:93)

But more than one-fourth of the households were totally unaware of its main functions. 52.8% said that its main function was to settle disputes. The election of members lead to a certain extent "to a great deal of unnecessary and harmful party politics and groupism" (52:95) which perhaps it can be argued is not unusual with a party system of government.

To remove the undesirable conditions prevailing due to the practice of untouchability "which were hampering the progress of the country... the National Government passed legislation declaring the practice of untouchability in any form or shape as illegal and punishable by law." (52:101) Out of the 144 households, 115 were aware of the law; but 124 or a little more than 86% were practicing it in one form or the other: 49 responses were not in favor of eating together, 86 against their drawing water from the same wells, 92 were against smoking together, eight were not in favor of touching their utensils, 16 showed that they did not believe in sitting and living together, and two were against their

participation in ceremonies.

It will be remembered that it was one of the first villages to come under the Community Development Block, set up in 1952. The main purpose of the Block was "to assist the villagers to increase their productive efficiency both in agriculture and industry, to create a progressive outlook among the rural population, to assist them toward cooperative action...." (52:103) Almost all the people were aware of the existence of the Block, but only 43 or about 29% said they had benefited from it. The Block was doing something or other for the village. The negative responses it seems were due to grievances of different kinds. Some felt that the benefits from the Block were more than offset by the increased taxes they were paying to maintain it. Some applied for seed two or three months before the sowing season, and the seeds were alloted when they were about to harvest the crop. It might be noted from the suggested activities of the Block and the grievances of the people that the emphasis was on providing and receiving services, and not so much on creating a "progressive outlook" and increasing the "productive efficiency of the people" which were the main functions of the Block. The investigators commented on the total impact of the Block upon the people in the following words:

> The usual redtapism, indifference on the part of some officials of the Block, alleged favouritism.... bureaucracy etc., have all taken their toll in discrediting the scheme. (52:105)

A social education centre for women had been functioning in the village since 1956. In addition to its usual activities of teaching

embroidery and sewing, it was supposed to advise the women in family planning, birth control, pre- and post-natal care, etc. But out of 137 persons interviewed, 87 were totally ignorant about family planning. Only 50 persons said that they had heard something about it, and these were the people who usually went to Delhi and had picked up some information in the city. Nobody was fully aware of the means and methods. But in spite of their unawareness, a very large number wanted to restrict the number of children.

It also seems that personal hygiene and cleanliness left much to be desired. The investigators found that most of the people were in dirty clothes and "although they may take a bath daily they would care little to bathe well or to clean their teeth." (52:114) The houses and the streets were always found littered with all sorts of refuse. Similarly they did not find any significant improvements in the livestock. Some improvements were reported due to disease control and improved breeding, but not due to better feeding.

The investigators concluded their findings thus:

> All these conditions clearly point to one thing viz. that whatever changes have taken place in the village have been initiated from outside... but all these changes taken together have not been able to bring about any appreciable improvement in the socio-economic structure of the village...The result of all this is that the village now suffers from complete lack of self confidence and confidence in authorities. They seldom associate themselves whole-heartedly with the development work organised by government or any other agency. No improvement in the village life is possible unless the people themselves are interested in the same. (52:115)

We might repeat here that interest is likely to be generated when concentrated efforts are made to develop conditions of learning and effective channels of communication. The communicator may find it easy to share his opinions if there is a literate population at the receiving end: the agent of change may find that a literate person is in a better position to identify his goals, reinterpret the situation, make the appropriate response, and repeat them if the result is satisfying. But for the expected consequences of literacy to follow, developing conditions of learning seems essential. A mass literacy campaign or the usual formal schooling, in themselves, do not seem to develop situations favoring the use of literacy or change in attitude, as Jhangirpur indicates.

CHAPTER III

METHOD AND MATERIAL

A questionnaire (Appendix J) containing 30 key questions on problems of adult literacy teaching was mailed to 87 addresses in 38 countries. The addresses were obtained from literature, UNESCO, two agencies in the United States, and personal knowledge of the author. Twenty-five completed questionnaires from 13 countries plus 11 letters, and three incomplete questionnaires were received. Thus 39 addressees or about 45% responded.

Of the 25 respondents, 20 were classified as "agencies." They included voluntary and government or semi-government institutions and departments, and most of them were directly engaged in adult literacy work. The remaining five were classified as individuals who either occupy or had occupied key positions in institutions directly concerned with adult education work. All of them were internationally involved, from time to time, in this field. They occupy a place of leadership in their own countries and, to some extent, internationally.

Out of the 20 agencies, 11 were governmental or government supported and nine were voluntary; nine were engaged full time in literacy work, and 11 were doing literacy work among other activities of community development. The oldest was founded in 1940, and the three latest were set up in early 1964. The number of full-time staff they engaged ranged from one to 268, the median being ten. The largest number of full time

staff was engaged by the government agencies. Of the voluntary agencies, one had a strength of 47 and one 55, but the remaining seven employed five to six staff members on an average. In addition to the regular staff, seven of the voluntary and six of the government agencies used volunteers as well, the government agencies using the largest number of volunteers.

These 20 agencies were classified as secular and non-secular. The division is purely arbitrary. Under secular we have classified government and semi-government agencies, not connected with any religious denomination. Under non-secular we have classified agencies connected with some denomination, though their activities might be of a secular nature; this is the case of two of them. The division is sometimes not very clear and sharp. According to this classification, 11 agencies were secular and nine non-secular. A classified list of agencies is given in Appendix H.

Thirteen said they conducted research. Seven did not allocate special funds for the purpose. One had 40% of the total annual budget marked for research, and five spent on an average about 3% of their budget on research. Of these 13, one sent as an example of research work some literacy statistics collected by it. One sent a short account of a survey conducted to find out, among other things, reasons for dropping out of elementary school, reasons for literacy learning, subject preferences, and exposure to mass media. The rest did not refer to or enclose any reports. A few reported that the analysis of data was in progress. About

half the responses indicated interest in the general area of research as mentioned in the questionnaire, while half indicated no interest or a lack of interest. A large number showed interest in "exchanging research reports" and "advice on research design." The following table shows their responses:

Table 1

Responses of the Agencies to Cooperation in Research Endeavors

1. Exchanging research reports

Research areas	Responses																			
	N=20 Agencies																			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
A	x	-	x	x	x	x	-	*	x	x	x	-	x	x	*	-	*	x	x	x
B	-	-	x	x	-	x	-	*	x	x	x	-	x	x	*	-	*	x	x	x
C	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	*	-	x	x	-	x	x	*	-	*	-	-	x
D	-	x	x	x	x	x	-	*	x	x	-	-	-	x	*	-	*	-	-	x
E	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	*	x	x	-	-	x	x	*	x	*	-	-	x
F	-	-	x	x	-	x	-	*	x	x	-	-	x	x	*	x	*	-	-	-

A=exchanging research reports.
B=having research examined and critiqued by other communication experts.
C=exchanging advice on the research design.
D=collecting local field data for other researchers.
E=replicating studies.
F=obtaining assistance in the statistical analysis of data.
X=interested
-=not interested
*=no reply.

Sixteen out of the 20 agencies expressed the desire of cooperation in one research area or more. Among the remaining, one felt that the

government statistician was responsible for related studies, the remaining three who did not show interest in any of the research areas were voluntary non-secular agencies.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

1. The students

We would like to caution the reader that these results should be studied with the fact in mind that the sample was small and the figures given by the agencies were generally approximations.

Size of literacy classes varies between 10 and 150. Two agencies reported that it goes up to 100 or beyond. In the case of one of these, the students don't actually meet as a class since the agency follows the "each one teach one" method. What it may mean, therefore, is that in a particular area 100 illiterates might be learning from 100 literate persons. The other agency prefers small classes, but sometimes, it reports, the number goes up to 150. Nevertheless, the size of an average class is between 20-25.

The majority of the students belong to the age group 15-35 years. With advance of age, the number of students dwindles. One agency enrolls children between 6 and 11, and four between 12 and 14 as well. Seven agencies had no data to report regarding age of students. Thus in an average literacy class of 20, we might see a child or two between 6 and 14 years, and about 13 youth between 15 and 35 years, and five elderly persons.

Four agencies had no data to report regarding how many of those who enroll continue until the end and take the final exam. The remaining 16 reported that 20% to 90% take the final exam, the median was 66.5%.

It may be remembered that this reported percentage is much higher than the implied figures reported in the UNESCO proposal (2) and the Turkish Seminar report (36) which showed that only 5 out of 19 who enrolled in an average class took the final exam.

Most of the students pass the exam. Out of the 17 agencies who had data to report, four of them pass everybody. On the average, 68% of the students taking the exam pass it.

The table below shows the period of teaching before the final exam is given:

Table 2

Maximum Periods of Teaching Before the Examination is Administered

	Agency	
	secular N=11	non-secular N=9
Period of teaching in clock hours.	630	
	200	-
	250	-
	150	240*
	240	120
	200	75
	150	40
	180	400
	240	36
	64 house to house teaching	each one teach one
Total	2304	911
Average hours of teaching for responding agencies	230	152

*The agency reported 7-9 months. We have calculated this period on the basis of one hour a day, six days a week.

The table shows that of the agencies which have reported the period of teaching, the average hours of teaching for the secular agencies comes to 230 hours, and for the non-secular, 152 hours. Thus an illiterate adult might spend between 630 hours and 36 hours to receive literacy training. At the end of this period he takes an exam which usually consists of reading a short passage and answering a few questions about it asked by the examiner, who is generally the teacher himself; taking down a few lines dictated to him, and in rare cases doing simple arithmetic. If he passes this test--and seven out of every 10 are likely to pass it--he is considered literate and is expected to use his literacy to help him in achieving the goals he or the agency may have set.

What were the expectations which brought him to the class or made him ready to try private coaching? According to the judgments of the agencies, the motives for becoming literate which the illiterate adults seem to have are shown in the following table:

Table 3

The Most to the Least Preferred Reasons For Wanting to Become Literate, as Ranked by the Agencies

Reasons for wanting to become literate	Ranking					
	Ranked highest			Ranked lowest		
	Total	Sec.	NS	Total	Sec.	NS
1. to be able to write their names to be able to read and write letters to be able to read bus and street signs	17	9	8	2	1	1
2. to be able to earn more money to be able to acquire knowledge about their profession to be able to get better jobs	15	9	6	4	1	3

Table 3 (continued)

	Total	Sec.	NS	Total	Sec.	NS
3. to be able to read newspapers to be able to know about the happenings of the country	12	10	2	7	-	7
4. to be able to read religious books	12	5	7	7	5	2
5. to obtain greater prestige in the community	9	5	4	10	5	5
6. to be able to read about home improvement to be able to read about care of children	5	2	3	14	8	5
7. to be able to read about maintaining better health	5	-	5	14	10	4
8. to be able to read stories and other light literature	1	-	1	18	10	8

The table shows that in the opinion of the agencies the most preferred reason for wanting to become literate is the immediate and practical use of literacy such as reading and writing letters. It was followed by the reasons: to improve the standard of living, to develop awareness of the happenings in the country, and to read religious books. Most of them did not think that the adults want to become literate to spend time in enjoying reading, or to read about how to maintain better health, or to learn about home improvement; these reasons were ranked lowest by 18, 14, and 14 agencies respectively. The opinion about whether literacy leads to greater prestige in the community seems divided. Responses to reasons No. 2, 3, and 5 indicate some trend among the majority of the secular agencies to rank secular reasons highest and non-secular lowest, and in

the case of the non-secular agencies to rank non-secular reasons highest and secular reasons lowest.

We now have a better profile of an illiterate adult who joins a literacy class. He is likely to be one of 20 or 25 students in a class and a young person between 15-35 years of age. He might study for about 152 to 230 hours after which he would be able to read a short passage, perhaps understanding the main points of what he reads, write a few lines, and do some simple arithmetic. He came to the class to learn to read and write letters, use literacy to improve his standards of living, read the newspaper to know what is happening in his country, and read books on his religion.

2. The consequences

Then what happens next? Does he acquire enough skills of reading and writing to use it for gaining information or reading for pleasure if he wants to? Or because of various reasons does he not make much use of his literacy? Is it almost lost over a period of time? The responses to these questions are shown in the table below.

Table 4
The Level of Literacy Acquired and its Subsequent Use

The skill and its use			
Two reasons why the majority of the new literates cannot make use of their literacy, if they don't, are given in the statements below. Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with them.	N=23* Agree	Disagree	No Response
a. The amount of literacy received is so rudimentary that the majority of the new literates cannot make much use of it in gaining information or reading for pleasure.	10	11	2
b. Because of disuse a great majority of them relapse into illiteracy over a period of time.	19	4	0

*Includes agencies and individuals.

One agency did not express any opinion on the above statements. Out of the remaining 19 agencies, seven agreed with both the statements. These responses seem to be revealing in respect to the crucial problems of adult literacy teaching. In the opinion of seven of the agencies the skill being generally imparted is so low that the new literates cannot make much use of it after leaving the class, and 14 of them agreed that most of the learners relapse into illiteracy over a period of time. Five thought that neither the skill was low nor that they relapse into illiteracy.

The causes of the disuse could be many: initial low level of

attainment, non-availability of reading materials and a daily life not demanding the use of literacy. These have not been explored.

It might be interesting to probe further into the reasons that might have led the two groups of agencies which agreed to and disagreed with both the statements, expressing so diverse opinions regarding the standard of the skills generally attained and the subsequent uses of literacy.

Of the seven agencies which agreed to both the statements, four were secular and three non-secular, while all which disagreed with both the statements were non-secular. It is possible that the period of literacy teaching, the standard of examination, the quality and the training of teachers, and the system of teaching might account for the difference in their opinions. These factors are analyzed in the tables that follow:

Table 5

Periods of Literacy Teaching by Agencies Expressing Different Opinions on Statements a and b

Group Opinion	N	Periods (in hours)	classification
1. Agreed to both	7	200	S
		-	NS
		200-240	S
		-	NS
		75	NS
		630*	S
		house to house teaching	S
Average		286 hours	
4. Disagreed with both	5	120	NS
		40	NS
		400	NS
		36	NS
		each one teach one method	NS
Average		149 hours	

*This agency did not agree to "a" because it considered 630 hours not

It is difficult to see any definite relationship between the period of literacy teaching and the opinions, especially because, of the seven agencies which agreed to both the statements, two have not mentioned the periods of teaching and one does house-to-house teaching. Of the seven, two teach 200-240 hours. Still they seem to feel that the ability acquired within this period is rudimentary and that most of the new literates do not use their literacy.

Of the two which have not mentioned the period, one might have been influenced in its judgment by the results of a study conducted among its new literates by one of the headquarters staff members in connection with her thesis. Her study indicated that very few new literates continue to use their literacy.*

One of the seven conducts its classes for only 75 hours and one does house-to-house teaching, but both of them feel the same way about both statements. The opinion of Group 2 is a bit surprising. Though three of them teach only for 120, 40, and 36 hours respectively, they still feel that the ability acquired within this period is not rudimentary and that most of the new literates continue reading and writing. The disagreement of the one which teaches for 400 hours is understandable.

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enough to acquire a high standard of literacy, but it agreed to "a" "when the teaching is limited to instrumental literacy, and the new literate is then abandoned to himself;" and as this seems to be generally the case, its response has been classified here.

*"The percentage who continue to use the acquired skills of reading and writing is very low. I would estimate from my Sarawak study that this is less than 10 percent," in a letter to the author.

As we have discussed in Chapter II, there is some research evidence to indicate that this seems to be an adequate period for acquiring fourth-grade level literacy.

The period of teaching, therefore, does not seem a satisfactory reason for the difference of opinion between the group of agencies which agreed to both the statements and those which disagreed with both. We may now examine the standard of examination set by both the groups which is shown below:

Table 6

Standards of Examinations Set by Groups One and Two

Group	Opinion	No.	S-NS	Standard of examination
1	Agreed to both	1	S	Measurement of 3 Rs and spelling skills, familiarity with the use of library and other sources of reference.
		2	NS	No tests.
		3	S	(No answer)
		4	NS	No examination given at present
		5	NS	Reading and writing and different levels of vocabulary.
		6	S	Ability to read everything in the primer and in the simple materials that follow.
		7	S	Special Commission of govt. conducts this exam.
2	Disagreed with both	1	NS	Reading of short paragraphs.
		2	NS	Reading from a booklet, dictation, writing a letter, a short story, making a shopping list and adding up prices, reading all publications on mother and child care, first aid, family planning, coops, etc.
		3	NS	Dictation, copy right, reading, simple arithmetic, group discussion.
		4	NS	Reading aloud a fable of about 200 words and answering questions on it.
		5	NS	Individual oral and written exam.

These reported methods of examining do not give a clear measurement of the abilities. Three of the agencies in Group one do not seem to have a set system of examination. The examination standards of the remaining agencies seem more or less at par with the examination standards of the agencies in Group two, which mainly consist of reading from a booklet and, in some cases, taking dictation. Agency two of Group two which reports a comparatively higher examination standard, including the writing of a short story, teaches only for 40 hours on an average, never fails any student, but gives special lessons to slower ones. We suspect that the description is not of the standard of examination, but of the total teaching program which a student is expected to complete. It might be interesting to know how many of them come up to this high standard after about 40 hours of teaching and how many remain in the classification of "slower students."

It does not appear that the reported standards of examination of one group of agencies would have led the students to exert themselves more than the students of the other group.

The polar difference of opinion between the two groups might have been due to the difference in the teaching system, under which we have included teaching aids and extra curricular activities, used as part of the teaching program and not the primers and charts which almost all of them use. The responses given by the 12 agencies regarding the use of certain additional teaching facilities are shown in the following table:

Table 7

Additional Teaching Facilities
Used by Group One and Two

Type of facilities	Group 1 (N=7) Frequency of use				Group 2 (N=5)		
	reg.	occ.	not.	no response	reg.	occ.	not*
1. Newspapers are read to the class	1	5	1		2	1	2
2. Films and filmstrips are shown	2	4	1		-	4	1
3. Radios are used as part of class teaching	3	1	2	1	1	-	4
4. Talks on economic and social problems are given by persons other than the teacher	4	1	1	1	2	2	1
5. Talks on economic and social problems are given by the teacher	3	2	1	1	3	1	1
6. Group discussions are held on the contents of lessons read	4	1	2		2	1	1
7. Groups discussion are held in the class on community problems	5	2	-		3	1	1
Total	22	16	8	3	13	10	12
Average use		5.43				4.6	
Average non-use		1.17				2.4	

It will be seen from this table that Group one reported more frequent use of these additional teaching facilities than Group two. It does not, therefore, appear that the reason of the disagreement of Group two with both the statements was the more frequent use of additional teaching facilities.

The following table shows the initial qualification of the teachers

*reg.= regularly, occ.= occasionally, not.= not at all

which both the groups employed and the amount of training which was given.

Table 8

Qualification and Training of Teachers
Employed by Groups One and Two.

Teachers	Group 1 No.	Years of Schooling	Group 2 No.	Years of Schooling
Initial qualification	1	professional retired teachers	1	10 or above
	2	10 or above	2*	7-8
	3	5-6	1	5-6
	1	below 5	1	below 5
	weeks of training		weeks of training	
Training	1	3-4	1	5-6
	4	1-2	2	3-4
	1	less than 1	2	1-2
	1	none**		

There does not seem to be much difference on the whole in the initial qualification of teachers employed by the two groups and the training given to them. The agency in Group 2 which reports five-six weeks of training teaches only for 40 hours. Hence it does not seem likely that it trains its teachers in literacy teaching for five-six weeks. The agency is working with a leadership training and community development institution and perhaps uses the same village leaders who come to the

*one reported using teachers from 5 through 10 years of education and above. We have classified this agency in this group.

**for teachers having 12 years of education.

agency for leadership training. Training in literacy teaching possibly forms only part of the total curriculum.

It is probable that the basis of the difference of their opinions lay in their conception of the standard of literacy. If one group had a high standard of literacy, it might regard the period of teaching inadequate for the majority of the students to attain that standard. Consequently, students could not use the meagre literacy for any gainful purpose. Hence the agency might agree with both statements. On the other hand, if it regarded a person "illiterate" even if he was able to read a few simple sentences and write a few lines, it might consider the period and other conditions adequate for the majority of the students to attain that standard of literacy and use the new skills subsequently. Hence it might disagree with both the statements. The table below shows the standard of literacy after which a person was considered literate by each the group.

Table 9

Standards of Literacy Agreed to by Groups One and Two

Standard	Group 1 (N=6) Agreed to both No.	period reqd.	Group 2 (N=5) Disagreed to both No.	period reqd.
An illiterate person is considered literate when he has acquired the ability:				
1. to read and write a simple letter or the sentences of a primer or books of the same level			1	150
2. in the 3Rs equivalent to that of a child who has successfully completed four years of schooling	1	200	1	120
	1	36-48	1	240
	1	200	1	400
Or	1	60	1	36-48
to read a daily newspaper with comprehension in his native language	1	600		

It will be seen that six of the Group 1, and four of the Group 2, agencies considered a person literate when he had attained quite a high standard of literacy. Only one of the agencies in Group 2 preferred the lower standard and disagreed with both the statements. One of the agencies in Group 1 gave its own standard which it was difficult to classify under the two standards given above.* It does not appear that their conception of the standard of literacy could have been the basis of having the diverse opinion regarding the initial attainments and the subsequent uses of literacy. It is interesting to note that four of the agencies, though agreeing with such a high standard of literacy, considered that it could be achieved in periods as short as 36 to 48 hours, 60 hours, or even in 100 hours. All these four agencies were non-secular.

At least two other variables, i.e., the initial motivation of the students and the language of teaching might have influenced their judgments. But it does not seem likely that these two variables would have been much different in either case. Most of the students in both the cases were rural youths belonging to economically under-developed countries, except in two cases where they belonged to a developed country. There both the agencies agreed with both statements. In both cases, the great majority of students would receive literacy in their mother tongue. It will be remembered that all the agencies which disagreed with both statements were non-secular. They generally use a primer, a chart, and a few other books constructed on the so-called "Laubach Method." Perhaps they

*"Ability to read materials commonly available to him, write enough to communicate simple messages; also to carry on the 4 operations in simple arithmetic."

disagreed with both statements because they consider this method of teaching so effective that even if the illiterates are taught for 36-49, 120 or 150 hours they attain a high standard of literacy and keep on making use of it in their daily life. This explanation, however, comes into trouble when we remember that out of the seven agencies which disagreed with both statements, three were also non-secular and perhaps use the same method of teaching. Two of them have not mentioned the period of teaching and one has mentioned it as 75 hours (Table No. 5)

The general consequences of literacy teaching, as reported by all the agencies, are shown in the following table:

Table 10

The Consequences of Literacy Teaching

Consequences	Number of persons affected by...								
N=20	all	half	total	%	few	none	total	%	no response
The "new literates"...									
1. listen to the radio for news	9	7	16	80	1	3	4	20	-
2. take more interest in voting	10	5	15	83	2	1	3	17	2
3. show more confidence while travelling and talking to government officials	11	4	15	79	4	-	4	21	1
4. read and write their letters	8	5	13	69	5	1	6	31	1
5. begin to read newspapers	5	8	13	65	6	1	7	35	-
6. read for enjoyment and information	5	7	12	61	7	-	7	39	1
7. become proficient in their occupation and adopt new technical practices	4	8	12	60	6	2	8	40	-
8. doubt and question superstitious beliefs and become more tolerant toward others' faith	6	5	11	59	4	4	8	41	1
9. take critical interest in govt. affairs and become dissatisfied with the status quo.	4	7	11	55	7	2	9	45	-

Table 10 (continued)

	all	half	total	%	few	none	total	%	no resp.
10. become more conscious of their civic responsibilities	6	3	9	50	7	1	8	57	3
11. become member of village inst.	2	4	6	32	7	5	12	68	2
12. begin to challenge the authority of village elders	3	3	6	36	9	2	11	64	3
13. become more mobile	4	1	5	26	12	2	14	74	1
14. modify their food habits	1	4	5	26	12	2	14	74	1
15. become more demanding in their civic rights	4	1	5	30	10	2	12	70	3
16. keep records of income and expenditure	2	1	3	15	10	7	17	85	-
Total	84	73	157		109	35	144		19
Percent		49.1				45.0			5.9

The above questions are in fact research questions; how far literacy affects a person's behavior cannot perhaps be answered without systematic studies. The change, if any, might be due to several other variables. The responses of the agencies are mostly based on their experiences and, perhaps, expectations rather than on studies.

If we classify the responses under "all" and "half" as indicative of the effectiveness of literacy teaching, and those under "few" and "none" as non-effectiveness of literacy, and if we regard the given consequences a measure of its effectiveness, we notice and about 49 percent of the responses indicate that literacy teaching is effective and 45 percent that it is not-effective.

Of the given consequences, the ability to read the newspaper, becoming more proficient in one's profession through reading, and the change in attitude to the extent that the new literate begins to take critical interest in the affairs of government and becomes dissatisfied with the status quo, will perhaps require a high standard of initial literacy and

considerable reading subsequently. It is not very likely that reading a primer and a simple booklet during a short course of literacy teaching will lead to the above consequences. We would, therefore, like to take a closer look at the agencies which considered literacy teaching "effective" and "non-effective" as far as these consequences are concerned. The table below shows the nature, the period of teaching, and opinions on the statements regarding the initial standard and the subsequent uses of literacy of agencies which considered literacy teaching effective or non-effective.

Table 11

The "Effective" and "Non-effective" Group and Some Consequences of Literacy Teaching.

Consequences	Effective group					Non-effective group				
	nature S	nature NS	teaching period	agreed with a	agreed with b	nature S	nature NS	teaching period	agreed with a	agreed with b
1. They begin to read the newspaper	6	7	271[1] hrs.	4[2]	7[2]	5	2	161[3] hrs.	3[2]	7
2. They become more proficient in their occupation	6	6	208[4] hrs.	5[5]	9	5	3	188[6] hrs.	2[7]	5[8]
3. They take critical interest in the affairs of government	8	3	197[9] hrs.	4	9	3	6	200[1] hrs.	3[7]	5[8]

1. 2 did not report the period, 1 used each-one-teach-one method, 1 taught for 400 hours and 1 taught for 630 hours.
2. 2 gave no opinion.
3. 1 used each-one-teach-one method.
4. 2 used each-one-teach-one method and 1 did not report the period, 1 taught for 630 hours.
5. 1 gave no opinion.
6. 1 taught for 400 hours.
7. 3 gave no opinion.
8. 2 gave no opinion.
9. 1 used each-one-teach-one method, 1 taught for 630 hours.

It will be seen from the table that 13 agencies, 10 of which taught on an average for 221 hours, expressed the opinion that the adults begin to read newspapers after receiving this amount of training, on the other hand seven of the agencies, six of which taught on an average for 161 hours, said that they don't. It may appear that the effective group might have expressed the positive opinion because it taught 60 hours more than the non-effective group. But this additional period is due to only two agencies which taught for 400 hours and 630 hours respectively. Excluding these agencies the effective group taught on an average for 152 hours--nine hours less than the non-effective group. It will also be seen that four of the effective group had agreed with the statement that the initial attainment was rudimentary and seven with the statement that the majority of the new literates do not continue to read after leaving the class. Even then, this group is of the opinion that the new literates begin to read the newspapers after about 152* hours of class teaching. The opinion of the non-effective group seems to be more consistant with their earlier agreement with both the statements and the ability of new literates to read newspapers. Out of seven, three of them had agreed that the skill was rudimentary and all had agreed that they do not use their literacy. It also seems that more non-secular agencies tend to hold an optimistic point of view than the secular agencies.

We notice a somewhat similar situation in regard to the second consequence. Both the groups teach for almost the same period. (The non-effective group included the 400-hours agency, which if excluded, brings the average hours of teaching down to 152. The effective group

*excluding the two agencies.

contained the 630 hour agency, excluding which the average comes to 159 hours). Quite a large number of the effective group had agreed with the second statement and 5 with the first. Still they feel 159 hours of teaching enough to enable a person to use the printed page for becoming more efficient in his occupation. Again the non-effective group seems to be more consistent in its earlier and present opinion. In this case, too, we notice that more non-secular agencies tend to hold an optimistic view than the secular agencies.

The situation is more or less the same in respect to the third consequence. (The non-effective group, minus the 400-hours agency, teaches for 162 hours and the effective group, minus the 630 hours teaches for 153 hours.) In this case, more of the secular agencies hold the opinion that the new literate takes a critical interest in the affairs of the government than the non-secular agencies, although four out of 11 had agreed with statement a, and nine with statement b. To see if such perception of the behavior of the new literates is due to the background of the two groups of agencies, we give below their responses to whether the new literate begins to doubt and question superstitious beliefs and become more tolerant toward other faiths.

Table 12

The "Effective" and "Non-effective" Groups and the Consequences re Superstitious Beliefs

	Effective group					Non-effective group				
Consequence	nature S	NS	teaching period hrs.	agreed with a	b	nature S	NS	teaching period hrs	agreed with a	b
1. They begin to doubt and question superstitious beliefs and become more tolerant toward others' faith	4	7	253[1]	4[2]	7	7	1	180[3]	4[4]	4[4]

1. 1 did not give the period of teaching, 1 used each-one-teach-one method;

The effective group included the agencies which taught for 400 and 630 hours. If we exclude these agencies the period of teaching for both groups becomes almost the same--183 hours for the "effective" group and 180 hours for the "non-effective" group. There is a difference of opinion about the initial attainment; the majority of the "effective" group do not consider it rudimentary, and the majority of the "non-effective" group consider it rudimentary. But the majority of both agree with the non-use of literacy. Thus, even in respect of this consequence we see that though the period of teaching remains almost the same and the majority of both the groups agree about the non-use of literacy, they differ in their opinions about this type of change in the behavior of the new literate. The majority which says that this type of change occurs is non-secular, and the majority which says that this type of change does not occur is secular. These two evidences indicate to some extent that the agencies tend to perceive the changes according to their own backgrounds.

The analysis of the responses to the given consequences indicate that:

1. About half the agencies consider literacy teaching effective and about half do not consider it effective.
2. Though they differ regarding the adequacy of the initial level of attainment the majority of the agencies (Table 4) agree that literacy once acquired is not used by the majority of the new literates and they relapse into illiteracy over a period of time.

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1 taught for 400 hours, and 1 taught for 630 hours.
2. 1 did not express opinion.
3. 1 did not give the period of teaching; 1 used each-one-teach-one method.
4. 1 did not express opinion.

3. Of the five individuals, four agreed to both the statements, i.e., the initial literacy imparted is rudimentary and the majority of the new literates relapse into illiteracy. One agreed only with the second statement.
4. The opinion of the agencies and the individuals about the non-use of literacy seems in line with the findings of research reported in Chapter II.

3. The standard of literacy

When do the agencies consider an illiterate person "literate" and how much instruction do they consider adequate for a person to attain that standard? The table below shows their responses to the above questions.

The table shows that only four agencies and one individual consider a person literate when he has acquired the reading and writing abilities as in one, while 15 agencies and four individuals demand a higher standard. But only four of the agencies and one of the individuals have mentioned the period of instruction equal or even higher than that which some of the research evidence (Chapter II) seems to recommend. The rest of the suggested periods of instruction fall much short. It is rather interesting to note that one of the secular agencies thinks that this high standard can be attained in 64 hours*. Two of the non-secular agencies beat down all of them by claiming to attain the standard in 36-48 hours; one of them plans to do so in 60 hours, and one goes up to 100 hours.

*This agency soon plans to launch a nationwide literacy drive to make the population literate in 64 hours of teaching.

Table 13

Standards of Literacy Accepted by the Agencies and the Individuals

Standard	Secular (N-10) No.	Instruction required in hours	Non-secular (N=9) No.	Instruction required in hours	Individuals (N=5) No.	Instruction required in hours
An illiterate person is considered literate when he has acquired the ability:						
1. to read and write a simple letter	1	150	1[1]	120	1	330
or						
the sentences of a primer or books of the same level.	1	240	1	150	-	-
2. in the 3Rs equivalent to that	1	200	1	36-48	1	750
of a child who has successfully	1	150	1	60	1	230
completed 4 years of schooling	1	200	1	500-1000	1	240
or	1	200	1	100	1	200
to read a daily newspaper	1	180	1	400		
with comprehension in his	1	64	1	36-48		
native language.	1[3]	500	1[4]	40		
	1	600				

To summarize the analysis of the responses of the agencies:

1. It made a note that for newspaper reading, a person in that region will have to learn a second language.
2. It made a note to the effect that for "functional literacy" it agreed with standard 2, but its answer indicated that it did regard a person literate if he had attained standard 1.
3. It has given its own standard as "When he has acquired the ability to use reading as an effective tool for his personal improvement and the community betterment. In other words, when literacy has reached a "functional level". We have classified the response under 2.
4. It has given its own standard as "Literacy must be the key to the door for a better life economically. If this is not achieved the skill is soon lost". We have classified the response under 2.

1. A class usually consists of 20-25 students and the majority of the students are between the ages of 15-35 years. Of those who enroll, about 66.5 percent take the final exam, if one is given. This indicates that the drop-out rates are not very high. (The rate compares favorably with the school drop out rates.) The students are generally examined on a simple passage testing their reading abilities. Most of them are declared literate after this simple test.
2. The secular agencies as a group offer more instruction than the non-secular agencies--on an average 230 and 152 hours respectively. About half of the secular agencies consider the skills acquired in the class as very low and about half of them do not consider them low, but the majority agree that the new literates do not use their literacy subsequently. The non-secular agencies consider the abilities sufficiently high and think that most of the new literates use their literacy. The great majority of the individuals agree with the secular agencies.
3. In the opinion of the agencies the reasons for wanting to become literate are in the following order: (a) practical uses of literacy such as reading and writing of letters; (b) earning money; (c) to know what is happening in the country; and (d) reading religious literature. Knowledge about home improvement or better health, and reading light literature were considered the least important reasons for wanting to become literate. There is some indication that the secular agencies attach more importance to secular types of motives and the non-secular to religious motives.

4. Both types of agencies reported the use of additional teaching faculties such as reading of newspapers to the class, discussions on community problems, talks on social and economic problems, etc., in varying frequencies. The secular agencies used these facilities slightly more than the non-secular agencies. Both types of agency used teachers of almost the same qualifications and gave them the same amountof training. Most of the teachers employed possessed below five to six years of education and they generally received training for one to two weeks.
5. Of the 19 agencies and five individuals, only five considered a person literate even if he had acquired a low level of literacy, whereas 19 demanded a higher standard equivalent to the primary fourth grade standard or when the person could read a newspaper. This standard agreed with those recommended by Gray and others. But only five of them foresaw the period of instruction as 400 hours or more; the rest of them thought that it was possible to attain this standard within such short periods as 36-48 hours, or 100 hours or 240 hours.
6. If the effectiveness and the non-effectiveness of literacy teaching is judged from a set of given consequences, about half of the agencies regard literacy teaching effective and half non-effective. Among the consequences, the following have been reported as most effective: (a) listening to the rádio for news; (b) taking more interest in voting; (c) showing confidence while travelling and talking to government officials; (d) reading and writing letters and newspapers; (e) reading for enjoyment; and (f) doubting superstitious beliefs.

Among those reported as non-effective are: (a) mobility; (b) modification of food habits; (c) becoming more demanding in civic rights; and (d) keeping records of income and expenditure.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

Viewed from a national point, it seems that the need of having a literate population arises because of the expectation that a literate person will be able to (a) form opinions on public affairs, (b) understand his culture and develop a new attitude in tune with the demands of time, and (c) produce more.

There is some evidence to show that "functional literacy," which perhaps will enable a person to come up to the above expectations can be acquired in about 400 hours of instruction, with well-trained teachers, properly supervised classes, and using reading materials designed to lead the learners to meet the goals. In terms of the elementary school, the level of functional literacy might be equated with the fourth grade level of achievement.

A great majority of the agencies and the individuals who responded to the questionnaire also agree that an illiterate person should be regarded literate when he has attained this standard. But it seems that they are not clear about the amount of instruction which will be required to attain this level. Only four of the agencies and one individual has said that 400-1000 hours of instruction will be required to attain the functional literacy level. But the remaining 15 seem to think that this level can be attained in much shorter time, ranging from 36 to 240 hours. It seems that these agencies have simply upgraded their definitions, keeping the hours of instruction the same as they have at present for

the type of literacy they are providing, or they regard their present standards of literacy, whatever they might be, equivalent to the fourth grade level.

On the whole, the secular agencies provide more instruction (average 230 hours) than the non-secular agencies (average 152 hours). About half of the secular agencies feel that the amount of literacy acquired in the classes is rudimentary. Half do not agree. But the majority of the secular agencies agree that the literacy imparted in the classes is not used subsequently. On the other hand, the non-secular agencies, which teach much less, consider that the literacy imparted is not rudimentary and that the majority of the new literates use their literacy. The main basis of the difference of opinion seems to be the basic teaching materials which most of the non-secular agencies use. But this is only an inference.

Four out of the five individuals agree with the secular agencies regarding the low level of attainment and the subsequent non-use of literacy.

There is insufficient evidence regarding the consequences of adult literacy teaching. What happens when the adult becomes literate? Does he continue reading and writing leading to behavioral changes? One evidence shows that none of the adults who had had four years of education in their childhood relapsed into illiteracy even 25 years later; and only 12.2 percent of those who had passed the third grade and entered the fourth had relapsed. The instrument of measurement used was a very simple nature. But very few of these literate adults had used their literacy after leaving the school. The other study, too, points to its

non-use. A third study of a village points to no significant difference in the attitude toward the social customs and amount of knowledge possessed about reforms initiated by the government among the members of the village, 44 percent of whose adult population was literate.

Of the agencies and the individuals, less than half are of the opinion that, judged from a given set of consequences, literacy teaching is effective; and more than half think that it is ineffective.

Some writers have expressed the opinion that, if the environmental conditions of the illiterate adults do not demand the use of reading and writing, external motivational efforts are not likely to stimulate enough motivation among the adults themselves to make the necessary efforts to become literate or use their literacy. They are of the opinion that though literacy seems to be one of the important factors in the process of modernization it follows urbanization and technological development.

One hundred percent literacy follows demand and does not precede it.

On the other hand, the developing countries seem to feel a sense of urgency for providing literacy to all the people. Perhaps because they feel that the benefits of planned development should go to all the people and not only to the educated few, and that without the participation of all the people planned development is not likely to make much headway. It seems that their argument is that at least in principle they have provided opportunities to change the existing conditions. It is up to the people to change them. Education equips a person to manipulate the environmental conditions and hasten change.

However, it seems that, in spite of the theoretical potentialities of literacy, its consequences have not been overwhelming. The weakness may lie in the way literacy drives are conducted or literacy teaching is done. The learning theory seems to suggest that unless conditions of learning exist learning is hardly likely to occur.

The author has tried to present a concentrated approach which may help develop the conditions of learning. Usually the resources of a developing country are not likely to permit such a concentrated approach if literacy drives are undertaken on a country-wide scale. But it might be possible if literacy efforts are concentrated in selected areas. According to the hypothesis of the author the consequences of a large scale literacy drive will be negligible.

CHAPTER VI

SUGGESTED AREAS OF RESEARCH

It seems that we do not have enough authentic information about various aspects of adult literacy teaching. However, most of the authorities, voluntary agencies, and individual practitioners, having had perhaps not enough opportunity to form judgments on the basis of objective data, tend to rely heavily on their own experiences. Naturally, they are likely to be cautious to change the system unless they themselves consider certain changes necessary. Perhaps the social scientist will need to convince the administrators and the field agencies of the practical usefulness of his techniques. The suggested research projects, one through three, are likely to be useful in themselves as well as strategic.

1. Evaluation of the consequences of some of the literacy campaigns in terms of the objectives.

For any future planning of effective literacy campaigns, the knowledge of the consequences of some of the present efforts seems absolutely necessary. In the absence of reliable data, we have perhaps no other way to convince ourselves and others of the success of the literacy programs but our individual experiences and field reports which usually do not lack in modesty. Perhaps this is the reason that the inventor of a method or the planner of a campaign has often times the feeling and the conviction that "the whole village was changed," though the village may be unaware both of the change and the claim. It is, therefore, felt that unless we are more sure of the effects of literacy

future planning is likely to be more or less on present lines; especially because of the general feeling that what is going on is fruitful, there is likely to be little readiness to plan differently.

It will be desirable to let the planner state the goals; the researcher can and should help him to clarify them to the extent that they become measurable. We think that strategically it will also be desirable that the measuring instrument is evolved with his help and he and his staff, at least once in awhile, serve as interviewers. This is a rather delicate approach, and if not handled carefully may defeat its own purpose.

Perhaps it might be well to divide the area into most, medium, and least successful campaign regions according to the judgment of the planner and draw the sample from each region.

The broad goals, as we have suggested, will be fixed by joint effort but some of the broad bases of evaluation might be as follows:

(1) The extent of reading and the types of materials read.

(2) The level of comprehension of the readers and their ability to react critically to them.

(3) The purposes for which writing is used, its frequency and quality.

(4) Sources of procurement of reading materials--purchased, borrowed, or free distribution.

(5) The readability of the materials in terms of the reading levels of new literates.

(6) Evidence of increased knowledge, regarding personal and community problems and national affairs.

(7) Evidence of behavioral changes, e.g.,

(a) increased participation in community affairs,

(b) adoption of new practices leading to improvement in the standards of living,

(c) modification in attitudes toward traditional faiths and beliefs,

(d) civic consciousness, including both an increased sense of rights and responsibilities,

(e) extent of opinion formation toward public affairs,

(f) attitudes toward public servants (e.g., critical or quiescent),

(g) mobility and its consequences on economic standards, increase in knowledge and confidence in meeting new situations.

2. Evaluation of the teaching materials, methods of teaching, selection and training of teachers.

Whatever the goals, the chances of their attainment by the learners are greater if the teaching materials and the class teaching are in harmony with them and provide situations conducive to goal attainment. For example, if one of the goals is to help students in decision-making, the materials and the class teaching should provide the students appropriate opportunities to make their own decisions in different situations.

The selection of content and its treatment could be effective elements in stimulating interest in reading. The teaching materials, in addition to developing reading skills, usually provide "information" on

topics which the producers consider important for the learners to "know." One widely used series, perhaps to emphasize what reading can do to the learners, involves a rural character, who reads books, knows everything that has to be known, solves problems of life, and as a result builds up his social and economic position in quick successions. Do such stories help stimulate motivation in continued reading and the adoption of new practices? Does the learner consider them gross simplifications of his problems?

The following points may serve as the basis of evaluation:

The teaching materials

(1) Their effectiveness in developing the skills of reading and writing.

(2) How quickly and effectively they lead to independence in reading.

(3) The amount and nature of built-in "reward" provided in the material itself, e.g., in the selection and treatment of content and in the form of self-solving exercises and quizzes.

(4) To what extent do they reflect the goals set by the planners and the immediate goals of the learners, or the balance between the two? For example, we have found in the Indian reading materials most of the lessons on the structure and the functioning of government at different levels, civic responsibilities, balanced diet, national plans of development, biographical sketches of religious and political leaders. But none are found on how the reader may locate his fields in the village map, how can he understand the records of his property kept by local officials, what the entries in the revenue and irrigation receipts look like, or what his fundamental rights as a citizen are.

(5) Whether they are graded in difficulty and the language used is easy, natural, and suits the genius of the language.

The class teaching

(1) The qualification and the training of teachers, the nature of the training.

(2) To what extent the teacher tries to develop learning situations, or emphasizes mainly letter recognitions, drills, and correction of mispronounced words.

(3) Does he organize group discussions on problems arising out of reading and the general community problems; his training and his capacities as a discussion leader.

(4) Does he prepare the lessons in advance and use teaching aids?

(5) How far the class teaching is integrated with other community activities if the literacy teaching is a part of the overall community development scheme.

3. Evaluation of the channels of distribution and experimentation in encouraging normal trade channels.

(1) What are the existing channels, how effective are they, and what are the bottlenecks? If the materials are produced and distributed by the government, can the local functionaries, e.g., the postman, the revenue record keeper, and the school teacher, be used as distribution points? What will be the administrative difficulties?

(2) Can the normal trade channels be encouraged to produce materials and develop local distribution points in areas where there are sufficient number of potential buyers? For example, the village grocery store might be pursuaded to store books if the losses are guaranteed initially. Can the publishers be pursuaded to allow more discount to village stores than they usually do in the expectation of an expanded market in future? Does the purchase of books by new literates increase if they, too, are allowed a marginal discount, say 5 percent, when they buy a book. In some countries the postal charges amount to as much as the cost of a low-priced book. This may discourage the village buyers from placing direct mail orders with the publishers. This situation might be investigated and brought to the notice of the authorities.

The results of the evaluation projects suggested above will perhaps give enough data to plan for future effective literacy work, and conduct the following experimental projects:

4. Fixation of desirable objectives of literacy teaching in developing countries in terms of behavioral changes (e.g., raising standards of living, participation in the affairs of the country, and changes in social outlook) and conducting of experimental classes.

It might be realized while fixing the goals that some of them may lead to political repercussions. The literates may learn to voice their feelings and protest against existing systems. Will the existing leader-

ship of the educated be willing to submit to the democratization process? According to Batten (44), the present leadership has no means of knowing what the great majority of the people want and it does what it considers right. Suppose literacy gives the people the ability to express what they want. Will leaders be willing to submit to the common wish, or will they have the patience and means to persuade the people to go along? Adam Curle points to similar consequences which might result when a large number of people become literate:

> It is common knowledge that the ruling classes of many nations have been reluctant to spend much money on the education of those who might then compete with or supplant them. (3:294).

After the fixation of the goals, the purpose of the experiment will be to find out:

(1) How long will it take for a normal adult to attain sufficient literacy which might be expected to help him in attaining the set goals?

(2) What types of materials will be required for the proposed type of literacy teaching?

(3) What types of teachers are found most effective and what type and amount of training do they need?

(4) What will be the cost of literacy per head?

5. Experiment in integration of adult literacy teaching with community development programs.

This might be one of the most important experiments. It is generally accepted that literacy is not an end in itself and that it

should form an integral part of community development. This seems to be an effective approach for ensuring the uses of literacy. The main problem to explore is how to bring about the "integration." Simply including it in the list of activities of the community development organization does not seem to bring about integration. We have suggested one approach under the sub-heading "expected consequences." Other approaches might be explored and these should be tried out under experimental conditions. The approach found most successful is likely to be of great help to all practitioners, especially to community development organizations.

This experiment might be included under 4 as item (5) if administratively feasible.

6. Experiment in literacy teaching to urban and rural illiterates.

Lerner's study of the Middle Eastern countries (7) indicated that literacy is highly associated with urbanization. It is thought that the complicated life of industralized cities demands literacy skills whereas the simple rural life situations do not. Therefore, a literacy drive in an urban area is more likely to be successful than a rural drive as the urban literate stands a better chance to use his literacy than a rural literate does. Hence literacy will be productive. Adam Curle expresses the opinion that "it is particularly hard to draw sharp lines of differentiations between productive and non-productive learning in peasant economies which comprise those in most of the underdeveloped countries." (3:296) Most countries, finding the vast majority of the illiterates concentrated in rural areas, undertake rural literacy drives.

It will be fruitful to investigate which is more profitable in terms of the payoff--whether urban or rural literacy teaching. Either the consequences of existing literacy in urban and rural regions should be studied or experimental classes should be set up in both areas and the results compared. The following may serve as the basis of comparison:

(1) Percentage of enrollment of illiterates in the area, drop-out rates and regularity of attendance.

(2) The time required to attain comparable stages in learning.

(3) Uses of literacy after graduation from the classes.

(4) Change in attitudes.

(5) Cost.

7. Study of the effectiveness of the paid against the voluntary teacher and primary school teacher against the literate from the community.

Some countries like Ghana feel that not only is it economically unpractical to use paid teachers, but for building leadership and boosting the morale of the people voluntary teachers should be used in literacy campaigns. Others like India use paid teachers. It is generally felt that voluntary teachers do not accept the required administrative control. They are not able to stay with the classes for longer periods, and they may come and go according to their convenience. Hence, though some money will be saved, the turn out will be poor.

Some are reluctant to use the primary school teacher because they feel that he transfers his behavior of teaching children to adult teaching. His methods do not change much in spite of training in teaching adults.

Others feel that it may not be necessarily so with young, trained teachers. At least he has the initial training as a teacher and the literate from the community, in spite of the short training that he receives in teaching adults, does not understand the business of teaching for a long time. Experimental classes using all the four types of teachers might be set up and the results compared.

It is realized that the country will employ the type of teachers it would find feasible, but at least it would be in a better position to know what results to expect from what types of teachers.

8. Experimentation in literacy teaching as part of the educational system.

As we have reported earlier one of the recommendations of the UNESCO Expert Committee was to integrate literacy teaching "into a programme of continuing adult education and into the total educational programme." (3:9) It is considered, perhaps, that if there are regular night schools of different levels, which the literate adults might join and continue his education, say up to the high school level, he will have additional motivation to join the literacy class and his literacy will be permanent. This might be so. However, it seems one cannot be too sure about large numbers of literate adults joining the further education schools in view of the fact that large numbers of children drop out after passing the primary school. Moreover, a large number of educated persons may create economic, social and political problems if they cannot be absorbed into the economy of the country. They may drift toward the cities in search of better employment, which the cities may not have to offer, and become "internal rural refugees" as Lerner puts it. (7:67)

The implications of providing higher education to a large number of rural illiterate adults might first be discussed in conferences and a few experimental schools be set up to study the results.

9. Development of an instrument to measure the facets of motivation of the illiterate adults.

We have discussed earlier the factor of high drop-out from adult literacy classes. One factor contributing to this situation might be the lack of knowledge on the part of the teacher and the agencies about the different facets of motivation of the adult learners. How high actually is his desire to become literate? How useful does he consider literacy to be to him? Does he think that it is easy for him to become literate, or does he consider it an impossible uphill task?

Our Indian experience shows that the illiterate finds it rather difficult to verbalize his feelings about learning to read. Generally, he comes out with stock answers like, "We are animals; we will become human beings," "An illiterate person is blind," "Useful! It is full of usefulness," and so on. Such answers perhaps give little insight to the teacher into the minds of the illiterate adults.

A proposed instrument and suggested directors for eliciting the responses on it are given in Appendix I. The advantage of the instrument seems to be that it does not require verbalization and, if the illiterate can follow the instructions, it is likely that the responses as given by him indicate better the intensity of his interest and capacity to learn.

We see the following uses of the instrument and the results obtained:

(1) The instrument might be used during the "preparatory" or the "contact" stage of the literacy drive. The knowledge about those who do not express high motivation or see high use of literacy or consider it a very difficult skill to acquire can either be used:

   (a) to intensify the effort to stimulate motivation, concentrating on this section of the population, or,

   (b) the starting of the class might be postponed in areas where the number of such persons is high till the people develop a higher desire to learn.

(2) During the process of administering the instrument, the teacher will have the opportunity to know his would-be students much better and can utilize the knowledge in class teaching. For example, he might be more careful in giving difficult assignments to a student who already feels that it is very difficult to become literate though he has a high desire to become literate and considers literacy highly useful. On the other hand, a student who has high desire, considers that it is highly likely for him to become literate, and that it is not so difficult to acquire the skills, might be given challenging assignments.

(3) It might have an indirect educational value in the sense that the would-be students might become prepared, at least to some extent, to follow instructions before they start formal learning in the class.

(4) The agency might include a few true success stories in the text books, or include them often in periodicals and supplementary materials to boost up morale if it finds that most of the students have a high desire to become literate and consider literacy highly useful but are rather doubtful of their abilities.

(5) If the instrument is administered by the teachers, while they are under training, the trainers, too, will have a better idea of the learning interests of the would-be students and the training can be given in more realistic situations.

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Appendix A

Estimated population and extent of illiteracy in the world, around 1950, by countries and region.

Appendix A

Estimated population and extent of illiteracy in the world, around 1950, by countries and region.

Continent and region	Estimated Population		Estimated Extent of illiteracy	
	Total (all ages)	Adult (15 years old and over)	Percent of adult illiteracy	Number of adult illiterates
	Million	Million		Million
World total	2,496	1,587	43-45	690-720
Africa	198	120	80-85	89-104
North Africa	65	40	85-90	34-36
Tropical and South Africa	134	80	80-85	64-68
America	330	223	20-21	45-57
Northern American	168	126	3-4	4-5
Middle America	51	30	40-42	12-13
South America	111	67	42-44	28-29
Asia	1,376	830	60-65	510-540
South West Asia	62	37	75-80	28-30
South Central Asia	466	287	80-85	230-240
South East Asia	171	102	65-70	68-72
East Asia	677	404	45-50	180-200
Europe	393	293	7-9	22-25
Northern and Western Europe	133	102	1-2	1-2
Central Europe	128	96	2-3	2-3
Southern Europe	131	95	20-21	19-20
Oceania	13	9	10-11	1
U.S.S.R.	186	112	5-10	6-11

UNESCO, World Literacy at Mid-Century, p. 15.

Appendix B

Extent of illiteracy and average number of students per adult literacy class in various countries.

Extent of illiteracy and average number of students per adult literacy class in various countries. Appendix B

Countries Reporting	Estimated Total Population		Percentage Illiterate Adults	Adults attending Literacy Classes			Number of Classes		Av. No. of students per class
	1953	1960		Total	Men	Women			
Afghanistan		13,800,000	85%	5,800	4,800	1,000	145		40
Argentina	18,400,000	20,006,000	13.6% (1950)	15,003	40,047	10,956	800		64
Belgium	8,778,000	9,153,000					8	(Army)	
Bolivia	3,147,000	3,462,000	60% (1960)	127,703					
Bulgaria	7,346,000	7,867,000	11.2% (1956)	19,291			2,326		8
Cambodia		4,952,000	37-45%	27,484	8,325	19,159	3,662		7.5
Cameroon	3,863,000	4,092,000							
Canada	14,845,000	17,814,000	2.2% (1959)						
Ceylon	8,290,000	9,617,000	23.8%	2,000-3,000	1,000-1,500	1,000-1,500	157		19
China (Taiwan)	8,261,000	10,612,000	15.5%	13,573			498		27
Costa Rica	884,000	1,171,000	21-24% (1950)	553	348	205			
Cuba	5,876,000	6,797,000	17.7% (1961)	698,493					
Cyprus*	506,000	563,000	5-7%	1,117	615	502	224		5
Ecuador	3,464,000	4,317,000	44% (1950)	6,067			485		12
Fed. of Malaya	5,613,000	6,909,000	49% (1957)	172,564	105,840	66,724	6,163		28
France	42,652,000	45,542,000	3.4%						
French Guiana	27,000	31,000		220			7	Schools	
Ghana	4,478,000	6,691,000	90% (1948)	7,735			1,495	(1960)	5
Greece	7,817,000	8,327,000		46,838	27,714	19,174	1,544		30
Guadeloupe	223,000	270,000							
Haiti	3,227,000	3,505,000	90%						
Hungary	9,604,000	9,999,000	058% (1960)	1,719	1,117	602			
India	378,329,000	432,567,000	73.3% (1961)	1,257,640	1,080,056	177,584	47,963	(1959)	25
Indonesia	79,500,000	92,600,000	39%	4,801,213	2,736,312	2,064,901	48,051		100
Iran	17,476,000	20,182,000	80% (1961)	416,556			9,423		44
Israel	1,651,000	2,114,000	33.7%	10,000	2,000	8,000	780	(Hebrew)	13
Italy	47,533,000	49,361,000	8% (1961)	244,431	149,022	95,409	29,465		8
Jordan	1,360,000	1,695,000	30%	1,250	1,000	250	230		5

Countries Reporting	Estimated Total Population		Percentage Illiterate Adults	Adults attending Literacy Classes			Number of Classes	Av. No. of students per class
	1953	1960		Total	Men	Women		
Madagascar	4,502,000	5,393,000						
Martinique	234,000	277,000		100				
Mexico	28,056,000	34,923,000	35%	142,961	77,198	65,763	11,847	12
Neth. New Guinea	700,000	735,000	15-100% varies by area	1,300	800	500	40	32
Niger	2,166,000	2,870,000						
Nigeria	30,803,000	35,091,000	58% (1950)	405,488			13,307	31
Pakistan	81,159,000	92,727,000	84.7% (1961)					
Panama	875,000	1,055,000	28.3% (1950)	10,132	6,000	4,132		
Philippines	21,211,000	27,500,000	25% (1957)	15,047			265 (1957)	57
Poland	26,255,000	29,703,000		5,388			443	12
Ruanda-Urundi	4,144,000	4,901,000		434,491				
Saudi Arabia		6,036,000					323	
Singapore	1,192,000	1,634,000	52%	10,902	6,792	4,110	632	17
Somaliland (Fr.)	65,000	67,000	50%	270	185	35	8	34
Southern Rhodesia	2,530,000	3,070,000	40%	13,446	11,234	2,703	123	109
Spain	20,528,000	30,128,000	9.7% (1960)	182,000			12,957 (1960)	14
Sudan		11,770,000	90% (1960)	32,781	25,093	7,688	1,231	26
Surinam	202,000	270,000	10%					
Togo	1,041,000	1,440,000		1,500	300	1,200	70	21
Tunisia	3,758,000	4,168,000	65-70%	18,262	14,232	4,030	102	179
Turkey	22,818,000	27,561,000	68%	317,600	228,496	84,104	17,860	19
UAR	2,203,000	25,929,000	70%	58,487	52,657	5,830	1,635	41
United States	160,261,000	180,670,000						
Uruguay	2,528,000	2,827,000	5.11%	69,244				
Venezuela	5,442,000	7,524,000	18.4%	126,700	82,454	44,246	3,182	40
Viet-Nam (Rep. of)	9,766,000	14,100,000	10% (1961)	209,514	95,058	144,456	9,032 (1961)	23

* Excludes Armed Forces.

Cource: UNESCO, World Campaign for Universal Literacy.

Appendix C

Showing the standard of literacy and the period of teaching in some of the literacy drives and the standard recommended by UNESCO.

Appendix C

Showing the standard of literacy and the period of teaching in some of the literacy drives and the standard recommended by UNESCO.

Country	Program	Standard	Teaching Period	
			month (approx.)	hours
Brazil	1947 campaign (53)	The ability to read on everyday problems of health, work, spiritual, civic and economic life.	2-6	48-144*
Cameroons	------ (40)	(Teaching to read and write English.)	18-24	
Cuba	The Decree of Aug., '50 establishing night schools (54)	Type A schools in sparsely populated areas--2½ hours instruction daily in reading and writing, grammar, and syntax, arithmetic, elementary natural and social sciences.	3rd grade level	
		Type B schools in thickly populated areas--2½ hours inst. daily. All subjects in Type A plus anatomy, physiology and hygiene, manual art and applied drawing.	5th or 6th grade level	
Guatemala	The state of Jutiapa literacy campaign 1955 (32)	a) Completion of the sixth booklet. Successful students will be able to read newspapers (convicts and soldiers only).	6	120
		b) Recommended for functional literacy with superior teachers and regular attendance.	11	220
India	Bombay Social Edn. Comm. 1961 (55)	-	4	132

* Usually the classes meet for an hour either six days a week or a few days in the week. We have calculated the period at six hours a week.

India	Koregaon Block literacy drive 1960 (4)	-	3	72*
N. Nigeria	1958 (35)	-		30
Philippines	Dr. Laubach 1935 (?) (26)	-	1 week	
Philippines	Scheme for 1949 literacy campaign (56)	Functional literacy, i.e., ability to read, understand, interpret and evaluate newspaper, periodicals, signs, ads, etc.; write requests, orders, familiar notices and notes, and to do simple mathemetical operations involving the four fundamental rules.	3	72*
Russia	1917-1940 lit. drive (57:141 to 150)	Systemetic teaching of the mother tongue and arithmetic up to the level of fourth grade. The schools were expected to prepare pupils for active and responsible participation in industrial, social and political life by developing their abilities to speak, read and write in their native language; to make simple calculations, etc.	10	330
Tanganyika	PARE district lit. drive of 1951 (27)	Ability to read an unfamiliar piece of prose prepared for the test, and writing of an original composition, e.g., a letter to the headman or husband.	3	72*
Turkey	1960-63 (36)	Principle topics of the primary school program taught.	5	120*

* Usually the classes meet for an hour either six days a week or a few days in the week. We have calculated the period at six hours a week.

USA	The Army Training of illiterates in World War II (20)	To raise the educational competence to the fourth grade level, which was considered the minimum standard needed to understand written instructions, orders, signs and regulations.	3	216-252
UNESCO	Opinion of experts on the question of abolishing adult illiteracy (Khatir) (17)	Functional literacy, i.e., the skills and abilities which would enable the new literates to participate in the reading and writing activities carried out by the literate members of the society.	6th grade or 12 months	
UNESCO	Unanimous recommendation of experts on literacy who met in Paris in June, 1962. (2:39)	A person is literate when he has acquired the essential knowledge and skills which enable him 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 make it possible for him to continue to use these skills towards his own and the community's development and for active participation in the life of his country. In quantitative terms, the standard of attainment in functional literacy may be equated to the skills of reading, writing and arithmetic achieved after a set number of years of primary and elementary schooling.		

Appendix D

Literacy-relapse test

Paragraphs for reading

Appendix D

Literacy-relapse test

Paragraphs for reading

1. Naru, the gardener, was living in the gardener's compound. Naru did not have fields, a garden or anything else. He was working in the fields and gardens on wages. He ploughed the fields in summer. In the rainy season, he had to sow. In winter, he pulled water with a bucket. Jai, the wife of Naru, used to weed. Pluck chillies. She did housekeeping work. Naru got six annas a day. Jai got three annas a day. At the end of the week at least they got not less than three rupees.

2. Seeing the day coming to an end, Ganu started for the station at once. As soon as he took the road he met Rama Bhousle from Shivagarhi. He also wanted to go to Bombay. When they became two from one easily, talking they started walking. Because of evening coming they stayed at a village.

3. Drinking water should be clean. At the time of sockness we drink water after boiling. Due to boiling the water, dirt disappears from the water. Diseases like cholera--plague are due to drinking bad water. Through water germs of these diseases enter our body. They grow there rapidly. Then there is a possibility of the person dying.

Appendix E

Syllabus of Training Schools for Instructors

Appendix E

Syllabus of Training Schools for Instructors

Period 1.	Overview of Teachers Training Program Lesson Planning
Period 2.	Illiteracy in the Army The illiterates in the Special Training Units Procurement and use of teaching aids and devices
Period 3.	The instructor's role in the Special Training Unit Principles of learning in STU and application
Period 4.	Principles underlying efficient instruction reading Use of supplementary materials in teaching reading
Period 5.	Techniques of teaching reading
Period 6.	Principles of teaching arithmetic Instruction in spelling and writing in STUs
Period 7.	Oral and written expression and their role in the STU Methods of instruction in oral and written expression The blackboard as a visual aid in teaching
Period 8.	The use of film strips
Period 9.	The techniques of drill instructions The use of training aids in Army instruction
Period 10.	Emotionally maladjusted men in the STU and the case study technique
Period 11.	Standard operation procedure for finding maladjusted men and their disposition
Period 12.	Testing program Use of psychological tests in the STU
Period 13.	Correlation of teaching materials--integrating the academic skills Corrective classes
Period 14.	Remedial reading Instructional problems of the non-English trainees.

Source: Army Training of Illiterates in World War II.

Prior to June 1, 1943:

Reader: a) Army Life Reader b) Soldiers Readers
Supplementary: a) Our War b) Newsmap Supplement
c) Your Job in the Army.

June 1, 1943:

The readers were replaced by "Army Readers." The experience gained in using the earlier readers were utilized in the preparation of this reader.

Materials.

1. The Army Reader

Content: A continuous story built around "Private Pete." Divided into four parts, each part equivalent to the fourth grade level. In:
Part I - Private Pete was acquainted with parts of the uniform, barracks, mess hall, and camp.
Part II - He learned elements of soldiering, acquired military vocabulary and wrote letters.
Part III - Kept his expense account and did arithmetic computations.
Part IV - Learned about the characteristics of a good soldier, the U. N., and global war.
The reader was profusely illustrated and contained drill exercises correlating reading with skills in speaking and writing English.

2. The Army Arithmetic:

Content: Related to the military needs of trainees. From concrete to abstract. Four fundamental rules emphasizing measuring and application of numbers.

3. Other materials.

(1) Our War - 8-page, richly illustrated, monthly.
(2) Your Job in the Army - written at the third grade level.
(3) Newsmap - Special Edition, weekly.
(4) Supplementary Reading Materials - Contained stories about U.N., outstanding war heroes and activities, written at the third and fourth grade level.

4. Visual Aids:

Filmstrips:

(1) The story of Private Pete - presented the basic vocabulary required to proceed with the Reader.
(2) Introduction to Numbers - supplemented and enriched the number concept - introduced in Army Arithmetic.
(3) A Soldier's General Orders.
(4) Military Discipline and Courtesy.
(5) How to Wear Your Uniform.
(6) Introduction to Language, Part I and II.
(7) The World.

Others:

(8) Demonstration troops.
(9) Actual objects and models.
(10) Sand battles.
(11) Lantern slides.
(12) Training films.
(13) Still photographs.
(14) Posters and illustrations.
(15) Maps and charts.
(16) Blackboards.

5. Guides for Instructors.

Different types of materials were prepared by the STUs for the guidance of teachers. Some were:

(1) Guides containing suggestions on how to plan the lessons and improve quality of teaching. One unit published daily a "training reminder" on how to teach better. Some produced a series of monographs providing pedagogical guidance and direction.
(2) Separate manuals providing direction in the discharge of duties.
(3) A large number of reference materials for the instructors. They served as ready made source materials covering related aspects of Army and civilian life.
(4) Number of filmstrips on how to use the Army Reader and Army Arithmetic and other materials.
(5) A series of tests to measure the progress of students.

Source: Army Training of Illiterates in World War II.

Appendix F

Number of "institutions," enrollment, and average students per institutions in different countries.

Appendix F

Number of "institutions," enrollment, and average students per institutions in different countries.

Country	Year	Type of Institution	No.of Inst.	Enrol-lment	Average No. of students per inst.
Cuba	1953/54	urban night schools	326	28,618	87
Cuba	"	rural night schools	27	533	20
French Cameroons	1954/55	primary courses	123	4,920	40
Guatemala	1954	National alphabetization	522	37,866	72
Haiti	1954/55	literacy centres	486	16,239	33
India	1953/54	literacy centres	39,965	948,847	24
Italy	1953/54	courses for ill.	7,054	161,726	23
Peru	1954	night schools	208	21,952	105
Spain	1954	literacy courses and primary courses	21,782	449,687	20
Syria	1954/55	part time schools	30	2,477	82
Thailand	1954	literacy classes	471	26,912	57
Tunisia	1954/55	public primary evening courses	49	1,390	28
Puerto Rico	1954/55	literacy courses	1,030	29,985	30
Venezuela	1954/55	alphabetization centres	808	22,424	27
Viet Nam	1954/55	public/private primary evening classes	3,106	127,493	41

Source: UNESCO, World Survey of Education 1950-54, 1958.

Appendix G

Enrollment and percentage of dropouts in different grades of the elementary school.

Appendix G

Enrollment and percentage of dropouts in different grades of the elementary school.

Country		GRADES			
		1	2	3	4
Burma	enrolled	451,314	361,662	201,114	176,153
	% dropped out		20.0	52.0	61.0
French Cameroons	enrolled	83,973	50,382	31,464	21,838
	%dropped out		39.1	62.5	74.0
Haiti	enrolled	49,217	10,810	6,859	4,258
	% dropped out		78.1	86.1	91.4
India	enrolled	7,395,270	4,402,221	3,497,013	2,886,363
	% dropped out		40.5	52.8	61.0
Malay	enrolled	200,711	157,268	129,449	103,874
	% dropped out		21.7	35.6	48.3
Panama	enrolled	28,166	33,354	20,529	20,964
	% dropped out		+18.4	27.2	25.6
Philippines	enrolled	661,790	571,060	548,378	507,639
	% dropped out		14.0	17.5	33.5
Mauritius	enrolled	20,194	13,174	12,636	10,801
	% dropped out		35.0	37.5	47.0
Tanganyika	enrolled	71,936	56,622	51,179	48,990
	% dropped out		21.3	28.9	31.9
British Guina	enrolled	32,663	13,794	13,295	11,597
	% dropped out		41.8	43.9	51.0
Jamaica	enrolled	46,048	36,839	31,408	28,142
	% dropped out		30.1	31.8	38.9
Puerto Rico	enrolled	83,963	86,030	79,926	65,841
	% dropped out		+2.4	5.0	21.6
Venezuela	enrolled	238,950	109,879	87,628	65,816
	% dropped out		54.1	63.4	72.5
Viet Nam	enrolled	105,856	83,431	70,084	39,937
	% dropped out		21.2	33.8	62.2
Colombia	enrolled	433,694	254,374	107,786	76,494
	% dropped out		41.0	75.0	82.0

Source: UNESCO, World Survey of Education. 1950-54.

Appendix H

Respondents to the questionnaire

Appendix H

Respondents to the questionnaire

Classification	A. Agencies	
S	A1.	National Commission for Adult Literacy 1225 - 19th Street, N. W. Washington, D. C.
S	A2.	Regional Center of Fundamental Education for Community Development in Latin America Patzcuaro, Michoacan
S	A3.	USAID Education U. S. Embassy Guatemala City Guatemala
NS	A4.	Baylor Literacy Centre Baylor University Waco, Texas
S	A5.	Education Directorate Government of East Pakistan Comilla, East Pakistan
S	A6.	Literacy House P. O. Singa Nagar Lucknow 5, Up, India
S	A7.	Mysore State Adult Education Council Mysore India
NS	A8.	Methodist Iban Literacy Literature Programme Sarawak, Methodist Church Malaysia
S	A9.	Adult Education Section - Ministry of Education P. O. Box 284 Khartoum, Sudan
NS	A10.	Literacy Centre Gujrarwala West Pakistan

S A11. National Fundamental Education Centre
38-A Friends' Colony
New Delhi 14, India

NS A12. Literacy Centre of Kenya
P. O. Box 12511, Nairabi
Kenya, Africa

S A13. Fundacion Alfabetizadora Laubach Para Guatemala
P. O. Box 555
Guatemala City

NS A14. Laubach Literacy Fund Inc.
1011 Harrison St.
Syracuse, New York

NS A15. Laubach Literacy Centre
Karthicappally, Keral
India

NS A16. Leadership Training Centre
Evangelical Church of Togo
B. P. 13, Atakpame
Togo, West Africa

S A17. Community Development Division
Ministry of Planning and Community Development
P. O. Box 3136
Kampala, Uganda

NS A18. The Coptic Evangalical Organization for Social Services
P. O. Box 50, Minia
Egypt, U.A.R.

S A19. Alfalit Limitada
Apartado 78
Alajuela
Costa Rica

S A20. UNLA
Plazza Della Del Lovoro - EUR
Rome, Italy

S = secular
NS = non-secular

B. Individual

B1. Mr. S. C. Dutta
Hony, General Secretary
India Adult Education Association
New Delhi, India

B2. Mr. A. R. Deshpande
Adviser, Social Education
Ministry of Education, Government of India
New Delhi, India

B3. Mr. Jagdish Singh
Member-secretary, the Educational Penals,
Commission of Plan Projects
Planning Commission
New Delhi-1
India

B4. Mr. Sohan Singh
Director, Books Program, Asia Foundation
Delhi-6
India

B5. Dr. Seth Spaulding
Coordinator, International Programs
School of Education, University of Pittsburg
Pittsburgh, Penn., USA

C. Additional Responses (The following responses were received too late to be included in the present analysis.)

C1. Deputy Director
SEOTC
Ramakrishna Mission
Coimbatore
India

C2. Department P. P. Dan K.
Ministry of Education and Culture
Bureau of International Relations and UNESCO Affairs
Djalan Tjitatjap 4
Djakarta

Appendix I

Facets of Motivation.

Appendix I

Facets of Motivation.

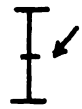
A. Desire	B. Perceived Difficulty
a1 High desire	b1 High difficulty
a2 Medium desire	b2 Medium difficulty
a3 Low desire	b3 Low difficulty
C. Likelihood	**D. Usefulness**
c1 High likelihood	d1 High usefulness
c2 Medium likelihood	d2 Medium usefulness
c3 Low likelihood	d3 Low usefulness

1. Administer these four tests to persons who express the willingness to join the literacy class. It is better to administer it when you have called them to a meeting to discuss the problems connected with literacy teaching. Have a blackboard ready at hand. Avoid unwanted crowding.

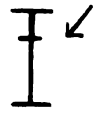
2. Demonstration:

   First demonstrate how to use the tests. You may introduce it somewhat on the following lines:
   "Perhaps I will be able to teach better if I know how you feel and what you think about becoming literate. Do you see this line on the blackboard (draw one similar to the test line). If we have some thought in our mind we can express it on this line. Suppose I ask you "How many of you want to become a wrestler?" Some of you may want very much to, some of you may not want to at all. Now look at the line. The lower you mark on this line the less it will mean that you want to become a wrestler. The higher you mark the more it will mean that you want to become a wrestler. Suppose you mark here (mark on the bb line)

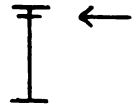
   it will mean that you do not want to become a wrestler at all.



   But if you mark here it will mean that you have some desire.



If you mark here it will mean that you have more desire.



If you mark here, near the upper end, it will mean that you very much want to.

Now ask different subjects about their desire to become a wrestler and mark appropriately on the bb line.

Ask the subjects if they have any questions.

Then say, "Now let us see if you can similarly mark your thoughts you have about reading and writing on the line of the paper I am going to give each of you."

3. Distribute test A. Let the subjects have a good look at the line. Then explain in a distinct voice:

> "You see a line on the paper similar to the one I made on the bb. If you think you have a desire to become literate mark on the line. Remember a mark near the bottom of the line will show that you have' a very little desire and the higher you mark on the line the more desire it will show."
>
> "Please mark exactly as you feel. Otherwise it will not tell me about your correct feelings and will not help me much in my teaching. Nobody except me will know how you have marked on the line. So mark exactly as you feel in your heart."

4. Now take tests B, C and D one by one and explain in a similar manner as in 3. Substitute for:

Test B - "How difficult do you think it is to learn reading and writing."

Test C - "How likely do you think it is for you to become literate."

Test D - "How much do you think reading and writing will be useful to you."

5. Collect all the test forms at the end and fill in an identification data form. Attach the test sheets to the form.

Test Form A.

Appendix J

Literacy Survey Questionnaire

Department of Communication -- Michigan State University
East Lansing, Michigan, U.S.A.

L I T E R A C Y S U R V E Y

Agency:

Address:

Respondent: _____

Title or Position: _____

1. When was your agency established? _____

2. What are its major activities?

   a. _____

   _____

   b. _____

   _____

   c. _____

   _____

   d. _____

   _____

3. How many full-time staff members work in the agency? _____

   How many part-time staff members are there? _____

4. What is the approximate annual budget of the agency (your figures will be kept confidential)? _____

5. Does your agency conduct research on problems of literacy?
( ) Yes ( ) No

a. If so, about what proportion of its budget is devoted to research?

_____

b. What are some examples of agency research?
(If you have research proposals or reports available please attach copies.)

_____

_____

_____

_____

6. Would your agency be interested in cooperating with other literacy groups in any of the following research endeavors? (Please check those that interest you)

____a. exchanging research reports.

____b. having research reviewed and critiqued by other communication experts.

____c. exchanging advice on the design of research studies.

____d. collecting local field data for other researchers.

____e. replicating studies which have been conducted in other parts of the world.

____f. obtaining assistance in the statistical analysis of research data.

____g. other (specify): _____

7. What is the approximate number of illiterate adults who reside within walking distance of an average adult literacy class?

_____ in rural areas
_____ in urban areas
_____ we cannot say

8. Approximately how many persons join an average adult literacy class?

_____

9. Please indicate the percentage of students in an average class in different age groups given below:

_____ 6-11 _____ 15-20 _____ 36-40

_____ 12-14 _____ 21-35 _____ 40 and above

10. Do you give examination at the end of the course?

( ) Yes ( ) No

11. On the average how many persons take the final examination?

_____

12. How many of these pass the examination?

_____

13. What is the total period of teaching before the final examination is given?

_____ in clock hours

14. How do you examine them? (Please attach separate sheet if necessary)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

If set questions are given please attach copies.

15. Illiterates sometimes given themselves reasons for wanting to become literate. Some probable reasons are given in the boxes below.

Out of the eight reasons, select the <u>two</u> which are given <u>most frequently</u> and write "1" in front of each.

Then select the two which are give <u>least frequently</u>. Write a "4" in front of each.

You have now ranked four boxes. Among the four reasons remaining, again select the two most frequent reasons. Mark each with a "2".

Finally, mark the remaining two with a "3." When you finish, the two most frequent reasons should be marked "1," the two next most frequent reasons should be marked "2," the two next most frequent reasons should be marked "3," and the two least frequent reasons should be marked "4." All eight boxes should be scored.

___ to be able to write their names
to be able to read and write letters
to be able to read buss and street signs

___ to be able to earn more money
to be able to acquire knowledge about their profession
to be able to get better jobs

___ to be able to read stories and other light literature

___ to be able to read newspapers
to be able to know about the happenings in the country

___ to be able to read religious books

___ to be able to read about maintaining better health

___ to be able to read about home improvement
to be able to read about care of children

___ to obtain greater prestige in the community

16. The ranking of the reasons in question 15 is based on: (please check)

_____ study

_____ experience of staff members

If based on a study, please attach a copy of the study.

_____ attached

_____ not attached

17. If they give other reasons in addition to those given in question 15, please write them below.

_____

_____

_____

18. Do you have the opportunity to study how new literates use their literacy or in what manner it effects their behavior?
( ) Yes ( ) No

19. Two reasons why the majority of the new literates cannot make use of their literacy, if they don't, are given in the statements below. Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with them:

a. The amount of literacy which they receive is so rudimentary that they cannot make much use of it in gaining information or reading for pleasure.

agree ☐ disagree ☐

b. Because of disuse a great majority of them relapse into illiteracy over a period of time.

agree ☐ disagree ☐

20. The manners in which the new literates might use their literacy are given in the statements below. If you think that they do use it, please put an "X" against the scale point you agree with.

a. They read and write their own letters.

Nearly all of them do _____
About half of them do _____
Few of them do _____
Practically none of them do _____

b. They read for enjoyment and information.

Nearly all of them do _____
About half of them do _____
Few of them do _____
Practically none of them do _____

c. They keep record of their income and expenditures.

Nearly all of them do _____
About half of them do _____
Few of them do _____
Practically none of them do _____

d. They become members of youth clubs, 4H clubs and women clubs.

Nearly all of them do _____
About half of them do _____
Few of them do _____
Practically none of them do _____

e. They show more confidence while traveling.
They show more confidence when talking to officials.

Nearly all of them do _____
About half of them do _____
Few of them do _____
Practically none of them do _____

f. They begin to doubt and question superstitious beliefs.
They become more tolerant towards others' faith.

Nearly all of them do _____
About half of them do _____
Few of them do _____
Practically none of them do _____

g. They become more proficient in their occupation.
They adopt new technical practices.

Nearly all of them do _____
About half of them do _____
Few of them do _____
Practically none of them do _____

h. They change jobs more readily.
They leave their community or village for better jobs.

Nearly all of them do _____
About half of them do _____
Few of them do _____
Practically none of them do _____

i. They modify their food habits.

Nearly all of them do _____
About half of them do _____
Few of them do _____
Practically none of them do _____

j. They begin to read the newspaper.

Nearly all of them do _____
About half of them do _____
Few of them do _____
Practically none of them do _____

k. They listen to the radio more often for news.

Nearly all of them do _____
About half of them do _____
Few of them do _____
Practically none of them do _____

l. They take more interest in exercising their vote.

Nearly all of them do _____
About half of them do _____
Few of them do _____
Practically none of them do _____

m. They begin to challenge the authority of village elders.

Nearly all of them do _____
About half of them do _____
Few of them do _____
Practically none of them do _____

n. They take critical interest in government affairs.
They become dissatisfied with the status quo.

Nearly all of them do _____
About half of them do _____
Few of them do _____
Practically none of them do _____

o. They become more demanding in their civi rights.

Nearly all of them do _____
About half of them do _____
Few of them do _____
Practically none of them do _____

p. They become more conscious of their civic responsibilities.

Nearly all of them do _____
About half of them do _____
Few of them do _____
Practically none of them do _____

21. An illiterate person may be considered "literate" according to different standards. We are giving a few standards below. You may like to agree with one of them or with more than one. We would, however, like you to check the <u>one</u> standard with which you agree <u>most</u>.

___ a. when he has acquired the ability to sign his name.

___ b. when he has acquired the ability to write a simple letter and read back the answer to it.

___ c. when he has acquired the ability to read and write the sentences of a primer or other books of the same level.

___ d. when he acquired the reading and writing ability equivalent to that of a child who has successfully completed four years of schooling plus the four rules of arithematic in solving practical problems.

___ e. when he has acquired the ability to read a daily newspaper with comprehension in his native language.

___ f. other (specify):_____

_____

_____

22. There are different points of view about motivating adults to read and write. Some are given in the statements below. Please indicate your point of view about each statement by putting "X" on the scale point you agree with.

a. Adults will not be motivated to read ans write unless their standard of living has reached a stage where it is no longer necessary to struggle to fulfill the minimum basic needs of food, clothing and shelter.

strongly agree	somewhat agree	somewhat disagree	strongly disagree	no opinion

b. Adults will not be motivated unless literacy leads to immediate economic benefits (better wages, better employment, increase agricultural produce, etc.)

strongly agree	somewhat agree	somewhat disagree	strongly disagree	no opinion

c. Adults will be motivated to learn to read and write even if literacy may not lead to immediate economic benefits as it is perceived a potential means of social status.

strongly agree	somewhat agree	somewhat disagree	strongly disagree	no opinion

d. Adults will be motivated to learn to read and write because they want to read religious literature.

strongly agree	somewhat agree	somewhat disagree	strongly disagree	no opinion

e. Literacy being a satisfying achievement in itself adults will be motivated to learn to read and write without much effort.

strongly agree	somewhat agree	somewhat disagree	strongly disagree	no opinion

f. Adults will not be motivated to learn to read and write unless schooling facilities for their children exist.

strongly agree	somewhat agree	somewhat disagree	strongly disagree	no opinion

g. Literacy being the basis of all political, social and economic development, the acquisition of literacy should be made compulsory by legal enactment.

strongly agree	somewhat agree	somewhat disagree	strongly disagree	no opinion

h. It is easy to motivate adults when there is provision for further education leading to a certificate or diploma by education authorities.

strongly agree	somewhat agree	somewhat disagree	strongly disagree	no opinion

i. Adults can be more easily motivated if there is a widespread campaign involving all persons in the community than when periodic attempts are made.

strongly agree	somewhat agree	somewhat disagree	strongly disagree	no opinion

j. The motivation of adults depends to a large extent upon the initial approach. If they are convinced that the teaching materials and other programs in the class will help them solve their day to day problems they are easily motivated.

strongly agree	somewhat agree	somewhat disagree	strongly disagree	no opinion

3. Several methods have been suggested to encourage illiterate adults to join literacy classes. Please check those you use regularly:

____a. Teachers or staff members (e.g., extension workers, school inspector, etc) try to persuade.

____b. Legal provision has been made and it is enforced.

____c. Mobile films or drama units visit the locality and give shows on the advantages of literacy.

____d. Posters are pasted or slogans are drawn on walls.

____e. Special radio or television programs are prepared for illiterate audiences.

____f. School children are requested to talk to parents or relatives.

____g. Educated persons living in the community are asked to encourage illiterates to participate.

____h. Local, existing organizations (cooperatives, clubs, etc.) are utilized.

____i. Other (specify) _____

_____

24. You might have found some of the methods listed in question 23 to be most successful in promiting participation and you might have found some least successful. Please indicate which you have found most successful and which least successful (give the letter code).

_____ most successful

_____ least successful

25. According to your conception of the standard of "literacy" how much instruction is necessary to achieve this standard?

_____ in clock hours

26. What is the minimum qualification of literacy teachers who are usually employed to teach adults?

_____ below fives years of education

_____ 5-6 years of education

_____ 7-8 years of education

_____ 8-9 years of education

_____ 10 years of education or above

27. How much training do they receive in teaching reading and writing to adults before they are employed as literacy teachers?

_____ none

_____ less than one week

_____ one-two weeks

_____ three-four weeks

_____ five-six weeks

_____ above six weeks

28. If the following materials and activities form part of the teaching program, please indicate how frequently they are used by putting an "X" against the appropriate frequency.

a. Newspapers are read to the class.

regularly_____ occasionally_____ not at all_____

b. Films and filmstrips are shown.

regularly_____ occasionally_____ not at all_____

c. Radio and TV are used as part of class teaching.

regularly_____ occasionally_____ not at all_____

d. Talks on economic and social problems are given by persons other than the class teacher.

regularly_____ occasionally_____ not at all_____

e. Talks on economic and social problems are given by the class teacher himself.

regularly_____ occasionally_____ not at all_____

f. Group discussions are held in the class on content of lessons read.

regularly_____ occasionally_____ not at all_____

g. Group discussions are held in the class on community problems.

regularly_____ occasionally_____ not at all_____

29. Some statements regarding the following class activities were given in question No. 28: newspapers, films and filmstrips, talks, and group discussions. Four statements regarding the use of these activities are given below. Please indicate your opinion about these statements by putting an "X" on the scale point you agree with.

a. These activities should not be included in the teaching program as they tend to weaken the interest of the learner in learning the 3Rs.

strongly agree	somewhat agree	somewhat disagree	strongly disagree	no opinion

b. They are time consuming and the adults don't have much time.

strongly agree	somewhat agree	somewhat disagree	strongly disagree	no opinion

c. We do not believe that they contribute much to the acquisition of the skills of reading and writing which is our main objective in teaching adults.

strongly agree	somewhat agree	somewhat disagree	strongly disagree	no opinion

d. They are very helpful devices in the acquisition of the skills of reading and writing and in maintaining the interest of adults. They should be part of the teaching program.

strongly agree	somewhat agree	somewhat disagree	strongly disagree	no opinion

30. If you agree that these activities should be part of the teaching program but you don't use them or don't use them regularly what might be the reason? Please check the following reasons which are applicable:

_____ lack of funds

_____ non-availability of equipment

_____ organizationally not feasible

_____ teacher not sufficiently qualified

_____ others (specify) _____

_____

_____

Thank you very much for giving your time to answer these questions.

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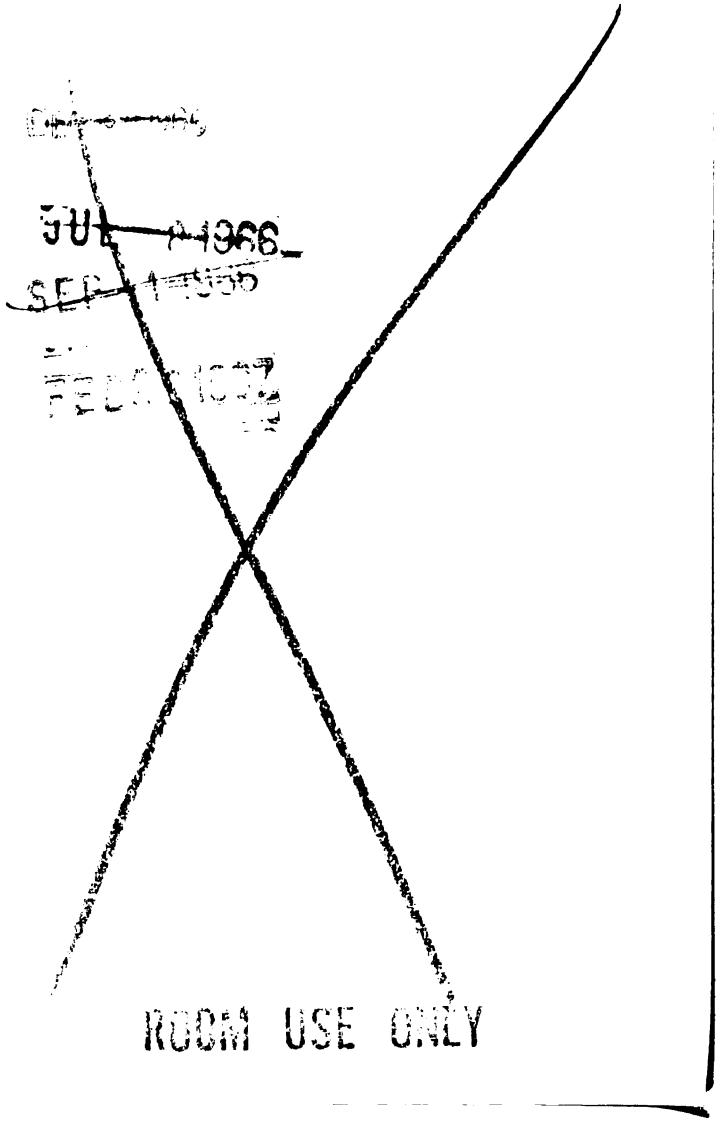

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