

**Using literacy - A new approach to post-literacy materials - Education
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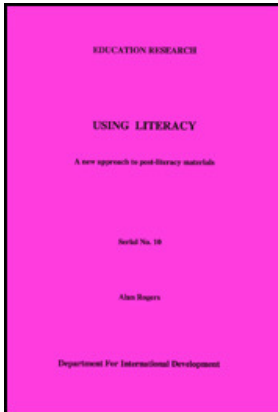


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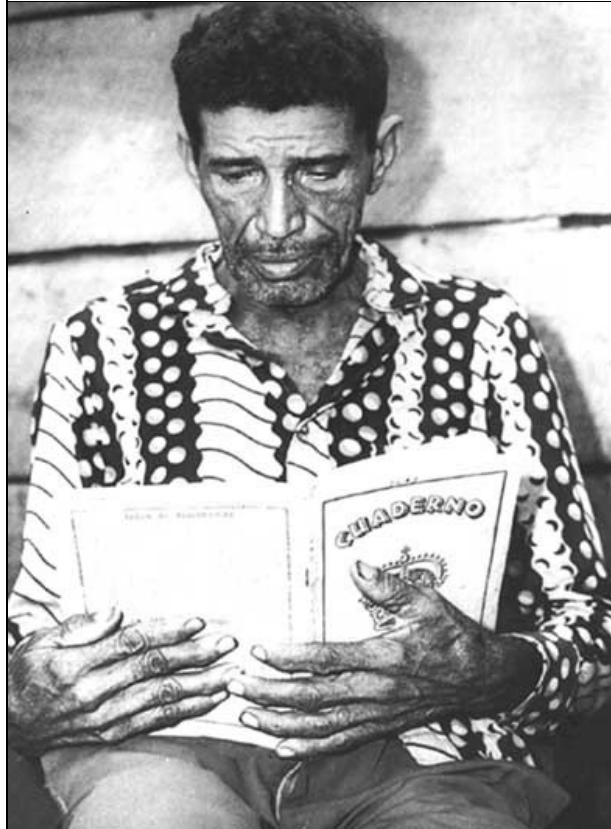
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Introduction

This report is based upon a research project into support for the production of post-literacy materials which the ODA commissioned in December 1992. The research was conducted by a team consisting of myself and Dr Fred Eade (an independent consultant in publishing), Professor Viv Edwards (University of Reading), Deryn Holland (Assistant Education Officer (Staff Development), Buckinghamshire County Council), Juliet Millican (Director of Access courses, Hastings College), Dr Pat Norrish (University of Reading), Ms Gil Skidmore (University Library, University of Reading) and Dr Brian Street (University of Sussex). Field visits were made by members of the team to South Africa, India, Germany and the Netherlands, and correspondence was conducted with many agencies in the UK and overseas. This paper therefore owes a great deal to the work of these persons and of course to others, both in the UK and abroad, with whom we discussed the issues.

With reference to the language of this report, the research team agreed that it disliked the term 'post-literacy'; the word gives credence to a sequential approach to the acquisition of literacy skills which our research indicated is inappropriate. However, we decided to retain the term in this report to indicate to those who read it that what we are talking about is that programme of assistance which is offered to

adults who have already developed basic skills in reading and writing and who need and want further assistance with their literacy practices. Any discussion of these matters will of course lead us also to discuss approaches to basic literacy instruction for adults and to matters of what is sometimes called 'continuing education'. But the main focus of our studies relates to that programme of assistance which comes alongside or which follows initial literacy teaching and which many people in all parts of the world call 'post-literacy'.

This last point is most important in relation to the case studies. These have been presented as far as possible using the words which the respondents used. They therefore sometimes contain terms and concepts which the research team would in general not have used (such as 'illiterates', 'neo-literates', or language levels and stages of literacy). To have changed these terms and concepts would have been to change the meanings which our respondents see in their work. But we do wish to stress that we do not always agree with the ideas within the case studies or the language with which they have been expressed.

All the case studies have been abbreviated for this publication. Those who wish for more detail are referred to the full report, copies of which are lodged with ODA.

Alan Rogers
Education for Development

Acknowledgements: The following illustrations are reproduced with acknowledgements and thanks to: photograph on back of title page - UNESCO; Fig. 1, *Mina Smiles* - PROAP; BOBP materials - BOBP, Madras; photograph on page

Dr P Kiirya of LABE, Uganda.



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Abbreviations used in the text

AALAE	African Association for Literacy and Adult Education
ABE	Adult Basic Education
ACCU	Asian Cultural Centre for UNESCO (Japan)
ALBSU	Adult Literacy and Basic Skills Unit (UK)
ANC	African National Congress
ATM	Action Training Model (DSE workshops in Kenya etc)
APPEAL	Asia/Pacific Programme for Education for All
ATPL-CE	APPEAL Training Materials for Literacy Personnel - Continuing Education series
BOBP	Bay of Bengal Programme (based in Madras)
CESO	Centre for the Study of Education in Developing Countries (The Hague)

CODE	Canadian Organisation for Development through Education (Ottawa and Oxford)
DAE	Department of Adult Education (Kenya)
DANIDA	Danish International Development Agency
DNFE	Department of NonFormal Education (Madras)
DSE	Deutsche Stiftung fur Internationale Entwicklung (German Foundation for International Development, Bonn)
DVV	Deutscher Volkshochschule-Verband (German Adult Education Association)
ELP	English Language Project (South Africa)
ERA	Easy Reading for Adults (Johannesburg)
ESCOM	Electricity Supply Commission, South Africa
FAO	UN Food and Agriculture Organisation
FIVDB	Friends in Village Development (Bangladesh)
GOI	Government of India
GSS	<i>Gono Shahajjo Sangstha</i> (Bangladesh)
ICRISAT	International Crop Research Institute for the Semi-Arid Tropics, Hyderabad, India
IDS	Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex
IIEP	International Institute for Educational Planning
INFFP	Integrated Non-Formal Education Programme (Bangladesh)

INFL	Integrated Non-Formal Education Programme (Bangladesh)
JCK/JSN	village reading centres (India)
JMI	Jamia Millia Islamia (Delhi)
KALA	Kenya Adult Learners' Association
KANFED	Kerala Adult and Non-Formal Education Association.
KWAHO	Kenya Water and Health Organisation
LABE	Literacy and Basic Education Programme, Uganda
LCM	Low Cost Materials Project (Kenya)
LEA	Language Experience Approach
LGM	Learner- or locally-generated materials
NAEP	National Adult Education Programme (India)
NIAE	National Institute of Adult Education (Delhi)
NLM	National Literacy Mission (India)
NP	New Participatory Method (PROAP)
ODA	Overseas Development Administration
PEA	People's Education Association, Sierra Leone
PPA	Progress Profile Approach
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
PROAP	Principal Regional Office for Asia and the Pacific UNESCO (Bangkok)
SACHED	South Africa Council for Higher Education
SIDA	Swedish International Development Agency

SIL	Summer Institute of Linguistics
SRC	State Resource Centre (India)
TLC	Total Literacy Campaign (India)
TN	Tamil Nadu (India)
UIE	Unesco Institute of Education (Hamburg)
UP	Uttar Pradesh (India)



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Chapter 1: The growth of interest in 'post-literacy'

[Concepts and definitions](#)

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There is growing interest in 'post-literacy' at both academic level and in the field.

Almost all plans for and reports on literacy programmes (India 1988, Kenya 1992, Egypt 1993) now include some statement about the need for post-literacy provision. Many programmes are producing large quantities of material labelled 'post-literacy'. This reflects a substantial change from the situation of a few years ago.

The study of 'post-literacy' is also growing. UIE has been engaged on a large scale project in post-literacy and continuing education since 1981 which has resulted in a number of reports (Dave et al 1985-1987). In Tanzania, major studies into post-literacy have been undertaken (Sjostrom 1992; see Bibliography under Tanzania). Collections of materials have been and are being built up in UIE (Hamburg), CESO (the Netherlands), and the University of Reading and SIL in Buckinghamshire (UK), and these are being used for research and teaching.

Experiments in the practice of 'post-literacy' have also expanded. The Asian Regional Office of UNESCO in Bangkok has joined with ACCU in Japan to mount probably the largest programme of regional and national workshops on the preparation of materials for post-literacy. In Latin America, there are large programmes. The German agency DSE has developed writing workshops throughout Africa, and CODE-Europe has taken post-literacy publishing as part of its programme.

Provision for post-literacy within national and local programmes is thus growing, although there are hesitations about the cost of the production of materials on a large scale.

The results of all of this may be seen in the growing conceptualisation of the field of

post-literacy (see note in Bibliography). Busy development administrators may need help to access and digest these new understandings. We have not attempted to deal here with all the issues these studies and field experience have raised but to concentrate on those issues (especially relating to post-literacy materials) which we consider helpful to donors. In general terms, we have noticed a need to cut through the rhetoric which surrounds this field as in other areas of literacy and development.

Concepts and definitions

All the most important terms used in discussions of post-literacy are context-dependent. For example, 'local' (as in 'locally-generated materials') may refer to a particular group of learners, a village or collection of villages, a local region, a linguistic group, a region or even a national programme. 'Basic education' in different contexts may mean either literacy (with numeracy), the whole or a large part of the primary school curriculum, training in vocational skills, or even a broader concept of 'those skills which are necessary for adult participation in modern society'. Thus 'basic education' may mean initial literacy in some contexts or 'post-literacy' in other contexts.

The same is true when we look at concepts and issues. 'Quality' assessments of materials are almost always made in the social context within which such materials have been produced rather than by any absolute standards of good writing, illustrations, design etc. 'Low-cost' assessments depend on local conditions and markets - there can be no absolute guidelines. Language issues are determined within a specific context: although general guidelines are available (*Guidelines* 1994), these need to be interpreted within a particular situation. Post-literacy

programmes are always based on prior (conscious or unconscious) decisions relating to language and associated matters. Gender-related issues also vary. In some countries (e.g. Egypt), no special provision for gender-related materials is made. In others (e.g. Bangladesh), gender related materials are usually confined to subject matter thought to be appropriate to women in general rather than to the differing needs of specific groups of women, and most of these concentrate on what Moser (1993) calls the 'basic' rather than the 'strategic' needs of women. All of these assumptions relating to language, gender and context need to be tested.

Given all of this, it is not surprising that the term 'post-literacy' itself means different things, even to different agencies within the same country. Like 'literacy', it usually carries two meanings - the **teaching** of skills, in this case further literacy and other print-based skills, and secondly, the **use** of these skills after the period of initial literacy instruction. The content of the further stages of literacy instruction varies greatly. For some, it is 'post-primer', for others, it is 'post-basic' education. Initial literacy primers now usually come in three or more stages (as in Kenya, India and Egypt: Tanzania has four stages), so that they now include much that was formerly included in 'post-literacy'. As these initial literacy primers have grown in the range of the matter they cover, so post-literacy materials and programmes now often include subjects well beyond the traditional limits of literacy, such as health, vocational training and political/social affairs.

The variations in meaning given to post-literacy may be seen in some of the terms applied to these materials - 'follow-up' or 'supplementary' materials, 'easy reading', 'materials for adults with limited reading skills' etc (PROAP: see below). Insofar as there is any common understanding behind all these terms, it would seem to be **the**

provision of activities and materials which are thought to be appropriate for persons with limited reading and writing abilities/experience.

Assumptions and issues

A number of assumptions can be seen behind these terms and practices: these have been often debated but there is no common agreement on them. Two in particular stand out.

1. Staging

The word 'post-' in 'post-literacy' strengthens the idea of successive stages in literacy learning. Some are hesitant about the word 'stages', preferring instead to talk about a continuum of adult/continuing education. But almost all our respondents and case studies see literacy in terms of several (sometimes distinct, sometimes overlapping) phases leading from a state of being illiterate to being literate. Bholá (1980) speaks of illiterate; pre-literate; literacy instruction in stages; post-literacy in stages; independent learner; and finally participant. UIE (Dave et al 1985; Ouane 1988) has elaborated this, and their view has spread widely. PROAP speaks of adults as progressing through overlapping stages of literacy and continuing education (with post-literacy as the first of several successive stages of adult education) and on into the formal system of education (see Fig. 1 p5 below). Other stages have been posited.

For most practitioners, there is a more or less distinct post-literacy phase. It would seem to have a relatively clear starting point - the end of the initial or primer-based

literacy instruction, which of course varies from country to country. The end point of post-literacy is more indeterminate. We have noticed a tendency for programmes to 'grab a bit more of the shoreline' as time goes on. The notion of 'being literate' in this context is wider than simply being able to read, write and calculate. It includes the idea of 'being educated', being independent. Often post-literacy programmes include a wide curriculum. Tanzania for example includes health and political education; Bahrein includes Arabic, Maths, English, religious studies, social studies, science, and health education in a two-year programme. In these cases, post-literacy comes to mean the whole of the primary school curriculum and even more.

Many agencies do not distinguish between 'post-literacy' and 'continuing education'. Where such a distinction is drawn, 'continuing education' would seem to refer to those learning programmes designed to obtain for the learner access into the formal system of education and/or to cover the same curriculum as the schools, while 'post-literacy' refers to those subjects which are specifically adult in their orientation including social and economic development issues.

2. Goals of post-literacy

This raises the other basic issue, the goals of post-literacy. Once again the stated purposes of post-literacy provision vary:

a) For some, the main purpose is to consolidate and if possible extend the literacy skills in order to "prevent relapse into illiteracy". Many people have argued that a post-literacy programme is an essential ingredient of a permanent literacy campaign.. "Successful countries like China and Russia embarked on post-literacy

programmes, while countries lacking such programmes as Ecuador. had a gradual decline of literacy" (Bwatwa 1977 p15): "the relatively successful campaigns are in fact normally distinguishable from the failures by the emphasis they place on post-literacy" (Cairns 1989, cited in McCaffrey and Williams 1990 p 15).

b) Others see post-literacy programmes as an opportunity to purvey developmental messages: "literacy creates and post-literacy reinforces the possibility for new literates to have access to information, to decisions and responsibilities concerning their own development" (Kessi 1979 p5).

c) Others see post-literacy as helping the learners to participate in political or social life as critical citizen, alert customer or aware voter. In South Africa, for example, massive inputs of materials on voter education have been provided.

Such variations of goals will of course influence the contents of the programmes and the materials.

Two concepts have been of particular significance for helping to determine the goals of post-literacy, independent learning and access.

Independent learners: Most writers on and practitioners of post-literacy see the over-riding goal as the promotion of independent learning. But this phrase is once again variably defined in different contexts - as the ability to learn on one's own, or the process of learning to be independent, or the creation of a permanent reading habit etc. There are divergent views between those who hold that post-literacy activities are essentially individual and those who hold that they can best be

undertaken in a group. It is significant that the stress is laid on independent **learning** rather than on the independent **use** of literacy skills. We would point out that real rather than rhetorical independent learning - that is, individualised learning without the help of a learning group or teacher - will carry implications for the role of the providing agency and for the dissemination of materials (on learning, see p40 below).

Virtually all agencies engaged in post-literacy report that the gap between what is achieved by the end of the primer-based literacy programme (even in three or more stages) and the ability to 'learn independently' is too big for adult learners to proceed from the one to the other without further assistance. What is equally clear is that primer-based literacy instruction tends to encourage dependency of the learner on the teacher and the text. Some different process is needed to discourage such dependency and to promote 'independence in learning'. This programme of further assistance and declining dependence is what many people mean by post-literacy. We note from our field studies however that many post-literacy programmes are becoming more prescriptive and more like formal education and are thus discouraging rather than encouraging real independence.

Access: Several agencies see post-literacy as providing access into formal education (some form of primary or secondary schooling), as bridging the gap between the levels achieved by the end of the literacy programme and the standards needed to enter school. Others however point out that only a very small minority of adult learners in literacy classes have any intention of proceeding into formal education; the bulk of those who learn literacy skills as adults intend it to be of immediate use in their existing way of life rather than of future use in some

changed way of life.

This last point suggests that although many of those who plan and provide post-literacy programmes claim to know what the goals of the learners are, there may well be less appreciation of the real literacy needs, understandings, perceptions and practices of the participant learners. Existing literacy practices and perceptions are rarely considered in depth when planning literacy programmes except at a very generalised level ("all villagers.." or "all women.." need this or that). This is particularly true when expressing the purposes of post-literacy. Thus Bhola (1980) summarises the goals of post-literacy as the retention of literacy, second-chance formal education, the systematic integration of literacy and developmental goals, and socialisation for the ideal society. It would seem clear that these are the goals of the providers, not necessarily those of the learners which would normally be more immediately instrumental. Local surveys of literacy perceptions are still rare, and local surveys of existing literacy practices are even rarer, although some are beginning to emerge (and where they exist are usually confined to reading rather than writing practices). Both kinds of surveys need to be encouraged.

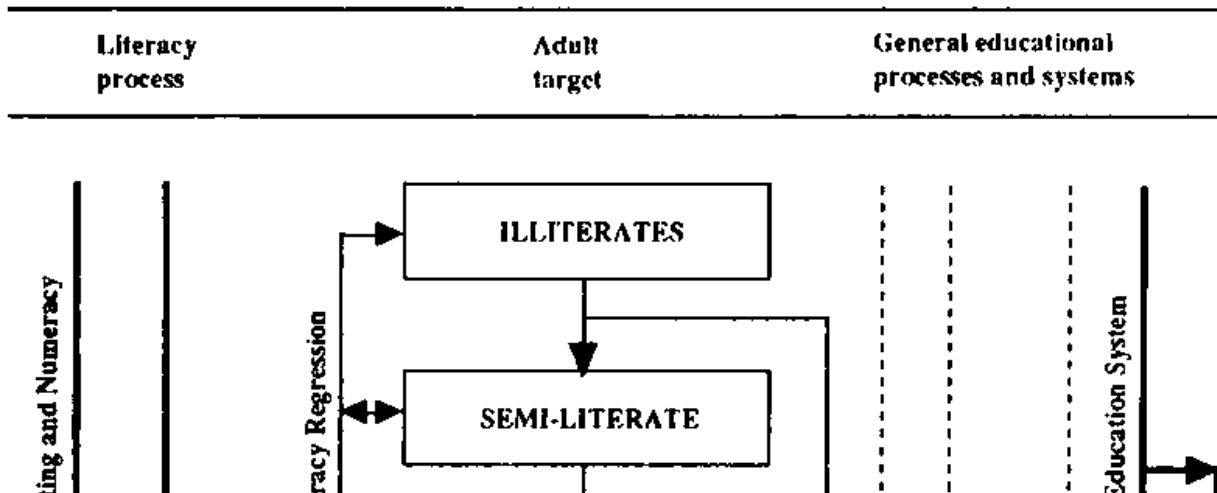
Conclusion

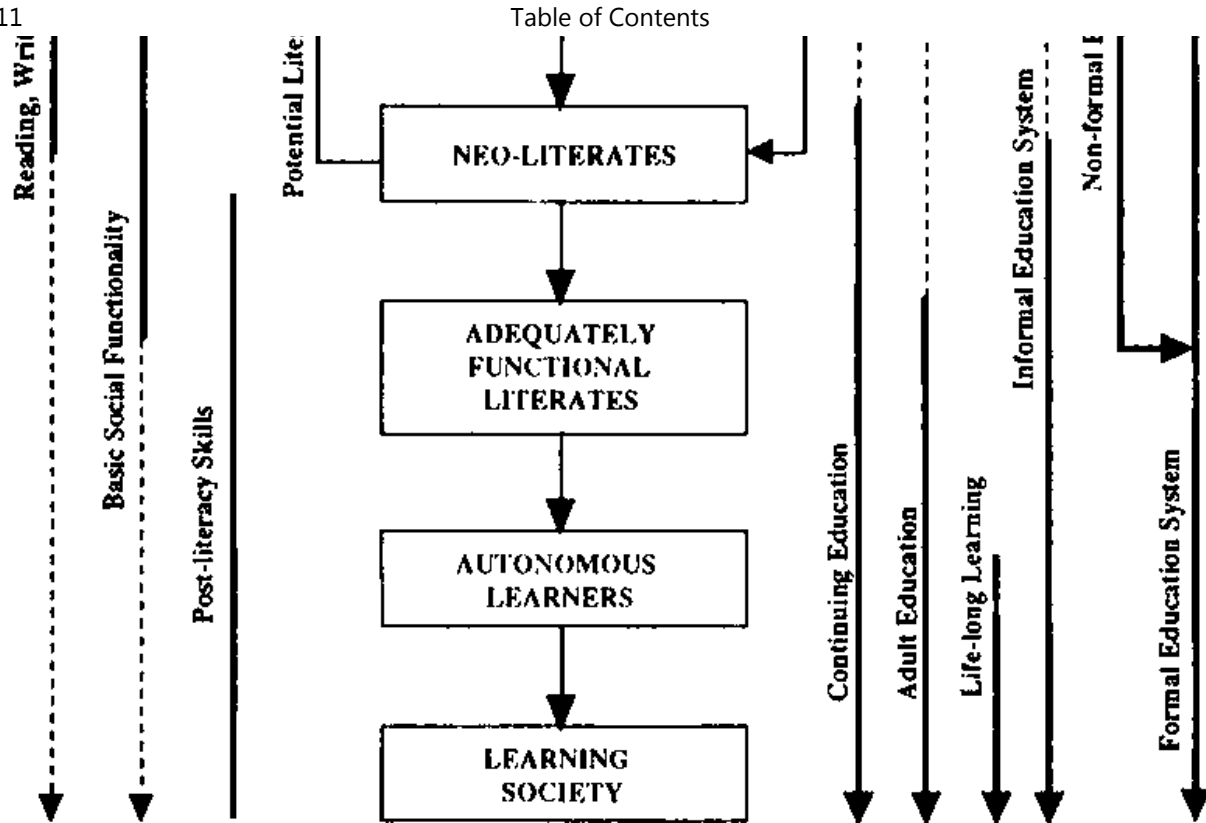
We would draw the following conclusions from this survey:

- that a search for commonly agreed terms and concepts is probably impractical. Those who deal with literacy and post-literacy need to be aware of the use of variable definitions and to seek carefully for what is implied by the use of any particular term

- that there can be no single appropriate form of post-literacy provision; it will always be context dependent.
- that we cannot assume that the goals of the providing agencies and donors will always coincide with those of the participants which will themselves vary by region, gender, status etc. An analysis of the relationship between the aims and activities of these agencies and the aims and practices of the participants should be one of the primary focuses in the design and funding of any post-literacy programme.

Fig. 1: PROAP scheme of post-literacy and continuing education (PROAP Report 1993)





LITERATURE SURVEY

Published and unpublished materials were found in the libraries of IDS (University of Sussex), Reading University, CESO in the Netherlands, the UNESCO Institute of Education, Hamburg, and DSE in Bonn. The material comes under many different headings such as Non-formal Education, Functional Literacy, Follow-Up Material, Reading Materials etc, as well as 'Literacy', since many libraries have no key term 'post-literacy'.

The largest amount of research material comes from Tanzania; this is often used as a model for others (e.g. Kenya) but evaluations of this programme (CESO/SIDA 1992; IIEP 1992) have been critical and contain many warnings. The same difficulties facing the mounting of literacy programmes also face research, so the findings are often based on very thin evidence.

A study of this material shows:

1. Post-literacy is now regarded as an essential element in most literacy campaigns or programmes. It is thought to be needed to prevent relapse into illiteracy, to convey new ideas and messages, to change attitudes, to increase literacy skills (mainly reading), and to promote participation in community development.
2. The material is full of normative assumptions and judgments which make it difficult to distinguish what is from what the author feels should be.
3. Most programmes view 'post-literacy' as part of a continuum. Nevertheless, there is much discussion of different levels of post-literacy materials.

4. There is much rhetoric about involving 'participation' but the reality does not always bear this out. Many projects are top-down unidirectional attempts to impart information, particularly of an extension kind, to supposedly 'backward' villagers. The difficulty of reconciling on the one hand the rhetoric of materials being locally focused and adaptable with on the other hand the promotion of central often scientific agency messages is a further subject for debate.

5. Nevertheless, several reports and handbooks describe ways of getting local involvement in the design and planning of materials such as newspapers (mainly monthly because of lack of resources), especially as an antidote to top-down and demeaning views of local culture. Locally generated materials (LGM) activities emerge in relation to literacy or development aims rather than as a journalistic venture. LGM have limited circulation because of distribution problems, are usually sponsored by a development agency or government department and depend on subsidies. LGM writing projects rarely seem to last long and are very vulnerable.

6. Other media than print is used to support post-literacy work - e.g. radio, film, audiovisual, posters, games, puppet plays etc. For some, this material will reinforce and stimulate flagging literacy campaigns; for others, this is a way of getting messages over more directly. There is some discussion about the cultural appropriateness of 'visual literacy'.

7. There is increasing discussion of cultural issues, especially whether any medium can be used for post-literacy or whether media proposed by international and national agencies will lead to local rejection. The UIE research programme is aimed at finding innovatory ways of using local cultural resources, avoiding the welfare

model of literacy.

8. There is considerable concern about language and gender issues. Most post-literacy materials appear to be in standardised rather than local languages. Kenya, for example, uses local languages in initial literacy campaign primers, whereas the post-literacy materials will be in KiSwahili. Evaluations indicate that these materials are not always gender sensitive.

9. Most post-literacy materials production is dependent on outside funding and infrastructure and is vulnerable to economic or political change.

10. The writer workshop has emerged as the main focus for materials production for post-literacy work; they combine central expertise and infrastructure with local knowledge and skills. The two main models are

- a) UNESCO PROAP/ACCU Regional and National Workshops
- b) DSE 'Action Training Model' (ATM) especially in Kenya.

Both try to test the materials they produce in the field but there are limitations to the effectiveness of this testing.

11. The dissemination phase is nearly always seen as the main bottle-neck.

12. There is very little in the material on writing. Almost all the emphasis is on reading materials, except for the Zimbabwe Community Writing Project where the materials were produced by community leaders and grass roots development workers rather than by the learners, and LGM projects where learners themselves

are encouraged to write. Surveys of background reading habits are becoming more frequent.



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Chapter 2: Materials for post-literacy

1. Special materials:
 2. 'Real' materials
 3. Access to and use of these materials
-

Post-Literacy Programmes: There is in all the countries we visited provision for post-literacy. Much of this takes the form of the production of special materials for post-literacy, but several of our correspondents prefer to speak of 'post-literacy activities'. In Tanzania, for example, post-literacy provision is seen as compassing not just evening classes but also urban and rural libraries, folk development colleges, radio programmes, films, correspondence studies and zonal newspapers. Post-

literacy materials are intended to support these activities.

Where post-literacy classes are held, as they are in most countries, the number of participants is only a fraction of those engaged in initial literacy classes. In India, this is formally recognised in that post-literacy classes are held in clusters of centres (classes) so as to make the post-literacy groups viable. Some agencies report that women are more likely to continue in their learning than men, but others report the opposite.

Post-Literacy Materials: In every country there are many materials which can be used for the practice of literacy. These materials fall into two main groups, special and 'real', each of which may be sub-divided:

1. Special materials:

Characteristics

Enhancing literacy skills:

Language:

Writing workshops:

Locally generated materials (LGM):

Low cost materials:

a) post-literacy materials: those which have been produced by literacy agencies specifically for activities planned to follow the primer-based literacy instruction.

b) easy reading materials: those which have been produced by non-literacy agencies for use in post-literacy situations or for more general use by persons with limited literacy skills such as newspaper corners or supplements for 'neo-literates', easy reading booklets.

2. 'Real' materials:

c) extension materials: those which have been produced by extension and other agencies in development programmes to accompany their own programmes

d) 'ordinary' materials: those which have been produced by a multiplicity of agencies for use in the community without any consideration for the literacy experience of those who may use them. We have called these 'ordinary' materials to distinguish them from the other 'extraordinary' or 'special' materials. This is by far the largest category but also the most under-used in post-literacy activities.

In most countries, there is a feeling that there is a lack of appropriate materials for post-literacy. Roy (1967) is not alone in stating that the major bottleneck facing literacy campaigns in the Third World is "the unavailability of suitable reading materials for new literates". We suggest this is due more to resource myopia than to a genuine lack of such materials. In most cases the materials exist; but they are not always seen as being educationally relevant. We acknowledge that in some societies, especially in areas of minority languages, there is a lack of such materials, but in general this reflects socio-political realities such as language policies or suppressed ethnic diversities rather than any failure of literacy or other agencies to provide such materials.

Large amounts of materials are produced by literacy and other agencies for use in post-literacy activities. These generally consist of two kinds, in part reflecting their different origins. Some are prepared for use in classes (post-literacy primers and readers). Others are prepared, often by non-literacy agencies, for readers to use on their own at home. They include 'easy reading' magazines, newspapers, and booklets with 'simple' texts which are often printed in a larger typeface and intended particularly for 'new readers'.

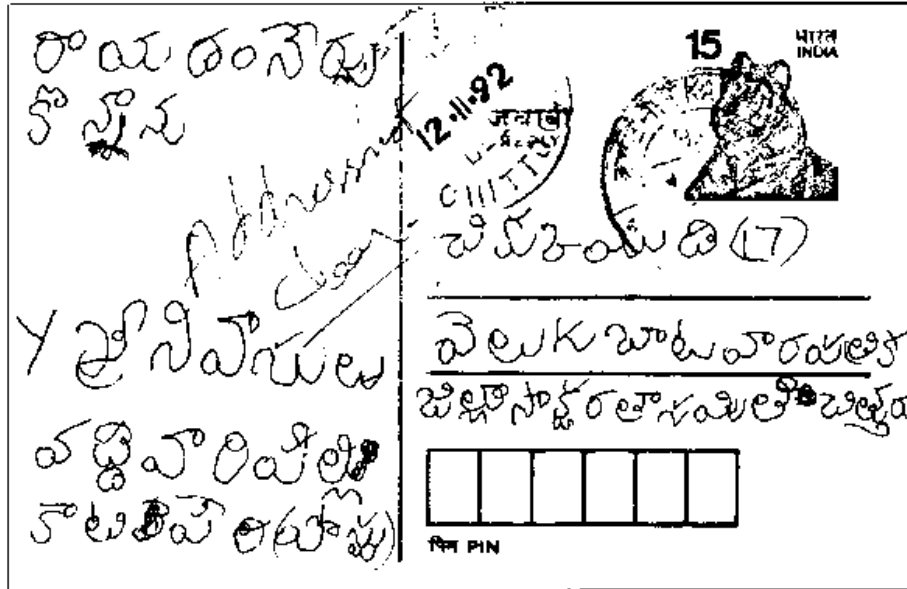
We provide below examples of these different kinds of materials drawn from case studies examined during the research project and from the literature review. An example of post-literacy materials is found in the work of the State Resource Centre, Madras and other agencies of the Indian Total Literacy Campaign. An example of easy reading materials is *Learn With Echo* in South Africa.

Copies of postcards written by students in post-literacy classes in Chittoor District, AP India (Figure 1)

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రావ చంద్రయ్య

Copies of postcards written by students in post-literacy classes in Chittoor District, AP India (Figure 2)



Characteristics

Contents: The bulk of this material is designed to carry developmental messages. This is justified by field research by bodies such as JMI in India which tends to yield results indicating that 'learners' wish to read material which is deemed to be useful. There are however indications that some adult readers wish to read mainly for pleasure, and materials, especially magazines, have been designed primarily for this purpose (see ERA, South Africa p14 below).

**1a: Post-Literacy Materials (i):
THE TAMIL NADU STATE RESOURCE CENTRE (SRC), MADRAS**

Each State in India has one or more SRC; the main functions are to help the agencies with materials production, training and monitoring and evaluation. Apart from initial literacy primers produced (as everywhere in the Total Literacy Campaign) at three levels, and training manuals etc, TN SRC has produced some 140 items of materials for post-literacy posters, booklets, a monthly newspaper for literacy classes and audio and video materials. Radio programmes dealing with subjects such as banking and health on All India Radio (Madras and Trichy) have been popular and materials are being prepared to go with these.

Materials are produced for a particular district of the state in writers' workshops bringing together Government and NGO experts, academics, journalists, "adult education activists", school and college teachers. The materials prepared are made available throughout the state. Instructors (animators) and learners are rarely included in the workshops, but local involvement may take the form of farmers recording local practice which SRC staff then turn into printed material. SRC is keen to co-operate with other agencies such as Ministry of Health or local newspapers, to produce materials appropriate to neo-literates but this has not always been successful. A competition was run to identify existing materials suitable for post-literacy. 750 items out of 5000 submitted were recommended to literacy agencies but it is not known how many were acquired.

Post-literacy materials are at three levels: for 'neo-literates' (post-literacy primers in three stages - only one stage has been produced so far); a second level of 'novels'

containing stories with useful information (medicines, housing etc), and a third level of 'serious magazines' and job guides. The distinction is maintained in vocabulary and size of text; the third level has 'normal' size of print and fewer illustrations to make them look more like 'real books'.

Materials are pre-tested. Most of the materials at the lower levels are aimed at women, many of the third level materials are aimed at men. Some of the stage 1 materials are planned to overlap with second and third-level initial literacy primers, sometimes using the same subject matter, illustrations and vocabulary. There is no attempt to relate these materials to the primary school curriculum. Almost all are for reading; SRC acknowledges that "writing and numeracy are neglected". The subjects are drawn from GOI guidelines for SRCs - "the daily activities of the neo-literates", health and medicine, income-generating occupations, national identity and leaders etc. Some are very popular, judging by the sales (50-60,000 copies), but the areas of greatest popularity are not immediately apparent: demand is often influenced by the preferences of the animators. SRC suggests that neo-literates ask for information, literates for story books. Vocational training is "an incentive for involving the learners in post-literacy".

The material is entirely rural SRC argues that urban learners come from rural areas and that there are enough materials in towns for these learners. On one occasion, material had to be withdrawn because the subject matter (land issues) offended the State Minister of Education. All materials are produced in standard Tamil.

Materials are printed 2000 at a time and reprinted as needed. Copies are supplied to local reading centres (JSNs) at the cost of the State Department of Non-Formal

Education; others are sold at cost price to literacy agencies although a few receive the material free. We were told that good printing is very cheap in Madras. SRC is not a profit-making organisation - overheads, are not charged for this material. Design is often good and colourful by local standards, but some productions are on inferior paper. Most of the SRC materials are cheaper than other local productions but a few are highly priced (Rs8.50-Rs18; most commercial magazines are under Rs 10 per copy).

SRC indicates that distribution is their greatest problem. Although each agency is free to use the materials as they wish, normally 5 copies go to each literacy centre (class); the books are seen as a community resource, not a private possession. SRC could not handle large numbers of individual orders. SRC materials are rarely used by other development agencies though some attempts have been made in this respect: thus three staged booklets on tailoring for women have been sent to women's income-generation programmes. A monthly magazine for organisers, animators and some neoliterates is however sold to individuals for Rs 1 per copy.

1b: Easy Reading Materials (i):

***LEARN WITH ECHO*, PIETERMARITZBURG, SOUTH AFRICA**

Learn With Echo is an easy-reading newspaper developed by the Adult Education Centre of Natal University. It seeks to provide information and basic education to the "voiceless majority" through a free insert in the local newspaper; to encourage active learning by providing opportunities for inter-action; to offer non-political reading material during a time of turmoil; to establish a reading culture within the home; and to produce material for readers with limited literacy.

It is seen as an adult basic education response to high illiteracy and low education levels among black people in the Natal region, exacerbated by political violence which has raged since 1986. Using the skills of distance education and materials production in the university, the project seeks to create a learning opportunity for township readers. It is now a joint project between the university, the *Natal Witness* who publish and circulate the insert, and the Tembaletu Community Education Centre. Funding is raised through international aid, national industry and more recently the Joint Education Trust, a combination of South African businesses and black political and trade union movements. Securing funding occupies large amounts of the project's time and affects the potential for development. Funding is being sought for training tutors who will use the paper to provide assistance to learner groups.

Newspaper supplements are not new in South Africa. An early example was produced by SACCHED in 1976 when the school system collapsed owing to the apartheid boycott and subsequent riots, and this gave rise to a number of others. *Echo* however is relatively rare in targeting adults. The need for such a paper was researched for six months before the content and layout were finalised. Newspaper readers were questioned as to the topics they would find interesting, relevant and useful yet different from the didactic materials common to most post-literacy material. The insert thus produces leisure reading material that can be used as a learning resource in schools, literacy centres and training programmes.

The insert is aimed at black adults in the townships. Each page has a specific target group - newly literate adults, those with pre-school children, adults with higher levels of reading ability. Its contents include cartoon strips with captions in both English

and Zulu, simple activities with instructions to literacy teachers on how to use the activity with a group, articles on health and child-care in English and Zulu in separate editions, general interest articles (e.g. History of Natal, AIDS, Child Abuse, or Water) and an interactive page for young children to be completed with help from older family members.

The project staff work with other community development groups, some of whom write articles for the insert. Networking is seen as crucial in reaching and supporting isolated communities. Links with radio are being explored.

But there is concern that these materials are not reaching the poorest of the poor. Out of 50,000 copies weekly, half go with the newspaper and the other half are distributed free in the townships. Extra funding on occasion allows additional copies of the insert to be sent to schools, literacy centres, health centres etc. Costs are kept low by printing the insert with the newspaper.

Feedback from competitions in the insert, surveys of attitudes towards the insert (eg language, visual material) and internal evaluations show

- on average the insert is read by four times its circulation, and by predominantly black and lower-income readers; 56% of whom are women
- readers find Zulu text easier but prefer English; the project aims at a 50/50% language balance
- material written in Zulu by a Zulu speaker is more effective than material

translated into Zulu from English (the project rewrites material in the vernacular wherever possible)

- those who understand the comics enjoy these items but some find them hard to understand; some of the conventions are difficult for readers to interpret at first - a move from simple to complex visuals is more effective
- the mediation of this material (especially the comic strips) to potential readers and training of trainers to encourage critical reading are both necessary.

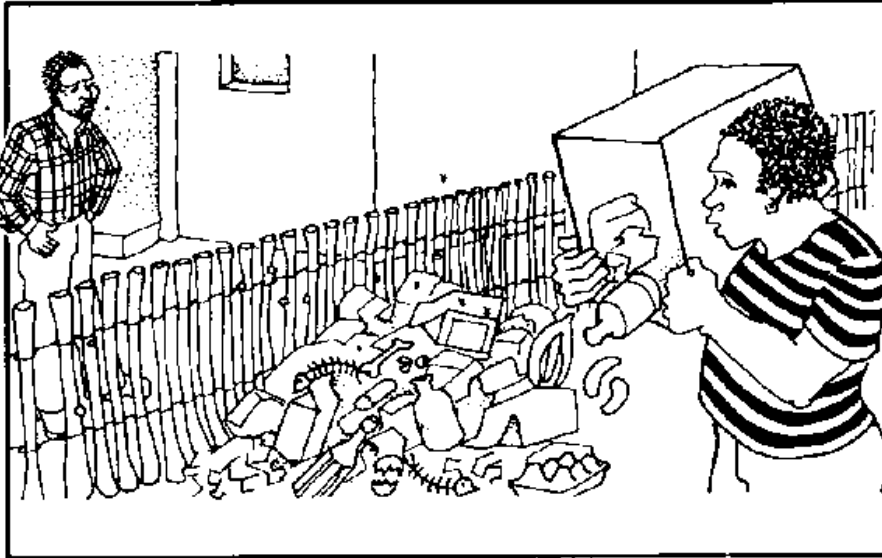
LEARN WITH ECHO

A joint Echo, Centre for Adult Education, Tembaletu Community Education Centre project.

Nr. 120 - January 28, 1993

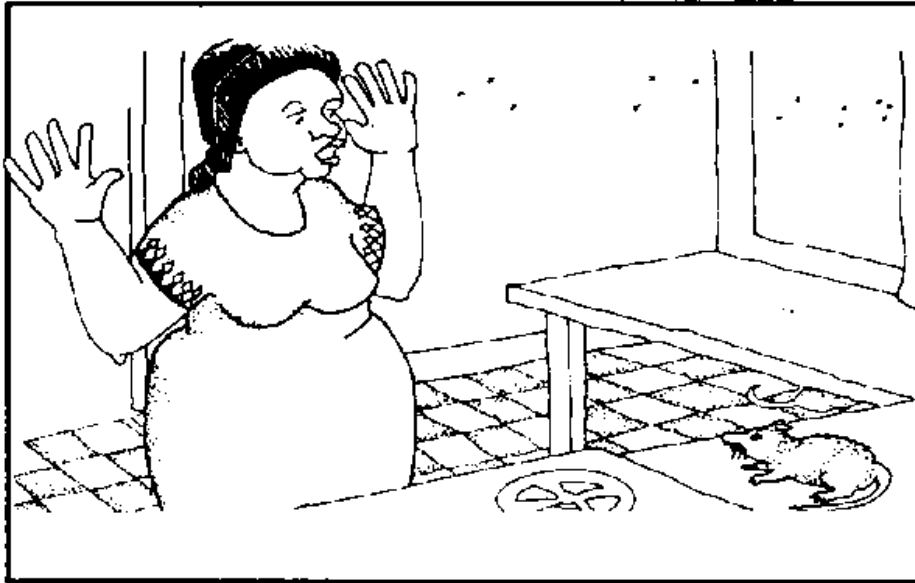
Ukufunda nokubhala - Read and write 52

1. Abantu baqala ukulahla izibi eduzane nomuzi kaMkhize.



1. People start to dump rubbish near Mkhize's house.

2. UmaMsomi wathola amagundane nezimpukane ekhishini labo.



2. MaMsomi finds rats and flies in their kitchen.

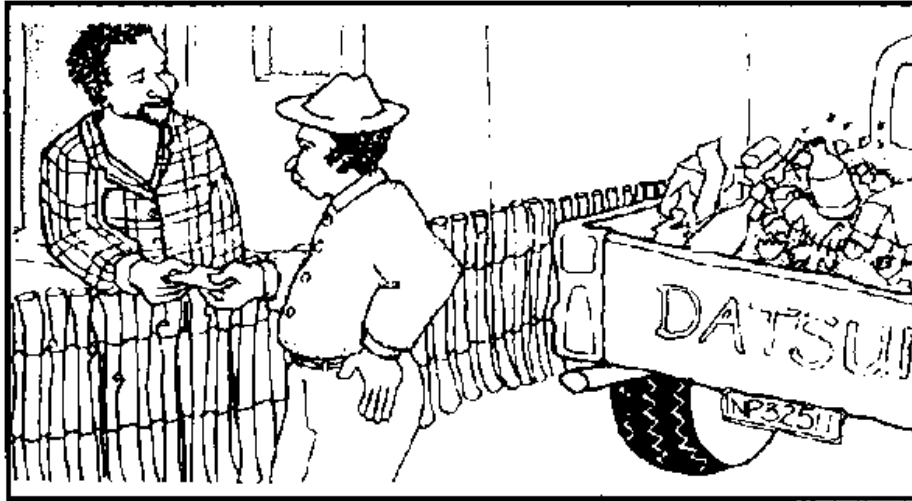
3. UMaMsomi wathola ukuthi amagundane nezimpukane ziqhamuka



kwimfucuzu.

3. MaMsomi finds that the rats and flies are coming from the rubbish.

4. Wakhokhela indoda ezoyilahla.



4. He pays a man to take it away.

Isaziso kubasizi

Funda nabafundi indaba kaMkhize. Beseke ubacela ukuthi bathole endabeni amagama asho okufanayo nalawa angezansi. (Izimpendulo zitholakala ngezansi kwekhasi)

Notes to helpers:

Read the Mkhize story with your learners. Then ask them to find words in the story that have the same meaning as the words below: (Answers are at the bottom of the

page)

1. ukuchitha		6. endlini yokuphekela	
2. imfucuza		7. impuku	
3. wafica		8. umlisa	
4. nekhaya		9. wahlawula	
5. ziphuma		10. uKhabazela	

Answers:

1. ukulahla 2. izibi 3. wathola 4. nomuzi 5. ziphamuka 6. ekhishini 7. igundane 8. indoda 9. wakhokhela 10. uMkhize

**Learn with Echo is produced at the Centre for Adult Education,
Pietermaritzburg**

Supplement to Witness Echo, Thursday, January 28, 1993 Page 1

Page from *Learn with Echo*, newspaper insert from Natal.

1a: Post-Literacy Materials (ii)
BOBP-DANIDA LITERACY PROGRAMME

The Bay of Bengal Programme (BOBP) is a Regional Programme executed by FAO and supported by several donors to work for fisherfolk development in the seven

countries around the Bay of Bengal. It works in technical aspects of economic development, social development (especially with women) and in general development outside the formal education system.

A non-formal education programme has been running in BOBP for some years, mainly aimed at institutional capacity building. In 1985, a training programme for village-level literacy animators was commenced jointly between BOBP, the State Government of Tamil Nadu and the State Resource Centre. Using the then existing centre-based National Adult Education Programme as its basis (a ten-month programme with 30 learners and one animator), a new 12-day participatory training programme was launched and a manual and trainers' handbook were prepared. New literacy and numeracy primers, learners' exercise books and instructor handbooks were compiled.

38 supporting booklets (10-20 pages illustrated, mostly A5 size) designed for use in post-literacy classes were produced by experts in writers' workshops. Learners and animators were not included in these workshops. The materials were written in English and translated into a standardised version of Tamil. It was agreed that the language should be at basic level, simple sentences using easy and common words (there was no gender policy). The subjects were chosen from the "real life" of the fisherfolk and included "the developmental inputs they should have" - information on health, occupations, the community, co-operatives, legal matters, women's position in society etc. The main purpose of these materials is stated to have been to sustain and enhance literacy skills, mostly reading and some numeracy, and only secondly to give information. The director of the project noted that "our [booklets] have only one theme and are less attractive [than SRC materials] in terms of presentation and

subject matter - they appear heavy and dry". There are few links between the supporting materials and the primers and fewer to other materials such as newspapers, magazines, radio, television, films etc. These materials were not pre-tested.

Only 6 of these booklets were however printed, four by the state government and two by SRC. Post-literacy materials did not receive as high a priority as initial materials. Commercial printers were employed, using relatively low quality paper, and a larger type face was chosen to assist the learners. The state government was the primary partner in this project, and the productions are significantly of lower quality than other BOBP productions.

The project lasted one year only. GOI adopted the training manual (in a revised version) for national distribution, but in Madras many of the manuscripts of the supporting materials were lost. In 1992, DANIDA and GOI revived the project under the title of NAEPOD (Participatory Nonformal Adult Education Project for Fisherfolk of DANIDA) and it ran until late 1993, housed in BOBP. The original primer materials have been revised and reprinted.

The production of post-literacy materials has not been included in the revived project - DANIDA has hesitations about the costs of this part of the programme. The cost of producing supplementary materials must therefore come from SRC, other donor agencies or from BOBP. Some five or six copies of the post-literacy materials which have been produced and others supplied by SRC are sent to the animators in the literacy classes on the initiative of the project staff. They are made available to the learners for loan free of charge: it was felt that learners would not be willing to buy

their own copies. The project, like NAEP, seems to be based on the premise that the first task of the animators is to motivate unwilling learners; thus an awareness programme is the first part of the activities. The classes have requested more copies which are not available. The animators have received no training in the use of supplementary materials and those who borrow these booklets to read at home have no opportunity to discuss them in class. Other materials such as newspapers and magazines are used in class.

The staff have sought to obtain feedback on this material. The material has been welcomed though some comments on illustrations led to some redrawing. There is anecdotal evidence of impact: one booklet which suggested that fish should not be purchased from uncovered stalls with flies led to a boycott of some local fishstands and to complaints about the booklets from the vendors. But there has been no formal evaluation and the supporting materials are not used in the test administered at the end of the course.

The staff of the project attempt to assess the learners' desire to read, but they note that there are no JSNs in these fishing villages and claim that there is no reservoir of reading materials in the villages. They feel that donor support should be given to the production of post-literacy materials, to the formation of groups, and to the establishment of local libraries. They also feel that all the material should be free; as they point out, villagers have access to free newspapers at the local teashop).

EASY READING FOR ADULTS (ERA), JOHANNESBURG

ERA, based at the University of Witwatersrand with close connections with the

Zenex Adult Literacy Unit, emerged as the result of a research project in 1989 into why publishers produce few easy reading materials for adults. A short story competition for adults, launched throughout South Africa, produced more than 800 entries in nine languages. Funds were raised to publish some of this material and to set up a body to promote the production of easy reading materials which it was felt are essential if literacy is to be sustained. ERA was founded in 1991 and is currently funded by Rockafella Brothers.

The aims of ERA are to promote a reading environment by encouraging the production of materials for adults which are fun, stimulating and easy to read, which do not reinforce stereotypes and which are accessible; to network with publishers, libraries and learners to facilitate this; and to catalogue what is available and to promote it widely. Some of the stories received in 1989 are still being published in newspaper supplements or as independent publications, and the success these achieve is felt to illustrate the interest in writing and reading of easy fiction in South Africa.

ERA is primarily interested in the production of fiction. It does not publish material itself but urges others to do so. Commercial publishers however have been reluctant to produce books which will have a relatively slow turnover. In addition, commercial publishers prefer to publish in English, and some of the stories have had to be translated to satisfy such publishers. ERA feels that a market exists for increased publication in African languages and seeks new ways of reaching this market. All publications promoted by ERA carry the ERA logo, intended to attract new readers. ERA has begun to act as a consultant to companies, advising them on how to make in-house magazines accessible to new readers and on the setting up of company

libraries. ERA has also assisted ELP (see p 21 below), providing stories for Active Voices, and has worked with Storyteller (see page 36), producing a story for a mail-order catalogue insert. The latter has a wide circulation even in remote areas and, providing the mail-order companies can be persuaded to carry and fund such inserts, has the potential for further exploitation.

**1a: Post-Literacy Materials (iii):
JAMIA MILLIA ISLAMIA (JMI), DELHI**

The literacy centre in Jamia Millia Islamia University in Delhi was established in 1938. It is a recognised SRC for Delhi, but its reputation and materials are highly regarded in other parts of the country. It is concerned with curriculum development, training, documentation, research and evaluation, innovations and environment-building in adult literacy.

JMI sees post-literacy as a stage after initial literacy leading to the opening up of the formal education system to adults; there is no real end to post-literacy.

JMI produces many materials for post-literacy. These are at three levels - first level 'remediation' for 'dependent readers'; second level for independent but unconfident readers; and third level for independent and highly motivated readers who could normally read a newspaper regularly on their own. The first two although used after the end of the initial literacy course are designed to overlap with initial literacy materials in reading and writing levels, so as to reinforce the later stages of the primer-based literacy learning.

JMI pays attention to language, vocabulary, the kind of words used (nouns, verbs, adjectives etc) and sentence length; and to illustrations, format and content. Work in this area is going on, for example, into size of margins, and JMI plans to produce guidelines in due course.

Almost all the materials are for reading but some experiments with post-literacy writing are being made: thus lines have been removed from the post-literacy primer, so that learners can write in their own way on the page instead of keeping to lines. Experience however suggests that learners do not like to write in books as "it spoils them". Learner-generated writing has not proved successful: "we found that they can write in answer to a question but not write independently". The cause of this, they suggest, lies with the animators who do not allow the learners to work on their own and to make mistakes which the animators feel might reflect badly on them.

The subjects are chosen by workshops of animators and learners. One animator workshop identified alcoholism as a major concern of the learners, but the learners themselves rejected this: they chose access to community resources such as electricity as their main concern. Materials on mother-child care led to demands from unmarried women for material relevant to them. JMI has established procedures to enable them to receive such demands and to be responsive; but feedback is anecdotal, not systematic.

JMI also works with other agencies such as UNFPA, UNICEF and GOI Ministries in the production of materials. Some Ministry of Agriculture materials were translated, illustrated, printed and distributed by JMI; letters which came in response to these materials were passed to the Ministry, "but we don't know if they are answering

these letters".

JMI produces some regular magazines which include numeracy quizzes etc and which provide some feedback. Films, videos, songs, plays and folk culture, playing cards etc all feature in the JMI literacy materials production programme.

JMI is conducting an evaluation of post-literacy and JSNs and learner preferences. They feel that learners should not be treated as a homogenous group but that different materials should be prepared to meet different needs. Their experience suggests that younger readers prefer story books (reading for pleasure) and older readers prefer books with messages (reading for information. Some readers suggest they go to films for pleasure while they read for serious purposes.

The main problem with post-literacy is not the preparation and production of materials but their distribution and use and the development of feedback. Few JSNs are working realistically, especially in Delhi with its high rents. Books are selected by local committees, not by readers, and some *preraks* are cautious about issuing books.

Post-literacy writing: Most of these materials are for reading. There is very little material for writing (except in Latin America where some material is specifically designed for participants to write and to draw) and not much more for post-initial numeracy. Both India and Tanzania however include 'real' writing in their post-literacy programmes, Tanzania to promote skills of greetings and dialogue and of writing official and personal letters and telegrams etc, and India to encourage the sending of postcards (supplied to the learners) to the local Collector concerning the

developmental needs of their own village.

Formats: Most of this material takes the form of booklets but other formats are also produced such as posters, newspapers and newspaper supplements, comic books, graphic novels, write-on books etc (UIE 1984; PROAP 1993).

After special booklets, newspapers are probably the most common form of such special easy reading materials (Chambers 1992). They take a variety of formats newspaper 'easy reading comers', newspaper inserts or supplements and a few whole newspapers specially written for 'neo-literates' as in Chittoor. They are often produced centrally or regionally, printed in large numbers and circulated to the literacy centres, usually on demand. Most are supplied free of charge; almost all the rest are heavily subsidised. Only in South America did we come across a post-literacy magazine (*Enlace*) which is commercially priced but which nevertheless is "oriented to post-literacy and focused on development-related issues" and in which the "participation mechanisms of the readers are effective" (Berthoud corr.).

Post-Literacy Newspaper:

CHITTOOR TOTAL LITERACY CAMPAIGN: A NEO-LITERATE NEWSPAPER

The Total Literacy Campaign in India has been localised so that each District can - if it wishes - develop its own approach and materials, subject to the approval of a central committee. Chittoor, in southern Andhra Pradesh, like many other Districts, has taken full advantage of this facility, while keeping to the general structure of the TLC. The programme is high profile, with rallies, processions, torchlight parades, street plays, its own symbol, literacy songs, advertisements in cinemas and in the

press, on hoardings and loud-speaker vans and cycles etc. Very large numbers of volunteers have enlisted and have been trained in four-day residential camps. All sections of society have been enlisted, including the press, political parties, government departments, universities etc. Strenuous efforts are made to maintain the impetus of the campaign.

A District level resource centre prepares and publishes primers, post-literacy materials, a fortnightly magazine for the volunteer teachers, and other material including publicity for the programme,

At the start of the programme (January 1991), nearly 60,000 volunteers commenced teaching some 600,000 learners; 55% were women and 75% came from scheduled tribes and scheduled castes. By March 1993, more than one quarter had completed the first three stages of the initial primer and were moving on to post-literacy.

The post-literacy stage of TLC is envisaged as a distinct stage after the end of the initial three-stage primer. It has three elements - the development of JCKs (Andhra Pradesh's version of JSNs), printed materials and classes "to retain the newly acquired skills by constant contact with, the written word", and thirdly "ongoing developmental programmes so that the relevance of learning is felt in day-to-day existence".

Classes are clustered, anticipating a drop-out between the initial classes and the post-literacy classes. Like the initial literacy instruction, post-literacy is also in three stages: a first-stage post-literacy primer has been prepared in Chittoor and the other two stages are planned, and a manual for volunteer teachers produced. More

training for volunteers and others is planned on how to increase participation in the post-literacy programme.

A range of materials has been produced. A daily newspaper *Andhra Prabha* devotes one quarter of a page every day to a neoliterate corner incorporating articles written by volunteers on agriculture, family welfare, health, education, natural resources, science etc. A fortnightly magazine is sent free to every JCK printed, like the newspaper 'corner', "in bold type for easy reading, assimilation and discussion among the neo-literates". It uses cartoons and a pullout poster. Competitions are held for local writings, and radio programmes produced.

The post-literacy primers deal with subjects such as alcoholism, family planning, land reform, intercaste marriages and the preparation of village development plans. One of the aims of the post-literacy programme is to encourage and enable the participants to write to the District Collector about village development needs. Prepaid postcards are distributed, and some of the Collectors have met with groups of learners to discuss their needs. Issues raised by the literacy groups include social forestry, sanitation and the local drink 'arrack' (about which there is major political controversy).

The noted feature of the Chittoor District programme is the weekly neo-literate newspaper. First conceived and piloted by the National Institute of Adult Education (Delhi), Chittoor became the first District to take up the idea (June 1992). It is edited, designed and produced by Mr Nayuni Krishnamurthy, a local printer, and his staff in the village of Chowdepalle. It is a single folded broadsheet, printed in large type and one colour, using computer setting, laser composition and offset-

commercially viable facilities which are available (with a generator) in this village.

The subject matter comes from many sources including suggestions from the readers each issue will contain some political news, an article on social development, a short story, a cartoon and perhaps songs and poems. Agriculture is the main focus (especially sericulture and sugar cane). Questions and answers, competitions, quizzes calling for responses by postcard are regular features; and some of the postcards are printed by the paper in the handwriting of the writers. The material is not pretested; there is no time from week to week.

The language used is a standard form of Telugu ("the local form is too difficult to read"), and criteria relating to style and vocabulary have been agreed. Although some local persons were sent to Hyderabad for training in writing for neo-literates, the paper is largely the work of one man: "I get the articles, I edit, I rewrite - finally I write the whole paper". Evaluations are obtained from local respondents and selected workers; the editor fears that the quality of the material is beginning to decline as time goes on.

This neo-literate newspaper is funded by central government through the state government. In November 1992, after a special edition devoted to the arrack controversy, the paper was closed on the grounds that it published material relating to corruption which was over-critical of the state government. The closure aroused strong local resentment ("people wrote in their hundreds - they threatened to stage a demonstration") and it became a national and international issue of press freedom. Permission to resume printing was given in April 1993 on condition of state approval of all the contents.

The future of the paper is uncertain. The editor would wish to turn this into a daily paper but some readers felt that they did not have time to read a daily paper. Five copies of the paper are sent free to each literacy centre where they are read in the group or by individuals in the centre rather than borrowed for home reading. Surveys suggest that very few persons would be willing to pay Rs 1, for it (it costs Rs 1 per copy to produce, using volunteers for much of the work). There is no rivalry with commercial newspapers since it is not being sold. Income from advertisements is not possible because circulation is limited to a very poor part of one of the poorest states of India. It is not likely that government departments would use this as a vehicle for their messages. The paper does not reach family welfare, agriculture and health extension workers in the area (with the notable exception of the breast-feeding campaign). More recently some agricultural input has come from ICRISAT in Hyderabad. While it is reaching some schools, the use of it in this context has not been assessed.

Some 9500 JCKs have been established in the District, each serviced by three 'monitors' who have been trained to run a wide ranging programme of activities such as post-literacy classes, discussion forums and village parliaments, literacy walls, meetings and study tours, as well as to keep a neo-literate bookshelf. Some monitors have acquired a wide collection of 'real' materials (political leaflets, health and agricultural booklets, posters etc) as well as the materials provided by the District TLC committee, and these are available to all those in the community who can read, not just the members of the post-literacy classes. Supervisors have been appointed and trained for the JCKs. In some places the village literacy committee members are now being elected by the villagers, and the JCKs have become the focus for the production of village development plans.

The aims of the post-literacy programme are not just to strengthen the learners' literacy skills and develop an inclination towards continued learning. They are also to conscientize and integrate both learners and volunteer teachers into development programmes, to develop community participation and a willingness to work for change, and to develop linkages with state-provided social development programmes such as family welfare, immunisation, social forestry, school attendance, and natural resource development. Villages in the District have established a women's group and a separate men's group, serviced by a local government field officer, and have obtained from the state government better-grade housing and a cattle development project.

The drink issue has become a focus of attention. On the basis of guidelines produced by the National Literacy Mission, the first-stage post-literacy primer in a neighbouring District included an article on "the evil effects of excessive drinking", and this led to direct action by the learners to close some of the arrack shops. The movement spread to Chittoor District and became the subject of post-literacy discussions. Political parties became embroiled and the issue reached the state government which intervened. The state authorities feel that politics should come into the literacy programme "but not yet, because the people may not be able to judge yet".

Funding for post-literacy is tenuous. The TLC was always seen as a time-bound activity, a once-for all campaign. Thus central government funding will end shortly and it remains to be seen if the state will continue to support it. A proposal has been made to extend a programme of non-formal schools for out-of-school youths to adults.

Part of the neo-literate newspaper from Chittoor District, AP, India

Enhancing literacy skills:

Most of these materials are designed for persons seen as 'learners'. Some are graded, since they are primarily intended to help the readers to "learn more literacy". The problems of assessing and evaluating enhanced literacy skills is one which is rarely addressed, but where it is, the tests are usually derived from primary school. In Nepal, many adult literacy materials are related to levels 4 to 8 of primary school. Egypt uses Primary Std 3 and Std 5 tests for the adult literacy programme, and beyond this, the adult learners are encouraged to take other examinations from the school system. Thailand regards its post-literacy programme as being equivalent to "lower secondary education". In Bahrein, to prevent students relapsing, the two-year initial literacy programme is followed by two years of a formal education curriculum and a final year which "reaches Year 6 of Primary Education". Equivalent intermediate and secondary level classes are also available (Bahrein 1987). Only in South Africa have we found any serious discussion as to whether such modes of assessment are appropriate for adults: the hesitancy of an adult reporting that he/she had reached the reading age of a seven-year-old, recorded in the UK (Charnley et al 1979), does not seem to feature in many developing countries.

Language:

In many countries, where initial literacy is taught in the vernacular, post-literacy consists of learning to read and write in another (usually a standardised or international) language. In South Africa, English is often taught in a subsequent

programme of classes (ELP); in India, it is either Hindi (if that is not the language of the initial literacy classes) or English. There is demand for English from members of adult literacy classes in Bangladesh. In other countries, the language is Spanish or French or the national language. Literacy cannot be taught without making implicit or explicit decisions about language; such matters should always be explored overtly before programmes are launched.

Writing workshops:

Some of this material is written by individuals - outside experts or literacy practitioners. But the most frequent method of production is the writing workshop. Some of these (e.g. DSE in Kenya) build in evaluation and feedback from potential users of the materials. On occasion, materials are produced to a formula and are then adapted to different regions (see PROAP). The materials are almost always prepared without detailed consideration of what is already available in the local community. And although the language of participatory production is used, this model is mostly top-down at the regional, national or district level - that is, the materials are prepared for the learners. The subjects are chosen by the writing groups on the basis of what they believe to be the main interests and concerns of the potential readers. The PROAP regional and national workshops take the material drafted by the workshop experts into carefully selected villages for pretesting; but the model is still one of topdown presentation of chosen material to the intended participants for their comments rather than the material being chosen by the intended participants themselves.

English Language at post-literacy:

ENGLISH LANGUAGE PROJECT (ELP) JOHANNESBURG

ELP is a national NGO started in 1982. Its two main literacy activities are producing ABE materials in English for adult classes and publishing *Active Voice*, a bi-weekly newspaper for 'new readers'.

The ABE materials consist of high quality semi-graded workbooks aimed at basic skills for urban living and for obtaining employment. They contain information on form-filling, directions in town, counting, the human body etc; and secondly stories, some of which are written by readers ("I told myself I am going to learn"; "hostel life"; "Petrus Tom Boy: his life struggle" etc). These materials are used in mixed-gender classes of 6-10 learners with a lay teacher. Training in ABE is available for facilitators. Plays, games and discussion are used in classes as well as formal class work.

Active Voice is a newspaper. Originally it was 12 pages in size and was politically active, distributed on the streets and at rallies. The political content however proved unpopular, and it now consists of 4 pages of 'current-issue' material on women, racism, religion, teenage pregnancy, teachers' strikes etc. It also contains advice, quizzes, a news summary and reader information. The print run has declined from 7000 copies to 2000. They are sold by subscription (50 cents) and are used also in literacy classes and township libraries. ELP recognise the need for better marketing - feedback indicates that the paper is popular but current circulation is low.

Writing Workshops (i):

DSE WRITING WORKSHOPS FOR POST-LITERACY: THE ACTION TRAINING

MODEL (ATM).

DSE has been involved for more than a decade in writing workshops that help local people to produce materials for literacy and post-literacy. They have strong links with East Africa, especially Kenya where a new national post-literacy programme to extend over five years is currently being planned, based largely on DSE models of working.

The workshop model has been refined over several years by Dr Josef Muller of DSE in collaboration with H S Bhola of Indiana University. The approach has been written up in a working document *The Action Training Model*. Based on approaches to adult education as learner centred and participatory that owe much to UK exponents, the model provides for in-service and block release training for middle level technical personnel.

The process consists of initial workshops of two to three weeks for exposure to issues involved in writing literacy materials. Participants prepare their own materials in draft form. They then return to their own places of work where they continue to organise their materials, testing them out in the field. A mid-term, workshop of one week to ten days is then held to share findings with fellow practitioners and facilitators and to develop the materials further. They return to their places of work again once and continue to receive guidance and supervision at a distance. A third and final workshop is held to finalise the materials. DSE is not involved with the printing of these materials.

The DSE model depends on the practitioners continuing to be in their own work

environment unlike the PROAP model where the participants visit target villages as foreigners over a very short time scale.

Even in the more elaborate programmes, when the materials are taken from the workshop to be produced more locally, they are context-adjusted rather than context-dependent. They pay lip-service to the audiences they are meant to reach. Except in a few cases such as *Storyteller* and *Learn With Echo* in South Africa, relatively little real attention is paid to the end-users beyond ensuring that the language and the illustrations are culturally correct. International or national standardised languages are used in the workshops, and the materials may or may not be translated into local languages or adapted to local usages.

On occasion this workshop design has been distilled into standardised formula, with manuals and guidelines for others to follow along the same path (see PROAP; DSE 1990, 1994). This model should be monitored to see how effective it is in preparing materials which are truly locally relevant for literacy usages; and some action research could be undertaken to see if this model can be helped to produce materials which are more culturally sensitive.

PROAP: UNESCO PRINCIPAL REGIONAL OFFICE FOR ASIA AND THE PACIFIC.

PROAP based in Bangkok and ACCU (the Asian Cultural Centre for UNESCO) based in Japan have been organising joint regional workshops on the preparation of literacy follow-up materials since 1983. In 1987, they launched APPEAL (Asia-Pacific Programme for Education for All) and ATLP (the APPEAL Training Project

for Literacy Personnel) with the aim of eradicating illiteracy from Asia and the Pacific regions by 2000 AD.

The PROAP approach to literacy teaching is strongly competence-based. ATLP sees literacy acquisition in terms of carefully structured stages within a continuum that can be correlated in a linear sequence (see Table 1 page 5). With systematically applied training programmes, which include reading, writing, numeracy skills, and functional knowledge, the competency of an individual can be developed from total illiteracy through semi-literacy to newly acquired literacy (neo-literacy). During the semi-literacy and neo-literacy stages, there is a danger of regression into illiteracy if appropriate programmes are not maintained. It is at the stage of 'adequate functional literacy' that literacy will be able to facilitate further personal and societal development when an individual can 'accept responsibility for his or her ongoing learning as an autonomous learner'. The majority of citizens need to reach this stage for a community to become 'a learning society'.

ATLP sees educational stages that correlate with these literacy stages. Formal education is unavailable to illiterates and semi-literates. Non-formal education may enable them to enter the formal education system. Informal education is seen to take place throughout life but "takes on real meaning when a society is sufficiently literate to fully exploit the informal learning resources available". Adult and continuing education both demand high level literacy skills.

One enters post-literacy programmes at the neo-literate stage. ATLP divides post-literacy into four categories of skills - reading, writing, numeracy and general mental skills. Each of these is graded into three levels of competencies. It is recognised

that at the post-literacy stage, it is difficult to define standards exactly - the table is "an indicator only". Each country in the region may wish to determine its own standards according to circumstances and needs and the characteristics of national and local languages.

Materials are prepared under a variety of headings-Follow-Up or Supplementary

Materials, Reading Materials for Adults with Limited Reading Skills, etc. The aim of PROAP's well-resourced materials production programme is to overcome what is seen to be an educational vacuum in many countries where adult education programmes have been initiated without a carefully constructed curriculum at national level. Five areas are proposed for the post-literacy curriculum fiction, biography, civics and values, functional knowledge, and culture. More than one book is needed in each of these areas. In many countries, this range of material may not be in existence, and a materials development programme is needed first.

Almost all PROAP's literacy materials, including initial primers, post-literacy readers and training manuals, are prepared in regional workshops. Representatives from each of the member countries are funded by ACCU to participate in these ten-day residential workshops in different host countries. Each workshop has a theme, e.g. To Promote Women's Self-Reliance; Quality of Life Improvement; Women in Rural Areas; Neoliterate Materials for Rural Development etc. These are decided in advance, and delegates are chosen accordingly. All participants arrive with a report on the literacy situation in their own country and the workshop opens with the delegates familiarising themselves with the literacy situations of the other workshop members and brainstorming topics for materials development.

Reading materials are written by groups in English. They are based on surveys carried out in the host country using the 'New Participatory Method' (NP). NP is highly structured and owes something to RRA (Rapid Rural Appraisal) and latterly to PRA (Participatory Rural Appraisal). Workshop delegates visit selected villages in small groups and engage in discussions with villagers; on their return, the groups discuss their impressions of the problems of the village "for about thirty minutes, each member talking for between two and three minutes". Members then write down on slips of paper ten or more of the "most crucial problems and needs" of the villages visited. The slips are then grouped and each category is summarised and the needs prioritised. A 'data map of needs and problems' is drawn up and the areas are used as the topic base for preparing the new reading material.

Each workshop group is allocated a number of themes. Short stories drawing on personal experience and suggesting solutions to the problems raised are then written in English. These are then translated into the language of the host country for field testing in the selected villages. They are then revised and compiled into a report. The prepared materials are taken home and translated into the national language, often within a similarly constructed national workshop.

The post-literacy materials developed through the PROAP method are problem-based. They aim to enable the target group to improve their quality of life, to be objective, to help them to solve problems. Audio-visual materials such as videos, working modules, and facilities for demonstration are produced in addition to books, charts, pamphlets, newspapers, leaflets, posters and flash cards.

This process of writing workshops has been distilled into guide books, manuals and

a training programme with video to encourage the production of post-literacy materials which adapt the messages and text to local interests in an approved manner. PROAP provides a model and a source of materials production.

Feedback has not been always favourable. The difficulty of reconciling the rhetoric of being participatory, locally focussed and adaptable to local needs on the one hand with the promotion of central, often 'scientific', agency messages on the other hand has been discussed at seminars such as that organised by UIE in Hamburg in September 1993. Among the reasons suggested for the problem were: that the materials lacked cultural sensitivity; that agency messages may be put over too strongly; that needs assessments may not have been effectively conducted; that materials from other agencies may not fit clearly with the graded approach; that teachers may not be well trained to handle these materials; that most of what is produced in this way consists of top-down centrally produced materials and ideas, extending information and assistance to 'backward' villagers; that the materials may reflect the functional and pedagogic interests of the programme developers; and that more attention might be paid to materials that people might read for pleasure. These materials are almost all for reading - there is very little to promote writing.

Part of *Mina Smiles*, a promotional leaflet for literacy classes produced by PROAP, Bangkok

At the pharmacy, she has another problem...



I think he is going to cheat me...



It'll be 13 dollars.
Take a look at the calculation.





On her way back home, she is passing the literacy class...

At home, JAI has already recovered. There was some medicine left. She tells him what happened in town.

JAI...I want to go to literacy class.
I had a very hard time today.
Please let me go, JAI.

What about looking after the house then?
...but, if you really want to go, MINA,
I myself and the children will help you.



Locally generated materials (LGM):

LGM is a term which is increasingly being used by literacy agencies. For some, it means 'locally'-generated materials, for others, 'learner'-generated materials (Heim 1979).

Experience suggests that projects using LGM approaches are never long-lasting. Where they exist, apart from newspapers, they usually take the form of the occasional (often one-off) production (the Zimbabwe Community Book Project ran to several volumes before it ceased). Sometimes these are generated by a competition (see FIVDB). A more elaborate project is 'Songs and Stories' in Sierra Leone undertaken by the People's Education Association (PEA) with assistance from DVV: oral material is recorded at festivals and edited and published in a sequence of publications. But this programme too has problems of sustainability (DVV 1986).

Even the newspapers, the most common form of LGM, come and go. Liberia had duplicated village newspapers in the 1950s, Niger had papers written and printed (using silk screen presses) by the villagers in the 1970s, and Kenya had many local language rural newspapers which no longer survive (Tanzania, CESO/SIDA 1992). Mali has had perhaps the longest continuous experience with a national rural press with the newspaper *Kibaru* has been supported by the government (Rudiak corr.).

The importance of the local context in every aspect of literacy instruction is clear. Post-literacy, even more than initial literacy education, will be highly context-dependent. The evidence from Nepal and other places reveals the need to pursue the production of locally generated materials, not least in those areas where language groups are small. Without the provision of such materials, these areas will be increasingly dependent on outside providers of literacy materials using standardised languages, and there is a great danger that such materials will be culturally insensitive. Except apparently in Nepal (Nepal 1986, 1993), training for the production of LGM seems on the whole to be lacking, though the UCLAP Project in South America provides "distance training of local groups in local press editing" (Berthoud corr.).

In some cases, learners have been built into the writing workshops for post-literacy - for example, in Tanzania where Chewata (the national adult education association) with AALAE has recently developed a range of post-literacy materials. The newly formed Kenya Adult Learners' Association and other learners' associations have taken the provision of post-literacy materials as one of the main focuses of their activity.

Those who use LGM approaches stress their value:

- they contribute greatly to motivation to use these materials
- they ensure a greater measure of relevance in the contents of the materials
- the production itself promotes further learning
- the processes involved lead to great increases in confidence building and empowerment
- they encourage the usage of literacy skills (see BALID 1993).

Most forms of local or learner involvement in the production of post-literacy materials have provided opportunities for the participants to help with the shaping of the materials or (more usually) with the pre- and post-testing of materials prepared elsewhere. Only occasionally are materials completely written and produced by individual learners or local groups. But evidence gathered from several places (see, for example, Banda, India, Rogers 1994b) indicates that local groups can build the editorial structure (the storyline), write the contents, determine the language and the script to be used, design and prepare the layout, prepare the visuals, and control the processes of printing and distribution in short, that they can exercise all the functions which the literacy agencies undertake on behalf of the learners. It would seem however that this kind of work is not more widely practised because many literacy agencies do not believe that the local groups are capable of doing these things.

The educational value of encouraging individuals or groups of people to engage in the preparation, production and publication of their own materials is enough to justify

these projects, even though they are unlikely to last long or to be sustainable.

LGM: THE BANDA MATERIALS PRODUCTION PROJECT, INDIA

The GOI programme *Mahila Samakhya* (Education for Women's Equality) in Uttar Pradesh collaborated with *Jal Niyam*, the agency responsible for the installation of village water pumps, to train local women in pump maintenance and repair. Once trained, the women expressed a desire for more information and materials on a range of topics. This led to the Participatory Materials Production Project organised in association with the major centre for innovative approaches to adult literacy established under the National Literacy Mission, the National Institute of Adult Education, Delhi.

The project was based on the belief that if literacy work with women is grounded in local realities and is critical, reflective and dialogical in method, it can be a powerful tool in initiating processes of women's empowerment. The aims included the enhancement of literacy skills of neoliterates by involving them in the creation of their own materials, defining the content, and writing and producing the materials. These materials in turn would help to sustain women's groups, village water committees, sanghas etc, thus creating an environment for learning, strengthen local training, and create an information base which can be used for similar work.

The project started by developing a local newsletter *Mahila Dakiya* (Woman Postman). A group of neoliterate women, mainly volunteer workers in the pump maintenance programme, and supervisors came together in a three-day residential workshop. The main purpose was to build the confidence of the participants in their

ability to write, design and create their own newsletter. Space and time were allowed to discuss and reflect on their work collectively. This shared voice was translated into text when the work of writing, illustrating, reading and editing was undertaken. Discussion, role plays, activities and games were used to make the exercise enjoyable as well as productive.

The issues to be included in the newsletter were identified on the first day through recounting experiences, raising questions and sharing ideas. Understandably water-related activities emerged as the main theme. Role plays comparing the problems and processes of water supply before and after *Mahila Samakhya* had embarked on the pump project expressed the problems and contradictions faced by these women in their work. Discussions after the role play revealed the impact the programme had had in changing their perceptions of themselves, their families and their community.

Groups were then formed to conceptualise, write and illustrate their ideas in any format and style they chose. Subjects included work done by the water committees, changes in local perceptions towards mechanics, problems of caste, the findings of a survey of water pumps in the area, including their state of repair two years ago and currently, the way in which the pumps had contributed to community development and health. Although the participants were hesitant when they presented their work for the first time, the quality belied their fears. Rich with songs, stories, poems and illustrations, the materials were so many and varied that selection proved difficult. The contents were finalised after discussing each item in terms of creativity, relevance, appeal and information sharing

On the last day, the work of production was completed. The heightened level of excitement and nervousness was tangible as the final version was prepared, items were finalised, illustrations tidied up, the page layout was determined and the material transcribed by those with neater handwriting - many said their hands were shaking as they drew in pencil first and then inked in. There was much merry-making as the paper took shape. The participants could not believe they had actually produced their own newsletter. Writing their name at the bottom of the final page dispelled their disbelief and raised their self confidence. The process of writing, sharing, reworking, and selecting items and themes collectively was an empowering experience.

Two months later, a second workshop was held to produce the second issue and to reinforce the earlier learning experience. A process of team building was initiated in which responsibility for different aspects of production was delegated to members of the group. Comments on problematic issues in the first issue, items not understood or appreciated, or visuals not clear were received to ensure that feedback would become integral to the production process. The paper had been well received and many people found it difficult to believe that these women had actually produced it.

The question of language rose at this time. While everyone agreed that the local dialect would be more easily understood by the readers, most of the written work used formal Hindi. The switch to standardised Hindi is almost automatic for all forms of writing. It was agreed that this trend could not be negated but that the language could be made more simple, and that local idiom and dialects should be used wherever possible. The newsletter was not being produced for themselves, and they

needed to look beyond their own concerns and preferences to those for whom they were writing. Their roles as communicators was thus discussed -a difficult issue since they were most excited by their own process of creating the paper.

Praise for the efforts of these women has been widespread. During a water committee training course, it was said "News from everywhere gets reported in the newspaper. We had better see that our pump is clean or our village will get a bad name". Other villages wished to know why they had been omitted from the first issue, The medium of communication and information-sharing controlled by the women themselves can act as a pressure group.

When such post-literacy activities get linked with other empowering programmes (in this case water pumps), the result is the creation of a vibrant body of knowledge and material. Literacy and the process of learning reinforce and are in turn reinforced by other processes and programmes leading to the improvement of the quality of life such as access to essential life-needs like water, the ability to bargain for higher wages and better working conditions, or an enhanced status in the family and community.

Some areas of concern emerged from this process of involving people whose literacy skills are still at a fragile stage in such group processes. Some of the participants are so highly motivated that they demand individual attention to develop their own skills of reading and writing. Similarly, there was a need to maintain their feeling of involvement as some of the processes became more technical, for example, during the editing; other activities had to be planned at these stages. Balancing the group dynamics between the neo-literates and the more literate

members and catering for the needs of different levels of participants required constant delicate handling. This very variety both added to the richness and varied perspectives of the material produced, and strengthened and energised the group members.

It would also seem that LGM projects in the sense of small-scale groups generating materials out of their own experience - tend to be vulnerable to change and not market-effective. Most such activities emerge and cease of their own volition, often dependent on the enthusiasm of some individual or small group whose focus will in time move to other fields or forms of activity. The Community Book Publishing Project in Zimbabwe is an example of this. But this is also true of most of the donor initiatives in this area: the MicroPrU (Micro-Production Unit) project in Indonesia by which a van fitted with printing facilities visited villages and printed materials written by the villagers seems to have ended when donor funds ceased.

A balance needs to be maintained between the large-scale campaigns and programmes and LGM approaches. Each type of literacy programme has its strengths and weaknesses. Mass literacy programmes find it harder to provide really usable literacy materials than do the local ones - India with its decentralisation of the national literacy programme (including materials production) to Collector (District) level appears to have acknowledged this. But while they may do little for locally-produced culturally sensitive materials production, national programmes will help to create the climate for local programmes to be more effective, raising the profile of literacy work generally and providing a framework and some infrastructure.

Local programmes on the other hand cannot expect to be sustainable at programme

level, although they may produce more sustainable literacy practices at the level of the individual or group. It is important not to confuse the different capacities of different literacy programmes.

Our case studies suggest that both forms of LGM (local or learner generated materials) can never be cheap unless they are produced with totally unacceptable quality, even by local standards. They can never be sustainable in the sense of self-supporting. Voluntary effort and low standard reproduction processes can produce materials of a relatively low quality as in Uganda, but even this is dependent on donor funding.

Low cost materials:

Low cost materials (LCM) are often closely identified with LGM approaches. Most LGM projects (at least in the sense of learner-generated materials) use low-cost production processes, largely because these are the only facilities accessible to local groups.

There are however dangers attached to LCM, as the Kenya Low-Cost Materials Project reveals (see Kenya 1992, Kenya LCCP). LCM here has become an excuse for the literacy agency to cease providing basic literacy materials for learners or instructors, urging instructors to produce their own, and the shoddy productions which are being produced under the guise of the Low-Cost Materials Project are unhelpful in promoting literacy learning.

POST-LITERACY AND LOW-COST MATERIALS PRODUCTION IN KENYA

The Government of Kenya's Department of Adult Education (DAE) addressed the issue of post-literacy from the start of its adult literacy programme (1979). A workshop on post-literacy in 1980 developed a post-literacy programme but it was not fully implemented.

Post-literacy is seen to cover three forms of provision bridging courses for newly literate persons, entrepreneurial training for drop-outs, and further education up to the level of the primary school-leaving certificate. Access to school-leaving examinations is available for private students, and many take this route each year. However, access to formal education is regarded as a minor element in the post-literacy programme, since relatively few will wish to follow this route and it is unlikely to open secondary education to adults who obtain the certificate. The main aim of post-literacy is to provide education for life.

The key problem is seen to lie in the lack of materials for post-literacy (and also for initial literacy). The reason for this is lack of funds. A post-literacy newspaper *Kisomo* was produced in several languages but ceased when donor support ended. Several local language newspapers were produced by the Ministry of Information with help from UNESCO but today there is only one in Kikuyu, all the others are in KiSwahili. Materials for post-literacy have been produced in draft form (some with UNICEF) but most of these have not been printed.

Initially all literacy materials were provided free to the learners but now there is a substantial charge for these materials (300-400 Ksh p.a.). A Low-Cost Materials Production (LCMP) project was launched with donor support to help meet this need. The 1979 campaign was set up in a hurry, and LCMP was intended to meet the

needs for field staff training and materials production. Workshops were held for staff in preparation and production techniques, using duplicators or silk screen printers, making ink from tree leaves. There was reported to be considerable excitement among the field staff, and several wrote up local stories. The aim was to prepare material to supplement those provided by DAE. Some workshops are still run (with donor support) because of a total lack of literacy materials, even primers, in some centres; LCMP has become an excuse not to send materials to the classes. In Rorino, 25 facilitators drafted ten booklets on topics chosen by the teachers after discussion in the workshop. They were handwritten very inadequately and reproduced on duplicators (the silk screen presses seem no longer to be working) and some of them were illegible.

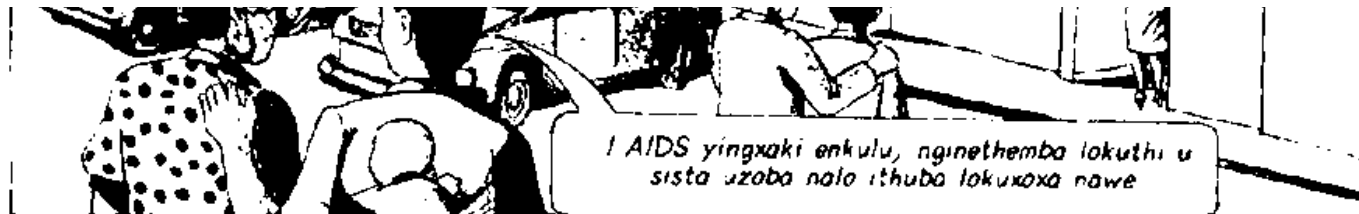
There is a constant demand from adult educators, extension staff and local libraries in the field for material at post-literacy level. A seminar was held in 1992 and a policy was drawn up, a syllabus prepared and some materials drafted - but few have been distributed. DSE ran a nine month training programme (ending in March 1993) on the development of writing skills for post-literacy materials. Following a survey of reading needs and interests conducted by the University of Nairobi and the Board of Adult Education, 20 writers and 7 facilitators attended a series of workshops. The first produced draft materials which were then worked on at home; a second workshop provided training in pre-testing, then the draft materials were tested in the field for four months; a third workshop finalised the materials. Ten booklets in KiSwahili have been prepared. DSE has concentrated on writers' training (both for distance education and post-literacy) but is unable to help with printing and dissemination DAE has no plans to publish or disseminate them It is not clear whether these materials are for individual or group use.

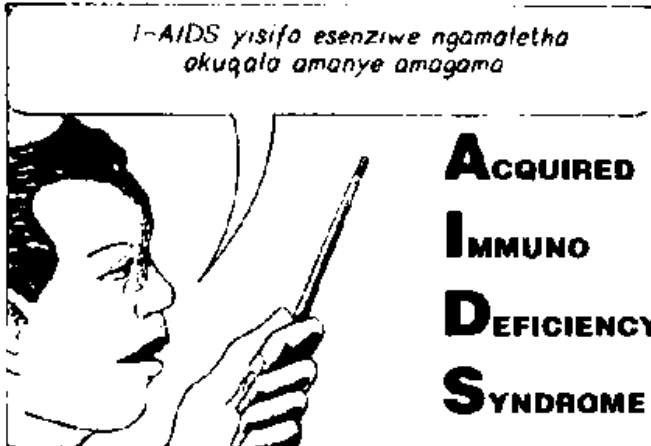
Perhaps as a response to the weaknesses in the state programme, an energetic voluntary organisation has emerged, the Kenya Adult Learners' Association (KALA). It is strongly supported by donors, and learners' organisations are now spreading to other countries. KALA will serve mainly as a pressure group for adult literacy but it plans to produce some materials itself.

'Low cost' can only be assessed in local terms. Some newspaper supplements cost very little, since the equipment and other facilities and staffing used are those which already exist and are being employed for other more commercially viable purposes. In these cases, the quality is that of other locally produced commercial productions. Where low-cost production methodologies have been used, they do not seem to be viable over long periods. The silk screen presses in Kenya established in the 1980s are no longer in use, and elsewhere other similar programmes have apparently not endured.

Part of AIDS leaflet in comic form, South Africa







AQUIRED isho
IMMUNO isho
DEFICIENCY isho
SYNDROME isho

UKUTHI ITHOLAKALA
 KWENYE INDAWO

UKUSWELA UKUVI-
 KELEKA KOMZIMBA
 KWEMVELO

UKUQOQANA
 KWENQWABA YEZIFO



U NGAYITHOLA KANJANI I-AIDS

- Ungathola i-AIDS ngokulalana nomuntu onegciwane le-AIDS emzimbeni wakhe.
- Ungathola i-AIDS managabe ujova ngenalithi noma i reza yomunye onaso lesisifo se-AIDS.
 (Izibhedlela manje sezicwaningisisa igazi ngaphambi kokuthi balinikeze

umuntu).

- Omama bangadlulisela i-AIDS ezinganeni zabo ezingakazalwa gesikhathi bekhulelwe noma beteta.

AWUYITHOLI I-AIDS KULEZIZINTO:

- Endlini yangaphandle
- Ngokonghana
- Ngokuqabulana ezindebeni zomlomo
- Ezinkomishini, ezipunwini, emimeseni, emapulatini, ezinghilazini, nokunye
- Ngokubambana ngezandla
- Ngokuhlamba ebavhini elilodwa
- Ocingweni, noma ezibambeni zeminyango
- Emathawuleni
- Ngokwabelana noma ukushiyelana ukudla
- Ngokudansa
- Ngokukhulumisana nomuntu ophethwe yi-AIDS
- Emakamereni aminyene
- Ngokulunywa omiyane nezinye izilwanyana

2. 'Real' materials

Extension materials:

Publishing:
Visual literacy:
Using real materials for literacy:

Other materials which may be used for post-literacy activities were found in all our case studies. They are of two main kinds, extension materials and what we have called 'ordinary' literacy materials.

Extension materials:

These consist of materials produced by development agencies as part of their own programmes. We noted many examples in all the countries we visited. For example, UNICEF produces large amounts of material to be read in the towns and villages. In Kenya, KWAHO produces some excellent materials in different languages on water, health and income-generation activities for women's groups. In India, we identified the materials produced by the Bay of Bengal Programme (BOBP) as an example of this kind of material.

Many government and other service departments issue informative leaflets and posters. It would seem that more of this material relates to health than to any other subject, but agriculture and poverty-relief are also prominent.

There is very little to encourage the users to practise their writing skills among this material. Not all of this material is in a format appropriate to persons whose literacy skills are limited and whose confidence to cope with such literacy materials is weak.

But these are matters which could be remedied with some assistance from literacy practitioners. We were impressed by the willingness of many extension agencies to revise the format of their materials so that they will reach a wider audience more effectively and more interactively.

Extension Materials: BAY OF BENGAL PROGRAMME

The work of BOBP has been described above (page 13). In the course of its activities, BOBP produces materials which could be used for post-literacy activities. Two are of particular relevance.

TECHNICAL LEAFLETS

The Post-Harvest Fisheries Technology Project is an ODA-funded project dealing with innovative ways of handling and marketing fish (fish carrying baskets, ice boxes, motorised cycles, fish drying techniques etc) and the production of other crops (seaweed, shrimps etc). From 1990, the project has produced simple colourful leaflets to go with its projects. The series was inspired by the 'Torry' extension leaflets produced in the UK.

They are prepared spontaneously by one individual, written in English and illustrated, then translated by local contacts into simple Tamil (or other languages as necessary). There are no guidelines for them (e.g. no specific gender policy); pretesting is very informal with locally available persons, field staff and some NGOs in terms of presentation, level and language. The leaflets are regarded as "a very

minor part of our work... just a tool", and they are not built into the project planned activities they have not been discussed in project staff meetings, do not appear in project reports or on the agendas of the management committee. There is thus no budget for these leaflets - they are dependent upon the enthusiasm of the project officer (who has now left BOBP). The staff seemed surprised at our interest in them.

The leaflets are printed by offset rather than letter press on very good quality gloss paper. It would seem that Madras is one of the cheapest places in the world for printing, so that print runs can be short; 1000 copies are usually printed at a time, as the run-on costs are only marginally reduced. Because of the high quality and colourwork, the cost of each leaflet is about Rs2.50 which is high compared with some of the other materials and news-sheets printed by letter press.

The leaflets are seen as an aid for the staff engaged in technical training in the field. "The main purpose of our material is to educate the target group on the benefit of using such technologies". The leaflets are given away, and the use of these leaflets does not form any part of the training of the staff. They have also been used to inform other bodies of the work of the project.

Field visits however revealed that, in some places, the leaflets relating to fish-carrying containers had been distributed when the baskets were distributed; they had not been used as intended at the time when the containers were demonstrated. No reference was made to the leaflets by the field staff - they had just been given out free and most had soon been lost. Most of the women who received them could not read but they were able to use the illustrations for their own purposes. For

example, some of the women, when refused entry to a bus because they were carrying the new containers, produced the leaflet with its picture of women getting onto a bus with the container and thus were able to gain access to the bus. The women and especially the children liked the strong colours, the plain lay-out and clear illustrations, and on occasion the contents were read to the group by one of the staff or other group members.

Other groups had not seen the leaflets at the time of the training programme or subsequently, but the copies were seized eagerly by the group members and examined avidly, even by those who were unable to read. They suggested that the sari shown in the illustration was "too stylish" for a working woman, an indication of visual literacy. They said that they would like more leaflets but were unable to suggest topics for them except health.

This activity has not been evaluated because of the costs of administration and time involved, and "because this would be to give it more importance than we give if nor does it form part of the overall evaluation of the project. The leaflets have been produced intuitively without field research. Some have been updated when "our antennae tell us they need revision". Donor values are represented in the quality and the format of the leaflets, and this may help to account for their appeal.

Dissemination and use in the field is however recognised as the major weakness of these Materials. They may have some value on their own, for it would seem that the participants can gain much from them without advanced literacy skills, but they are unlikely to be very effective without mediation (discussion and help with interpretation).

Some of the field staff recognised that these leaflets helped to build up the literacy environment. Copies had been sent to SRC but this role had not been developed because literacy does not form part of the concerns of this project. However, the staff concerned felt that help with literacy issues would enable the leaflets to be more used in the field.

COMIC BOOK

As part of its programme of encouraging participatory management of fisheries, BOBP has produced the first of what is planned as a series of extension comic books. The aim is to promote awareness of fishery resources issues and to develop the knowledge base of the fisherfolk. The book "is intended to reach the general fishing community including school-going children and adults in the advanced stages of adult education (literacy) programmes". A comic format was chosen because of "the low literacy level in the area and the complexity of the subject". With lavishly coloured illustrations, the book provides much detailed information, mostly through a story, though some pages are more directly didactic. The aim is to develop community-based resource management rather than literacy skills.

The book was carefully planned, piloted and pretested. The material was composed by an experienced communicator to whom the expert had to explain the subject matter: "it was a painful process". Written first in English, it was translated into literary Tamil and Telugu rather than vernacular forms of these languages. Some changes in illustrations were made to meet the cultural needs of different groups of readers. There was no gender policy in the preparation of these materials.

The book cost Rs30,000 to develop. 30,000 copies were printed (using four-coloured offset printing) at a cost of between Rs4 and Rs5 each raising the print run to 100,000 copies would have reduced the cost to Rs2-3 each. The books are given away free (there is no machinery for villagers to purchase books and no JSNs in these villages).

Several copies have been sent to local community groups in the fishing villages. Copies have also been sent to the SRC, to adult education (literacy) centres and to schools - but there is no current evidence as to how these have been used. No procedures for the use of these books in the village groups have been devised. Some are kept as personal copies; some have been read by a member of the group to the non-literate members. Some sent to women have been passed to men "because it concerns men, not women". The message seems to have been understood in some places: one group said that the dispute described in the storyline between those using traditional and those wishing to use new methods of fishing had been settled in their village some time ago. The evidence as to whether these readers would be willing to pay for their own copy is contradictory; for there is a demand for more materials of this kind, providing information through stories, and other material has been prepared by BOBP.

Feedback was obtained through a questionnaire. A return rate of 37% was received, 20% of these from women. The responses indicated that (with one exception) the messages within the comic book had been understood by between 75% and 90% of the respondents. Almost all said they had found the book useful in understanding fishery management, including the more academic and didactic parts. It would appear that it is possible to convey a high degree of technical complexity

and vocabulary in this format so long as the content lies within the experience of the readers.

The main concerns of the producers are with finding creative artists and writers and devising appropriate forms of follow-up. A regular magazine has been under consideration but discussions with commercial publishers suggest this is not viable, partly because this material is unlike the magazines which the existing buying public already purchase, and the poorer people are unlikely to buy material when they do not know what will be in it, and partly because of the lack of distribution machinery in this area.

The book was not planned as literacy materials. While some help with language levels would be welcomed, the main problem was to convey the messages clearly in terms of the target group's own understandings.

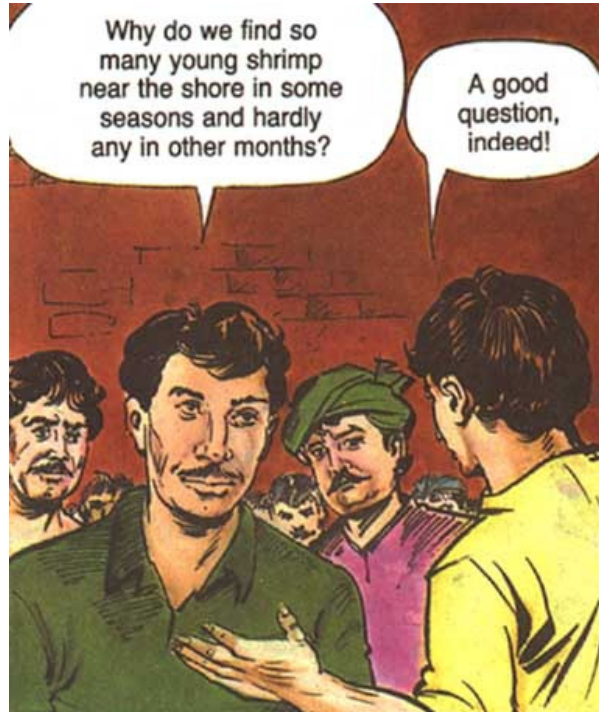
4. Wait a minute! Rani has just invested in anew fish container-made of tough aluminium with a tight fitting lid. It's easy to lift and the bus Conductor is now happy to let her put it under the seats - no mess, no smell to put her fellow passengers off!

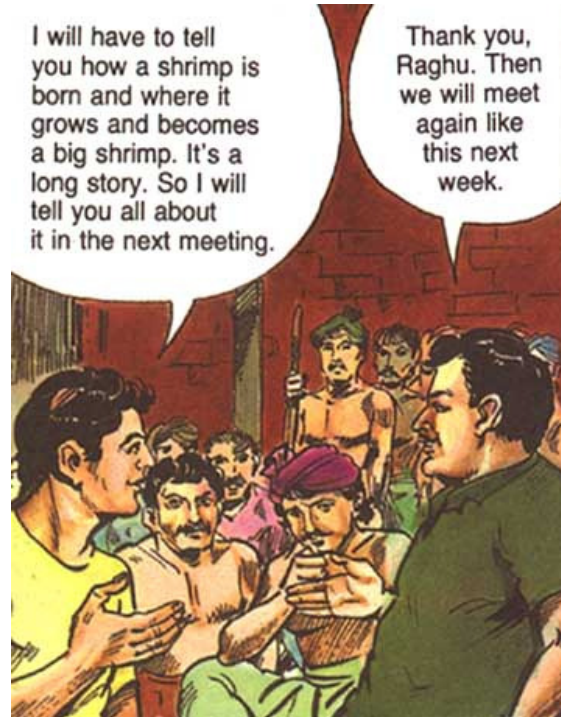


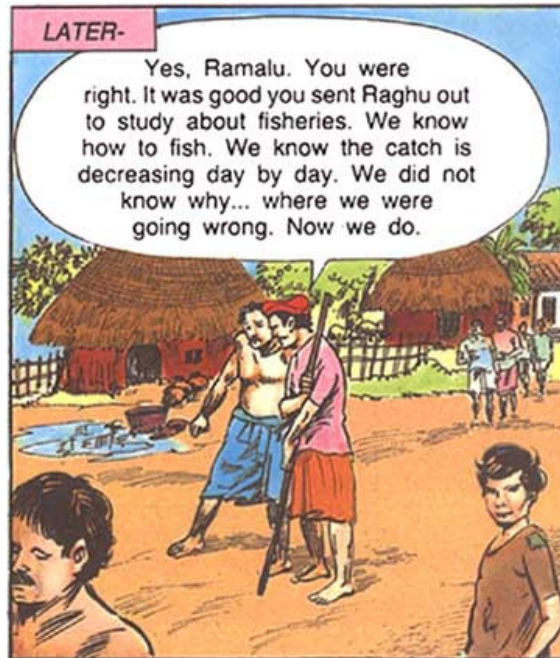
Part of technical leaflet produced by BOBP, Madras

Part of comic book produced by BOBP (Madras, India) for extension work with fisherfolk in the Bay of Bengal.

Active Gear







2b: Secondly, there are the materials which we have termed '**ordinary**' materials (some writers have described these materials as 'authentic' materials). These are materials produced by various bodies to meet local societal needs. Some are of course commercial in origin, seeking to provide news (newspapers, magazines etc) or pleasure (reading books). Some are sales catalogues as in South Africa or advertisements (cinema notices in India etc). Into this category fall the various materials produced by government - for example, forms for a driving licence or a

ration card etc. Banks and other bodies also produce such materials for both rural and urban environments. All of these could be used by literacy teachers to help learners master the various literacies needed to cope with real situations. Although it is impossible within the limits of this research project to survey all that is available, even in our case studies what we discovered is very extensive. Such surveys should always be done when assessing the viability of assisting with the production of even more post-literacy materials.

Publishing:

Local publishers are making a substantial contribution in most countries to the provision of 'ordinary' materials, at least for reading. But there are many problems in this field, mainly in terms of making commercial productions accessible in rural areas at a reasonable and yet commercially viable price, even in local terms. There seems to be no single effective process of building up a reading public prepared to spend money on books and booklets. Sustaining such productions in areas where the buying public for books and magazines is insufficient to support them commercially may be a lengthy process. Some areas have had considerable success with magazines, especially when these support local television or films. Assistance provided to such producers with their existing materials may be beneficial in all sorts of ways and might promote more sustainable forms of publishing. One example of donor support to local publishers in Tanzania which could be replicated elsewhere involves the donor agency purchasing and distributing to beneficiary groups a large proportion of the first run of some editions. The print run can then be increased and these materials can in consequence be sold to the buying public more cheaply while at the same time they are made available to populations which they would not

otherwise reach.

Visual literacy:

Many of these real materials make use of pictorial symbols rather than or in addition to letters. There is a growing interest and concern in the field of visual literacy - the ability to decide and interpret drawings or pictorial symbols or colour codes rather than letters and words and sentences, both in the sense of the interpretation of symbols in the environment and also in the use of such symbols in literacy and post-literacy programmes. Examples of visual literacy range from the 'reading' of signs painted on toilet doors to road signs, from 'house styles' adopted by buses and other vehicles to political symbols.

It is generally assumed that illiterate persons can easily interpret such visual literacy materials, which may account for the increasing popularity of comic strips and books as one of the more common tools of extension programmes. The success of Storyteller in South Africa would seem to indicate that in that cultural context, where the mainly urban residents and workers are familiar with visual messages and television, the new readers can access the comic book style. It is thus probable that where visual literacy materials are locally generated using indigenous conventions, then comprehension, even to several levels of meaning, may not be a problem. But the BOBP case study suggests that where material is imported, then the viewing/reading strategies and interpretation will have to be learned.

Assistance is apparently needed with the development of visual literacy skills. Comic books are very complex, and in many cases training is necessary for the

intermediaries in order to help people to access these materials. Further study of this complex area is needed before clear recommendations can be made.

Comic Books:

STORYTELLER AND SHARENET, JOHANNESBURG, SOUTH AFRICA

The storyteller group is a commercial organisation, set up in 1989 to produce comic books in African ('Black') English, both as independent stories and as message-carrying texts for other organisations. By producing material which is enjoyable to read, they aim to contribute towards the development of a popular reading culture in South Africa. They see the need for a range of stimulating and appropriate texts produced on a large scale.

All their material has strong community action or development themes. *99 Sharp Street*, their most successful comic, for example, deals with environmental issues at a global as well as a more local level. Mixed teams of black and white writers and artists develop the materials. They seek to reflect real-life experience and to create characters which readers can identify with, by basing their work on real situations. The tone of their material is "dialogic" rather than presenting one didactic truth. This is achieved by introducing into the stories a variety of characters with different viewpoints to represent different voices in any debate. They aim to represent a complex environment both visually and in the diverse messages inherent in the stories. Their work is preceded by lengthy research to record as many voices and means of expression and local language forms as possible. Workshops are held in the townships in which local groups play out pre-set themes. These are then written up into comic strips using street language and popular reference points-with

differences in register between the street dialogue in the voice bubbles and the standard English in the narrative between the frames.

The first major publications (prepared in collaboration with **Sharenet**) began as an insert in the Sales House *CLUB* magazine, a quarterly mail-order catalogue distributed free. Storyteller suggested an adult comic within the magazine but were asked instead to prepare one for children. *99 Sharp Street* proved so successful that Storyteller produced an independent issue, *The River of Our Dreams*. This was followed by *Love and Aids*, an adult comic dealing with AIDS prevention, *Mhundi*, another comic, and a variety of community association magazines (notably *Voice of the SCA*, a magazine for the Alexandria township with an insert by ESCOM on the safe use of electricity and meters). Most are given away free. When *River of Our Dreams* was published, the intention was to distribute one million copies, three quarters to a broad popular audience and one quarter to a more focused educational audience. Eventually 350,000 copies were produced at a cost of R300,000 and were sent out free through newspapers, magazines, schools, libraries, existing groups such as PPA, church and environmental groups, and literacy classes. Some were advertised for sale.

Storyteller see these materials as both leisure reading and a flexible educational resource. Thus *99 Sharp Street* encourages participative reading, with 'write-on' pages and 'search-and-find' activities. Library and teaching packs accompany some of these materials, and training is offered to teachers in different methods of exploiting comics as a learning resource.

SHARENET, UMGENI NATURE RESERVE, was set up in 1990 with funding from

shell, gold fields and the South African Nature Foundation to develop environmental education. It is a networking organisation intended to encourage resource development by teachers' groups and local communities and to foster joint resource development among conservation and environmental education agencies through the sharing of skills and ideas and the empowering of teachers to develop and evaluate their own materials. They produce materials themselves and make them available on disk to facilitate the reworking of them by other organisations to reflect local situations; and they offer support and advice in low-cost publishing to other bodies.

Sharenet produces materials for use in reserves and schools in a variety of formats - books, booklets, charts, hands-on materials etc. Most have graphics, with text in English with the occasional vernacular word bracketed to introduce new English terms. They feel the expressed need for vernacular materials is a myth created by academics and development agencies. Sharenet collaborated with Storyteller on the production and distribution of *River of Our Dreams* and in the training of teachers and group leaders in isolated rural areas in the mediation of this comic and in the setting up of environmental pressure groups. The two organisations also collaborated on the production of the water-slide for testing water pollution (readers were invited to write in for this slide).

Both Storyteller and Sharenet have been extensively evaluated. Surveys reveal that *River of Our Dreams* was read by a wide audience from a traditionally non-reading culture. Such comics are felt to be successful in all three aspects, as leisure reading, as a message-carrying medium and as an educational resource, and appeal to adults as well as to children beyond the townships in which they are set.

Readers who wrote in response to competitions indicate that the use of complex visual material is not a problem in an urban environment where readers are familiar with television, animation and visual advertising. Storytellers feel that new readers need more, not less, visually sophisticated material.

Sharenet claim their findings confirm the transferability and appeal of township language in rural areas, the need for thorough preparatory research, the value of comics as an educational medium, the embedding of messages in stories, and the value of consulting people on what they like to read. Sharenet indicates that, with creative marketing, funding and dissemination need not be problems. "If the people want something enough, they will find a way to get it" through local informal means. As an example, they point to mail-order catalogues which reach the remotest areas. The production of materials needs to be sustainable if the project is to survive in the long term.

Water slide produced by the Umgeni Trust to promote the use of clean water, South Africa

Part of 99 Sharp Street produced by Storyteller, South Africa (A)

Part of 99 Sharp Street produced by Storyteller, South Africa (B)

* Offer valid as long as stocks last

Sponsors:

The Storyteller Group would like to thank Prof. Peter Thuynsma, the Wits Foundation and all the sponsors who made this reading promotion possible: Rockefeller Brothers' Fund, Anglo American and de Beers Chairman's Fund, US AID, Shell SA, Johannesburg Consolidated Investments, Standard Bank Foundation, Southern Life Association, ICI, Carlton Paper, Afrox, and TML.

Using real materials for literacy:

The link between these real materials and the literacy needs of the people to whom they are directed is very rarely made. We found no development programmes using any of their materials, instruction leaflets or extension posters, for the enhancement of literacy, although some agencies which have produced this kind of material do pay some attention to the literacy requirements of their users when preparing them. Equally, very few literacy agencies use any of this material, even when it is available, for their classes, although some integrated rural development agencies do use post-literacy materials to assist with their extension work.

Adapting real materials: The use of these real materials for the practice of literacy raises a major issue. It is not clear how these materials can be assessed in terms of their usefulness for promoting literacy, or how they might be adapted to the needs of new literacy practitioners. Criteria imported from the formal school system such as the vocabulary used or the length of sentences or the complexity of ideas, which are sometimes used, are now felt to be inappropriate to adult learning programmes. Levels of 'readability' have to a large extent been discredited and replaced with more careful gradings of 'learner difficulty': for example, lack of experience may be a greater barrier than the vocabulary used (Moon 1993). Similar approaches could

be used with effect in adult literacy. But clearly such learner difficulties will be local rather than absolute.

Modern understandings of adult literacy indicate that adults do not need to learn literacy in a linear progression from simple words to more complex words. Their more normal progression is from concrete to more abstract. Adults, like many children, will learn to cope effectively with elaborate vocabularies and concepts if these are felt to be relevant to them, e.g. agriculture, fishing or well known films etc. Some simplification of language is necessary. Industrialised countries have come to appreciate this for many of their materials such as government forms, insurance certificates, consumer items and legal documents - the Plain English Campaign is one such example. Some adaptation to layout in terms of size of print and line length will also often need to be made: most people read newspaper headlines more easily than the smaller text underneath. Devices designed to help new readers to cope with difficult material such as headlines, sub-headings, key words etc need to be included. This is a field for further research, calling for practical experimental studies into the best ways to assist with the adaptation of 'ordinary' materials and to ascertain whether or not there are similarities in different contexts.

Most of those who produce or promote the distribution of these extension and ordinary materials assume that those who receive them need no assistance in order to use them. Technical leaflets are printed and issued without adequate steps being taken to ensure they reach the right hands or are interpreted accurately by those who do receive them. Like newspapers, they are 'cast upon the waters' to be used in any way which those into whose possession they come choose to use them - this may not even be literacy (newspapers for instance may be used not only for reading

but for wrapping up items or for padding etc). Books and booklets are circulated generally throughout the community. Brochures and leaflets and government notices and tracts are passed from hand to hand or sent to local groups without any attempt being made to ensure that they are properly discussed. They are seen as independent materials, and those who receive them are deemed to be independent users. The effect that this has on the relatively low levels of confidence of the early literacy practitioner can be imagined many will find that they cannot cope with this material and will therefore be deterred from trying again with other material they may come across.

3. Access to and use of these materials

Dissemination:

Under-utilisation:

Participants:

Training for post-literacy:

Evaluation of post-literacy activities and materials:

Income-generation programmes:

Dissemination:

One of the major problems our case studies revealed with all these materials, both special and real, is that they are often not generally available to the learner groups at the points where they could benefit from them most, during their literacy

programmes. It is this which accounts for the general impression that materials for the practice of literacy are often unavailable. Demands for action to "build a literate environment" rely upon an assumption that supply of materials will create a demand for literacy practices - an assumption which needs to be tested. It may well be a more effective way of building a literate environment by identifying and bringing into the local community the real materials which already exist than creating and distributing new materials.

Even when some of the ordinary material does reach the environment of the people of the towns and many of the villages (e.g. cinema notices in India, mail-order catalogues in South Africa), these are not always recognised by literacy agencies, literacy instructors or by learners as appropriate for the practice of literacy. Training and networking are needed to assist literacy practitioners to identify these materials as being of use to them in their programmes.

Even in the case of post-literacy materials specifically produced by literacy agencies, the distribution is often poor. Many of the producers told us that although they were generating a good deal of material, it was not getting out into the field or, once there, it was not being used effectively in the post-literacy programmes, even in those cases where the infrastructure is relatively good. The dissemination of extension materials is often equally weak. Local collections of materials (rural resource centres or village libraries) are often lacking or, where they do exist, are usually inadequately resourced or staffed (Tanzania, Kilindo). Where they exist, such library staff are very rarely trained adequately for their many and varied tasks. The Kerala Village Libraries are an exception and, despite the current political difficulties, reveal the potential of such a provision, although we note that these reading rooms

are intended for those who are experienced enough to read on their own without help, and that once again they contain few activities which require writing. A different approach is that of Sharenet in South Africa which believes that materials suitably adapted can stimulate consumer demand: instead of the people coming to the materials in classes or groups or libraries, the materials are sent out to the local (mainly urban and peri-urban) communities and homes (Bahr and Rifkin 1992).

Village Libraries:

INDIA: JSNs and KERALA VILLAGE LIBRARY MOVEMENT

Local reading rooms, often called JSNs, ("an institutionalised framework for post-literacy based on the Tanzanian model of folk schools") were established in 1988 in most states in India. Based on rural centres, youth clubs, farmers training centres, women's centres etc, they formed part of the National Adult Education Programme (NAEP). They have been identified by the National Literacy Mission as a key instrument for post-literacy. One JSN is recommended for every 5000 adult population (4-5 adjacent villages). Not every district has JSNs. In Tamil Nadu, it is reported that they are "most viable at centres of local government (*panchayats* and unions) rather than at cluster level"; but "the future expansion of the JSNs appears to be very doubtful at least for the present". In Districts where the Total Literacy Campaign has operated, there is a demand for each village to have its own post-literacy centre rather than a JSN. Clusters of 30-40 learners have on occasion been established but their relationship to JSNs is not clear. JSNs have been put under local government control but there is no assured funding for them, no system to link JSNs together, no structure for their support and no systematic training for their supervisors.

JSNs are managed by a local committee and a part-time *prerak* (usually a woman). The aims of JSNs are to "ensure the retention of literacy skills, to provide facilities for learners to continue their learning beyond elementary literacy, and to create scope for them to apply their learning for the improvement of their living conditions". They are meant to house evening classes, discussions groups, recreation and cultural activities, games and sports as well as to hold and disseminate development information, provide a blackboard newspaper as well as to service the literacy classes in the area - but few do all of this. Some JSNs have been equipped with new technology as demonstration centres.

Some receive considerable support from local communities and NGOs. Activities and resources therefore vary greatly. Some have about 150 loans per week; others have none or very few. Where they exist and work well, they provide a major function in small communities as a meeting place and library centre (reading, not writing). Women tend to use them during the day, men in the evenings. In Madras, one or two have become outlets for the purchase of books and magazines.

The Kerala Village Libraries are on a different scale. The wide spread of these centres is much older than the JSNs and is based on a remarkable nineteenth century library movement. In 1943 the Kerala Library Association was formed and the movement grew from there as the state of Kerala was formed between 1947 and 1958.

Thus for most of its history, the Kerala Library Movement has been an independent professional association. It had a statewide organisation at various levels. The state government supported the association in the provision of libraries throughout the

state.

In the early 1970s, the Kerala Library Association launched a state-wide functional literacy campaign with some support from the state government, and in 1975, it won the UNESCO Literacy Award. But this movement did not meet with full support inside the Association and later the literacy programme split off under the auspices of the Kerala Association for Non-Formal Education and Development (KANFED).

From the late 1970s, the Kerala Village Library Association has become involved with state politics and the association's constitution has been suspended. A new constitution has been in process of formulation for many years. The village libraries are now run by a Control Board established by the state government.

The village libraries in general have been used by those who are reasonably well educated. They house materials for independent study and reading, but other activities such as sports are also on occasion organised by these centres. It is generally believed that the high rate of literacy in the state (above 90% in 1990) is due to these library centres and reading rooms and that equally they are meeting a demand created by the high literacy levels in the state.

Under-utilisation:

Some agencies have tackled the problem of dissemination, especially those which issue newspapers or newspaper supplements. But even in these cases, there are signs of the lack of appropriate use of these materials. Thus very few supplementary materials are found to be used in the initial literacy classes: GSS in

Bangladesh (Rogers 1994b) and ELP in South Africa (Makue and Steinberg 1993) are notable exceptions. Most post-literacy programmes on the ground are simply the continuation of formal literacy instruction for a further period, using a limited range of books of much the same model as the primer but at what the literacy agency deems is a more advanced level. Both FIVDB in Bangladesh and the Tanzania post-literacy programme, for example, seek to teach the learners a further number of words to add to those which they have already learned during the initial primer-based literacy instruction (Jennings 1984). There is relatively little attempt to use this literacy in real situations - real reading, real writing, real calculations.

Participants:

Most post-literacy programmes and activities however only reach those who are in formal post-literacy groups - and these are but a minority of all those who have attended adult literacy classes. Even less help is extended to those in the community who have some but limited skills of reading and writing gained through primary school or earlier adult education programmes. These are usually left to fend for themselves in coping with the real literacy materials which they find in their social environment. They may seek help from others in the community more competent than themselves on an informal basis, and some look to local resource centres for help. But in most countries there is no general programme of help for these people.

Creating and using post-literacy materials BANGLADESH: TWO CASE STUDIES

FIVDB

Friends in Village Development, based at Sylhet, Bangladesh, is one of the largest NGOs in Bangladesh. It has several divisions relating to different aspects of rural development, including Functional Education in which the adult literacy programme is located. It has a large publishing programme and is noted for its materials for development. Materials are written in-house and printed by commercial printers in Dhaka in large numbers - 5000 copies of its monthly magazines and 10,000 copies of some of its development materials. Many are given away free, others are sold to other organisations. FIVDB literacy staff say that they are servicing some 180 other literacy NGOs as well as running their own literacy programme.

FIVDB works in village clusters with its own training centres. Local animators are recruited in health, credit groups, literacy etc to work with village groups of 25-50 members. 60% of the groups are for women, 40% are for men. Group members make five promises, one of which is to become literate.

There are some 300 FIVDB literacy classes in operation. Initial literacy classes of 15-20 learners meet for some two hours on six days a week for six months. Post-literacy groups (for fewer learners) meet twice a week for a further three months. A higher percentage of the men than of the women stay on for post-literacy but since there are more women than men in the initial programmes, there are still more women than men in post-literacy classes. The same animator teaches initial and post-literacy groups. Animators are trained by FIVDB or another agency; and a post literacy orientation programme of 2-3 hours is provided.

Post-literacy is taught in the same way as initial literacy primers are used in both stages. The literacy programme is based on a vocabulary approach - 340 words at

initial stage, a further 214 words at post-literacy stage. The words are chosen by the staff, not the learners. Learners pay one *taka* for initial literacy primers, but post-literacy primers are given away free "to keep their interest". Learners can take the books home, and at post-literacy stage "homework" is set to develop the habit of reading at home. Other materials (such as newspapers) are not used in either classes.

FIVDB has produced large amounts of post-literacy materials. Noting that other agencies have developed materials with development messages in them, FIVDB has concentrated on 'cultural materials'. Its newspaper contains stories and jokes and poems written by readers. Their story books are very popular, and one has developed into a cult figure, with other agencies writing stories about the central character. Stories from other countries have been adapted. Comic books on immunisation, dramas, technical bulletins on child care and livestock have also featured in this publishing programme. Four national workshops for neo-literate writing have been held. A competition was launched inviting stories centred around a series of cartoons of goats fighting on a bridge which were printed in the newspaper - 270 stories were written, 80% by learners in classes, two thirds by women. FIVDB printed 34 of these stories in a book which is sold for 3 *takas* (women earn 10- 15 *takas* per day, men 35 *takas*). One problem with encouraging writing among rural women is the lack of an efficient and cheap postal service - it costs 2 *takas* to post a letter.

A village library (usually a cupboard in someone's home not always the home of the 'librarian') has been established in some centres. It is stocked with materials from FIVDB and other sources. Members pay a small amount to join and to borrow but

some centres have ceased to function effectively.

After the post-literacy stage, classes cease but groups continue to meet weekly for informal discussion. Literacy (which has formed part of FIVDB's programme since 1981) used to be the entry point for many groups but now field staff are more hesitant about the value and effectiveness of literacy programmes. The staff in the Functional Education division feel marginalised.

BANGLADESH: GSS

GSS is a general development NGO with a substantial programme of rural schools. Adult literacy has been added to this programme at the request of local groups.

The literacy programme lasts for nine months, classes meeting for two hours on five or six days each week. Classes are conducted and primers written on a Freirean model of conscientization. In 1987, GSS was threatened with closure and in 1993, there was a threat to ban GSS textbooks; at the request of government, the texts were revised.

GSS has trained its animators to use active learning methods in their literacy classes. Many different materials (story books, 'real' materials etc) are used in the classes, and individual reading practice is conducted with all the learners in every lesson. The aim is "sustainable literacy".

A monthly newspaper is printed in 2500 copies. Five copies are sent to each centre. These are free for the first year but after this the group will need to pay one *taka* for

it, although it costs 2 *takas* to produce. Although individuals are able to buy it, GSS prefers group use of the newspaper. The paper is aimed to reach all the learners, different pages being written at different literacy levels: page 1 contains materials aimed at readers on stage 1 of the literacy programme, while the last page contains items written by readers printed in their own handwriting. GSS hopes this will fill the gap between the commercial press and the "no-press" of the villages.

GSS is about to start a six-month post-literacy (continuing education) programme. Village reading centres are also planned in an extended school provision. Some 80 small libraries have already been set up in GSS primary schools.

Training for post-literacy:

Those who provide assistance to others whose literacy skills are relatively under-developed have received little or no training for this purpose. In our case studies, we found virtually no training for literacy instructors in post-literacy, although we were informed that in one or two places such training does - or did - exist. Discussion with the literacy agencies revealed that where training for post-literacy is made, after all the rhetoric has been cut away, in practice it amounts to a few days or hours of orientation or updating on the new materials which have been specially prepared for post-literacy. It is generally assumed that the process of instruction is the same in the post-literacy stage as in the primer literacy stage. Very few of those charged with the custody and development of local libraries or resource centres have been adequately trained. Many agencies do not believe such training is necessary.

Nevertheless the training of all those concerned with the provision of post-literacy

activities would pay great dividends in many different ways. It should be regarded as a development programme in its own right. The effects that this programme is having on the grass-roots teachers, on those concerned with local libraries and resource centres, and on the community leaders who are involved in the literacy programmes are very considerable. These people are as much the beneficiaries of development as they are agents of development.

Evaluation of post-literacy activities and materials:

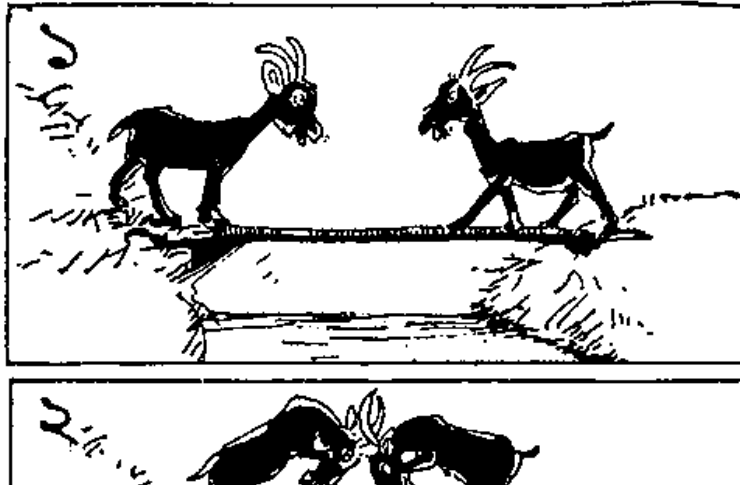
There are noticeably fewer attempts to evaluate the effectiveness of post-literacy activities and materials than of the initial literacy programmes, whether seen in terms of the enhancement of literacy skills, increased economic benefits, or the achievement of development goals. Tanzania has perhaps done most in this field, and the UIE research project and workshops (UIE 1990-3) were in part intended to encourage more rigorous forms of evaluation of post-literacy and continuing education. Some of the newspapers have been evaluated (Chambers 1992; Learn with Echo 1991-2). Evidence of substantial and on occasion unexpected enhancements in the quality of life of those who used these programmes and materials does exist, coming mainly from the real materials rather than the special post-literacy materials, but most of it is anecdotal. More work is needed in this field.

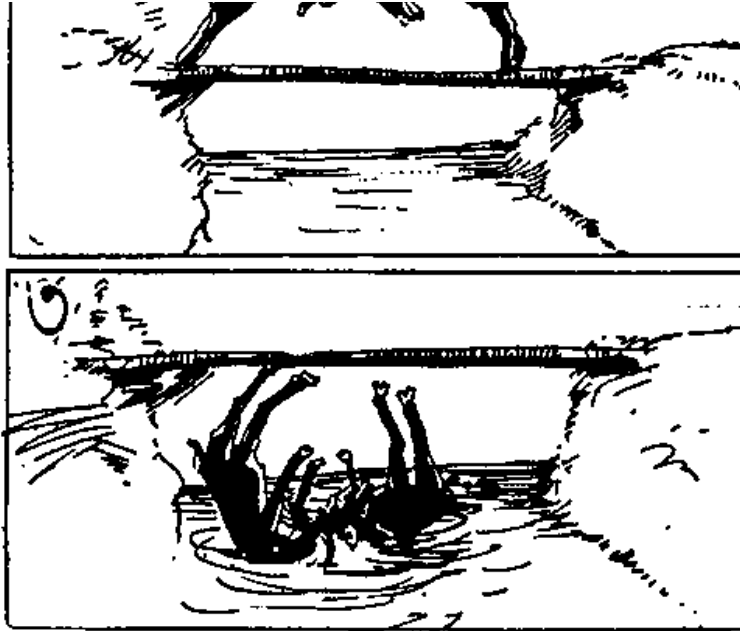
Income-generation programmes:

We found no clear evidence that literacy and post-literacy programmes in themselves have brought clear economic benefits to the users - although this must remain a tentative judgment since most of the literacy projects we examined were

aimed at the enhancement of literacy skills and were not in fact designed to bring relief from poverty except in indirect ways. In every country, a number of income-generating activities and training programmes accompany literacy and post-literacy programmes, specifically designed to bring economic benefits and independence to the learners. These often go under the title of 'post-literacy'. But these are almost always separate from the literacy and post-literacy instruction and they frequently contain little or no literacy practice in them, although they may occur with the same group of participants (Rogers 1994a). The value of these income-generation programmes as tools of post-literacy is very doubtful, although they often have considerable economic benefit in their own right.

Amader Lekha/our writings/a learner generated follow up material





উপরের এই ছবিটি গ্রাম বান্দব পত্রিকায় ছাপা হয়েছিল। ছবিটি
দেখ নতুন সাক্ষররা বই-এর ডেভারের গল্পগুলি লিখেছেন।

Picture published by FIVDB to promote the writing of stories, Bangladesh





Chapter 3: Developing new approaches to post-literacy

The traditional view:

Developing new approaches

A re-definition of 'post-literacy'

Materials for 'post-literacy'

LGM:

Post-literacy and initial literacy programmes

Post-literacy service:

Cost-effectiveness

Cost benefit

Conclusion

Summary of possible courses of action

The traditional view:

On the basis of the field visits and the literature review conducted during the research project, it would seem that the large majority of literacy and post-literacy programmes are built upon a traditional approach to literacy. Literacy is seen as a

process by which a set of technical skills of reading, writing and numeracy are acquired, and once grasped, these skills can be applied in all kinds of contexts for many different forms of print-based learning. The approach is similar to that of primary school: it urges that one should learn literacy first and practise it afterwards. Literacy is seen as a prerequisite for further development programmes - without literacy, the participant groups are felt to be severely disadvantaged. This 'literacy comes first' model rests on a number of assumptions that are questionable. It is founded, for instance, on a deficit view of illiteracy, on the belief that autonomous learning and development activities can only start after the acquisition of literacy. Furthermore, it assumes that the acquisition of literacy itself brings with it several clear advantages in thinking and reasoning and other abilities to relate to the outside world. Literacy within this view is thought to be acquired in a sequential process, part of a continuum from being illiterate to learning literacy, to developing literacy skills further (the post-literacy phase), leading eventually to independent learning. The process of learning literacy associated with these assumptions is based upon a limited and specially prepared group of materials (primers) which are received by those who attend the literacy classes.

The implications of this for post-literacy are clear. Most post-literacy programmes consist of a further programme of training, aimed at those who have completed the initial primerbased programme, and using materials written specifically for this group of learners.

Developing new approaches

There are signs however that this traditional view of literacy is changing.

First, there is a growing awareness that there is no one universally applicable form of literacy. Rather, there are different literacies for different groups - urban and rural populations, for example, ethnic, racial, religious or linguistic groups, or people clustered round economic activities (e.g. fisherfolk etc).

Secondly, some agencies (for example in Tanzania) speak in terms of post-literacy activities rather than further classes. They therefore seek to reach a much wider audience than simply those who are or have been in adult literacy classes.

Thirdly, a number of agencies are starting their programmes with developmental activities and working subsequently towards literacy related to those activities. This presents a different approach (a 'literacy comes second' model) of the relationship between literacy and development programmes.

Fourthly, instead of materials being prepared for and received by the learners, we have seen a number of cases where the materials are being prepared by or with the assistance of the learners (LGM).

Other trends: A number of other trends serve to reinforce these developments. First, what has come to be called 'the new literacy' (Willinsky 1990) sees literacy as a set of practices within a given cultural context, not as a set of neutral technical skills (Barton 1994). Thus within any one setting, there are different literacies which are culturally determined (Street 1984, 1993). It follows that there can be no one form of literacy (and post-literacy) provision which will be universally applicable,

Secondly, since literacy is now seen as a set of practices, it follows that even those

who are unable to read or write are already coping with these literacies using many different strategies, just as many who are literate use non-literate strategies from time to time. All adults - literate and non-literate -are engaged in literacy practices, dealing with literacy events.

Thirdly, surveys of the retention of literacy skills (Roy et al 1975; Ramaswamy 1994) indicate that such skills are best retained when they are used in 'real' situations with 'real' materials. Evaluations have shown that, despite some difficulties, the use of existing literacy practices as the basis of learning literacy (as in the Language Experience Approach of ELP and Storyteller in South Africa and other countries, where the authentic language transactions of the learners are used as the basis of learning literacy skills) is in many cases more effective than more formal primer-based methods, even in countries where the written form of the language is significantly different from that which is spoken.

Finally, current understandings of lifelong learning are challenging the view that autonomous lifelong learning can only start once an adult has completed the first stages of learning literacy. It is now clear that learning is not dependent on literacy. Non-literate adults are already autonomous learners; they are engaged in lifelong learning (Rogers 1992). Those who talk about a learner achieving the status of 'independent learner' only towards the end of the process of learning literacy have a particular form of learning in mind - book learning (study) - which they usually see as superior to experiential learning.

The implications of these trends

It is thus clear that literacy is not a prerequisite for development. Development activities are often commenced by non-literate groups, and the need to master literacy skills in these cases arises primarily and most effectively from these activities. The evidence we have received indicates that programmes built on the assumption that the acquisition of literacy has to come first and that these skills will subsequently be used for development are less effective than those built on a 'literacy comes second' model where the acquisition of literacy skills is a step within a process of helping people to complete some task on which they have already embarked. Adults learn literacy best when they feel that they need these skills and that they are able to use them to achieve some immediate purpose.

The fact that there are different uses of literacy must call for different forms of literacy instruction and post-literacy provision. And this implies that the idea of sequential stages which is implied in the word 'post-literacy', even when seen within a continuum, is no longer acceptable. The concept of a distinguishable post-literacy stage needs to be rejected.

A re-definition of 'post-literacy'

Instead of post-literacy being seen as a stage following on from adult literacy classes, a more appropriate definition might be **the provision of support to all those who feel that they have difficulty in the practice of literacy in real situations**. Post-literacy is the promotion of more effective literacy practices in the community by all those who have limited literacy experience and confidence in given contexts. Such support, to be most effective, will need to be provided more frequently at the point of use rather than in special classes and by other helpers as

well as by literacy practitioners.

One implication of this is that the promotion of more effective literacy practices in the community will be achieved not so much through specially designed post-literacy materials as through a range of activities using real or ordinary materials in real situations. It is therefore appropriate to talk about 'post-literacy activities' rather than 'post-literacy materials'. Materials will be needed for these activities, but the materials used will be real materials arising from real literacy situations rather than contrived learning materials.

Participants in post-literacy: And it follows that 'post-literacy' provision will extend not simply to the members of initial literacy classes but to others who need help in developing further their literacy competencies in different contexts. The need for some form of continuing assistance for people in both rural and urban communities to encourage and help them to practise literacy in real situations has been demonstrated in almost every country, both developing and industrialised. There are growing numbers of adults in every society who have attended part or all of primary school or adult literacy programme and who therefore possess a limited range of basic skills, but who are now outside the formal and non-formal systems of education. All of these are increasingly being called upon to practise literacy for real, and they will often need assistance with this activity. The literacy situations which face them are many and are socio-culturally dependent, even group dependent. Thus the help provided will need to be context-dependent. General adult post-literacy classes may not be the most appropriate form and certainly should not be the only form of post-literacy provision to meet the needs of all these persons. Provision of facilities such as 'drop-in centres' offering immediate advice and

assistance would seem to be more effective and more lasting in certain cases than further adult post-literacy classes and similar activities.

Materials for 'post-literacy'

As we have seen, in almost every context, rural as well as urban, a great deal of reading and writing material exists. Not all of it is in a form appropriate to those with limited literacy experience and confidence, but it is material with which they need to cope. The use of this material, suitably adapted and mediated to meet the needs of these people, we argue, could - and should - form the basis of all forms of post-literacy provision. This would be the most effective way of developing usable and sustainable literacy and numeracy skills within a particular context. The main finding of this report is that support for the practice of literacy in real situations using real materials will be more effective than support for further literacy instruction using special 'post-literacy' materials.

LGM:

There is however one circumstance in which writing and publishing projects with special 'post-literacy' materials have been particularly effective. This is the case of locally or learner-generated materials (LGM). There are two reasons for this. The first is that LGM is a method by which materials which are culturally appropriate can most surely be produced. To be effective, literacy and post-literacy materials need to be culturally acceptable to the users. The normal way in which materials produced by experts are assessed is to field test them with local groups of learners. The example of Storyteller in South Africa shows that the workshop process can be

used to obtain feedback during the generation stage to develop user-centred materials. But one of the most effective ways in which culturally appropriate materials may be produced is by providing opportunities for learners and other groups to write and produce what they feel is most appropriate in their specific context.

The second and more important reason to encourage LGM is that in itself it provides a major learning process for the participants. It builds confidence and motivation; it encourages further learning; and it develops literacy skills through using them to achieve participant-set goals. The learner satisfaction derived from seeing the process through from origination to printed piece, thus demystifying the notions of authorship, publishing and printed materials, is the main justification for support being given to this form of literacy activity. The process of producing such materials has a greater impact on the participants than the more passive reception of texts characteristic of traditional literacy classes. The Banda case study (p26 below) indicates that LGM is most effective when it takes place within a context of achieving some developmental task rather than within the more artificial context of a further programme of 'post-literacy'.

It is the argument of this report that the production of specialised 'post-literacy' materials should only be supported when the learners are themselves included as active participants in the writing and production of these materials rather than having the materials prepared by experts, even when there is a major process of field testing.

Post-literacy and initial literacy programmes

Post-literacy provision then is best seen as **assistance for people with limited experience and confidence of reading and writing in coping with 'real' literacy practices and 'real' literacy materials.**

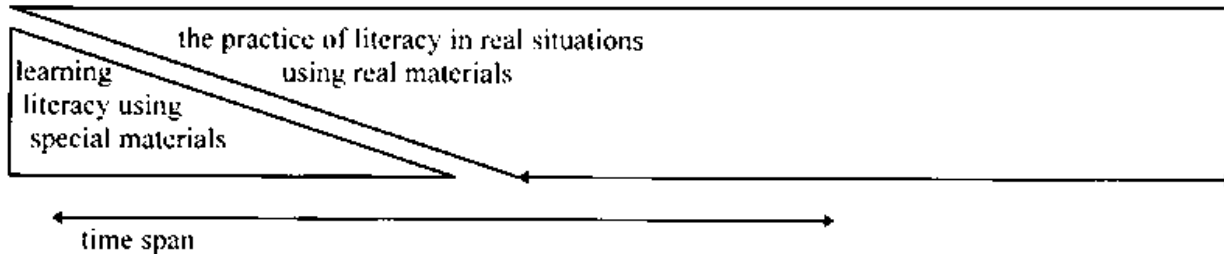
Many literacy agencies speak of 'post-literacy' as overlapping with primer literacy in terms of language level and subject matter. Although 'post literacy' activities follow on after the end of the primer-based literacy programme, the specially produced materials "go back to below the level" achieved at the end of the initial course so as to provide reinforcement to learning.

This approach to 'post-literacy' is however still based upon the assumption that a learner needs to learn first and to practise afterwards. But modern understandings of learning, especially as applied to adults, based on considerable research, indicates that the division between learning first and practising afterwards, even with such an overlap of materials, is not always a helpful distinction (Rogers 1986; Brookfield 1987). Much learning is best undertaken by doing. It is impossible to learn to swim without swimming, to type without typing. Thus with regard to literacy, it is impossible to learn to read, write or to calculate without at the same time practising reading, writing and calculation - with assistance from the teacher.

We therefore do not see 'post-literacy' as following after the initial literacy programme. Rather, we would argue that 'post-literacy activities' in the form of 'using literacy competencies in real situations under guidance' should overlap with instructional activities from the start of the literacy programme. The practice of literacy, based on the existing literacy practices which the participants are already engaged in, should increase consistently as the learning of literacy progresses. In

place of a sequential model of primer literacy followed by an overlapping post-literacy programme, we would see the overlap as follows:

Fig.2: diagram illustrating the overlap between initial literacy instruction and the practice of literacy using real materials.



Rather than learn now and practise later, this approach involves the literacy participant learning through practising, increasingly using 'real' materials in class as apprentice readers or writers or calculators with gradually diminishing support from the instructor. In this way, the practice of literacy will be more sustainable after the end of the initial literacy provision. We know that many literacy agencies and practitioners do not believe that adult learners are capable of using real materials while they are learning basic literacy skills, but the examples we have seen show that adults learn literacy best when they are enabled to use their newly acquired skills immediately in real situations on real materials and not after a delay.

The main implication of this approach is the need for more and different forms of training of literacy practitioners to help them to identify real literacy materials in the

community and to use these in their literacy classes and activities. This is a new approach to the teaching of literacy for adults and it will call for new training programmes.

Post-literacy and continuing education: A distinction has sometimes been drawn between 'post-literacy' and what is often called 'continuing education'. It can be argued that 'continuing education' can best be regarded as that part of post-literacy activities which is directly related to the formal education system - either in terms of covering the same curriculum as primary or secondary school or of assisting those participants who wish to gain entry into the formal system at an appropriate point. The kind of assistance for those with reading and writing and numeracy difficulties advocated here will include for some persons learning things which they would have learned in primary school or building up formal learning skills which will be required if they were to enter or reenter school, while for others it may mean help with writing letters, filling in forms, responding to state documents (e.g. in health matters) etc on a specific task basis without recourse to schooling or formal educational provision.

Post-literacy service:

It follows that a national post-literacy programme is not likely to reach all those who need such assistance, nor provide the range of literacy formats needed. What is needed is increased provision for guidance and counselling for those with limited reading and writing skills to help them cope with the real literacies which they are likely to encounter or need in their own personalised situation. A national post-literacy service will, we believe, be more effective in providing appropriate forms of help where they are most needed.

The form of this service will of course vary from country to country. Apart from the basic function of providing direct assistance to those with limited literacy experience and confidence, it might well include some or all of the following:

- training of literacy practitioners in the identification and use of existing 'real' materials
- bridging the gap between the producers of real materials and the users, and working with the producers of these materials to adapt them to the needs of those with literacy difficulties
- supporting local groups in the development of new literacy agendas
- training other professionals (e.g. agricultural and health workers etc) to assist the participants in their programmes with their literacy activities

Resourcing this 'service', using real materials which already exist, adapting and mediating them as necessary to the needs of those who have some but relatively limited literacy experience and confidence, would be the key element to an effective post- literacy aid policy.

Cost-effectiveness

The cost-effectiveness of supporting the production of special post-literacy materials.

The cost-effectiveness of using 'real' materials for the enhancement of

literacy practices
Sustainability:

It would also seem that the dissemination and utilisation of real materials would be the most cost-effective way of developing a literacy and post-literacy programme which would more appropriately enhance the practice of literacy than would the support of specialised post-literacy materials.

The cost-effectiveness of supporting the production of special post-literacy materials.

Quality: Any assessment of the cost-effectiveness of assisting with the production of yet more special post-literacy materials will need to take into account not simply the costs of different methods of production but also the quality of the materials in terms of design and usability.

Production costs: The literature on methods of material production such as silk screen presses is more concerned with reducing costs than with ensuring local control over the processes involved (e.g. Zeitlyn 1988). But the interest in alternative methods of printing seems to be declining, in part because the quality of much of the material produced in this way is almost always low, and secondly, because good reliable and relatively cheap methods of printing are now more widely available. It is not possible to make generally applicable conclusions about different methods of materials production - the situation changes from place to place and over time. Silk screen printing would not be cost effective in Madras at the moment when printing

costs are low and the quality of the finished materials can be high. In other locations, such techniques could be cost effective. The local situation will always need to be borne in mind when making such judgments.

LGM and LCM: Locally or learner generated materials (LGM) programmes have traditionally used low-cost methods (LCM) of production - but this has more to do with the possibility of the participants having direct control over the processes than with lower costs. Nevertheless, both educational and economic advantages concur with LGM.

Production quality: The quality of the materials including their design features such as layout, use of illustrations and colour, and their legibility in terms of typeface, spacing, size of font etc, does not always correlate directly with the cost of their production -although of course there is a greater likelihood that low costs will produce low quality materials.

Recent research (Eade 1993) shows that different participants, donors, writers, literacy agencies, publishers, literacy practitioners, learners etc, make different judgments on the quality of materials. In these circumstances, the judgments of the users (learners) rather than those of the producers will more accurately reflect the true value of the materials since they will directly affect the learning outcomes. This relates as much to high quality as to low quality materials - some materials are of such high quality that some learners may find themselves deterred from using them.

Usability: Just as important is the usability of these materials in terms of their readability (vocabulary, grammar, style, etc) and their cultural appropriateness

(content and acceptability etc) (Wright 1980). The effectiveness of these materials will depend in part on the clarity with which the aims of the materials and the intended target group are set out and the support provided to the materials. The aim of the BOBP technical leaflets and comic book was to enhance the ways of working of local fisherfolk so as to relieve their poverty. There are signs that these materials have been to some extent effective in reaching these people and in promoting economic improvements. To use these materials for enhancing literacy practices will call for different assessments of effectiveness. The aim of many specialised post-literacy materials on the other hand is primarily to enhance literacy competencies but they also often contain many developmental messages. The effectiveness of these materials in reaching all the people who need these messages and in influencing them is less clear.

Further, the costs and processes of the distribution of these materials (how widely they reach out into the community) and their use once they have reached their intended audience need to be included in any assessment of their usability. Specially prepared post-literacy materials tend to have a limited distribution to those who are or have been in adult literacy classes, and their usefulness is also relatively limited. Problems of distribution are reported regularly in relation even to those materials intended for wide distribution. The Chittoor newspaper for example reached, and was read and discussed in, the adult literacy groups but it did not reach into their homes or to those outside the literacy groups. Literacy agencies rarely set out clearly the objectives of their materials or assess the spread of their distribution and their effectiveness. Evaluations of the outreach and effectiveness of these materials are needed before further support is provided.

To ensure the most cost-effective approach to any materials production project, support will normally need to be guaranteed at every stage - not just the initial development of the texts through workshops or in other ways but also the printing, publication, distribution and utilisation (including mediation and feedback) of these materials. To intervene at only one or some of these stages without ensuring that the other stages are adequately resourced is unlikely to prove cost-effective.

The cost-effectiveness of using 'real' materials for the enhancement of literacy practices

The cost-effectiveness of using 'real' materials for literacy and post-literacy programmes would seem to be higher in every respect.

Production costs: The costs of producing real materials have already been borne by the agencies concerned. Local newspapers use their existing plant to print the supplements. Publishers of magazines and other literature produce these materials in their own way and at their own cost. Agencies and government bodies issuing extension materials, technical leaflets and other real materials cover the cost of these through their own budgets. In many development programmes, the basic costs of producing the materials have already been met, provided largely in the form of technical assistance by educationalists and linguists on forms of language and presentation to facilitate these materials being used more widely and more effectively, or funding increased print runs and distribution mechanisms. Donor support for these materials would seem to be a more cost-effective way of enhancing local literacies than supporting the costs of the preparation and production of special post-literacy materials *ab initio*.

Production Quality: Because real materials often have a quality at least as high as, if not higher than, those specially prepared for post-literacy programmes, they are frequently taken as a model by literacy agencies for their own productions. Real materials are often professionally designed, and they sometimes take into account readability and cultural appropriateness. Several agencies producing such materials have indicated that they would welcome some technical assistance with the 'literacy dimensions' of their materials at the design and production stages. This approach will be more effective in ensuring high quality materials at a relatively low cost than providing support for the whole process of the production of new materials. At the same time, the process of collaboration will have advantages in educating other agencies into the special needs of those who have limited literacy skills and experience. We feel that this approach should be tested in the field as soon as is practicable.

Usability: Real materials usually have a wider circulation in the communities concerned and a wider application than materials specially produced for post-literacy programmes. Local publishers and government and other agencies use their existing channels of distribution to bring their materials to the attention of intended users, a wider audience than the attenders in literacy programmes. And some of these materials seem to possess reader credibility and acceptance in a way that educational organisations at times find difficult to achieve. Some adaptation of these real materials to meet the special needs of those with limited experience of reading, writing and calculating will of course often be necessary. We were assured several times that assistance with these aspects of the production of real materials would be welcomed. This would not be very costly.

Sustainability:

Sustainability in relation to all forms of literacy materials has been found to be problematic. The production of literacy materials - like all educational materials - will always need resourcing. But real materials produced in the normal course of governmental, commercial, political or other activities, provides a sustainable source of local and culturally appropriate materials for the further development of literacy skills. This approach to post-literacy will be more sustainable than the traditional approach.

In conclusion, it would seem that subsidising extra runs of real materials to meet an identified wider range of users (as already occurs in one or two cases); assisting with the adaptation of real materials to meet the needs of those who are having difficulty with literacy in the community; training literacy staff to identify and to use real materials; providing support for mediation and resource services - these would be more cost-effective than paying for new material to be produced and published for a narrower target group, with all the implications of distribution and utilisation.

Cost benefit

"If we are going to continue to use a cost-benefit method of assessing education, it must include weightings for improvements in quality of life. Orthodox economic analysis cannot quantify the social rate of return from the education received by a non-working mother of four children; for the benefits of her education range over improved nutrition of her family, the ability to plan its size, her capacity to take on part-time work at home, her participation in the development of her community and

her own ability to improve the quality of her life through cultural and political activity" (ODA 1990 p7).

The above statement indicates that traditional approaches to educational cost-benefit analysis (CBA) (Hough 1992), with their emphasis on economic rates of return set against inputs in terms of the amount and the levels of formal education received, cannot apply to adult literacy and post-literacy.

The value and significance of literacy and post-literacy programmes are best related to the quality of life issues noted above. These will of course depend on the practices of literacy in each area. But there is a lack of any criteria for assessing the benefits of literacy programmes. Other than in the health sector (Bown 1990 - which indicates that even here there are doubts about the direct causal impact of literacy on health practices), contrary to what is often assumed, it is simply not known whether the acquisition of literacy skills brings with it any direct economic or other benefits. There is some anecdotal evidence but nothing systematic.

There are however indications that the newer approaches to literacy which have been emerging over recent years show clear economic advantages over the traditional approach to literacy. The traditional approach, with its view that adults need to learn literacy first and apply it later to developmental activities, implies that the economic and other benefits will spring from a further developmental programme to be conducted after the end of the literacy course rather than from the literacy programme itself. There will then be some delay between the literacy programme and any economic and social improvement which flows from literacy. It is true that many literacy programmes organise an income-generation activity alongside the

literacy, but the economic benefits which derive in this case come from the income-generation programme, not from the literacy programme.

The introduction of literacy practices in real situations using real materials into initial literacy teaching, will bring greater and more immediate benefits to the learners, especially when those real literacy situations are related to social and economic activities. Many literacy practices in all societies are concerned with the management of money, access to credit, record keeping, budgeting and accounts. If these literacy practices are introduced as part of initial literacy teaching, the skills they embody will be assimilated more thoroughly and more permanently than if they form part of a 'bolt-on' programme delivered later. There will also be less delay in the benefits reaching the beneficiaries. It is the effective use of literacy skills rather than their acquisition that will bring cost benefits to the users. Post-literacy, if seen as using literacy in real situations with real materials, and introduced during the initial literacy programme, will have greater and more immediate cost benefits than post-literacy seen as a further stage of literacy instruction.

Conclusion

These views have been based on an extensive review of the literature and consultation with leading experts in the field and on a number of visits made to case studies over a period of more than a year. They have been elaborated in the course of the research team debates. The view has been expressed to us by some of those who work in the field that the traditional 'literacy first' approach has been expensive, largely ineffective and even where the initial response has been positive - rarely sustainable in the long run. This review has given some positive evidence of

the potential of the 'literacy second' approach to create a cost-effective programme, using real or ordinary materials rather than special post-literacy materials to achieve greater and more lasting results. What is needed is for some trials to be conducted on the basis of this newer approach outlined in this report.

Photograph of instructor working with a group of learners to fill in a government child health form, an example of the use of real literacy materials in class (LABE, Uganda).

Summary of possible courses of action

General

1. Surveys at local level of existing perceptions of literacy and of literacy practices and the relationship of these to the perceptions of agencies, so as to provide the basis on which to build new literacy and post-literacy programmes.
2. Assistance with the spread of real literacy materials so as to build up a literate environment; this needs to be monitored to see if increased supply of materials encourages increased demand for literacy provision.
3. Assistance to local libraries/resource centres and the training of their staff.

Literacy Programmes: special post-literacy materials

4. Support for literacy programmes seeking to develop locally generated materials, especially learner-generated materials.

5. Assistance to those writing and producing special post-literacy individually or in writing workshops to develop culturally appropriate and gender sensitive materials based on existing literacy practices.

6. Assistance for local producers of materials (especially local publishers) in production processes to strengthen local capacity.

Real materials

7. Assistance to literacy agencies to identify, adapt, disseminate mediate and utilise real materials for literacy purposes.

8. Assistance to agencies producing real materials to develop their materials in formats appropriate to those with limited literacy experience and confidence.

9. Training of literacy practitioners in how to use real materials within literacy programmes so as to develop literacy practices further.

Post-literacy service

10. Assistance with the development of a national or local service to provide support, expertise, mediation and adaptation for all forms of post-literacy activities to reach all those who need help with literacy practices.

11. Training to other support and development professionals so that they can help their participant groups with their literacy practices.



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The report is the product of a year long research project funded by the ODA and undertaken by a research team brought together by **Education for Development**.

The report proposes a radically new approach to post-literacy programmes and materials. The team indicate that they do not see post-literacy as a phase of more advanced literacy teaching (whether part of a continuum or a discrete stage) in a progression from illiteracy to independent learner, as most other workers in this field do. Rather they see post-literacy as the provision of support for the practice of literacy in real situations using ordinary materials by persons who have limited skills of reading, writing and calculating.

The report argues that adult learners should be introduced to the practice of literacy in real situations as soon as possible and certainly while they are learning to read

and write. Modern understandings of adult education indicate that the best way to learn to do something is by doing it in real life situations. The authors therefore believe that 'post-literacy' ought to begin during the teaching of initial literacy.

But beyond this, literacy practices involve many more people than those adults who are learning - or have learned - their literacy through adult literacy classes. In every society, industrialised or developing, there are large numbers of people who, although they can read and write to a certain extent, have difficulty in coping with some real life literacy situations. Many countries have made provision to assist these people (eg the Plain English Campaign in the UK). It is this programme of support, made available for all these people, which the authors would call post-literacy, not simply the provision of extra literacy classes or activities.

Provision for post-literacy support will then need to be seen more in terms of personal assistance to a wide range of people than of the production of materials. Clearly more non-course materials will be needed to reinforce a literate environment and to enable people to cope adequately with real literacy situations. But what is really needed in every society is a post-literacy service rather than a post-literacy programme. Those who engage with different groups of people to assist them in various ways (the caring professions) may be the best people to help those they work with to develop their literacy skills further and to cope more effectively with difficult literacy situations rather than specially appointed and trained literacy instructors. Such workers need support, training and materials for this aspect of their work.

The report is backed up by detailed case studies of post-literacy activities in South

Africa (newspaper supplements and comic books), from India (extension leaflets, neo-literate textbooks and a neo-literate newspaper) and from many different parts of the world including Bangladesh, Kenya, Uganda, and Zimbabwe, as well as by a review of an extensive literature.

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