AN EVALUATIVE STUDY OF THE POLITICAL EDUCATION PROGRAMME OF THE DIRECTORATE FOR SOCIAL MOBILISATION (MAMSER)

1987 - 1992

BY

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DEDICATION

To my parents, Pa Gabriel Adebayo Abiona and Madam Esther Ajibola Abiona for their love and care.

To my darling wife, Bamike, for her love, support and encouragement.

To my children, Adeniyi, Adedamola Adejorin, and Omolara for their love and understanding.

To the Glory of God for His Goodness, Providence and Mercies.

CERTIFICATION

I certify that this work was carried out by Isaac Adekeye Abiona in the Department of Adult Education, University of Ibadan.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE:

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER TWO

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

LITERATURE REVIEW

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF APPENDICES

ABSTRACT

The study evaluated the strategies employed by the Directorate for Social Mobilisation (MAMSER) for its Political Education Programme in Nigeria between 1987 and 1992. This was with a view to determining the best strategies for political education within the context of Nigerian environment.

Chapter One is the Introduction to the study. A brief Historical Background of Nigerian Politics which resulted in the setting up of an agency for political education was reviewed. The chapter also contains the Need for the Study, Statement of Problem, Research Questions and the Overview of MAMSER.

Chapter Two is the Conceptual Framework where concepts related to the study were examined. The concepts reviewed included Political Education, Political Culture, Mass Education, Evaluation Process and Models of Evaluation.

Relevant related Literature on Political Education was reviewed. The review covered Political Education and the Society, Political Education and Mass Literacy, Political Education and Adult Education, Methodology of Political Education and Evaluation of Political Education Programme.

The Descriptive Survey Research Design was adopted for the study. A set of questionnaire was designed, using a five-point Likert Scale as the instrument for the study. 800 randomly selected subjects drawn from rural and urban communities in Oyo State served as the subjects for the study. Oral interviews and records available at MAMSER'S Offices at the Local Offices and State Headquarters were used to complement the data collected through the ques-

tionnaire from the respondents. Key figures involved in the planning and implementation of the MAMSER Political Education programme like the then Secretary to MAMSER, Professor Tunde Adeniran and the Bauchi State then Director of MAMSER, Dr. Musa Moda were interviewed.

The data collected through the instrument administered to the respondents were analysed, using correlation co-efficient, chi-square and t-test statistical tools.

From the study, the following findings were established.

(i)   MAMSER was designed to fail by the government.

(ii)   Most respondents were aware of the existence of MAMSER as a government organ;

(iii)   Most respondents did not understand the content and objectives of MAMSER's political education programme;

(iv)   The delivery strategies used for the propagating/disseminating the political education programme by MAMSER were not effective;

(v)   Most of the personnel of MAMSER were not trained adult educators with expertise of mobilising adults;

(vi)   There was no specified curriculum for the political education programme and

(vii)   There was no effective monitoring of the programme.

Based on the findings, the policy implications were identified and a feasible policy for political education was recommended in Chapter Five for better political awareness in the Nigerian polity to include:

(i)   A framework for a political education programme in Nigeria;

(ii)   Training of all personnel in adult education and political education;

(iii)   Training in management and administration for all the cadres of MAMSER's staff;

(iv)   Preparation of curriculum/syllabus on political education geared towards the Nigerian environment.

(v)   Involvement of other Government Agencies, Ministries and Universities in the Planning, Implementation and Evaluation of the programme.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Political Education is an important form of adult education programme. It promotes political participation, civic responsibility, national consciousness, national security, economic development, national unity and integration. According to Pye (1965:p.52) Stone (1974: pp 80-89) and Anyanwu (1987: p 66-69), political education brings about political stability, national integration and economic and social development. It is the realisation of the importance of political education that prompted the establishment of the Directorate for Social Mobilisation (MAMSER) to solve the problems of political instability, ethnicity, and disunity in Nigeria. This study evaluated the Political Education Programme of MAMSER, 1987 - 1992.

1.1 Historical Background of Nigerian politics:

Nigeria became an independent nation on 1st October,1960. The period between attainment of independence and now had been characterised by political restlessness and instability. Nigeria had two civilian regimes and six military governments within this short period.

The period between 1960 and 1965 witnessed some escalating political disturbances in parts of Nigeria with increasing loss of confidence among the political parties and among political leaders. As noted by Diamond (1987), more troubling was the actual performance of the political actors. All over the nation, ruling regional parties were used increasingly to harass and

repress political opponents. In this way, each ruling regional party consolidated its position in 1960 and 1961 elections and ensured that opposition was demoralized.

Anderson (1967:p.16) observed that the problem with Nigeria in the first republic was basically lack of political education and tribalism. He contended that "the 1964 Nigeria electoral campaign was with the ethnicity at fever pitch and the major contenders all clearly labelled in the perceptions of the voters." It was easy to predict what man would vote for National Council of Nigeria Citizens (NCNC) or the United Progressive Grand Alliance (UPGA).

The energy which could have been expended to pursue economic growth, unity in diversity, stability and better life for all and sundry was diverted to pursue unhealthy political rivalry. There was political tension especially in the Western Region between Awolowo's Action Group and Akintola's United People's Party. This was sequel to the crisis in the Action Group in 1962 which led to the split of the party into two. Akintola who was the premier of the West was removed from office and this caused a disorder in the Western House. The Federal Government under prime Minister Abubakar Tafawa Balewa appointed an Administrator for Western region and declared a state of emergency.

Chief Awolowo, the leader of the Action Group, opposition of Federal House was found guilty of treasonable felony and sentenced to ten years imprisonment while other party members charged with him also received prison sentences ranging from two years to fifteen years.

Diamond (1988) argued that with the distribution of national power and resources at stake, electoral conflict became more tribalistic and violent.

The 1964 election was marred by organized political thuggery and official obstruction and repression of opposition campaign. The political tension that the 1965 election generated led to a chain of events in the annals of Nigeria. There were chaos, civil disobedience, arson and loss of lives. This eventually led to the first military Government in Nigeria.

The first Military coup in Nigeria was led by Major C. Kaduna Nzeogwu. This took place in Januar,y 1966 and it led to the death of top Government functionaries and political heavyweights in Nigeria. The likes of the Prime Minister, Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, Sardauna of Sokoto, Sir. Ahmadu Bello and Chief S.L. Akintola were assassinated. While Major Nzeogwu was still in control of theNorthern Legion, the Federal Government was formally handed over to Major-General J.T.U. Aguiyi-Ironsi, (the most senior army officer) in Lagos. Major Nzeogwu conceeded the administration of the Northern Region to the authority in lagos under Ironsi.

However, General Ironsi and Nzeogwu were Ibos. Moreover, in the coup, leaders in the Northern Region and Western Region were assassinated while those in the Eastern Region were not touched. Thus the tribal sentiment which had been the bane of politics in Nigeria brought an abrupt end to Ironsi regime. Ironsi was assassinated in another coup on 29th July, 1966 and Lt. Col. Gowon from Northern Nigeria became the Head of State on 1st August, 1966.

The crisis that followed this eventually led to the death of many Nigerians who resided in the Northern and Eastern Nigeria. On 27th May, 1967, Gowon announced the creation of twelve states in the Federation. Lt. Col. Ojukwu, the then governor of Eastern Region, refused to recognise Gowon's authority. Hence, he announced the birth of Republic of Biafra. This resulted in the Nigerian Civil War which started in July 1967. The civil war brought untold hardship to many homes. It brought economic ruin to the nation. Export of palm oil, coal and rubber was disrupted during the war. This brought about a loss of foreign currency which could have been utilized for economic advancement of the nation. Though the then head of state, Yakubu Gowon, claimed that the civil war was fought without incurring debt. or taking loan from external sources, he failed to add that the revenue expended on the war could have been put to better use to enhance the development of the country. When the civil war ended in 1970, Gowon embarked on a programme of reconstruction, rehabilitation and reconciliation.

On 1st October, 1970, the government announced a transition to civil rule which would take place within six years. However, Gowon changed his mind in 1974 and declared that there was no definite time to return to civil rule. Subsequently, he was overthrown in a coup led by Brigadier Muritala Muhammed on 29th May, 1975. Muritala Muhammed announced a detailed time-table for the restoration of civilian democratic government on 1st October, 1975.

The fact that Nigeria had been ruled through the barrel of the gun had never

been a guarantee of political stability. There had been quite a number of military coup-detat which had threatened the stability of the nation. Such coups had raised questions on the credibility of the military administrations as being corrective of anomalies in civilian regimes or short-cut for ambitious army officers to force their way into power. Every military officer had seen himself as a potential Head of State or Governor. There was an abortive coup six months after Muhammed ousted Gowon. This coup was led by Lt. Col. Dimka and it resulted in the death of General Muritala Muhammed, General Obasanjo who took over from Mohammed formally handed over the rein of government to the civilians for the second republic in 1979.

The second republic was a presidential form of government. Immediately the ban on politics was lifted, quite a number of parties sprang up. After the 1979 elections, National Party of Nigeria which had Shehu Shagari as the presidential candidate took over from General Obasanjo.

In the first election conducted under civilian regime in 1983, the problems which were identified in the first republic reared their ugly heads again. Amodu (1989:p1-15) captured the violence which attended the 1983 elections in the second republic. He noted that "In 1983 gubernatorial elections in Nigeria, all parties had along with their supporters psyched themselves into believing, in some states, that winning the elections was a do or die affair. In Niger State, this was exactly the situation the Nigerian People's Party supporters found themselves. When they learnt that their party did not win the gubernatorial election in the state, they went on acts of destruction and killing, not caring

that in the process they might lose their lives". Such was the situation in most parts of the country, especially in Ondo, Oyo and Ogun States. Many people were killed, arson and looting became the order of the day.

The armed forces toppled the government of the Shagari on the 31st December, 1983. The administration was accused of mismanagement of economy, corruption, high prices of food, problems with health care delivery and education. Generals Muhammed Buhari and Tunde Idiagbon snatched the mantle of leadership through a coup. Buhari/Idiagbon administration brought another phase of military administration to the country and also the end of the second republic. Buhari summed up Shagari's regime as inept, insensitive and corrupt.

The Buhari/Idiagbon regime arrested and tried many of the politicians of the second republic before special tribunals set up to try corrupt politicians and to recover public money squandered. Some prominent politicians fled out of the country to avoid possible punishment as many of the arrested politicians were detained indefinitely without trials. This administration launched the War Against Indiscipline to wipe out indiscipline, corruption and other vices that permeated the lives of Nigerians during the tenure of previous regimes, especially the Shagari's regime. The Buhari/Idiagbon's administration was best noted for its draconian laws. Many Nigerians lives in fear of possible arrest and imprisonment without trial.

Buhari/Idiagbon's regime ended with a counter coup led by General Ibrahim Babangida in 1985. The new administration accused the Buhari/Idiagbon's

regime of repressiveness, intimidation and oppression. It was noted that the administration kept many Nigerians under surveillance and many unions and professional groups were banned. General Ibrahim Babangida changed the title of Head of State under the military to the President.

On January 1st, 1986, President Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida announced in his budget speech that his administration would relinquish power to an elected civilian government in 1990. In furtherance of this pledge, he set up a seventeen member Political Bureau headed by Dr. S.J. Cookey.

1.2   The Political Bureau

The Political Bureau was inaugurated on 13th January, 1986 and was specifically charged with the responsibility of preparing a framework which will eventually lead to the Third Republic and at the same time look into the problem of instability in Nigeria. The Political Bureau was charged with the following responsibilities:

(a)   Review Nigeria's Political history and identify the basic problems which have led to our failure in the past and suggest ways of resolving and coping with these problems.

(b)   Identify a basic philosophy of government which will determine goals and serve as a guide to the activities of government.

(c)   Collect relevant information and data for the Government as well as identify other political problems that may arise from the debate.

(d)   Gather, collate and evaluate the contributions of Nigerians to the search

for a viable political future and provide guidelines for the attainment of the consensus objectives.

(e)   Deliberate on other political problems as may be referred to it from time to time.

The Bureau was given a year to complete its assignment and its report was finally submitted on 27th March, 1987.

The report of the Political Bureau (1987: pp 3-20) included issues such as determination and classification of the Nigerian Society and analysis of the environment in which Nigerians live. The argument of the Political Bureau was that the class structure has to do with peculiar problem in each social stratification. It was also expostulated that the failure to maximally and positively exploit the potentials of each class for the well-being of the Nigerian people remains one of the clearest indications of the failure of the nation's past political systems.

The Political Bureau (1987: p 3-4) classified the Nigerian Society into six social stratification as follows:

(a)   Traditional rulers

(b)   Landed gentry

(c)   Industrial/Commercial elites

(d)   Intellectual and Military elites

(e)   The quasi-proletariat

(f)   Workers, peasants and unemployed

The traditional rulers were accorded a unique position in the society. This

group of people are the emirs, obas, obis and chiefs who attained their present position because of their royal link with the past. They are regarded as royal fathers and their role is basically restricted to traditional matters.

The landed gentry which constitute the second group derived their wealth and livelihood from landed properties which were either inherited or acquired. The group of people do play an important role in the socio-economic life of the nation.

The third stratum identified by the Bureau is the Industrial and Commercial elites who are the back-bone of the economy of the nation. The group is made up of industrialists, business magnates, top bankers and others who "dictate" what the economy should be.

Intellectual and military elites were also classified. These are academicians and senior military officers. They are regarded as the think-tank and brains of the nation. The academicians, accountants etc, contribute to the well being of the nation. The next class is the quasi-proletariat which is made up of independent working class. They are mainly traders and self-employed people. The last class of people consists of those who constitute the labour force. They are workers, peasants and unemployed. They are the low level income earners and hardly sustain themselves on their income. The unemployed also constitute part of last stratum.

The Federal Government endorsed the analysis of the Nigerian Society by the Political Bureau and also accepted that there should be a positive development in terms of "social engineering, clear directive principles and committed

purposeful leadership".

The Bureau reviewed the Nigerian Political History from the pre-colonial to the post-colonial era. It was observed that the British Colonial Government merged many tribes together "without taking into consideration the view of the people and the ethnic and cultural diversity of the Nigerian society". It was argued that the problem in Nigerian political arena was precipitated by the Colonialists.

The Bureau concluded that:

> inadequate and defective structures, institutions and orientation which colonialism bequeathed to Nigeria at independence and partly on reluctance of succeeding Nigerian governments to tackle basic problems such as unbalanced federation, regionalism, sectionalism alienation of the populace from the institution of government and major state apparatuses and conception of the state as an instrument for exploitation rather than an instrument for the promotion of welfare and development were responsible for the misfortune of Nigeria.

It was noted that there should be a new orientation for Nigeria. The solution to political culture and philosophy should be directed towards

> promotion of the welfare of the people to whom sovereignty must be restored by constitutional provisions, which should ensure social justice and equality for Nigerians, irrespective of any other considerations.

The new political system is supposed "to restore the balance between rulership and responsibility on the other". The new system should ensure social justice and equality irrespective of state, ethnic origins, religious affiliations and social status. The Federal Government accepted the Bureau's call for a new political culture and philosophy.

The Bureau also examined the political economy of Nigeria. It is the contention of the Bureau that Nigeria had been a supplier of labour to the industrial world and at the same time, consumers of readily made manufactured products of European industries. Nigerians mainly engaged in agriculture. There were limited manufacturing industries on small scale production. It was noted that:

> The political economy of the colonial state was intended to subjugate, eliminate and exploit the Nigerian people and their resources. In the process of negotiating independence, the Nigerian leadership became fragmented in their struggle for the spoils of the political economy because the expansion of the political economy opened increasingly opportunities to the Nigerian elites for political, administrative and commercial activities.

Fajana (1975, pp179-197) noted that the economic predicament of Nigeria was precipitated by Lord Lugard who was the architect behind the amalgamation of Northern and Southern protectorates. Fajana (1975: p. 192) pointed out that:

> Lugard's proposals were meant principally to train Nigerians to produce raw materials for European factories: there was no thought of developing the industrial potentialities of the country. We have no evidence that anything was done about the use of manure and the control of pests. Nor was the teaching of crafts carried beyond repairing doors and windows made in Europe.

Nigerians themselves did not help the situation. The Political Bureau noted that the trend which colonialists started continued in our political economy. There was exploitation of farmers in the 1960s. Coupled with such exploitation was the rising market prices of finished goods and increased taxation to the extent that there was political tension.

The Political Bureau further stated that the Military administrations made efforts to revive the economy but the efforts yielded only little dividend. The Bureau also noted that:

> The second military rule that replaced the second republic has embarked on policies and programmes aimed at rescusitating the economy and effort which has been compounded by high rate of inflation and low level of industrial capacity utilisation.

There is a close relationship between economy and politics. It is the political power that stipulates the type of economy or ideology which a nation should pursue. This explains the Bureau's emphatic call on political economy devoid of external control.

It is argued that the "promise of providing full economy opportunities and promoting freedom and democracy called for organisation of the economic, social and political institutions in such a way as would eliminate oppression".

One of the terms of reference of the Political Bureau was the identification of a basic philosophy of government for Nigeria. The philosophy should spell out goals and activities of government. The Bureau recommended that Nigeria should take to a Socialist Socio-Economy System in which the state shall be committed to the nationalisation and socialisation of the commanding heights of the national economy.

The Federal Government rejected the recommendation of socialist ideology on the ground that an ideology will eventually evolve with time and political maturity. Thus by rejecting socialism, the Government is indirectly endorsing capitalism. Otherwise one could assume that the Federal Government wanted people to believe that Nigeria is operating on a Zero ideological

base.

One of the areas that the Bureau touched is the issue of a New Political Orientation for Nigeria. The Bureau was of the view that:

> The low consciousness of the people had made them vulnerable to manipulations of the power elite in the society. The backlash from such actions has been the emergence of a culture of helplessness, apathy and indifference to the political progress.

The Bureau called for urgent and concerted efforts to create the right political culture in Nigeria. This new political culture would be attained through coherent and clearly guided efforts of a social mobilisation and political education programme. It is argued that the concept of social mobilisation signifies that people are being mobilised towards a certain goal or ideology.

The Bureau went further to identify the strategies which social mobilisation and political education should take. The new programme should involve "Co-operative unions, women's organisations, youth and students' organizations, age grades, village wards and clan councils which should be institutionalised, democratised and given specific functions to perform in the political system. Government agencies, traditional authorities and mass media should also play vital roles".

The Bureau was of the view that the low level of education of Nigerians and lack of proper awareness of rights and obligations is the bane of the citizenry. The politicians and elites had exploited this situation to their own advantages through manipulation of state apparatus to suit their own selfish ends.

It was therefore recommended that government should establish a body to be known as National Directorate of Social Mobilization and Political Education with the following objectives.

1. Awake the consciousness of the mass of the Nigerian citizens to their rights and obligations within the Nigerian nation.

2. Inculcate in them the spirit of patriotism and commitment to social justice and self-reliance through:

    (a) Mobilising and harnessing their energies and the natural resources into production;

    (b) Preparing them to fight internal and external domination of our resources by a few groups or countries;

    (c) Making them shun waste and vanity and shed all pretence to affluence evident in our past life-styles in general;

    (d) Promoting equality of opportunities in all spheres of our life and

    (e) Creating necessary basic democractic institutions such as farmers co-operatives, village clan and ward councils to promote discussion of local affairs and taking decisions on them.

3. Make them realise that the sovereignty and the resources of the nation collectively belong to them and it is their right and duty to ensure that they at all times take necessary steps to resist any attempt to deprive them of the valuable rights.

4. Make them realise that it is equally their right to ensure that those in government primarily serve their collective interests and if necessary,

such people could be removed if found wanting.

5.   Inculcate in the citizens the need to eschew all such vices as corruption, dishonesty, election and census malpractices, ethnicity and religious bigotry which have bedevilled our body politics and uphold the virtues of honest, hardwork and commitment to the promotion of national integration.

6.   Inculcate in them generally, all other virtues of patriotism and active participation in national affairs.

The Bureau recommended that the Directorate should be permanent because the task of social and political mobilisation should be a continuous exercise and the Directorate should be autonomous to enable it function effectively.

The programmes of the Directorate should involve organisations and institutions such as the family, educational institutions, farmers' co-operative societies, labour unions, professional and voluntary associations, women's organisations, students' unions, youth clubs, religious organisations and the armed forces. It was clearly stated that:

> Involving these organisations and institutions should mean, more importantly, making sure they participate actively in devising policies and programmes and implementing them.

It was recommended that the activities of the Directorate should include devising more effective strategies for the implementation of mass literacy campaign. It is pertinent to note that the Bureau's recommendation of mass literacy programme is towards an end. The Bureau was convinced that illit-

eracy was a bane in politics of the nation.

The Bureau's concept of mass literacy is not only literacy to those without it, but also vocational training to them and to the unemployed as this would go a long way towards moulding better citizens out of them. [Findings and Recommendations of the political Bureau (1987).]

The Federal Government accepted the recommendation on National Directorate of Social Mobilisation and Political Education. However, the body would be known as the National Directorate of Social Mobilisation (MAMSER). The main objective of the agency was to provide political education for Nigerians. It was believed that the political education programme of MAMSER will put an end to the political instability and this could ensure an enduring democracy. It is the aim of this study to evaluate the impact of this political education programme on Nigerians.

1.3 Statement of Problem:

The instability that characterised the political scene in the first and second republics in Nigeria had been a source of persistent headaches to many well-meaning citizens. The military administration had punctuated what could have been an uninterrupted civilian regime due to crisis that often followed elections in this country.

Political Scientists had postulated many theories and advanced reasons for the nature of Nigerian politics. They had tried to go back to Nigerian Political history since the 1914 amalgamation of North and South protectorates by

Lord Lugard in order to suggest that the violence which had been attending Nigerian election started from the British colonialists who used force to subdue the tribes, kingdoms and empires in Nigeria.

Ojelabi (1970 p. 295) argued that the period between 1960 and 1965 was characterised by political disturbances in many parts of Nigeria and the fact that politicians had no confidence in one another. Even in the second republic, Nigerian politicians did not portray a sense of political maturity, sense of belonging and it was evident that they did not learn from the past mistakes. It has been strongly contended that lack of political education led to the fall of the second republic. Hence the intervention of the Babangida's Administration to establish MAMSER for the purpose of political education for the 3rd Republic. The political education programme was expected to bring political stability to the nation. In this respect, Nigerians would be politically conscious of their rights and obligations to the nation. The whole nation would be united despite the different ethnic and religious backgrounds. In the end, there would be a great civic society in which justice, duty, responsibility and tolerance exist. The objectives of the political education programme of MAMSER were aimed at attaining a united democratic Nigeria.

It has been argued by the political bureau that the instability experienced by Nigeria sprang out of low political consciousness of the people. It is this phenomenon which had made them vulnerable to manipulation of power elite in the society. The blacklash from such actions had been the emergence of a culture of helplessness, apathy and indifference to the political process.

The instability and lack of continuity in administration in Nigeria had greatly hindered the economic development of the nation. There has been as many National Plans for Nigeria as there had been governments. Each regime or administration usually comes up with fresh plans and programmes thereby jettisoning the previous plans of the former administration.

It is no gainsaying that foreign investment is at its low ebb becawuse of political instability plaguing the nation. Despite the continuous inducement in terms of economic concession offered to foreign investors, the fear of instability had kept foreign investors away.

Increase in number of abandoned projects due to frequent changes of hands at the helm of affairs had not augured well for the nation. Each administration often embarked on new projects, in most cases for personal gain, in order to enrich their purse. Examples of these abandoned projects abound in all states of the Federation. Low-cost housing units built by Shagari administration which had been abandoned half-way not been completed by succeeding regimes. This had resulted in wastage of public fund which could have been better utilized.

Apart from the economic loss brought about by instability in affairs of the nation, the human and material loss should not be left out. Instability was usually accompanied by loss of lives and property. Military coups and counter coups had led to the death of many prominent civilians and senior military officers. Hoodlums often seized the opportunity to go on rampage and perpetuated evils such as arson, looting and other atrocities. The social sphere would be disrupted because of insecurity in the nation. It should not be forgotten that instability heightened ethnicity fever and fear of possible civil war in the nation.

In the end there would be a great civic society in which justice, duty, re-

sponsibility and tolerance exist.

1.4 The Need for the Study

Many political scientists had conducted researches into the political instability in Nigeria. They had stressed that ethnicity, lack of political education, intolerance, among others, are factors which contributed to the predicament of the nation.

The Federal Military Government under President Babangida was quite aware of this political crisis and the need to find a lasting solution to the problem, of political instability in Nigeria. It is known that the Military is not supposed to venture into politics. The military is a professional outfit and is supposed to be identified with security and protection of the nation against all external and internal aggressions but not a political party that should rule.

MAMSER was set up to educate all Nigerians politically in order to put an end to the political instability which had been the bane of politics in the country. It was the belief of Babangida's administration that the solution to the crisis in the Nigerian politics was the MAMSER's political education programme.

MAMSER was in existence for over five years and it is not too short a time to evaluate the contribution of MAMSER to political education in Nigeria.

There had been many critics, especially Nigerian journalists, who had condemned the existence of MAMSER on the ground that the functions of this Directorate could have been better implemented by agencies which had been

handling the concerned programmes previously if given necessary backing in terms of moral and financial support. Evaluation of the political education programme will bring to light whether MAMSER really justified its existence.

Evaluation will expose how far MAMSER was able to fulfill the objectives of providing political education for Nigerians.

It is quite interesting to note that MAMSER was specifically established to find solution to political instability in Nigeria. Vice President Augustus Aikhomu's first charge to the Directorate when it was launched in 1987 at Abuja was that the immediate activities of MAMSER in the following four months should include proper education of the Nigerian people about the virtues of making a success of the forthcoming Local Government Elections later in that year and making them to avoid all the vices associated with such elections in the past.

If Vice President Augustus Aikhomu gave MAMSER just four months to teach political education to the citizenry, it was timely to embark on the evaluation of the political education programme of MAMSER after five years of existence.

Since it was the aim of Babangida's administration to find a lasting solution to the problem of political instability which had been attributed to lack of political education, it is pertinent to evaluate the political education programme of MAMSER which was meant to bring political stability to the nation.

So far, little or nothing had been done to assess the impact of Political

Education on the citizenry who had been called political illiterates. Political Education as a programme of Adult Education had not been evaluated . There had been focus on Literacy Education from time to time.

Political Education is a programme under Adult Education and not Political Science. Political Scientists had concentrated efforts on political science theories but Adult Education deals with the development of people.

The above is buttressed by Mhaiki (1981) who tried to draw a line between Political Education and Political Science.

> Political Education is not the same as Political Science. While Political Science deals with history, structures of governments and parliamentary procedures, mainly the interest of academicians, political education deals with the development of people on the effort to make them conscious of their national ideologies.

As a programme under Adult Education, Political Education aimed basically at adults who had attained eighteen years and therefore eligible to vote.

Thee is no gainsaying the fact that evaluation of MAMSER's political education programme enhance and enrich the success of the programme since it was part of the recommendation of the Political Bureau that MAMSER be entrenched in the constitution in order to ensure continuity.

Evaluation of a programme such as political education which involved imparting of knowledge is very crucial. Ebel (1979 pp. 5-22) rightly stressed the importance of evaluation in a teaching programme. He said: "To teach without evaluating the results of teaching would be foolish"

Gronlund (1981, pp 1-18) asserted the importance of evaluation in all edu-

cational programmes. He conceptualized evaluation in term of "a systematic process of determining the extent to which instructional objectives are achieved by pupils". He further argued that evaluation provides a means of maintaining learning progress and diagnosing learning difficulties. He noted that periodic evaluation during instruction provides a type of feedback - corrective procedure that aids in continuously adapting instruction to group and individual needs. Evaluation instruments will provide a relevant measure, or description of the extent to which those changes have taken place.

Lindvall and Nitko (1967, p.4) contended that:

> evaluation is equally essential to the total process of education because until we have information as to whether or not change in behaviour has been produced, we have no way of knowing that instruction has indeed taken place. Evaluation will identify outcomes that have not been achieved and will thus indicate what still needs to be learned.

Evaluation is not strange to the Directorate. MAMSER had prepared the ground for evaluation of her programmes through the Research, Monitoring and Evaluation Division of the Directorate. However, it has been argued that most internal evaluation units could be subjective. It is easy to claim success where non exists and the huge public revenue expended on the Directorate would go down the drain without accountability.

There is dire need for External Evaluation such as this research. The External Evaluation will be objective and it is welcome on the following grounds:

i.   It is non-government commissioned and it is therefore free from bureaucratic control;

ii.   It is not prone to susbjectiveness which often characterises internal evaluation;

iii.   It is educative and result oriented since the purpose of this research is to add to knowledge;

iv.   It might pave way for further research.

1.5 Significance of Study

This research is significant as it demonstrates the relevance of the often emphasized but usually ignored need for an inter-disciplinary approach. It is the contention of Amucheazi (1975, p.21) that the:

> only realistic approach to social phenomena in the developing countries is to draw from history, political science, education, psychology and sociology.

The above submission is strengthened by Okedara (1981, p27) who asserted that "Adult Education cuts across levels of education, so it cuts across disciplines. Thus, Adult Education can be further classified according to some of the disciplines it works with". It is therefore important for Adult Educators to make researches into the activities of MAMSER. Mhaiki (1981, p.152) really drove home the significances of this study in Adult Education. He stated that:

> Political Education must be an indispensable component of adult education programmes to synthesise the various tribes, chiefs, vernaculars and religious sects into national policy in economic, social and cultural development.

As earlier noted, MAMSER was deeply involved in the transition to civil rule.

There had been allegations of incompetence and lack of proper understanding of the expected role of MAMSER against officials of MAMSER. Many critics, especially journalists, had observed lack of understanding of the objectives and functions of MAMSER on the part of staffers of MAMSER and the public. Some journalists who wrote commentaries on the agency perceived the role of MAMSER as an information agency and this was why there have been suggestions that it should be merged with the Federal Ministry of Information. It was specifically suggested in the "Guardians" on March 3, 1993 that MAMSER be scrapped.

It is, therefore, one of the important dimensions of this study to assess the strategies and impact of MAMSER's political education programme on the people.

1.6 Objectives of study

The objectives of this study include:

i.   Evaluation of the specific objectives of MAMSER vis-a-vis political education of the masses.

ii.   To assess the strategies employed by MAMSER for facilitating political education.

iii.   To examine reasons for success or failure or problems of the Directorate.

iv.   To examine the organisation and administration of MAMSER.

v.   To examine the policy implications of the political education

programme in Nigeria.

vii.   To design a plausible model of political education strategies.

1.7 Research Questions

The following Research Questions were examined in order to elicit information on the impact of MAMSER's political Education Programme on the masses.

1.   To what extent had the strategies of MAMSER facilitate the success of the political education programme?

2.   Has the political education programme any effect on people's participation in politics?

3.   To what extent has illiteracy affected the success of the political education programme of MAMSER?

4.   Has political education programme any effect on the political culture of Nigerians?

5.   Is political leaning of Nigerians now free of ethnicity/tribalism?

6.   Has political education influenced the organisation and administration of political parties?

7.   Has political education reduced the incidence of thuggery, arson, riots and killings among the politicians?

8.   Has the MAMSER's political education brought hope for a stable civilian government in future?

9.   What is the effect of MAMSER's political education programme on

the issue of political instability in Nigeria?

10.   What had been the areas of successes and failures of MAMSER's po-
litical education programme?

1.8 Definition of Terms

The terms and concepts in this study that the researcher uses are defined
operationally in order to reduce ambiguities. This is important in that some of
these concepts and terms are ambivalent in nature, and are capable of mul-
tiple and differing meanings, connotations, interpretations and usage because
of their inter-disciplinary applications. For the purpose of this study, the terms
and concepts are used and interpreted as follows:

Political Education

For the purpose of this study, political education is defined as a con-
scious attempt to educate the citizenry on the national political ideas, his-
tory, feelings, opinions, rights and duties of the citizenry, through formal and
non-formal education. The purpose is to create, establish and affirm a new
political behaviour and culture in line with the national democratic values.

The main objectives of political education is having a national democratic
society where the masses are conscious, vigilant and highly organised to pro-
mote and defend democracy in order to have political stability. In this study,
civic education is also regarded as a form of political education.

Mobilisation

It is a socio-political process aimed at creating a new political culture to

replace political apathy, instability and negative attitude to national democratic institutions.

The people must be involved in taking active part in decisions affecting their general welfare and developing pride in productive work, self-reliance, self-discipline, social justice and selfless discharge of obligations for the greatness of the nation.

Mass Education

Mass education refers to an effort to conscientize the illiterates in Nigeria. Mass education is not limited to the skills of reading and writing but it is also the realization of any desirable potentiality that a man possesses.

Mass education in this context is in socio-cultural perspective which is geared towards social matters, such as political education, social justice, self-reliance and national development. It is therefore to create socio-political consciousness which makes every member of the society to participate fully in all aspects of the national life.

Political Culture

It is the collective attitude, values, feelings and response to politics, and national institutions in a nation. Political culture aims at national identification of individuals with the nation.

In Nigeria, a new political culture is expected to replace primordial political culture. This new political culture is to be created through popular awareness, active participation in politics and national affairs and increased identification of individuals with the national democratic institutions, orientations

and beliefs.

Political Socialization

Political Socialization is the individual relationship, knowledge and attitude towards the nation's political system. It is a non-formal form of political learning that affects political behaviour, and social attitudes of each citizenry. Political Socialization develops through personal experiences in school, the family, clubs, societies and Non-Governmental Organisations.

The personal identity, congnitive and emotional aspects of character of an individual determine how the individual receives the political beliefs and how he organises these beliefs.

Organisation

Organisation is defined in this study as pooling together of resources in term of personnel and material, in order to work for a common purpose. It is also a process of executive action to ensure that the resources, activities and authority relationship are coordinated in order to achieve the set objectives of political education in Nigeria.

Strategies

Strategy is a term which is used for many purposes. It means art or skill of planning and management of any affair. However, for the purpose of this study, strategies are specific programmes of action mapped out and executed in order to attain the goals of the political education programme.

Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOS)

The Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOS) are the various non-gov-

ernmental coalitions, small or large, groups or networks which may be social, economic, religious or professional in nature, mostly engaged in development and welfare services at all levels and in all parts of the world (Allen 1980 and Hall 1986).

In this study, NGOS are mainly noted for their literacy efforts in the society. Examples of the NGOS are the Nigerian National Council for Adult Education, Nigerian Baptist Convention and others.

Evaluative Study

In this study, the concept means the systematic assessment of objectives, goals and effects of the political education programme of MAMSER with a view to making policy implication for a better political education programme in Nigeria.

1.9 An Overview of MAMSER

This study evaluates the objectives, strategies, organisation and programmes of the Directorate for Social Mobilisation with particular focus on political education. The programme and the objectives of MAMSER should be determined before embarking on evaluation. According to Gronlung (1981), it is important that an evaluator should have a sound knowledge of any educational programme which is to be evaluated. Thiede (1964) also supported that the first step in evaluation is determining what to evaluate. Mhaiki (1981) agreed that in evaluating a programme, we look first at its educational objectives.

In line with the above suggestions by scholars, the researcher examines the objectives, programmes and organisation of the Directorate for Social Mobilisation.

The Directorate for Social Mobilisation: (MAMSER)

MAMSER emerged following government's acceptance of the recommendation of the Political Bureau. The government therefore decided that the body would be known as the National Directorate for Social Mobilisation (MAMSER).

In an address which was tagged "A signal for National Reawakening," Babangida (1987) referred to MAMSER as "one of the most important elements in our preparation for return to civil rule. As you may also recall the transition programme combines for the first time, a learning process and a withdrawal process".

The Social Mobilisation Programme was designed for the "generated body of our national civil community and the members of the Armed Forces". In other words, it has been acknowledged that the focus of mobilisation is for all Nigerians.

MAMSER was expected to be lasting. The effect would be beyond the tenure of that Military Government. This implies that it was not meant to serve only immediate need of the Transition Programme. It had been aimed principally to eradicate dishonesty, distrust and disharmony, dis-service and corruption. A Decree was to be promulgated in order to back MAMSER so as to give it the backing of the law.

The principal task of MAMSER was to mobilise Nigerians. It was to stir their consciousness. Babangida (1987, p.110) stated that MAMSER was:

> to raise our individual and collective national consciousness and enable us dream and attain lofty goals; to seek and to attain what is noblest in human nature, place the highest value and respect the dignity of human life to re-discover the meaning of duty and accept responsibility...

One would recall that one of the recommendations of the Political Bureau was that the Directorate of Social Mobilisation should arrest the low consciousness of the people.

According to the Bureau (1987p .77)

> the low consciousness of the people had made them vulnerable to manipulations of the power elite in the society. The backlash from such actions has been the emergence of a culture of helplessness, apathy and indifference to the political process.

Babangida firmly believed that the woes of the nation had been created by the past administrations. This view had been one of the topical issues raised by the Political Bureau. He submitted that the development of this country depends on the readiness of the citizenry to be alive to their civic responsibilities. MAMSER (1987, p.10) therefore, aimed at:

> galvanising the natural goodness, the creativity and the reasonableness in the Nigerian to help himself and the nation to attain the greatness the past so often promised but always failed to fulfil. In a real sense therefore, what we are about to launch is a mobilisation programme which should lead to the re-orientation of our people to face with reviewed faith and re-invigorated vision the challenge of taking this nation to the greatness she deserves.

Social Mobilisation is the active participation of the citizenry. It must be seen in terms of involving:

the people to increase their level of awareness of certain set of objectives with a view to achieving them.

<div align="right">MAMSER (1987, p 10)</div>

Babangida (1987) stressed the importance of political and civic education of the leaders and the led. He opined that no matter the excellence in the leadership, society can only attain greater heights if the followership is in tune with the leadership. Babangida (1987, p 12) added that:

> such followership must be educated to understand and to appreciate, be morally and spiritually committed, socially awakened and fully mobilized to conform in its every behaviour to those principles and practices which guarantee the fulfillment of societal goals.

In his address on 25th July, 1987, President Babangida stated what the broad objectives of the Directorate should be.

Objectives of Social Mobilisation Programme

According to Babangida, the broad aims of MAMSER were:

i. to enlighten, educate, and motivate all citizens towards the goals and objectives of the Nigerian State;

ii. to create a responsible and responsive leadership through the dissemination of appropriate political rules;

iii. to create a responsible and conscious public through the dissemination of appropriate political rules;

iv. to encourage a functional dialogue between the government and the people through the establishment and inculcation of political norms; and

v. to develop and sustain adequate political conventions which will guar-

antee a positive and stable political culture.

1.10 Functions of the Directorate:

On 2nd September, 1987, the Vice President Rear Admiral Augustus A. Aikhomu (Rtd.) (1987, pp 17-20) formerly the Chief of General Staff inaugurated the Directorate for Social Mobilisation at the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja. Apart from defining what Social Mobilisation entails, he spelt out the function which included:-

1. Establish an appropriate framework for the positive mobilisation and education of all Nigerians towards economic recovery and development and a new social and political order.

2. Awaken the consciousness of all categories of Nigerians to their rights and obligations as citizens of Nigeria.

3. Inculcate in all Nigerians the value and spirit of civic responsibility and commitment to social justice and economic, self-reliance through mobilisation and harnessing of their energies and natural resources into productive use.

4. Sensitize, induct and equip all Nigerians to fight against internal and external domination of our resources by a few individuals and groups.

5. Re-orientate all Nigerians to shun waste and vanity and to shed all pretences of affluence in our life styles.

6. Promote pride in the consumption of home-produced commodities, and in self-reliance.

7. Prepare the framework for creating the basic institutions and norms of democracy at all levels of our society.

8. Create consciousness about power and its use and about the proper role of Government in serving the collective interest of Nigerians.

9. Ensure that the materials which appear in the Mass Media, both electronic and the print, are in consonance with the national objectives of self-reliance, social justice, human rights democratic norms, economic recovery and economic development.

10. Propagate the need to eschew all vices in public life including corruption, dishonesty, electoral and census malpractices, ethnic and religious bigotry.

11. Propagate the virtues of hardwork, honesty, self-reliance commitment and promotion of national integration.

12. Inculcate in all Nigerians the virtues of patriotism and positive participation in national affairs.

MAMSER is supposed to permeate private and public life of individuals - both old and young. In what is styled "wider society", the activities of MAMSER shall be focused on areas such as family, students, etc. This is in accordance with the recommendation of the Political Bureau which stated that:

> To achieve the desired results, the programmes of the Directorate should involve such organisations and institutions, as farmers" cooperative societies, labour unions, professional and voluntary associations, women's organisations, students" unions, youth clubs, religious organisations and the armed forces. In-

volving these organisations and institutions should mean, importantly, make sure they participate actively in devising policies and programmes and implementing them.

In the Babangida's address (1987, pp -14) at the inauguration, he stated that the Directorate is granted autonomy and it is free to work our her strategies. He stated that "the Directorate for Social Mobilisation is completely free to map out its approaches and strategies for the attainment of the above functions".

Professor Jerry Gana (1987) identified three important areas which the Directorate should focus. There were:-

(a)   Mass Mobilisation for self-reliance, social justice and economic recovery.

(b)   Political Education

(c)   Mass Education.

Mass Mobilisation

It is specified that the programme is meant to mobilize Nigeria's labour resources to generate greater productivity in order to bring about economic recovery and self-reliance. It was the contention that if the labour is mobilised effectively, the labour force will transform the abundant natural resources into goods and services. Professor Jerry Gana submitted that the Mobilisation of the creative energies of the people is the root of genuine development.

The Political Bureau reports (1987) indicated that mobilisation be directed to five national goals which are:-

(a)   a united, strong and self-reliant nation.

(b)   a great and dynamic economy

(c)   a just and egalitarian society

(d)   a land of bright and full opportunities for all citizens

(e)   a free and democratic society.

Gana (1987, pp 23-29) argued that it is the human resources of a nation that ultimately determine the nature, direction and pace of its socio-economic development. Nations are built through the creative, productive and innovative hardwork of the people. Gana (1987, p.34) added that

> Real development is an essentially human issue - it concerns the capacity and creative ability of a people to effectively transform the natural resources of their environment into goods and services.

The Chairman of MAMSER (1987 p.34) buttressed his argument with the National Third Development plan where it is contended that :

> It is clear that development does not start with goods and things, it starts with people - their reorientation, organisation and discipline. When the accent of development is on things, all human resources remain latent, untapped potential, and a society can be poor amidst the most opulent material resources".

It is evident that if the creative energies of the people are mobilised for great production, there would be a solid foundation for greater economic development. The above is based on the massive and fertile land at the disposal of the nation. It is believed that if the labour forces to transform the abundant natural resources into goods and services are mobilised, there would be development.

The strategies to achieve mobilisation of the people would include the use of radio and television programmes. Through these media, there will be dis-

semination of information on social mobilisation activities. The popular organisations at the community level will also be involved. In this direction, the assistance of Local Government is very important. Mobilisation shall also include co-operative, labour union, town unions, professional unions, etc.

1.11   Political Education

It is the lack of political education among the citizenry that brought about MAMSER.

Gana (1987, p.25) contended that:

> Raising the political maturity and consciousness of the masses in this country is perhaps the most critical function of the Directorate.

The terms of reference of the Political Bureau were very specific on getting to the sources of political problems in Nigeria in order to find lasting solution. The Bureau's terms of reference which bordered on political education had been indicated on page 6 in this study. Thus the Directorate was charged with creation of a new and positive political consciousness among the masses.

It was the submission of the Political Bureau that:

> we are convinced that a political conscious, effectively mobilised and properly motivated population is the greatest detergent to bad governance. (Findings and Recommendations of the Political Bureau (1987 p.77).

It was also part of the observation of the Political Bureau that:

> There was clear evidence that the behaviour of Nigerians in the political process had been largely negative. The low consciousness of the people had made them vulnerable to manipulations of the power elite in the society. The backlash from such actions has been the emergence of a culture of helplessness, apa-

thy and indifference to the political process. (Findings and Rec-
ommendations for the Political Bureau 1987, p.77).

It was further stated that "Political Education is important, not only for
democracy, but for the fact that mental liberation can become a powerful
material force in the process of production, in other words, awareness (or
consciousness) is a resource on its own because the activity of production
incorporates a clear knowledge of the real world".

MAMSER (1987, pp 24-42) set out to reduce to practical terms the theo-
retical aspects of the political education programme. In a fourteen point dec-
laration, what political education programme implies was identified.

i.   educating Nigerians to realise that democracy is an indispensable pre-
        condition for rapid national development;

ii.   transforming unjust traditional structures through the promotion of
        elected committees at village ward and neighbourhood levels;

iii.   educating Nigerians about their rights and duties as citizens of Nige-
        ria;

iv.   educating Nigerians about the dangers of apathy and political silence;

v.   promoting the formation or revitalisation of popular organisations at
        all levels of our society to ensure democracy and social justice;

vi.   raising the consciousness of the Nigerian masses to realise that their
        poverty derives from exploitation, domination and lack of democracy
        in the nation;

vii.   educating Nigerians through popular organisations such as Labour
        Unions, Co-operatives, Women Associations, Farmers' Associations,

Professional Associations, Community Development Associations, etc. to take democratic decisions on public issues affecting their lives;

viii. educating and mobilising the Nigerian masses to realise that the people themselves are the best defenders of democracy and social justice;

ix. educating Nigerians to view government as their agency and government officials as public servants, NOT masters, and that it is their own national duty to intervene and correct such officials when they do wrong or abuse their positions;

x. removing institutional obstacles to popular participation of the masses in public affairs and the development process;

xi. educating and mobilising Nigerians against ethnic, religious and sectional intolerance and manipulations;

xii. educating and mobilising Nigerians to identify, expose and reject corruption in all facets of Nigeria's national life;

xiii. educating and mobilising Nigerians to identify with the Nigerian Nation and to reject any manipulations of acts which threaten the unity and integrity of the Nation;

xiv. educating and mobilising Nigerians to identify with just and democratic struggles of Africans, black people and other oppressed people in any part of the world.

The Directorate produced "Political Education Manual" which is a booklet, stating the content of Political Education as conceptualized.

Mass Education

Mass Education was the third pillar of MAMSER. It is interesting to note that Mass Education was seen as complementary to Political Education. Political Bureau recommended that:

> To complement the activities of the Directorate, government should revive and devise more effective strategies for the implementation of its mass literacy campaign. The mass literacy programme should aim at giving not only literacy to those without it, but also vocational training to them and to the unemployed as this would go a long way towards moulding better citizenry out of them. (MAMSER HANDBOOK p .27).

MAMSER identified literacy education as a strategy for mass mobilisation. To this end, compulsion was placed on attainment of literacy education if mass mobilisation was to succeed. It was stated that:

> To break ignorance, we believe that a nation - wide mass literacy programme is essential. (MAMSER BOOK 1987, p.27).

As part of the methods of executive of literacy education, it was proposed that there should be Social Mobilisation Corps of MAMSER Brigade with an initial membership of 25, 000 youths who would be employed in mass literacy and mass mobilisation programmes. It was argued that:

> a literate society is a liberated society" and mass mobilisation can "break ignorance and the culture of apathy and the culture of apathy and silence.
>
> <div align="right">(MAMSER HANDBOOK 1987, P.27)</div>

It was the submission of MAMSER that:

> literacy represents a vital key to knowing one's rights, duties and responsibilities. It represents access to the liberation of the mind and the body. It is a sure way to ensuring that individual Nigerians know not only their rights but their responsibilities, obligations and the limitations society. It is therefore, our conviction that by giving Nigerians the opportunity to be liberated

through mass education, we are, at the same time, giving them the right and opportunity to be free from all kinds of diseases and deprivations usually associated with illiteracy.

<div align="right">(MAMSER HANDBOOK 1987, P 27)</div>

The Directorate believed that Mass Literacy would liberate the Nigerian nation from ignorance and other liabilities that have militated against development of the nation. The Directorate was determined to reduce illiteracy in Nigeria by 1992. In order to achieve this target, MAMSER would co-operate with all existing agencies involved in adult education.

Structure and Organisation of MAMSER

Retired Admiral Augustus A. Aikhomu, in his address on the occasion of the inauguration of the Directorate for Social Mobilisation on Wednesday 2nd September, 1987 in Abuja, highlighted the organisational structure thus:

> The Directorate for Social Mobilisation is composed, empowered and structured as a national body at the Federal level, and is directly responsible to the Presidency. At the State level, the Directorate is located in the State Military Governor's Office, and is responsible to the National Directorate. The State Directorate is the co-ordinating organisation of the social mobilisation within the state; all appropriate State Ministries, Government Agencies and non-governmental bodies shall, either be represented in the Directorate or be co-opted into it, as appropriate. A uniform structure of organisation for all the State Directorates should be worked out by the National Directorate.

<div align="right">(MAMSER HANDBOOK, 1987, P.18)</div>

At the Federal level, the National Directorate was described as "Think-Tank which was expected to formulate policies, programmes and projects, together with effective strategies for their implementation, monitoring and evaluation.

The National Directorate was organised into the following functional and specialised Departments:

(a)   Mass Mobilisation

(b)   Political Education

(c)   Mass Education

(d)   Armed and Security Forces

(e)   Research, Monitoring and Evaluation

(f)   Administration and Finance

(g)   Information and Publicity

(h)   Family and Social Relations

At the State level, the Directorates were expected to co-ordinate and supervise mass mobilisation programme at the grassroots level. Professionals were to be the head of the following divisions:-

(a)   Information and Publicity

(b)   Mass Mobilisation and Logistics

(c)   Political Education

(d)   Mass Education

(e)   Administration and Finance

(f)   Monitoring and Evaluation

Each state should have an Advisory Council for social mobilisation made up of relevant ministries, cultural associations, community development associations, women's associations, youth organisations, labour unions and other interest groups. The council was to work out relevant strategies for effecting

programmes of social mobilisation within the social cultural setting of each state.

At each Local Government level, there should be a MAMSER Committee under the Chairmanship of "a distinguished and popular member of the community".

The office should be headed by a professional officer who should see to the day to day execution of social mobilisation programmes. He was to serve as the secretary of the Local MAMSER Committee.

At the Ward Level, there would be an Assistant Social Mobilisation Officer who was expected to facilitate social mobilisation programmes. He was to be assisted by a Committee comprising all leaders of popular organisations at the Ward level.

At the Community Level, MAMSER would intensify efforts to involve organisations such as community development associations, co-operatives, farmers, market women, etc. in MAMSER's programmes. It was even specified that where such organisations did not exist, the Directorate should co-operate with DFRRI to promote their formation.

As earlier stated, the organisation and administration of any set-up or organisation should be under focus too when there is a review or evaluation of programmes implemented by such organisation. MAMSER's structure should be scrutinized in order to assess and evaluate the execution of the three pillars on which the programmes were based.

The Organisational structure rans as follows:-

FIGURE 1
DIRECTORATE FOR SOCIAL MOBILISATION
ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE

Executive Board

Chairman

Executive Secretary

Mass Mobilisation

Mass Education

Political Education

Finance and Administration

State Liaison and Logistics

Research Monitoring and Evaluation

Armed and Security Forces

Family and Social Relations

Finance

Administration

Internal Auditor

Information Unit
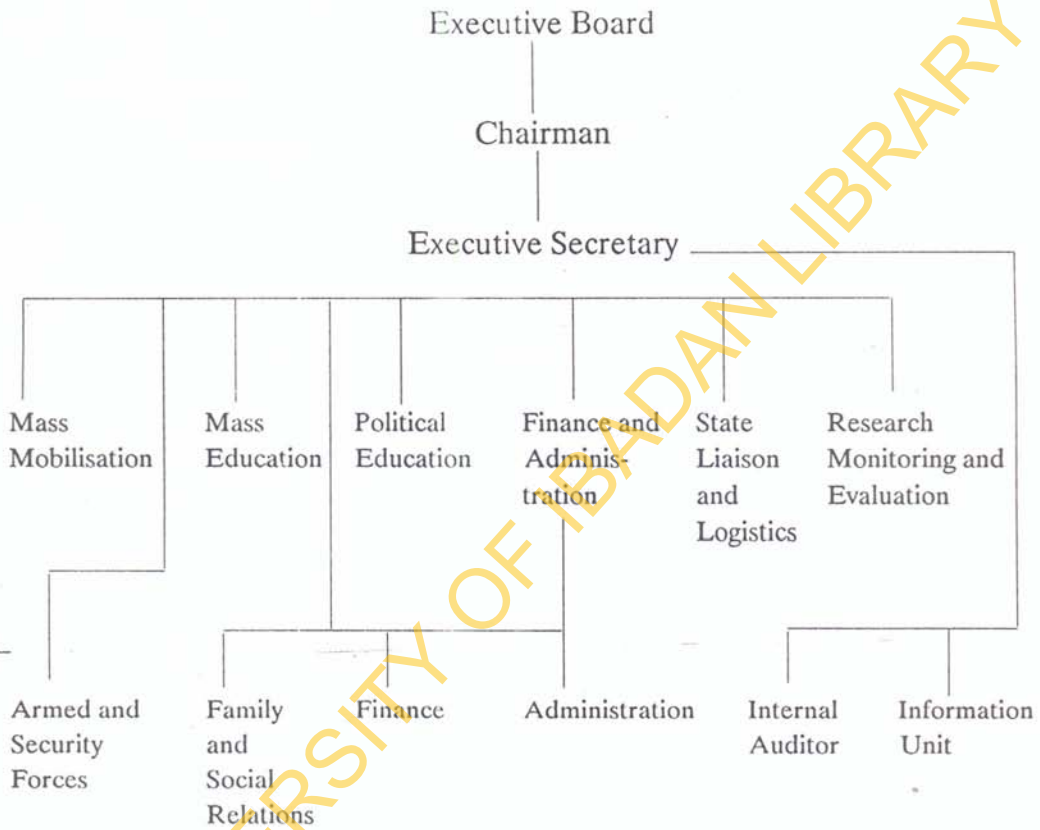
Source: MAMSER'S Handbook, Abuja 1987.

DIRECTORATE FOR SOCIAL MOBILISATION
NATIONAL ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE

LEVEL		ORGANISATION
FEDERAL		NATIONAL DIRECTORATE
STATE		STATE DIRECTORATE
LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA		LOCAL GOVERNMENT MAMSER COMMITTEE
DISTRICT/WARD		DISTRICT/WARD MAMSER COMMITTEE
COMMUNITY		POPULAR ORGANISATIONS
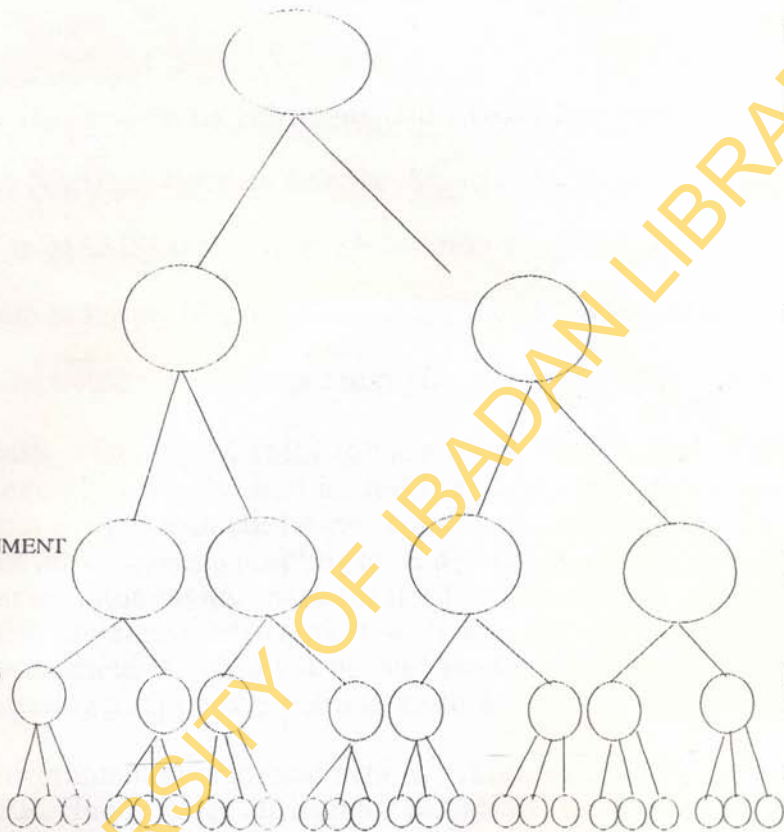
MAMSER AND THE TASK OF PROVIDING POLITICAL EDUCATION FOR NIGERIA

It was observed that MAMSER was confronted with some problems at the inception.

The problems become so enormous that MAMSER sponsoedr the 15th Conference of Nigerian Political Science Association to prepare an "Action Programme for MAMSER's Political Education Programme with a view to finding solutions to the problems. The conference which was held between 27th - 30th June 1988 noted that the constraints affecting MAMSER included:

(1)   Crisis of identity. MAMSER had no clear mandate from the government which established it, and the ambivalent policy statements from the government further created more problems. The agency was torn between accepting to be a government agency and carving out an autonomous image for itself. Moreover, the work of MAMSER appeared inconsistent with the original intentions of the government which set it up and intended it to be an agency for fostering a supportive political culture.

(ii)   Government policies and actions subvented the mission of MAMSER. Hence it was difficult for MAMSER to liberate the country's economy from foreign domination.

(iii)   MAMSER had no clear mandate and area area of juridiction, especially as there are the other government agencies like DFRRI and NDE which had overlapping functions.

(iv)   The Military Government acts were anti-democratic and thereby constituted danger to mobilization.

(v)   MAMSER was faced with hostility of the press and elites.

(vi)   MAMSER had internal problems, including its actions sometimes supported government policies; lack of understanding of what their mission was about, lack of credibility of some functionaries and failure to get at the grassroot.

The conference advised that if the problems were removed, MAMSER would be effective in educating the masses politically. The conference noted that MAMSER, as was constituted by then could not effect all of its programme. Its goals of political education were achievable only on a limited scale. The conference recommended that emphasis should be on the target areas of least resistance. Moreover it was upheld at the conference that Education holds the key to the realization of all the other goals of mobilization.

Professor Tunde Adeniran, the former Secretary of the Directorate agreed that the observed constraints affected the performance of MAMSER in achieving the set objectives of the programme. He noted, principally, the attitude of the elite and the press towards the Directorate right from the inception. He claimed that the hostility had negative effect on what could have been a unified effort to inculcate the spirit of unity and patriotism into the citizenry.

Dr. Musa Moda, a Director of MAMSER at the Bauchi State, in his view as an adult educator, remarked that the use of Adult Education strategies for implementing the Political Education Programme of MAMSER that time was suggested by him, but he observed that, since a tree does not make a forest, and that he was just one of the Director of MAMSER in the country, his idea could not be imposed on the governance.

In view of the suggestions at the Political Scientists Conference above, it is hoped that MAMSER adopted the right strategies, especially, adult education strategies in its programme. This evaluative study aimed at assessing the success or otherwise of the political education programme.

CHAPTER TWO

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.00   For clear understanding of this study on political education in Nigeria, conceptual issues related to the study are analysed in this chapter. The main issues which are subjects of focus are principally conceptual meaning of political education, political culture, relevance of mass education to political education and evaluation theories.

2.1 Political Education

Political education goes beyond the indoctrination and education given by political parties to the party members, supporters and prospective members. It is neither the philosophy of the programme of a political party nor any attempt to canvass for votes from the electorate.

Political education has been defined as deliberate attempts to teach political ideas Stone, (1974, p.80-89). Stone explained what he conceptualized as "ideas". He identified such ideas as the knowledge of one's country, feelings, opinions about the government, general attitude, civic knowledge etc. He further stressed that political education is inculcated into the children in school and at home.

The above submission by Stone (1974) was upheld by Dudley (1973 p. 257), a political scientist. Dudley argued that political education does not

come into being through mere process of social interaction or modernity. It is a deliberate attempt to educate the citizenry. He contended that:

> In societies where this (political) awareness had been built into experience of the citizens, it had come about not only through a process of continued social interaction but through a process of political education given to the citizens.

Stone (1974) and Dudley (1973) recognised that political education should be a programme which should be pursued. In a formal school system, it could be an approved curriculum.

There are two key words or phrases which should be given closer examination from the submissions of Stone (1974) and Dudley (1973). The two scholars agreed the political education has to be "deliberate attempts" and the course content should be "political". Stone (1974) went further to identify teachers as agents of political education and parents complementing the teachers' efforts at home. This indicates that political education is conceived within the context of the formal school system.

From the definition, it must be a pre-planned and well designed programme with specific, identified and spelt out objectives which should be realised at the end of the programme when evaluated like other educational programmes. It could also be a prepared and approved curriculum like other educational programmes and learning through personal experiences only come in through the role of the family as an agent of education.

The above assertion limit the scope of participants in political education to those in formal school system. It left out those that were never opportuned to attend a formal school.

Adult Educationists such as Freire, Oyedeji, Bola and others argued that informal education should take care of those without formal education. A citizen who could not have political education through the formal school system could still have access to political education through organised adult education programmes. While not dismissing the importance of the school and family in political education, it should be given to all citizens in order to play their expected role in the society. Every member of the society has a role to play.

Fanon (1965), thought of political education as individual identification with the nation in terms of personal experience of each citizen in the nation. In other words, political education should be personalized. Fanon described political education as:

> making the nation part of the personal experience of each of the citizens because it is national and because it is a link in the chain of national existence, ceases to be individual limited.

He argued that it is through this "indoctrination that the masses are taught purposefully that everything depends on them, that collectively, they and they alone are responsible for either progress or stagnation of the society. Political education therefore brings about personal identification with the national goals and aspirations.

Stone (1974) and Fanon did not hold divergent views on what should form the core of the context of political education. However, Stone (1974) noted that political education is a children-oriented programme which should be imparted right from school and that parents are also agents of education.

Fanon (1965) on the other hand, believed that it is a programme for adults whereby "the masses are taught purposefully".

Stone (1974) thus limited his political education concept to a section of the people-children, who do not have immediate need for political education. While the children are very important because they are prepared for the future, scholars in Adult Education had argued that it is more economical to teach adults in that adults spend lesser years to learn what children learn and also it costs less to teach adults .Apart from economic benefit, any educational programme given to adults serves immediate needs of the adults in particular and the society in general.

Political education as conceived by MAMSER is supposed to serve immediate need and to bring political stability to Nigeria if adults are politically educated.

Janowitz (1983) and Anyanwu (1981, PP 67 -71) argued that civic education is the same with political education. Janowitz (1983) contended that civic education exposes students to central and enduring political traditions of the nation, teaching essential knowledge about the organization and the operation of contemporary governmental institution and fashioning essential identifications and moral sentiments required for performance as effective citizens. Janowitz went further to identify what should be evaluated at the end of teaching/learning process in civic education. He asserted that:

> Effective civic education would result in increased understanding and meaningful national identifications. It would strengthen civic consciousness.

Janowitz added that civic education could be attained through the school selected voluntary associations concerned with national and patriotic meanings. It is noted that Janowitz perceived civic education as meant for all and sundry.

Anyanwu (1981,pp .66-71) also equated civic education with political education. He argued that civic education is specifically meant for adults. His argument is based on the premise that adults are directly concerned with voting and politics. Anyanwu (1981,p.67) stated that the civic education :

> educates the people on the concepts of their national and state government in order that they may become an enlightened electorate, able to understand the tenets of government and to take their place successfully in the local administration particularly in the rural areas.

He further noted that:

> civic education helps to rescue the masses from the danger of a direct rule by a elite minority beneath the appearance of democratic government.

> Thus civic education helps to guide against the exploitation of the masses by the few professional politicians.

The view of Anyanwu (1981, p.67) above is undoubtedly influenced by the situation of Nigeria. He firmly believed that civic education could save the masses from the claws and exploitation by few professional politicians. However ,the definition of civic education above is limited in scope in that it is not clear what "professional politicians" means . It is assumed that they are people involved in active politics ."Professional politicians" also exist in developed countries though citizens are already exposed to political education.

Mhaiki (1981, pp151) on his own part, had the view that political education

"deals with the development of the people in the effort to make them conscious of their national ideologies". Mhaiki (1981, pp151) further argued that:

> true development is the development of people who will give proper direction to the development and modernization.

He is convinced that elections and voting are very important in a democracy but they are "democratic instruments only when people are politically conscious and politically educated. Otherwise rich and the powerful would manipulate the masses no matter whether the system is a one party or multi-party government. Political education therefore produces people who could effectively exercise democratic decision ."Mhaiki (1981,p.152)

In Nigeria, the Political Bureau advocated that political education should be given to adults to bring about political stability to the nation. In the exact words of Gana (1987, p 41) the goals of MAMSER's political education programme in Nigeria is to create :

> a nation democratic society where the masses are conscious, vigilant, and organised and in which social injustice, poverty and foreign domination of our national economy are totally eliminated. This implies the creation of a new national political culture which would facilitate the establishment and consolidation of an integrated enduring and viable democratic political order in the Nigerian society.

Some scholars confused political education with political socialization. Almond (1960, pp 87-90) Stone (1974, p.80-89) drew a clear line between the two concepts. Almond (1960, p 87) stressed that political socialization is the "process of induction into the political culture. Its end product is a set of attitudes, cognitions, value standards and feelings towards the political system, its various roles and role incumbent". Almond further stresses that

the process of socialisation should bring about a change in terms of attitudes to the political systems, knowledge about the system and expectation and spelling out duties and roles of citizenry.

Stone (1974, pp 80-89) also noted that socialization relates to individual relationship, knowledge and attitude towards his/her nation's political system. Acquisition of political attitude is based upon individual character structure. The identity, cognitive and emotional aspects of character determine both the receptivity of the individual to beliefs about aspects of his political world and how he organises these beliefs.

Greenstein (1968 p 87-90) and Dawson and Prewitt (1969) however presented political socialization as political education. Greenstein (1968) argued that political socialisation is all formal and informal deliberate and unplanned learning at every stage of the life cycle, including not only explicitly political learning that affects political behaviour but also nominally non political learning that affects political behaviour such learning of politically relevant social attitudes and the acquisition of politically relevant personality characteristic. Dawson and Prewitt (1969) divided socialisation into two aspects, namely, Direct and Indirect socialisation. Indirect socialization is learning through experiences in school, the family, and in clubs. This concept involves the acquisition of pre-disposition which are not in themselves political objects. Direct socialization on the other hand is specific learning of orientations to politics and experience with the political system.

In the above contention of Greenstein (1968, p 87-90) and Dawson and

Prewitt (1969), the aspect which deals with specific political learning is really political education. While the other aspect, that is through experiences is political socialization.

Political Socialization is not part of what this study intends to evaluate. For the purpose of this study, the aspect of Greestein's, Dawson's and Prewitt's definitions which are same with political education are accepted.

Torney (1977, p 87-90) argued that political education is best approached through an integrated child oriented programme. He argued that:

> Childhood political learning is critically important because it resents valuable never to be repeated opportunities on which to build a guided and systematic political education. During this period children's intellectual, emotional and social development, their political selves are still being formed. When we postpone over attention to political education until the high school years we run a risk - that our instruction in later years will be less than maximally effective.

Research in Adult Education however, has proved Torney's concept inadequate. Kidd (1973), Knowles (1970) and Cole (1979) pointed out that adults are still capable of learning and the fact that they have practical experience on their side makes them better learners than children.

Political education could be given to adults without "running a risk" if the importance of the experience that adults have is taken into consideration.

The Directorate for Social Mobilisation also conceptualized political education in terms of education for adults in order to serve the country's immediate need - stability. From the various submissions which stated that political education is a deliberate attempt to teach political ideas to the citizenry, it

could be deduced that it is a pre-planned educational programme to serve the national needs.

MAMSER specified that the goal attainable in political education is "the creation of a new national political culture which would facilitate the establishment and consolidation of an integrated enduring and democratic political order in the Nigeria Society".

From the various definitions, arguments and submissions of theorists on what political education is, there is a need to redefine the concept to suit developing nations in general and Nigeria in particular. Most available literature on political education had been form Western scholars and their views had a dose of western concepts. It is therefore our view in this study to conceptualize political education in terms of:

> a conscious attempt to inculcate political ideas, history, knowledge, opinions and feelings about the government in the citizenry through formal and non-formal education, in order to create, establish and affirm a new political behaviours and culture in line with the nation's democratic values and institutions in place of the primordial culture.

MAMSER stated that there is a close relationship between political education and political culture. This view is supported by Pye (1965) who contented that political education greatly influences political culture.

2.2 Political Culture

Pye (1965 p 52) contended that "the concept of political culture assumes that such individual must, in his own historical context learn and incorporate into his own personality the knowledge and feeling about the politics of his

people and his community". He further stressed that each generation must learn and receive its politics from the previous generation.

Political culture is further described as the collective attitude and response to politics of a nation by the citizens. Pye (1956 p 7) further submitted that politics itself "involves the expression of collective values of a people, the feeling of people about their social and group identities and above all the tests of loyalty and commitment". This political culture brings national identification. According to Pye (1965, p 7) national identification is:

> The beliefs of individuals and the extent to which they consider themselves members of their nation or state.

National identification is not just a question of physical and legal membership of a political system, that is living within the geographical boundaries of a country and being subject to its laws. The psychological membership of a political system which makes one feel a sense of belonging is created by the right political education and culture. Pye (1965) asserted further that "unless most members of a system identify themselves as members of that system, such generalized loyalty will be hard to generate".

The sum total of such individual loyalty and identification form the political culture of a nation: Pye and Verba (1965, p. 89-91) conducted a research on this aspect of political culture.

Pye and Verba (1965 p. 89) describe political culture as "an integral aspect of political beliefs an individual holds being, of course, part of the totality of beliefs."

From the submission above, it is the totality of individuals political beliefs about their country or nation that form the political culture in such nation. The political education given to the individuals of such society therefore helps the citizenry to develop the political culture.

In the same vein, Almond and Verba (1965) conducted a research on political culture. In a comparative analysis of political attitudes in five countries - United State, Britain, Germany, Italy and Mexico, Almond and Verba used the term culture in the sense of individual's psychological orientation toward his community. The researchers defined political culture as internalized in the congnitions, feelings and evaluation of its population. Almond and Verba identified three types of political culture in this regard. They referred to them as parochial political culture, the subject political culture and the participant political culture.

A parochial political culture is "so simple and unobtrusive that the individual does not think twice about whether it exists. In such societies, there are no specialized political roles for members because the political orientations to these roles are not separated from their religious and social orientations. A parochial culture does not expect anything of his political system because he is unaware or in more differentiated societies, only dimly aware on a feeling level of the existence of a political regime". This assertion was criticised by Stone (1974, p89) on the ground that if an individual is not aware of existence of a political regime, it is not possible to have any feeling towards it.

Subject political culture is described as having loyalty and dedication to the

ruler and the reward appropriate to loyal service. Verba and Almond (1965, p. 89) remarked that the typical subject does not make any input into the system nor does he think of himself as being able to change of make any input into the system not does he think of himself as an example of this culture. It is noted, however, that the British political culture today contains lively participant traditions, though the Head of State is monarchic.

Participant political culture refers to a situation whereby the members of the society are oriented to the system as a whole, and to both the political and administrative structures and processes. The activist traditions of the United States is an example of this culture. In assessing the three theoretical political cultures, Stone (1974 p. 90) advanced that none of the three types of political cultures which Almond and Verba hypothesized is found in its pure form in any particular country. He argued further that:

> A political structure may be maladaptive for the society. For example, a model parliamentary democracy could be set up in a small African Country whose political culture is mixed parochial and subject. Difficulties are to be anticipated in such a situation since the attitudes of the citizenry do not correspond to the demands for active participant imposed by the structure of the system"

Even Almond and Verba (1965, p.92) who made the research believed that it is an ideal situation to have the three propounded cultures. They asserted that:

> In general, a parochial, subject to participant culture would be most congruent with respectively, a traditional political structure, a centralized authoritarian structure and a democratic political structure.

Czuduowski (1968 p. 879) and Parson (1977; p. 639) also stressed the importance of political culture in a nation. Czuduowski (1968) stated that political culture is concerned with the personal and subjective meaning ascribed by individuals and groups of individuals to behaviour which has been objectively defined as politically relevant.

Parson (1997, p.639) also defined it as the attitudes, beliefs and values held by a population directed towards the political system of which it is a part and includes what people know about that political system and their evaluation of its work.

The political culture identified and defined by these theorists had heavy dose of western culture and has little or no direct relevance with African countries. Osagbae (1981) in a research on political culture in Ibadan, noted that "even though there exist a few studies of political culture and political attitudes in Africa, most of the few available ones have been set in the framework of theories of modernization and political development".

The theorists argued that African States are undergoing the twin processes of modernization and political development, which are characterized by changes in the political, social, economic, intellectual religious and psychological systems. The changes which came after colonialism weakened the traditional political cultures and popular awareness of other groups and active participation in politics increase with greater identification of individuals with the political system as a whole.

It is argued that the political instability in Africa is due to the perpetual

task of modernizing the old societies to meet the demands of secularization. Secularization, according to Welch (1971, pp 7-11) is for modern society, not a traditional society in that it involved a transformation of attitudes, and widespread awareness of participation in political process and such awareness is created by political education.

Almond (1960) argued that five factors should be taken into consideration when studying the political culture of any developing country. He stressed that a researcher should note:

(i) the type of traditional cultures which are involved;

(ii) the auspices under which westernization has been introduced (whether by western colonial powers or by local elites);

(iii) the functions of the society which have been westernized;

(iv) the tempo and tactics of the westernization process; and

(v) the type of western cultural products that have been introduced.

Pye and Verba (1965) added that apart from the above generalization, there exists political culture of rulers which could be termed "elite culture" and another political culture for the ruled which could be termed "mass culture ". The elite political culture is more homogenous than the mass political culture. Palmer (1985, p. 22) held the view that:

> an elite capacity is to motivate its subject and to organise and
> direct them once they have become motivated.

Elite and mass political cultures exist in developing countries and this have implications on development of democracy in these nations. In his address on the occasion of the launching of Mass Mobilisation Directorate, Babangida

(1987, p. 12) identified two political cultures necessary for the leader and the led in Nigeria. He further stated that:

> In my humble opinion, leadership is certainly crucial but no degree of excellence in the leadership can lead society to nobler goals unless the followership must be educated to understand and to appreciate, be morally and spiritually committed, socially awakened and fully mobilized to conform in its every behaviour to those principles and practices which guarantee the fulfilment of societal goals. Leadership in elected administrations and the political class. . .

As earlier mentioned by Almond (1960), the type of traditional cultures in developing countries is one of the factors which affect political culture in the developing countries. In this regard, Nigerian is no exception. A number of anthropologists, historians and archeologists had pointed out that in traditional Nigeria, there were as many types of culture, institutions, orientations and beliefs as there are tribes. In other words, each tribe had distinct political culture quite different or seemingly different from others. It is argued that the modern political culture is an upshoot of the traditional political culture. This is the contention of Coleman (1965, pp.15-18) who stated that "traditional political systems have largely shaped the political perspectives, orientation to politics and attitudes toward authority of all but a small fraction of Africans involved in modern political activity".

Apter (1967) also stressed the direct infiltration of tradition into modern political culture. He observed that:

> We are a product of lives lived before us and part of a chain of cultural and social continuity which carries the past into the future.

Eleazu (1977, p.67) observed that the political culture is tied with political history in Nigeria. He argued that:

> In the confrontation with modernity, people bring with them cues drawn from their own cultures, the response they make (or do not make) their adaptability or other wise can be traced to their indigenous attitudes and orientations.

He also identified three pre-colonial political cultures in Nigeria. The political cultures are crescive authority, ritual authority and coercive authority. The crescive authority is made of territorial unit of political organisation which was small usually a village or a group of villages.

The political relationship was based on kinship and lineage systems were diffused. It is noted that in such society, there was equality respect for authority and a general disposition to participate in decision-making rather than have decisions arbitrarily imposed. Examples of such tribes are Ibo, Ibibio, Ijaw etc.

The ritual authority is conglomerations of villages with common ancestry and united for purposes of defence against common enemies. They were united through some myth surrounding their origin and "a form of kingship is instituted in which the king does not really serve as Primus Inter Pares, characteristic of the crescive authority type, but an embodiment and soul of the people". The political culture was based on rituals and service to the king.

The coercive authority is marked with the clear cut distinction between the ruler and the ruled. It is noted that societies with ritual authority developed coercive authority through conquest and trade. Examples of coercive authority were Sokoto Caliphate, Oyo Empire and Benin empire.

Thus the colonial rule brought people with different political culture together and the problem of exchanging their traditional political culture and loyalty with the new national loyalty had been a persistence headache. Almond and Powell noted on this issue that "the question of orientations toward the modern political system as a whole constitutes one of the most serious developmental problems in the political culture of new nations because these new states have been constructed from a variety of ethnic political and geographical subnational units without any common political bands and whose members by and large have little information and loyalty beyond their local unit".

As earlier pointed out, the traditional institutions had always been the reference point in the modern politics and this had brought with it competition of ethnic groups, with primordial loyalties. It could be argued, therefore, that through ethnicity, people merely transfer their primordial loyalty to any member of the ethnic group representing them at the national level.

Joseph (1987, pp. 3-15) and Gavin (1980) even suggested that the best way to describe Nigeria political culture viz-a-viz political socialization is patron-client relationship which was developed out of ethnicity and expected rewards for those that support the political party currently in power. Gavin argued further that the political conflicts in Nigeria may be based either on communal solidarities or solidarities based on identity of, or more often, all alliance of class interests.

Pye (1965, p. 518) stressed that there is a connection between political culture in any society and the attitude and behaviour of the people. He argued that "the notion of political culture assumes that the attitudes, sentiments and cognitions that inform and govern political behaviour in any society are not

just random congeries but represent coherent patterns which fit together and are mutually reinforcing, "The attitudes" sentiment and cognitions are the:

> traditions of a society, the spirit of its public institutions, the passions, the collective reasoning of its citizenry and the style and operating codes of its leaders are not just random products of historical experience but fit together as a part of a meaning-ful whole and constitute an intelligible web of relations (Pye 1965 p.518).

The Political Bureau (1986 p. 77) was of the view that:

> There was clear evidence that the behaviour of Nigerians in the political process had been largely negative. The low conscious-ness of the people had made them vulnerable to manipulations of the power elite in the society. The backlash from such ac-tions has been the emergence of a culture of helplessness, apa-thy and indifference to the political process.

From the various submissions and arguments of various scholars on politi-cal education and political culture, it is either that the attitude noted by MAMSER might be due to political confusion arising from primordial politi-cal culture and the conflict with the modern political dispensation. It is more confusing when people think of instability and lack of proper political social-ization in the polity.

In a Political Education Manual Book produced by MAMSER, (1987, p.12) the attitude of Nigerians was described as:

> a total lack of interest in the affairs of society. Political apathy is an "I-don't-care attitude of citizens to actions of government. Political apathy and ignorance exist in a society when citizens do not take part in voting, when citizens are not interested in who represents them.

The anti-dose prescribed by MAMSER to the political apathy in Nigeria is political education. The agency (MAMSER) viewed political education in

term of:

> attainment of a National democratic society where the masses
> are conscious, vigilant and organised and in which social injus-
> tice, poverty and foreign domination of our economy are totally
> eliminated. This implies the creation of a new national political
> culture.

The above submission by Gana (1987 p.42) confirmed the link between political education and political culture which scholars propounded.

2.3 Mass Education

MAMSER recognised Mass Education as a pillar in its programme. MAMSER conceived Mass Education in term of nation-wide literacy programme to break ignorance. However, Mass Education means more than literacy education. Political Education is also an aspect of Mass Education. Anyanwu (1981), Omolewa (1981), Okedara (1979) and others perceived mass literacy as an aspect of Mass Education just as political education is also an aspect. Other Mass Education programmes include, Health Education, Agriculture Extension Education etc. MAMSER believed in Mass Education in that "a literate society is a liberated society".

Scholars including Omolewa, Bhola, Tugbiyele and others have stressed that mass literacy is a vital weapon in political education. For example, Coleman (1965, pp15-18) has identified mass literacy as a key to political education.

He emphasised the role of mass literacy in cultivation of the right attitude towards governments because mass literacy is indispensable in modern

politics. He noted that the political capacity is manifestly dependent upon modern education. He contended that:

> A certain level of mass education is indispensable for the devel-
> opment of a modern communication system which is critically
> important is resolving the two most general and most funda-
> mental problems in political modernization, namely the chang-
> ing the gap between the ruling elites and the less modernized
> elites

Coleman (1965, pp 15-18) also referred to a research by Verba and Almond in a five-country survey whereby it was noted that educational attainment has the most important demographic variables effects on political attitudes. It was observed that the uneducated man or with limited education reacts differently from the man who had attained higher level of education.

Pye (1965) also remarked that the totality and potency of education in creating the attitudes and values is for national development. Mhaiki (1981) believed that literacy education is an indispensable component of political education programme. Omolewa (1981 p 8) also clamoured on the importance of literacy in political education.

According to him,

> the idea is that adult education would assist adults in the task of
> the application of knowledge and skills to existing resources
> and in the promotion of civic awareness through political dis-
> cussions. Political and technological education can however be
> only an aspect of adult education.

Okedara and Ogunlade (1990, p 19) observed that literacy is on instrument against oppression:

> When there are persisting conditions of social, political or
> economic oppression, literacy faces serious difficulties and it

becomes an instrument of struggle against the oppressing power.

M'Bow (1983, p. 28) agreed that literacy education is a key factor in political education. It is the duty of political education therefore, to promote literacy which helps to afford every one access to the knowledge which enables a citizen to exercise his full rights as a citizen and become aware of the realities of modern life.

In the eighth regional congress held in Baghdad in 1974, Lucas (1982, p.19), reported that the party leaders at the Ba'athists' congress termed illiteracy as "a most dangerous evil" which is militating against the present day social, political and economic progress. It was declared that without a concerted mass effort, the persistence of an illiterate adult citizenry would forever frustrate the building of a "progressive society capable of playing a leading revolutionary role in the liberation of a unified Arab Socialist state".

Tugbiyele (1990) also affirmed that literacy creates conditions for the acquisition of a critical consciousness of the contradictions of society in which man lives and of its aims. He further asserted that literacy stimulates the participation of man in creation of projects capable of acting upon the world of transforming it and defining the aims of an authentic human development.

Paulo Freire (1970) described literacy as a process of cultural liberation. The philosophy which he simply called cultural liberation is meant to make individual activist - participant in the shaping of his society through education that prepares him to play the role. It is conceived that development "must be a holistic and comprehensive concept that embraced not just the

materialistic growth but also social, political, cultural, spiritual and attitudinal growth of the nation"

Fingeret (1983 p..133) also stressed the role of literacy in the modern society. He asserted that:

> Educators believe that literacy is fundamental to competence and independence in modern society. It is difficult for us to conceptualize life without reading and writing as anything other than a limited, dependent existence.

Oyedeji (1980, p. 7-16) opined that literacy brings about communication between the masses and the government. It is easier for the government and people to speak with one voice and government can easily get people's support for the programmes.

He further stated that:

> When majority of people in a nation are able to read and write, communication between the government and the people becomes easier and more people are able to participate in the political, social and economic activities of government, thus contributing to national growth.

From the various assertions on literacy, it is therefore, recognised as an instrument of revolution and political liberation. Hence it is an integral aspect of political education. Lack of literacy education brings about perpetual political darkness. Mass literacy is an instrument or weapon for freedom from political domination internally and externally. It is not surprising that the Political Bureau recommended that MAMSER should pursue Mass Education as a vehicle of political education since education can protect the populace from injustice and exploitation of the elite. Subsequently, MAMSER (1987,

p 27) stressed Mass Education because 'a literate society is a liberate society
... masses should not only be mobilised, but they should be educated and
properly organised'.

Education only aids political education. A citizen who is educated, still
needs political education to fulfil his role in the society. According to Tugbiyele
(1990), lack of political education among educated elites breeds political
illiterates. He noted that in Nigeria, many so-called highly educated are in
fact moral and political education in order to achieve stability in the Third
Republic. The efforts of MAMSER on political education should be moni-
tored for effectiveness and one of the efforts at the monitoring is evaluation of
the political education programme.

2.4   Evaluation

Many scholars looked at evaluation from different perspectives. Warr (1969)
defined evaluation as "a systematic collection and assessment of information
for deciding how best to utilise available resources in order to achieve
organisational goals".

Warr (1969), therefore believed that collection and analyses of data is very
vital in evaluation. In the same vein, Soumelis (1977) described evaluation as
a systematic, objective way of estimating the work, quality, importance, rel-
evance, performance of something or someone or an activity with a view to
pricing, rating, correcting, improving or changing that which is being evalu-
ated.

It is also argued that evaluation provides a basis for comparison between a set standard and what is obtainable. According to Kimeng (1984), qualities of such a standard of comparison must be will known to the evaluator. Okedara (1981) and Kimeng (1984) agreed that a standard for such comparison could be qualitative or quantitative or even both.

Cohen (1968 p. 14-28) and Rutman (1977 p. 59) recommended that institutions need to set out the specific and measurable objectives to be pursued and the kind of knowledge, skills, attitudes, beliefs and values to be expected of their training programmes.

Evaluation is no stranger to educational programmes. Ebel (1979, p 5-22) stressed the importance of evaluation in any educational programme, declaring that:

> To teach without evaluation the results of teaching would be foolish.

Educators and educationists therefore attach importance to evaluation in teaching/learning process.

Evaluation aids the evaluator to assess the extent at which the teaching/learning had reached. Gronlund (1981 p 1-81) asserted, on his own part, that evaluation is a "systematic process of determining the extent to which instructional objectives are achieved by pupils:. He further stressed that evaluation provides a means of maintaining learning progress and diagnosing learning difficulties.

Evaluation in formal education is mostly used to assess the achievement of the students for the purpose of promotion from one grade to the next but this

is a purpose that is totally irrelevant in adult education programmes such as political education. Houle (1973) and Shearon (1970) viewed evaluation form adult education point of view. They stressed that evaluation is the determination of the extent to which an educational objective has been accomplished or attained.

Raudabaugh (1959) also stated that evaluation is the process of determining the degree to which desired behavioural changes have taken place or are taking place as a result of educational effort. Adult education programmes are not geared towards promotion from one grade level to another but they deal with behavioural changes, more productivity etc.

An educational programme is evaluated to find out whether the objectives have been attained and expected desired behavioural have taken place. The study of changes in behavioural disposition is vital in political education of MAMSER. Adult Education Association in 1952, stated that "the primary purpose of evaluation is to find out how much growth and change have taken place as a result of educational experiences".

In the same mood, Hampton (1973) submitted that the purposes of evaluation included:

(i) determining the degree to which programme objectives were met

(ii) identifying reasons for success or failure

(iii) improving future programmes and

(iv) improving organizational operations.

From the above, the purpose of evaluation could therefore be considered in

term of determining the degree of effectiveness of a programme in achieving
its objectives in order to improve the programme.

Bloom et al (1971) Stufflebeam (1971) and Bajah (1987) drew distinc-
tion between two types of evaluation. Bloom et al (1971) stated that there are
formative and summative evaluation. This distinction depends on the pur-
pose, the time and level of generalizability of the evaluation as a feedback
loop, a mechanism whereby an introduced system is constantly being up-
dated in the light of newer evidence. Summative evaluation on the other hand
is judgemental or selection oriented.

Stufflebeam (1971) argued that evaluation in educational programme
could be viewed in two ways- proactive which is formative and retroactive
which is summative. Proactive (formative) is for information for decision-
making while retroactive (summative) is information for accountability.

If evaluation is carried out during the course or programme, it is formative
but if it is done at the end of a course or programme it is summative.

Process and Models of Evaluation

Evaluation is based on some principles which dictate the various approaches
and models.

Bloom et al (1971) Provus (1973) focused their attention using objectives
and performance model in evaluation. This is what Cates (1985) called Dis-
crepancy evaluation. The scholars argued that objectives should be identified
before clarification of the variables affecting performance by identifying the

criteria or standard through which performance is judged. This is also re-
ferred to as Goal oriented evaluation.

Another model of Evaluation is known as Goal Free Evaluation. Scriven
(1974) argued that evaluators should assess the programme effects, based on
criteria apart from the programme's own conceptual framework.

Cates (1985) also identified the Context Input Process and Product (CIPP)
Model of Evaluation. This model of evaluation has four stages. The first stage
is Context Evaluation whereby the elements of a specific educational setting
and discrepancies between what exists now and what administrators desire to
occur are identified. The second stage is input evaluation whereby available
resources and strategies for the course are analysed. The third stage is pro-
cess evaluation which involves collection of data on the programme and main-
taining records of the programme's progress. The fourth stage is product
evaluation which is to determine the extent to which the programme achieved
its staged goals.

Evaluation is not a new phenomenon in Nigeria. Scholars have contributed
a lot to the study of the concept of evaluation and have conducted Evalua-
tive studies. Aghenta (1979): using observation, interview and questionnaire
techniques, evaluated the training, employment and job performances of Vo-
cational School Graduates in Bendel State. His evaluation model indicated
the need to match training objectives and performance.

Similarly, Oduaran (1986) evaluated the Training Programme for Commu-
nity Development Agents in Bendel State of Nigeria. Using the composite

Evaluation which was developed from a conglomeration of other models, he evaluated the objectives of the training programmes, the resources available and the curricula. He was able to prescribe an effective training programme for Community Development Agents.

Amuno (1989) also evaluated the "Effect of Training on the job performance of Graduates of the Centre for Management Development in Nigeria". He was able to identify the problems of management development in Nigeria.

The efforts made on evaluation have influenced this study in arriving at the evaluation model used.

LITERATURE REVIEW

This review of the available and related literature deals with the concept of political education programming.

2.5 Political Education and the Society

Democracy demands that every member of the society should be able to take active part in running the affairs of the nation through the process of choosing the national leaders. It is necessary for every government to properly educate the citizenry on the values and institutions of such society, if such government wants the support of the people being governed. Mhaiki (1981, pp. 151-158) noted the importance of political education in democratic societies. He, therefore, called for political education since democracy demands that the process of decision-making should be a shared responsibility.

He further contended that all citizens of the nation should collectively choose their leaders and at the same time contribute to the governance. This could be done if the people are attuned to the democratic process of electing and rejecting their leaders. Furthermore, there should be a line of communication right from the grass-root to those in the corridor of power. In essence, the leaders would share and respect the views of those being governed. The support of the people could only be assured in this manner, once the people are given sound political education.

Only those who are political conscious could effectively exercise demo-
cratic right. According to Mhaiki (1981), elections and voting are very im-
portant in democracy but they are:

> democratic instruments only when people are politically con-
> scious and politically educated.

The above observation by Mhaiki (1981, p, 152) is supported by Oyatorisa
(1988): In a research into Government Sponsored Political Parties in Nigeria,
he remarked that:

> The central theme of democracy is the notion of a conscious
> and enlightened citizenry. It is the belief of scholars on democ-
> racy that a conscious and enlightened citizenry participates and
> through such participation determines the affairs of state.

Dewey (1966 p. 86) also argued that the success of democracy rests on
political education. Democracy cannot thrive without it. He further pointed
out that:

> The devotion of democracy to political education is a familiar
> fact. The superficial explanation is that a government resting
> upon popular suffrage cannot be successful unless those who
> elect and who obey their governors are educated. Since a demo-
> cratic society repudiates the principle of external authority, it
> must find a substitute in voluntary disposition and interest. These
> can be created only by education.

The submission of Dewey (1966 p. 86) above suggested that political edu-
cation brings about internal integration through interest and a collective ac-
tion against external authority. Pye (1965, p.52) also argued that political
education is capable of creating and establishing national integration through
national identification. By national identification, he meant that an individual
must perceive himself as an integral member of the nation and his loyalty to

the nation should be unquestionable. This national identification leads to political integration of the nation and it is political education of the masses that can make such loyalty attainable.

Stone (1974 p. 91) observed the high sense of patriotism, national identification and stability of development nations, especially in United States of America. He noted that if a teenager should be questioned about his feelings about U.S.A. the automatic answer would be that U.S.A. is the best country in the world. Stone (1974) further argued that such feelings are the outcome of political education which is taught to the citizenry right from school and further developed through political socialization.

Rosenberg (1956, p. 161) argued that where members of a society are inactive politically, they should be exposed to political education. He argued that their inactiveness is because they believe that the political activity is futile, government is not efficient; it does not provide immediate gratification and even if they participate, the political results they desire would probably not be realised. Rosenberg (1956) felt that proper education of such members will bring positive change.

Political education is not limited to developed nation. Tanzania is a good example of a developing country that have experimented on political education with success. Hall (1981, pp 215-230) and Mhaiki (1981, p. 152) noted that success attained through organised radio forum educational strategy which combined the advantages o f radio's availability with the advantages of face-to-face teaching. Mhaiki (1981) reported that statistics showed that

Political Education was the second best in attracting adults in Tanzania. The programme increased the sense of patriotism of the citizenry and also created a stable society.

Amucheazi (1975) conducted a research on political development in Eastern Nigeria. He noted the problems in the nation and advocated for political education which (he believed) will bring political integration. He argued that after an individual had the components of the nation, such individual identifies himself with the nation. Thus, political education serves to "bring closer the various ethnic and social units in the body politics". In return, the political integration so achieved will make it possible for developing countries to manage "internal conflicts without the foundation of the community being unduly strained".

Political Education is not new to Nigeria. What is probably new is establishing a governmental agency, MAMSER to provide this service to the nation. As early as the 19th Century, the colonial powers had subjected West Africans to a form of "Political education" informally. Ampene (1979 p 43-58) observed that:

> Learning to adjust to the new political order was both organised and informal. House of Chiefs and legislative councils in English-Speaking Africa were the classrooms, so to speak, where traditional authorities received their lessons in the intricacies of colonial administration. Informally, too, they learned from observing how the colonial administration dealt with difficult chiefs and rewarded obedient ones.

Colonial powers realised the danger that lay in giving political education directly to their subjects, especially, the educated ones because of the possi-

bility of agitation for political independence. The little knowledge acquired in politics had been through the personal efforts of the Africans. Mhaiki (1981, p.151) also reported the problems of the Africans under the colonial powers. He stated that:

> In ex-colonial nations and developing countries, it is noted that colonial powers banned political education in schools, for civil servants and for the general public. Politics was only for those in power because it is an instrument of wielding power, instrument for decision-making and instrument for domination. In the hands of the people, it can therefore be an instrument for liberation.

As earlier indicated, political education had been acquired in the first phase of colonialism and during the struggle for independence through informal method. Political Education was not only a tool for political freedom from the colonial powers, but it is vital for survival of societies during post-independence era. This prompted Mhaiki (1981, p. 153) to further state that:

> Political Education for the people is necessary in African newly independent countries in order to bring about a feeling of nationhood. Political Education must be an indispensable component of adult education programmes to synthesise the various tribes, chiefs, vernaculars and religious sects into national union, who can then adopt a national policy in economic, social and cultural development.

Tugbiyele (1990, p. 49) also argued in favour of political education in developing countries. He stated that being educated or being an elite does not guarantee freedom form political education. He noted that many highly educated Nigerians including many with doctorate degrees are in fact "politically illiterates". In order to drive his point home, he asked a rhetorical question

thus:

> Do we need sophisticated research to know that most of those
> who brought down this nation from opulence to the present eco-
> nomic hardship were the so-called highly educated who are in
> fact moral and political illiterates?

The submission of Tugbiyele (1990, p. 46) above is that all Nigerians need political education in order to change the present political culture in Nigeria.

Amucheazi, Mhaiki and Tugbiyele called for political education in developing societies, especially in Nigeria, so as to put an end to the political instability, ethnicity and chaos undermining the people and development of those societies. The people would be opportuned, therefore, to be actively involved and determined to decide their destiny as a nation.

2.6 Political Education and Mass Literacy

William N. Stephens and C. Stephens Long (1970, p. 3-25) conducted a research into political attitude of people in developed and developing countries. They found that political apathy known in developing countries due to illiteracy is also a phenomenon in Europe among illiterates. They remarked that:

> The evidence is particularly voluminous with respect to voting
> in Europe and in the United States; the non voter is likely to
> have relatively little education.

The analysis of the collected data on this political apathy, indicated that educated people tend to be more politically active and aware than the ill-educated. Stephens and Long (1970: pp. 3-25) concluded that literacy is vital in modern polity.

Mass Literacy aids political education and increases the citizen's interest in

affairs of the nation. The important of literacy education was stressed in the research which Verba and Mil (1965) conducted. In their studies of Seven countries, they discovered that highly educated people participate more in politics. They found that there is a positive correlation between highly educated people and political participation. It is noted that literacy is highly important in modern democracy throughout the world.

Neves (1982) conducted a similar research among Portuguese Women. She concluded that Portuguese women lagged behind in political awareness because they lacked literacy which was much needed for such political awareness. She noted that a mass literacy programme will enhance political awareness and social change. She finally remarked that:

> a people will only be able to establish a new start and struggle
> for democracy, freedom, and peace if it has access to the writ-
> ten word, if it is literate

Political education creates consciousness among the citizenry but mass literacy is the catalyst that aids and sustains political awareness.

Akinpelu (1990) lamented that the political problem in Nigeria could be traced to lack of political education which had its root in high percentage of illiterates in the country. He contented that illiteracy had led to economic loss and instability of government. A large proportion of electoral problems in the country, Nigeria, can be traced to high illiteracy on the part of the voting populace. The illiterates easily succumbed to the manipulation of the politicians and were deceived to vote for some candidates against their wishes. He further argued that:

You can imagine how much we lose in money, time and energy
by having to print party symbols to guide elections. The
attempt to use one single list of candidates in the past local
government elections ran into problems where there are many
candidates on the list: many electorates could not count the
number of strokes that stood for their candidates especially where
the names of their candidates were down on the long lists.

The above remarks by Akinpelu stressed the dilemma of illiterates during

elections in Nigeria.

This lack of literacy education noted by Akinpelu could easily result in

political apathy. It could further make the electorate easily available for the

manipulation of influential politicians.

Omolewa (1981) was of the opinion that it had been a deliberate action to

keep the masses ignorant so that the elite could exploit them politically and

economically. If people are illiterates, they will be ignorant of what democ-

racy is and lack of such awareness will keep them in darkness. Omolewa

(1981) further noted that mass literacy was not part of the priorities of newly

independent government of Nigeria in 1960. He argued that:

The point is that the Nigeria educated benefitted from an illiter-
ate citizenry who were uninformed and thus uncritical of gov-
ernment decisions. Adult Education was thus ignored by the
post-independence leadership.

He, therefore, advocated for political education which embraces mass lit-

eracy that can give the nation political awareness and thereby bring political

stability. He further submitted that:

Advocates of political stability have further suggested that a
literate society would be an unlikely field for electoral manipu-
lations and perennial coup plotters.

Mass Education is, therefore, not just for reading and writing, it is for societal development as a whole. At the Perspolis International Symposium for Literacy which was held between 3rd - 8th September, 1975, the concept of a "literate person" was defined. It was a consensus that a literate person is someone who has,

> acquired to a sufficient degree the means of becoming aware of the problems of the society in which he lives and his own problems and the means of solving them or playing a real part in their solution. Literacy is not just the process of learning the skills of reading, writing and arithmetic but a contribution to the liberation of a man and to his full development

Okedara and Ogunlade (1990) Lucas (1982, p. 19) M'Bow and Lucas (1982-1983) all agreed that it is the duty of political education to promote literacy which helps everyone to have access to knowledge which enables a citizen to exercise his full rights as a citizen and become aware of the realities of modern life.

In the eighth regional congress of Arabs Congress held in Baghdad in 1974, political education was identified as an instrument of revolution handicapped by illiteracy.

Lucas (1982 p. 19) reported that in the congress, the party leaders at the Ba'athists' Congress, termed illiteracy as "a most dangerous evil" which is militating against the present day social, political and economic progress. It was declared that without a concerted mass effort, the persistence of an illiterate adult citizenry would forever frustrate the building of a "progressive society capable of playing a leading revolutionary role in the liberation of a uni-

fied Arab Socialist State".

The Political Bureau (1987) recommended that Mass Literacy should be on the agenda of MAMSER, in order to aid political education. MAMSER identified Mass Education as one of the cardinal programmes in that "a literate society should not only be mobilised, but they should be educated and properly organised and thus there is no communication gap between the ruled and the ruler". MAMSER had been in partnership with the National Commission for Mass Literacy Adult and Non-Formal Education, in order to bring literacy to the illiterates.

2.7 Political Education and Adult Education

Political Education is a programme under Adult Education. Adult education embraces a whole range of developmental activities undertaken by government or by non governmental agencies to solve any problem for the people. Such problems might be health, economy, agriculture or political, affecting the life of the people. All these problems could be tackled under Mass Education Programme of Adult Education. As Anyanwu (1987), Okedara (1981) and Tugbiyele (1975) observed, Adult Education covered many aspects of adult oriented programmes. Tugbiyele (1975) stated that:

> By Adult Education, we do not mean literacy education alone.
> Adult Education is more than literacy or remedial education to
> "fill the gap". It is something people need and want as long as
> they are alive and regardless of the amount of their previous
> education.

In International Directory of Adult Education (1952), Adult Education is

described by UNESCO. It is said that "the concept adult education has been broadened considerably so as to cover the activities of a wide range of institutions of agencies and to include a content as wide as life itself . . ." In essence, adult education is so closely related to the social, political conditions of each country.

2.8 Methodology of Political Education

As a programme of Adult Education, political education follows a set of procedures in the effort to achieve a goal. The procedures can be referred to as methodology or strategies of political education. The methodology of political education is tailored according to the need and nature of the people. Methodology of Adult Education programmes vary according to the particular programme being executed. This is why Anyanwu (1981 p. 139) stated that:

> Methods of teaching in adult education vary according to the
> type, class or programme, nature of the course and that of the
> class to be taught.

The strategies of political education include mass rallies and public meetings. These have been the main schools of mass political education in developing countries. Politicians have been using these strategies to educate the citizenry about the programme of their parties and ideologies. According to Mhaiki (1981, p.154), some politicians in developing countries made use of mass rallies to make political speech instead of political education. He noted that:

> Long political harangue from time to time is almost the habit

and it is often thought to be enough that a political leader speaks braggingly about the main issues of the nation, calls colonialists a few bad names and impresses on the people what great things he himself has done to bring about independence. Most people in liberated developing countries are sick and tired of this.

According to Adefolarin (1988, pp. 315-325) politicians are supposed to make use of political rallies to educate the masses that they are jointly responsible for the progress and development of the nation. The people should be educated on the state of the national economy and internal and external political policies. Political parties should also enlighten the masses on the programme of the parties towards the development of the nation.

Stone (1974) Janowitz (1983), Dawson and Prewitt (1969) also identified political rallies as avenues for political education. Janowitz (1983) contended that affairs of the nation are exposed to citizenry and prospective voters during such rallies. People are therefore made conscious of public institutions and governmental activities. Political rallies could even lead to revolution. Dawson and Prewitt (1969) noted that political rallies could be termed as informal way of educating the public on affairs of the nation.

Organised classes can also serve as a method of political education. In some countries, political education is part of the curricula in schools for children. Such curricula, according to Stone (1974, pp. 80-84) should include knowledge of one's country, history, feelings, opinion about the government, civic knowledge, ideology, policies of the government etc. It is argued by Torney (1977, pp87-90) that "childhood political learning is critically important because it presents valuable never to be repeated opportunities on which to build

a guided and systematic political education. Greenstein (1968, pp 87-90), Stone (1974) and Janowitz (1983) considered organised classes as crucial in political education. Janowitz (1983) noted that "the school and selected voluntary associations concerned with national and patriotic meanings organise political education classes". Stone (1974) also stressed the importance of organised classes, especially in the school system for political education. For example, Tanzania organised political education for adults, dividing them into study groups. Mhaiki (1981, pp.155) reported that it was a huge success in Tanzania. He stated that:

> In 1970-1971, people got organised in radio listening groups, with a textbook, specially prepared on the selected topics, discussed the issues under the chairmanship of the specially trained group leader. In 1970, they discussed the meaning and importance of election procedure and rules, what to look for when voting for constituency candidates etc.

Stone (1974) believed that classes which are organised through non-governmental organisations and local clubs help a lot to reinforce what adults learnt during the school days. Similarly, Freire (1971) recommended group discussions which enable adults to use their experience and knowledge acquired through exposure to life. President Nyerere (1980) of Tanzania also endorsed organised classes for political education. He pointed out that:

> It is that every adult knows something about the subject he is interested in, even if he is not aware he knows it.

It is organised classes therefore that made adults to use their experience in discussing political issues.

Organisations and unions are also recognised in methodology of political

education. According to Mhaiki (1981), National organisations like the Youth Organisations, Women's Organisations, Parents' Organisation, Trade Unions, all have a big role to play to bring about political consciousness to the people. He argued further that "it is essential therefore that these organisations have branches and roots in the people even in the villages".

The women, farmers, traders and youth should have fora to discuss political issues. MAMSER also recognised organisation, unions, tribal groups and local communities in its strategies for political education. MAMSER believed that the citizenry could be given proper political education, especially at the local level, through these organisations.

Mass Media has been identified as an important tool of political education. Hall (1981), Mailafuja (1979) and Mhaiki (1981) stressed the importance of mass media in political education. Hall remarked that mass media is a very effective method of political education. Mailafuja (1979,pp.143-158) noted that:

> The obvious strength of the media is the fact that they reach such a large proportion of the population in any nation. Even in places where no educational institutions exists, one find newspapers. Radio, by itself is the single most extensive communication device existing. When thinking in terms of adult education programmes and how the media can be best utilized, it is important for the adult educator to try to take advantage of the widespread availability of various media without losing necessary personal interaction.

Mailafuja (1979) also recommended mass media and personal interraction for political education through the use of radio forum. This radio forum combines the advantages of radios availability with the advantages of face to face

teaching. People are organised into listening groups under group leaders who facilitate or stimulate discussions of the materials that has been broadcast. Hall (1981, pp.215-231) also argued that "Mass communication are most effective when combined with face-to-face approaches. Mass media can not solve the crisis in education or perform wonders among the adult population but when used creatively, the media offer very strong advantages". He also cited example of Tanzania, Ghana, Botswana and India where radio forum had been used successfully by dividing people into radio - listening groups, in political education. He noted that though political education was made part of the school curricula in all primary and secondary schools in Tanzania, it was also introduced to adult learners through radio-listening groups. According to Mhaiki, people were organised into groups, with a textbook prepared on selected topics and discussed under the chairmanship of a specially trained group leader. The importance of this lies in the inculcation of national awareness. When statistics of all subjects taken in adult education was analysed, it was noted that political education was the second best in attracting adults in Tanzania.

2.9 Content of Political Education

The content of political education arose out of the need of the people. It is the duty of every nation to identify and educate the citizenry on her own concept of political education. According to Mhaiki (1981, p.151), the content of political education should be the national ideologies - national idea of

man and of the future of humanity of national economic, social and cultural programmes".

Stone (1974) also agreed with Mhaiki as regards national ideologies. Stone (1974) on his own part stated that education should be rich in content and such content should include the knowledge of one's country, feelings, opinions about the government, general attitude and civic knowledge.

L. Pye (1965, p.7) believed that political education should contain the history of the nation, political culture, knowledge and feeling about the politics of the people about their community.

Dewey (1966, p.86), Oyatorisa (1988, p.29-44) and Anyanwu (1981, pp.66-71) however argued that the content of political education should be educating the masses on democracy. Dewey (1966) added that such content should also include the principle of fighting against external domination. Similarly, Anyanwu (1981) submitted that, political education should contain programmes to educate the people on the concepts of their national and state government in order that they may become an enlightened electorate. He also added that the content should include programmes to rescue the masses from the danger of domination by minority elite government.

Various arguments and submission on the content of political education as reviewed in this chapter showed that the content varies according to the need of each society. Each society defines and identifies what should be the focus of political education. As a programme of adult education, the curriculum and methods of political education should be related both to the goals of educa-

tion and the needs of that society (Kidd, 1973).

With respect to Nigeria, MAMSER spelt out fourteen areas that should form the content of political education. These areas were stated in Chapter One of this thesis. MAMSER also prepared a handbook titled "Political Education Manual Book" which contains the "curriculum" for political education in Nigeria.

2.10 Evaluation of Political Education

Only few evaluative work done on political education in Africa are available for review. This might be because the governments have not thought of having agencies or departments to give political education to the citizenry. Only Tanzania is well known for its political education programme and this has been evaluated by Hall (1981, pp 215-231) and Mhaiki (1988, pp 151-158.

Mhaiki (1981) discovered that it is possible to inculcate Political Education in adults. In Tanzania, Political Education is a subject in adult education classes all over the country. When Adult Education Programmes were evaluated, statistics of September 1972 in Tanzania indicated that Political Education is the second best in attracting adults in Tanzania. It was discovered that political education is not easy to teach to adults because the subject, by its nature, touches on the experiences of the adults and they get very involved in the issues.

Evaluation work on MAMSER's programmes had been limited to socio-

political programmes and these were done mostly by Political Scientists. None of these researches at hand focuses on political education directly. Akinola (1988), carried out a research on the role of MAMSER in Babangida's Transition Programme. He used Descriptive Survey to observe that the respondents had lukewarm attitude to the programmes of MAMSER. In his survey, he discovered that 75% of the respondents to the questionnaire claimed that MAMSER's programmes have brought no positive change at all in their lives. While another 10% claimed that it brought a poor change into their lives. 5% admitted that MAMSER's programmes brought a good change into their lives. He concluded that the programme is a waste of public fund and should be scrapped.

The evaluation carried out by Akinola (1988) covered the Mass Mobilisation, Political Education and Mass Education Programmes. The research is therefore too broad as it was not focused on the political education programme in particular.

Irabor (1988) also evaluated the programmes of MAMSER using historical method. Irabor went back to the past record of mobilisation in Nigeria and discovered that each regime in Nigeria had introduced mobilization programmes during their tenure. The researcher concluded that only National Youth Service Corps survived till today and therefore MAMSER would not last. He therefore concluded that it was a waste of public fund.

The research by Irabor (1988) was from historical perspective and it was too broad, covering all the programmes of MAMSER. The research has not

given room to the citizenry that are the direct participants of MAMSER's Programmes to evaluate the programmes. This is contrary to what Thiede (1964) and Knowles (1970) observed. According to them, participants are in the best position to evaluate and determine the worth of any such programme that affects them directly.

Wahab (1989) also conducted a research on Mass Mobilization, Political Education and Mass Education Programmes of MAMSER. He used Ikirun in former Oyo State as the cas study and he also adopted a descriptive research method. He tried to find out the response of the people, especially, on political consciosness, economic recovery and literacy as brought by MAMSER. His research concluded that there is a need for ideology on mobilisation efforts. He also noted that MAMSER had not made its pressence felt in vital areas like formation of cooperative societies, the procurement of agricultural loan and literacy programme.

While acknowledging the contributions made to knowledge by Wahab, his research focus was too broad also. He evaluated all the programmes of MAMSER and therefore the depth required for such research was not reached.

Sanda (1990) compared the perception of citizens towards MAMSER'S programmes in Oyo and Sokoto states. Through a descriptive research method which he adopted, he found that the citizens in the two states had a negative perception of the programmes and did not have faith in MAMSER. He therefore urged MAMSER to embark on mobilization and enlightenment campaigns.

It is observed that evaluation of MAMSER programmes that are available had mainly come from social scientists. All the programmes of MAMSER are adult oriented and evaluation of the programmes needs to interest adult educationists. Political Education as a programme of adult education should also be evaluated through a descriptive method in order to allow the adults who are the participants to assess the impact of the programme by themselves.

Appraisal of review of literature

Donaldson and Scannell (1978 pp. 13-23) opined that the first step to evaluation is to diagnose the problems which are to be evaluated. In this instance, the problem being evaluated is political instability and the attending problems in Nigeria. It was argued by Donaldson and Scannell (1978) that the first step will lead the evaluator to set goals and objectives which are to be evaluated at the end of the programme. The objectives of MAMSER served as the objectives which were evaluated at the end of the programme. The third step in the model is to identify the Instructional methods, techniques and resources to implement the objectives of the programme. The thrid step referred to the various strategies used by MAMSER for the Political Education Programme. The fourth step is the evaluation of the programme in order to assess the effectiveness of the programme. The fifth step is the Policy recommendations to improve the programme and to address the shortcomings observed in the earlier efforts. The Donaldson-Scannell model which is adapted for this study is in line with the goal attainment evaluation model. Knowles (1970) and Popham (1975) advocated a goal attainment model of evaluation as the most suitable for adult education programmes.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN

3.1 Research Design

Descriptive Survey Research Design which falls within the Empirical research design has been adopted for this study.

The Descriptive Survey Research Design involves collection of data to test research questions and to assess the attitudes and opinions of the randomly selected sample to the events or programmes.

Large populations were studied through the selection of samples chosen from the population.

Through this, the distribution, relative incidence interrelations of the sociological and other variables were discovered (Kerlinger, 1973). Descriptive Survey Design provides avenues to test research questions on which the research is based. It enables the researcher to interpret research findings in a meaningful manner (Ary et al 1972). In this research, descriptive survey design made it possible to evaluate the effectiveness of political education programme of MAMSER which is the focus of this study.

3.2 Population and Sample Size

The subjects for the study were randomly selected from Ibadan North and Akinyele Local Government Areas of Oyo State regarded as two different communities in this research. The consideration given to the choice of the sample was based on the degree of urbanisation and rural setting of the two

local governments.

In Ibadan North Local Government, the sample area falls within the urban area of the ancient city of Ibadan. The local government covers a vast area, including Bodija, Ashi, Orita Basorun, Agbowo, Sango etc. There is a large number of educated and gainfully employed people in the local government. Hence, Ibadan North was tagged 'urban' in this study for easy of reference. Akinyele Local Government Area is mostly made up of villages such as Ijaye, Atan Ojedele, Arulogun, Aroro, Oboida, Akinpade and others. Only Moniya and Ojoo could be classified as semi-urban towns in the local government. For easy of reference, Akinyele Local Government was tagged, 'rural'.

According to 1991 provisional census figures, Ibadan North Local Government Area had a population of about 300,939 while Akinyele Local Government had a population of about 139,587. For this study, a purposive random sampling was employed in the choice of the subjects from this population. In this regard, consideration was given to the following:

(i)   opinion and community leaders

(ii) societies, clubs, and organisations

(iii) officials of MAMSER

(iv) enlightened members of the society within the local government area understudy and other members of the communities.

In Ibadan North Local Government Area, 475 were the subjects used for this study. In Akinyele Local Government, 325 subjects responded to the questionnaire.

TABLE 1

Distribution of sample size of respondents by sex

Sex	Urban		Rural	
	No.	%	No	%
Male	306	64.4	192	59
Female	169	35.6	133	41
Total	475	100%	325	100%

The above table indicated the number of subjects randomly selected in the two communities for this research.

3.3 Instrumentation

The instruments used for this study included a set of questionnaire designed purposely to elucidate the political eduction programme of MAMSER.

Apart from the questionnaire, other sources of information for this study included:

(a)   Official documents; which included policy statement, gazette, position description, organizational charts, records of meetings and public lectures, and other related papers on political education programme of MAMSER.

(b)   Oral interviews with some key officers of the Directorate of Social Mobilisation (MAMSER) including Prof. Tunde Adeniran, the former National Secretary of MAMSER, officials at the Oyo State Headquarters and Akinyele Local Government.

(c) Mass Media, especially, print media on the activities of MAMSER.

3.4 Procedure

Murphy (1980) suggested that the first essential preliminary activity of a programme evaluator is immersing one-self in the reading of available information about the programme. Murphy referred to this kind of activity as "scouting the scene" through holding preliminary interviews with people executing the programme and checking relevant reports. The scouting activity helped in this research to construct the instruments for this study.

Validity and Reliability of the Instruments:

The draft questionnaire was tested for content validity. The questionnaire was validated by some lecturers from the Departments of Adult Education and Sociology. A pilot study was conducted to test the reliability of the questionnaire. The pilot study was carried out among the Akinyele Local Government staff. Such a pilot study, according to Ary et al (1972) helps in confirming the appropriateness, reliability and practicality of the instruments. Through the pilot study, appropriate clarity of terms and improvements of the questionnaire were done. The final questionnaire was produced after the corrections. The test-retest value of the questionnaire with the final questionnaire gave a correlation of 0.86. This meant that the instruments were both valid and reliable for this study.

Administration of the Instruments and Collection of Data:

The questionnaires were personally administered by the researcher to the

randomly selected subjects with the assistance of some teachers residing in the rural area in Akinyele Local Government. The villages selected included Atan Ojedele, Oboida, Onisango and Akinajo. The questionnaires were also administered in Moniya in Akinyele Local Government. In Ibadan North Local Government Area, the questionnaires were administered to selected subjects in Bodija, Ashi, Agbowo and Orita Bashorun.

The sample size for the study was drawn from the urban and rural communities as shown in Table 2 below:

TABLE 2

Distribution of sample size of respondents by communities.

Urban Community		Rural Community	
Sample Area	No.	Sample Area	No
Bodija	131	Atan Ojedele	74
Ashi	93	Oboida	32
Agbowo	123	Onisango	41
Orita Bashorun	128	Akinajo	66
		Moniya	112
Total	475		325

In the rural area, the questionnaires were translated into Yoruba Language to enable those that could not comprehend the English Language to respond. In addition to this, those that could not read were interviewed in Yoruba

Language.

3.5 Data Analysis

Various statistical tools were used to analyse the information elicited from the questionnaires.

The statistical tools used included:

(i)   t-test for independent samples statistical method

(ii)   chi-square statistical method

3.6 Integration of the Questionnaire with the Research Questions

Research question 1 which sought information on the extent to which the strategies of MAMSER facilitate the success of the political education programme was analysed through the response to item 4 of the questionnaire and subject to t-test for Independent samples statistical tool.

Research question 2 on the effect of the political education on people's participation in politics was approached through subjecting item 5 of the questionnaire to t-Test for Independent samples statistical tool.

Research question 3 is on the effect of illiteracy on the success of the political education programme of MAMSER. Item 3a of the questionnaire was subjected to t-Test for Independent samples statistically tool.

Research question 4 which sought information on the effect of Political Education Programme on the Political Culture of Nigerians was approached by analysing items 5a - d of the questionnaire using 5 point Likert Scale tool

and t-Test for Independent samples statistically tool.

Research question 5 on whether the political leaning of Nigerians is now free of ethnicity, nepotism tribalism, family ties and other social factors was answered with items 5f, g and 8 of the questionnaire. The Likert Scale was applied to the two variables. Item 8 which sought for information on whether MAMSER's political education has solved the problems of political instability in Nigeria, was subjected to chi-square statistical analysis.

The sixth research question was on the impact of the political education programme on the organisation and administration of political parties. Item 6 of the questionnaire was analysed with chi-square statistical tool to provide the answer to the research question.

Research question 7 on the influence of Political Education on politics of thuggery, arson, riots and killings was answered with item 5g and 9 of the questionnaire. These were tested statistically, using t-Test Independent samples and chi-square statistical tools.

The eight research question sought for information on the influence of political education on the future civil rule. Items 8 and 9 on the questionnaire were subjected to chi-square statistical analysis to provide information on the research question.

Research question 9 is about the effect of the Political Education on the issue of Political instability in Nigeria. Information on this question was derived from the response to item 8 on the questionnaire. It was analysed with chi-square statistical tool.

For the tenth research question on the areas of successes and failures of MAMSER items under 3a - c of the questionnaire which ranked the successes of MAMSER's programme were the sources of information.

3.7 Donaldson - Scannell Model of Evaluation

Donaldson - Scannell Model of Evaluation (1978, pp 13-23) is adopted for this evaluative study. In this study, goal-oriented evaluation model is applied in that the objectives of the political education of MAMSER were evaluated. The following diagram explains the model which is adapted from Donaldson-Scannell Model of Evaluation.

Figure 3
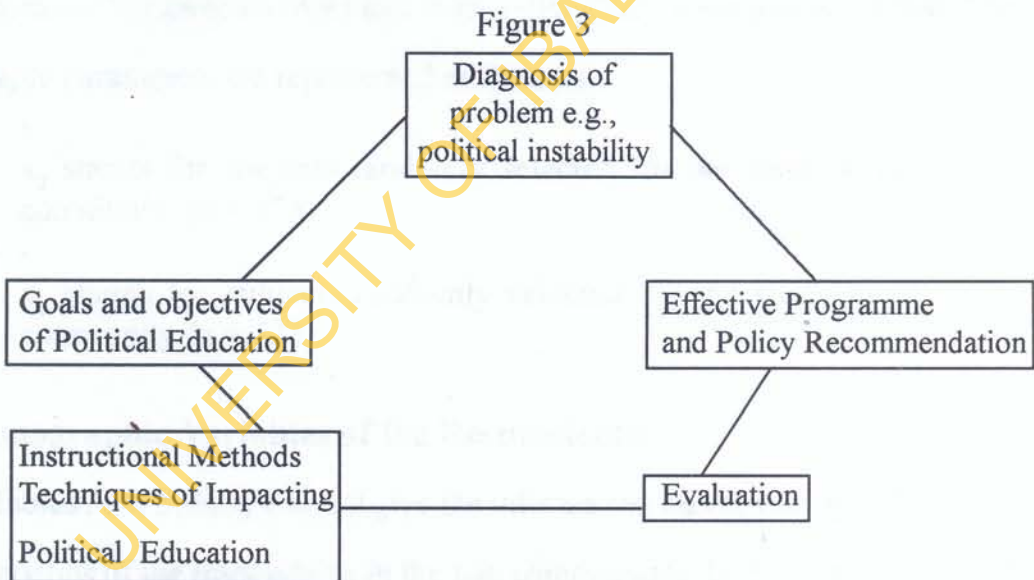
Donaldon-Scannell Model of Evaluation

Source: Donaldon and Scannell (1978)

Human Resources Development New Trainer's Guide California Addson Weslsey Publishing Company.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS

In this chapter, the major findings of this study are presented. The findings, analyses and discussions related to the research questions. The sample parameters used in the research were those derived from the instruments used for the study. Five hundred (500) questionnaires were randomly administered in the urban community but four hundred and seventy-five (475) were properly filled.

In the rural community, five hundred (500) questionnaires were also administered but three hundred and twenty-five (325) were properly filled. The sample parameters are represented as follows:

(i) -

  x_2 stands for subjects randomly selected for the study in the urban community (n = 475)

(ii) -

  x_2 stands for subjects randomly selected for the study in the rural community (n = 325).

Demographic Variables of the Respondents:

Tables 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9 give the information on the demographic characteristics of the respondents in the two communities. In this type of study, it is vital to examine the socio-economic variables with a view to arriving at possible factors which affect the response of the subjects to the political education programme of MAMSER.

The importance of socio-economic background in education of adults is

stressed by scholars. Cole (1979), Gutrie (1971) and Okedara (1979) noted that the background of the adult learners is vital in any adult education programme. The socio-economic variables that are of value to this study include the following:

(i) |Sex of the respondents;

(ii) Marital status;

(iii) Age;

(iv) Occupation; and

(v)   Educational background.

(i)   <u>Frequency distribution showing the sex of the respondents in the urban and rural communities.</u>

TABLE 3

Variables	Urban		Rural	
	No.	%	No.	%
Male	306	64.4	192	59.1
Female	169	35.6	133	40.9
Total	475	100.00	325	100.00

In the urban community, 64.4% of the respondents were male while 35.6% were female. Also in the rural community, 59.1% of the respondents were male while 40.9% were female. In the two communities, the percentages of male respondents were higher than female. This difference seems to confirm the general belief that men are most active in politics than women.

The sex distribution of the respondents is tested statistically using chi-square to find out if there is significant relationship between the sex distribution and the political education programme.

TABLE 4

Analysis of sex distribution of the respondents in the two communities.

Variables	Urban	Rural	Total	X^2	d.f	X^2 value at 0.05	Remark
Male	306 295.68	192 202.31	498	2.33	1	3.8	N.S.
Female	169 179.31	133 122.68	302				

P> 0.05 S = Significant N.S. = Not Significant

Figures written in parenthesis are the expected frequencies.

Since 3.8 > 2.33, findings indicate that sex is not significantly important in the response to the political education programme of MAMSER.

(ii) A comparative analysis of frequency distribution on the Marital Status of the respondents in the Urban and Rural Communities.

TABLE 5

Variables	Urban		Rural	
	No.	%	No.	%
Married	332	69.9	228	70.2
Single	125	26.3	71	21.8
Widowed	0	0.0	24	7.4
Divorced	10	2.1	0	0.0
Separated	8	1.7	2	0.6
Total	475	100.00	325	100.00

From the above table the percentage of the married in the two communities is almost same. There is only a marginal difference of 0.3%. The percentage of those that are single is almost same in the two communities. The percentage of those that are single is 4.5 % higher in the urban community. It is observed that the rural community has 7.4% who are widowed while the urban community has none. The urban community has 1.7% of those that have separated and only 0.6% is recorded in the rural community.

(iii) <u>A Comparative Analysis of Frequency distribution on the age of the respondents in the urban and rural communities:</u>

TABLE 6

	URBAN		RURAL	
AGE	NO	%	NO	%
> 18-30	135	28.4	100	30.8
> 31-40	203	42.7	88	27.1
>41-50	93	19.6	43	13.2
> 51-60	44	9.3	53	16.3
> 61 above	0	0.0	41	12.6
TOTAL	475	100	325	100.0

In the urban community, 28.4% is above 18 years but not more than 30 years (> 18-30 years), 42.7% above 30 years and not more than 40 years (> 31-40 years). 19.6% is above 40 years and more than 50 years (> 41-50 years) while 9.3% claimed to be above 50 years but not more than 60 years

(51-60 years) and 12.6% is above 60 years (> 61- above).

From the above analysis, it seems the percentage of those between 18-30 years and those above 51 years are higher in the rural community than the urban community. This might be due to economic factor whereby there is mobility of labour from the rural to the urban to seek unskilled jobs, leaving farming to the old. Finally at old age, there is a drift back to the rural community in order to retire from work.

(iv) A Comparative analysis of Frequency Distribution showing occupation of the respondents in the two communities:

TABLE 7

Variables	Urban		Rural	
	No.	%	No.	%
Hunting/Farming	5	1.1	140	43.1
Trading	51	10.7	38	11.7
Artisans	42	8.9	14	4.3
Public /Civil Servants	228	62.7	110	33.8
Private Sector	51	10.7	20	6.2
Student	20	4.2	3	0.91
Unemployed	8	1.7	0	0.0
Total	475	100.0	325	100

The above table represents the % distribution of the respondents by occu-

pation. In the urban community, most of the respondents are in public/civil service. This group has 62.7% of the total percentage. In the rural community, however, 43.1% is in hunting/farming while 33.8% is public/civil servants. We expect, therefore, that the people in the urban community will be more alive to the political education programme as a higher percentage is in public/ civil service and are therefore more enlightened.

(v) <u>Frequency distribution showing the educational background distribution of the respondents in the urban and rural communities.</u>

TABLE 8

Variables	Urban		Rural	
	No	%	No	%
Above 1st Degree	62	13.1	6	1.8
1st Degree/equivalent	72	15.2	22	6.8
Diploma/NCE	134	28.2	58	17.8
Professional Qualification	74	15.6	49	15.1
Post Primary	66	13.9	38	11.7
Primary/Adult Literacy	52	10.9	22	6.8
None	475	100.0	325	100.0
TOTAL	475	100.0	325	100.0

In the above table, the respondents in the urban community are more edu-

cated than those in the rural community. Analysis above indicates that the urban community has higher percentage on all the variables except those without any educational background, where the rural community has 40% as against 3.1% recorded in the urban community.

The difference observed in the educational background may be due to more access to education and modern facilities in the urban community.

Knowledge of the urban and rural communities on the Programme and Objectives of the Directorate for Social Mobilisation (MAMSER)

The objectives of a programme should be known and be clear to the participants of such programme. This is very important in that the participants are the best evaluators of such programme. This is in line with the submissions of Provus (1973), Tate (1981) and Gronlund (1981). These scholars on evaluation stated that the objectives of a programme being evaluated must be identified before clarification of the variables affecting performance. The objectives should be well known to the evaluator and the objectives should form the bases of the evaluation. Also, in the Donaldson-Scannell Model of Evaluation (1978, pp 13-23) adapted for this study, the importance of identification of the goals and objectives is stressed.

Moreover, the participants who are the respondents are to evaluate the programme in that they can best assess the degree to which the programme has been implemented in their communities. Notable researchers in evaluation such as Thiede (1964) and Matthews (1959) supported that evaluation of

a programme is best done by the participants.

An attempt was made to find out the respondents' of the programmes and objectives of MAMSER. It was observed that there were diverse views on MAMSER in the two communities. Some of the respondents felt that is was an extension of War Again Indiscipline (WAI) while some could only identify some of the MAMSER's programmes. Some of the respondents could not specify any of the objectives but they claimed that MAMSER is an avenue to waste public fund. In the rural community in particular, a large number claimed never to have heard of MAMSER, though they were aware of the two political parties.

Result as shown in Table 9 below, indicates the knowledge of the respondents in the two communities on what they know about MAMSER.

TABLE 9

Analysis between the respondents of the urban and rural communities on their knowledge of MAMSER's objectives and programmes.

	N	$\bar{X}$	d^2	Standard Error	d.f.	obs.	t. value at 0.05	t. value Remark
Urban	475	59.37	10015.82	13.85	14	1.353	2.145	N.S
Rural	325	4062	739.84					

P < 0.05, S = Significant   N.S. = Not significant

Using t-Test for Independent samples above, the result of this analysis shows that there is no significant difference between the knowledge of the respondents in the two communities on what MAMSER is, since t-Test value 1.353

< 2.145. This indicates that the respondents do not have enough knowledge on the objectives and programmes of MAMSER. This finding agrees with what Samda (1990) observed in Sokoto when assessing the impact of MAMSER. The success of the programme is therefore affected by the lack of adequate knowledge of the programme.

Question 1:

To what extent has the strategies of MAMSER facilitated the success of the Political Education Programme?

The level of people's knowledge about MAMSER depends on the delivery strategies. The readiness to accept the political education programme is a function of the strategies employed to reach the people. In the Donaldson - Scannell (1978) Evaluation Model adapted for this study, the strategies used in implementation of any programme are expected to have impact on the failure or success. Similarly, the delivery strategies of MAMSER should have great influence on the impact of the programme on Nigerians. Table 10 below indicated views of the people on the strategies of MAMSER.

TABLE 10

Analysis of the delivery strategies used by MAMSER in the political education programme in urban and rural communities:

	N	X	d²	Standard Error	d.f	t-value obs.	t.value at 0.05	Remark
Urban	475	79.16	94702.8					
				63.02	10	0.3966	2.228	N.S
Rural	325	54.16	24468.8					

P<0.05　　S = Significant　　N.S. = Not significant

Using t-Test for independent samples, the result shows that there is no significant difference in the delivery strategies used by MAMSER in the two communities as t-Test value 0.3966 is less than 2.228.

Findings revealed that radio and television were the main sources of information used by MAMSER in the two communities. Only few of the respondents claimed to have knowledge of MAMSER's political education through

clubs and social societies. In the rural community, some of the respondents claimed not to have heard of any political education programme.

However, contrary to the findings MAMSER claimed that people were adequately informed and enlightened on national issues and the agency's programmes through many strategies. Among such strategies are the various radio/television jingles by MAMSER. There were also drama sketches to create awareness on national issues like census, drug abuse and election procedure. In addition, MAMSER claimed to have regular meetings with associations such as COWAD, Better Life Committee for Rural Women and Professional Associations sin order to explain Government Programmes and policies. There were also meetings with villages heads and community leaders.

MAMSER also claimed to organise enlightenment rallies on market days and also information was disseminated through the town-criers in the rural community. Bill boards and posters were also used in the mobilisation process. Various printed literature in form of hand bills, manual books and others were produced in English and Yoruba language. It was observed however that MAMSER depended mainly on radio and television as the source of information for the communities.

As noted earlier, some of the respondents claimed to have no knowledge of MAMSER programmes. This indicates that the delivery strategies were probably not effective enough to penetrate into the two communities.

Findings further revealed that unlike other educational programmes, MAMSER's political education had no curriculum. This seems to be the rea-

son why the delivery strategies could not be as effective as expected. The agency depended mainly on "Political Education Manual" which had no scheme for the programme and it could not be referred to as developed curriculum for political education. It was observed that the agency limited its activity to mere information organ dissemination on behalf of the government. Whenever any election was at hand, MAMSER used to perform the functions assigned by law to National Electoral Commission; that is, informing the electorate of the election procedure. Probably that accounts for non-recognition of the agency and its functions by most of the respondents. Provisions of a curriculum on political education will make the teaching-learning more effective and the stated objectives would have, perhaps been achieved. MAMSER was not able to live up to expectation due to the poor delivery strategies.

Question 2:

Has Political Education Programme had any effect on people's participating in politics?

Table II below indicates the opinion of the respondents in the two communities to participation in politics as a result of MAMSER'S Political Education Programme.

TABLE 11

Distribution of respondents view on the effect of the political education programme on people's participation in politics.

	N	X̄	d^2	Standard Error	d.f	t-value obs.	t-value at 0.05 critical	Remark
Urban	475	95	15808	36.395	8	0.824	2.306	N.S
Rural	325	65	10684					

$P < 0.05$,   S = Significant   N.S. Not Significant

Since $0.824 < 2.306$, the findings confirm that there is no significant difference between the opinion of the respondents in the urban and rural communities on participation in politics.

Findings reveal that in the two communities, people have different views on the effect of political education programme on participation in politics. Most of the respondents agreed that the effect of the political education programme was hardly felt on political participation. A group of people also claimed that the programme had a meaningful effect on political participation while another group claimed that the programme had no effect.

The differences in the views of the respondents above are due to some factors. In the first place, many of the respondents, especially in the rural community, claimed that they have never heard of MAMSER and its political education programme. This indicates that the programme being evaluated is not known to them.

Lack of interest of the people in the programme might also be a factor that affected their reactions. Dissatisfaction with the government and political institutions of the nation might affect the attitude towards the political participation despite the political education programme. Some of the respondents believed that it is futile to participate since politics is for the rich who decide who should be in power. Moreover, some felt that they have been neglected in the rural area and there is no need to participate in politics. The findings agree with the view of Rosenberg (1956) that people may refuse to participate as members of the society through the political culture which expected participation exists. Their inactiveness is because they believe that government is not efficient, it does not provide immediate gratification and even if they participate, the political results they desire would not be realised.

The level of literacy might be another factor that affected participation in politics despite the political education programme. In the rural community, the percentage of illiterates was 40% as indicated in Table 8. According to Akinpelu (1990) and Omolewa (1981), non participation of people in politics could be traced to illiteracy.

The delivery strategies of the political education programme might be another factor affecting the rate of political participation. As earlier noted, the delivery strategies employed were mainly through radio and television. Other equally important channels of political education were not adequately utilised. It was not approached through adult education strategies and hence the adult learners were not involved in the programme as expected. The failure to use adult education delivery strategies had a negative impact on the success of the programme. This outcome agreed with view in Donaldson Scannell (1978) Model of Evaluation.

Questions 3:

To what extent has illiteracy affected the success of the Political Education Programme of MAMSER?

The Directorate understood Mass Education in term of Mass Literacy. However, Mass Education includes other programmes such as Health Education, Agriculture Programme, Political Education apart from Mass Literacy. MAMSER thus conceived Mass Education in a narrow sense.

Mass Literacy is expected to complement Political Education. All efforts expended on mass literacy is for the success of the political education programme. The mass literacy programme is supposed to provide literacy to those without it and also vocational training to the unemployed, as this would go a long way towards moulding better citizenry out of them.

The view that mass literacy enhance political education and participation in politics as expressed by MAMSER, agrees with the submissions of Verba and Mii (1965), Akinpelu (1990) and Neves (1982). Table 12 below indicates the respondents' response to the impact of literacy on political participation.

TABLE 12

Distribution of respondents view on the relationship of literacy and political
participation of the communities.

	N	X	d²	Standard Error	d.f.	t-value obs.	t-value at 0.05 critical	Remark
Urban	475	95	13304	33.172	8	0.904	2.306	N.S
Rural	325	65	8704					

P < 0.05,   S = Significant   N.S = Not Significant

Since 0.904 < 2.306, findings confirm that there is no significant difference
between the opinion of the respondents in the two communities that literacy
is vital in political participation and political education programme.

Findings reveal that the respondents believed that MAMSER's perfor-
mance in Mass literacy was poor. It was further observed that the agency was
not directly involved in organising adult literacy classes. Its role was limited
to supervision which was handicapped by lack of vehicles for effective moni-
toring and supervision of the existing centres. For example, the Akinyele Lo-
cal Government Adult Education Officer reported on 6th February, 1989, that
Mass Literacy in the rural community was handicapped by non-cooperation
of MAMSER's office for joint supervision of centers regularly; non supply of
textbooks by MAMSER to the learners; late payment of honorarium to in-
structors by MAMSER and inadequate supervision because of transport prob-

lem.

From the above, the views of the respondents that literacy is vital in political education agrees with the arguments of Verba and Mii (1965) Akinpelu (1990, pp 3-13) and Neves (1982).

Question 4:

Has Political Education Programme had affect on the Political Culture of Nigerians?

The Political Bureau recommended a new political culture that will usher in unity, freedom political awareness and thereby promote the stability of the nation.

MAMSER noted that the behaviour of Nigerians in the political process has been largely negative and this was responsible for a culture of helplessness, apathy and indifference to the political process. Nigerians' political culture was therefore expected to change due to the impact of the political education programme. The change should make the masses conscious, vigilant and organised and in which social injustice, poverty and foreign domination of the economy are totally eliminated.

Table 13 below indicates the views of respondents to the people's awareness of their rights as citizens due to the political education programme of MAMSER.

TABLE 13

Distribution of respondents' view on the awareness of their rights as citizens as educated by MAMSER

	N	X̄	d²	Standard Error	d.f.	t-value obs.	t-value at 0.05 critical	Remark
Urban	475	95	12044					
				30.86	8	0.904	2.306	N.S
Rural	325	65	7008					

P < 0.05   S = Significant   N.S. = Not Significant

Since 2.306 > 0.904, we assume that there is no significant difference in the views of the respondents on the awareness of citizens' rights.

Findings show that people are not adequately informed of what their rights and obligations are as citizens. Many of the respondents in the two communities only recognised the right to at the age of eighteen (18). They were not conscious of how to claim their rights even if they were aware of existence of their rights. Thus the culture of political apathy continues in the communities. People in the two communities only felt a slight change, if any, in their orientations in this respect.

New political culture, attitudes and orientation should be set in order to attain the goals and objectives of the Nigerian State. In other words, the old political attitudes should be replaced through political education.

Table 14 represents the views of the respondents on setting of new attitudes and culture due to the political education programme of MAMSER.

<div align="center">TABLE 14</div>

Distribution of respondents' view on the impact of MAMSER's Political Education Programme on the change of attitude and culture.

	N	X̄	d²	Standard Error	d.f.	t-value obs.	t-value at 0.05 critical	Remark
Urban	475	118.75	752.74					
				25.85	6	1.45	2.447	N.S
Rural	325	81.25	7266.74					

P < 0.05   S = Significant   N.S. = Not Significant

Since 1.45 < 2.447, there is no significant difference in the views of the respondents on the impact of MAMSER's Political Education Programme on change of attitude and culture.

Findings reveal that expected changes in the attitude and culture have not been attained. In the two communities, a high percentage did not understand the expected changes which must be realised. They could only point to peaceful atmosphere under the transition programme of Babangida's administration. Some of the respondents felt that the changes in attitude and culture were due to the nation being under a military regime. It seems that MAMSER's

impact has not been fully felt in changing the attitude and political culture of the people.

However, expected changes in political culture can only be attained gradually. It will take some time before people can be fully attuned to such changes. The level of the political culture in the two communities noted in the findings indicate that it is gradual. This agrees with the views of Verba (1965) and Akinola (1988) that changes in political culture are gradual. In a research conducted on political culture in 1960-1963, Verba (1965) reported that researchers held a general opinion that there are probably very definite limits to the pace and rate at which it is possible to plan and direct changes in a political culture. Akinola (1988) also stated that it takes time for a society to properly define and operationalise its collective goals and thereafter to instill a fairly uniform consciousness of such goals in the citizenry, the processes of such institutionalisation are equally gradual and crises ridden. It was noted however, that the impact of MAMSER was hardly felt due strategies. This confirms Scannell-Donaldsons (1978) view on programme implementation.

Question 5:

Is political learning of Nigerians now free of ethnicity/tribalism?

The political instability in Nigeria was traced to various causes, among which was ethnicity/tribalism. Political Education was expected to eradicate this problem and change people's orientation for the unity of the nation. It is believed that instability could only be eliminated when the people see each other as perfect substitute for one another without prejudice to the tribal back-ground.

Joseph (1987) argued that the Nigeria political culture is best described as

patron-client relationship which was developed out of ethnicity. Coleman (1960, pp 258) and Eleazu (1977, p 67) agreed that in Nigeria, the political systems and attitudes to politics is affected by the traditional authority. People only transfer their primordial loyalty to any member of the ethnic group representing the tribe at the national level.

Table 15 below is the comparative analysis of the views of the respondents in the two communities on the impact of the political education programme on tribalism in Nigeria.

TABLE 15

Analysis of the respondents' perception of the influence of the political education programme on tribalism.

	Yes		No	Total	X^2	d.f	x^2 value at 0.05 level	Remark
X_1	75	98.56	376.43 400	475				
		67.43	257.56		17,48	1	3.841	S
X_2	91		234	325				

P < 0.05   S = Significant   N.S. = Not Significant

Figure written in parenthesis are the expected frequencies.

Since 17.48 > 3.841, there is a significant difference between the perception of the urban and rural communities as regards the degree to which politi-

cal education can solve the problem of tribalism in order to bring about political stability in the nation.

Findings reveal that the different opinions held by the two communities are due to past political experience and what is currently happening in the country. The position taken by the respondents was influenced by the political unrest which characterised the 1st and 2nd Republic in Nigeria. Some experiences under the Military Government further created fear of instability in the minds of some respondents despite the political education programme. For example, the primaries conducted by the two political parties (SDP) and (NRC) for the presidential election in 1992 was allegedly marred by ethnicity and bribery. Most print media reported that the presidential candidates scored highest number of votes in states where their tribes are based and performed poorly in others. There were also allegations of bribery levelled against the candidates that won the primaries in other states outside their tribal base. This was just a replica of what happened in 1979 presidential election between Alhaji Shehu Shagari, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, Alhaji Aminu Kano and Alhaji Ibrahim Waziri.

The 1992 presidential primaries were eventually cancelled by Babangida's administration over the allegations. The "Daily Sketch" reported that "Most of the presidential aspirants had condemned the conduct of the primaries, alleging that votes were rather awarded than cast during the exercise" (Daily Sketch Friday August 7, 1992).

The findings above agree with the views of Joseph (1987, pp 3-15) Eleazu

(1977, p 67), Diamond (1988) and Nwanko (1987, p20-44) that Nigerians usually transfer their tribal loyalty to whoever represents them at the centre of authority.

Findings also reveal that some respondents believed that if MAMSER did what it was expected to do in terms of eradication of tribalism through political education programme, there would be stability in the nation. This group of respondents believed that the seeming unity being enjoyed in the country should be regarded as temporary. The real test of unity and stability would be after the departure of the military administration.

Political stability is best achieved when the masses are enlightened politically and able to withstand against the manipulation of the powerful rich minority. By the time stability is achieved, there should be an end to using ethnicity, and sectional differences in the nation. According to the MAMSER's Political Education Manual Book, "The Nigerian Society is to be organised on basis of the principles of equality, social justice, equity and the rule of law". In other words, the law is supreme over any person or group of persons.

Question 6:

Has Political Education influenced the behaviour of political party members?

Table 16 below represents the views of the respondents on the impact of the political education programme of MAMSER on the behaviour of the political party members.

TABLE 16

Analysis of urban and rural communities perception of the impact of the MAMSER's Political Education Programme on the behaviour of the political party members.

	Yes		No		Fairly	Total	X^2	df	X^2 value at 0.05	Remark
$\bar{X}_1$	185.84 185		155.56 170		133.59 120	475	6.712	2	5.991	S
$\bar{X}_2$	127.15 128		106.43 92		91.40 105	325				

$P > 0.05$ S = Significant   N.S. = Not Significant

Figures written in parenthesis are the expected frequencies.

Since 6.712 > 5.991, findings confirm that there is significant difference between the opinion of the urban and rural communities as regards the behaviour of the political party members.

The differences might be due to the level of involvement and participation in the organisation and administration of the political parties by the respondents.

MAMSER was expected to promote the formation or revitalise popular organisations at all levels of the society to ensure democracy and social justice. In other words, MAMSER is to influence the formation, organisation and administration of "popular organisations including political parties".

Two political parties were formed by the Federal Government in 1989. The

parties were the Social Democratic Party and National Republican Conven-
tion.

On the occasion of the registration of the two political parties n 7th Octo-
ber, 1989, President Babangida noted that democracy, in nearly all pluralistic
modern societies, is practised through political parties. Political parties ar-
ticulate and serve the aggregate coalition of interests which each one of them
represents. Political parties, not only check each other in the process of gov-
ernance, they provide known and assessed alternative leadership for the country.
Political parties must be well established, properly organised and widely trusted
in the society. Political parties that enjoy internal consistency in philosophy
and action hold the key to the subtenance of democracy in any country, in-
cluding Nigeria.

An attempt was earlier made by politicians to form and organise political
parties. The politicians were alleged by President Babangida to have formed
political associations based on old cleavages - ethnic, geopolitical, religious
and class. The associations which were expected to transcend those lines of
cleavage and promote issue - based politics. It seemed that MAMSER's politi-
cal education programme had not helped the politicians in forming their own
parties by themselves.

The two political parties formed by the government had the following simi-
lar objectives:

(a) provide a grassroot basis for the emergence of political parties;

(b) establish a grassroot or mass platform for the emergence of new leadership;

(c) give equal rights and opportunities to all Nigerians to participate in the political process irrespective of their wealth, religious, geopolitical backgrounds and professional endeavours;

(d) de-emphasize the role of money in politics;

(e) reduce, to a minimum level, the element of violence in our electoral process;

(f) ensure the emergence of a new more dedicated and more genuine leadership cadre, which will not be a mere proxy for old political war lords;

(g) preclude the emergence of political alliances along the same liens as in the first and second republic and therefore give Nigerians a new political structure within which to operate;

(h) chart a new pattern of political recruitment and participation which will enhance Nigeria's stability;

(i) establish strong institutional structures which will not only sustain future governments but also be strong enough to stand the test of time;

(j) establish a political system that will be operated according to the spirit and letter of the constitution of the Federal Republic.

Findings show that the two political parties formed by the government followed an organisational and administrative pattern laid down by the government. All principal officers of the parties were elected through a democratic process.

However, the activities of some of the officials of the parties during the

1991 gubernatorial elections raised some dust. There were allegations that some of the officials of the parties favoured, openly supported and used their influence undemocratically to back some aspirants in Lagos, Kano and Kaduna states. Another example was the 1992 presidential primaries which led to the dissolution of all federal, states and wards parties organisations and interim caretaker committees were appointed. There were allegations of bribery, corruption and favouritism levelled against the key officers of the parties.

Findings indicate that a number of respondents believed that the political education programme had reduced the violence that were identified with political parties in the past. This group cited 1990 local government elections which were conducted without party crisis as example.

Findings further reveal that a group of the respondents in the two communities expressed pessimism on what the situation might be after the civilians are fully in power. It is possible that the presence of the military in power has been a check on the members of the political parties, especially, on the officials of the parties. Members of the parties feared that the parties might be dissolved by the military administration. It was this factor that checked their excesses to avoid a repetition of setting up caretaker committees.

It was observed that many of the respondents agreed that lack of political education of the political parties led to the failure of the 1st and 2nd republics. This view agreed with those of Ojelabi (1970), Anderson (1967) and Amodu (1989) who attributed the failure of the republics partly to the political parties.

Mhaiki (1981) emphasised that political education is important in the formation of political parties and organisation of such parties. Leeds (1981) added that the political parties are to organise the masses, to give them political education and to select leaders from them to contest elections.

Question 7:

Has Political Education reduced the incidence of thuggery, arson, riots and killings among the politicians?

Political thuggery, arsons, riots and killings were the bane of the 1st and 2nd republics in Nigeria. The political crisis that attended the election of 1983, left many dead in many parts of the nation. For example, Amodu (1989) reported the chaos that followed gubernatorial election of 1983 in Niger state. It was this insecurity of life that prompted the military to take over the rein of power.

Political Education Programme is to prepare the citizenry adequately for a civil rule where political thuggery, arson and killings would be reduced to the barest minimum, if not totally eradicated. In this respect, every form of malpractice from ballot rigging electoral violence, murder and lawlessness observed in the 2nd republic would be eliminated.

MAMSER was expected to create consciousness about power and its use and the proper role of government in serving the collective interest of Nigerians. Governmental machineries should not be turned to instrument of abuse of power, oppression of political opponents, electoral malpractices and violence.

Table 17 shows the perception of the two communities on the impact of MAMSER's political education programme on reduction of thuggery, violence and ballot rigging.

TABLE 17

Distribution of respondent's views on the impact of MAMSER's Political Education Programme on thuggery, election violence and rigging:

	N	X.	D²	Standard Error	d.f	t-value obs.	t-value at 0.05 level	Remark
Urban	475	118.75	752.74					
				25.267	6	1.484	2.447	N.S.
Rural	325	81.25	7266.74					

P < 0.05   S = Significant   N.S. = Not significant

Since 1.484 < 2.447, there is no significant difference in the views of the respondents on the effect of the political education programme on political thuggery, election violence and rigging.

Findings show that a good number of the respondents in the two communities believed that the political education programme has not reduced thuggery and rigging. They argued that the relative peace and cordiality that existed was due to the military administration at the helm of affairs. Lawlessness and oppression of political opponents may return when the civilians are in full control.

Table 18 below indicates the perception of the respondents on the possibility of the political education programme solving Nigeria's political problems.

TABLE 18

Analysis of the urban and rural communities perception on the possibility of the political education solving Nigeria's political problems:

	Yes	No	Total	X^2	d.f	X^2 value at 0.05	Remark
X_1 275	267.78	207 21 200	475	0.1518	1	3.84	N.S
X_2 176	183.21	141.78 149	325				

$P < 0.05$ S = Significant   N.S. = Not significant

Figures written in parenthesis are the expected frequencies.

Since 3.84 < 0.1518, we assume that there is no significant difference in the opinion of the two communities about the political education programme and Nigeria's political problems.

Some of the respondents in the two communities had the view that the political education programme, even if well implemented cannot solve the political problems. On the other hand, many believed that the programme can solve the political problem if properly organised and implemented. The latter view might be due to the assumption that the process of solving the political problems is gradual. This is in line with the view of Akinola (1988), that it

takes time for a society to properly define and operationalise its collective goals and thereafter to instill a fairly uniform consciousness of such goals in the citizenry.

Even under the military administration, there were some events that created fear of the future in Nigerians. For example, the Chairman of Oredo Local Government in Edo State was killed by assassins over political rivalry. There were cases of thuggery in some Houses of Assembly where chaos was the order of the day. For example, in Osun State, the legislators were severely beaten and wounded in the House of Assembly in 1992 by some thugs over a disagreement with the State Governor.

Question 8:

<u>Has the MAMSER's Political Education Programme brought hope for a stable civilian government in future?</u>

The Directorate for Social Mobilisation (MAMSER) was expected to inculcate in all the citizens, the values, the habits and the orientation which will lead, without coercion to the emergence out of disarray, a great self-reliant civic society in which justice, duty, responsibility, tolerance and commitment to the nation shall hold sway.

Political Education should therefore make Nigerians have faith in the political future of the country. The period after a military regime should be treated with care so as not to make the mistake that brought the military to power. As noted by Akinola (1988) the future of a civilian administration after a lengthy period of military rule is always viewed with caution. He noted that apart

from the re-instatement of civilian supremacy over the political system, it also involves the introduction of such systemic reforms as are adjudged capable of over-coming the difficulties which induced military rule in the first instance.

MAMSER's political education programme was expected to create stability and political optimism in the nation. The political education programme should create awareness which should prepare the citizens for the following:

(i)   to know and defend their right all times;

(ii) to participate actively in elections;

(iii) to expose and report corrupt practises; and

(iv) to mobilise and join popular organisation, such as labour organizations, and women associations in order to advance the interest of the masses.

Survival of democracy depends on a conscious and enlightened citizenry. Where this is achieved, Pye (1965) argued that national integration is possible It is then that an individual sees himself as an integral member of the nation and his loyalty to the nation will be unquestionable.

Table 19 below shows the views of the respondents in the two communities about the future of civilian administrations in Nigeria:

TABLE 19

Analysis of the urban and rural communities perception of the future of civil-
ian administrations Nigeria.

	Yes	No	Total	X²	d.f	X² value at 0.05	Remark
X₁ 189	203.06	271.93 286	475				
X 153	138.93	186.06 172	325	4.186	1	3.84	S

$P < 0.05$ S = Significant   N.S. = Not significant

Figures written in parenthesis are the expected frequencies.

Since 4.186 > 3.84, there is significant difference in the opinion of the two communities on the future of civilian administration in Nigeria. The differ-ence might be due to various news from themass media on occurrences in different parts of the federation and the differences in the two communities.

Findings indicate that the citizenry have doubt about the future of civilian administration. In the various elections conducted between 1990 - 1992, there were allegations and counter allegations of election malpractices, bribery, lack of political tolerance and unwillingness to accept the verdict of the elections.

In some local governments in Nigeria, the election petitions over the local government election conducted in 1990 were not concluded even after two years, thus making the administration of such local governments inactive. For

instance, in Lagelu Local Government in Oyo State, the two candidates that contested the election were sworn in as chairman on different occasions within two years because of protests and inconsistent court rulings on the petitions.

During the 1991 gubernatorial elections and the presidential primaries of 1992, there were allegations of some politicians bribing the electorate by putting money in loaves of bread and distributing these at the polls.

If the future civilian regimes should thrive, the citizenry should be interested in elections. It was observed that the apathy noticed in the attitude of the citizenry can be traced to illiteracy, lack of trust in the government, low level of the political education among other factors.

In similar researches conducted by Stephens and Long (1970), Verba and Mii (1965) and Neves (1982), it was discovered that the educated people tend to be more politically active than illiterates.

Findings also reveal that those that are optimistic of the future civilian regime felt that the politicians had learnt their lessons and they would give democracy a change.

Democracy can thrive where the police, military and other security forces realise their respective role and ready to perform their duties as expected. Under the constitution, the Nigerian Police Force is to maintain law and order and ensure the public safety in the country. The armed forces have the of defending Nigeria against attack from outside and to protect Nigerian territory on land, sea and air.

In the past years, the military became an attractive profession because of

the opportunity to play a political role in the government of Nigeria through coups. According to the Political Education Manual Book, the military becomes over-politicized while execution and untimely retirement or dismissal of officers and soldiers create distrust, uncertainty and fear within the military.

In the past civilian regimes, the Nigerian Police and other security agencies turned out to be agencies of oppression, harassment and insecurity in the hands of unscrupulous politicians. They were usually manipulated by the government in power to intimidate, oppress and harass voters during and after elections. The behaviour of some bad eggs in the police and other security services made many Nigerians to lose confidence in them.

Question 9:

Is MAMSER's Political Education Programme of any effect on the issue of political instability in Nigeria?

The military coups in Nigeria have brought instability to the nation. A new regime comes into power and throws away the programmes of the previous regime and pursue new ones. These coups have adversely affected the progress of the nation as no government has enough time to complete a programme before another is brought in.

Anise (1974) noted the economic, social insecurity and other problems which attend instability in trends of leadership in African politics. He noted the economic woes, political oppressions among others which came with the instability. Suberu (1990) also agreed that the political instability in Nigeria

further bring about disunity, tribal sentiments, insecurity and economic hard-ship.

In order to stop instability in Nigeria, MAMSER proposed that "good demo-cratic government is the only guarantee for stability, progress and non mili-tary intervention in Nigeria". In other words, the problems which prompted the intervention of the military should be identified and avoided.

Table 20 below indicates the views of the respondents on the effect of MAMSER's Political Education Programme on the issue of political instabil-ity in Nigeria.

TABLE 20

Analysis of the urban and rural communities perception on the impact of the political education programme on political instability in Nigeria:

	Yes	No	Total	X^2	d.f	X^2 value at 0.05	Remark
X_1 170	184.06	290.93 305	475				
				4.317	1	3.84	S
X_2 140	125.93	199.06 185	325				

$P < 0.05$ • S = Significant   N.S. = Not significant

Figures written in parenthesis are the expected frequencies.

Since $4.31 > 3.84$, findings confirm that there is significant difference in

the opinion of the two communities on the impact of the political education programme on political stability in Nigeria.

Findings indicate that the respondents felt that under a military regime, ti is difficult to assert whether there will be stability in future civilian administrations, judging from the past experiences. Nigeria practised diarchy in 1990-1992 whereby there were civilians and military in government and the Federal Government was headed by a military officer. In some states, there were some conflicts between the executive and legislature. Such conflicts are expected in democracy but not to the extent of physical attack on honourable members of the House of Assembly as witnessed in Osun State House of Assembly in 1992.

Immediate causes of military coups Nigeria are election rigging, corruption and violences. Even the diarchy system, had not totally curbed the politicians from exhibiting these traits. As earlier mentioned, the mass media reported cases of bribery at polls during the gubernatorial and presidential primaries in 1991 and 1992 respectively. Such practices breed instability as observed by Joseph (1987) and Akinola (1988).

Findings indicate that it might be too early to conclude that the political education programme has not brought the expected stability. After the exit of the military government, it might be possible to evaluate the efforts made towards the future stability of Nigeria. Moreover, the political education is supposed to be continuous and it is possible that more of the citizenry will be enlightened.

Question 10:

What had been the areas of successes and failures of MAMSER's Political Education Programme?

It was the Political Education Programme of MAMSER that is being evaluated in this study. The Political Education Manual published by MAMSER spelt out the content and scope of the Political Education Programme.

The Directorate divided the Political Education Programme into two phases. The first phase was the Mobilisation Phase which was to be completed in April 1989 before the ban on partisan politics was lifted by President Babangida on 3rd May, 1989. The second phase of the programme was to teach the masses essential democratic skills and also explain the provisions of the constitution of Nigeria to the masses. In the end, MAMSER hoped to create a new political culture in Nigeria aimed at promoting an orderly, peaceful, principled and purposeful politics in the Third Republic.

Findings have indicated poor performance in the political education programme because of inadequate delivery strategies, lack of curriculum on political education and lack of understanding of the programme by MAMSER and the public though the programme would have been welcomed by the public if well implemented.

Findings reveal that MAMSER has been more of an electoral information agency than political education agency, informing the public of election and electoral laws. MAMSER was known to mobilise the public to register as voters and to take part in elections. On the election days, MAMSER officials

were at the poll stations, watching out for electoral mal-practices, thuggery and corruption in order to inform the law-enforcement agencies and National Electoral Commission.

It was noted that the "Political Education Manual" book prepared by MAMSER was not adhered to. It might be expected that it was supposed to serve as the curriculum on which the scheme of study was base. The Manual covered topics such as "Political Development of Nigeria, Democracy and National Development; Rights and Duties of Nigerians; the Proper Role of Police and Security Agencies, Military and Democracy" etc. It seemed that MAMSER had a limited knowledge of the scope of what should be done. Education of public on election procedures was just an aspect of what should be done by the Directorate and should be a joint responsibility with the National Electoral Commission (NEC) and the political parties.

Other Findings:

(i)   Delivery Strategies: In this study, it was observed that the strategies adopted by MAMSER were limited to mainly radio jingles and announcements over the television and some drama sketches. The people did not feel the impact of MAMSER through other avenues as expected. It was expected that there would be series of lectures, discussions, rallies, conferences and others in addition to the use of mass media. Even the radio medium which was recognised as an important medium was not properly utilised. The Tanzania's experience in using radio forum to educate the people on adut education programmes such as Political

Education, Health Education and Literacy is a good example of proper utilization of radio forum. In the use of the radio forum, people are to be organised in radio listening groups, with a textbook, specially prepared on the selected topics which are to be discussed under the guidance of trained adult educators. They would be adequately informed about various programmes of the government and also to participate in discussing the programmes and thereby making their contributions to the progress of the nation. The radio forum had been successful in Tanzania, India and Ghana.

(ii) Mass Literacy and MAMSER: Findings indicate that the level of involvement of MAMSER in Mass Literacy was not specified and made clear. It is not clear to what extent the agency should be involved in Mass Literacy, as it was directly under another agency. The National Commission for Mass Education which is saddled with Mass Education also has similar programme of political education as a programme under Mass Education. The activity of the commission was limited to mass literacy while MAMSER was involved in monitoring, supervisions and probably funding of mass literacy. It is obvious that there was duplication of programmes by the two agencies and this lack of clear objectives for these agencies created confusion and unnecessary rivalry.

(iii) Knowledge of the programme of Political Education:

Furthermore, the limited success recorded by MAMSER might be due to lack of understanding strategies to implement the programmes. In the

editorial comment of the "Guardian" on 3rd March, 1993, this view was also buttressed. It was said that "since the organisation (MAMSER) came into being, it has been struggling to articulate a coherent and relevant programme for itself. But if has not succeeded and could not have succeeded because its general ideas were at beset eclectic. In any case, they were inconsistent with the transition programme and the direction the government was going". The situation did not change. The political education of MAMSER was limited to radio jingles drama sketches and some printed literature with limited circulation but there was no primer for adult learners to study political education and no specific programme for adult learners.

(iv) Lack of curriculum on Political Education:

Findings reveal that there was no developed syllabus or curriculum on which to base MAMSER's Political Education. Political Education could be regarded as other educational programmes and this sought to necessitate a developed curriculum on which to base teaching/learning activities. There were booklets produced by MAMSER on "Political Education Manual Book", "Cooperative Societies", etc. but these booklets were not substitutes for the syllabus or the curriculum. It is further observed that the booklets cannot be developed into schemes in order to educate the adults.

(v) Lack of adequate planning and management:

Considering the number of the respondents that claimed to have no

knowledge of MAMSER, it seems that the agency lack adequate planning and organisation policy to ensure the penetration of its programmes to the grassroot as expected. Though the organisational chart indicated who should be responsible for what, MAMSER demonstrated lack of effective management. The organisational chart and managerial skill expected were not provided to ensure the success of the various programmes of the agency.

(vi) Lack of inter-ministerial cooperation:

Another important area is the inter-ministerial cooperation which should bring together all agencies, ministries and non-governmental organisation involved in the Political Education Programme in order to plan and organise how best to implement the programmes. It was specified in the objectives of MAMSER that it should cooperate with all agencies connected with the programme. Findings reveal that in Oyo State, MAMSER did not hold regular meetings with the Agency for Non-Formal Education in the state as expected. The Agency for Non-Formal Education oversees mass literacy in the state and this lack of cooperation might have affected the success of the programme.

There was also inter-departmental or agency rivalry because of over-lapping programmes. The inter-department rivalry was the outcome of the lack of cooperation between the ministries and other agencies on this account. This seems to be the reason why the Commission for Mass Education and MAMSER operated independently without coordination

of activities. This resulted into the wastage of the scarce resources available in the nation and it also produced poor achievement for the agencies involved.

(vii) Findings indicate that most of the staffers were not trained adult educators. The political education programme dealt with adults who were eighteen years and above (18 years and above). It is therefore necessary that all staffer should receive training in adult education delivery strategies since the agency was implementing an adult education programme.

As noted by Mocker and Noble (1981), such staffers should be given training in adult teaching so as to have knowledge of handling adults, planning and implementation of adult education programmes and evaluation of such programmes. Where there is lack of trained adult educators, programmes often develop hitches. The instructors and community leaders should also be given adequate training in the teaching of adults and the political education. In other words, there are different categories of training programmes designed under Adult Education for the staffers of such agency.

(viii) MAMSER's Internal Problems:

Findings indicate that MAMSER has some internal problems militating against the success of the programmes. Notable among the problems included:

(a) Lack of vehicles for effective mobilisation of the citizenry;

(b) Lack of equipment, such as public address system, audio-video recorders,

etc.;

(c) Lack of adequate fund. The agency sometimes depended on the local governments for assistance; and

(d) Lack of trained personnel.

In summary, MAMSER had problems of implementation strategies, planning and organisation of programmes; lack of qualified and adequate personnel in term of adult educators; lack of necessary equipment and lastly, inadequate funding of the agencies at the local level. These problems accounted for the inadequacies in the implementation of the programmes.

It is noted that one of those advocating that MAMSER be scrapped, indicated that political education is not necessary. Stone (1974), Mhaiki (1981) and other scholars stressed the importance of political education in many nations. United States of America, as an example, made Political Education part of the curricula in high schools. Tanzania, and African country has a successful political education programme for urban and rural communities. The public's argument in Nigeria, therefore, is not whether political education is necessary or unsuitable but on the manner in which MAMSER as an agency of government has performed. It is a general consensus that political education is desirable in Nigeria as in the developed countries.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, POLICY IMPLICATIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS
AND CONCLUSION

5.1   Most developed countries such as U.S.A., Great Britain enjoy relative political stability on account of political education given to the citizens Stone (1974, p.87). Both old and young are exposed to the various national institutions, civic rights, duties, economy and expectations from the government through Political Education. Political cultures of these countries have been developed through Political Education and the citizens have developed individual identification with the nation. For example, in United States of America, the citizens are given political education to the extent that the presidential form of government is part of the political culture. They are conscious of what it entails and are ready to support and defend this democratic institution. Political Education is for multi-party state as well as one party state. The citizens need to know about their government and ideologies of the nation develop through effectively delivered political education programme.

Political Education is part of the curriculum in primary and post-primary schools in most developed countries as earlier indicated. The lessons received at school are further reinforced at home through discussions. This eventually leads to political socialization. As citizens interact in their social clubs, societies, neighbourhood, they discuss the activities of government and ideologies of the nation and thus they become integrated with the nation.

Many governments in the developing countries including Nigeria are quite aware of the importance, the need and power in political education. However, the countries shy away from political education because it is an instrument of liberation and it brings political consciousness to the masses. This happened where there are "sit-tight" leaders in power who refuse to relinguish power even when voted out of government. Examples of such "sit-tight" rulers abound in Africa, and Nigeria in particular. It is ironic that such "sit-tight" rulers came to power in the first instance through military coups. These governments deny their people the right to political education, knowing that if the people are politically conscious, they will seek freedom from domination and oppression. The failure to give proper political education to the people results in economic woes and instability. The "sit-tight" rulers are prone to corruption and tyranny. Findings have clearly shown that Nigeria education suffers due to an ineffective political education programme.

Political Education is an instrument of political stability in any nation. Where there is no stability, the political, economic and social spheres of the nation are affected. Democracy thrives best with political education and a government that gives political education needs the support of the people to govern. A government which is not despotic, is progressive, dynamic and stable. Political Education makes people to be politically conscious and able to take part effectively in decision making process which is necessary in democracy. For example, Tanzania enjoys peace, stability and progress because political education is given to the citizenry. Political Education has been a subject in

the school curriculum in all primary and secondary since 1967 and it is taken in the examinations at the end of Form IV and Form V. It is also a subject in adult education classes all over the country.

In multi-ethnic societies like Nigeria, Political Education is to bring people from different tribes and languages together to have a feeling of one nationhood. It could be the agent of unity whereby these ethnic groups are brought together to appreciate national policies. Due to ineffective political education programme, Nigeria is yet to be a united country in all spheres.

Nigerians need political education for nationalism. It will help the citizenry to have a feeling of nationhood. Political education will change the orientation of those who have adopted colonial values, attitudes and ways of doing things and promote new values, aspirations and attitudes in the national interest.

In a wider world, Political Education helps international understanding and promotes good neighbourliness. Through political education, political tolerance develops and people are made to understand the cause of tensions and violence in different parts of the world. People are made to understand racial discrimination, evils of colonialism and neo-colonialism, human rights and equality of men.

The future of the developing countries rest on the young people. They need to be given Political Education to make them political conscious. In essence, the level of politically consciousness of the young in the schools and National Youth Service should be improved. They are to be charged with the future

democratic development in the nation. It is vital to introduce political education into the curriculum of primary and post-primary schools.

In addition, in order to meet immediate need of Nigeria, Political Education should be given to adults through Adult Education. Political Education could be impacted to adults at Adult Education Centres as a subject just like literacy. These should be complemented with organised political education programmes by NGOS, societies, clubs, cooperative societies and community leaders.

There have been criticisms in some quarters, especially, print media, levelled against MAMSER. Among such criticisms advanced against the agency were that the existence of the agency duplicated the efforts of the Federal Ministry of Information and mass media which were responsible for information on activities of the government, including politics. It was therefore perceived as a waste of public fund. Some people even argued that it was established by President Babangida to compensate some of his personal friends, and the Chairman of MAMSER, being of such friends. It should be noted however that despite the allegations, no one has ever said that Political Education is neither vital nor undesirable in Nigeria.

Those advising governments on political policy matters and those already involved in planning and management of the political education programme are strongly advised to review the delivery strategies in order to make the programme successful. For improvement of the Political Education Programme in Nigeria, this study considers the following recommendations as being vital

to the successful planning, organisation and implementation of the programme.

5.02 Recommendations

1. <u>Delivery Strategies:</u>

For an effective Political Education Programme in Nigeria, the delivery strategies should be reviewed in order to suit the various situations and groups of people in the nation. The following strategies are recommended.

(a) <u>Radio Forum:</u> The people could be mobilised to form radio listening group. With this, the study group methods will be used. This involves dividing the nation into study groups under the chairman or leadership of specially trained group leaders. Each group should consist of twenty to twenty-five members for effective management of the group. Textbooks with specially prepared topics on Political Education could be used along with the broadcast from the radio. People all over the country shall listen to the radio and also read topics from the textbooks before they discuss issues raised in the broadcast or textbooks. This strategy could be adopted for the urban and rural communities.

(b) <u>Lectures and Seminars/Workshops</u>: Lectures at mass rallies and public meetings are other good strategies of Political Education. Seminars/ Workshops on Political Education can be organised from time to time as part of agenda in town meetings, cooperative societies, trade unions, market women associations, NGOS and others on national issues.

(c) <u>Developing a Political Education Curriculum:</u> Political Education should

be studied like any other disciplines. It can be made a compulsory subject tin all Adult Education Programmes. This means that the Federal Government should approve that it should be part of the curriculum of Adult Education. In essence, it should be introduced at Adult Education Centres, Vocation Centers, Women Training Centres, Market Women Forum and others. It should be accorded priority and examined like other subjects in order to give it recognition.

(d) Community based strategies: At the grassroot level, community or village based strategies should be used. This will ensure the cooperation of the rural people. The leaders of the community should be mobilised and trained to give Political Education to their people. The people should participate in the choice of the topics, and planning of the programme in a democratic manner. This ensures their interest and cooperation.

(e) Mass Media: Political Education should not stop at radio jingles and few printed literature. The mass media should be actively involved in planning various politically oriented programmes for the people. Community newspapers should be encouraged so as to help the new literates in the society.

2. Communication: Many agencies, sections and groups of people are to be involved in the Political Education Programme. Those involved include trained adult educators, administrators, police makers, agencies for mass literacy programmes, Ministries of Education, academicians and NGOS. Political Education needs a united effort from all concerned with the success of the

programme. This involves long-term effective planning through identification of objectives, scope of the programme and discussion on the problems related to personnel management. It should be recognised as a programme of adult education and therefore as an academic discipline. Universities should therefore be consulted in the planning of the programme.

It is presently observed that Adult Education is not accorded priority in the training of the personnel for the programme. As it is an adult education programme, the personnel need training in teaching of adults. Involvement of the Adult Education academicians should help to produce highly qualified manpower for the implementation of the programme.

3. Recruitment and Training of Personnel:

Recruitment of personnel for political education should be guided by the need and qualification. Where those in other disciplines other than adult education are recruited, they should be given adequate training in adult education delivery strategies. Part-time instructors who are primarily experts in subject matter and with little responsibility for the education processes other than the course or courses that they are teaching, need to be trained in teaching of adults. Even at community level, community leaders should be trained in Political Education.

Different training schemes should be devised to suit the needs of the different cadres of the personnel. This implies that at the community/grassroot level, middle and executive position should attract different training programmes.

4. <u>Course Content:</u> The course content of political education in Nigeria needs to be reviewed and developed before a successful programme could be attained. Universities should be consulted to work on a syllabus for the trainees and trainers also. The most popular literature available on Political Education were - Political Education Manual and MAMSER Handbook. The two books cannot be regarded as a syllabus. The course content should be identified, planned and prepared to meet the objectives and needs of the nation in this regard. The syllabus should be qualitative and should include certain core aspects that ought to be part of the political education programme suitable for Nigeria.

It is further suggested that there should be a periodical review of the curriculum in order to meet the dynamics of development in the country and the world at large.

5. <u>Control, Organisation and Administration:</u>

The administrators of the agency should be aware of the importance of the span of control in order to improve the management of the agency. Since the Federal Government gave the agency a free hand to map out its plans and operation, it is vital to ensure that the management was free from unnecessary bureaucracy. There should be emphasis on coordination of the roles of every level of the administration right from the top to the village level. This line of communication should not be broken in order to have a positive managerial control. Political Education Programmes should be well organised and coordinated. It is equally important to have information feed back processes

which is central to the management of governmental programmes. In this regard, information ought to flow from the Directorate for Mass Mobilisation Headquarters, to the State, Local Government, wards and villages on the activities of the agency. Also there should be feedback on the programme from the village to the National Headquarters of the agency. There is the need for such feedback for adequate monitoring of the programme.

6. Personnel Management:

In order to have maximum cooperation, the administrators should have individual oriented management approach which provides extrinsic rewards in form of promotion or commendation for workers, encouraging them to work hard by basing promotion on evaluated job performance, not on tribalism, nepotism and favouritism. It is further suggested that the management should provide in-service training and development programmes for all cadres of staff that are involved in the programme for greater performance.

Moreover, the management should set realistic goals before the staffers in order to make them work hard. The staffers that are instructors and coordinators ought to be given enough incentives to make them live within the communities where they are posted to work. This will further enhance the cooperation of the people in the community.

7. Provision of infrastructure:

For an effective political education programme, necessary infrastructure should be provided for the agency. Provision of such facilities will enhance improvement of the programme. It is necessary to take the needs of each area/

community into consideration when providing the facilities. The suggested facilities include:

(a) Means of transportation such as motorcycles, vehicles, bicycles, camels, horses etc. should be made available for effective execution and monitoring of the programme all levels.

(b) Teaching aids such as chalk boards, maps, diagramms, posters, charts, projectors, tape recorders etc., should be provided.

(c) Conducive learning centres and offices should also be considered as vital for the programme to be highly successful.

8. Research and Evaluation:

The research and evaluation department of the agency should be overhauled and made functional. Competent, qualified and experienced analysts should be recruited in order to have a decision oriented department. This will go a long way to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of the agency.

There should be various researches into social and political problems militating against the nation so as to redefine the goals of the agency. Formative and summative evaluations should be applied when necessary. This will contribute to the effectiveness of the agency.

9. The Role of the NGOS:

The NGOS should be encouraged to engage in political education programmes. The agency for political education should provide all necessary assistance in terms of training programmes for staff of NGOS or secondment of staff who are specialists to assist NGOS. The NGOS are already involved

in various adult education programmes such as literacy, health education etc. They have their own techniques which are aimed at bringing improvement to the society. They can therefore be utilised for this purpose.

The agency, in conjunction with the universities should design relevant political education programmes to suit their needs. NGOS can be effective agencies for political education if they are actively involved.

10. Mass Literacy and Political Education Centres:

Mass literacy is an essential tool of Political Education. Literacy gives people a rising knowledge of their national policies, plans and increased opportunity to discuss political issues of interest. When people are educated, they will be able to fully participate in national activities. In Nigeria, the government has started to give attention to the eradication of illiteracy in the society through agencies such as National Commission for Mass Literacy and Non-Formal Education and National Centre for Adult Education, Kano. However, literacy has not been given priority and necessary material resources to eradicate illiteracy.

Existing mass literacy centers should also serve political education programme. Political Education should be made a subject in the curriculum at the centres and it should be accorded priority. This will make it easy for adult learners to be educated politically and at the same time, it is economical for the nation.

11. Primary and Post Primary Schools:

In order to prepare the youth for adulthood and to ensure that those in

formal school system are prepared adequately to face the challenges of the nation, it is advocated that Political Education be introduced to the curricula of primary and post primary schools. The National Council on Education, with the assistance of the universities and West African Examination Council should produce syllabi for this (NERDC).

Political Education should be a subject to be examined in Primary Six Leaving Certificate Examinations and West African Senior Schools Examinations.

12. <u>The Polity</u>:

The government should firmly stand by the decision to have a programme of Political Education in the nation. It should be regarded as part of the national objectives necessary for the advancement and development of the nation.

It is not a name given to a political education agency or ministry that maters but the performance. Once it is recognised and affirmed that political education is vital for the well-being of the nation, all hands should be on deck to ensure that the teeming citizens of the nation have political education. It is therefore recommended that the agency for Political Education should not be scrapped but be re-organised to make it competent and effective. It should not be placed under any Ministry.

Considering the importance of Political Education, the following further steps are suggested:

(i) that the government should give priority to training the personnel of the agency. The training programme should include management, and Political

Education in Adult Education.

(ii) that all instructors and teachers, whether part-time or full-time must be given necessary training in content of Political Education and Adult Education.

(iii) that generous incentives be offered to encourage the instructors to stay with the people they are educating, especially in rural areas.

(iv) that necessary infrastructure and materials resources be provided for the agency to function effectively.

(v) that there should be adequate monitoring of the programme to check lapses.

5.3 Implications for Political Education Programme and Adult Education

For a successful prosecution of a Political Education Programme in Nigeria, it is best approached through Adult Education in order to serve immediate need. Political Education is one of the programmes in Adult Education and any attempt to channel political education through other methods is bound to end in failure. The ineffectiveness attributed to MAMSER had been due to failure to use the right adult education strategies.

Political Education is accepted in principle by the generality of the masses in Nigeria. It is widely believed that it is an instrument for stability of the nation and important in democracy since elections and voting are only democratic instruments when people are politically conscious and politically educated. Adult Education as an inter-disciplinary programme is capable of at-

tracting other related departments, such as Political Science, Sociology, Psychology and others in order to draw a relevant curriculum for Political Education Programme.

Besides, Political Education and Mass Literacy are like twins. Political Education needs literacy in order to thrive. It is possible to integrate the two programmes together as subjects in order to achieve higher performance. In essence, the Universities, National Commission for Mass Education, Kano Adult Literacy Centre, other related agencies and Political Education Agency should work hand in hand to avoid wastage of human and material resources through duplication of efforts.

It is hoped that the approach to the Political Education Programme suggested in this study will assist the agency and the government in achieving the objectives of the Political Education Programme in Nigeria. Other implications that are considered as being important to a successful Political Education Programme are:

(i) that the differences in urban and rural communities should be considered when implementing the programme. In other words the cultural and social background of the communities is very vital.

(ii) that it is equally important to have cognisance of the level of literacy of the community as this will affect the strategies to be chosen.

(iii) that Political Education should be accorded recognition and should be placed on the time-table of all adult education centres.

(iv) that the management of political education agency adopt adult education

strategies in the delivery of the programme to the clientele. The clientele to be served are adults and therefore the programme is beset approached through adult education delivery strategies.

(v) that audio-visual aids and other infrastructures that are necessary for the prosecution of the programme must be provided.

(vi) that enough reading materials in form of text-books, journals, tracts and bulletin should be produced for the public. In rural areas community newspapers should carry issues related to Political Education.

(vii) that local/international societies such as "esusu" cooperative associations, craftsmen associations, farmers associations and others should be mobilised to participate effectively.

(viii) that there is the need to evaluate the programme periodically and at the end of each programme. The evaluation procedures must be formative and summative. A formative evaluation should be done during the planning process while the summative evaluation should assess the objectives/ goals of the programme at the end. It is further advocated that the evaluation should be done through the participants who are the clientele of the programme.

The evaluation model used in this study, revealed that the problems which gave rise to the programme, the objectives/goals and the implementation strategies were not well structured and integrated. The need ought to give rise to the context of political education which should be a base of satisfying the need. All agencies, Ministries and NGOS concerned with the programme

should be involved right from the planning stage in order to have inter-related purpose and strategies for the purpose of the programme. Moreover, thee should be a feed-back process to the agency at every stage of activities in the programme. This ensures that the desired goals of the programme are realised.

Men are political animals. Adults are experienced politically but they still need Political Education. The clientele should be involved in the planning and execution of the programme right from the inception. Their participation contributes to the mobilisation process and interest in the programme.

5.4 Implications for change in Implementation Strategies and Management of Political Education Programme

Delivery strategies are very crucial in Adult Education Programmes. Political Education depends on the delivery strategies to achieve success. Political Education is for all the people, both in the rural and urban communities. It is therefore important to design an appropriate strategy for the clientele in each environment. For example, the approach used in Yoruba speaking area might need to be redesigned for the nomad Fulanis in the Northern part of the country.

Political Education should not be limited to lectures given to mobilise people or create awareness that the agency exist. It should not be a mere information agency where the electorate are informed of the plan of the National Electoral Commission and the dates when election will hold. Political Education should be reduced to teaching-learning process. There had been series of researches

on andragogy and pedagogy methods of impacting knowledge to adults in Adult Education. It is therefore important to organise classes on Political Education for adults as a teaching-learning programme. This will create room for participation of the adults in decision making and also they will be able to contribute to the discussions from the wealth of experience at their disposal.

For an effective mobilisation of the people, various committees should be se tup. In rural community, village committees, farmers committees, craft makers committees, women committees under the locally recognised leaders should make the programme formidable at the grassroot. In the urban communities, existing social clubs, trade unions, workers association, students unions and other should be encouraged to form discussion groups on political education. This will ensure that all categories of people are covered in political education.

The youths that are regarded as the vanguard of the future should be encouraged to form voluntary associations. The existing voluntary associations such as Boys' Scouts, Boys' Brigade, Girls' Guide, Sheriff Guide and others should be introduced to Political Education. The War Against Indiscipline (WAI) Brigade under MAMSER should be encouraged and given sound political education so as to help to mobilise people and also give similar education in the society. Being a member of WAI Brigade should not be regarded as an opportunity to take a share of the national cake.

Implications for adopting adult education delivery strategies in Political Education are necessary to the present state of the programme in Nigeria.

This study offers such strategies in Adult Education that can be adopted for a successful Political Education Programme. Political Education will give people a rising knowledge of their national political plans, aspirations and the need for unity if the right strategies were applied.

The role of those personnel who have been used so far in Political Education will change with the new strategies. The common methodology of instruction on voting and election will give way to andragogy in many instances. The pedagogical approach of subject transmission programmes will still be used in some instances when lectures are given. Adoption of andragogy will however help individual participant to learn how to be proactive and be self directed learner in the Political Education Programme.

The use of mass media as agents of Political Education goes beyond radio jingles and advertisements. Radio listening forums, drama, discussions on audio-visual and printed literature will displace hitherto methods which had brought limited impact to the society. All the people will have knowledge of Political Education.

The application of the adult education delivery strategies will affect mode of management, training and organisation of Political Education. The effect will be on training of personnel, instructors, supervisors, community leaders and NGOS. Proper monitoring of the programme to ensure that its success should be included under the delivery strategies. The educational consequences of these strategies are that content oriented Political Education will be given to the people and the people will participate in the teaching-learning process.

5.5 Implications for Future Research

A major limitation of this research is the level of literacy of many of the respondents used for this study. This affected the response and attitude of many towards the study. It is hoped that in future when such study is done, the rate of literacy will be higher in rural area especially. Future researches should be done into evaluation of Political Education strategies, personnel management of political education; the synthesis of contents of political education with literacy and organisation of political education. In the present research, the focus is essentially on the evaluation of what has been done on Political Education by MAMSER between 1987-1992

There is the need to conduct research on all programmes at adult education centres in order to know the interest of the learners. There is also a need for comparative analysis of Political Education in Nigeria and other nations in developed or developing countries. Comparative analysis also be draw on implementation of Political Education in urban and rural communities.

5.6 Summary

This study evaluated the Political Education Programme under the Directorate for Social Mobilisation (MAMSER) between 1987-1992 in order to establish a framework for an effective Political Education Programme in Nigeria. The various problems faced in the implementation of the Political Education Programme in Nigeria were identified. The problems observed included non-utilization of adult education delivery strategies to educate adults; lack of

communication; lack of adequate training for personnel and instructors in adult education and political education; lack of trained personnel; lack of adequate planning, organisation and monitoring of the programme; lack of adequate infrastructure; problem of illiteracy; lack of developed political education curriculum and duplication of programmes by government agencies.

Chapter one of the study dealt with the historical background of Nigeria politics and the problems that necessitated the establishment of the agency. The problems included, instability, disunity, tribalism, political apathy and negative political culture. Chapter one is the focus of the study. The objectives, goals, organisation pyramid and delivery strategies set by the Federal Government before the Directorate for Social Mobilisation (MAMSER) were identified. These areas were evaluated in that they affected the implementation of the programme in Nigeria.

Chapter two dealt with the conceptual framework of the most important concepts relevant for the political education programme. The approaches that are vital to evaluation of programmes were considered and the evaluation model which was relevant to evaluation of objectives/goals in adult education programmes was adopted.

Chapter three reviewed relevant literature on political education and the society; Political Education and Adult Education, methodology of Political Education, content of Political Education and evaluation of Political Education.

In course of the review, it was discovered that the Directorate for Social Mobilisation (MAMSER) has not achieved the set goals. Findings from the research revealed that:

(i)   the members of the communities did not have a clear perception of the objectives/goals and content of the Political Education Programme;

(ii) the main delivery strategy for the Political Education Programme in the two communities was radio/television. There was no training programme for the personnel and instructors to educate the people politically;

(iii) the response to changes in the political culture due to Political Education was only fair. Only election and voting have been emphasised by the agency;

(iv) there is high rate of illiteracy in the communities. This makes them to develop political apathy;

(v)   the political education programme has not brought the expected political optimism to the society. There is the fear and anxiety that whenever the military administration leaves the stage, chaos will return with civilian administration;

(vi) the two communities agreed that the level of political participation has fairly increased compared with the past. Some attributed this to the existence of the two political parties and their activities more than MAMSER's Political Education;

(vii) The opinion of the respondents in the two communities on the ability of the Political Education Programme solving the problems of ethnicity

nepotism, tribalism and other social evils in Nigeria differs. This difference is due to non-performance of MAMSER.

(viii)   The opinion of the respondents that the Political Education Programme has influenced the organisation and administration of the political parties differs. The impact of Political Education was not really felt.

(ix)   there was no significant difference in the opinion of the people that Political Education could solve Nigeria political problems;

(x)   there was no curriculum which has been developed for Political Education for adults and formal school system. The agency has not applied any teaching-learning approach to the programme;

(xi)   there was no effective management of the programme in order to produce the desired result. The programme was also not well funded.

From the above analyses, it may be concluded that if the Federal Government is since that political education is vital in bringing political stability to this nation, the government will provide the much-needed human and material resources for the programme. Political stability will lead to social, economic, cultural and political upliftment of Nigeria. It has been stressed in many nations that Political Education is vital to development of nations in modern world. Adults are very important because of the role they play in the changes which the whole world is experiencing. Political Education should therefore be given to adults through Adult Education delivery strategies.

Political Education and mass literacy should be given simultaneously, especially where there are illiterates. The two programmes should be perceived

as different subjects in adult education and as such, they should be offered at adult education centres. Where there is high number of literate adults, lectures, seminars and workshops should be conducted on Political Education. Mass media should also be fully explored for this exercise.

Towards this end, the government should ensure that relevant curriculum on Political Education should be developed for formal and non-formal education. The content of this curriculum should be rich in order to accommodate the objectives and goals which the nation strives for in political education.

In addition, the government should recognise that Political Education should be taught in primary and secondary schools throughout the federation. The subject should be tested in Primary Six Leaving Certificate and West African Senior Certificate Examinations.

Moreover, the government should have clear policy objectives and ideology on Political Education in order that the agency will effectively put in place the human and material resources to achieve political stability, democratic values and the right political culture for Nigerians.

On the part of the administrators in the agency, they should be given adequate training in the programme. All cadres of staff should be exposed to training programme in Political Education and Adult Education. A situation where the staff of the agency do not know what Political Education is about does not augur well for the progress of the country. In addition, the administrators should accord the staff recognition in term of incentives, good human relations and participatory management.

If necessary equipment and facilities are provided for the programme and the people are effectively mobilised, it is hoped that the agency will record success in educating the people politically.

Evaluation is very important in the programme. There should be regular evaluation of the programme internally and externally in order to correct errors detected and to pave way for a successful programme. The evaluation can either be formative or summative. Effective monitoring of the programme should be mounted. There should be feedback on the activities of the agency even at the grassroot.

Finally, the government has "merged" the Directorate for Social Mobilisation (MAMSER) with Federal Ministry of Information, and it is now known as National Orientation Agency under Public enlightenment Unit of the Ministry. It should be noted that only the nomenclature has changed in that the agency retains its staff. It is observed here that the policy makers are not adequately informed about what Political Education entails, otherwise, it should have been transferred either to Federal Ministry of Education or National Commission for Mass Education which is already backed by a decree to provide Political Education for the citizenry. National Policy on Education also put Political Education under Adult Education.

Professor Adeniran, the former National Secretary of MAMSER also believed that Nigerians still need to be mobilised and oriented towards attaining a united nation. He was of the view that though the nomenclature changed from MAMSER to National Orientation Agency (NOA), the new agency is supposed to perform the same functions as the defunct MAMSER. He noted that it is important to continue inducting the people in order to change their negative political orientation to a positive one.

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APPENDIX

QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire is designed for the purpose of evaluating Political Education Programme of the Directorate for Social Mobilization(MAMSER) for research purpose. All information given will be treated with confidentiality and the purpose for which it is collected. Kindly spare your precious time to help fill this questionnaire.

Instruction: Please tick ☐ as appropriate in the boxes provided and write where necessary.

Section A:

i   Name:--(Optional)

ii   Sex: Male ☐   Female ☐

iii   Marital Status: Married ☐   Single ☐

       Widowed ☐   Divorced ☐   Separated ☐

       Others please specify

iv   State of residence ----------------------------

v   Religious affiliation: Christianity ☐

       Islam   Others please specify

vi   Age in Years:

       18-30 years ☐

       31-40 years ☐

       41-50 years ☐

51-60 years ☐

60 -above ☐

vii Occupation: ☐

Farming/Hunting ☐

Trading ☐

Artisans ☐

Public/Civil Servants ☐

Private Sector ☐

viii Educational Background: ☐

Above 1st Degree ☐

1st Degree/ equivalent (B.A. B.Sc. HND etc) ☐

Diploma/College of Education (NCE, OND,Others) ☐

Professional Qualification ☐

Post Primary ☐

Primary School Leaving Certificate/Adult Literacy ☐

None ☐

Others (please specify) ☐

Section B:

1. What do you understand about MAMSER?

   (Please tick as many as applicable)

   i   Political awarness, social justice and Mass Education ☐

   ii   Political Awarness ☐

iii   Social Justice ☐

iv   Mass Education ☐

v   An Extension of WAI ☐

vi   A programme to waste public fund ☐

vii   I have heard of MAMSER but I do not know what it is all about ☐

2.   What contribution has MAMSER made to the behaviour of Nigerians? Please tick as many as applicable)

    i.   MAMSER brought effective political education to Nigeria ☐

    ii.   MAMSER gave Nigerians Mass Education ☐

    iii.   MAMSER taught Nigerians self-reliance ☐

    iv.   MAMSER changed the organisation and administration of political parties ☐

    v.   It made people active in politics ☐

    vi.   MAMSER contributed nothing to the political behaviour of Nigerians ☐

    vii.   Others (please specify) ....

3. How will you rank the success of MAMSER under:

(a)   Mass Literacy?

    (i)   Very effective ☐

    (ii)   Averagely effective ☐

    (iii)   Fairly effective ☐

    (vi)   Not effective ☐

(v)   Others ....

       Please give reasons for your answer...........................

(b)   Political Education?

    (i)   Very effective   ☐

    (ii)   Average effective ☐

    (iii)   Fairly effective ☐

    (iv)   Not effective   ☐

    (v)   Others..

       Please give reasons for your answer...........................

(c)   Social Justice/Self Reliance:

    (i)   Very effective   ☐

    (ii)   Average effective ☐

    (iii)   Fairly effective ☐

    (iv)   Not effective   ☐

    (v)   Others..

       Please give reason for your answer ....

4.   How do you get to know of MAMSER's Political Education Programme?

    (i)   Mass Media (radio, television, newspaper) ☐

    (ii)   Lectures or classes to my cooperative society/unions/ social society ☐

    (iii)   Friends and relatives ☐

    (iv)   Organised classes in my school ☐

(v)   Any other (please specify)..

....

5.   How will you rank the success of MAMSER's Political Education objectives under the following:

(a)   People's consciousness and awareness of their rights and obligations as citizens

(i)   Very effective ☐

(ii)   Averagely effective ☐

(iii)   Fairly effective ☐

(iv)   Not effective ☐

(v)   Others ....

(b)   People taking part actively and freely in discussions and decisions affecting their general welfare.

(i)   Very effective ☐

(ii)   Average effective ☐

(iii)   Fairly effective ☐

(iv)   Not effective ☐

(v)   Others ....

(d)   Inculcation in all Nigerians the value of civic responsibility

(i)   Very effective ☐

(ii)   Average effective ☐

(iii)   Fairly effective ☐

(iv)   Not effective ☐

(v)   Others...

(e)   Inducting Nigerians to fight against internal and external domination of resources by a few individuals or groups:

    (i)   Very effective   ☐

    (ii)   Average effective   ☐

    (iii)   Fairly effective   ☐

    (iv)   Not effective   ☐

    (v)   Others...

(f)   Preparing the framework for creating the basic institutions and norms of democracy at all levels in the society.

    (i)   Very effective   ☐

    (ii)   Average effective   ☐

    (iii)   Fairly effective   ☐

    (iv)   Not effective   ☐

    (v)   Others...

(g)   Creating consciousness about power and its use and the proper role of Government in serving the collective interest of Nigerians.

    (i)   Very effective   ☐

    (ii)   Average effective   ☐

    (iii)   Fairly effective   ☐

    (iv)   Not effective   ☐

    (v)   Others...

(h)   Propagating the virtues of hardwork, honesty, self-reliance, commit-

ment to and promotion of national integration.

    (i)   Very effective   ☐

    (ii)   Average effective ☐

    (iii)   Fairly effective   ☐

    (iv)   Not effective   ☐

    (v)   Others...

(i)   Inculcating the virtues of patriotism and positive participation in

    nation affairs

    (i)   Very effective   ☐

    (ii)   Average effective ☐

    (iii)   Fairly effective   ☐

    (iv)   Not effective   ☐

    (v)   Others...

Section C

6.   In your opinion, do you think political education has influenced the organisation and administration of political parties?

    (i)   Yes   ☐

    (ii)   No   ☐

    (iii)   Fairly ☐

    Please give reasons for your answer ....

7.   Has political education infused the spirit of political optimism in you?

    (i)   Yes   ☐

(ii)   No ☐

Please give reasons for your answer ....

8.   Do you think MAMSER's political education has solved the problems of political instability in Nigeria?

(i)   Yes ☐

(ii)   No ☐

Please give reaons for your answers ....

9.   Are you of the opinion that political education can solve Nigeria's political problem?

(i)   Yes ☐

(ii)   No ☐

Please give reasons for your answers ....

10.   Do you want MAMSER to exist after Babangida's regime?

(i)   Yes ☐

(ii)   No ☐

Please give reason for your answers ....

11.   In your opinion, what are teh problems that MAMSER encounter? Please tick as many as appropriate.

i.   Lack of staff ☐

ii.   Lack of qualified staff in adult training ☐

iii.   Lack of sufficient fund ☐

iv.   Lack of necessary working facilities (e.g. vehivles, public address system etc.) ☐

v.   Lack of experience on the job by the staff ☐

vi.   Lack of sufficient time to carry out the assignment ☐

vii.   Problem of illiteracy of the masses ☐

12.   What in your opinion that can be done to make MAMSER more effective? Please tick as many as appropriate.

i.   Better funding ☐

ii.   States to take over functions of MAMSER ☐

iii.   Local Government to take over functions of MAMSER ☐

iv.   Transfer of functions to other Federal Government

     Agencies ☐

v.   Training of staff ☐

vi.   Reduce its functions ☐

vii.   Scrap MAMSER ☐

viii. Others (please specify) ....

     ....

DIRECTORATE OF SOCIAL MOBILISATION DECREE 1987

Decree No. 31

(See Section 14)

THE FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT hereby decrees as follows:-

1. There is hereby established a body to be known as the Directorate of Social Mobilisation (hereinafter in this Decree referred to as "the Directorate") which shall have the functions specified in this Decree.

2—(1) The Directorate shall have a governing Board which shall comprise the following members, that is—

(a) a chairman to be appointed by the President, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces; and

(b) one representative each of the following Ministries—

(i) Social Development, Youth and Sports; and

(ii) Employment, Labour and Productivity;

(c) a representative of the Directorate of Food, Roads and Rural Infrastructures; and

(d) the Secretary to the Directorate.

(2) The chairman appointed pursuant to subsection (1) of this section shall be the chief executive of the Directorate and shall be responsible for the day to day running of its affairs.

3. It shall be the objective of the Directorate to—

(a) create a new cultural and productive environment which will promote pride in productive work, self reliance and self discipline;

(b) generally awaken the rights and obligations of a citizen to the nation;

(c) encourage the people to take part actively and freely in discussions and decisions affecting their general welfare; and

(d) promote new sets of attitudes and culture for the attainment of the goals and objectives of the Nigerian State.

4. Subject to this Decree, the Directorate shall perform the following functions, that is—

(a) establish an appropriate framework for the positive mobilisation and education of all Nigerians towards economic recovery and development and a new social and political order;

(b) awaken the consciousness of all categories of Nigerians to their rights and obligations as citizens of Nigeria;

A. 234   1987 No. 31   *Directorate of Social Mobilisation*

(c) inculcate in all Nigerians the value and spirit of civic responsibility, commitment to social justice and economic self reliance through mobilisation and harnessing their energies and natural resources into productive use;

(d) sensitize, induct and equip all Nigerians to fight against internal and external domination of resources by a few individuals or groups;

(e) re-orientate Nigerians to shun waste and vanity and to shed all pretences of affluence in their lifestyles;

(f) promote self reliance and pride in the consumption of home produced commodities;

(g) prepare the framework for creating the basic institutions and norms of democracy at all levels in the society;

(h) create consciousness about power and its use and the proper role of Government in serving the collective interest of Nigerians;

(i) ensure that materials which appear in the mass media, both electronic and the print, are in consonance with the national objectives of self reliance, social justice, human rights, democratic norms, economic recovery and development;

(j) propagate the need to eschew all vices in public life including corruption, dishonesty, electoral and census malpractices, ethnic and religious bigotry;

(k) propagate the virtues of hardwork, honesty, self reliance, commitment to and promotion of national integration; and

(l) inculcate in all Nigerians the virtues of patriotism and positive participation in national affairs.

5. The Directorate shall—

(a) liaise with and work in close co-operation with relevant

Government Ministries, Government agencies at the Federal, State and local levels; and

(b) co-operate with all other private and public organisations, institutions, enterprises and individuals concerned with the realization of the functions of the Directorate.

State formations of the Directorate.

6—(1) There shall be established in the office of each Military Governor a State equivalent of the Directorate to co-ordinate organisation of social mobilisation within the State and perform similar functions in the State.

(2) The membership of the State Directorate shall consist of a Director to be the chairman and a representative of each of the following ministries or body, as members, that is—

(a) Information and Culture;
(b) Social Development, Youth and Sports;
(c) Employment, Labour and Productivity; and
(d) Directorate of Food, Roads and Rural Infrastructures.

Participation by States and Government Council.

7—(1) The Government of a State and each Local Government Council in every State shall participate in the functions of the Directorate in such manner as the President, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces may, from time to time, determine.

(2) Accordingly, and without prejudice to the establishment of State equivalents of the Directorate under section 6 of this Decree, all Local Government Councils shall be constituted into Committees for the implementation of the social mobilisation programme as envisaged in this Decree.

(3) The Chairman of each Local Government Council shall be the Chairman of the Committee established and constituted under subsection (2) of this section.

Special functions of the Directorate.

8—(1) The Directorate shall gear all its efforts towards the implementation of social mobilization in the nation in order to awaken the consciousness of all categories of Nigerians to their rights and obligations as citizens of Nigeria.

4

(2) For the purpose of achieving the objective in subsection (1) of this section, the Directorate shall use its best endeavours to —

(a) encourage and organise an appropriate framework for the positive mobilization and education of Nigerians towards economic recovery and development;

(b) ensure an effective implementation of the political transition programme;

(c) liaise with the appropriate Federal and State Government bodies or agencies and Local Government Councils for the successful attainment of the objectives of the Directorate.

9—(1) In the performance of its functions under this Decree, the Board of the Directorate may appoint such persons to be officers and staff of the Directorate to assist the Directorate in the performance of its functions under this Decree and for the day-to-day supervision and monitoring of programme execution.

<div style="float:right">Officers of the Directorate.</div>

(2) For the purposes of subsection (1) of this section, the Board may appoint any person from the public service of the Federation or of a State, either on secondment or posting with the prior consent or approval of the relevant civil service of the Federation or of a State, as the case may be.

(3) The Board may where it deems fit, enlist or recruit from outside the public service of the Federation or of a State such other persons as may be required for the effective execution of its functions under this Decree.

(4) When any member of the public service of the Federation or of a State is seconded or posted under subsection (2) of this section, he shall be notified of the terms and conditions of the secondment or posting; and the secondment or posting shall be without prejudice to any pension rights, which, but for the secondment or posting, may accrue to him.

10. The President, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces may from time to time give to the Board directives of a general nature as to the manner in which the Directorate shall exercise its functions under this Decree and it shall be the duty of the Board to give effect to such directives.

<div style="float:right">Directives by the President.</div>

11. The Board shall prepare and submit to the President, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces once in every quarter a report of the activities of the Directorate during the immediately preceding quarter.

<div style="float:right">Quarterly reports</div>

Proceedings of the Directorate

12— (1) The Board shall have power to regulate its own proceedings and may make standing orders not inconsistent with this Decree for that purpose and subject to such standing orders, may function notwithstanding any vacancy in its membership or the absence of a member.

· (2) The Board shall meet for the due performance of its functions under this Decree whenever the Chairman convenes a meeting of the Directorate.

(3) Where upon any special occasion the Board desires to obtain the advice of any person on any particular matter, the Board may co-opt that person to be a member for as many meetings as may be necessary and that person while so co-opted shall have all the privileges of a member except that he shall not be entitled to vote.

Interpretation

13.   In this Decree, unless the context otherwise requires—

"Directorate" means the Directorate of Social Mobilization established by section 1 of this Decree;

"functions" include duties and powers;

"State formation" means the State equivalent of the Directorate, and the Local Government Committees.

Citation and commencement.

14. This Decree may be cited as the Directorate of Social Mobilisation Decree 1987 and shall be deemed to have come into operation on 2nd September 1987.

MADE at Lagos this 1st day of November 1987.

Signed
GENERAL I.B. BABANGIDA,
President, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, Federal Republic of Nigeria.

EXPLANATORY NOTE

(This note does not form part of the above Decree but is intended to explain its purport)

The Decree establishes the Directorate of Social Mobilisation for the creation of a national awareness and productive environment required in revamping the economy and development of the nation.