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Abstract

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Reading for Development: The Somali Rural Literacy Campaign of 1975

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This historiography study investigates the Somali Literacy Campaign of 1975, which was implemented to improve the socioeconomic development of the country through literacy. The Somali language did not have orthography until 1972 and the media of administration and education instruction was English, Italian, and Arabic. Moreover, the illiteracy rate was 90% and the use of foreign languages in the country denied the majority of the population access to education, health, employment, and many other vital services.

In 1969, the government took the initiative of devising a Somali language orthography. Subsequently, the government organized a mass literacy campaign to disseminate the reading and writing of the Somali language throughout the country, and this was followed by the Somalization of administration and education. This process was completed between 1973 and 1975.

The study uses oral historiography and/or narratology approaches to examine the objectives and the outcomes of the campaign. Because the history of the rural literacy campaign was lost in the first part of the 1990-1993 Somali civil war, it was important to recover through oral history that which was lost.

The implementers of the campaign were constituted largely of secondary school students, which I have termed “student-teachers,” and their teachers who were together in
the field to teach the rural people how to read and write in the new Somali orthography. It is through the experiences of these participants, and especially of student-teachers, that the study attempts to understand the campaign program and its impact on the communities involved. For this reason, through purposive and snowball sampling the study selected thirteen participants for interviews, including student-teachers, teachers, literacy-students, and civil servants. All these participants are members of the Somali community Diaspora in Canada and the United States. The study selected Columbus, Ohio, and Toronto, Calgary, Edmonton, Windsor, and Kitchener, in Canada as research sites.

Three research questions are designed to guide the study to examine: (1) What were the main anticipated objectives of the Somali Literacy Campaign? (2) Did the campaign successfully realize its set objectives and contribute to the main objective? (3) What were the unexpected political, social, and economic outcomes of the campaign? Data analysis and interpretation of the study are based on the interview transcripts and photographs which are coded into categories to generate themes. Some of these data were recovered during the interview process, others were collected from colleagues who participated in the campaign, and the rest were retrieved from the Internet. During the interview process, participants revealed to me the loss and destruction of the campaign documents in the civil war and the existing grim hope of ever recovering it.

The analysis and examination of these data produced findings, including: the literacy acquisition generated migration by the rural population to the city centers and this in turn generated a sudden increase in school enrollment. After the rural youth
became literate, they decided to move to the cities and towns in search of further education and employment opportunities. The new migrants also spurred economic activities which contributed to economic growth. The study further reveals the economic importance of the rural population, which had motivated the campaign. The rural economy of agriculture and livestock supports more than 70% of the Somali population.

Additionally, the study discusses the contribution of the rural population who hosted the campaign and provided food and shelter for the student-teachers and their supervisors for the duration of the campaign. Furthermore, the study reveals the role of the student-teachers and their impact on their students, and how this contributed to the migration to the city centers.

Finally, the study discusses the unexpected outcomes of the campaign. This included political awareness of the rural population, which produced grassroots-level rural community organizations. These organizations facilitated local peacemaking and government/community communication, which lobbied for better services for the communities they represented. The study, supported by literature, shows that the campaign contributed to the rural infrastructure and increased literacy, agricultural and economic productivity.

Approved: _____________________________________________________________

Francis E. Godwyll

Associate Professor of Educational Studies
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My dissertation journey has been extensive and multifarious, and I would not have completed it without the assistance and contribution of many individuals who extended me their support in various levels and manners. These included mentors, advisers, friends, participants, and family.

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I am thankful to Dr. John Hitchcock for his productive comments and qualitative contribution to the methodology of this study. I have benefited greatly from his advice and suggestions. I am grateful to Dr. Peter Githinji for his advice and encouragement. Dr. Githinji’s language expertise contributed to the literature content of this study.

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Table of Contents

Abstract ........................................................................................................................................... 3
Acknowledgments ......................................................................................................................... 6
List of Tables ............................................................................................................................... 13
List of Figures ............................................................................................................................. 14
Chapter One: Introduction ........................................................................................................ 16
  Background of the Study ........................................................................................................... 19
    Somali Language Planning ................................................................................................... 20
    The Ideological Campaign ................................................................................................. 20
    Education Campaign ......................................................................................................... 21
  The Development Status of the Country ............................................................................... 28
  The Implication of Illiteracy on Somali Development ....................................................... 29
  The Somali Literacy Campaign of 1975 .............................................................................. 29
Statement of the Problem .......................................................................................................... 31
Research Questions ..................................................................................................................... 32
Purpose of the Study ................................................................................................................... 33
Significance of the Study .......................................................................................................... 34
Delimitation of the Study .......................................................................................................... 35
Limitations of the Study ............................................................................................................ 36
Definition of Terms .................................................................................................................... 37
Chapter Two: Introduction to the Literature ........................................................................... 40
  Africa and Educational Development ................................................................................... 41
    The Concept of Reading for Development ................................................................... 42
    Nyerere and the Concept of Education for Development .............................................. 43
  The African Context of Literacy Campaigns and the Role of Ideology ......................... 43
    Tanzania ............................................................................................................................... 44
      Lessons Learned from the Tanzanian Campaign .......................................................... 45
    Ethiopia ................................................................................................................................. 46
      Lessons Learned from the Ethiopian Campaign ............................................................ 46
Summary ................................................................................................................... 47
Language and Education .............................................................................................. 47
The Link between Language of Instruction and Academic Success ...................... 48
Literacy, Education and Development ...................................................................... 49
Somali Colonial Education .......................................................................................... 51
Post-colonial Education ............................................................................................. 52
Foreign Language Dependence .................................................................................. 53
The Chronicle of the Somali Language Development .............................................. 54
The Somali Revolution ............................................................................................... 57
The Appeal for a Literacy Campaign ........................................................................ 62
The Declared Objectives of the Campaign ............................................................... 63
The Rationale of the Rural Development Campaign ................................................ 65
The Destruction and Loss of Historical Records ...................................................... 66
Theoretical Framework of the Study .......................................................................... 67
Post-colonial Theory .................................................................................................. 67
Critical Theory ........................................................................................................... 68
How Critical Theory Applied to My Study ............................................................... 69
Chapter Three: Methodology ..................................................................................... 72
Qualitative Research .................................................................................................. 72
Historical Research ................................................................................................... 73
Strengths and Weaknesses ....................................................................................... 74
Data Collection .......................................................................................................... 75
Photographic Documents ......................................................................................... 76
Challenges .................................................................................................................. 76
Interviews ................................................................................................................... 77
Interview Times .......................................................................................................... 79
Data Coding ............................................................................................................... 79
Participants of the Study ............................................................................................ 80
Selection of Participants ............................................................................................ 82
Description of the Participants .................................................................................. 84
Student-teachers ........................................................................................................ 84
The Learning Dichotomy ........................................................................................................ 194
Rural Diet for Endurance and Transformation ..................................................................... 204
Reception, Respect, and the Formation of Partnership ..................................................... 207
Theme 2: The Impact of the Campaign on the Rural Population .................................. 210
Positive Campaign Impacts .............................................................................................. 210
  Rural Political Transformation ......................................................................................... 215
  New Rural Infrastructure ................................................................................................. 216
  Rural Social Consciousness ............................................................................................ 219
  Social Empowerment ...................................................................................................... 222
  Introduction of Radios to the Rural People ..................................................................... 224
  The Introduction of Sports to the Rural Youth .............................................................. 228
Negative Impacts of the Campaign ..................................................................................... 229
  The Post-campaign Government Involvement in the Rural People .............................. 230
  How the Campaign Contributed to the Current Situation in Somalia ......................... 232
    The Negative and Positive Implications ...................................................................... 233
    The Arta Reconciliation Conference .......................................................................... 234
Theme 3: Youth, the Main Beneficiaries of the Campaign .............................................. 235
  Analysis .......................................................................................................................... 237
  Male and Female Participants ......................................................................................... 240
Summary ............................................................................................................................. 243
Chapter Seven: Summary, Implications, Recommendations, and Conclusion .......... 245
  Overview of the Problem ............................................................................................... 245
  Statement of Purpose ..................................................................................................... 246
  Research Questions ........................................................................................................ 247
  Review of the Methodology .......................................................................................... 247
  Findings Related to the Literature ................................................................................ 248
  Implications of the Study ............................................................................................... 249
  Research Question One .................................................................................................. 250
  Development Objectives ............................................................................................... 251
    Language and Education Development ...................................................................... 251
    Socio-political Development ...................................................................................... 252
List of Tables

Table 1: Somali textbooks printed through the Somalization process............................25
Table 2: Status and current locations of the participants ................................................78
Table 3: Length of interviews in hours and minutes .......................................................79
Table 4: Biographical information of interviewees and dates ........................................88
Table 5: Credibility techniques.....................................................................................104
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Figure 1</td>
<td>Map of North America</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 2</td>
<td>Emergent themes from research question one</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 3</td>
<td>The launching day of the campaign</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 4</td>
<td>Map of Somalia</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 5</td>
<td>Literacy and development</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 6</td>
<td>Campaign poster</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 7</td>
<td>Camels in the semi-desert lowland</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 8</td>
<td>A truckload of cattle headed to the local markets</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 9</td>
<td>Livestock</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 10</td>
<td>Camel export</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 11</td>
<td>Somali sheep export</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 12</td>
<td>Emergent themes from research question two</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 13</td>
<td>National Service student-participants</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 14</td>
<td>Emergent themes from research question three</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 15</td>
<td>High school student-teachers</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figures 16</td>
<td>The Sanaag highland</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 17</td>
<td>Farmland on the banks of Shabelle River</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 18</td>
<td>The desert of the Northeast</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 19</td>
<td>The effects of the campaign on the rural communities</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 20</td>
<td>Journalists and international community visitors</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 21: Rural importance of the radio .................................................. 227
Figure 22: Somali poster ........................................................................... 242
Chapter One: Introduction

Problems such as poverty, disease, poor governance, sociopolitical instability, and poor infrastructure are common in many developing countries in the Third World; and the common solution usually proposed for these nations is education. For example, in September, 2000, the United Nations proposed the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) to combat poverty in Africa and the first of the seven targets expected to be realized by 2015 was universal primary education, (World Bank, 2002; Indabawa & Mpofu, 2006).

Thus, there is a relationship between education and economic development and according to Bhola (1990), "There is a semiotic and thus symbiotic [dialectic] connection between literacy and economic development that should make them congenial partners in this dialectic" (p.5).

Education in the developing countries has largely been a continuous predicament since the colonial era, and has become part of the history of these countries due mainly to a high illiteracy rate of their population. Most of Sub-Saharan Africa became entrapped in the legacy of colonial exploitation, underdevelopment, and inadequate exclusionist education, which continued even after the independence of many of these countries. According to Azevedo (2003), "..during the colonial era, the vast majority of Africans were deliberately excluded from school systems to prevent them from challenging the political and social conditions created by colonialism" (p. 208). To reverse that, the newly independent African states met in Addis Ababa in 1965 under the sponsorship of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and concurred that strong education systems
would be a good approach to addressing the health and economic development of their people (Azevedo, 2003). One problem that exacerbated African educational development during the colonial and post-colonial eras were the foreign languages used as the medium of instruction in most Sub-Saharan African educational systems, which contributed to the lack of education access in many communities. For instance, the literacy rate in the most African colonies at the time of independence was just 10 percent (Azevedo, 2003).

In the case of Somalia in 1960, after the former British Somaliland and Italian Somaliland won their independence and united as the Somali Republic, the country faced two problems: (a) the English and Italian languages dominated as the media of administration and instruction until 1973 when Somali became the official language; (b) general illiteracy. And as a result, the majority of the Somali population who could not speak these languages were excluded from educational services and employment opportunities. Consequently, the 1975 Somali Literacy Campaign attempted to reverse that by educating the Somali people to read and write in their own language to overturn the domination of the foreign languages, raise the national literacy rate, and pave the way for a tangible national development that stems from a literate national human resource. As Bhola (1984) indicated:

*The Somali language has a long and rich oral heritage. Spoken all over Somalia, it had remained an unwritten language. ...[T]o create a new political culture, to integrate the people into one nation, and perhaps to create one national economy, there had to be a dialogue between the government and the masses. This dialogue had to take place in the language of the people, which was Somali. (p. 157)*

It was this dialogical context together with the dire socioeconomic and underdevelopment of the country which motivated both the Somali government and the
Somali people to seek to change the status quo, with the realization that a mass educational campaign was the right approach to take so the people could participate in the national dialogue.

With this in mind, this research investigates the Somali Literacy Campaign of 1974-75, which was conducted to improve the socioeconomic conditions of the Somali rural communities, including villagers, farmers, and nomads. This campaign was also known as the Rural Development Campaign, but its fundamental component was the literacy program. The rural development program was important because the Somali economy depends on agriculture and livestock and so the informal rural economy is the backbone of Somali economic development (Little, 2003).

This campaign was realized by the Somali government and the people as the most ambitious development programs in modern Somali history. However, during my literature review, I realized that there is only limited literature available about this topic. I could not find a single fully conducted study on this historic event. There are many studies about language literacy and/or literacy campaigns which briefly acknowledge the existence and importance of this campaign for the Somali people, but until now there has been no complete study about the Somali Literacy Campaign. The only complete documentation of the campaign was in the records and archives of the Somali government, which were destroyed in the Somali Civil War of 1990-93. Although the civil war continued for many years beyond that, this period was the critical phase when most of the destruction took place. This fact necessitates the importance and urgent need for this study, specifically, by the Somali community. The unfortunate civil war has
denied them understanding a part of their education and development history (see the
destruction and loss of historical records in p.56). That is why this study is important to
the Somali community, in particular, and the education and development community
everywhere.

**Background of the Study**

The Somali Republic is in the East African region of the Horn of Africa,
bordering Ethiopia on the East, the Red Sea on the North, the Indian Ocean on the West,
and Kenya in the South. The Somali population is roughly 10 million and the economy
relies on agriculture, livestock, and fishing (World Bank, 2010). During the colonial
period, Somalia was divided into five different parts, three of which were French
Somaliland, British Somaliland, and Italian Somaliland. During almost a century of
colonization, colonial languages were the medium of instruction in the country. As a
result, Somalis were deprived of their own language for instruction and administration.
While the former British and Italian Somalilands won their independence and were united
as the Somali Republic on July 1, 1960, French Somaliland continued as a French colony
until its independence on June 27, 1977, when it became the Republic of Djibouti.

With a population of about two million at the time, Somalia thus inherited two
foreign languages, in which, to conduct the administrative and education affairs of the
nation thereby. Most of the population who did not speak those languages, including 70%
of the population who were nomads and semi-nomads were excluded. The Somali
Revolution of 1969 decided to reverse this equation by creating a written form of the
Somali language to replace the hitherto instructional languages of Italian and English.
The Somali Language Commission was put to the task of devising a new Somali script and in 1972, just three years after the military government took over the nation's leadership, they introduced the Somali orthography. According to the U.S. Federal Research Division (2010):

Somalia’s literacy rate was estimated at only 5 percent in 1972. After adopting the new script, the SRC [Somali Revolutionary Council] launched a “cultural revolution” aimed at making the entire population literate in two years. The first part of the massive literacy campaign was carried out in a series of three-month sessions in urban and rural sedentary areas and reportedly resulted in several hundred thousand people learning to read and write. As many as 8,000 teachers were recruited, mostly among government employees and members of the armed forces, to conduct the program. (p. 90)

After two mass literacy campaigns between 1973 and 1975, the Somali language officially replaced Italian and English. At the same time, Somali became the medium of instruction for primary and secondary schools.

**Somali Language Planning**

After the announcement of the Somali orthography, the government initiated a number of programs designed to pave the way for the use of Somali as a language of instruction and administration. These initiatives could be categorized as political, cultural, educational, and ideological. In this regard, the biggest project of equipping Somali to serve the dual tasks of administration and education were the literacy campaigns, the urban campaign of 1972-73 and the rural campaign of 1974-75 (Adam, 1980).

**The Ideological Campaign**

There were major ideological, cultural, and political campaigns in Somalia which operated simultaneously with the literacy campaigns. The objective of these campaigns
was to educate the public ideologically so their language would be fit to replace and compete with other foreign languages that had been in use in the country for so long. In the words of Adam (1980)—The Somali Democratic Republic also waged cultural campaigns in order to rid itself of the exploitive ideology imposed by colonialism and neocolonialism. This included campaigns against tribalism, nepotism, and corruption” (Adam, 1980, p. 3).

In addition, the masses were to be convinced through such revolutionary slogans as—foreign languages are serving foreign interests, and your language is serving your interest.” There were major campaign efforts unleashed to prepare the people to accept their language as a language suitable for instruction and administration. To start with, all government employees were given a three month deadline to learn a functional level of Somali or they would lose their jobs; this deadline was later extended to six months for the lower level workers (Adam, 1980).

Education Campaign

As mentioned earlier, the mass literacy program was the biggest education campaign of all; but there were other selective programs designed to promote and prepare Somali for the task. One of these programs was the initiative of the Academy of Science, Art, and Culture. This academy was critical to the success of the Somali language as a medium of instruction. Following the announcement of development of the Somali script on October 21, 1972, the mandate of the Somali Language Commission had run out. But the Academy of Science, Art, and Culture was established to create the next level of the language by compiling modern vocabularies, and scientific and technological
terminologies. As Adam (1980), a member of the prestigious academy pointed out, the academy ―[was] charged with the preparation of various educational books, a grammar book and a dictionary of about 5,000 Somali equivalents for international scientific terms‖ (Adam, 1980, p.3).

The challenge to the leaders and the scholars involved in the Somali language effort was to come up with scientific and technological resources that would permit the Somali language to replace foreign languages like Italian and English. In order to succeed in this program, the government initiated a two-pronged plan: The first task was to translate scientific and technological terms into Somali; the second was to build a modern Somali vocabulary that could be used in academia and administration. Thus, while the Academy of Science, Arts, and Culture was working on academic terminology, the Somali Institute of Development Administration and Management (SIDAM) was charged with devising administrative terminology. Adam (1980) reported: ―[T]he reliance on written Somali in public administration challenges the language to develop a suitable vocabulary and style to cover all aspects of life—politics, law, education, economics, sociology, culture, science, and technology‖ (Adam, 1980, p.5).

In addition to the literacy campaign, the government implemented other programs that were designed to prepare Somali for the tasks of administration and as a medium of instruction. One of these programs was the initiative of the Academy of Science, Art, and Culture, critical to the success of the Somali language as a medium of instruction. For instance, after the announcement of Somali in October 21, 1972, the mandate of the Somali Language Commission expired. But the Academy of Science, Art, and Culture
was established to promote the next level of the language by compiling modern vocabularies and scientific and technological terminologies. As Adam (1980), a member of this prestigious academy puts it, the academy was —charged with the preparation of various educational books, a grammar book and a dictionary of about 5,000 Somali equivalents for international scientific terms” (p.3).

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Consequently, in the vocabularization and Somalization process the scholars researched Somali nomadic terms and assigned them into modern Somali expressions. For instance, the word ilaaliye means to oversee and guard animals while grazing; and it
was utilized as supervisor; wargeys, news bearer, is newspaper; horumar, moving forward, is now development or progress (Adam, 1980). Another interesting example in Somali scientific terminology is danab, meaning lightening in Somali, is now electricity; xawaare, the top speed of a horse, is now velocity. In political science, hoggaan, the name of the rope used to lead a camel, is now used for leadership; hanti wadaag, wealth-sharing, is socialism. Another version of Somalization terminology was to create new words from scratch. Hence, dayaxgacmeed, hand-made-moon, is an artificial satellite; and hubka-halista, weapons of extreme danger, are nuclear weapons. In conclusion, the Academy of Science, Arts, and Culture succeeded in putting together a Somalized terminology for academic and administrative use in science, arts, management, and technology, among others. In addition, the Somalization process was completed in a sequence of levels: adult education, primary education, intermediate education, and secondary education. To this end, the Ministry of Education published 6.6 million copies of Somali language textbooks between 1973 and 1976 (Adam, 1980). These books played a role in the dissemination and consolidation of the Somalization of the education and administration program.
Table 1

Somali textbooks printed through the Somalization process

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Levels</th>
<th>Number of Somali Textbooks</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary Education</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Secondary</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical Secondary</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home Economics (secondary level)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home Economics (intermediate level)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kindergarten</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult Education</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural Education</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fishing Techniques</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poultry Farming</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table: Adam, 1980

This table illustrates some of the academic textbooks published by the Academy through the Somalization process.

Consequently, Warsame (2001) maintains that for the first time in the modern history of Somalia, the country adopted a fully standardized system of education. In 1975, after two successful national literacy campaigns, the government implemented a national program of free education for all, which provided free education from primary through university for all Somalis. Altogether, according to Warsame, it was a powerful
government that utilized its resources to revolutionize the Somali educational system in less than six years.

Finally, the Somali language planners put together a language policy which, according to various authors Weinstein (1990); Adam (1980); Laitin (1977); and Bhola (1984) could be summarized as the following:

- Foreign languages became elite languages that had to be replaced with a national language
- There were more than ten competing Somali scripts that only one, from Latin, was selected
- There had to be only one Somali language for education and administration
- The importance of the Somali language lies with its character of unifying the people
- Somalization of education and administration is important for the development of the nation

To apply this script and disseminate it through the population the government organized a national literacy campaign in 1973-1975.

However, in January, 1991, a civil war broke out in the country, destroyed all these achievements, and turned the Somali literacy clock back to 1972 when the Somali orthography was first introduced. According to the Federal Research Division (2010), “Because of the destruction of schools and supporting services, a whole generation of Somalis faced the prospect of a return to illiteracy” (p.158). In addition, all the records and documents about this history were destroyed in the war when the archives and libraries were burned down, and all government offices with all national records were
vandalized and/or torched by an angry mob. The buildings were later occupied by squatters or IDPs (Internally Displaced Individuals).

Even before the civil war, according to my investigation, very little research was conducted about the history of the Somali Literacy Campaign. I found a brief historical collection of H. Bhola (1984), published by UNESCO, which will be discussed at the end of this chapter. Although this study is vital, there is little information available about the campaign and its results. What information is available lacks the detail and depth required for such an important historical event. As a result, this study will attempt to reconstruct a part of that history, which is crucial to understanding the achievements of the Somali Literacy Campaign, so current and future Somali generations can utilize it. Additionally, the significance of this study is that (a) the records and history of the campaign achievements and failures were destroyed in the civil war, and there is a practical need to study that campaign; and (b) in Somalia today, although Somali is the language of administration, it is no longer the language of instruction. That is probably due to the destruction of all the educational resources in the civil war, which resulted in the Somali language being taught only in primary and secondary schools. Furthermore, the current level of literacy among the Somalis has reverted back to the pre-campaign level, so, there is a future need for this study to document the lost history of the Somali Literacy Campaign of 1975. As part of the background of this study I will discuss and review the existing perceptions about that campaign.
The Development Status of the Country

Development is defined or equated in financial or economic terms (Chambers, 2007). However, economic progress is not possible without education, and language is the key to tangible education advancement. Thus, the language of instruction has a major impact on educational development, tending to either hinder or advance learning. This, in turn, has an overall impact on the economic development of the nation. Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) remarks that the denial of children to be educated in their mother tongue amounts to ‘linguistic genocide’ (as cited in Phipps, 2007, p. 24). In this view, the UNESCO resolution of 1953 guarantees that children have the right to be educated in their native language (Pattnaik, 2004).

With this view in mind, the Somali leaders faced the challenge of solving the Somali sociopolitical and economic problems. When Somalia became independent it had a population of roughly two million. The country inherited from its colonial rulers a substandard economic infrastructure, minimal education, and two foreign languages, English and Italian. According to Bhola (1984), Somalia faced a critical challenge in education and development after independence, and by 1970, it had an estimated 13,541 kilometers of cross-national road system of which only 582 kilometers were paved. In terms of communication, there were 4,740 telephones in the entire country, which translated to one telephone per 600 people. In addition, the annual per capita income of Somalia in the 1960s and 70s was estimated at US $70, with a life expectancy of 38.5 years. This ranked Somalia as one of the poorest countries in Africa. The minimal
socioeconomic level of the country may have rationalized the need for a revolutionary change from education to economic in the form of a literacy campaign.

**The Implication of Illiteracy on Somali Development**

The low rate of literacy caused by lack of use of the Somali language created a sociopolitical disparity and exclusionist system which discriminated against the less-educated Somalis. The Somalis who were fortunate enough to be educated in foreign languages like English, Italian or Arabic had become the new elite, replacing the European colonial administration. As Laitin (1977) remarked:

> The chances for any nonliterate Somali to acquire the necessary skills for participation in the modern sector were small. It is clear that the linguistic elite would maintain itself, as there was only the most limited opportunity for most Somalis to have linguistic mobility. And this, for the Somalis, was perhaps their first experience in real social stratification (p.124).

This foreign language-based education, which according to Laitin (1977) under 10% of the population which benefitted by, left behind about 90% of the population who did not speak, read, or write foreign languages and, therefore, could not participate in the national political dialogue. This made the majority of the Somali population dependent on the 10% who were literate in foreign languages. It was difficult for this illiterate majority to apply for jobs, fill out school registration forms for their children, or understand medication instructions, to name just a few of their problems.

**The Somali Literacy Campaign of 1975**

There is very limited literature about the Somali Literacy campaign and most of it was compiled by Harbans Bhola, a UNESCO literacy expert at the time of the Campaign. The literacy campaign was conducted in two phases: urban and rural. The urban phase
was organized in 1973-74 in major city centers and towns, while the rural campaign was conducted in 1974-75 in rural and semi-rural areas. The two campaigns were interconnected in terms of planning and strategy, and so the first campaign was conducted to provide the knowledge and experience required for the second (Bhola, 1984). It was the graduates of the first campaign who contributed to the second.

The urban program was launched in August, 1973, with the intention to first teach and prepare the teachers, students, military, and government workers so they could in turn teach other literacy programs. When the government declared the urban campaign completed, some 400,000 adults had graduated from it. That number was understandable because this group already knew how to read and write in Italian and/or English (Bhola, 1984).

According to Bhola, the rural campaign was launched in August, 1974, and concluded prematurely in February, 1975, due to severe droughts which affected the rural and semirural areas. The campaign was further complicated by the nomadic nature of the intended population, which is culturally based on continuous seasonal movement to secure water and grazing-land for the livestock. This fact necessitated the movement with them of teachers, equipment, and other project resources, with the help of the Somali military logistics.

Creating an orthography of the Somali language and the two subsequent campaigns had political, ideological, cultural, and economic objectives. This is no surprise because, as Bhola (1984) pointed out, campaigns need political and ideological objectives to succeed. In addition to economic development, parallel political agendas
31

included: —(a) eradication of illiteracy among rural people; (b) public health improvement; (c) animal health improvement; and (d) a census of both people and livestock” (p. 158). At the end of the campaign, according to Bhola, the program was declared a success and 795,000 adults passed a literacy test within seven months.

The urban and rural literacy campaigns had two different objectives. Bohla indicated that while the objectives of the urban campaign were lingual and cultural, the rural objectives were social consciousness, ideology, development, and literacy. One obvious difference between the urban and the rural campaigns was that most of the urban residents were already literate in English, Italian, or Arabic.

**Statement of the Problem**

The current condition of the 1975 literacy campaign is a mysterious treasure of knowledge waiting to be discovered. This knowledge constitutes in its current form a number of mysteries, including untold stories, untapped knowledge, and unshared experiences, among other things. For instance, the history of Somali illiteracy, poverty, and underdevelopment started to repeat itself within two decades after the implementation of the campaign. This problem was fostered by the Somali civil war which destroyed the infrastructure of the education system and the achievements of the program.

As a result of the civil war, the educational infrastructure of the country was almost in ruins. About 90% of school buildings were either completely or partially destroyed. Roofs, windows, school furniture and fittings were all looted. All school records were lost. In addition to the physical damage caused by the civil war and the subsequent looting, the educational tradition and the education ladder of a whole nation was severely damaged. Education in the formal sense did not take place for two years. Most Somali children of school age had no school to attend. The damage done to a generation of children deprived of access to formal
education is impossible to assess at this point in time. An emergency situation had arisen by the early 1990s with hardly any schools functioning, and an emergency solution was required. (Bennaars, Seif, & Mwangi, 1996, p. 12)

Understanding the history of the literacy campaign and learning from it could provide insights that can in turn inform for the current Somali education and literacy crises.

The implementation of the campaign, its objectives, outcomes, and experiences of the participants are knowledge which is not tapped so far. It is essential that this knowledge be documented and shared with the Somali people and the world at large.

The student-teacher participants of the campaign currently constitute the majority of Somali leaders, educators, and intellectuals. Rediscovering their experiences and history could be a unifying factor to create a new vision for solving the current problems.

A solution to the contemporary Somali problems of illiteracy, language, education, and development could be found in these hitherto mysterious elements of the campaign. The rediscovery of this knowledge and experience could lead to the solution of the Somali problems. Understanding how illiteracy was reduced 36 years ago and tapping the experiences of the participants is a key to how to reduce illiteracy again. This is a pressing need for the new generation.

**Research Questions**

The study was guided by three research questions namely:

(1) What were the main anticipated objectives of the Somali Literacy Campaign?

This question explores the main objectives of the campaign as the government described it to the people, and seeks to uncover how the people, particularly participants, interpreted and understood it. The second question is:
(2) Did the campaign successfully realize its set objectives and contribute to the main objective of literacy for development?

This question examines whether the campaign was successful to the extent that the government claimed and whether it fulfilled the main objective of literacy for development. The final question is:

(3) What were the unexpected political, social, and economic outcomes of the campaign?

The final question examines the positive and negative outcomes of the campaign and how the government utilized these outcomes.

**Purpose of the Study**

The purpose of this study is to investigate the main objectives of the 1975 Somali Literacy Campaign and its outcomes. At the beginning of the campaign, the Somali government declared the intended objectives of the campaign, which included eradication of illiteracy, and the Somalization of education and administration systems, among other things. In that view President Siad Barre (1969) remarked that that one of the endeavors of the revolution was to devise a written form of the Somali language to replace the dominance of the foreign languages because a nation cannot develop and progress without having its own written language, and by using foreign languages for its state affairs. Thus, the ultimate idea of the campaign was to achieve socioeconomic development.

At the end of the campaign the government pronounced it a success and touted the achievement of its intended objectives. Historically speaking, the period between 1970 and 1977 were the years of the Somali national development and change. However, this
was also an era marred by the authoritarianism of a military regime. Hence, it was difficult to independently assess the campaign under this military regime. Laitin (1977) remarked that “it is ironic that a military revolution which has abolished all democratic institutions could be restoring the possibility of equal opportunity to participate, and has advocated the goal of universal participation through universal literacy” (p.131). From this perspective, this study attempts to revisit the issues of the program through the perspectives and experiences of the participants, including students, teachers, teacher-supervisors, and literacy students. On the other hand, most of the available studies fall short of discussing the impact of the campaign on the rural participants; consequently, this study focuses on exploring the positive and negative impacts of the program on the rural population.

**Significance of the Study**

This study is significant as it can empower and motivate the Somali educators and intellectuals by revisiting this historical event and reassessing the objectives and outcomes of the campaign through the individual and collective experiences of the participants.

The importance of this study is that it attempts to recover information lost when the records and history of the literacy campaign were destroyed in the civil war. There is a practical need to recover this historical treasure so the Somali people can benefit from it educationally. Today, although Somali is the language of administration in the country it is no longer the language of instruction since all educational resources were destroyed in the war.
This study could pave the way for Somali educators to repeat history and reestablish the Somali language as the medium of instruction. The level of literacy among the Somalis has reverted to pre-campaign levels; and if the history of the Somali Literacy Campaign can be documented and repeated, the 70% literacy level of 1975 might be regained.

This study could open a literacy discourse among the student-teachers who participated in the campaign and who now represent the elite of the country to find a solution to the Somali illiteracy and language problems.

In all, the study could inform a model for the solution of current education, language, and development problems of Somalia by duplicating the previous achievements of the Somali Literacy Campaign while at the same time highlighting the mistakes of the previous program.

**Delimitation of the Study**

The scope of this study is limited to the critical examination of the objectives of the 1975 Somali Literacy Campaign. This is to investigate whether these objectives were realized and how the outcomes contributed to the main objective of literacy for development according to the government declaration. For this reason, the study attempts to explore the experiences of the campaign participants, specifically the students-teachers and their teacher supervisors in order to understand the objectives, achievements, and unexpected outcomes of the Somali Literacy Campaign.
Limitations of the Study

There are practical limitations in this research program related to the fact that I am conducting historical research about a country that has been in political turmoil for the last two decades. This makes it difficult to conduct background checks and find supportive data inside the country to promote the credibility of the study. In this, Glesne (2006) points out that ―[P]art of demonstrating the trustworthiness of your data is to realize the limitations of your study‖ (p.169). Hence, to promote the credibility of this research I acknowledge that there are some practical limitations in this study. Some of these are partially due to the 36 years that have passed since the campaign was implemented. Others are caused by the Somali civil war which forced the migration of the targeted participants into different countries in different parts of the world. In the following section, I will illustrate some of these expected limitations:

Due to the long time that has passed since the campaign, there are difficulties with locating the high-ranking officers of the campaign, including the policy-makers, administrators, and members of the Somali Language Commission who have been scattered worldwide in the Diaspora. Some of these people have passed away and some of them are old and have retreated from active life. As a result, it is difficult to find top-level informants who could provide firsthand insider information about what was going on at the higher levels of the government, including the government-identified objectives of the campaign, and if any evaluations were conducted.

The official government documents about the campaign lost in the civil war concerned all government ministries directly involved in the campaign, including the
ministries of Education, Planning and Statistics, Rural Development, and the Ministry of Economic Development. I have personally visited the destroyed buildings of these ministries and found some of them occupied by IDPs (Internally Displaced Persons). As a result, there are no primary government campaign records to consult.

Another limitation could arise from the uneducated members of the previous rural communities who benefited from the campaign as learners and are now living in North America. Members of this group may not understand the importance of this study and may consider discussion of this 36 year old event insignificant. The possible disinterest of this group is another part of the study limitations.

The possibility that the study might have been dominated by the educated and intellectuals is another limitation. For instance, the possible disinterest of the less-educated participants from the Somali rural communities mentioned earlier may in itself give rise to domination of the study by the educated and intellectuals. These intellectuals were the teenage student-teachers during the campaign and currently live in North America. Unlike the rural group, this intellectual group understands the value of this study which may encourage them to participate in a manner disproportionate to the uneducated rural groups, rendering the study intellectually dominated, a possible limitation (see p. 98).

**Definition of Terms**

*Adult literacy/illiteracy*, according to the UNESCO definition, is the minimum knowledge of reading and writing in one’s native language.
Colonial education usually refers to the formal or informal Western (colonial) education introduced to colonized countries like Somalia by the European colonizers. Colonialism is the act of establishing colonies usually by conquest in foreign territories by people from other territories (Dictionary.com, 2010). Credibility Techniques are qualitative techniques used to reduce bias and promote credibility. Development in this study refers to the progress and betterment of human livelihoods. Education for development is education designed to advance the betterment of human life. Education is the process of acquiring knowledge and skills development for better judgment and stable life (Dictionary.com, 2010). External auditor refers to an outside examiner who audits the research data collection methods by auditing the notes, audios, and journals plus the interpretation and analytic process, among other things. Historiography is the study of a particular past event, situation, individual, group, etc. Human resources is the capacity-building and skills development of people as a potential resource (Dictionary.com, 2010). Literacy rate, the level of literacy in a particular population. Member checks (first level & second level): First level is double-checking the data with the participants before the data interpretation and analysis; second level is confirming with the participants after data interpretation and analysis. Mother tongue language, native language or one’s own language.
Negative case analysis is a credibility technique of consciously looking for inconsistencies and contradictions in the data.

Nomads are people who culturally tend livestock as their livelihoods and usually move from one region to another in search of water and grazing land for their livestock.

Peer review is when colleagues review data and/or analysis and provide the researcher with their feedback.

Postcolonial education refers to the state of Somali education from independence to the implementation of the literacy campaign.

Researcher reflexivity refers to a researcher’s sincere declaration of his or her study positionality and/or expectations.

Somalia, official name, Somali Republic, is a country in North East Africa, bordering Ethiopia on the East, the Red Sea on the North, the Indian Ocean on the West, and Kenya on the South.

Traditional education, pre-colonial indigenous (formal or informal) education of colonized countries like Somalia.

Triangulation involves multiple methods used in data collection, data resources, data interpretation, and analysis to promote credibility.

Study delimitations are such qualities that limit the scope of the study (Cline, 1986).
Chapter Two: Introduction to the Literature

One of the purposes of doing a literature review ahead of data collection is to explore and understand the research completed before in the target field (Hart, 1998). While I was working on the literature review, I found there was not enough research completed about the Somali Literacy Campaign. Most of the available literature including, but not limited to, Laitin, 1977; Adam, 1980; Bhola, 1984; Cahill, 1980; Samatar, 1988; and Lewis, 1980, was concentrated/published/produced in the first decade or so, following the campaign. I have not seen any other study about the campaign except new editions of this same literature. This made it difficult to gather enough literature for this study. In a situation like this, Silverman (1995) proposed working on what he called a creative literature review. This means to prepare a literature related to the topic which could lay down the groundwork for understanding the topic under research in terms of its related studies. In view of that, I organized the following creative literature review to at least pave the way for the reader to understand how literacy, language, education, history, and development, among other things, are related to the topic.

Creative Literature Review

The rationale behind the selected areas for literature review was first to introduce the elements which gave rise to the implementation of the Somali Literacy Campaign. In view of that, the literature reviews the causes and consequences of education development in Africa and the interpretation of the concepts of literacy and development in the context of post-colonial Africa, in general, and Somalia, in particular. In addition, I reviewed the context and relationship of these two concepts with education, and the role
of language in education in an African context. To understand this I will revisit the education history of Somalia in its colonial and post-colonial legacy in light of post-colonial theory along with the role of the European (colonial) languages and how they impacted Somali education and language. I will conclude with the emergence of the campaign as a solution to the problems of Somali education and language, and the theoretical framework of the study.

**Africa and Educational Development**

The concept and definition of literacy, in the Somali case, was based on the ability to read and write. On this basis, Venezky et al. (1990) wrote —As the first step in defining literacy, therefore, …I will assume that literacy skills center on the use of print and that at a minimum use of print requires reading and writing‖ (pp.3-4). In addition, Bhola (1984) defines literacy as —the ability to read and write‖ in one’s own language (p. 21). This definition is based on UNESCO literacy guidelines.

As Venezky (1990) illustrated, —[T]he statistical division of UNESCO proposed in the late 1950s that literacy statistics be recorded according to those reaching a minimal level and a functional level‖ (p. 5). Most of the countries that conduct literacy campaigns aim for the UNESCO definition because it is easier to achieve and is the basic level at which to start. In this view, the Somali campaign was motivated by the need to overcome the high rate of illiteracy prevalent in the country and by the development options that literacy provides. The need for the people to be able to read and write in order to participate in a national dialogue for change and development has motivated Somalia and many other African countries to carry out mass literacy campaigns.
The Concept of Reading for Development

The concept of development in relation to reading/literacy and education was characterized by the empirical relationship between illiteracy and underdevelopment. In general, people are the human resource of any nation and their education is fundamental for any real and practical development. Thus, to utilize its human resource, a nation has to invest in them first through education, as the first step to empower them. Bhola and Gomez (2008) report that:

President Nyerere of Tanzania had remarked that “Education is Development.” While sustainable development is going to involve strategies that are both structural and instructural, the instructural is most important since the ability to understand and deal with structures is in itself a process of education. Again, while designing strategies for joining adult literacy with sustainable development, planners and practitioners should think about word-to-work transition and carefully plan for post-literacy activities both instructional and developmental. (pp. 61-62)

Thus, once the Somali government understood the value of education as a tool for prosperity and self-reliance and the fact that illiteracy blocks the road to this goal, it was practical for them to agree upon education as the solution to the Somali socioeconomic problems.

After independence, many African countries realized the importance of education and its significance to development. These countries attempted to solve the high illiteracy rate of their populations by conducting national literacy campaigns. According to Mpogolo (1990) Tanzania started the first literacy campaign in Africa in 1971, followed by Somalia and Ethiopia in 1973-75 and 1975-76, respectively. A 1990 UNESCO report of the International Bureau of Education (IBE), recognized Tanzania as the first African country to implement a National Literacy Campaign.
In the following section, I will examine Nyerere's African leadership in Tanzanian's educational development and the outcomes of his education development programs.

**Nyerere and the Concept of Education for Development**

The 1967 Arusha Declaration was the blueprint of Nyerere's political philosophy of self-reliance and political and economic independence for Tanzania and the rest of Africa through education. Part three of the Arusha Declaration states that Tanzania is at war with poverty and oppression:

TANU [Tanganyika African National Congress] is involved in a war against poverty and oppression in our country; the struggle is aimed at moving the people of Tanzania (and the people of Africa as a whole) from a state of poverty to a state of prosperity. We have been oppressed a great deal, we have been exploited a great deal and we have been disregarded a great deal. It is our weakness that has led to our being oppressed, exploited and disregarded. Now we want a revolution – a revolution which brings an end to our weakness, so that we are never again exploited, oppressed, or humiliated. (Arusha Declaration, 1967), ...(Part Three, para. 1).

It was this development which Tanzania, Somalia, and Africa in general hoped to achieve through education. It was this education that African countries were seeking to reform and reclaim as their own by utilizing their national languages as the media of instruction and administration. Through their native languages, people can understand the value of education as a tool for prosperity and self-reliance. The fact that illiteracy is the gatekeeper that impedes development and self-sufficiency is sometimes enough to motivate people to strive for change and reject the status quo.

**The African Context of Literacy Campaigns and the Role of Ideology**

Tanzania is considered the first African country to implement a national mass literacy campaign (Mpogolo, 1990). In the Eastern part of Africa, after Tanzania, Somalia
conducted national literacy campaign in 1975 and Ethiopia had one in 1976. Of these three countries, the Tanzanian campaign was a long-term one, while Somalia and Ethiopia organized a two-year and one-year mass literacy programs, respectively. However, the objective of education for development, or in the Tanzanian case “education for self-reliance”, was the main denominator of the three campaigns. In the following section I will briefly discuss the characteristics of each campaign.

**Tanzania**

According to Bhola (1984) the Tanzanian campaign was not the product of a revolution. The outcome of Nyerere’s philosophy of self-reliance was to recognize education, especially adult education, as a necessary element for national development. According to President Nyerere:

First we must educate adults. Our children will not have an impact on our economic development for five, ten, or even twenty years. The attitudes …on the other hand, have an impact now. The people must understand the plans for development of this country; they must be able to participate in changes which are necessary. Only if they are willing and able to do this will this plan succeed. (as cited in Bhola, 1984)

This statement seemed to be the driving force of these three campaigns because all the national leaders motivated their peoples by identifying self-reliance as the goal of their campaigns. According to Bhola, though Tanzania was a multi-ethnic and multi-lingual nation, no other ethnic language could come close to Kiswahili which was spoken by 95% of the population. As a result, Kiswahili was selected to be the national language.
Bhola (1984) stated that unlike Somalia, Tanzania and Ethiopia were among 11 nations that participated in the UNDP/UNESCO program of functional literacy. The aim of that program was to lay the groundwork for the implementation of adult education and literacy and that gave those countries the prerequisite experience for campaign organization. At the end of the campaign, Tanzanian illiteracy dropped from 67% to 27% in 1977. Additionally, literature shows that the campaign laid down educational infrastructure, including schools, libraries, rural newspapers, and radio programs for the continuation and consolidation of adult education.

**Lessons Learned from the Tanzanian Campaign**

Bhola pointed out three main lessons learned from the Tanzanian campaign:

(a) Political willpower, rather than capital/wealth. At the time of the campaign Tanzania was a poor country which could hardly afford the cost of the campaign. Nonetheless, their political will based on the concept of “education for self-reliance” empowered the people and the government to implement one of the most ambitious projects in the history of this country. (b) Political ideology. The government utilized the cadres of the Tanzanian African National Union (TANU) political party the driving force of the campaign. (c) People power grass-roots organizations such as youth and women’s groups, and literacy associations such as the national literacy organization participated in the implementation of the campaign and later developed into major national institutions.

These three Tanzanian elements, ideology, political will, and the role of community organizations, were utilized in both the Somali and Ethiopian literacy campaigns, indicating the Tanzanian impact on the other East African campaigns.
Ethiopia

After the deposition of Ethiopian king, Emperor Haile Selassie, the Ethiopian revolution attempted to change the feudal system with land reform and mass education (Margareta & Sjöström, 1983). According to Margareta and Sjöström:

Emphasis was on the educational needs among the rural masses, where illiteracy reached 95%, where nearly 90% of the population were found and where few schools were available. Poverty and social inequality were to be obliterated by education for the masses. Theme of self-reliance was introduced as part of the educational message. (p. 40)

As in Tanzania and Somalia, education in Ethiopia was intended to create a socialist society which would support the revolution to realize its goals. Margareta and Sjöström pointed out that the goal of the Ethiopian government was to build an education system with social and political consciousness.

Lessons Learned from the Ethiopian Campaign

The lessons learned from the Ethiopian campaign, according to Margareta and Sjöström, were: (a) Decentralized education. Before the campaign the education system was controlled by the government. After the campaign education was still regulated by the government but managed by the provinces/states. (b) Content-oriented education. Pre-campaign education was westernized where as post-campaign education was based on the national characteristics of the country and the people. (c) Civil society organizations were entrusted to run literacy programs. The literacy campaign was implemented by the civil society organizations supported by the government. (d) Education as a tool against imperialism, feudalism, and inequality. The post-campaign education system was designed to educate and empower people to eliminate the pre-
revolution injustices committed through feudalism and imperialism. (e) Real education should be contextualized to the real life of the people. Post-campaign education was based on the socio-political and cultural realities of the people. (e) Socialist oriented education. The new education system was characterized by revolutionary and socialist ideology to promote political mobilization and participation.

**Summary**

The Tanzanian literacy campaign was a catalyst for the African national campaigns and, as discussed earlier, Nyerere's objective in his campaign was to transform Africa through education for self-reliance (Arusha Declaration, 1967). Somalia and Ethiopia were the two other countries that directly applied the Tanzanian experience in East Africa. Literature indicated that these countries succeeded in some of their attempts in their own different ways. For example, all these campaigns had socio-political and economic objectives, and literature indicated that at least the sociopolitical objectives were achieved (Bhola, 1984; Margareta & Sjöström, 1983). Some of these objectives were education to a) promote socialism and defeat imperialism or achieve decolonization; b) achieve economic self-reliance at least in food production; and c) engender self-empowerment and social mobilization to participate in national development, among other things.

**Language and Education**

Mother tongue language is important in learning and in creating new ideas and thoughts because people usually think in their first or mother language. For instance, the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis asserts that the thoughts and activities of individuals are
determined by their language. Because people think in their own languages, it is difficult for them to grasp realities such as right/wrong, man/woman, normal/abnormal, among other things, if these realities do not exist in their languages (Johnson & Christensen, 2008). In learning, the UNESCO monograph of 1953, known as *The Use of Vernacular Languages in Education*, stipulates that the best language of instruction for children and adults is their mother tongue (Coulmas, 1989). As a result, educators favor having teaching and learning take place in first languages.

**The Link between Language of Instruction and Academic Success**

The key connection between language and academic success is accessibility. A student‘s language, culture, and lived experience positively contribute to his or his learning and retention ability. According to Geshekter (1980), "Developmental psychologists have found that people absorb information more quickly and more thoroughly when it is presented to them in their mother tongue” (p. vii). In addition, education through the mother tongue empowers and liberates. Knowledge is socially constructed and recognized; thus, when it is presented in the mother tongue it can be shared with the rest of the community and becomes a social matter. In this view, Maas (2001) maintains that "...this implies creating an environment in which the learner knows and reads his or her own text. And writes about his or her own experience as well as those of others, thus allowing people to recognize their own mother tongue as a language of identity, thought, and instruction” Maas (as cited in Ouane & Glanz, 2005, p. 7). Hence, in Sub Saharan Africa, it was not possible for the post-colonial African countries
to utilize their native languages as media of instruction in their schools due to their negative colonial legacy.

**Literacy, Education and Development**

Although literacy is necessary for the development of the personality and understanding both of children and of adults, there are other major expectations to be accomplished through literacy, which is a process leading to higher levels of educational development and maturity. Moreover, adult literacy is the beginning stage of adult education (Du Satouy, 1966). For instance, the African educational development program, approved in Addis Ababa in 1961 by the Conference of the African States, stipulates that “adult education should go beyond reading and writing and numbers” (p.11). The rationale behind this decision was, according to Du Sautoy, the correlation between the productivity of people and their level of education. In this view, the development index of any country can be measured by the level of adult literacy, enrollment rate in primary and secondary schools, university enrollment rates, the role of the graduates in social input, the level of public education budget, and the ratio between the male and female enrollment of children under grade 5 (Azevedo & Nnadozie, 2003). This illustrates the relationship between literacy, education, and productivity, which can translate into economic development. For instance, while Somalia’s poverty can be associated with its low national literacy level, Du Sautoy (1966) illustrates how, in contrast, in developed countries like the United States of America, 70% of the national economic output is attributed to the high level of national literacy and related skills.
Economic progress depends on many different variables that assist in the realization of any developmental achievement goals, and one of the most important of these variables is the human resource capital. Thus, it is the trained and/or educated human capital which realizes the establishment and utilization of other crucial factors, including capital, infrastructure, and technological know-how, among other things.

For this reason, Bloom, Canning, and Chan (2006) illustrated the contribution of educated employees and entrepreneurs in a nation in terms of good political governance, business entrepreneurship, socioeconomic development, and effective health and education services. Hence, human capital is fundamental in the establishment and utilization of other resources. Similarly, an educated workforce contributes to the national development in many different ways, directly and indirectly. According to Bloom, Canning, and Chan (2006):

The private benefits for individuals are well-established and include better employment prospects, higher salaries, and a greater ability to save and invest. These benefits may result in better health and improved quality of life, thus setting off a virtuous spiral in which life expectancy improvements enable individuals to work more productively over a longer time further boosting lifetime earnings. . . Higher earnings for well-educated individuals raise tax revenues for governments and ease demands on state finances. They also translate into greater consumption, which benefits producers from all educational backgrounds. In a knowledge economy, tertiary education can help economies keep up or catch up with more technologically advanced societies. Higher education graduates are likely to be more aware of and better able to use new technologies. (p. 15).

In this illustration, education is directly related to the socioeconomic development of a country and education setbacks can translate into economic and developmental obstacles.
Somali Colonial Education

The problems of colonial education in Somalia were multifaceted. Here, however, we will focus on two factors which were deliberately devised to undermine Somali educational development: (a) language policies designed to suppress the native languages and promote colonial ones; and (b) the quality and quantity of colonial education, which was meant to create a lower-level clerical staff, security apparatus, and interpreters who could speak the colonial language to serve the interests of the colonial administrative system (Ayittey, 1998).

Historically speaking, European colonizers systematically excluded indigenous knowledge and languages and replaced them with their own languages. In Somalia, colonial rulers introduced strict definitive language policies intended to marginalize Somali and promote Italian and English. For instance, Laitin (1977) points out that in 1920, fearing its potential to lead to and advance patriotism, the Italian colonial administration directly opposed Osman Yusuf’s attempt to introduce a new indigenous Somali orthography as a solution to the Somali language and education problems.

As a result, because the colonial powers ignored the Somali language and discouraged its use in any facet of the peoples’ lives, English and Italian dominated the media of instruction and administration. Somali, however, remained the language of communication and dialogue in social discourse (Abdulaziz & Ouane, 2004). These discriminative colonial policies were accompanied by an equally exclusionary education system designed to serve the colonial interests. Thus, though modern education was introduced in Africa during the colonial period, it was limited to the learning of foreign
languages and basic math to serve the colonial requirement for lower clerical staff and interpreters. Thus, in colonial education, Ayittey (1998) observes that:

[T]he colonial government also demanded conformist behavior for the preservation of the status quo and took steps to ensure that the educational system served this purpose. While missionaries were concerned primarily with teaching people to read so that they could absorb the lessons of the Bible, the colonial governments needed only obedient clerks. No large demand for technical skills was envisaged, as the colonies were conceived to be purveyors of raw materials and foodstuffs. (p.123)

This was the case in Somalia and many other Sub Saharan African countries.

These experiences continued to negatively impact education and economic development even after independence. Post-colonial education was particularly disappointing in Somalia where Somali was not a written language until 1972.

**Post-colonial Education**

After the independence of Somalia, as in many other African countries, the new class which took over the administration of the nation from the colonial powers was educated in foreign languages and so it was natural to accept the status quo. In the Somali case, Geshekter (1980) points out how:

[T]he parliamentary governments throughout the 1960s failed to agree on a script for Somali, political and commercial power was restricted to Somalis literate in either English or Italian. A communications gap deepened the estrangement between the educated minority and the Somali masses who suspected that the government’s non-decision on the language question was very much the decision of a self-sustaining administrative core to continue governing the rest of the population in languages few of them could read, write, or comprehend (p. vii).

This communication gap created education and sociopolitical barriers which divided the Somali community and threatened their unity. The Somali elite continued to stick with the use of foreign languages because that gave them their special privileged
status and separated them from the majority of the people in terms of resources and power distribution.

In addition, Somalia realized after independence how deeply these colonial languages were rooted in its sociopolitical and economic systems. Because these languages were in use for decades of colonial rule, all national experiences and educational expertise were recorded or archived in them. Moreover, the administration and education systems were all conducted and instructed in foreign languages, and so the common perception was that perhaps it would be much easier to pursue continuation of the status quo rather than to transform everything to the native language. This, among other things, created a dependence on foreign languages.

**Foreign Language Dependence**

This dependence, in turn, created a linguistic inferiority. For instance, while foreign languages like English and Italian were equipped with a wealth of knowledge, including scientific and technological terminologies, more than half a century of domination and degeneration had deprived the Somali language of such richness. Thus, Geshekter (1980) points out that, “It is widely believed by the western-educated African classes that compared to European languages, African mother tongues are inferior, especially as vehicles for the expression of scientific and technological concepts and as a medium for government and commerce” (p. vi).

However, this did not stop countries like Tanzania and Somalia from realizing that language and education problems are manmade and, therefore, reversible.
The Chronicle of the Somali Language Development

The Somali language is a member of the Eastern Cushitic languages, including Saho, Oromo, and Afar, which are spoken in East Africa, and part of the Afro-Asiatic languages, such as Arabic, Hebrew, and early Egyptian. Somali, which is spoken in Somalia, Kenya, Ethiopia, and Djibouti, among other countries, has many different dialects, but common Somali can be easily understood by almost any Somali (Federal Research Division, 2010). However, a number of Somali dialects including Maay which is spoken in the Bay Region; Barawaani of the Barawaani people, and Af Reer Hamar of the Banaadiri people. All these communities also speak the common Somali language.

Although the Somali language orthography was only introduced in 1972, historically, there were numerous attempts by different Somali and non-Somali scholars to write Somali to facilitate and promote education and development of the people. According to Laitin (1977), Sheikh Yusuf Al-Kawneyn was the first Muslim scholar to study the Somali phonology and assign to it a system of writing Somali in Arabic script in the 13th century. Al-Kawneyn’s Somalization of the Arabic script was so successful that it is still used in Quranic schools all over Somalia. Moreover, Laitin recounts that in 1887, Captain J. S. King who was serving in the British India Colonial Army attempted to revive the Somali Arabic script for use in British Somaliland by blending it with the Indian script. A decade later, in 1897, the Reverend Evangelist de Larajasse and the Venerable Cyprion de Sampont devised a Somali language grammar with Roman characters. This was perhaps for the use of the missionaries for the spread of the Word of Christ.
Laitin further stated that in 1902, J. W. C. Kirk, a British officer serving in British Somaliland, recorded a collection of Somali poetry and published a book about the Somali grammar and literature in 1905. In addition, in 1919 Sheikh Uweys Al-Barawani attempted to write the Barawani Somali dialect in Arabic script. Using this method, Sheikh Al-Barawani published many books of prose and poetry. In 1920, Osman Yusuf came up with the first known non-Arabic non-Latin script of his own for writing Somali. This script was later abandoned for such technical and economic reasons as the need for a new print system. In 1933, Sheikh Abdirahman Garyare introduced a new Somali Arabic-based script or orthography, which became popular in his region of Awdal. According to Laitin, this script did not receive its due recognition, because Sheikh Garyare was quoted saying that he would not allow his script to contribute to the headaches already created by the Somali language script competition. In about that same decade, in 1938, Sheikh Mohamed Makahil published a book called the *Institution of Modern Correspondence in the Somali Language*, using Arabic script. In that same year, the British colonial administration introduced Somali orthography in Latin script in the British Somaliland city of Burao. This attempt was abandoned after the local citizens demonstrated against Latin script in favor of Arabic.

Furthermore, Laitin pointed out that in 1952, Husein Kaddare, who later became a member of the Somali Language Commission, had devised a Somali orthography based on Arabic characters which UNESCO described as the most accurate and reliable Somali script. Mr. Kaddare’s orthography was followed by Muse Galal’s 1954 publication of his
poems in a London Newspaper with Arabic script. Mr. Galal also became a member of
the Somali Language Commission in 1972.

The writing of Somali became an issue for the new Somali Government (1960-
1969) yet it was not possible for the politicians, intellectual elite, and religious scholars to
agree upon one viable orthography. According to Laitin, there were three main obstacles
against the selection of the Somali orthography:

**The Obstacles Inhibited Somali Orthography**

The writing of Somali became an issue for the new Somali Government (1960-
1969) yet politicians, intellectual elite, and religious scholars could not agree upon one
viable orthography. According to Laitin, there were three main obstacles:

- Technical problems based on the available and easy-to-find printing systems in the
country. It was difficult to find a printing system for some of the proposed scripts like
the indigenous *Usmania* script unless a new one was designed and equipment for it
built which was expensive. Thus, Latin was chosen due to the readily available
printing systems.

- Political problems arose from the different foreign-educated elite groups that favored
a particular writing system. The Somali intellectuals had been educated in a variety of
countries, including the Soviet Union, Italy, Britain, Egypt, and the U.S., among
others. These intellectuals campaigned for different scripts based on their educational
and political (Eastern/Western) backgrounds.
Religious influence favored Arabic over Latin. The Somali religious groups campaigned for the use of Arabic in writing Somali due to the Islamic culture of the country.

Finally, in 1972, the military government of General Siad Barre succeeded in introducing the current Somali orthography in Latin script, and consequently organized two literacy campaigns to promote the use and development of the Somali language.

**The Somali Revolution**

The Somali Revolution came to power in 1969 through a bloodless coup d’état, nine years after the independence of the Republic on July 1, 1960. The overthrown civilian government was democratically elected but it was corrupt. In the beginning, according to the Institute for Security Studies for Africa (ISS) (2005), “The protagonists of the coup had no real ideological basis, their driving force was to end tribalism, nepotism, corruption and misrule” (para. 28). This was the first military government in Somalia and one of the reasons that persuaded people to support the Revolution was the promise of change from the previous civilian government. One of the first announced promises was the creating for writing Somali language, which had no orthography until 1972. The first charter of the Revolution concerned the new internal policies of the government and tabulated that:

1. To constitute a society based on the right to work and the principle of social justice, considering the environment and social life of the Somali people;
2. To prepare and orientate the development of economic, social, and cultural programmes to bring rapid progress to the country;
3. Liquidation of illiteracy and the development of an enlightened patrimonial and cultural heritage of the Somali people;
4. To institute with appropriate and adequate measures the basic development of the writing of the Somali language;
5. Liquidation of all kinds of corruption, all forms of anarchy, the malicious system of tribalism in every form, and all other bad customs in state activities; 
6. To abolish all political parties; and 
7. To conduct at an appropriate time free and impartial elections. (Samatar, 1988, pp. 83-85)

The new internal policies of the regime had a positive effect on the public which recognized it as the dawn of a new hope for the country and a departure from the political and economic corruption of the former system. On the other hand, the structure of the new government mainly consisted of the military Supreme Revolutionary Council (SRC) and a number of professional civilian ministers. The inclusion of the civilians in the government, though they were powerless, was perhaps a goodwill gesture of sharing to share power with the people. According to the Institute of Security Studies (2005):

The Charter also defined the sources of political power in Barre’s regime. Law 1 of the Charter stated that all the functions of the President, National Assembly, Council of Ministers (cabinet) and most of those of the courts were ascribed to the SRC. The SRC consisted of a 25-man military junta that fulfilled the role of an executive committee that was responsible for policy formulation and execution. Decisions were to be based on a majority vote. In addition to this there was a subordinate 14-man Secretariat; the Council of Secretaries of State (CSS). The CSS was essentially the Cabinet responsible for the execution of daily government. It lacked any real political power as it consisted mainly of civilians and moreover many Heads of Ministries within the CSS where concurrently members of the SRC. Barre concurrently held numerous titles: Head of State, President of the SRC, Chairman of the CSS and Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces. (para. 29)

Later, the Revolutionary government chose socialism as its system of administration and economic development. General Barre’s “scientific socialism”, [was] an ideological mix of Lenin, Marx, the Quran, Mao and Mussolini which advocated self-reliance, communal development and the eradication of the influence of lineage. Barre perceived clanism as the main hindrance to national unity.” (ISS, 2005, para. 29)
Although the socialist ideology was new to the general public, they trusted the decisions of the government. However, the mostly Western-educated elite indicated mistrust of socialism but the SRC leaders were quick to label them as mentally colonized and pro-Western. In contrast, the general public accepted the government promises of change, development, and liberation from the so-called neocolonial hegemony. To legitimize and promote its policies, the government used a strong and extensive media campaign.

[Under the diligent direction of the Ministry of Information and National Guidance, a national cult, amalgamating Chinese, North Korean, and Nasserite as well as Soviet influence, was created around the Head of State as benevolent ‘Father’ of a nation whose ‘Mother’ was the ‘Glorious Revolution’. This cult of the president was accompanied by the publication of pithy extracts from his speeches and sayings (e.g. ‘Less talk and more work’) and in radio programmes which ingeniously blended these and Marxist themes with Islamic motifs;’” (Lewis, 2008, p. 40)

This campaign was successful in influencing the majority of the population who were illiterate and disadvantaged as opposed to the less than 10% literate and/or educated minority (Laitin, 1988). To legitimize itself, the government created a National Security Court with one of the SRC members, General Mohamud Gelle, as Chief Justice, to guarantee national security, and control corruption and unwarranted political activities (Samatar, 1988).

During and after the literacy campaign, there was a relative economic growth and education development. This reduced unemployment and many people became convinced of the fulfillment of the revolution’s promises. The regime fervently pursued his [Siad Barre] scientific socialism instituting ‘re-education’ programmes for civil servants and civilians alike. Such programmes included professional training and political
indoctrination stressing community identification as opposed to lineage as the focal point for all political and social activities” (ISS, 2005, para. 29). This drew even more public support for the Revolution, which increased the confidence of the government to flex its political and military power.

During its rule, the military government established many development projects in such sectors as agriculture, livestock, fishery, education, and infrastructure, among others. He [Siad Barre] also nationalised the manufacturing and agricultural trades and accelerated the development of infrastructure. These “crash programmes” were put in place to rapidly increase economic and social development” (ISS, 2005. para. 29). Some of the ambitious projects which the Revolutionary government implemented included the writing of Somali and the subsequent national mass literacy campaigns. According to Lewis (1980), “Amongst the most impressive and ambitious of these were the urban and rural mass literacy campaigns of 1973 and 1975” (p. 216). One of the objectives of the literacy campaign was to foster national unity and reduce national balkanization among the Somali society (Lewis, 1980). In addition, there were such projects as the national highway, connecting the Southern and Northern part of the country; four major ports; and the oil refinery, among other things.

These economic and education gains, however, were interrupted by political and economic interventions, including war, droughts, and corruption, among others. Samatar (1988) remarked that, “Despite their noteworthy accomplishments, the educational reforms of the 1970s were not sustained into the 1980s. Like many other popular programs from the early Siyaad [Siad] era, mass education fell victim to the regime’s
preoccupation with natural disasters, war with Ethiopia, and the subsequent refugee

crisis” (p. 101). During the economic growth, the government invested in rebuilding the
armed forces, giving Somalia one of the best armed forces in Sub-Saharan Africa.

According to Federal Research Division (2010), the soviets provided Somalia
with the most military equipment in Sub-Saharan Africa, including armored personnel
carriers, tanks, and transport vehicles, to create a large mechanized infantry. In addition,
MiG-21 fighter-bombers which gave Somalia the best armed forces in East Africa.

Samatar (1988) suggested that –With most government expenditure being absorbed by
military needs, only very limited funds were available to the education sector. Only 1.5%
to 2% of the national budget was being allocated to education in the late 1980s”(p.11).

On the other hand, this military advantage perhaps led to the incursion of Somali
armed forces into Ethiopia to settle a territorial dispute between the two countries. The
Somali Ogaden, in Eastern Ethiopia, was ceded to Ethiopia by Britain in the 1950s; and
since then Somalia and Ethiopia have fought two wars, 1964 and 1977, to settle this
dispute. According to Federal Research Division (2010), 11,000 Cuban military and
1,500 Soviet advisors with modern Soviet military equipment entered the battle, in favor
of Ethiopia, to turn the tide of war against Somalia, which occupied 90% of the disputed
territory. The Soviet-Cuban counter-offensive on behalf of Ethiopia was led by General
Grigory Barislov who earlier commanded the Soviet advisors based in Somalia (Lewis,
1980; Samatar, 1988).

In the end, Somalia lost this war and that is believed to be one of the factors
which contributed to the decline of Somalia and the subsequent fall of the government in
1991. Samatar (1988) pointed out that this conflict and its subsequent crises depleted the national economy and generated political opposition which later developed into an armed internal conflict. The result was a total loss of the earlier social and economic gains of the revolution.

The Appeal for a Literacy Campaign

Somalia inherited educational and economic problems from Italy and Britain, its former colonizers, and because of this colonial legacy, had one of the worst African education programs (Laitin, 1977). After independence, Somali education followed the pre-independence colonial plan at the advice and financial assistance of the British and Italian governments. For instance, while primary and secondary education was conducted in Italian, English, and Arabic, higher education was primarily instructed in Italian. Consequently, of this variety of languages in the education system and administration created conflict in the workplace and class hierarchy in society. According to the U.S. Federal Research Division (2010),

In the pre-revolutionary era, English became dominant in the school system and in government, which caused some conflict between elites from northern and southern Somalia. However, the overarching issue was the development of a socioeconomic stratum based on mastery of a foreign language. The relatively small proportion of Somalis (less than 10 percent) with a grasp of such a language--preferably English--had access to government positions became increasingly isolated from their non-literate Somali-speaking brethren, but because the secondary schools and most government posts were in urban areas the socioeconomic and linguistic distinction was in large part a rural-urban one. (p. 146)

In addition, this post-colonial system of education was compounded by the lack of a Somali language orthography. However, the military government which took over power in 1969 made Somali its priority, and in 1972 announced the new Somali
orthography. In addition, this government embarked on reducing widespread illiteracy in the country by devising literacy campaigns in the urban and rural parts of the country.

According to the U.S. Federal Research Division (2010),

The campaign in settled areas was followed by preparations for a major effort among the nomads that got underway in August 1974. The program in the countryside was carried out by more than 20,000 teachers, half of whom were secondary school students whose classes were suspended for the duration of the school year. (p.90)

According to the literature, it seems that these campaigns had significant impact on the population in terms of sociopolitical consciousness, rural infrastructure, increase in school enrollment, and relative economic growth.

**The Declared Objectives of the Campaign**

As indicated earlier, the 1975 Somali Literacy Campaign was one of the most ambitious projects implemented in Somalia during the revolutionary years. The 1969 Revolution declared its commitment to the writing of the Somali language in its First Charter (Adam, 1980). The next step was a national literacy campaign in settled and rural regions. The campaign had many objectives, but one of the prominent one was replacing the foreign languages used since colonial times in the country. This was to facilitate the Somalization of administration and education. According to Adam (1980), “The issue is to pursue a policy of Somalization and to subordinate the question of foreign languages as a secondary aspect of the long-range Somalization strategy” (p.7). The idea was to proliferate education through the masses, especially the adult population who were marginalized by the use of foreign languages for instruction in schools. Adam argued that:
At the beginning of the Revolution, according to the statistics of 1969-70, 18,056 persons were enrolled in non-formal or adult education. Out of this number 3,188 were women. Classes were conducted in either Italian, English, or Arabic. It soon became obvious that a genuinely mass-education program could not be launched without the use of the Somali language. (p.10)

Thus, the government viewed the Somalization of education as the solution for promoting education through the masses, especially among adults.

In addition, the Revolution was persuaded that promotion of the revolutionary ideology and raising the political consciousness of the masses could be achieved through communication in the native language. Since most of the people were not educated in foreign languages, the use of the mother tongue became necessary for mass communication. According to Adam (1980), “Further progress in actualizing socialist democratic measures naturally depends on raising the general cultural, technical, and political awareness of the Somali masses. This task requires a planned long-range educational and cultural revolution that involves wide-scale literacy campaigns” (p.10). Thus, the objectives of the campaign included the implementation of political awareness, eliminating illiteracy, dismantling social and economic barriers, and elevating Somali as the language of instruction, among other things. As discussed earlier, Bhola (1984) argued that the objectives of the campaign included literacy, ideology, and public and animal health. All these objectives were designed to advance the socioeconomic development of the people and one of the most important development objectives of the campaign was the development of the rural population.
The Rationale of the Rural Development Campaign

The Somali economy depends on livestock and agriculture (Cahill, 1980). Livestock alone supports 70% of Somali households (Cummings & Tonningen, 2003). According to Federal Research Division (2010), in the 1970s about 77% of the Somali population constituted rural inhabitants who depend for their livelihoods on livestock and agriculture. This makes the rural people the economic backbone of the country, and that was perhaps the rationale behind the 1975 Rural Development Campaign.

Even this economic importance, the rural people were still employing outdated traditional means of production and this was coupled with the highest illiteracy rate in the nation. This created a socioeconomic gap between the rural and urban populations. Adam (1980) pointed out that the campaign was —the first offensive in a strategy aimed at closing the urban-rural gap which had been directly fostered by colonialism and neocolonialism” (p.10). These factors made it almost impossible to increase agricultural and livestock productivity, on which local consumption was so dependent. To change this pattern and improve their lives and the national economy a drastic change had to be made -- rural mass literacy campaign. According to Adam (1980),

The Somali Democratic Republic consists of about 246,000 square miles with a population of nearly 4.5 million. In the rural areas, the population is scattered and extremely mobile due to the practices of nomadic pastoralism. The transportation system in the rural areas is poorly developed. Indeed, the majority of the villages had no roads before the RDC [Rural Development Campaign]. During the period of the campaign, 1.6 million people were medically treated, and 1.4 million received vaccinations of one sort or another. Nineteen million animals were treated: 2.3 million of them received veterinary vaccinations. The literacy aspect of the RDC involved 1.2 million people. Altogether 1,757,779 persons, including 597,665 women participated in the urban and rural literacy campaigns. The SDR [Somali Democratic Republic] now has a literacy ratio of about 70 percent. None
of this would have been possible without the use of written Somali as the medium of instruction”. (p. 11)

The general mindset of the Somali population was that the campaign was a historical success story, however, there was no concrete evidence supporting this success. Moreover, no study had been conducted about the opinions of the campaign participants to find out their position about the campaign.

**The Destruction and Loss of Historical Records**

In January, 1991, civil uprising led to a civil war against the military dictatorship, overthrew the government and then transformed into a full-blown internecine conflict. This war resulted the destruction and looting of public property, including administrative centers, archives, and other offices that housed public records. According to the UNDP Human Development Report (1998), “By the end of 1992, all public sector institutions had collapsed and most state establishments, parastatals and small industries either were destroyed in the fighting or were ransacked of anything of value...Public services in human development, especially health and education disappeared” (p. 59). This fact makes it almost impossible to recover any substantial original records. Private and international organizations like the United Nations Development Office for Somalia (UNDOS) and Center for Research and Dialogue (CRD), did, however, work to salvage certain historical Somali documents in the years after the civil war. It is not yet known whether the Somali Literacy Campaign records are part of the salvaged documents in the UNDOS and CRD, which are the most reliable organizations, so far in terms of archival storage.
Theoretical Framework of the Study

The purpose of this study is to investigate the 1975 Somali Literacy Campaign. It focuses particularly on the objectives and outcomes of the campaign through the experiences of the participants, mainly the student-teachers. Moreover, the study critically examines how these outcomes impacted the participants on the one hand, and the rural and urban populations on the other.

The use of theory gives the study a personal, social, and environmental context and strengths (Martin, 1995). Thus, the research draws critical theory and post-colonial theory as tools of investigation. In the following section, I will briefly explain the importance of these two theories and the applicability of critical theory to the study.

Post-colonial Theory

Post-colonial theory describes the colonized nations that live in the transition between colonialism and post-colonialism…, which describes the political, economic, social, and historical conditions and circumstances [of the nation]” (Constanze-Lmmerich, 2008, p. 1). The study utilizes post-colonial theory to explain how Somalia’s post-colonial legacy has shaped the current position of the state and its relationship to its people. In addition, it takes into consideration the nature of the power correlations entrenched in sociocultural and political structures, among other things. The point is to understand the causes, consequences, and solutions of the issues related to leadership, and language literacy for development.

Critical and post-colonial theories are used to help frame the study and interpret findings. For instance, while post-colonial theory illustrates the context and
characteristics of the study background, critical theory attempts to unravel why and how a certain event was applicable to different communities in different ways, and how it benefited or impacted each of these communities. For instance, if the Somali campaign was deemed a positive program, the critical question is: For whom was it positive and why? Similarly, critical approaches compel inquiry about how the outcomes were pursued and assessed. I will thus employ critical theory to critically examine the positive and negative outcomes of the campaign and how it impacted the different strata of the Somali society.

**Critical Theory**

Critical theory has been defined in many different ways, by theorists from such different fields as social sciences, humanities, and natural science. According to McLaren & Brown (1992), “Critical theory is, at its center, an effort to join empirical investigation, the task of interpretation, and a critique of this reality” (p.2). In this definition, the emphasis dwells on the ability of the theory to combine its critical investigative approach with equally critical techniques of interpretation and analysis of the realities involved. This is intrinsically crucial for unraveling concealed social realities which other research methods may fail to recognize. In this regard, for instance, critical theory recognizes the school as “political and cultural enterprise“, and exposes it as a place where ideology, class, culture, politics, and economics often collide (Pasco, 2003). This statement indicates that the school, in contrast to traditional views, is no longer neutral.
On the other hand, critical theory critiques and questions problems, explains them and then provides answers and solutions which come with ‘emancipation’ in the form of freedom of choice and options in approaching problems (Gibson, 1986).

Furthermore, the theory discloses hidden agendas and interests to find or identify the powers entrenched in social, economic, and political power sharing. Subsequently, the knowledge of all the answers and the provision of all involved aspects and elements lead to the solution of a problem. As a result, according to Gibson, critical theory considers the relationship between the individual and society, culture and language, and natural environment as part and parcel of assessing and evaluating any given problem.

**How Critical Theory Applied to My Study**

I am an educational researcher whose focus is to find educational answers and conclusions from history. Consequently, critical theory allows me to enquire closely into the purpose, outcomes, and the merits of language literacy for development. This theory applies to my research in its capacity to equip me with the essential techniques to navigate through the politics, ideology and cultural divide of the individuals and communities involved in the research.

I would find it difficult to achieve my study objective without being able to critically examine the beliefs, attitudes, and interests entrenched in this research. From a different perspective of critical theory, Laughlin (1985) contends that:

> Despite the variety of ideas which can legitimately be called critical theory, one theme is common to all: the need for critical analysis of present social configurations and the necessity for change and development of such configurations if society is to progress, with theoretical insights being seen totally in the context of such a practical emancipator concern. Laughlin (cited in Lehman, 1992, p. 53)
This perspective illustrates critical theory’s focus on empowerment, development, and emancipation. In contrast to many other research theories, critical theory possesses elements of investigative technique and change-oriented empowering and emancipatory elements that are all incorporated within the same framework.

Summary

The writing down of the Somali language and the subsequent mass literacy campaigns consolidated the strength of the national morale and encouraged the government to ride this momentum and gain the confidence to declare Somali the language of instruction in primary and secondary schools nationwide. This was followed by establishment of Universal Primary Education, which was one of the outcomes achieved through a written Somali language. Accordingly, the government announced in 1975 that the medium of instruction from primary schools to secondary schools would be Somali, and in the end, all education systems in Somalia, except post-secondary education, were instructed in the Somali language. As a result, Somalia became the only African country to adopt its native language as the medium of education in the pre-secondary level. For the first time in the modern history of Somalia, the country adopted a fully standardized system of education (Warsame, 2001). At the end of 1975, after two successful national literacy campaigns, the government implemented a national program of Education for All, which provided free education from primary school to the university level for all Somalis.

Thus, the writing of the Somali language, the literacy campaigns that raised the national literacy level, and the education and language policies that have established
Somali as the language of instruction and administration, together have changed the Somali education system, and have, in general, contributed to the national development of Somalia. That is why it is important to revisit the Somali Literacy Campaign and examine its objectives and its positive and negative outcomes.
Chapter Three: Methodology

This chapter discusses the methodology of data collection and analyses. It gives a description of my fieldwork experience in terms of data organization, sources, selection, description of participants, and presentation of data, among others. In addition, it describes qualitative methodology, theoretical principles of data collection, and how it was applied in the study.

Qualitative Research

Qualitative research is a method of collecting and analyzing data through such qualitative approaches as structured and unstructured interviews, documents, observations, focus groups, and oral historiography, among others. According to Johnson and Christenson (2008), qualitative research is the “research that relies primarily on the collection of qualitative data” (p. 34). In addition, Brantlinger, Jimenez, Klingner, Pugach, and Richardson (2005) pointed out that qualitative research is a “systematic approach to understanding qualities, or the essential nature, of a phenomenon within a particular context” (p. 195). One of the distinctive features of qualitative research is that it studies phenomena within their own environmental settings. The importance of studying qualitative events in their own context takes into consideration the elements of culture, language, social stratification, and historical background, among other things. The phenomena under study can thus be better explained and understood.

Shavelson and Towne argue that the objective of qualitative research is to inquire into what is occurring in a particular situation, and how and why it is taking place in this particular mode (as cited in Brantlinger et al., 2005). Different typologies of qualitative
research include ethnography, action research, oral historiography, phenomenology, and grounded theory, among others. These qualitative typologies have diverse approaches of inquiry to accomplish different objectives within the qualitative research methodology. For instance, historiography, which comes under qualitative research, commonly utilizes oral historiography, and/or narratology for inquiry (see historiography).

**Historical Research**

This study used historiography, as historians call it, or historical research, a systemic examination of historical events, including, places, situations, individuals, and/or groups (Johnson & Christenson, 2008). This method is required to explore the past history of events like the Somali Literacy Program. Historiography utilizes an exploratory oral historiography approach, which refers to an organized series of interviews with selected individuals or groups through which the participants tell their own life stories, in their own words thereby creating new sources of material” (Martin, 1995, p. 5). I used oral historiography because, as the definition indicates, the nature of the research demands it as the most appropriate method.

In addition, about 80% of the participants of the study are individuals who were involved in the literacy campaign as student-teachers, literacy teachers, and teacher-supervisors, and who acquired their firsthand experiences in the campaign. Oral historiography and/or life history methodology emphasizes the value of a person’s own story and provides pieces in a mosaic that depicts a certain era or social group” (Marshall & Rossman, 1999, p. 121). This necessitated the use of oral historiography as the primary method of investigation for the study.
This kind of research is also called narrative research because it uses narratives or story telling as a tool of inquiry (Johnson & Christenson, 2008). Historiography also uses other methods, including interviews and focus-groups; artifacts and relics; and document analysis. However, in this study, I used oral historiography and/or narrative interviewing and documentation within the framework of qualitative research methodology (see interviews).

The primary data collection procedure entailed interviewing the stakeholders and participants who were involved in the implementation of the Somali Literacy Campaign, and the discovery of a number of photographs.

**Strengths and Weaknesses**

The practice of oral history in research began about 1948 (Ong 1977, as cited in Martin 1995). Similarly, Haley (1976) reported that while he was researching seven generations of his family history in Africa, he encountered people he described as “walking archives” in the villages (as cited in Martin, 1995). Thus, the use of oral historiography as a method of research and its reliability is not new. According to Martin, contemporary oral history began in 1984 with Professor Nevin at Columbia University; and since then it has been used in different fields of the social sciences.

The strength of this approach is that since the interviewees are witnesses of a specific history, the researcher gains firsthand information from a primary source. This is important because it promotes the credibility of the study. According to Martin (1995), oral historiography is not just for data collection, but is a process of participation between the interviewees and the interviewer. In this process, the interviewees create meaning for
the past and the interviewer witnesses it and participates in it. As a result, this interaction stimulates the discussion and promotes a deep and thick description of the event.

However, it has been pointed out that the strengths of the approach also create weaknesses. For instance, if the interviewees are biased their narratives could reflect their biases and interests. Thus, participant prejudice was indicated as a weakness of the approach. In this, Martin (1995) responded that “Information gained in an oral narrative interview is used to better understand but not to assess or form judgments about the interviewees, as would be the case in a diagnostic interview. This important difference frees both interviewer and interviewee to participate spontaneously in the process” (p. 7).

Nonetheless, as indicated earlier, the approach provides a number of credibility techniques to offset these weaknesses (see credibility techniques).

Data Collection

According to Patton (2002), data consists of “Written materials and other documents from organizational, clinical, or program records; memoranda, and correspondence; official publications and reports; personal diaries, letters, artistic works, photographs, and memorabilia; and written responses to open-ended surveys” (p.5).

In this study, the main sources of data were interviews and photographic documents. The only documents recovered in this research were photographs received from different sources, including participants, colleagues, and the Internet. The details of each source of data are classified below. [p.65]
**Photographic Documents**

During this research, my hope was to recover some campaign documents and/or records; however, it became obvious that most of the documents were destroyed in the civil war. Some of the participants reported that there is a grim possibility that some of the government published books and/or audio recordings of the campaign radio programs survived. However, these could only be verified by travelling to Somalia and conducting a search in the discovery of these documents. As a result, the only documents I recovered in my research were a limited number of the following still photographs:

The three campaign pictures (Figures 3, 15, 20) came from Dr. Abdinur Mohamed, a former Minister of education who participated in the campaign as student-teacher. I received the National Service picture (Figure 13) from Hussein Sheikh. The campaign poster (Figure 6) came from Hassan Salat. And I retrieved the rest of the pictures from websites directed to me by the participants.

**Challenges**

The challenges I faced in this study was that I generated a large amount of data that it was not practical to use all of it in the study. Thus, one of the challenges at this stage of study was the selection of the information to use. Another challenge was the difficulty to recover documents other than photography. The other alternative option left to solve this problem was to undertake a document search in Somalia. This will take time and extra financial cost and that is outside the mandate of the study.
Interviews

Interviews gather direct information from interviewees about their knowledge, emotions, and experiences (Patton, 2002). To accumulate data, I interviewed in the study 13 participants and they live in Toronto, Edmonton, Calgary, Windsor, and Kitchener, Canada, and Columbus, Ohio, in the U.S. There were five student-teachers, two teachers, three literacy students, and three civil servants, one from the Ministry of Information, and one education officer. They include a former military officer, Col. Sheikh Issa (Ret.), whose experience includes teaching and expertise in Somali history and politics (see procedure and timeline p. 83-84). The student-teachers were the most important group in the study, since they constituted the largest number of the campaign implementers, and I continued to interview them until I reached saturation, when the information became repetitive (Siegle, 2002). The following tables will show the classification of the participants in the study.
Table 2

*Status and current locations of the participants*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Participant</th>
<th>Current Occupation</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Current location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Shafi Shakir</td>
<td>Doctoral student</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Columbus, Ohio, US</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>A. Sheikh Issa</td>
<td>History teacher</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Toronto, Ontario, Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Saami Abdi</td>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Toronto, Ontario, Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Farah Jees</td>
<td>School counselor</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Toronto, Ontario, Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Dr. Abukar Moallim</td>
<td>Social worker</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Toronto, Ontario, Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Dr. Karima Bashir</td>
<td>Social worker</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Toronto, Ontario, Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Safia Samatar</td>
<td>Social worker</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Toronto, Ontario, Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Hussein Sheikh</td>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Edmonton, Alberta, Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Hassan Salat</td>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Calgary, Alberta, Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Habiba Haji</td>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Windsor, Ontario, Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Noor Ali</td>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Toronto, Ontario, Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Omar Suleiman</td>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Kitchener, Ontario, Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Fatima Hassan</td>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Toronto, Ontario, Canada</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Derived from the data
**Interview Times**

Table 3  
*Length of interviews in hours and minutes*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Participant Names</th>
<th>Length of Interviews in Hours &amp; Minutes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Dr. Karima Bashir,</td>
<td>One hour and more</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Hussein Sheikh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Safia Samatar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>A. Sheikh Issa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Dr. Abukar Moallim</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Shafi Shakir</td>
<td>40-50 Minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Saami Abdi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Farah Jees</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Hassan Salat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Habiba Haji</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Noor Ali</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Omar Suleiman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Fatima Hassan</td>
<td>27 minutes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I interviewed Fatima Hassan for her knowledge about Seylon. She was very important for the youth migration narrative but she was not knowledgeable about the campaign itself because she was very young at the time (see migration section). All interviews ranged between 1:15 to 27 minutes. Source: Derived from data.

**Data Coding**

Guba (1978) argued that “the task of converting field notes and observations about issues and concerns into systematic categories is a difficult one. No infallible procedure exists for performing it” (as cited in Patton, 2002, p. 466). After data collection was complete, I started to manually organize and code data through the process of
labeling and color-coding. This first involved the main categories of research questions and guide questions, such as objectives of the campaign, development, realization of development objectives, and outcomes.

I sub-divided each category; for example, I categorized the objective theme into language, education, development, etc. and color-coded their data patterns according to these sub-categories. Likewise, I further sub-divided each subsequent theme and color-coded as far as the data goes. This generated patterns and similar themes under each category. In addition, I labeled the data that did not fit any of these categories as new categories under new themes. This process led to the creation of an index file of topics and subtopics which in the end developed into main emergent themes.

**Participants of the Study**

In terms of the study participants, the focus is on individuals who participated in the Somali Literacy Campaign of 1975. The targeted participants of the study currently live in the United States and Canada, and are specifically concentrated in the cities of Ohio, in the US; and Ontario and Alberta, in Canada. These targeted groups participated in the campaign as student-teachers, teacher-supervisors, literacy students, and civil servants or administrators and policymakers. The attempt of the study is to discover what information these groups could provide to answer the research questions: The experiences of these participants are important to explain what was happening in the field and in the campaign centers. Of all the groups, student-teachers, who were in the field and directly involved in teaching the learners, were the most important.
This group, the young students who were dispatched to the countryside, experienced the campaign firsthand, and it was the first time most of them left their homes, friends, relatives, and their city streets to become the frontline workers of the campaign. According to the US Federal Research Division (2010), “The rural program also compelled a privileged class of urban youth to share the hardships of the nomadic pastoralists. Although affected by the onset of a severe drought, the program appeared to have achieved substantial results in the field in a short period of time” (p. 91). For the first time, campaign workers made contact and forged partnerships with a community of nomads and villagers, whom they used to consider backward because of their illiteracy and way of life. The importance of these young student-teachers is based on their first-hand positive and negative experiences, their perceptions of the campaign and how it impacted the lives of their host student-nomads and villagers. Most of the student-teachers interviewed for the study were educated intellectuals and business people who were able to evaluate and analyze the objectives and outcomes of the campaign.

The second targeted group of the study included the teacher-supervisors or administrators of the campaign. These were the teachers who led the student-teachers, and trained and supervised them through the implementation process of the program. The task of the teacher-supervisors was to guide young students through the process of adult literacy acquisition and to build relationships between the student-teachers from the cities and their nomad-students.

At the same time they were to supervise the implementation of the literacy program according to the policies and guidelines of the government. Hence, this second
group had an experience based on the mid-level activities of the fieldwork from supervising the young student-teachers and facilitating between the students and the learners on the one hand, to bridge the gap between the upper-level administrators and fieldworkers on the other hand.

The third group comprised the former government administrators and policymakers assigned to oversee implementation of the program according to the government plan, and to report back to the government leaders. This group was important for their experience and knowledge of what was taking place at the upper levels of the government administration and leadership. Thus, with their inside knowledge of the government plans and goals this group would assess how far the outcomes of the campaign were applicable to its predesigned objectives.

The fourth group, the learners of the campaign, benefited from the program directly or indirectly, and experienced its negative and positive impacts. This group also included previous government workers and/or civil servants who were knowledgeable about the campaign in one way or another. These two groups were important for their experience in the campaign, and government activities and policies, respectively.

Selection of Participants

Martin (1995) discussed three significant conditions about the selection of the participants: (a) participant should be in a position of authority about the event; (b) the social standing of the participants and their absolute eyewitness position should not be a condition; (c) participants should not be from the same group of people who share similar views about the event; for instance, students may form one group with similar opinions.
In view of that, the study focuses on different groups who represented different classes of participant in the campaign. They were different in their assignments, location of work, age, and gender, among other things.

All the participants in the study were Somalis in the North American Diaspora who participated in one or more of the Somali Literacy Campaigns in four different groups and/or capacities; (a) student-teachers; (b) teacher-supervisors and program managers; (c) administrators and/or experts; and (d) as literacy students.

These four groups were interviewed to bring together three different experiences into the study: (i) they were working in different capacities, such as students, teachers, and administrators; (ii) they were working in different regions of the country and so they have different regional perspectives and experiences; (iii) they were from different social and cultural groups, for instance, urban student-teachers and rural students; and (iv) they corresponded to different age groups between 15 and 40 years of age or above.

My first interview in the U.S., with a former student-teacher, was arranged by a colleague of mine who knew about my project. I communicated with the participant by phone, and we arranged an interview time and venue. In Canada, the selection process was more complex. For the teachers group, I sought the help of a former teacher I had identified as a potential participant. He was responsible for the arrangement of about 40% of the participants, including all teachers and half the student-teachers. In all, he gave me the names and phone numbers of the teachers, one of the civil servants, and two student teachers. Each participant I interviewed identified other potential interviewees through snowballing.
Description of the Participants

My sampling plan entailed a combination of purposive and snowballing techniques. For this reason, I purposively selected individuals who met the research criteria. In this process, I asked research participants to direct me to individuals who might have information or perspectives on the campaign. The snowballing method proved useful to me because I obtained 80% of the participants through it.

In terms of the participant criteria, I selected three different groups involved in the literacy campaign at three different levels: these were student-teachers, teacher-supervisors, literacy students, and administrators or civil servants who could shed some light on the campaign objectives and outcomes.

Student-teachers

The five student-teachers were interviewed formed the largest group of the sample; comparatively, this group also represented the largest group that participated in the implementation of the 1975 literacy campaign. In the interviews, they were helpful and flexible in accommodating the interview time and follow ups -- though they complained about their time restraint for interview. The students could not clearly remember two elements of the campaign, namely training for teaching literacy and the campaign objectives. This will be discussed in detail in Chapter Four. The students did not mind their full names being used in the study and were not interested in seeing the interview transcript. The student-teacher interview time averaged one hour. I will provide individual background information of the student-teachers in Chapter Four.
**Literacy Students**

I was worried about the availability of the literacy students and their willingness to participate in the study but I found two of them and their participation was valuable to the study. Habiba is a female literacy student from the prosperous Southern inter-reverine farming community, while Noor, a male former nomad (camel-herder), hails from the Central Regions, the least developed part of the nation. Their interview time was between 30 and 40 minutes, due to limited time and information about their side of the story. What is more interesting was that the campaign was the main reason they migrated to the urban centers, and thus changed their lives. Chapter Four will provide the individual background information of this group.

**Teachers**

The two teachers I interviewed were equally helpful. They were also willing to allow their names to be used in the study and waived their rights to read the interview transcripts. The significance of the teachers was their knowledge about how the revolutionary policies affected the education system that they were politically aware and well-informed about the political conditions of the country at the time. The reality of the situation was that the 36-year was a challenge to everybody’s memory. Nonetheless, their information was complementary. There is detailed individual information about this group in Chapter Four.

**Civil Servants**

Two civil servants were interviewed in the study, the Director General of the Ministry of Information, and one education officer. There was also a former colonel of
the Somali Army who is currently employed as a teacher in a Toronto education institution. I termed these three officials civil servants because of their role in the study as knowledgeable high-level former government officers. I will discuss their roles separately in the next sections.

The Director of Information, Saami Abdi, was critical of almost all the activities of the Revolution. He argued that the literacy campaign was one of the socialist propaganda operations they used to enhance their reputation. There was no doubt that he was an insider because, at one point, he worked in the presidential palace information office and accompanied the president on his foreign trips. Later, he became the Chief Protocol Officer of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. However, when I compared his information to the rest of the data, he turned out to be an outlier. Some of his data was valuable as a critical view of the activities of the Revolution. However, there were instances (5%) when his views were supported by other data, and in that case, I utilized his information in the study.

Education Officer

I had the opportunity to interview one of the Somali education officers who held different positions in the Somali government, including Education Inspector, Campaign Inspector, and member of the campaign technical committee. Being an insider in the education and campaign affairs, he was very helpful and provided important information that other participants were not in a position to know. His time was very limited, but he generously gave me 50 minutes of interview time and I utilized this by asking him the necessary insider information that other interviewees could not recall, or were not in a
position to answer. Although he was not interested in reading the interview transcripts, he requested that I not use his full name in the transcript or in the final report of the study, for personal reasons and/or to avoid publicity. I understood and respected his position because he is a close friend of one of the former Supreme Revolutionary Council member who declined to be interviewed in the study (see limitations p. 98-99).

**Military Officer, Teacher, and Historian**

Colonel Sheikh Issa (Ret.) is a former military officer who worked in the campaign as an army literacy teacher and in the logistics department of the military which contributed to the campaign logistics. Sheikh Issa, as he is called, is a respected member of the Somali community known for his capacity as a Somali historian, educator, and political analyst. He was valuable to the study for clarifying different historical events.
Table 4

**Biographical information of interviewees and dates**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Campaign Role or Previous Occupation</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Shafi Shakir</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>Student-teacher</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>2/15/2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. A. Sheikh Issa</td>
<td>60s</td>
<td>Colonel, Somali Army</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>2/18/2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Saami Abdi</td>
<td>70s</td>
<td>News Director</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>2/19/2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Farah Jees</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>2/22/2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Dr. Abukar Moallim</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>Student-teacher</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>2/24/2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Dr. Karima Bashir</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>Student-teacher</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>2/26/2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Fatima Hassan</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>Literacy student</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>3/12/2011</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This Table provides a biographical information of interviewees and dates of interviews. Source: Derived from the data.

**Organization and Interpretation of the Data According to the Research Questions**

**Research Question One:** What were the main anticipated objectives of the Somali Literacy Campaign?

Question one of the study examines the intended objectives of the campaign. The main source of data to answer this question is the participant interviews, particularly, interview data from the teachers and government officers. As indicated earlier, from here onwards I will refer to the Somali government employees who participated in the study as
civil servants, because of their role in the study and the common trait that separates them from the teachers, student-teachers, and literacy students. Among the civil servants, the education officer, Omar Suleiman, was the most valuable in providing important information about campaign objectives. His importance was that he was an education and campaign expert, with in-depth familiarity with government politics. Conversely, student-teachers and literacy students were not able to provide answers for this question. As a result, I synthesized the various data from the teachers and civil servants and analyzed them to achieve the objectives of question one. In all questions, there were a number of pictures which were obtained to support the data.

**Research Question Two:** Did the campaign successfully realize its set objectives and contribute to the main objective?

This question investigates whether the campaign successfully realized its set objectives and how this contributed to the main objective of literacy for development. The source of data for this question is the responses of all the participants involved in the study. This question has two parts: the first inquires whether the campaign achieved its objectives and the second addresses how the outcomes contributed to the development objective. I analyzed this data to show the similarities and dissimilarities of the responses to draw the appropriate analysis of the data.

**Research Question Three:** What were the unexpected political, social, and economic outcomes of the campaign?

This question inquires the unexpected social, political and economic outcomes of the campaign. The main source of data for question three is based on interviews with the
participants, particularly, the teachers and the government officers who had the political perspective of the day and the experience of the government policies and operations.

**Analysis**

Data analysis conceptually starts with the first interviews. According to Patton (2002), “Analysis begins during a larval stage that if fully developed, metamorphoses from caterpillar-like beginnings into the splendor of the mature butterfly” (p. 432). In view of that, I planned a strategy of analysis hand-in-hand with the data collection process. Every interview I conducted contributed to the process of analysis and promotion of credibility. The data collection process was a learning experience in terms of putting theory into practice through data collection and analysis. For instance, the early practice of journaling assisted me in data coding and discovering and sorting of comparable themes and concepts from the raw data, and that facilitated the groupings of similar patterns.

In addition, the descriptive tabulation of the participants in the data decoding process contributed to the analysis process by creating visual characteristics of the interviewees including, groups, age, gender, and occupation, among others.

During the analysis process, I watched for patterns, similar principles, and relationships in the data until complete themes emerged. Subsequently, I shared the outcome with the participants to ensure their position in the analysis process and promote the credibility of the study. The first patterns that emerged were the importance and role of the rural campaign participants, student campaign experiences, and the migration of
the rural youth to the urban areas and their impact on education and economy (see analysis at the end of the Chapter).

**Research Design**

This section discusses the qualitative methodology used in the design of the study. In addition, it examines the appropriateness of the qualitative approaches which are used in the study, such as site selection, data sources, analysis, and credibility techniques, among other things.

**Site Selection**

After the Somali civil war of 1991, Somalis migrated to different parts of the world, including North America, Western Europe, the Middle East, and South Africa. The American states of Minnesota and Ohio and Canadian provinces like Ontario and Alberta are home to the largest number of Somalis in North America. As a result, the study focuses on the Somali communities in Toronto, Windsor, and Kitchener, Ontario; and Edmonton, Calgary, Alberta; and Columbus, Ohio. The rationale for selecting these locations was that a large concentration of Somali enclaves would provide a good number of participants who qualify for the criteria of participation of the study. The following map indicates the North American cities selected for the study.
Sampling Procedures

The sampling procedure utilizes purposive and snowballing techniques. According to Martin (1995), “This method allows the researcher to select an interviewee who identifies the next interviewee” (p. 52). This method is specifically significant, according to Martin, when the interviewer and the interviewees do not know each other. The strength of this process is that each interviewee’s narrative is comparatively linked and related to the other to reduce bias and promote credibility. However, this could also be a weakness of the approach, because the fact that the interviewees know each other could mean that they originated from the same area or belong to the same class or group which shares the same views about the program. Nonetheless, I resolved this issue by investigating any such connections to avoid any one-sidedness of the data. As mentioned
earlier, comparing the data of the different participants ruled out the selection of one class of participants with the same beliefs.

**Data Sources**

The data sources of this study are photographic documentation and interviews with individuals who participated in the Somali Literacy Campaign as student-teachers, teacher-supervisors or project field managers, campaign experts and/or administrators. These were the front-line workers directly involved in three different levels of the campaign. Their “Life histories are helpful in defining socialization and in studying aspects of certain professions. Their value goes beyond providing specific information about events and customs of the past—as a historical account might—by showing how the individual creates meaning within the culture” (Marshall & Rossman, 1999, p. 121).

The experience of these participants was important in building a three-dimensional picture of the campaign objectives and outcomes, while at the same time describing how the outcomes impacted the rural and urban communities.

Furthermore, I was fortunate to locate three former literacy-students who graduated from the literacy campaign program and who contributed their experiences to the research data. These former students were able to tell me what impact the campaign had on their lives and how they benefited from it. In addition, I consulted with a number of Somali campaign experts who contributed to the data analysis. I was also fortunate to collect from the study participants a number of campaign photographs as primary and secondary sources. These secondary source pictures assisted in creating a holistic picture of the 1975 Somali Literacy Campaign.
Primary and Secondary Sources

Martin (1995) defines primary and secondary sources as: “Primary sources of data are individuals with firsthand knowledge of the event(s) being investigated. Those who only heard about an event at that time or who received accounts secondhand are secondary sources” (p.51). Thus, the participants who witnessed the program are a primary source of the study while documentation in the form of photography is a primary and/or secondary source. Photography is one kind of primary documentation. For instance, Martin stated in her definition of validity in the context of oral history the degree of conformity between the reports of the event and the event itself, as recorded by other primary resource materials such as photographs, family bibles, diaries, school reports, letters, and other documents” (p.51). This indicates the importance of photography as a source and as a document.

It is important to identify the source as primary or secondary and make sure all data fit one or the other of these categories. In this data, all the interviewees witnessed the campaign firsthand and therefore their data qualifies as primary. Similarly, the study used a number of photographs which qualified as primary sources.

Instrumentation and Protocols

In this study I used semi-structured interviews and there were three sets of questions related to each of my three research questions. I used a total of 15 interview questions which I alternated according to the situation and the nature of the interviewees. Four groups of interviewees participated in the study: student-teachers, teachers, literacy students, and civil servants. According to Patton (2002), "T]he fundamental principle of
qualitative interviewing is to provide a framework within which respondents can express their own understandings in their own terms” (p. 384). Thus, though questions were different according to the nature of each group they were structured in a manner which allowed the participants to articulate their thoughts.

The first set of questions investigated the objectives of the campaign. The second set inquired about the outcome of the campaign; and the final set examined the unexpected outcomes of the campaign and its impacts on the communities involved. For the interview guide questions and the demographic data (see appendix A)

**Procedure and Timeline of Conducting the Interviews**

After I secured IRB approval, I went to Columbus, Ohio, to conduct the first phase of the data collection process. After I interviewed one participant, I went to Toronto, Ontario, Canada, to conduct the second phase. Patton (2002) contended that “Data collection is cost-effective. In one hour, you can gather information from eight people instead of one, significantly increasing sample size” (p. 386). With this in mind, I interviewed the first three people separately in Toronto, and I found out that the chance of easily finding more people was better in Toronto. I knew the city very well because it is my hometown, I was driving my own car and staying my house and so it was cost effective. Within a shorter period than planned, I secured more than 80% of the interviewees. The following provides a detailed data collection timeline:

**Week 1:** On February 15, 2011, I met the first participant in Columbus, and after I interviewed him and transcribed the data, I went to Toronto to continue. On February 18-19 I interviewed the second and third participants in Toronto.
Week 2: Between February 22-26, I interviewed three participants in Toronto. With busy schedule I had to concentrate on interviews and postpone transcription until the next week. Moreover, I was organizing the next group of participants and Farah Jees, a school counselor and former teacher, assisted me in this effort.

Week 3: March 5, in Toronto I interviewed one participant, who arranged my next interview. Since I could find only one interviewee this week, I planned to end the Toronto phase of the interviews, but I had one more prearranged interview. Since I had just one interviewee this week, I had time to continue the transcription of data.

Week 4: March 6-12, I interviewed two participants who were supposed to be the last in Toronto, however, one of them told me about an important man who was a campaign inspector. If I would find him, he would be the most significant individual in the study, but I had to wait one week to meet him. Furthermore, he lives in Kitchener, Ontario, and I had a 107 km drive there to meet him.

Week 5: On March 19 I met and interviewed the former campaign inspector. This was my last interviewee in Toronto but, two previous interviewees gave me the names and phone numbers of three potential new interviewees.

Week 6: March 21-26, I interviewed two participants. One, Hussein Sheikh, lives in Edmonton and I had to interview him by phone. He also sent me a photo. The second participant was about 367 km. away in Windsor, Ontario, and I had to drive there four hours to meet her.

Week 7: March 29, I conducted my last interview of Hassan Salat, who lives in Calgary, Alberta. This was another telephone interview and the participant sent me a photo.
**Week 8:** I returned to Athens to reassess and crosscheck my data. At the end of this week I officially began data transcription in Athens.

**My Role as a Researcher**

As almost any other community, the Somali community is separated and organized in terms of political, regional, and clan lines. Conducting research in such a community needs careful navigation to avoid controversy and maintain a neutral position. Thus, from the beginning of the study, I understood that my neutrality was important if I were to gain the trust of the community and simultaneously promote the credibility of the research. Patton (2002) maintained that “Any credible research strategy requires that the investigator adopt a stance of neutrality with regard to the phenomenon under study” (p. 51).

Though I had participated in the campaign as a student-teacher I did not share that with my participants to give them full confidence in their responses. My understanding was that knowledge of my participation would have interfered their independence in the discussion. For this reason, I have avoided contributing my personal experience to this work to avoid bias and I have attempted to maintain a neutral position throughout the study. In addition, other than my personal participation, I have no intellectual or emotional stake in the judgment of the campaign, its outcomes, and the interview items in Appendix A in general.

**Insider-outsider**

My relation to the Somali language and education is little more than that of a native Somali speaker/researcher. I taught the Somali language at Ohio University from
2007-2011, and taught a Somali summer course at Michigan State University in 2009. Before that, I taught different courses and held administrative positions including Dean of the Faculty of Computer Science and Information Technology, and Director of the Institute for Somali Studies at Mogadishu University in Somalia between 2002 and 2007.

My relationship with the Somali Literacy Campaign was as one of the student-teachers who participated in the campaign. Participation in the campaign contributed to my personal, educational and, later, my professional growth by raising my social and political consciousness.

During the campaign, I became aware of the relationships entrenched in the rural-urban connections. In addition, I understood the meaning of development, the relationship between education and development, the importance of the rural population, and the leadership role of the state in national development, among other things. As we shall see in the findings, the Rural Development Campaign equally contributed to the socio-political consciousness of the rural people and changed the negative perceptions between the rural-urban participants.

This study revived and refreshed my memory of the scholarship, culture, and wisdom acquired through the campaign. As a result, this research was a relearning process for me and assisted me to relive the campaign experience again.

Thus, as a member of the Somali community I had two roles to play during the process of this study. First, my membership in the community furnished me with cultural and lingual knowledge to understand the community background. Moreover, it forestalled any suspicions that would arise for a stranger investigating a Somali problem. In a recent
personal experience, I am aware of a number of studies involved in the Somali community which was not completed for reasons related to the mistrust of non-Somali researchers. Thus, a Somali studying a Somali issue was a positive matter which assisted my being received as an insider. On the other hand, my responsibility as a researcher to maintain neutrality; ask hard investigatory questions; and demand practical evidence, placed me the other side of the equation, as an outsider. Patton, (2002) remarked that “The quality of qualitative data depends to a great deal on the methodological skill, sensitivity, and integrity of the researcher” (p.5). Consequently, sometimes participants had to guess to which region or political bloc I belong.

**Data Collection Procedures**

According to Marshall and Rossman (1999), “Qualitative researchers typically rely on four methods for gathering information: (a) participation in the setting, (b) direct observation, (c) in depth interviewing, (d) analyzing documents and material culture” (p. 105). This study used interviewing and documentation approaches and I will briefly explain these approaches in the following section.

**Interviews**

Qualitative data collection requires in-depth inquiry, and “interviews that capture direct quotations about people’s personal perspectives and experience” (Patton, 2002, p. 40). From this perspective, I selected individuals who matched the study criteria and the data that I collected were fundamentally based on their direct quotations and perspectives. In addition, a number of photographs were obtained from different sources.
The participants were individuals who had direct and indirect experience and knowledge about the literacy campaign. In addition, my personal experience with community language and culture assisted me to engage participants and comprehend the dynamics of their environments and backgrounds. The importance of the participants as a source of data emanated from the fact that alternative sources of data, such as books or records, which could provide the kind of information required for this study were limited.

The interviewing method which I used in the study was the narrative, semi-structured interviews. According to Patton (2002), this is the most open-ended interview method and can provide maximum flexibility in every direction necessary to acquire information. This kind of open-ended interview works well with oral history and/or narrative research, because it gives the interviewees enough time to speak uninterrupted.

The weakness of this method is that it gives the interviewee unlimited time which could sacrifice quantity for quality. However, this problem could be resolved by the interview guide procedure (Patton, 2002). This is a pre-planned interview guideline to guide the interviewee to the most important issues through questioning. In addition, about 90% of the participants informed me that their time was limited so the interview guide procedure was useful to respect the participants’ time constraints and at the same time achieve the interview goals.

In the interviewing process, I sought to promote credibility by using responsive interviewing, which is based on the combination of critical theory and constructionist philosophy. This method dwells on the notion that reality is socially constructed (Ritzer, 2007; Rubin & Rubin, 2005). It stresses the importance of human relationships to
generate depth in the interviewing process and emphasizes that the research design
remain flexible in a continuum of re-modification (Rubin & Rubin, 2005). The flexibility
and re-modification of the interviewing process was specifically valuable allowing me to
engage participants with different backgrounds, convictions, and education status.

In terms of procedure, all interview locations were selected by the interviewees.
Sixty percent took place in public locations, mostly ethnic Somali restaurants where the
interviewees insisted on treating me to dinner, though my plan had been to pay the check.
The remaining 40% of the interviews occurred in the interviewees’ homes.

All the participants preferred to be interviewed alone. Most of them allowed me to
record the interviews and they waived their rights to check the transcripts. Only three
people declined to have their voices taped or to be photographed. One of the
interviewees, Omar Suleiman, cited personal and security reasons (see limitations). The
other two individuals said that since we did not know each other they preferred that I not
use their real names, take their pictures, or tape their voices. This was difficult, but I had
to conduct the interview and do the best I could. However, after the intervention of the
person who arranged the connection for me, I was allowed to call them anytime for more
information, follow ups, and/or confirmation of previous data. Conversely, other
participants I met for the first time allowed me to tape their interviews and take their
pictures.

At the end of the interviews, I attempted to bring interviewees together to conduct
a focus group discussion and explore the areas of consensus and disagreement; however,
this proved impossible due to time and venue conflict. Nonetheless, I had an opportunity
to individually meet or telephone some of the participants to discuss issues with them and to evaluate together the acquired data. This gave me an opportunity to consult with them about the research process for quality control and research credibility.

**Documents/photography**

As I have indicated earlier, Martin (1995) recognized photography as providing valid documents and I will discuss here its significance as a source of data. Patton (2002) argued that: ―Photography can help in recalling things that have happened as well as vividly capturing the setting for others‖ (p. 308). In view of that, I used photography during the interview process to refresh and stimulate the memories of the interviewees. On some occasions it helped to extend the discussion time when participants recalled certain events or activities related to the pictures. Similarly, Patton (1999a) maintained the significance of photography in data analysis. In his words:

―Looking at photographs during analysis helped me recall the details of certain activities that I had not fully recorded in my written notes… I relied heavily on photographs to add details to descriptions of places where critical events occurred in the Grand Canyon initiation story I wrote about coming of age in modern society (as cited in Patton, 2002, p. 308).

As a result, I used photography in the data analysis process on two levels. The first was during data collection and second level was in data analysis (see data analysis).

**Credibility Techniques**

Research credibility is critical to every research project, mainly to avoid bias and promote research integrity and trustworthiness. Research bias is usually related to studies which are conducted primarily to promote special interests or special products. Nastasi and Schensul (2005) contend that, ―The nature of qualitative research and the role of
researcher as instrument necessitate particular attention to ensuring the trustworthiness (veracity or validity) of findings” (p. 184). Consequently, I conducted this study in my capacity as a research instrument with all possible neutrality and integrity, and without harboring any special agenda.

To promote the integrity of the study, I used most of the following research credibility techniques:
Table 5  
*Credibility Techniques*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Technique</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Triangulation</td>
<td>Using multiple methods, in data collection, data resources, and data interpretation and analysis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Member checks</td>
<td>The first level of this process is double checking the data with the participants before interpretation and analysis; second level is confirming with participants after data interpretation and analysis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(first &amp; second</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>levels)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>External auditors</td>
<td>An outside examiner audits the research data collection methods, by auditing the notes, audios, and journals, including the interpretation and analytical process, among other things</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peer review</td>
<td>Colleagues review data and analysis and provide feedback</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative case</td>
<td>Looking for inconsistencies, outliers, and contradictions in the data analysis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Researcher-</td>
<td>Researchers sincerely declare their study positionality, expectations, and biases before the research implementation process</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reflexivity</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

Source: Nastasi & Schensul(2005); Bratlinger et al. (2005).

These credibility techniques are important to promote research credibility. Researchers use them, according to the kind of research they are conducting, and sometimes combine them to attain strong credibility. In the following section, I will discuss the credibility techniques I used in the study, and their significance and contribution to the study.
Triangulation

Triangulation refers broadly to the use of more than one method of data collection and data analysis in order to promote the credibility of the study. Fielding and Fielding (1986) interpreted triangulation as combining more than one method, or two methods and the researcher as the “third point of the triangle” (as cited in Patton, 2002, pp.246-247). That is because the researcher is the main instrument of the study (Patton, 2002). There are four main types of triangulation: (1) data triangulation using multiple data sources; (2) theory triangulation employs multiple theories in data interpretation; (3) methodological triangulation utilizes multiple approaches to investigate any single case; and (4) investigator triangulation, applies multiple investigators to collect or review study data (Brantlinger et al., 2005; Johnson & Christenson, 2008; Patton, 2002). According to Nastasi and Schensul (2005), “Triangulation refers to the use of multiple sources, methods, theories, and investigators in the process of data collection and transformation” (p. 185). The advantage of triangulation is to utilize multiple tools that produce multiple results.

In view of that, I used triangulation methods by using multiple data collection methods, multiple data sources, and multiple data interpretations and analysis through interviews and photographic documentation. In addition, I compared different data I collected from varied sources and then contrasted it to the literature, experts, and participants themselves. This method allowed me to compare results whether the outcome converged or conflicted. Student-teachers reported that they were not trained for teaching literacy; however, after I compared that to the statement of one of the civil servants,
Omar Suleiman, it came out that there was a short student-teacher training session. This was supported by the literature (see campaign objectives in chapter 4, theme 1). In addition, while some participants attributed the collapse of the Somali education to reasons related to the campaign outcomes, Sheikh Issa reported a number of factors that contributed to the Somali education problem. These included the Ethiopian-Somali war of 1977, among other things (see campaign objectives in chapter 4, theme 2).

**Member Checks (First Level & Second Level)**

Member checks is the process in which the researcher goes back to the interviewees to check the accuracy of the acquired data, to assure that it conforms to the information they have provided. This process has two levels. Brantlinger et al. (2005) described the first level as “taking transcriptions to participants prior to analyses and interpretations of results. [The second level refers to] taking analyses and interpretations of data to participants (prior to publication) for validation of (or support for) researchers’ conclusions” (p. 201). My objective in using this method was to gain confirmation from the research participants of the accuracy of the data in order to consolidate the credibility and trustworthiness of the study. As a result, I employed both levels of member checks by checking with the participants before and after data analysis. Historian Sheikh Issa, school counselor expert Farah Jees, Omar Suleiman played an elemental role in this objective. For instance, when I showed Farah Jees the data about resettlement of the migrants in the agricultural areas, he clarified the difference between resettlement of the draught victims and the migrant youths, which was not fully clear in the literature (see question 2, theme 3).
**External Auditors**

The rationale behind the use of this process is that qualified auditors are usually able to detect inconsistencies that the researcher may not be able to notice. As Brantlinger et al. (2005) pointed out, external auditors refer to “[U]sing outsiders (to the research) to examine if, and confirm that, a researcher‘s inferences are logical and grounded in findings” (p.201). However, it was not possible for me to use external auditors.

**Peer Review**

In this technique colleagues specialized in this field scrutinize or review the process of research data collection, data interpretation, and data analysis processes. Nastasi and Schensul (2005) discuss peer debriefing, which “[R]efers to the process of engaging professional colleagues in analytic discussions about data interpretation (p. 185). My intention in using this practice was to utilize the expertise of my peers to review the research process and then provide me with feedback of what was positive or negative about the study.

One of my peer reviewers was a Tanzanian doctoral candidate, Mr. Muhammad, who taught at the University of Dar es Salaam, and witnessed the Tanzanian literacy campaign. Muhammad gave me his insight about the comparative literacy campaign methods in relation to the Tanzanian literacy experience. For instance, while the Somali Literacy Campaign was implemented in a relatively short period of eight months, the Tanzanian Literacy Program was a long-term project that extended from 1971-1981 (Bhola, 1984). Thus, the outcome of the Tanzanian campaign was comparatively
more complex. This comparative insight was valuable to my interviews and data analysis in terms of the implementation process and campaign outcomes.

**Negative Case Analysis**

This concept alerts the researcher to be aware of the negative cases that naturally contradict to the study expectations and findings, or generalizations of a theory (Johnson & Christenson, 2008; Ritzer, 2007). As a key method in addressing bias, I used this method to strengthen the credibility of the study and to prevent any unexpected negative occurrences that could contradict or weaken the study. The importance of this method was to keep me aware of any data that contradicted the primary findings. Consequently, I was able to continuously revise my findings and compare them to the data.

One contradiction I discovered through this technique was though at the time student-teachers accepted the accommodation of their rural hosts during the campaign, they now see it as wrong. On the contrary, teachers and civil servants believe this decision was and still is a positive one. The rationale of the latter group is that the campaign was based on national cultural values and the cost needed to be shared by all the people including the nomads. The student-teachers on the other hand, felt that the government was financially better off than the poor nomads. Similarly, through triangulation, Lewis (1977) in the literature supports Omar Suleiman’s statement that student-teachers were trained for the task of teaching literacy.

**Researcher Reflexivity**

Sometimes, researchers hold beliefs, expectations, and assumptions before the start of the research, and that contributes to researcher bias. This bias can percolate
through the research process and directly or indirectly influence the study outcome. In qualitative research, the role of the researcher as research instrument is important (Glesne, 2006). This requires the clarification of the researcher’s study positionality. In order to reduce the risk of researcher bias and any subsequent research outcome compromise, I attempted to avoid personal biases or beliefs, which I discussed earlier. For instance, my positionality of the Somali Literacy Campaign was always positive and I believed that it was a significant development project. However, I had no practical evidence for this significance, except that it was a common belief among the Somali community.

As a result, I was personally curious about the outcome of the study and what kind of evidence it would produce. Therefore, the emerged themes of education and economic improvement, youth migration, and enhanced socio-political awareness identified the previously suspected achievements of the campaign. On the other hand, the study also identified a number of negative outcomes of the campaign, which the revolutionary government did not disclose.

One of the objectives of this study was to provide credible evidence of the impact of the campaign on the program participants and on the Somali society at large. Thus, declaring my positionality is an attempt to promote the study credibility, in combination with other aforementioned credibility techniques.

**Data Analysis**

According to Patton (2002), “Qualitative analysis transforms data into findings. No formula exists for that transformation” (p. 432). As discussed earlier, oral
historiography and narratology or narratives deal with research about individuals who have witnessed or experienced the history of a certain event or phenomenon. This includes “life history, narratives, historical memoir, and creative non-fiction” (Patton, 2002, p. 115). The importance of life histories is that they reveal the historical background, language, and culture of the narrators (Patton, 2002). In addition, narratives identify the qualitative emotional connection of the narrator to the topic of research. As a result, because the Somali Literacy Campaign was part of the lived history and memories of the participants, their narratives proved appropriate in highlighting the relationship and cultural connection between the participants and the campaign. During the interview process, I noted an emotional connection between the participants and the literacy campaign. For this reason, I included the participants in the narrative analysis process by means of photographs and participant reviews through member checks.

Patton (2002) argues that “photographs express the artistic, emotional, and experiential intent of the photographer” (p. 482). This emotional expression is passed on to the viewer, creating an emotional connection between the participant and the event. One of the areas which emotionally touched participants was photo analysis in which during the interviews and analysis, as discussed earlier, I showed photographs to the participants and asked them to express what they saw in them; or what they thought these pictures were conveying to the viewer. This was one method I used in the analysis process. According to Freire (2005):

When an individual is presented with a coded existential situation (a sketch, or photo which leads by abstraction to the concreteness of existential reality), his tendency is to “split” that coded situation. In the process of decoding, this separation corresponds to the stage we call the “description of the situation”, and
facilitates the discovery of the interaction among the parts of the disjoined whole. This whole (the coded situation), which previously had been only diffusely apprehended, begins to acquire meaning as thought flows back to it from the various dimensions. Since, however, the coding is the representation of an existential situation, the encoder tends to take the step from the representation to the very concrete situation in which and with which she finds herself. (p.105)

This method was thought-provoking and most of the participants reported a story which related to one or more of the pictures. In one picture of the launching day of the campaign, participants used such descriptive words as: importance, greatness, nationalism, adventure, exploitation of resources, historical, discovery and exploration, powerful, ambitious, etc.

In narrative analysis, it is helpful to understand the language, culture, and history of the participants and their relationship with the event (Patton, 2002). Thus, understanding these elements facilitated the initial access to the participants, the data collection process, and interpretation and analysis of the data.

**Steps for Analysis**

According to Bogdan and Biklen (1992), “Analysis involves working with data, organizing them, breaking them into manageable units, synthesizing them, searching for patterns, discovering what is important and what is to be learned, and deciding what to tell others” (as cited in Martin, 1995, p. 67). This states the analysis process during data collection to go with the flow of the data, giving the researcher the opportunity to grow up with the progress of the data and experience the evolitional development of the study. The process facilitates the researcher’s recognition of emerging patterns and themes, offering an opportunity to be flexible and to refine questions and interview methods to
accommodate and focus on the emerging themes in holistic manner. Because the significance of qualitative analysis is its holistic analytical approach (Patton, 2002).

**Analytical Approach**

According to Patton (2003), there are no specific formulas of qualitative analysis and each study with its unique characteristics requires a unique style of analysis. This study is historical, and in historical studies the story-telling or narrative style is one of the appropriate options. Golden-Biddle and Locke (1997) discussed the importance of the story style; and Glesne (1999) proposed that researchers create their own qualitative research story. With this in mind, I selected the story-telling style.

Because each qualitative study is unique, the analytical approach used will be unique. Because qualitative inquiry depends, at every stage, on the skills, training, insights, and capabilities of the inquirer, qualitative analysis ultimately depends on the analytical intellect and style of the analyst. (Patton, 2003, p. 433)

I have also attempted to utilize inductive analysis, which “begins with specific observations [and/or interviews] and builds toward general patterns” (p.56). This enabled me to construct a research story from the specific narratives of the respondents to the concluding results of the study.

I began the analysis process hand-in-hand with the data collection and continued to recognize patterns during transcription. At the end of the collection process I reviewed the data for common patterns and themes. What helped me to understand and contextualize the data during the analysis process was knowledge of language and culture of the participants.

On the other hand, some features of the campaign itself contributed to the efficient processing of the data, and that was that the campaign was a specific event
which took place in a specific time period, and had a preplanned beginning and end date. This was different from an event like the Somali civil war which went on for decades through different phases in different parts of the country. This character of the literacy campaign reduced confusion and contradiction among participants.

**Limitations of the Study**

After I began the interviews, I realized I faced two difficulties: The first one was the shortage of teachers who had participated in the campaign. Adam (1980) stated that about 4,500 teachers participated in the literacy campaign and most of them, as Farah Jees reported, “were middle aged teachers who were selected for their experience in the regions they were assigned to work, the length of time they were in the education service, and other prominence related to the campaign” (Farah Jees, personal communication, February 22, 2011). Today, most of these teachers have either passed away or are no longer active.

The other possibility is that many of them did not emigrate to North America due to age. For instance, Farah Jees referred me to a teacher who lives in a small town in Alberta, Canada, and I realized from the description that this was my grade 6-7 teacher. In the end, we could not locate him or anyone who knew him.

However, since we were not even sure whether he participated in the campaign or not, it was not worthwhile to spend much time searching for him. Most of the Somali teachers now in North America are younger teachers who joined the education service after the end of campaign. For this reason, I found only two teachers and Omar Suleiman who, as an education officer, could also play the role of a teacher and a civil servant.
The second problem was locating a good number of the former policymakers or civil servants who were in high enough positions to know what was going on beyond the implementation process. Some of these people are now very old or have passed away. Those who are alive in North America fear lawsuits against them because many of the higher military officers, judges, security service officers, and other policymakers are being sued in Canada and the United States.

On many occasions, the courts elected not to try these cases for such reasons as diplomatic immunity and the statute of limitations, among other things. However, on April 1, 2010, a U.S. district court judge in the State of Virginia allowed the trial of Mohamed Ali Samatar, former Prime Minister of the revolutionary government, who was accused of human rights abuses while in office (Abdi, 2011).

In addition, on April 21, 2011, a former colonel of the Somali security service, Abdi Magan, was sued by a former political detainee who alleged that he was detained and tortured under his orders (Welsh-Huggins, 2011). Many related cases have been in the courts since 2004, in Canada and the US, but it was not until 2010-2011 that a trial was allowed in these cases. This forced many former Somali officials to go underground.

One of my interviewees, who asked that his name not be used told me that since the Samatar and Magan cases were allowed, the limited options of others were either to leave the country or lead a low-profile life, which limited my access to high-level government officers in North America.
Summary

This historiography study utilized purposive and snowballing techniques to facilitate the selection of participants according to the research criteria. In the snowballing process, participants assisted me to obtain suitable candidates for study interviews. It was also important to maintain neutrality through the study to establish study credibility. The selection of the participants was based on previously set criteria of three categories of participants in the literacy campaign. All participants are members of the Somali Diaspora living in North America.

In data collection techniques, the study used qualitative semi-structured and oral historiography and/or narrative conversational interviews, depending on the situation. The idea was to allow the interviewees enough time to express their thoughts; however, I also used an interview guide procedure to manage time and adhere to the more important points.

In terms of data resources, I utilized interviews and documentation as the main data sources since no other alternative sources were available to me. To promote study credibility, I also used other credibility techniques, including triangulation, negative case analysis, and member checks, among others.

In data analysis, I engaged the interviewees in the analysis by continuously following them up with the analysis process and consulting with them about the patterns and themes emerging from the data.
Chapter Four: Brief Background of Participants and Discussion of the Objectives of the Campaign

Chapter Four will begin the discussion of the responses to research question one, which focused on the objectives of the 1975 literacy campaign in Somalia. But before discussing the views of the respondents I will describe the background of the 13 participants of the study.

Farah Jees (pseudonym)

Farah Jees participated in the campaign as a teacher and before he came to Canada in the early 1990s, where he worked at the Ministry of Education for 10 years as a professional teacher. In addition, he worked with the United Nations Somalia on projects such as the resettlement and urbanization of the rural people. His qualifications and knowledge of Somali education is based on his experiences in three different administrations: the Italian education system which he witnessed as a student, the post-independent republic, and the revolutionary military government. Farah Jees taught all over the country and acquired nation-wide knowledge and experience of Somalia in terms of politics, development, education, and culture. He was valuable to my study in his ability to illustrate the background of many events related to education, politics and culture. Farah Jees now lives in Toronto with his family. He is a high school counselor in a school where the ethnic Somali students are in the majority.

Dr. Karima Bashir

Dr. Karima Bashir participated in the Somali Literacy Campaign as a student-teacher in the Brava district which is about 110 km. south of the capital, Mogadishu. She
taught literacy in a farming community where she witnessed, as she put it, “the first thing of a real life experience.” She was attacked by a group of nomads and witnessed the death of a colleague. After the campaign she went to a medical school and worked in different parts of the country as a gynecologist until 1982. Dr. Karima Bashir has lived in Toronto since 1993 and is a counselor at a women’s Health Clinic.

Dr. Abukar Moallim

Dr. Abukar Moallim participated in the literacy campaign as a student-teacher in the highlands of the South-Central Region of Hiran with a nomad camel-herding community. He found the campaign work was made difficult by the communities’ nomadic life. For example, the particular community with which he was working moved three times during the literacy campaign.

Nonetheless, he appreciated the opportunity to participate in the campaign for the invaluable experience he gained. After the campaign, he went to medical school then he worked in various regions of the country in different capacities including, a medical doctor, district health coordinator, and regional public health director. Dr. Abukar Moallim is currently a community health counselor in one of Toronto’s community health clinics. In my interview with him, he was informative and helpful in sharing his campaign experiences.

Hussein Sheikh

Hussein Sheikh participated in the campaign as a student-teacher in the South-East Region of Bay where he taught in a community of farmers who were also seasonal hunters. He considers the campaign work one of the happiest moments of his youth
because it was his first time away from family home; and although the campaign work was not easy, he treated it like a camping trip. Another reason for this positive campaign memory was the good treatment he received from the people who he was teaching. After the campaign though, he went to a telecommunications technical school but he chose not to work in the telecommunications sector. Hussein Sheikh is now self-employed in Edmonton, Canada, with family.

**Safia Samatar (pseudonym)**

Safia Samatar became a teacher in 1974 and participated in the campaign as a new teacher. She continued to teach until she went to the Somali National University to become an agronomist. She told me that during the revolutionary era she was a member of a socialist youth group who were critical of the government’s socialist political path. She is still critical of many government policies which many people consider revolutionary success stories. These include women’s development programs and education policies, among others. Her indifference to the revolutionary socialist regime stems from an ideological viewpoint based on government misuse of socialist principles. This was related to the government’s introduction of Somali socialism which was based on the local culture. However, her critical views and political consciousness were helpful to show a different angle of the events related to the study. Safia Samatar is currently a community activist in women’s rights.

**Hassan Salat**

Hassan Salat participated in the campaign as a student-teacher and worked in the Galgaduud Region of South Central Somalia. He told me that he grew up in the
countryside and at the time of the campaign had had previous experience in nomadic life and culture. This helped him to cope with the tough nomadic life and the traditional continuous movement. With this experience, he made friends with the community he was serving and interacted well with them. After he finished high school he went into business with his family. In 1980 he migrated to the gulf countries. He currently lives in Calgary, Canada, as a self-employed businessman.

**Shafi Shakir (pseudonym)**

Shafi Shakir was the first person I interviewed in the study and I was referred to him by a colleague who knew him. Our encounter was brief and he was not eager to give me his background. He participated in the campaign as a student-teacher in the North Western Region of Nugal. He worked with nomads who tended camels in the highlands of Hadaftimo, Nugal Region, which was cold in most of the year. One of his problems was difficulty in adapting to sudden change of the climate in the highlands. After he finished high school, he went to the College of Education and became a high school teacher until he moved to the Gulf countries as a migrant worker. Between 1970 and 1990, the Middle East Gulf countries were in a rapid economic development and many Somalis went there as guest workers, he told me. Mr. Shakir lives now in Columbus, Ohio, with his family.

**Sheikh Issa**

Sheikh Issa was a colonel in the Somali army but left before the fall of the government in 1991. After he moved to Canada, he re-invented himself as a teacher and now teaches history in one of Toronto's institutions. Col. Issa’s importance in the study
was multi-dimensional. For example, he was a literacy teacher in the army and gave me an insight about the army literacy program and its relationship to the national literacy campaign. In addition, he has an insider's knowledge about the politics and ideology of the military government. Being a historian, educator, and political analyst, Sheikh Issa was helpful in clarifying or providing background information about certain events.

**Omar Suleiman (pseudonym)**

Omar Suleiman was one of the most important participants of the study. As inspector of the campaign in the Southern Regions, and a member of the Technical Committee of the campaign, he was well-informed about the campaign. After the campaign ended, he was promoted to work with the Minister of the Interior where he held different positions which he was not willing to disclose. As discussed in the study limitations, the main reason for not disclosing his full background is related to different legal cases presently in the Canadian and U.S. courts against some members of the 1969-1991 Somali military government. Nonetheless, he was very helpful in contributing his campaign knowledge and experience to the study, which was the only thing he was willing to converse about. In addition, Omar Suleiman was helpful in explaining, clarifying, or authenticating many participant statements that were not very clear. He currently lives in a small town in Ontario, Canada, where he likes to lead a simple low-profile life.

**Saami Abdi (pseudonym)**

Saami Abdi was the director of the Ministry of Information and later worked in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Department of Diplomatic Protocol. As information
professional, he told me, he accompanied the Somali president on many official trips, but was not counted as one close to the regime. In fact, he was secretly anti-revolutionary. In my interview with him, I realized how very informed he was about the political activities of the government although the campaign was not one of his areas of knowledge.

In this study, Saami Abdi suggested a critical reevaluation of the campaign and its objectives, and was instrumental in providing a critical view of the program. However, at the end of the interview, his ideas proved to be an outlier, compared to the rest of the interviewees.

**Fatima Hassan**

Fatima Hassan participated in the study as a literacy student who tumbled into the literacy campaign by accident. She was placed in an Italian boarding school when she was three years old and when she left the school in 1974 she could not speak good Somali; her Italian was much stronger than her Somali. In her narrative she stated that:

> One day I went with my older siblings to the family farm in the village of Farhaane, where we had a farm and a family cottage; and when I saw the literacy campaign in the village, I enrolled in the program for the following reason. The government declared that education would be Somalized in 1976. Therefore, since my Somali was weak, this was an opportunity for me to learn Somali with the villagers, in the support and supervision of my family (Fatima Hassan, personal communication, March 12, 2011).

This was an opportunity for her to mix with the villagers and learn the rural way of life. Fatima now lives with her family in Toronto, Canada.

**Noor Ali**

Noor Ali, a nomad camel-herder before and during the campaign, participated in the study as a literacy student. He told me that the campaign opened his eyes in terms of
literacy and the introduction of urban life as a possible alternative. In addition, he attributes his success in urban life to the benefits he gained from the campaign. For this reason, he feels qualified to evaluate the literacy campaign according to the pre-campaign and post-campaign changes in his life and in the country. Noor Ali told me that he had never considered leading an urban life before the campaign. He currently lives in Toronto with his family.

**Habiba Haji**

Habiba Haji lives in Windsor, Canada and participated in the study as a literacy student. She was born and raised in the village of Mubarak which is about 150 km. east of Mogadishu, the capital. After the completion of the campaign, she moved to Mogadishu with the help of her literacy teachers and enrolled in an adult education school. While in school, she met her second husband who was a small business owner. They had five children together and after her husband died, she became a businesswoman of her own. Habiba attributes the change from a rural village woman to an urban businesswoman to the literacy campaign.

**Presentation of Data**

The presentation of Chapter Four data will follow a systematic arrangement of the research questions. Each question has three emergent themes and each theme is presented, explained, and simultaneously analyzed according to the data collected from the participants. Some of the generated themes are interrelated. For instance, in research question 2, themes 2 and 3 are related to themes 1 and 2 of research question 3. These relationships are based on the campaign achievements in question 2, some of which the
study discusses in question 3 as unexpected outcomes of the campaign. On the other hand, to promote research credibility, the data presentation and analysis will draw from the theoretical framework and the relevant literature.

**The Emergent Themes from the Study**

The following nine emergent themes from the data, which were generated from the research questions, are listed according to the systematic sequence of the research questions.

**Research Question 1:**

The following three themes emerged from the data generated from this question.

Themes

1. Development Objectives
2. The Importance of the Rural Economy
3. The Contribution of the Rural Population

**Research Question 2:**

Themes:

1. Migration to Urban Centers
2. Education Development
3. Socioeconomic Development and Employment Opportunities

**Research Question 3:**

Themes

1. The Role of the Student-teachers and their Campaign Experience
2. The Impact of the Campaign on the Rural Population
3. Youth, the main beneficiaries of the Campaign

These themes, which emerged from the data through coded categories and patterns, represent the main findings of the study.

**Research Question One: Objectives of the Campaign**

As indicated in Chapter One, this study investigates the objectives and outcomes of the Somali Literacy Campaign of 1975. The study is mainly based on the experiences of the student-teachers who were the main participants of the campaign, their teacher supervisors, and, to a lesser extent, the civil servants who were the link between the campaign implementers and the policy makers. The three research questions of the study are organized such in a way that each question will be discussed in a separate chapter.

**Discussion of the Objectives**

This segment begins the discussion of the responses of interviewees about their views on the objectives of the campaign. Three major themes emerged from question one: (1) the development objectives of the campaign; (2) the importance of the rural economy; and (3) the contribution of the rural population to the campaign. The explication of these themes attempt to answer the first research question of the study.
Based on these premises I will specify the dynamics that are related to the themes, such as the preparation or training of the students to carry out their work, and the impact of the students on the rural people, specifically, the youth. I will discuss each of these themes and its related dynamics in the following manner: I begin with the student-teachers’ understanding of the campaign objectives, followed by the teacher’s point of view of the campaign and I will intermittently reflect the supporting literature about the campaign objectives.
All participants confirmed that the literacy campaign was launched on August 1, 1974, and was completed eight months later on March, 1975. Certain particularities differentiated this campaign from the previous phase which took place in the settled areas. The first difference was the environmental setting and the characteristics between urban and rural areas. For instance, the slogan of the campaign was: _If you know, teach; if you do not know, learn_. The point I am referring to here is that while the participants in urban phase included anyone who could read and write, including teachers, the military, the police force, government workers, and intellectuals, the rural campaign was implemented, in its literacy teaching, only by students. According to Omar Suleiman, the campaign inspector of the Southern Regions, _Although more than 50,000 people_
participated in the implementation process of the campaign directly or indirectly, the
30,000 participants who were directly involved in the field were student-teachers plus
their teachers’” (personal communication, March 19, 2011). The efforts of all the other
campaign workers either involved such activities as health and sanitary services of the
people and livestock, or were to assist the literacy workers, students and teachers, to
facilitate the implementation process

Beyond the 30,000 student-teachers directly involved in literacy teaching, there
were about 4,500 teachers as supervisors and project managers (Adam, 1980). To
understand the nature and the scope of the literacy program, Adam stated that:

The Somali Democratic Republic consists of about 246,000 square miles with a
population of nearly 4.5 million. In the rural areas, the population is scattered and
extremely mobile due to the practices of nomadic pastoralism. The transportation
system in the rural areas is poorly developed. Indeed, the majority of the villages
had no roads before the RDC [Rural Development Campaign].” (p. 11)

This explains the landmass of the country and the number of the population
involved in the campaign. Moreover, the targeted community was highly mobile and
lacked an adequate road system that could accommodate a successful operation of the
campaign implementers.
Figure 4: The map of Somalia. The arrows on the map indicate the main Somali seaports discussed in economic development section. Source: courtesy, UN maps, 2009.

Theme 1: The Development Objectives of the Campaign

This theme discusses the student-teachers' perspectives in campaign objectives, the teachers' perspectives on student-teachers' training to prepare them for the task of literacy teaching, and the objectives of the campaign. Furthermore, the theme discusses the campaign objectives which the government publicly announced under the development goal, including language, education, political awareness, and economic development. At the end, the theme will reveal the different meanings or different
interpretations that development had for different participants in the campaign, and/or the government itself.

**The Student-teacher Perspective in Campaign Objectives**

To begin with, it is fair to say that except for student-teachers, the objectives of the campaign were clear to the most participants of the campaign, including teachers and other civil servants. By contrast, almost all the students I interviewed concurred that no campaign objectives were explained to them. What interested me in this question was the unanimous lack of recollection of the campaign objectives among the students, and that persuaded me to investigate further.

My next inquiry was whether the participants were trained for the campaign work they were performing. The student-teachers could not recall receiving any campaign-related training. During the first interview that I conducted, Shafi Shakir reported that “there were no defined objectives that were told or explained to us” (personal communication, February, 2011). This statement creates doubt about two related elements that are required for an important project like this campaign, which are: the relationship between training and identification and/or explication of the objectives. The explanation or identification of the objectives would have come through a training, seminar, or workshop; but if there were no training, then the case emerges that both of these elements -- training and identification of objectives, were absent from the campaign implementation. I am not suggesting, however, that the absence of these elements would cast doubt on the campaign quality or its reliability, although this could be raised as a campaign weakness. But there was an emerging pattern of lack of
training’ which I could not ignore. For this reason, I asked Shafi Shakir whether there was training for the students; and his answer was, again, “I cannot recall a training given to us” (personal communication, February 15, 2011). In addition, he stated that:

I never thought about objectives, the only thing I was thinking about was how it was a big program and how the experience was tremendous. …The campaign experience was extreme. When we left from our homes, we were worried about where we were going and our families were worried too. Imagine, for all these months we did not see our parents and they could not come to see us. There was no telecommunication system to call parents or parents to call us. …Yes, [visitations were allowed] but it was not encouraged and financially it was not easy for most of the parents to come to visit us. But we could write to each other and the government was taking care of that (Shafi Shakir, personal communication, February 15, 2011).

Here, Shafi Shakir’s statement that he could not recall a training program due to the tremendous work they were undertaking casts doubt on the existence of training for the student-teachers. I continued to ask this question of every participant that I interviewed. Consequently, I asked Dr. Karima Bashir whether she was trained for the campaign or if the campaign objectives were explained to her and her reply was: “I do not remember campaign training because I was very young and it was a long time ago” (Karima Bashir, personal communication, February 24, 2011). This statement suggests neither the existence or nonexistence of training and there is no definite answer at this point. On the other hand, although Dr. Karima Bashir concurred somewhat with the previous statement of the preceding interviewee, her account was more to lack of recollection, and the expression of her disposition, according to my interpretation, was that the overwhelming work of the campaign overshadowed her recollection of the training. This analysis will be explained by her arduous personal experience, as we shall see later in the student experiences. Similarly, Hussein Sheikh stated:
I do not remember whether it was defined or not, but would not have made any difference to me because the participation in the campaign was a government decision which I had to abide. I was about 14 years old and I was very excited about the campaign service, therefore, I was not concerned about the knowledge of the campaign objectives (Hussein Sheikh, personal communication, March 21, 2011).

However, Dr. Abukar Moallim came up with his own philosophy, based on how he understood the importance of the campaign. He said:

I cannot recall a training or a discussion about the campaign objectives; but my concept or my understanding of the campaign was that literacy was important to the rural people, as education was important to me, and that was something that I could easily relate to; and that was enough reason to me to serve the campaign (Abukar Moallim, personal communication, February 26, 2011).

But how serious was the problem of untrained student-teachers in the field. I asked Shafi Shakir how the lack of training affected their performance and he responded that, “it was just a problem for the first few days perhaps, but we soon recovered from it. But it could have been better, I think, to prepare us for the job; …I don’t know but the result was very good anyways. We did a good job and at the end all of us [nomads and campaign workers] were very happy about the experience” (Shafi Shakir, personal communication, February 15, 2011).

In my interview with the inspector of the campaign in the Southern Regions, Mr. Omar Suleiman, who was also a member of the technical committee, I posed the training question to him and here came the breakthrough. According to him:

There are many different reasons that student-teachers could not recall the training and the explanation of the objectives; and that is, their training was brief and it took place in the field. One of the reasons was that although the students were doing the physical work of literacy instruction, it was their teachers who were doing the overall technical, supervision, and administrative work. The student-teachers’ responsibility was limited to the literacy teaching only. And the main reason for that was that almost all the students were in their teens and so the
responsibility of implementing the campaign according to the plan rested on the shoulders of their teachers who, as supervisors and project managers, knew the objectives of the campaign and were trained for the implementation process. Thus, it was the principals and some teachers who, in different levels and capacities, participated in the training of the planning session to train other teachers; the planning session was participated in by 700 individuals who were assigned to implement the different phases of the campaign program. (Omar Suleiman, personal communication, March 19, 2011)

At this point, it became clear that the student-teachers were given one-day training in the field and on the job, and that is perhaps why they could recall neither the training nor the explanation of the campaign objectives.

**The Teachers’ Perspective on Training and Objectives**

According to the teachers, the campaign objectives were well-defined and clearly understood. What is more, Omar Suleiman continued to explain the reason why, perhaps, the students could not recall the campaign objectives and that was the different techniques of trainings that students and teachers received. In his words:

The objective of the 700 participants who were trained for the campaign implementation program was to define and explicate the objectives of the campaign and the strategy of implementation process to them [students] and to the people. The participants were from different ministries and departments who were selected to participate in the campaign implementation process. These participants included regional governors; district commissioners, the army and police officers, teachers, media and information representatives, statistics and planning, and health and education departments, among others. The idea was for these 700 individuals to go back to their departments, regions, and districts, and define these objectives to their people, accordingly. The only group who was different was the student-teachers who, because of the logistics, their young age, and responsibilities, were decided to be trained in the field and on the job. This was a short crash course of how to instruct literacy acquisition and how to continuously communicate with their teacher supervisor/trainers. The student teachers could not undertake the responsibility of the campaign implementation and so they were coupled with their teachers to complement each other as the hands and the head of one body. Therefore, the task of managing the program according to the campaign implementation guidelines was left for the teachers, and the instruction work was for the student-teachers. (Omar Suleiman, personal communication, March 19, 2011)
For that reason, Bhola (1984) explained that the 700 participants in the symposium included all chairmen of the regional and district councils; all regional and district education officers, all headmasters in the districts, all regional and district representatives of the political offices of the SRC (Supreme Revolutionary Council), all heads of regional and district police stations, all heads of the regional and district National Security Service, and all regional transport officers”. (p.165)

In the same manner, Lewis (1988) discussed the training of the students and the crash course method which was used. In a nutshell, this literature supports the statements of the teachers and the campaign inspector that students were trained in a brief crash course. It could be also true, as the students pointed out, that due to their young age and the long time that has passed they could not recall this brief training program.

**The Rationale of the Objectives**

Literature shows that soon after they took over the national leadership, the Somali Supreme Revolutionary Council (SRC) leaders proclaimed their intention to combat ignorance, poverty, and disease to realize a pragmatic national development. This intention was declared in the first charter of the Revolution, and the Somali language was recognized as one of the first development factors on the government agenda. The third and fourth factors of the charter were: -Liquidation of the illiteracy and the development of an enlightened patrimonial and cultural heritage of the Somali people; and, to institute with appropriate and adequate measures the basic development of the writing of the Somali language” (Samatar, 1988, p. 83). In addition, the revolution recognized the negative relationship of illiteracy, development, and national unity in the charter. On
coming to power, the SRC made clear that it viewed the official use of foreign languages, of which only a relatively small fraction of the population had an adequate working knowledge, as a threat to national unity, contributing to the stratification of society on the basis of language” (Federal Research Division, 2010, p. 90). The leader of the revolution, General Siad Barre, discussed the threat of foreign languages to the national unity. His argument was that the elite trained in foreign languages were more loyal to the culture of the languages they spoke, than to their own language, and that threatened national unity.

To deal with this threat, the SRC appointed the Somali Language Commission and charged it with the responsibility of developing a suitable script for Somali. Nonetheless, both data and literature support that from the beginning the objectives of writing Somali and its subsequent literacy campaigns had a national development and national unity objective; and, as we shall see, this objective consisted of many other components. In this view, the publicly defined objectives of the literacy campaign were to combat illiteracy in order to reduce or eliminate ignorance, poverty, and disease; and that was the connection between the literacy campaign and the main development objective of the revolution.

According to Farah Jees, “There were many problems in the country but the most serious one was illiteracy. All other problems such as poverty, education, corruption, and health were somehow connected to illiteracy. That was the reason the Revolution declared war on illiteracy” (Farah Jees, personal communication, February 22, 2011). All the interviewees who participated in the discussion of the objectives mentioned more than one objective and they related these objectives to illiteracy. Participants also recalled a
media campaign which was designed to educate the public about the importance of the campaign and its objectives. Saami Abdi, the Somali Ministry of Information director, stated: —Before and during the campaign, the government organized a major media campaign to educate people about the campaign. For example, in our agency we were instructed that the campaign was a national agenda to combat illiteracy and poverty and that its programs were a priority over all others” (Saami Abdi, personal communication, February 19, 2011).

In a presidential speech on March 8, 1974, President Siad identified the objectives of the campaign as to give every Somali the opportunity of a revolutionary modern education, to transform Somali social life, and to eliminate social segregation and tribal divisions (Lewis, 1988). This statement proposed a social, political, and educational development objective that could lead to socioeconomic development. Similarly, the fundamental campaign objective, which was published in the newspapers and broadcast on the national radios for the reason of public education, was to combat ignorance through literacy. Adam (1980) pointed out four objectives of the campaign:

It was the first offensive in a strategy aimed at closing the urban-rural gap which had been directly and indirectly fostered by colonialism and neocolonialism. ...The main dimensions of the RDC [Rural Development Campaign] included: (a) eradication of illiteracy among the rural people; (b) public health improvement; (c) animal health improvement; (d) census for both people and livestock. (p.10)

It is true that the campaign contained many different objectives, including literacy, public health, livestock health, and the census of livestock and people; and all of these led to the main objective of national development. However, the dominant element of the campaign was literacy and it was about this element of the program
implementation participants proved to be most knowledgeable. As a result, the study focuses on the literacy component as a language development factor, and how it related to education, sociopolitical consciousness and national unity, and then contributed to development.

Within the development objectives, the following development components were identified by the interviewees: (a) language development; (b) education development; (c) sociopolitical and cultural development; and (d) economic development. Of these four, they further prioritized education, sociopolitical consciousness, and economic development in their discussions. As a result, I will discuss each of these components below, but the study will focus on the last three elements which will be discussed in the findings. According to the Revolution’s public education, literacy leads to social consciousness, and education; and these three elements combined could translate into economic development.

![Diagram](image)

Figure 5: This figure presents a pictorial illustration of the relationship between literacy and development.
This interpretation could be understood from the statements of the student-teachers and their teachers who participated in the campaign. Additionally, the objective of the campaign to promote national development was also declared in the name of the 1975 literacy campaign which was known as the ‘Rural Development Campaign’ (Bhola, 1984). All the teachers and civil servants that I interviewed unanimously acknowledged the development component of the campaign objectives; however, it was the teachers, civil servants, and, specifically, Mr. Suleiman who clearly identified the main campaign objectives and the rationale behind it. In the following segment, I will discuss the main objectives of the campaign as identified by the teachers and the civil servants.

Within the development objectives, three development components were identified by the interviewees and discussed in the literature: (a) Language Development; (b) Education Development; (c) Sociopolitical and Cultural Development; and (d) Economic Development. I will describe each of these components below.

**Language Development**

One of the first, key, objectives of the campaign was the development of Somali as a written language, which was partially accomplished in its first urban phase, and that was basically the writing of Somali and the subsequent developing of the educational resources to teach literacy. In this step, the Academy of Science and Culture, and its predecessor the Somali Language Commission, introduced materials, including a dictionary, and translated the scientific, technological, and administrative terminologies needed for educational and administrative purposes. In addition, there was a tangible
Somalization of education underway to produce the necessary materials required for this purpose. Adam (1980) illustrated that:

To Somalize educational materials, the Ministry of education appointed 203 Somali teachers into fifteen research-writing committees to prepare textbooks for each level of the lower education ladder which now consists of a unified system of six years primary level and four years secondary level education. The result of textbook preparation so far amounts to the production of 135 textbooks in the Somali language. (p. 16)

However, this would not have been completely practical without dissemination of Somali to the rural areas so the people could benefit from this education and participate in the national development dialogue. For this reason, the campaign provided to the rural communities the opportunity to join the rest of the country in the Somalization process of education after a long period of cultural, social, economic, and political isolation. Farah Jees pointed out that, —“The illiteracy of the rural populace was one of the major barriers that denied them their right to participate in the national political process so they can benefit from the national resources of the country. And the only way to do that was to remove this barrier; this was the objective of the campaign” (Farah Jees, personal communication, February 22, 2011). Thus, the rural literacy campaign was the final step of a national mass literacy program which was intended to advance and consolidate the Somalization of education and administration so every Somali has the capacity to utilize the language and the opportunity to benefit from it for personal development and economic advancement (personal analysis).

**Standardization of Somali and its Impact on Maay Dialect**

As discussed in chapter one, the government succeeded in eliminating the historical disagreement among the politicians, intellectuals, and religious groups about
what script to use for writing Somali. Similarly, the government selected the Somali
dialect of Central-Somalia as the standard Somali. Omar Suleiman stated:

Somali is a language or a dialect, whatever you call it, that every Somali could
speak and understand. At the time of the Somali campaign there was no sentiment
or argument against what type of Somali was selected or why it was selected and
everybody was happy about it. It was after the civil war that this discussion came
up; and now it is behind us since the problem was solved through the new charter
which recognized Maay as a second Somali language. (Omar Suleiman, personal
communication, March 19, 2011)

Omar Suleiman’s argument, was supported by all the interviewees. They
emphasized that there was no problem about the standardization of Somali at the time of
the campaign. Accordingly, Safia Samatar reported:

Without the writing of Somali and the literacy campaign, we would have lost our
language by now due to the civil war and its related problems. Thus, the campaign
worked towards the preservation of the language. And although the Somali dialect
which was selected as standard [Somali] is not mine, I still see it as a positive
mission. This was an initiative which every Somali community could apply to its
dialect so there was no loss. Any speakers of other dialects could use this script to
develop their own dictionaries. Now, in terms of whether standard Somali
marginalized Maay, to me that is politics; and even if that was the case, Maay
itself is not an independent language but rather a Somali dialect, and in this
situation, the language precedes a dialect. Having said that, I myself speak a
[different] dialect and I accept Somali as a language because all our dialects are
based on Somali…That does not mean to forget other dialects, because there are
culture and identities involved. But we had to choose one of them and the one
which more than 90% of the population utilizes should be the one. I was born and
raised in the city of Afgoe, a town divided into two parts by the Shabelle River.
The Maay [speakers] live on the West bank of the river and we, Somali speakers,
live on the East side. The school was on the East side, and when we are at school,
each group uses their language and we would understand each other without an
interpreter. For instance, if I ask them a question in standard Somali, they will
reply in Maay, straight forward. That was so, because these languages are related
and are almost the same, to the point where we did not need an interpreter.
Further, there was no animosity or conflict among us at all. …I told you about my
experience in Afgoe, how the Maay speakers and Somali speakers used to
communicate without any difficulty or sensitivity. However, when the same
people I knew in Afgoe later moved to Mogadishu, the capital, for further
education or employment, they voluntarily switched to the official Somali. This
change was not compulsory, but it was necessitated by the environment (personal communication, March 5, 2011).

Hussein Sheikh was teaching literacy in the Bay Region which is dominated by the Somali Maay population. In the following statement he discussed his language experience:

Maay is Somali, because while I was teaching there I was communicating with my students in Somali and I was explaining things or teaching in Somali. Likewise, they were communicating with me in Maay and I was able to understand them; there was no translator between us. Therefore, Maay is a Somali dialect. There is a Somali scholar called Professor Mansuur who explained this issue very well and you can find his program in the BBC [Somali Service] website. He is of the opinion that Maay is a Somali dialect and Prof. Mansuur is a Somali-Arab minority who is not involved in the language politics of Maay and Somali (personal communication, March 21, 2011).

Thus, according to this data, the standardization process of the Somali language came through a government decision which at the time people did not view negatively. People were happy about the writing of Somali and the subsequent literacy campaign. In my analysis this could have happened for two reasons: (a) the euphoria about the writing of Somali, which was long overdue; and (b) the fear of opposing the revolution. These two reasons, among others, could have contributed to the reasons the public accepted the government language policy without any problem.

*Education Development*

The implementation of the rural literacy program was an initiative to provide educational awareness to the rural people. Recognizing the importance of language as a key to successful education acquisition, the Somali government realized that literacy was fundamental for the establishment of an educational system based on equal opportunity for all Somalis, in the rural and urban areas.
In view of that, Adam (1980) remarked:

> The preparation of teaching materials for such schools helps to equip the Somali language with an adequate technical and scientific vocabulary. Apart from borrowing new terms, this also involves studying traditional Somali science (in medicine and veterinary science for example) and refitting the old concepts in new applications. Some of this has involved original contributions to the teaching of science, especially at the elementary level. (p. 14)

One of the goals of education development was to extend it to the rural communities which were lagging behind their urban counterparts. According to Farah Jees:

> The condition of the Somali rural population before the campaign was in a state of social isolation and economic deprivation; in fact, when people were discussing about education and development they [rural people] were not included in the equation. Development was something intended for the urban people who could comprehend it, that was the mentality of the urban people. That was why the
revolution, for the first time, decided to include the rural population in the development equation (personal communication, February 22, 2011). As a result, the government put in place a strategy to establish an Education for All Program without the rural literacy campaign the rural populace would have been left behind and the urbanites would have been the sole beneficiaries of the education programs, as usual. The campaign, thus, was an attempt to change the status quo in favor of the rural population.

**Political Development**

The campaign had a component of national reunification of the Somali people to rally them behind the revolution. In this component, the revolutionary ideology was to be taken to the people in their own settlements so they could recognize the national transformation and realize their own role in understanding the revolution and supporting its policies and philosophy. Bhola (1984) illustrates that the objectives of the campaign included “not only literacy but also political consciousness; ideological orientation and the liquidation of rural-urban barriers” (p. 161). However, according to Sheikh Issa, “The pronouncements of these points were more subtle, and the practical activities of the campaign participants, including the students, teachers, army, police force, health providers, and other civil servants, were left to exhibit a show of force to express and/or impress rural people” (Sheikh Issa, personal communication, February 18, 2011). This was to say that the full-force intervention of the government in the rural country was, by itself, a pragmatic way of convincing the rural public of the might of the state and its strong intentions to realize change. Safia Samatar, who was a teacher in the campaign, explains the outcome of this policy and how the process of expression and impression
later developed into repression (see outcomes in Chapter Six). On the other hand, the Somalization process had a component of reunification. The Somali people were divided in terms of language literacy, education and employment opportunities, and social and political awareness towards social justice and equal opportunity, which could have led to economic development. Saami Abdi, the director of the Ministry of Information, explained how the Somali civil servants were divided along language lines:

> After the independence of the country many countries like Egypt, the United States, Britain, Italy, and the Soviet Union, among others, offered scholarships to many Somali students. However, when these educated people came back to the country and the government employed them, there was a language communication problem; it became difficult to communicate in writing memos, reports, and communiqués, among others. The only way to communicate was Somali, and Somali was not a written language yet (Saami Abdi, personal communication, February 19, 2011).

For this reason, the unifying element of the campaign was to unite all Somali literates under one language, Somali. The following segment discusses how this was realized and how it contributed to the main objective of national development.

**Socio-cultural Development**

Another objective of the campaign was to transform the Somali socio-cultural misconceptions. As indicated earlier, there were many divisions within Somali society, including language, culture, and education. For instance, those who could not speak a foreign language were considered uncultured; and among the foreign language speakers, those who could not speak European languages like English and Italian were considered less civilized. Adam (1980) discusses how the colonial education marginalized the Somali language and culture by identifying them as primitive. This concept reduced the
majority of the Somali people to an uncivilized category, especially, the rural population which constituted 70% of the population.

Before the campaign, there were social and cultural barriers between the rural and urban peoples. Some of these barriers were natural elements which were created by the physical distance and different systems of life. However, there was an acute communication barrier which was created by the prevalent illiteracy in the country, and since the urban campaign reduced the rate of illiteracy in the urban population, this was an opportunity for the rural people to remove these barriers and replace them with social awareness and participation in the national political and economic transformation. Another way to eliminate the socio-cultural barriers was to introduce the rural and urban youths to each other, to know each other and this facilitated reducing the cultural misconceptions and misgivings between the two parts (Omar Suleiman, personal communication, March 19, 2011).

The literacy campaign was important to re-introduce the Somali culture as a national identity and national treasure. In the next section, we shall see how the government planned to send the urban student-teachers to the countryside not only for them to teach literacy, but also so they could learn the culture, as a part of cultural re-education (see the Participation of Student-teachers and the philosophy behind it).

**Economic Development**

All the aforementioned components of the campaign were designed to facilitate realization of the final objective of the campaign -- economic development. By the same token, the provision of health services for the people and livestock and the census program were all direct measures designed to boost national economic development. Accordingly, Farah Jees argues that “The literacy campaign was a national investment to educate people, raise their political and cultural awareness for future successful economic development” (Farah Jees, personal communication, February 22, 2011). Thus, realization of the first development components discussed earlier were designed to promote the
ultimate objective of economic development by which a national workforce which is literate and skilled as well as politically and socially aware might be able to generate a higher economic output. Omar Suleiman agreed with Farah Jees by pointing out that:

The results of the economic development were felt immediately after the campaign, especially, in education and human resource development. In these two sectors, there was a rapid increase in primary and adult education, and the new literates who registered in vocational schools became job ready within 2-3 years. Moreover, it is easier to train literate people when their political and social awareness is high enough (Omar Suleiman, personal communication, March 19, 2011).

For this reason, Du Sautoy (1966) argues that in the United States of America, 70% of the economic output is attributed to the “skills, attitudes and capacities of people rather than to physical input”. (p. 12) In view of that, the aim of the campaign was to realize these aforementioned objectives to achieve a national socioeconomic development.

In conclusion, the teachers and civil servants were the only two groups familiar with the campaign objectives. The discussions with these participants revealed that the campaign had a number of objectives which can be termed components of the main objective, development. The opinion of the participants regarding objectives was divided about these components, which included literacy, education, political awareness, and socioeconomic development. Each interviewee discussed one or two objectives but all of them stressed the prominence of the literacy objectives and how this led to economic development.

Moreover, Literature supports that the government, on different occasions, declared each of these development components as campaign objectives. This can be
understood that the main objective of the campaign was socioeconomic development and all these elements were part and parcel of that objective. On the other hand, more than 90% of the participants indicated the prominence of the literacy objective as the connecting factor between all the other factors.

The campaign participants proved their experience and understanding of the literacy aspect of the campaign, and that is where the study focused. In the following themes I will discuss some of the campaign objectives participants identified as the development achievements realized through the campaign.

**Theme 2: The Importance of the Rural Economy**

This theme presents the importance of the rural economy and the role of the rural population in the campaign. The theme illustrates the contribution of the informal rural economy to the national economy to justify the Rural Development Campaign. There are a number of photographs in this theme. Patton (2002) signified the use of pictures in reports: “Of course, this is one of those instances where a picture would be worth a mountain of words, which is why qualitative fieldworkers increasingly include photography and videography” (p. 281). For this reason, I included a number of photographs, which illustrate the economic viability of livestock, in the theme.

According to Farah Jees, “The first question that comes in mind is why the government had to involve the rural people in a literacy campaign. This question necessitates an explanation of the nature of the rural people and their role in the Somali economy” (personal communication, February 22, 2011).
Based on the data, the rural people proudly claim and consciously believe that they contribute to the national economy by providing the urban population with its meat and dairy products which the Somalis generally consume on a daily basis. The other locally produced staple foods include cereals like corn, sorghum, and rice, followed by fruits and vegetables. Sesame and sunflower oils are produced by small non-commercial farmers. All these are produced by family-owned small farms that sell their surplus to the open markets.

According to the data, there are two main categories of rural people. The first are the pastoral nomads who are in the majority. The second are agro-pastoralists who depend on the seasonal rains for their livelihoods. When the rains are good, the land is cultivated and the livestock is kept on the farms; but when the rains fail, the livestock is moved in search of pasture and water as with other nomads.

The primary difference between farmers and nomads is that the former are in settled or semi-settled communities that have relatively closer interaction with urban communities because they buy supplies from urbanites and sell their products to them. This communication and closer relationship with the urban communities fosters greater awareness of the existing economic, social and political systems, although this awareness is sometimes limited to one’s specific farming business. In addition, farmers usually understand and use technical farming equipment, such as irrigation machines, trucks, and tractors, which they rent.

By contrast, nomads rely on their camels for food and transportation and curve most of their equipment from plants. Their contact with urban communities is normally
limited to seasonal business encounters, because most of the time they are in the remote desert or forest. When there is no drought, nomads are self-sufficient regarding meat and dairy products. While farmers are settled, the nomads are itinerants moving from one location to another.

For this reason, the campaign planners decided to send all female student-teachers and their teacher-supervisors to the settled and semi-settled farmland areas, while all male student-teachers had to work in the nomadic country in the highlands and arid land (Bhola, 1984). The idea was that since farmers live along the rivers, their life is more stable and less difficult than that of their nomad counterparts, and would better suit female campaign workers.

In addition to their economic output, the rural people become taxpayers whenever they bring their products to markets. These products include live animals and ghee, which are some of the hard-currency earners exported to the Arabian Gulf. Milk, butter, and other dairy products are for local markets. The revolution recognized the economic importance of these commodities and that was perhaps one of the reasons the government wanted to implement the Rural Development Campaign (generated from data).

To this end, some scholars and development experts critically argue that all rural literacy programs are economics oriented, and that means literacy is intended to facilitate economic manipulation of the rural inhabitants. In this view, Kratli (2000) argues that education and development programs implemented by many African and Asian countries, including Mongolia and Somalia, were motivated by economics and the intention of modernizing and quantifying such nomadic resources as livestock. The idea, he argues, is
to link the nomads to the government economic system and educate them to increase productivity. In his view, these attempts failed in many countries because the nomads resisted abandoning their centuries-old ways of life. In Somalia case, for instance, Farah Jees stated:

About 15% of the settled nomads went back to their former nomad life and some of the problems that contributed to their return were environmental. For example, while the land of the nomads consists of dry plains and rugged mountains without mosquitoes or tsetse flies, the Southern farmland/wetland between the two major rivers, Jubba and Shabelle, is infested with mosquitoes and other harmful insects. The resettled nomads who had never been exposed to mosquitoes and often contracted malaria (personal communication, February 22, 2011).

The data further revealed that love of animal husbandry as opposed to agriculture, motivated some nomads to go back to their nomad ancestral land. Nonetheless, the campaign rural development program recognized the importance of the rural people and their role in the national economy. Omar Suleiman rhetorically stated that:

Do you know that unemployment is lower in the rural areas than in urban centers? Because rural people are occupied in farming and livestock herding, you cannot ignore them economically. Therefore, the development of the rural people was the development of the traditional and most permanent sector of the Somali economy (Omar Suleiman, personal communication, March 19, 2011).

But it was also true that these rural folk were the least served demography of Somali society by not receiving back the value of their tax money, which was spent on the urban development. In the light of Omar Suleiman’s statement, here is a recent post-civil war experience: Because the rural economy is based on centuries-old practice and knowledge, it sometimes defies manmade disasters, including civil wars. Farah Jees explained this phenomenon:

By experience, in Somalia, the rural economy is the only sector that survived the civil war and continued production when every other economic sector collapsed.
One of the traditional survival mechanisms of the nomads is that they help each other after catastrophic droughts by loaning animals to each other in a process called ‘kaalo’, rehabilitation. This process works as follows: an individual may loan five goats to a kinsman who lost most of his livestock in a drought over a period of two years; and this is an interest-free loan. Since goats reproduce twice a year, these five goats produce 20 goats in these two years. Thus, at the end of the period, the beneficiary may retain the 20 offspring, and return the original five goats to the lender. This traditional process helps nomads to recover from losses created by droughts and that is how they are able to maintain their livelihoods (Farah Jees, personal communication, February 22, 2011).

Thus, it is important to examine the Somali nomads and their contribution to the national economy and how the Rural Development Campaign impacted them, as well as their relationship with the urban population. Traditionally speaking, in the 1970s the majority of the Somali people, almost 77% according to the 1975 census, lived in the countryside (Federal Research Division, 2010). This census divided the Somali population into nomads, 59%; semi-rural farmers, 19%; and total rural and semi-rural populations, 78% (Federal Research Division). The majority of the nomad society depends on their livestock to sustain themselves and the rest of the urban population by providing live animals, meat, and dairy products. The other 19% semi-rural farmers provides for the country with such produce as fruits, vegetables, grains, cereals, and vegetable oils, among others. The following Figures (7-11) present the informal rural economy of the country.
In the Somali informal traditional economy, livestock, in particular, was one of the fundamental economic sectors of the country and used to earn a much needed hard currency.

Figure 7: Camels in the semi-desert lowland. Source: www.ufeyn.com
For instance, between 1980 and 1990, which, according to some sources, (Lewis, 1988; Federal Research Division, 2010), was known as the ‘difficult decade of Somalia’ due to its political and economic isolation by the Western Bloc countries, livestock was the major hard currency earners of the country. In 1987 the livestock exported to Saudi Arabia alone earned $51-200 million, (Little, 2003). Figures 10 and 11 show Somali camels and sheep exports destined to the Saudi markets.
After the collapse of the state and during the civil war years, livestock became the sole major Somali export that resisted the impact of civil war. For instance, in 1997 the livestock earnings from Saudi Arabia were estimated at $150-200 million, (UNICEF, 1998, p.34).
However, when the Saudi livestock market was closed in the 1990s, the Somali livestock traders managed to market their animals to neighboring counties such as Kenya and Ethiopia and in 1997 Somali livestock, specifically cattle, sold at the livestock market of Garissa, Kenya, brought in $11,783,580 million (Little, 2003). This, coupled with the local livestock markets, generated a significant economic income for a substantial number of people.
For example, Omar Suleiman explained how “livestock exchanges hands many times before export to foreign markets and this benefits many small and large local traders. In addition, the local livestock consumption and its related products, such as dairy food, were even larger than the exported volume” (Omar Suleiman, personal communication, March 19, 2011). This indicates the considerable role of the Somali nomads in the national and international export economy.

The data indicated that before the campaign the nomads’ contribution to local urban economic activities revealed an uneven rural vs. urban trade relationship in which the nomads were the producers and tax payers yet little was invested on their economic production and livelihoods. However, the Rural Development Campaign was a turning point in this traditional relationship where urban literacy brought a change from the status quo, and the commencement of a rural development initiative that recognized the
significance of the rural people was meant, their human and economic resources were to be invested in.

**Theme 3: The Rural Contribution to the Campaign**

This theme describes the cultural background of the traditional rural education system-- how it contributed to the campaign and how the rural population viewed their campaign contribution. It further explains how the student-teachers and their urban communities came to understand the rural contribution to the campaign.

One of the first outcomes of the campaign was its impact on the rural people and how it transformed their social, political, and economic lives. A second element was the important part, mainly economic, which the rural people played in the campaign. Without the material assistance of the rural people, the campaign price tag would have been much higher. However, the contribution of the literacy learners was not discussed enough in any of the already-limited literature that I have reviewed. The declared cost of the campaign is now considered surprisingly inexpensive for such a mass literacy campaign which involved a whole country, from coast to coast. That was perhaps due to the role of the literacy learners in hosting the campaign. According to Lewis (1988):

> In July 1974, at an estimated cost of £10 million, a huge taskforce of some 30,000 secondary school students and teachers was dispatched into the interior in triumphant truckloads. In parts of eight, with a teacher as leader and with the participation of veterinary and medical personnel, these young pioneers of the new Somalia set forth to teach the nomads to write their own language, hygiene, modern animal husbandry methods, basic civics and the aim of scientific Socialism. Equipped with blankets, a folding blackboard, and water-bottle, and drawing a daily allowance of two Somali shillings (approximately 15 English new pence), [about $10 dollars per month] these privileged urban students were to share the fruits of the Revolution with their neglected nomadic comrades, staying as guests with nomadic family groups and teaching their hosts to read and write. (p.217)
Likewise, Bhola (1984) stated that the campaign was entirely funded and implemented by the Somali people. “The government did allocate some resources to the campaign and provided teaching and learning materials, but much came from the people themselves in cash and kind” (p. 163). Additionally, Bhola maintains in his account that the price tag of the campaign was $3.4 million.

In the literature, there is a difference between these two campaign expenses. Most of the interviewees reported that at the time of the campaign the British pound was equivalent to one and half US dollars, and the Somali Shilling (SoSh) was six to one U.S. dollar; and that was how I arrived with the estimated amount of $10 per month. Consequently, if we convert the amount of £10 million into USD, it becomes $15 million. Obviously, there is a sizeable difference between $15 million and $3.4 million. In this regard, Samatar (1988) indicated that the £10 million which Lewis identified was equivalent to about $14 million, which more or less validated the interviewee report.

Thus, hypothetically speaking, both of these expenses could be correct, and the difference is the amount that the rural people absorbed. This means that, for instance, the cost of the campaign was actually $15 million, as Lewis stated, but since the rural population provided food and shelter for 30,000 people for eight months, the cost to the government of the campaign was reduced to $3.4 million, as Bhola pointed out. I put that question to the interviewees and 55% of them replied that it is possible; the other said they did not know.

In all, participants unanimously reported that the rural communities took the responsibility of accommodating the campaign student-teachers and their teacher-
supervisors by providing their food and shelter for the entire duration of the campaign. None of the interviewees could tell me the value of the campaign accommodation, but according to Farah Jees, a teacher, “the contribution of the rural population might have, for all practical purposes slashed the cost of the campaign at least by half” (Farah Jees, personal communication, February 22, 2011). It is not known how the government came up with the idea of sharing the cost of the campaign with the learners but there is a rural cultural precedence which supports the accommodation of teachers and religious scholars.

**The Rural Education Support System**

Somali traditional education in pre-colonial and post-colonial times, either formal or informal, was based on the economic support system of the learners and their families. According to Cummings and Van Tonning (2003):

> Long before Western education was introduced to Somalia by the Italians and British, a strong Islamic education system was in place. This system consisted of basic Koranic schools where young people learned the Koran, as well as institutions for further education know as madrasahs that combined religious education with attention to other subjects such as history, philosophy, mathematics, science, and so on. (p.15)

This education covered either, religious education such as that conducted in the mosque and the *dugsi*, Quranic school, or traditional education which included domestic skills, livestock management, and trading as well as the skills required for survival of the land and for protection against warring parties” (UNDP, 1998, p. 68). These traditional education systems were not funded by any government but relied on the financial support or the social-capital system of the rural people. Hussein Sheikh described the traditional social-capital system which supports the rural education system:
This support system still works in a way in which local community members known as Beel, community, come together to establish dugsi for their children. In this process, the community sends an envoy to the nearest town to approach the religious leaders to send them a teacher who they would support. When they received their teacher the community find him a wife, and establish a house for him, in process called aqal-galin, or housing process. The housing process includes marriage, followed by xoolo-goyn, which is a process in which nomads would contribute livestock to support the teacher’s new family. In a farming community, people contribute land to the teacher and would share working the land since he would be engaged in teaching and not have time for the physical work of farming. The same is true of a the nomad establishment. The importance of the relationship between the teacher and the community can be explained in the following way: (a) A teacher as a member of the community. In this process, the teacher becomes a part of the community in a process called toleyn, integration. This is when an individual who is not a member of the community through a blood relationship is adopted by the community as one of its own. (b) A permanent employee, on the teacher’s side. From today’s contemporary perspective, this could be seen as a job creation process for the newly graduated young religious scholars, a job that guarantees accommodation, marriage, and creation of property ownership for them. (c) On the community side. This process would make them stakeholders in the learning process and give them ownership of the institution, not only as contributors, but also as co-managers who have a voice in reshaping it and modifying it according to their needs and circumstances. For instance, the decision of a nomad community to move the school from one location to another rests with the community elders; on the other hand, the teacher is consulted about decisions related to legal issues based on Islamic law (Hussein Sheikh, personal communication, March 21, 2011).

Here, it seems that the community is an investor in the process of teaching where it enters a mutual partnership with the teacher. According to Cassanelle and Abdikadir (2007):

By virtue of being community owned, the traditional Quranic school (dugsi) and its teachers (macallim) were highly valued and respected within the society. This is still the case throughout Somalia, where local communities typically build and maintain the dugsis and pay the teachers. The scale and mode of remuneration depends upon a contractual agreement between the teacher and the community, and vary according to the specific community and its mode of economic production. This type of acceptance and sense of ownership made the traditional religious education system cost effective and even partially immune from the devastation caused by the civil war. (pp.108-109)
This partnership strengthens both the position of the teacher and the community interests and facilitates the institutional character of the *dugsi* as a community center for learning. This traditional system of supporting and hosting learning institutions could be the source of the government decision to share the cost of the campaign with the rural people.

**How the Rural People Viewed Their Campaign Contribution**

After centuries of practice, the traditional teacher and community relationship became part of the Somali culture and it continues to this day in the rural areas. As Habiba Haji pointed out, “Hosting a teacher was seen in our village as a graceful act and honor. Rural people are humble, honest, and charitable, especially when it comes to providing food and shelter for scholars and teachers. This is a centuries-old cultural thing” (Habiba Haji, personal communication, March 26, 2011). This cultural practice became an institution which is part of the Somali traditional formal and informal learning and gave the community members cultural fulfillment, self-satisfaction, and community pride. Shafi Shakir informed that “every family had to take care of their teacher. The system was planned in a way that the government would give students monthly pocket money, which was not much; but it was the nomad families who had to provide us food and shelter and they were very nice to us” (Shafi Shakir, personal communication, February 15, 2011). In the Somali tradition, the elders are the community leaders and their decisions and proposals are mostly considered as the final authority. In view of that, Noor Ali reported that their elders were responsible for the introduction of the teachers to the community and their acceptance by the people. “Our elders told us that we were
receiving two teachers from the government and we had to accept them and maintain them. Moreover, we had to treat our teachers with dignity and we had to be responsible for their security and accommodation” (Noor Ali, personal communication, March 6, 2011). So the government probably decided to utilize this cultural convention to reduce the cost of the project, while at the same time, it gave the communities involved an opportunity to invest in the campaign and become stakeholders in the process.

**How the Student-teachers Viewed the Rural Contribution**

I asked all student-teachers how they viewed rural contribution and they provided different answers but similar conclusions. For instance, most of the student-teachers replied that at that time they were not aware of who would be responsible of their accommodation. Dr. Abukar Moallim said:

> The first thing that came into my mind was that the government would take care of us, but I could not imagine or figure out how this would be possible. And when we were told that the nomads would be responsible for our accommodation, we could not imagine how they would do that because most of us were not familiar with what they [usually] eat. The most important thing for us was the monthly allowance, which although it was small, was valuable to us because it was the first thing we ever earned in our young lives (Abukar Moallim, personal communication, February 26, 2011).

None of the students could remember how much this monthly allowance was, but as we have seen earlier, Lewis (1988) reports that it was 60 Somali shillings per month (SoSh. 60.00), which at that time was equivalent to $10 USD. Omar Suleiman explained that, "this allowance was provided to the students to give them an alternative means of living; that is to support them if the people hosting them are not able to take care of them very well. That was to minimize the possibility of the students' suffering” (Omar
Suleiman, personal communication, March 19, 2011). On cultural perspective, Farah Jees reported that:

The statement of the resident, which convinced everyone, including students, parents, and the public, was: “You will eat what they eat, and you will sleep where they sleep’. This statement was cultural, religious, and revolutionary. It was emotionally accepted by the people because it was something that they were familiar with. And when a family hosts a guest, the common accepted notion is that the guest would eat whatever the family could afford. That was how it worked” (personal communication, February 22, 2011).

However, Dr. Abukar Moallim said, “After I came to North America, I felt that it was not right to ask the nomads to host us, because they were poorer than we were” (Abukar, Moallim, personal communication, February 26, 2011). Similarly, Shafi Shakir indicated, “I was not concerned about the issue of nomads hosting us at the time, but I feel now that it was not right to be a burden on the poor nomads” (personal communication, February 15, 2011). Moallim and Shakir were working with nomads in the Central and Northern Regions of the country, respectively. On the other hand, Dr. Karima Bashir disclosed, “My problem was the simple and dull vegetarian food that I was eating, even though I now recognize that this food was healthy. But, at that time, I was not worried about who would provide my food; all I was concerned about was not to starve” (Karima Bashir, personal communication, February 24, 2011). Hussein Sheikh, who likened his campaign experience to a camping trip, was not concerned about who provided for food.

I was enjoying my work and I never thought about the capacity of the people to feed us; I was just 14 years old. But one thing that amazes me even today is how the government succeeded in organizing this campaign in the rural country, because it was never easy to deal with the rural people who were usually indifferent to the government and the urban people. Contrary to the common
beliefs about the rural people, they were decent, understanding, respectable, and generous to us (Hussein Sheikh, personal communication, March 21, 2011).

To the question of how student-teachers felt about literacy learners hosting and accommodating their teachers, almost all the respondents replied that they saw it as normal for the learners to accommodate them and they never saw it as a problem. Their current argument is that it is part of the Somali culture to support your teachers. However, about 20% of the respondents now see that it was not fair to put the responsibility of accommodation on the shoulders of the rural people, because they were and still are the poorest and the most vulnerable in Somali society. They believe now that the government was in a better position to have taken this responsibility, and it would have been better for the campaign workers because they would have received stable and better food rations. However, this last argument, in my opinion, should not dilute the commendable contribution of the rural people to the campaign.
Chapter Five: Realization of Campaign Objectives

This chapter is devoted to discussion of the participants’ responses to the second research question which examines how the set objectives of the campaign were realized and how that contributed to the development objective. After the analysis and interpretation of the data, the following three themes emerged to shed light on the realization of the campaign objectives: (1) Migration to urban centers; (2) education development, and (3) socio-economic development. These analyses are based mainly on participant interviews and are supported by literature reviews.

Figure 12: Emergent themes from research question two.

As indicated in research question one, one of the first and most important objectives of the campaign was to develop and disseminate the Somali language to: (a) eradicate or at least reduce illiteracy, and (b) prepare Somali to rise to the status of an official language and then utilize these two important elements to advance education and
transform the socioeconomic stratification of the population. This amounted to a minimum basic initiative of social and economic development. The literature supports the data indication that the campaign accomplished positive results that contributed to the national social and economic development objectives.

In principle at least, his [Siad Barre] regime reduced the significance of clans and lineages, encouraged women to participate in government and attend school, and sanctioned the social equality of low-status groups. The gap that had opened between educated English or Italian—speaking Somalis and the rest of the population was reduced somewhat by the institution of a Somali script and the designation of Somali as the official language” (Research Division, 2010, p. 102).

In the light of this statement, I will use the following three emergent themes to explain the success, if any, of the campaign objectives and how these objectives contributed to the main development objective.

**Theme 1: The Migration of Rural Youth to the Urban Centers**

This theme presents the migration of the rural youth to the urban centers after the campaign ended, and it explains how these migrants influenced the education and economic systems of the country. This migration was significant outcome of the campaign.

Migration is not new in the history of development and rural urban relations (Haas, 2008). In Somalia, according to Omar Suleiman, “the soft migration of the rural youth to the cities was a historically natural phenomenon; but this post-campaign migration was different in terms of the large numbers of people involved, the quality of the immigrants who were rural literates, and their demography, which was overwhelmingly youth” (Omar Suleiman, personal communication, March 19, 2011).

Another important element of the migration was the timing, which coincided with the end
of the campaign, and perhaps qualifies as a campaign byproduct. The literature supports the reality of the post-campaign migration where, for instance, Adam (1980) discussed how the government was interested in the rural migrants and their urbanization to create a modern socialist society. In addition, Lewis (1988) points out how the government initiated job creation programs for the rural migrants. Although neither the interviewees nor the literature could indicate the number of the rural migrants, we can appreciate their significance and consequence from these two sources.

As we shall see, the acquisition of literacy created two important outcomes that contributed to the economic development of the Somali people: (a) Education: the campaign produced a relatively high literacy rate that empowered people and encouraged them to continue or seek further learning in both rural and urban areas. (b) Employment: many literacy graduates decided to seek employment. Some of the rural people who successfully completed the literacy program were encouraged to migrate to urban centers for better opportunities. In the following segment I will elaborate on why and how the rural youth migration to the cities took place, and how it contributed to education and employment, among other things. According to Farah Jees:

Unlike the rural literacy graduates, the literacy campaign graduates in the urban areas were fortunate to enroll in the adult education schools that were available in the cities and major towns. And although some of the adult schools existed before the campaign, there were new post-campaign schools which were improved in quality and quantity by the new Somali language instruction and the improved Somalized adult education (personal communication, February 22, 2011).

In addition, some of the people who graduated from the adult schools later enrolled in vocational schools to gain skills geared toward potential employment. Adam (1980) stated that before the Revolution of 1969, there were only two vocational and
three technical schools in the country; however, by 1977, two years after the campaign, these institutions had increased to 16 -- two polytechnics, four technical schools, two clerical management schools, three nursing schools, one for livestock husbandry, one maritime school, one telecommunication school, and one for range management. These schools later attracted many newly literate rural youths who migrated to the urban centers in search of learning and employment. As Hussein Sheikh pointed out:

Many rural campaign graduates were motivated by their young student-teachers who raised awareness and curiosity of their students through urban life narratives and city-life related photos, magazines, newspapers, and books. These exposures led literacy students to contemplate a better life in the cities. Some parents even encouraged their children to migrate to the cities and towns to seek further learning and/or employment because their success in the cities would bring badly needed remittances to the villages (Hussein Sheikh, personal communication, March 21, 2011).

This opened the door for the migration of the youth to the urban centers in search of opportunities, including further learning and employment. In the cities, the migrated youths enrolled in adult night schools offering instruction in Somali, and that facilitated many of them finding jobs. Adam (1980) pointed out how the government addressed this issue: “As the minimum objective of the mass literacy campaign was achieved, another campaign for a more systemic functional education program for adults was inaugurated. The new curriculum for non-formal education has been Somalized and vocationalized” (p. 11). According to Fatima Hassan, “Almost every Somali knows the story of someone who came from the countryside and became successful in the cities” (Fatima Hassan, personal communication, March 12, 2011). During the interview, Fatima reminded me of an unusual success story.
Though I had, in my early years, twice met the man featured here I could not now locate him for permission to use his name, so I will call him Seylon, a pseudonym. This is his story as I heard from Hassan Salat, his onetime roommate. Hassan Salat, who currently lives in Edmonton, Canada, reported:

He was born and raised in the South-Central Region of Somalia to a nomadic family, the seventh of 11 children. The main village in his area was about 20 miles away and had a population of about 500. While he was growing up, he never spent more than 12 hours in that village and that was how far he was from a sedentary life. Seylon’s father was a religious teacher who taught all his children Arabic and to memorize the Quran. At the time of the campaign, Seylon was about 25 years old, and after he learned to read and write Somali, his literacy teachers told him that he was gifted and bilingual, and if he would go to the city, he would learn further and gain a good job that might change his life positively. About six months after the end of the campaign, he convinced his father to let him go to Mogadishu to find an employment or further his learning. In 1976, Seylon arrived in the city and since he did not have any immediate relatives in the city, he came to me as an old friend and distant relative. I had come to the city 10 years earlier and at the time Seylon came to me, I was single and I took him in as a roommate and helped him enroll in adult night school. At the time, the Somali adult education was offered at night for the following reasons: (a) most adults were working to earn their livelihoods and the most appropriate time to learn was the nighttime; (b) since education facilities were limited, primary and high schools were utilized for adult education at night. These schools taught adults who had no formal education or had not completed beyond the primary level. Additionally, these schools used to offer Somali language classes, Somali history and geography, and basic math. Graduates from this system could enroll in vocational schools offering job related skills, such as communications, typing, and office management, among others. Adult technical schools offered mechanical or technical training programs. When Seylon completed a two-year program in one of these adult school programs and one year of vocational administration systems, he found an employment in the Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock Husbandry, Department of Range. In 1979, two years after he joined the department, Seylon was promoted to District Director of Forestry in the city of Marka, Lower Shabelle Region (personal communication, March 29, 2011).

When he arrived in Marka, the Regional Capital of Lower Shabelle, which also happens to be my home town, I met Seylon for the second time since 1970. I had met him
for the first time in the countryside, when I was young I was taken there in the Somali
tradition of taking city children to the country to toughen them up, give them new
experience, and perhaps make them appreciate the simple city life that they took for
granted. My parents left me with Seylon’s father, a distant relative of my father. Of the
whole family, I remember only Seylon, his father, Sheikh Noah, and Seylon’s younger
brother, Ahmed, who always used to scare me with dead animals or frighten me with
strange nomadic stories. Seylon was the most gentle in the family and used to protect me
from his brother. After few months, I was returned to my family and that was the end of a
rural adventure which turned out to be the worst experience of my childhood.

When I met Seylon the second time, in Marka, I was in high school and it amazed
me how this proud nomad had risen to the top in less than 5 years after he came from the
countryside. But, according to Hassan Salat, “other nomads were also high achievers and
their stories were considered part of the revolutionary success -- an indication perhaps of
the Cultural Revolution” (personal communication, March 29, 2011). Hassan narrated
this story to help me understand the source of success of his friend and others like him.
When I asked whether the literacy campaign played a role or in any way contributed to
his success, Hassan’s answer, based on his knowledge of Seylon and his experience in the
campaign as a student-teacher himself was that:

Five elements contributed to Seylon’s success: (1) the Somali Literacy Campaign
gave him literacy and awareness, and empowered him to change his nomad life
and migrate to the city. (2) The Somalization of the Somali systems of
administration and education provided him an easier route of training and
employment. Comparatively, the pre-Somali adult education system, taught in
English or Italian, required three years to complete level three advanced language
in order to qualify for a vocational training school of 2 - 3 more years. (3)
Seylon’s background as a nomad with 25 years of traditional knowledge and
practical experience in forestry was recognized and gave him the edge over his urban competitors. (4) There was a post-campaign innovatory system that was pro-change, and people like him were considered revolutionary success stories. (5) Personally, Seylon was an intelligent, honest, and expressive person. All these elements contributed to his success, but I will say that without the literacy campaign and the subsequent Somalization of the system, all those other factors could not have placed him where he was and would not have changed his life (Hassan Salat, personal communication, March 29, 2011).

The aim of this narrative is to provide a practical example of the impact of the campaign on certain nomad youths who migrated to the city. I was fortunate to interview two similar individuals who were not quite as successful as Seylon but whose lives were changed by the campaign. Habiba Haji narrated how her parents despised urban life:

They used to tell me that cities are infested with crime and prostitution. Two years before the campaign when I got married, my first husband decided to move to the city against the wishes of his parents. My parents did not approve his plan either and asked him to divorce me instead, which he did leaving without me. However, at the end of the campaign there was a transformation in the attitudes of the villagers and I was allowed to migrate to the city. When the young teachers came to the village, I was one of the girls assigned to facilitate their affairs and so I became very close to them. At the end of the campaign, the teachers encouraged me to come to the city and promised they would help me and take care of me until I found a place of my own. …Well, as I said earlier I learned much from the program but the most important thing was how it led me to emulate my teachers. After the program ended I managed to migrate to the city with the help of my teachers. …I was not allowed to go with them first, but about three months after the campaign, I went to stay with one of them with a plan to enroll in a night school to continue my learning. While I was in the school I met the man who would become my second husband. He owned a furniture store and I eventually started to work in the store with him and finally became a business woman (personal communication, March 26, 2011).

Later, in theme 1 of research question three, I will discuss in detail how the young student-teachers impacted their rural literacy students and how that changed many rural youths like Habiba who decided to migrate to the cities.
Similarly, Noor Ali discussed he supported his family after he migrated to the city and found a job on a highway construction project. “While I was working on the construction project, I sent money every month to them [family]. Moreover, there was a drought in the country after the campaign, and my family survived this drought very well with my contributions. Moreover, I put two of my younger brothers through school and that was a positive contribution to my family” (Noor Ali, personal communication, March 6, 2011).

These narratives show the extent to which the campaign contributed to the lives of the literacy students and transformed their lives by introducing them to the concept of secular learning, inspiring them to seek opportunities elsewhere in the country. I say secular learning, because they were already familiar with religious learning and that was the only learning which they considered worthwhile, before the campaign.

As indicated earlier, a major post-campaign migration of thousands of new literates to the towns and cities in search of better opportunities. Farah Jees, a teacher, reported that, “What motivated these new literates of mainly youth were the literacy campaign and the subsequent recognition of Somali as the official language and medium of instruction” (Personal communication, February 22, 2011). Accordingly, Adam (1980) discussed the scope of the impact of the campaign on the Somali population:

During the period of the campaign, 1.6 million people were medically treated and 1.4 million received vaccinations of one sort or another. Nineteen million animals were treated; 2.3 million of them received veterinary vaccinations. The literacy aspect of the RDC (Rural Development Campaign) involved 1.2 million people. Altogether 1,757,779 persons, including 597,665 women participated in the urban and rural literacy campaigns. The SDR [Somali Democratic Republic] now has a literacy ratio of about 70 percent. None of this would have been possible without the use of written Somali as medium of instruction. (p. 11)
This explains the background and cause of the youth migration to the urban centers. As discussed earlier, post-campaign literacy transformed the traditional process of employment and training systems of the previously uneducated adults.

For example, as Farah Jees reported:

A person who could write and read Somali could skip the equivalent of two to three years of learning a foreign language to qualify for a skills training program that would lead to employment. This contributed the creation of a job-ready workforce within a short period of time, and that assisted post-campaign economic growth in such sectors as agriculture, fishery, and livestock. The government invested in these sectors to create jobs for the unemployed youth and at the same time promote these three natural economic resources (personal communication, February 22, 2011).

The establishment of these programs coincided with young, literate, employment-seeking migrants to the urban centers, the product of the literacy campaign. Almost 80% of the respondents attributed this youth migration to the success of the literacy campaign.

**Theme 2: Education Development**

This theme is devoted to the impact of rural migration on the education system and the governmental attempts to control this outcome. At the end of the campaign, an abrupt increase in school enrollment exhausted the education resources. Additionally, the theme discusses the impact of short-cut government solutions on the education system.

**The Rapid Increase in School Enrollment**

More than 90% of the participants reported that the migration of the rural youth to the urban centers influenced education development by increasing school enrollment in the rural and urban centers. According to Dr. Abukar Moallim:

At the end of the campaign, many rural parents who admired the dedication, resiliency, and teaching capacity of the young student-teachers, thought their own young children could realize similar achievements, given the opportunity of
similar education. Note that this is different than the youth migration to the urban centers in search of better opportunities that could provide them the skills required for employment. In this instance, it was the parents who were encouraging their school-age children to seek opportunities for further learning and/or employment in the cities. In contrast to the youth migration, the idea sending children and adolescents to school in the cities was partially a parental initiative inspired by the young student-teachers and encouraged by the parents, after they saw their children reading and writing Somali. This was different than learning a foreign language as the pre-campaign rural perception used to be. In the pre-campaign perception, education was synonymous with foreign language learning, which was based on the fact that education was instructed in foreign languages. Now, many parents attempted to send their children to the urban areas to be educated and supported by close or distant relatives based in the cities. This concept of sending children to relatives was supported by a traditional Somali culture which encouraged mutual support among relatives in educating children; and that was considered Somali social capital (personal communication, February 26, 2011).

At the end of the campaign, there were government education initiatives for extending primary education to the semi-rural areas, especially the more populated strategic villages were close to such economic resource centers as farming and livestock producing districts. By 1976, these villages received schools, libraries, and other educational materials with the purpose of maintaining the literacy acquisition and to establish a new model of rural existence (Adam, 1980). These economic centers were methodically planned to establish cooperative fishery, agriculture or livestock programs, depending on the local environment. Adam pointed out that “The struggle for self-sufficiency in basic foodstuffs has received an added boost in the establishment of agricultural crash programs which also help to reduce the unemployment problem” (p. 12). This plan assisted the extension of education programs and further served to bring free education close to some rural and semi-rural peoples.

Another government program that contributed to the increased enrollment of the rural and urban school-age children was Compulsory Primary Education. This program
required parents to enroll school-age children in schools. As a result, the combination of the rural and semi-rural school extension and Compulsory Education Programs contributed to a sudden increase in primary school enrollment. A UNDP Human Resource Report on Somalia pointed out that “Enrollment in primary schools reportedly rose from 28,000 in 1970 to 271,000 by 1982. The number of primary schools increased from 287 in 1970, to 1407 by 1980. The number of teachers rose to 3,376 in 1981” (as cited in Bennaars, Seif & Mwangi, 1996, p. 69). Similarly, Adam (1980) reports that aggregate school enrollment in Somalia between 1975 and 1976 was 240,550, compared to the 1969-70 enrollment of 55,021, an increase of 437%. Because of this increased enrollment, the need for primary education teachers and the construction of new schools became critical.

The enrollment rate of 437% in 1975-76 is very high, and one wonders how this could be possible within this short period of time. According to Omar Suleiman:

The number includes both rural and urban total enrollments, and if you look at the completion of the urban campaign which was in 1974, there was enough time for this number to build up until 1976. Besides, the Compulsory School System, and the post-campaign rural migration contributed to this number. Thus, the impact of all education programs from 1974 to 1976 are included here and the output of the programs started to peak in 1976; but I also believe that this increase continued up until 1978-79 at different levels of output (personal communication, March 19, 2011)

As discusses earlier, over 90% of the interviewees attributed this sudden increase of primary and adult education enrollment, and the resultant critical demand for teachers, to the combination of the success of the literacy program and the Somalization of the education system.
Government Reaction to the Increased Education Demand

Since the existing primary teachers and classrooms were only enough for the already-existing enrollment in the education system, there was a sudden shortage of these two elements. The government had to come up with an emergency plan to solve this problem and in this section, I will discuss how the Somali government planned to solve it. In the words of Omar Suleiman:

The government strategy for solving the shortage of classrooms was the construction of new schools through a self-help program. Building large numbers of schools in a short time was very expensive and a slow process, too. As a result, the government opted for a self-help program in which the government would provide the construction materials and the teachers, but the local people would collectively build their own schools. That meant the local people had to contribute and absorb the cost of labor by volunteering to do the construction work. The construction of the schools would go on day and night and some schools were built in a matter of weeks (personal communication, March 19, 2011).

In the increase in school enrollment and the importance of self-help, Adam (1980) pointed out that—there has been an increase of 2,154 classrooms in primary education of which 1,180 were built in 1975 alone as a result of utilizing the labor of our revolutionary masses on the principle of self-help and self-reliance” (p. 17). In this way the government was able to build many schools more cheaply and faster; however, the problem of teachers was still to be resolved. Omar Suleiman discussed about government solutions for the shortage of teachers:

At the time of the revolution, there was only one college of education in the whole country. This college was awarding a four-year bachelors degree program to its graduates, and to expect this one college to solve the pressing need for teachers at its current systematic pace would have taken a long time. As a result, the government opted for the following programs to solve this urgent teacher shortage: (a) the government started to recruit many educated people who were not initially trained to teach. For instance, engineers were offered extra pay to teach math and science in primary schools. In option (b) the National Service was
utilized as teachers. The government first introduced the National Service program in 1972 and the intention was to train high school graduates as army reservists, and at the same time instill them with the new cultural revolution based on Somali Socialism. After the need for primary teachers became urgent, the National Service program was extended to include military training plus one year of teaching primary schools. This program required all high school graduates to teach one year before going on to post-secondary education (personal communication, March 19, 2011).

The program was mandatory and since higher education was free in Somalia and included tuition waivers, board and a monthly stipend, the only way for students to receive this free education was to adhere to government rules that would guarantee acceptance in the university or similar post-secondary vocational institutions.

![Female National Service students in training at Xalane army barracks. Source: courtesy, jaallesiyaad.com](image)

*Figure 13:* The above picture shows female National Service students in training at Xalane army barracks. Source: courtesy, jaallesiyaad.com

Safia Samatar who graduated from the Somali National University and went through this education process who taught math in her National Service year, and continued to teach until she enrolled in the College of Agriculture. In her statement, she
admitted that it was not easy for her to teach in Somali because she had no experience with mathematical terms in Somali. She explained that the campaign was successful but the Somalization process was not easy. In her own words:

I saw it [the campaign] was successful by the way people were mobilized and taught to read and write in their language. But after I became a math teacher, I was not well-prepared to teach math in Somali. I had to make extra preparations and consultations to do so. Even those who had previously taught math were not fully prepared to teach in Somali, and I did not know the reason, maybe the government did not have money [to hire professional teachers]. However, teachers were trying hard to educate themselves [in Somali] because everything was new. In math, there were new terminologies, such as kisi and dhaban [even and odd numbers] that we had to deal with. … Yes. I remember difficult math terms, such as Xagal, angle; mug, circumference, etc. This was a challenge, but at the same time I took it as a positive challenge to educate our students in their language [all emphases are mine] (Safia Samatar, personal communication, March 5, 2011).

The difficulty of teaching in Somali was partially due to using it as a language of instruction, and the fact that all teachers, new and old, had to learn new academic terms. However, people like Safia proved that it was possible to teach or to pass their knowledge on to the Somali students in their own language. And that is the point that Omar Suleiman was referring to in his earlier discussion about how engineers had to teach math in primary schools. The Somalization of math education was challenging and the task of resolving this problem was assumed by a prominent Somali mathematicians of the College of Education, Professor M. N. Alim, who composed the fundamentals of mathematics in the form of poetry, (Adam, 1980). Nonetheless, the National Service program could not supply the number of primary teachers required for the new schools because the National Service graduates only would work one year at a time, and besides,
the number of National Service graduates generally fluctuates annually. That is where the Primary Program teachers (PP) came in. Omar Suleiman explained the PP program:

In the Somali education system, there were two major centralized exams that the central government used to administer: the grades 8 and 12 exit exams. Thus, in option (c), to solve the primary teacher crunch the government decided to train the Grade 8 graduates as primary school teachers. After two years of teacher training, these students would teach the lower grades of primary schools. They would go back to college every other year to receive further training. This concept would allow the PP teachers to rotate between one year of teaching and one year of training until they completed a high school equivalent program and teachers training college program. In option (d), after the current primary school students passed to secondary school, they would create another shortage of secondary school teachers. To progressively solve this future secondary school shortage, the four-year College of Education training program was reduced to a two-year crash course, until a sufficient number of teachers was attained (personal communication, March 19, 2011).

The task of training new teachers was charged to the Somali College of Education, but the training process was to be modified to fit the country’s urgent need for teachers. Adam (1980) states that “The College of Education of the SNU [Somali National University], which prepares secondary school teachers, enrolls about 500 students each year in its intensive two-year program” (p. 15). At the end of this crisis, the plan was for all teachers who did not complete the full teacher training program to go back to college to complete their studies. However, this had to happen in a process of rotation between working and study breaks.

Farah Jees reported that, “This practice goes back to the colonial education experience where, for instance, teacher education was limited to four years of a teacher training program for primary school teachers, and two years for high school teachers” (Farah Jees, personal communication, February 22, 2011). This means that grade 8 graduates would take four-year teachers training to teach primary schools and high school
graduates were to complete two-year post-secondary training to teach secondary schools. The first post-secondary institution that offered a four-year teacher education was not built until 1967, at Lafole, near Mogadishu, seven years after the independence of the country.

**The Impact of the Short-cut Solutions on Education**

The initiative of finding a short-cut solution for education problems was first seen as a brilliant idea; however, as most of the teachers told me, these quick-fix solutions diminished the quality of education and finally led the system to collapse even before the government collapsed in the civil war of January 1, 1991. According to a UNDP Human Resource Report (1998), “The collapse of the formal education system was clearly well-advanced even before the civil war in 1991” (p. 69). Conversely, some educators like Sheikh Issa argued that:

The collapse of the education system was caused by other problems. The education remedies that the government implemented as short-term goals worked very well but they were not designed to be used as long-term measures and that misuse was part of the problem. These temporary education programs were supposed to revert back to their full-scale teacher training program, but time did not permit this due to the dictatorship policies which prioritized state security over education, and the 1977 Somali Ethiopian war. These two elements, among other things, caused the degeneration of education and the state, too (personal communication, February 18, 2011).

Farah Jees who was a former teacher disagrees with Sheikh Issa, and he believes that education was short changed, and this education devastation was the outcome of the short sighted policies of the government. In his words:

As a teacher, I can say that the successes of the campaign were used to dilute the quality of the primary and secondary education by emphasizing quantity over quality. One of the problems was that the government was interested in the
thousands of annual student graduates from the education system, and so the system became number oriented. On the other hand, students who passed with low grades and could not qualify for higher education were accepted as teachers to fill the need created by the increased demand of the new Somali language schools in the Education for All system. This program was known as the PP (Primary Program) teachers. Although I knew many great teachers who emerged from this program, and I say these were motivated by their love for teaching, the majority of the PP graduates became teachers because that was the only opportunity available to them. These PP teachers who had two years of teachers training facilitated for the government to claim the enrollment of large numbers of students in primary education. This was what I consider the negative impact of the literacy program on the education system (Farah Jees, personal communication, February 22, 2011).

Hussein Sheikh metaphorically stated that: “If there is a leak somewhere, you stop it with whatever comes first in your mind or your hand, and it is afterwards that you try to improve your work or replace it with better alternatives” (personal communication, March 21, 2011).

However, the problem of Somali education was that nobody bothered to find a better alternative for the temporary measures, because the revolution's priorities changed. Sheikh Issa, the former army colonel, explained how priorities changed: “The revolution changed its education priorities and lost its focus on economic development goals when, after the end of 1977 war, many attempts to overthrow the regime threatened the existence of the revolution; and from there, the government priorities changed by concentrating on its own survival” (Sheikh Issa, personal communication, February 18, 2011). The fact of the matter, according to the interviewees, is that the short cut remedies to procure teachers initially worked to alleviate the problem, but for certain political reasons, the government failed to find permanent alternative solutions to replace with the temporary ones.
According to Cassanelli and Abdikadir (2007):

Despite their noteworthy accomplishments, the educational reforms of the 1970s were not sustained into the 1980s. Like many other popular programs from the early Siyaad era, mass education fell victim to the regime's preoccupation with natural disasters, war with Ethiopia, and the subsequent refugee crisis. Increasing corruption and nepotism in all agencies of government (including the Ministry of Education) drained resources and enthusiasm from the schools, the teachers, and their pupils. It is instructive to examine what occurred in a few areas of educational and cultural life after 1975, as illustrations of what can go wrong when education is marginalized. (pp.101-102)

The shortage of the teachers, according to the data, was caused by the post-campaign sudden increase of school enrollment in rural and urban areas. Were the education authorities conscious about the possibilities of such increase and its impact on the already-limited education resources? Perhaps the enrollment increase was expected but there is a possibility that it was underestimated or the timing was miscalculated. Two elements point out this possibility: (1) the translation and writing of new textbooks; preparation of primary education curriculum; and translation of technical and scientific terms can be interpreted as an indication of preparation for Somalization of education, and to some extent, an expectation and preparation for a future increase in enrollment. (2) On the other hand, the immediate shortage of teachers that followed the end of the campaign was caused by a dramatic though unexpected rise in student enrollment, 437%, throughout the country. Besides that, the desperate measures that caused graduates of grades 8 and 12 to be trained as teachers indicates that this increase was not expected and these measures were not pre-planned. These two scenarios together indicate that the enrollment increase was perhaps expected but the rate of increase and its timing were beyond the imagination of the authorities (personal analysis).
The interviewees further pointed out that the government reaction in selecting these measures was the only solution available at the time, and the measures were considered temporary until a permanent solution could be found.

**Theme 3: Economic Development and Employment Opportunities**

This theme considers the economic development and employment opportunities which were attributed to the campaign contribution to the national development. In addition, it explains the achievements of the campaign.

During the revolution, and immediately after the completion of the campaign, there was fast industrialization in the country. Some of the major projects implemented in the country, according to Hussein Sheikh, included:

- The spaghetti factory, fruit factory, matches, cement, meat processing, leather and hide, textiles, sugar, rice, soft drinks, oil refinery, electricity, and cereal factories which were extended to every regional capital of the country. In addition, four major sea ports were built or extended in four important locations -- such as Kismayo, Mogadishu, Barbera, and Bosasso (see map) (personal communication, March 21, 2011).

These four seaports are currently the busiest handling the country’s import and export. In view of that, Samatar (1988) specified some of the development projects implemented in the 1970s. In his words:

By 1978, a number of significant projects (70% foreign financed) had been established. Among these were a cigarette and match factory, a packaging plant for cardboard boxes and polyethylene bags, fruit and vegetable canning plants, a wheat flour and pasta factory, several grain mills, and iron foundry, and a petroleum refinery. Towards the end of the plan, there were fifty-three state owned manufacturing enterprises as against fourteen in 1970 (p. 98).

In addition, Noor Ali pointed out that:

The construction of the national highway, the longest in the country, which connects the Southern regions to the northern part of the country, provided many jobs to many newly migrated youths to the cities during its implementation in
1975-80. This highway construction project saved me from the adventure of migrating to a big city. When I finally decided to leave the rural life behind, I did not go directly to the city but I found a job on a highway construction project which was implemented by the Chinese government. This project employed a large number of people, mostly nomads, because they needed people who could do hard labor which city people may not need. They were hiring almost every able-bodied man and woman and training them as drivers, technicians, caterpillar operators, welders, auto mechanics, and everything else. I worked on this project for almost three years, and when I left I had saved enough many to take care of myself, to go to wherever I wanted, plus I was a driver and I could speak some Chinese (personal communication, March 6, 2011).

The objective of this rapid industrialization was to reach self-sufficiency in food production within 10 years, 1970-80 (Adam, 1980). On the other hand, the industrialization assisted in providing jobs for the rural youths newly migrated to the urban centers, which coincided with completion of the 1975 campaign and the need for a literate workforce for the factories. Dr. Moallim informed that:

The period between 1971 and 1977 was when Somalia witnessed the most rapid economic growth in the history of the country. However, the momentum of this growth was lost due to the 1977 Somali-Ethiopian war; and from that period, there was an economic decline which started to reduce the economic growth and continued until the collapse of the state in 1991 (personal communication, February 26, 2011).

One of the areas that witnessed a tangible expansion was the agricultural sector. With the establishment of agricultural development corporations and agricultural extension programs, this sector provided jobs to many people. Safia Samatar, who later became an agronomist, stated that:

The agricultural extension program created many village-level projects on which agricultural experts would work with villagers to experiment with new treated seeds. They had to train village farmers about the proper techniques of farming these seeds. The post-campaign training of the farmers was quite effective because most of the farmers were literate and that made programs more successful. These extension programs saw the introduction of new kinds of rice in the country and contributed to the increase of rice production in Somalia with the
help of the Chinese. Additionally, these agricultural extension programs employed a large number of different workers, from agricultural experts and technicians to low-level workers. Through this program, a network of irrigation canals was developed, the largest since the Italian colonial irrigation systems (Safia Samatar, personal communication, March 5, 2001).

Consequently, Lewis (1984) reported that: "the 1974-8 five year Development Plan allocated 30 per cent (£200 million) of the total budget to further agricultural development. Special consideration was given to resuscitate moribund state farms and the formation of further co-operative and crash programme farm settlements to absorb the unemployed towns men and surplus population from the nomadic sector of the economy (a matter of critical urgency following the 1975 drought)" (p.215).

I am describing these development programs to shed some light on how, after the completion of the campaign, a large number of unemployed newly literate youth migrated from the countryside to urban and semi-urban centers for job opportunities; and how the government made an effort to absorb them through various development projects. All these indicate the level of economic development in the country at the time, and the contribution of the campaign to this development. Thus, the contribution of the campaign was (a) creating a new literate and job-ready youth with new sociopolitical consciousness; (b) breaking the barriers of misconceptions and mistrust between the urban-rural societies; (c) the migration of these youth to the urban centers; and (d) the mobilization of these youths to create an economic momentum to increase the production of the three main natural resources of the nation -- agriculture, livestock, and fisheries.

Cahill (1980) reported that, "yet today, two years after the beginning this experiment in national transformation, the former nomads are bringing in 600,000 pounds
of fish per day, live in fixed communities with schools and hospitals, with canning factories and export quota. They are a people with new dreams as well as new realities” (p. 46). Unlike livestock, the government attempted to modernize agricultural and fishery production by introducing cooperative programs; and this created job opportunities for the people, specifically the youth. These cooperative programs were setup in small towns and villages along the rivers and coastal areas. The development programs unified many projects, including resettlement efforts, job creation for youth, and self-sufficiency programs in basic foods.

According to the Federal Research Division (2010), “The fisheries’ potential and the need to expand food production, coupled with the problem of finding occupations for nomads ruined by the 1974-75 drought, resulted in government incentives to nomad families to settle permanently in fishing cooperatives; about 15,000 nomads were reported established in such cooperatives in late 1975” (p. 111). Likewise, agricultural cooperatives were set up to accommodate another 100,000 nomads from the northern and central drought-stricken regions who were resettled in the southern inter-riverine fertile regions (Federal Research Division, 2010). In these resettlement programs, Adam (1980) explained, there was a government policy of transforming nomads into settled communities. Accordingly, the Supreme Revolutionary Council decided to resettle most of the 260,000 nomads afflicted by the draught in new agricultural and fishing communities. This involves a radical transformation from nomadism to settled life. It is part of the long-run strategy of creating a nation of modern workers, a prerequisite for progress into a mature socialist society” (p. 12).
However, Farah Jees, who briefly worked with the United Nations on the resettlement projects, revealed that:

Although the resettlement and job creation programs were implemented at the same period, their objectives, organization, and locations were different. For example, while the job creation programs were located in the villages and urban centers, the resettlement projects were located in geographically remote areas which the government specifically designed for the permanent resettlement of the draught victims. The resettlement camps were restricted areas where the incoming or outgoing passage had a limited and controlled access (Farah Jees, personal communication, February 22, 2011).

The common relationship among all these different programs was their purpose and capacity to employ rural and urban unemployed youths. According to Sid, “...the cooperatives used to sell their produce at a fixed price to government-established agencies that would re-market these products to local and international markets; and that was how both the government and the cooperatives were making income” (Farah Jees, personal communication, February 22, 2011). Thus, according to the data, a number of different development projects were established for economic development. However, the relationship between the campaign and these projects is the industrious and productive contribution of the workforce, which was the product of the campaign in terms of training and motivating them to migrate to the urban centers, and this serves the main objective of the campaign, reading for development.

**Literacy Achievements**

The migration of new literates to the urban centers represented two main aspects.

(a) Broken barriers: Rural people were usually skeptical about life in the cities and towns, as revealed in Habiba’s narrative of how her parents refused to let her migrate when her
first husband decided to move to the city. The parents believed urban people to be selfish and arrogant, living a life surrounded by crime and prostitution.

Thus, a significant migration of nomads and farmers to the cities represented a new rural social consciousness based on a rural change of attitude towards urban people and their life. It represented a breach of the barriers of sociocultural, misunderstanding, ignorance, and division and that was one of the objectives of the campaign. If anything, it shows that campaign objectives of reunification and socio-cultural development were achieved. (b) Success of the literacy: The newly graduated literates started to move to the cities in considerable numbers in search of opportunities.

According to Freire (2006):

Humans, however, because they are aware of themselves and thus of the world—because they are conscious beings—exist in a dialectical relationship between the determination of limits and their own freedom. As they separate themselves from the world, which they objectify, as they separate themselves from their own activity as they locate the seat of their decisions in themselves and in their relations with the world and others, people overcome the situations which limit them: the ‘limit-situation’. (p. 99)

In normal rural tradition, nomads would travel to the urban centers only to sell their produce or buy supplies. But after the campaign, the only thing they were looking for was a market for their newly acquired literacy. Their intention was to translate it into benefits, in this case, further learning and/or employment. In their terms, they were educated now, because to empower them, their teachers told them that literacy was the key to open the doors of opportunity. In fact, according to Hussein Sheikh, ‘The concept of ‘literacy is the key that opens the doors of opportunities’ was one of the first introductory lessons in the literacy primer book’ (Hussein Sheikh, personal
communication, March 21, 2011). And now that they were literate, they had to take their literacy-keys to the cities and see what doors they could open.

For years, the stigma of the rural people separating them from the city people was the knowledge of foreign languages that bestowed success to those who had it. In fact, the knowledge of a foreign language was synonymous with education. In those days, people would describe a person’s credentials, qualities, or success in terms of their knowledge of one of the foreign languages he or she could speak. In contrast, today’s reality is that Somali has replaced those dominant foreign languages and today bestows all the prestige a foreign language could, including further education and/or employment. According to Geshekter (1980): “Professor B. W. Andrzejewski, the University of London linguist who is one of the foremost authorities on Somali language studies, recently remarked that, “within eight years the Somali vocabulary has had to pass through a process of expansion which in some European languages took more than two centuries” (p. x). Discussing the result of the Somali Literacy Campaign Saami Abdi reported that:

Before the Somalization of the administration system, in front of every major government ministry there used to be a long line of freelance young men with typewriters who spoke English or Italian. The business of these freelance writers was to write applications or fill forms for the illiterate people or those who did not speak either English or Italian and who could not fill a simple form to seek services. The same thing existed in the courts of law. People had to find someone who could either explain what was on the paper they were given by a particular office, or could explain their needs to the office where they wanted to ask for services. However, after the Somalization of the administration system, all these freelance self-employed writers were out of work and had to look for jobs like anybody else (personal communication, February 19, 2011).
Similarly Adam (1980) pointed out that the use of Somali in administration systems contributed to the efficient communication between the public and government. In his own words:

Written Somali has proved efficient in communications both within and between ministries and agencies. It also helped to reduce the former gap between the state and the public. Correspondence between the state and members of the public has increased both in quantity and quality. Ordinary Somalis are now able to read and understand government regulations, legal documents, and financial transactions which affect their lives. They participate in court procedures without the bothersome mediation of interpreters. (p.6)

Therefore, the impact of the literacy campaign on the people in terms of literacy, reduction of socio-cultural barriers, youth migration and their effect in education and employment were all recognized by the public as symbols of success. For instance, there was a significant demand for a workforce in the urban centers on the development projects, and there were a considerable number of young migrant job seekers looking for these opportunities. Thus, on the one hand, the literacy campaign graduates felt that their literacy was immediately rewarded with jobs and education opportunities; and on the other hand, the economic activities which were produced in this process were perceived as a positive contribution of the campaign to the economy.
Chapter Six: The Outcomes of the Campaign

This chapter discusses the expected and unexpected outcomes of the literacy campaign and how they impacted the rural population. After analysis of the data, the following three themes emerged from the participant information: (1) The role of the student-teachers and their campaign experience; (2) The impact of the campaign on the rural population; (3) Youth, the major beneficiaries of the campaign.

Figure 14: Emergent themes from research question three.

Theme 1: The Role of the Student-teachers and their Campaign Experience

This theme reveals the role of the student-teachers in the campaign and their impact/influence on their students. Further, it presents the student-teacher experiences from the campaign, including the rural diet, and the student-teacher relationship with the
rural community. Finally, it explains how these experiences transformed the student-teachers and literacy students on different but equal levels.

Somali students, according to the data, constituted more than 80% of the overall campaign workers and almost 100% of the literacy teachers. Respondents unanimously informed me that all literacy teachers were students, and the professional teachers were supervisors and project managers. Lewis (1988) contends that 30,000 secondary school students and their teachers were dispatched to the rural areas to teach literacy to their compatriots. One of the revelations of this study was how, according to all the respondents, all literacy teachers were students.

*Figure 15:* This photo reveals the tender age of the student-teachers and their physical delicacy as shown, were equipped with water bottles and chalk boxes. Inside the folding blackboard are a blanket and the literacy textbook, among other things. The name of the program —Rural Development Campaign” is handwritten on the blackboard. Source: Dr. Abdinur Mohamed, former Somali Minister of Education.
Omar Suleiman indicated that, “Student-teachers were the only people who were teaching. All the other people who were working in the campaign were facilitating their work in one way or another” (Omar Suleiman, personal communication, March 19, 2011).

Thus, a legitimate question could be raised as to why the campaign planners opted for students as the sole literacy teachers when the government had other options, such as teachers, the armed forces, and other government workers-- as was the case in the urban campaign. When we posed this question to the students and the teachers, no one could provide a plausible answer because, according to the student-teachers, the decision to use students as teachers came from the top circles of the government. Shafi Shakir, who participated in the campaign as student-teacher pointed out:

“I cannot explain the reasons behind student participation in the campaign, because the political culture of the Somali military regime was top-bottom and sometimes the real-motives were not explained or justified to the public. And yet the public was expected to support government decisions (as a national duty) without questions (Shafi Shakir, personal communication, February 15, 2011).

However, the teachers and other civil servants provided answers for this question. For example, Farah Jees, a teacher, reported that “one of the main reasons of utilizing students was to re-educate them about the Somali culture. The source of the Somali culture and language is nomadism, we are a nomad nation; and for this reason the young generation was to be re-educated about this culture” (Farah Jees, personal communication, February 22, 2011).

Omar Suleiman, the campaign inspector of the Southern Regions, in answer to this question said students were the most suitable group to teach literacy. In his words:
The students were the most flexible and most cost effective to be utilized. But there was another objective; revolutions target youth, especially students, in development programs for different rationales. One of the Somali rationales was that in order to eliminate the social barriers between the rural and urban communities in the future, you need to bring together the rural and urban youths for a dialogue. The old generation has already made up their minds, thus, you do not have to waste your time trying to change them. For this reason, the campaign was an opportunity for these youths to meet, understand, and accept each other (Omar Suleiman, personal communication, March 19, 2011).

Mr. Suleiman identified another reason that necessitated involvement of the students as the sole literacy teachers: “In less than a decade, the high school students who served the rural people in the campaign graduated from universities and colleges and started again to serve the rural people as doctors, teachers, and administrators. This time, they were serving a people they had already met and so understood their culture and needs” (Omar Suleiman, personal communication, March 19, 2011). This corroborates the aforementioned idea of re-educating students in their culture and introducing them to their counterparts in the rural areas; but it also indicates the realization of a long-term campaign vision of how student-teachers would contribute to the lives of the rural population in the future. That was 1975, and one of these student-teachers, Dr. Abukar Moallim, who graduated from medical school six years after the campaign ended, discussed his post-campaign experience:

In 1982, I was transferred to the Nugal Region of Northern Somalia as Regional Director of Public Health. While I was serving the people of this region, I appreciated my understanding of their needs and the knowledge of the local culture, which was part of my campaign experience. This experience contributed to my leadership and administrative skills to better serve the people who are mainly rural inhabitants (Abukar Moallim, personal communication, February 26, 2011).
As indicated earlier, the student-teachers constituted the largest group of workers in the literacy campaign for important reasons. To understand these reasons, I present here the interpretation and analysis of the data, which generated the following four reasons as the main motives behind the overwhelming participation of students in the program: (1) They were a homogenous and job-ready group who could easily fill the required teaching positions; and the combination of different groups like teachers, the army, and government workers with different backgrounds and institutional cultures could have created organizational and managerial problems. (2) They were disciplined or could be easily disciplined or controlled and were dedicated to their job without expectations of any reward or payment. (3) Student-teachers were paid minimum pocket money of about $10 per month, which was affordable for the government and the students were happy with it. That was cost effective. (4) Students were the future of the nation and by being sent to the countryside, they learned firsthand about the life and needs of the rural people. For these reasons, it was perhaps decided to have them visit the rural people in their own settlements to serve them better in the future. These were the major points that teachers and civil servants agreed were the driving force behind student participation.

The Learning Dichotomy

All interviewees unanimously stated that student-teachers learned something from the communities in which they were working. Almost all of them said that when they first arrived in the countryside they were afraid of the dark, insects, rats, snakes, and they could not sleep well because of the sound of the wild animals. More than half of them
had close and personal encounters with wild animals or other psychological fears. For instance, Dr. Karima Bashir narrated one of her campaign experiences:

One night I needed to go the outhouse, but I could not go alone or with my friends because they were also afraid. In such a situation, we would talk to the villagers and an adult male would accompany us to the outhouse and then would give us a space of privacy. But that particular dark and rainy night, I asked the man to stay close to me and I sat down about one meter away from his feet. The man looked the other way to give me some privacy, but I told him not to look away and to keep an eye on me; and when the surprised man asked me why, I told him in a very strong tone, "What if I am snatched away by a lion while you are looking the other way?" I am sure that he could not believe my reaction or evaluate my situation but I did not care because I was fighting for my dear life (personal communication, February 24, 2011).

Some of the participants told me that they had scary dreams or visualizations of scary delusions during the first weeks of the campaign. For this reason, Lewis (1988) contended that:

The unpredictability of nomadic movements and the exigencies of the nomadic life did not make for easily accessible, unencumbered students, even when watering fees were waived at government wells to attract potential pupils. On the other hand some of the young teachers, whose urban upbringing had precluded experience of that nomadic life, found the rigours of the bush far appealing. (p. 217)

There were many narratives similar to Bashir’s, which indicated the difficult situations that these students experienced while performing their duties. The worst of these trepidations took place in the first quarter of the campaign. The data shows that by the second quarter student-teachers were beginning to adapt to their new life and occupation and overcame their fears. What is more, student-teachers did not just stick to their literacy work, but many chose to participate in the hard labor that their hosts were performing, whether it was farming or grazing the animals. Dr. Abukar Moallim stated that:
I used to wake up early in the morning and after my breakfast milk, I would go with the camel-boys to take the camels for grazing. At about 11:00 AM when we reached the grazing area, we would sit down and I would start to teach the lessons. That was the best way to teach without squandering their work and time (personal communication, February 26, 2011).

The participation of the students in the rural tasks gave them an opportunity to learn new skills. During their stay with the nomads, the student-teachers learned different skills about livestock husbandry and farming. In this view, Lewis (1988) reported that “In this ‘outward-bound’ project therefore, if those nomads who participated in lessons showed that they could quickly master the new script, their teachers often learnt as much as they taught” (p. 217). This contributed to the personal development of the student-teachers in terms of understanding the socio-cultural values of the rural people, real live experiences, endurance, and personal responsibility. Sheikh confirmed, “When I went back to my home, my family was surprised about the change in my attitude, my maturity, accountability, and reliability” (Hussein Sheikh, personal communication, March 21, 2011). Similarly, Dr. Abukar Moallim said that, “walking long distances in the wilderness enabled me to not depend on city transportation after I came back to the city. On the other hand, I stopped drinking tea or coffee to reduce my dependence on caffeine, and I started eating traditional foods like soor, cornmeal, and cambuulo, beans, which I did not like before” (Abukar Moallim, personal communication, February 26, 2011).

Sheikh Issa narrated the story of his younger brother who participated in the campaign and came back transformed: “My brother was born and raised in the capital Mogadishu, and he never left it before the campaign. Not only he was taken away from his hometown for the first time, but he was sent to the Northeast Region, more than 1000 km. away
from Mogadishu. And he left a boy and came back a man” (Sheikh Issa, personal communication, February 18, 2011). At the end of the campaign, there was a widespread perception among the parents that the experience of the campaign has positively transformed the character of the student-participants. To this end, Farah Jees reported how parents were proud of the behavioral change in their children:

For months after the campaign, most of parental discussions were about how their children who participated in the campaign came back with such transformed attitudes. Astonished parents were bragging about how their children had changed, saying something like: “They do not demand as much as before; they eat whatever is on the table; and they are very serious in their studies”. There was also a perception that teenage problems where minimized; and as a result, parents became appreciative of how their children were now more disciplined, and focused more on the important matters in life (personal communications, February 22, 2011).

The campaign had this dichotomy of learning and teaching for both the teachers and the students; everyone involved was simultaneously a learner and a teacher. The experience of the student-teachers who served in the literacy campaign varied according to male and female, depending on the location they had worked. For instance, the experience of the female campaign workers who served in the semi-settled locations was different of that of their male counterparts who worked in the highlands and the desert. This experience was based on the state of the environment such as the terrain, weather, availability of water, and the physical stability of the settlements in comparison to nomads vs. settled and semi-settled farming communities. All the student-teachers, however, indicated that they had learned from this experience in a positive way that entirely changed their lives, including their perception of rural people, their behavior, and culture --in contrast to urban existence. In view of that, Bhola (1984) remarked that —
has been said that through dialectical process, the rural campaign also became, in as far as the teachers learned, as much as they taught” (p.160). Shafi Shakir explained the importance of the level of understanding between the student-teachers and the nomads with whom he worked:

Before the campaign [In the cities], we were suspicious about the nomads and we were afraid of them as ruthless people who did not understand about life and did not care about it. And they were suspicious about us as lazy and selfish people who did not care about anything but their own lives. But after interacting with each other in the campaign, we understood each other as two good peoples who did not know each other before; so it was an opportunity to know each other. Sometimes I think that ‘understanding each other’ was one of the objectives of the campaign. Moreover, we [student-teachers] were very fragile when it came to being out of the city environment. But we came back as mature, tough, and responsible people. And we came back to our community as respected heroes, too (Shafi Shakir, personal communication, February 15, 2011).

Similarly, Dr. Moallim reported that he was fragile when he first arrived in the Hiran highlands, and he explained how he later became strong and adapted to the harsh rural realities:

I used to walk every weekend 6 to 7 hours to the nearest village to treat myself with some of the city foods that I had missed, including bread, anjeera, Somali pancake, and pasta. But when I come back to the settlement, after another 7 hours of return walk, I would arrive exhausted and lost the delight and satisfaction of whatever I ate in the village. However, this did not stop me from making the same cumbersome trip to the village the next weekend only to come back again exhausted and with all my body aching from the long walk. One of the reasons that I was doing this was because I was with a nomad camel-herding community whose main staple food was camel milk. And I was drinking it every day for breakfast, lunch, dinner, and in-between as snack or dessert. Another difficult issue that I faced was that the community that I was teaching in moved three times and, of course, I had to move with them. But I do not regret all these complicated occurrences; because they made me a better person (Abukar Moallim, personal communication, February 26, 2011).

As we discussed earlier, Dr. Abukar Moallim’s rural experience came in handy when he graduated from medical college and transferred to work in the rural country. He
appreciated his knowledge of the territory and rural culture. For this reason, he said, “sometimes think that the idea behind sending us to the nomad-country was perhaps to learn the countryside and the rural people” (Abukar Moallim, personal communication, February 26, 2011). In contrast to Dr. Moallim, Hussein Sheikh divided his campaign experience into days and nights. He enjoyed the daytime but his nights were fearful. This fear lasted about two months, and after that, he enjoyed the rest of the campaign experience. In his words:

Although I was afraid of almost anything, I was enjoying the campaign as a camping trip. My worst experience was my fear of snakes and I was fine in the daytime but after sunset all the sticks, twigs, and canes would transform into snakes. This was difficult for the first month but after that I had my own stick to use day and night. During the first month I was afraid to go anywhere without company. The villagers used to couple me with young children half of my age to give me company. But after two months I could go anywhere I wanted on my own without company or supervision (Hussein Sheikh, personal communication, March 21, 2011).

In these narrations, two things are obvious: The strange nature of the rural environment was foreign to the student-teachers and defied their expectations; and they consequently overcame the unanticipated peculiarity of the people and the environment. The following four figures will illustrate the different physical terrain in which different student-teachers were working. For example, Shafi Shakir was working in the Sanaag highland, Dr. Bashir was in the farmland on the banks of Shabelle River; and Sheikh Issa’s brother (mentioned in his narrative) was posted in the desert of the Northeast where date plants are grown to reverse desertification (see Figures 16-18).
Figure 16: The Sanaag highland. Source: courtesy, ufeyn.com.

Figure 17: Jannaale farmland. Source: courtesy, ufeyn.com.
To minimize environmental problems, the government gave priority for the female student-teachers and teachers to be allocated in the semi-rural areas near the banks of the two rivers, Jubba and Shabelle. These inter-riverine areas generally have abundant water throughout the year and 90% of the farming population is sedentary or semi-sedentary. However, this did not minimize the predicament of the female student-teachers who were working there. In fact, their stories were not all that different from those of their male counterparts who were serving in the north and central dry arid land.

Dr. Karima Bashir reported that she and her colleagues were working in the Deemeey village near Brava, one of the most fertile areas on the banks of Shabelle River, not far from the historical city of Brava. In the following narrative, she explained her first impression of the rural life:
When we first arrived in the village, people were indifferent, and they gave us a house which was the furthest corner of the village near the bank of the river. We noticed that they had altered the entrance of the house and made a new door facing towards the river, blocking the old door which faced towards the village. We took the change as a sign of alienation and mistrust. In this environment, we could not sleep the first nights due to the howling of wild animals. Moreover, we could not recognize the difference between the cries of the hyenas, the lions and others. Every animal cry was equally frightening. But after few weeks, the villagers became more receptive to us and friendlier. They even reopened the old door facing towards the village in a gesture of goodwill. The issue of the villagers was, we found out later, that they had never received any services from the government and were suspicious about the intentions of this program. But few weeks after we started teaching, suspicions faded away and good relations started to develop between us. (Karima Bashir, personal communication, February 24, 2011)

The misconceptions of the rural population towards the campaign objectives were reported by different campaign workers, mainly student-teachers. Since most of the interviewees insisted that the campaign objectives were clear for the nomads, then this is an indication that some of them misunderstood the campaign objectives, specially, the census part. In this regard, Safia Samatar indicated that in her experience, “There were some people who were suspicious because they were not comfortable with the current changes in their environment, which perhaps they needed more time to process” (Safia Samatar, personal communication, March 5, 2011). From a different perspective, Shafi Shakir reported an experience in the Northern Regions where:

[T]here were some nomadic families who were suspicious about the intention of the government. For example, the campaign was actually in two parts: part one was teaching reading and writing; part two was the census, which was counting the nomads and their animals. For instance, there were some nomads who believed that the government was counting them for taxation purposes. Such nomads would inflate the number of their children and minimize the number of animals they owned so the government would not levy taxes on them, just in case (Shafi Shakir, personal communication, February 15, 2011).
According to these narratives, there were different reasons that people were suspicious about the intentions of the campaign. And although some of the negative notions faded away within the first or second month of the campaign, some of them continued to haunt the campaign workers until the end. There were other socio-cultural and even economic problems that were simultaneously stressed or even sometimes endangered the lives of the campaign participants. I will present the experience of one female student-teacher who was working in the semi-sedentary farming area, when female campaign workers were assigned due to its abundant water and, moderate weather, plus its close proximity to major cities and towns, in case of emergency. Dr. Karima Bashir's experience with the semi-settled agro-pastoral people is an example of some of the difficulties that the student-teachers faced and in her narrative, she recounted four incidents that seriously and negatively impacted her life:

The first event was one night while we were sleeping a herd of elephants visited our compound, moving frenziedly around the house. We sensed a fearful commotion but could not comprehend what it was. But in the morning when we opened the door and saw the elephant dung in front of our house, we got scared for a second time. That was one of the reasons the door of our house was reshaped to its original state towards the village. The second instance was one morning when we woke up and found a king cobra sleeping coiled on top of my mosquito net. I could not come out from the net until the men of the village removed the cobra and then killed it. But my worst experience during the whole campaign was when one afternoon a hunter shot my colleague and best friend, Hidaya Siedow, in the face and killed her by accident. The village hunter was trying to explain to Hidaya how the gun works when it went off by accident. After this incident, my remaining colleagues and I were transferred to another village where we worked until the end of the campaign. The fourth incident took place almost at the end of the campaign while we were conducting the census. My group was being transported with a Land Rover van, which had a fabric roof rather than a metal one, we were going from one village to another to complete the census forms by registering people and their livestock. In one of the villages we were attacked by a number of men with spears and arrows. The attack took place the moment we arrived in the village and before we even got out of the car. I remember the spears
and arrows piercing the sides of the car through the fabric. We were about six girls and our female supervisor, a famous teacher called Halima Aroosh; we all started to panic and scream at the same time our teacher yelled at the driver: “Go, go, go!” He accelerated immediately out of the village. We were later told that the purpose of the attack was to sabotage the census, because they misinterpreted its purpose as a government plot to tax their livestock or confiscate their produce, so they came up with this plan to scare us away from their village. But for us this was a serious threat to our lives that we could never forget it. (Karima Bashir, personal communication, February 24, 2011)

There were many casualties in the campaign, some of which were never reported. According to Dr. Karima Bashir, “The most-high profile of these casualties was the Minister of Higher Education, Dr. Gaheyr, who died in a highway accident one night while returning from a campaign tour of duty” (Karima Bashir, personal communication, February 24, 2011). One can imagine how Dr. Karima Bashir and her colleagues felt about these incidents, especially after they witnessed the death of one of their own. But when I asked Karima about the impact of these experiences on her, she replied that, “What I learned from the campaign was more important than what I lost; because what I lost had reason and meaning. That is the meaning of sacrifice” (Karima Bashir, personal communication, February 24, 2011). Almost all the student-teachers who participated in the study told me that the positive experience that they acquired from the campaign and the literacy of the rural population far outweigh the difficulties which they have experienced during the campaign.

**Rural Diet for Endurance and Transformation**

I mentioned earlier Dr. Abukar Moallim’s account of drinking milk for breakfast, lunch, and dinner, among other things. Some student-teachers in different regions of the country discussed the kind of food they eat, and while some of them enjoyed the food,
others were just managing to survive, at least for the first part of the campaign. At the end of the campaign, most of them considered the food episodes as a part of their experience.

For example, Hussein Sheikh reported that:

The community where I was teaching was of small sustenance farm; but they were also seasonal hunters for their protein needs. Their main diet was wild birds, especially turkey, guinea fowl, and sometimes deer. What was remarkable about the village people was how they used to treat me with enormous respect. Whenever food is ready they would reserve the best part of the meat for me. This was an encouragement and empowerment for me to do my work even better; and remember, I was just 14 years old. I liked this succulent bird meat which was not available in the city and so this was a new experience to me, too (Hussein Sheikh, personal communication, March 21, 2011).

Compared to Dr. Moallim and Sheikh, whose main diets were camel milk and bird meat, Dr. Bashir’s diet was vegetables. Her village was agro-pastoral; however, they were traditionally vegetarian. The two main vegetables that Somalis traditionally eat cooked are koosto and kable, which grow wild in the countryside. These vegetables are available in the rainy season along the valleys and river banks. For the inhabitants of these rural areas, vegetables are free food which helps them to conserve their livestock meat and farm crops. In contrast, urban people are hardly vegetarians but eat fruits and salads with their other food. Thus, it was difficult for the student-teachers like Karima who were working in the villages along the Shabelle River and its adjacent valleys to easily assume a vegetarian diet. Karima reported that:

The way that villagers prepared their cooked vegetables was different than the way we do in the city. They did not season it or make a sauce for it, but it was just the plant, water, and salt, and that makes it dull and unappetizing. But after we had been eating this food for about two months, we all lost weight and became slim and healthy to the point where our parents and relatives asked us, during their visiting occasions, what kind of food we were eating. At the end we realized that although this food had insipid taste, it was nutritious and high in fiber. That was not the only food we were eating, there was also diary food like milk,
buttermilk, and cheese, among others. However, we did not consider these dairy foods a meal in our urban culture (Dr. Karima Bashir, personal communication, February 24, 2011).

Hence, according to the student-teachers, the availability of food and its nature and category were different according to the different regions of the country, and the character of the terrain, weather, farmland, pastureland, coastal-land or highland. These different physical characteristics of the land dictate the nature of foods that are produced and consumed by the inhabitants. Farah Jees pointed out that, — while urban people eat a variety of different foods -- meat, cereals, vegetables, and diary – at a single meal to obtain a balanced diet, rural people only eat the food they produce. Thus, in a normal situation, pastoralists consume diary product and farmers consume cereals” (personal communication, February 22, 2011). But this was not a normal situation, at least in some parts of the country, as the campaign coincided with the winter dry season. In the dry season, rural productivity falls to a minimum, and the people resort to alternative harvesting of natural resources, such as wild animals in the arid pastureland, and wild fruits and vegetables in the farmland between the two rivers. In agro-pastoral land, which is good in both agriculture and livestock, people can alternate their produce, depending on the seasons.

In that perspective, Dr. Abukar Moallim, Hussein Sheikh, and Dr. Karima Bashir represented these different experiences of regional food products, and demonstrated an important synopsis of their rural diet experience. For example, Dr. Moallim and Sheikh‘s diets‘ were overwhelmingly milk and meat, respectively, and Dr. Bashir consumed a mixed diet of vegetables and diary food.
Thus, the experience of these student-teachers in terms of diet and environment became to a personal training where they developed tolerance and endurance for survival. When they went back to their homes, it was normal for them to eat almost anything that came available to them, including things they did not like prior to the campaign. As Farah Jees expressed earlier, this transformation was important to their families.

**Reception, Respect, and the Formation of Partnership**

The reception of the student-teachers in the rural country was not automatic but took a while to evolve. Most of the students reported some initial indifference, based fundamentally on cultural reservations, traditional misconceptions, and perceptions. According to Farah Jees:

> There was a traditional local trade-relationship between the rural and urban peoples; however, there was no social relationship between them, and to my knowledge, no government or other entity had ever organized a symposium or a conference to facilitate a mutual social understanding between the rural and urban peoples. As a result, each community had its own negative perceptions against the other until the Literacy Campaign of 1974-75. Thus, it was this campaign which opened the doors for an uncontrolled interaction between these communities and initiated the infusion of ideas, language, and culture to each other (personal communication, February 22, 2011)

About the first month of the campaign, all student interviewees reported doubts and reservations against them. As I discussed earlier in the cases of Dr. Bashir and Shakir, rural inhabitants believed there was a government conspiracy against rural people by staging this campaign as a means of controlling their economic production or even confiscating their produce. But within months, these misconceptions were minimized, although about 10% of the population maintained their suspicions against the government and the campaign objectives.
However, participants reported that the last half of the campaign was relatively smoother due to a better understanding between the campaign workers and their rural hosts. Some of the participants reported strong relationships which developed beyond the campaign and brought together the families of the student-teachers and the host-families. Although this was not widespread, most of the participants reported to have witnessed cases like this with the nomad families invited to the cities by the student-teachers and/or their families. As discussed earlier, Habiba Haji’s story about how one of her teachers invited her to the city and hosted her in her house until she found a place of her own is a good example. Thus, although the relationship between the student-teachers had a rough start, it evolved later into a significant cordial partnership.

According to Hussein Sheikh, there were three elements that facilitated the cordial relationship between the rural population and the student-teachers:

The first element was the role of the elders in facilitating the relationship between the government and the people. The elders were part of the local campaign umbrella which was established to assist the government in the implementation of the campaign. And in the rural country, the elders are the decision makers and the highest authority to refer to. As a result, the elders, however suspicious, could evaluate the position of the government and its capacity to banish or reward; this gives them the wisdom of choosing the safest side of working with the government. The second element was the role of tradition and culture which gives special preference and consideration to guests, elders, and in this case, teachers and scholars. The third and most important element, and this was especially important in my case, was the role of the youth, who constituted almost 80% of my students (Hussein Sheikh, personal communication, March 21, 2011).

The constitution of a youth majority was not limited just to Hussein Sheikh’s students. More than half of the Somali population during the campaign was young; and their willingness to participate in the program as learners and as a particular interest group was important. According to Bhola (1984), 56% of the Somali population was
under 24 years of age during the campaign. I identify the youth as a particular interest group, because they were almost the same age as their teachers; they were relatively open minded; and they held a considerable curiosity about city life and city people.

Thus, as discussed earlier under the topic of youth migration, the rural youth unlike the adults, with their special interest and curiosity for the campaign workers, and had a special agenda in mind. They were not satisfied with the rural life and were always looking for an opportunity to experience urban life. In reaction to the youth agenda, most of the parents objected to the idea of abandoning the traditional way of life and the family means of production. But in this situation, if the possibility of going to the city was not easily feasible, this time the city people are here to offer something. This fact put the youth into a special category in the rural population with a special agenda. For this reason, the youth changed the balance of power by supporting the campaign workers because they were looking at things from a different perspective. For instance, while the adults like to maintain the continuation of traditional way of life, the youth favor change and welcome the interaction and intervention of the urbanites and whatever they bring forth. That is the very thing the elders fear, based on a different view than that of the young generation who desire to migrate to the urban centers. On the one hand, this fear could be well-founded because it could drain the young energetic youth from rural areas that need their manpower to produce crops and livestock that depend on the physical energy of the youth.

On the other hand, elders had misgivings about anything related to the cities for fear of city's reputation as a place of crime, prostitution, dishonesty, and unemployment.
Unemployment was related to the fact that in those days, that anyone who could not speak a foreign language would have difficulty in securing employment. The limited employment options in the cities to Somali-only speakers were doing odd jobs, which according to the rural populace, were inferior to herding and farming in terms of reputation and human dignity. As discussed earlier in Chapter Five, the positive interaction between the young student-teachers and their young rural students became a factor in the good relationship and partnership that developed between them during the campaign. This relationship motivated the youth and opened the doors for their migration to the urban centers.

**Theme 2: The Impact of the Campaign on the Rural Population**

This theme classifies the negative and positive impacts of the campaign on the rural population, the rural political transformation, the new rural infrastructure, and the rural political consciousness. In addition, it illustrates the social empowerment and the introduction of urban cultures such as sports and radio to the rural communities.

The campaign impacted the rural people in many ways, including literacy acquisition, sociopolitical awareness, and youth migration, among other things. To understand these elements better, I will divide them into positive and negative impacts and weigh each separately.

**Positive Campaign Impacts**

The first positive impact of the campaign on the rural communities, according to the study participants, was the literacy learning which was the primary objective of the campaign. Although the literacy learning was stronger in such demographics as youth
and children as opposed to the older generation and adult women in some occasions, more than 90% of the participants agreed about the success of the campaign and the achievement of its objectives. In certain occasions, rural women of child-bearing age were so overwhelmed by the housework and child minding activities it sometimes limited their participation in learning (see theme three). However, the overall public participation in the campaign could be interpreted as the majority of the rural communities having benefitted from the program in terms of reading, writing and numeration.

According to Mr. Suleiman, “The strength of this success was different for pastoral nomads vs. farmers, which meant that the farming communities were in better position to learn better since they were semi-settled; because they had more time and opportunity to learn” (Omar Suleiman, personal communication, March 19, 2011). Consequently, it was easier for the government to bring education to the semi-settled communities while it was difficult to provide schools to the nomads following the campaign due to their instability, as indicated earlier. After the campaign, the government built primary schools in some villages which were deemed important due to their proximity to economic resources. According to Adam (1980):

In the new settlement towns that have sprung up as a result of this revolutionary program, it is not only possible to create new patterns of social life, but it is also possible to continue the literacy campaign on a more permanent basis. As of 1976, these settlements possessed formal schools, libraries, and other means of cultural enlightenment. (p. 12)

This development contributed to the educational and economic progress of these areas by bringing government services and related economic activities to these villages. As Hussein Sheikh put it:
These areas were selected according to their strategic location to economic resources and their ability to contribute to the local or national development. Some other areas received government programs as a reward for their contribution to the campaign, and some individuals were hired by the government due to their contribution to the campaign, too (Hussein Sheikh, personal communication, March 21, 2011).

Similarly, Mr. Suleiman explained that, “This village classification came about because the government could not afford to develop all villages, so it decided to categorize settlements according to their importance in terms of proximity to natural resources, transportation accessibility, population, and any other economic viability” (Omar Suleiman, personal communication, March 19, 2011).

The second positive element of the campaign was the migration of the youth to the urban centers, discussed earlier. This migration was considered one of the positive results of the campaign for the following reasons: (a) It fulfilled a long-term government policy to settle more nomads in the cities and because more than half of the Somali population live in the rural areas. Accordingly, the government realized the need to urbanize more people to achieve a modern socialist society (Adam, 1980). In this view, Sheikh Issa pointed out that “there was no previous expectation of this kind of migration from the rural areas, yet the end the campaign achieved part of this urbanization objective” (Sheikh Issa, personal communication, February 18, 2011). (b) It could be claimed that it was the interest of this youth who, after the campaign, felt an urge to seek learning and employment in the urban centers, to enhance their chance of personal success. When these young migrants found employment in the cities, they sent remittance money back to their families which supported the families financially and enhanced their overall livelihoods. Moreover, participants reported some cases of young men and
women who secured employment and later brought their young children or siblings to the cities to educate them. For example, I discussed earlier how Noor Ali, a former literacy student, went back to his family settlement after having saved money from three years working on a highway construction project. He brought two of his young siblings to the city to educate them. Furthermore, as we have seen earlier in the story of Seylon, the prospect of success of the rural immigrants in the urban areas was maintained by the opportunities of employment and learning prevalent in the cities at the time, due to a relative economic growth in the country.

![Figure 19: The effects of the campaign on the rural communities. This diagrammatical representation shows how the acquisition of literacy promoted consciousness, unity, and education; and in turn, how these three elements contributed to the socio-political and cultural development of the rural population. Source: inferences generated from data.](image)

The third positive element of success was the political and social awareness which the campaign bestowed on the rural communities. The rural migration to the urban
centers could be explained as an elimination or reduction of the socio-cultural barriers between the two communities, as the narratives of the participants have indicated. As Farah Jees reported:

The communication barrier between rural-urban communities was reduced, if not eliminated, when the urban teachers and rural students became partners in the fight against illiteracy, and when the rural students became the hosts of their teachers. This fact empowered the student hosts and made them partners and stakeholders rather than mere beneficiaries of the campaign (personal communication, February 22, 2011).

His point was that the partnership formed between the literacy teachers and their rural students which transformed the previous relationship in a positive way. In addition, the campaign had different components, including health, development, and census, among other things. And at the end of the campaign, some of these services survived to be used by the local village-level institutions for community use. For instance, Hussein Sheikh indicated:

In health development, some of the clinics erected to serve the campaign workers, and some of the animal health facilities in certain areas, continued to function even after the end of the campaign. Some economically viable villages received more facilities inherited from the campaign after their economic values were recognized during the campaign (Hussein Sheikh, personal communication, March 21, 2011).

Similarly, Shafi Shakir illustrated that some villages were described as strategic, which he defined as “the centrality or its proximity to other satellite villages, water, social services, and transportation accessibility. These were the important elements of a strategic village” (Shafi Shakir, personal communication, February 15, 2011). Road construction projects and transportation connections linked in such villages to the rest of
the country. Furthermore, some villages became districts while some districts became regional headquarters. Bhola (1984) illustrated that:

The unplanned actions and the results of the campaign were even more impressive. A large number of feeder roads were built to connect isolated villages with district centers. This often led to new marketing possibilities and to new trade. A village which earlier discarded any milk it could not use was now able to sell it to those in need. Water resources were identified, or developed where none existed. The introduction of the orientation centers in rural areas was a most significant result. (P. 170)

Thus, the advantages of the campaign were that a network of communication, health, water, and other development facilities erected to serve the campaign continued to serve the rural communities after the campaign and that was a positive rural development.

The fourth important element which can be considered positive was the development of the local political organizations which were established to facilitate the implementation of the campaign. At the end of the campaign, these organizations evolved into local political bodies which lobbied for the development of their areas and facilitated the development of relationships between the local community and the regional and district-level government officials.

**Rural Political Transformation**

During the campaign, the local district and regional local governments organized elders and youth groups to bridge the relationship between the campaign workers and the local community in order to facilitate the campaign implementation process. Hussein Sheikh reported that —The job of these organizations was to work with the campaign workers in terms of security of the campaign workers, accommodation, learning, and providing the local knowledge required for the consolidation of the campaign work”
(Hussein Sheikh, personal communication, March 21, 2011). In addition, Bhola (1984) remarks that, —Most importantly, the campaign resulted in the training of community leaders. The nabaddoons [peacemakers] and sabaddoons [goodwill emissaries] affirmed that they now understood the function of the government, had learned how to cooperate with it, and, above all, realized what it meant to mobilize people for participation in their own work [translations are mine]” (p. 170).

Omar Suleiman contended that, —Some members of these groups were even hired by the government as mediators, peacemakers, or facilitators between the government and the community” (Omar Suleiman, personal communication, March 19, 2011). These local committees received government training, including information workshops, about the importance and objectives of the campaign, and the negative and positive elements that could impact it. At the end of the campaign, these committees developed into local organizations and utilized their learned skills to represent their localities and serve their people by lobbying for necessary services for their villages.

**New Rural Infrastructure**

During the campaign, the government put together medical equipment designed to help the rural people and their livestock, along with a farming system for the rural communities. Beyond that, a medical facility system was designed for the health maintenance of the campaign workers. According to Omar Suleiman,

The government put together fleets of ambulances to handle emergencies, and medics who were trained to deal with emergency cases. There were mobile hospitals that were to attend patients and mobile veterinary clinics to vaccinate and care for animals. There was a network of roads and bridges built to facilitate the movement of these medical facilities (Omar Suleiman, personal communication, March 19, 2011).
By the same token, Dr. Karima Bashir reported that one of the campaign infrastructure contributions to her village was a bridge over the Shabelle River. In her words:

My village was located between two branches of the Shabelle River and people had to walk a long way to cross where it narrows down before branching out again. During the campaign, the government built a small bridge near the village where people could easily cross back and forth (Karima Bashir, personal communication, February 24, 2011).

Moreover, respondents informed that police stations and army posts were erected in many villages to maintain peace and security. In this view, Lewis (1988) reports that the government built orientation centers and drilled water wells in dry waterless populated areas. Education equipment and related supplies were installed in the main villages around the country. Similarly, Omar Suleiman remarked that:

The previous mind set of the campaign planners was to bring back all this equipment and facilities after the campaign to the government branches that supplied them. However, almost at the end of the campaign, it was felt by the campaign workers at every level that the people in the rural areas who had never experienced any kind of development needed these facilities. Not only that, but there was a demand from the rural people and a consideration from the campaign workers that people deserve these facilities which should not be taken back to the government warehouses. The people had shown their need and the student-teachers and their teachers concurred. They said, “They deserve it”. For this reason, the government decided to leave all the facilities so the people could benefit from them (Omar Suleiman, personal communication, March 19, 2011).

This was the first investment of the government and the contribution of the campaign which laid down the first health and education infrastructure in the rural areas.

Moreover, Hussein Sheikh reported that:

The campaign left behind a system of roads, water systems, peace and security systems, and offices that were equipped with useful facilities. Above that, there were rural people who were trained during the campaign to handle simple health procedures and emergencies for the people and livestock. For instance, there was
a health organization called *Bisha Cas*, [Red Crescent], which was the equivalent of the Red Cross in the country. This organization delivered health services in the rural areas during the campaign, and one of their major services was to train medics and first aid staff for the rural health services. Thus, after the completion of the campaign, there were a number of people who could carry out, at least, health emergencies and first aid services in the villages (personal communications, March 21, 2011).

In addition, the government planned human and livestock health tours with professional and health experts to maintain periodical health care visits and attend medical emergencies (Adam, 1980). Accordingly, as Omar Suleiman pointed out, “Leaving these [abovementioned] installations was one of the unplanned programs which came through the readiness of the rural people and the experience of the campaign workers, and this was one of the best contributions of the campaign to the lives of the rural development” (Omar Suleiman, personal communication, March 19, 2011). The health, water, and other infrastructure facilities that the government laid down in the rural country during the campaign program amounted to the first development installment the rural people ever received from the government. Omar Suleiman explained:

As emerged after the campaign, some of the infrastructure projects were not planned for the use of the rural people, but were intended for the campaign workers. As a result, much of the rural infrastructure laid down during the campaign, such as roads, bridges, orientation centers, clinics, were meant as part of the campaign implementation process (personal communication, March 19, 2011).

His point was these facilities were to serve the health and the wellbeing of the student-teachers during the campaign, in terms of their health, security, and administration process; and they were limited to the semi-settled areas, like villages.
During the campaign, two programs were installed side-by-side, the first of which was the temporary facilities designed to serve and sustain the campaign workers. Omar Suleiman explained how the government put together a considerable support system for this purpose. In his words, "To look after more than 30,000 student-teachers and their teachers, you need a health care system, a security apparatus, water, and emergency delivery system, etc." (Omar Suleiman, personal communication, March 19, 2011).

The second program was designed as a rural advancement infrastructure to promote the lives of the rural people. At the end of the campaign, these two infrastructures became fundamental to rural development and contributed to the betterment of the people. Although this first installment of the rural development was not enough, it was the initial foundation on which to build the next installments.

Moreover, the political consciousness and experience that people gained from the campaign empowered them to demand further development programs from the authorities.

**Rural Social Consciousness**

Before the campaign, the political culture of the rural people was based on the traditional concept of "survival of the fittest". As we shall see in the following narratives, the harsh environment in which they live demands defiance against the elements, outsiders, and sometimes even against each other when resources like water and pasture become scarce. Similarly, they distrusted the intrusion into their lives of a government whose only job was to collect taxes on their produce without any return of services. For instance, Noor Ali, a former nomad, stated:
Before the campaign, the relationship between the rural people and the government was not cordial. That was because the nomads sell their livestock to buy the services they need from private open markets without any assistance from the government; and these services included veterinary medicines, water, and any other necessities. But whenever we would come to the urban markets to buy supplies or sell our products, the government was there waiting for us, to collect taxes (Noor Ali, personal communication, March 6, 2011).

This made the rural people bitter and disenchanted with the government and its services. For them, the government was for urban people who used rural tax money for their own development. In explaining the background and causes of the rural problem, Farah Jees pointed out that:

One of the reasons that nomads could not receive services was the lack of understanding of the government system, and lack of avenues of communication to address their problems. Secondly, the nomad expectations were to receive voluntary visits and services from the government without seeking them, when it is difficult to receive services from the government even when you ask for them. The only voluntary services they would get were when, sometimes, nomads would fight due to the dwindling rural resources and the government would send the police to intervene. This would cost the government a fortune, but, the government considered it a critical service for the nomads. In this process, to punish the assailant party, the government might confiscate livestock a hefty fine was paid. While this experience made the nomads bitter, the government considered it an essential service. But, again, what were missing were the appropriate line of communication, and the intention of the government to address their needs, which both came in 1975 through the rural campaign (Farah Jees, personal communication, February 22, 2011).

As discussed earlier, the rural campaign was an opportunity for the nomads and the government to establish a relationship and this materialized in two different modes. The first was the provision of such necessary services as education, health, and transport systems. The second was the formation of committees of elders and youth groups to facilitate establishment of relationship. For this reason, a network of local committees was established to work with district and local governments.
The SRC [Supreme Revolutionary Council] also overhauled local governments, …in the government’s words, to bring government —loser to the people”. Local councils, composed of military administrators and representatives appointed by the SRC, were established under the Ministry of Interior at the regional, district, and village levels to advise the government on local conditions and to expedite its directives” (Federal Research Division, 2010, pp.85-86).

After the campaign, these rural organized systems served to connect the people to the government, and to the urban establishments. This connection was important both for the people and for the government to provide the previously nonexistent avenues of communication and services.

Although political consciousness was one of the campaign objectives, the post-campaign rural consciousness was somehow different than expected. The rural organizations, rather than performing the subservient pro-government role desired by the revolution, were acting on their own community needs first.

For instance, Pasco (2003) discussed how critical theory recognized the school as a _political and cultural enterprise_, and exposed it as a place where ideology, class, culture, politics, and economics often collide. This is perhaps the effect of education, or in this case literacy, on its students. Similarly, Bourdieu (1991) argued that literacy is an eminent threat to the ruling authorities. After the campaign, the collision of these elements at the village-level was true. Similarly, Freire (2006) indicated that:

And since dialogue is the encounter in which the united reflection and action of the dialoguers are addressed to the world which is to be transformed and humanized, this dialogue cannot be reduced to the act of one person’s “depositing” ideas in another, nor can it become a simple exchange of ideas to be “consumed” by the discussants. ..Because dialogue is an encounter among women and men who name the world, it must not be a situation where some name on behalf of others. It is an act of creation; it must not serve as a crafty instrument for domination of one person by another. The domination implicit in dialogue is that
of the world by the dialoguers; it is conquest of the world for the liberation of human kind” (p. 89).

The post-campaign rural people received political, cultural, and educational ideology designed to link them to the revolutionary political and economic system of the government. In the end, however, the rural organizations acted as rural interest groups lobbying for their rights and needs.

**Social Empowerment**

After completion of the campaign, the rural population realized that most of the campaign services would cease to exist. For this reason, they organized themselves and formally demanded that the government continue them. According to Omar Suleiman:

When rural people negotiated with the government for the continuation of the campaign services like rural education and health clinics, sometimes the reaction of the government was for the villagers to come up with the location or contribute to the construction of the clinic. Then the government would provide the medical equipment and staff. These were usually for the well-to-do villages, but some villages would receive the construction materials from the government and when the facility is completed the government would provide the medical equipment and the staff. However, not all villages would get doctors or nurses because the priority was given to villages recognized as central. Smaller satellite villages would receive weekly or biweekly visits from the doctor from the main village or sometimes they would take their patients to the main villages. This new arrangement was a positive step forward in rural development where these facilities and services were non-existent before the campaign (personal communication, March 19, 2011).

What we learned from this is how people were empowered by the literacy and the campaign experience to negotiate for health, education, and other important services. This included negotiations with the outside government authorities, and sometimes within the community itself, to raise the funds required to cover their share of the projects. This would secure the government’s pledge to complete these projects.
This was an act of cooperation and communication between the people and the authorities. Freire (2005) contended that "Cooperation, as a character of dialogical action—which occurs only among subjects (who may, however, have diverse levels of functions and thus of responsibility)—can only be achieved through communication” (p.168). Thus, if the elders were empowered to negotiate for the acquisition of services, the people at large were also empowered to propose their needs and expectations for services to the elders.

All this became possible through acquisition of the knowledge and understanding of how and where to seek for these services. The next figure shows one of the regular visits from journalists and international community representatives.

Figure 20: Journalists and international community visitors. Source: Dr Abdinur Mohamed.
As a result, although the campaign was a top-to-bottom decision from the Supreme Revolutionary Council (SRC) to the rural population, it created and left behind an unintended bottom-up grassroots-level system which was able to recognize its needs, demand provision of services, and in the end, negotiated for further implementation of development programs.

**Introduction of Radios to the Rural People**

Although Somalis like radios to listen news and poetry, it was not always easy for the rural people to obtain radio sets. Unlike the current low-priced FM radios, the 1970s radios were expensive shortwave systems. In this view, Bhola (1984) estimated that Somali radio use was at 30% during the campaign. However, a UNDP/World Bank (2003) report indicated the radio use in Somalia at 139%. This level was perhaps increasing since the rural campaign of 1975. The Ministry of Information (1975) reported that:

The radio broadcasts in Somalia (Radio Mogadishu and Radio Hargeisa) devoted much of their time imparting the knowledge of written Somali. During that period the radio played the role of teacher, orientator, newscaster, linker, companion and entertainer. In addition to that, there had been a roving car moving through the regions and districts reporting the daily events. The radio had also served to enable students and teachers to be in touch with their parents and friends, to talk to each other directly. The Radio Programme Officers, who consisted of messengers of goodwill, had set up this program known as —thStudents Requests” and general reports and enquires about health and wellbeing of friends and relatives. In addition, the reporters were sending the news coverage through this radio. (as cited in Haybe D., n.d.)

The contribution of the radio during the campaign was to build an unpredicted relationship between the student-teachers and their hosts because this new equipment
which the campaign workers introduced in the villages created an atmosphere of entertainment and learning which did not exist before. According to Hussein Sheikh:

> I believe that the literacy campaign contributed to the increased use of radios in the society. During the campaign, the Ministry of Information and National Guidance introduced mobile radio transmitters which were dispersed through the rural areas of the country. These mobile transmission systems had the ability to send live programs from the villages by interviewing the campaign participants, and their programs dominated the air waves at the time. One of the favored programs consisted of interviews of the student-teachers and literacy students. At the end of each interview, the interviewees were given the opportunity to send greetings to their loved ones. In this way, the families of the student-teachers and the rural literacy students could simultaneously listen this program live on the air. In the campaign days, almost every student-teacher had a radio set, mostly supplied by their families; At the end of the campaign, these radios were left with the rural host families. This introduction of radios in the rural country could have been the beginning of the current extensive use of radio sets in Somalia (Hussein Sheikh, personal communication, March 21, 2011).

In addition to that, the Ministry of Information was also making documentary films about the campaign that were shown in the orientation centers and movie theaters. The intention of showing these documentaries was to encourage and mobilize the people to participate in the development programs, on the one hand, and as publicity for the achievements of the Revolution, on the other hand. Listening to the radio introduced a culture of socialization among the villagers. For instance, Hussein Sheikh stated:

> There was only one radio in the whole village, my radio, and every evening I would sit down with the chief of the village, the elders, and the youth to listen to the evening news. The chief would prepare tea for the group, and we would listen about the campaign. The radio reporters used to report about the different villages they visited and then they would release interviews of the village elders, literacy students, and the student-teachers. It was especially interesting to hear the name of their region or district. One day the journalists covering the campaign came to our village and stayed with us for one whole day. Three days later, the name of the village was mentioned and the interviews were released. It was the first time they had ever heard their names and voices from the radio, and the whole village celebrated for a week. Those whose their interviews were released became overnight heroes. I think the idea was to empower the rural population and show
them that they are valuable members of the nation. And they were happy, because for so many years they had been hearing other people’s names and news from the radio, and this was their time. At the end, when the campaign was over, I left my radio with the chief of the village. I had to show my gratitude to the people, because they were very nice to me (Sheikh, personal communication, March 21, 2011).

From a different perspective, Omar Suleiman reported that, “One of the objectives of these live radio programs was to mobilize people, and to reassure the parents and the general public in the urban areas that their loved ones in the campaign were in safe hands, and that they were heroes who were fulfilling their national duties” (personal communication, March 19, 2011).

In all, some of the study participants like Hussein Sheikh and Omar Suleiman believed that the campaign program introduced the use of radios in the rural country. A considerable number of radios that the campaign workers left behind contributed to the continuation of the sociopolitical awareness of the rural population. Adam (1980) pointed out role of media in promoting social awareness through poetry and music:

The Hess [song] which is derived from the traditional marching, dancing, and work songs, as a result of Somali anti-imperialist struggles tends to develop political themes. Indeed, the rise of anti-imperialistic struggles has given new themes—a new content—to practically all the Somali literary and art forms. Old poems celebrating pastoral wars between Somali clans have tended to die out as the Revolution has effectively reduced rural inter-clan conflicts. Somali literature and art, like those of other peoples, naturally deal with universal themes of love, friendship, and trust. But the anti-imperialist theme has tended to dominate, especially during the nationalist struggles. With the advent of the October Revolution of 1969, the patriotic themes have been deepened by socialist themes, and by greater international awareness. The old gabay [poetry] form has been utilized to compose poems on Lumuba, Amilcar Cabral, and to celebrate the victories of the people of Angola, Guinea-Bissau, and Mozambique. (p. 18)

For that reason, the use of radios established a new communication means for the rural people to appreciate the local government policies and national politics at large.
Moreover, during the campaign and after its completion, the Ministry of Information and National Guidance produced literacy programs over the radio beyond the regular campaign coverage. The following picture is from the Somali video, *Reer magaal vs. reer miyi* [rural vs. urban] by the Somali artist Abdi Haybe. It shows an urban student introducing a radio set to a nomad.

*Figure 21*: Rural importance of the radio. Although this is a recent picture, it shows how the rural vs. urban relationship in connection to the import of radio sets still exists. Source: courtesy, Abdi Haybe.

In view of that, Haybe, D. stated that, “The programme ‘Learn from the Radio’, was also established, and continued throughout the whole campaign. The Somali Language Section of Radio Mogadishu was on the air for 63 hours a week, of which 14.37% of hours were devoted to the campaign” (Haybe, D. n.d.). With this use of the radio as tool of learning and entertainment many realized its importance and promoted its use in the rural country.
The Introduction of Sports to the Rural Youth

Rural people, by nature, are very busy and do not take vacations. The occupation of farming and livestock husbandry is physically demanding and time-consuming. However, rural youth manage to find time to race, wrestle, and engage in other recreational activities. But during the campaign, the young student-teachers brought with them urban recreational sports, including soccer, volleyball, and handball, and sometimes the government would provide means for student-teachers to take pleasure in their spare times. As a result, since the number of student-teachers was proportionally smaller than their students, they had to enlist students on their teams. The outcome was that the already agile nomads often became good soccer players.

Noor Ali reported:

When I first saw the teachers playing soccer, it seemed so ridiculous to see all these people chasing a small ball. Moreover, it seemed so simple to take the ball from anyone and chase it straight to the goal. However, it was a different case when we started to play the game and found out how difficult it was to even touch the ball. They [student-teachers] used to play soccer every Friday, and although the teachers were good at the technical part of the game, we were faster. It was tough to take the ball from them but once we did, we would take it to the goal. Most of the time, they mixed the teachers and students together in opposing teams, to balance the game and to allow everybody to have fun. And sometimes we had a tournament of all the neighboring villages. This continued even after the teachers left, because they left all their sports gear for us (Noor Ali, personal communication, April 15, 2011).

Thus, during the campaign, neighboring villages used to organize tournaments and this was one of the ways to build good relations between the village youths who were sometimes rivals in many other ways, including fighting over diminishing resources, and tribal feuds. According to Mr. Suleiman, “The government promoted the rural sports program after the campaign because it was felt that it reduced rural feuds among the
The rural sports competition contributed to mend relations between the rural youths, and it became one of the positive outcomes of the campaign. As a result, rural sports became successful to the point where the government welcomed the initiative and offered equipment to the rural teams.

**Negative Impacts of the Campaign**

The second form of unexpected campaign outcomes was the government’s show-of-force. During the campaign, the government involvement in the campaign was overwhelming in terms of the large amount of equipment; the large number of government workers, army and police force; and the government-controlled media. All these agencies were working in unison to implement the campaign and this was something that rural people were not used to. Dr. Moallim reported that, “During the campaign, any time someone tried to undermine the government program the response was decisive and swift in a way to teach a lesson to anyone who was involved” (personal communication, February, 2011). Hussein Sheikh narrated a story which took place in a neighboring village to his. In his words:

A man killed his wife after a domestic dispute and then escaped from the district police. Within a week the government announced the capture of the accused and within the next week he was executed. About a month later, the relatives of the deceased woman came to the police station to say they knew the killer and where he was hiding. However, the reaction of the authorities was that “We already got our man, and the case is closed.” This instilled fear in the minds of the rural people (Hussein Sheikh, personal communication, March 21, 2011).

Similarly, Farah Jees reported that after realization of the government attitudes, the rural people developed expressions that showed their understanding of governmental
authority. According to Jees, “Some of these expressions were: ‘Dowlaa gacan dheer’, meaning, ‘Be aware of the long hand of the state’; and ‘Amar dowlo mudeec ninkii diida dabbaal’, meaning, ‘Conformity to the power of the state, how naïve to ignore this power’” (Farah Jees, personal communication, February 22, 2011). These statements reveal the rural observation and interpretation of the state authority, and its subsequent internalization of state supremacy and control.

In conclusion, although the show-of-force was exhibited during the campaign, the main objective was to promote the concept of ‘the carrot and the stick’ and as a carrot, the authorities helped to create political village-level committees with the intention of resolving disputes, peacemaking, and maintaining relationships with government officials. In addition, these committees developed into rural political representatives with the capacity to generate necessary services through negotiations with the government officials, establish communication lines between the people and government, and facilitate government presence in the villages to collect taxes and provide services.

The Post-campaign Government Involvement in the Rural People

Almost 95% of the interviewees indicated that the literacy campaign transformed the lives of the rural communities and in some ways benefited them by opening their eyes to many issues including the role of the government in their lives, the taxation system and its purposes, and their relationship with urban communities, among other things. However, some of the fears of the rural people about the deeper interference of the government in their affairs were realized, especially among the farming communities. As Safia Samatar, a teacher who later became an agronomist, reported:
The more the government understood the rural economic production, the more regulations it imposed on them. For instance, while the literacy campaign was being implemented, different government agencies were studying the production capacity and methods of the small farmers who were previously independent from government control and regulations. But after the campaign, the government passed a regulation which prohibited farmers selling their products in the open markets, and instead, they were ordered to sell to a new government agency, Agricultural Development Corporation (ADC). This agency would buy their produce at marginal prices and remarket it in major urban centers with higher price margins. This business intersection did not satisfy the farmers and they decided to go underground with their products (Safia Samatar, personal communication, March 5, 2011).

Safia Samatar conscientiously considered this act a direct negative impact of the campaign on the farmers, because the government used the campaign as an opportunity to understand the capacity of rural production. By the same token, Lewis (2008) remarked, “Similarly, grain production was controlled, farmers being allowed to keep a small quantity of grain for their own use and obliged to sell the rest at fixed prices to the Agricultural Development Corporation which stored it and arranged for its distribution and sale to the public” (p.40). The case, however, was different with nomad livestock herders due to their continuous seasonal movement from one location to another in search of water and pasture. For that reason, Adam (1980) maintains, it was even tough for the government to maintain development projects, such as education and health services for them. This fact limited government interference in the livestock economy to impose regulations on the nomad herders.

In conclusion, we discussed in this section the impact of the campaign on rural development and divided these impacts into positive and negative factors. The positive impacts consisted of the sociopolitical consciousness gained from the campaign experience by the rural elders and the youth which positively transformed the rural
communities. In this process, the community elders and the youth organized themselves as political representatives of their settlements after the campaign. These groups succeeded in organizing their communities to push for continuation of the development programs which the government initiated during the campaign. In addition, these organized groups attempted to negotiate with the government for continuation of community services, such as health and education which the government established during and after the campaign. On the negative side of the campaign, the farming communities experienced post-campaign government intervention that saw the regulation of the sale of their products in the open market. However, more than 90% of the study participants stated that the positive aspects of the campaign outweighed its negatives.

**How the Campaign Contributed to the Current Situation in Somalia**

There is no literature indicating the positive or negative contribution of the campaign to the Somali civil war and the subsequent division of the country into mini-states. However, participants were of the opinion that the raising of the socio-political consciousness the rural people population as a result of the campaign later facilitated the anti-government uprising which mainly started in the rural areas in the North and South-central regions of the country. According to Hassan Salat:

> Although the uprising was masterminded and led by some army and civil servant defectors, more than 90% of the militias were the rural youth. My understanding was that the political consciousness of the rural youth, which was gained from the campaign, had helped to easily convince them to participate in toppling the government. For this reason, I could say that the Somali civil war was an invasion by the rural youth of the urbanites because they were dissatisfied with the politics of the government which was based in the cities (personal communication, November 19, 2011).
Similarly, the campaign contributed to the migration of the rural youth to the urban centers where they became part of the agricultural and industrial workforce. After the civil war many of these migrant youths immigrated to different countries around the world including Canada and the U.S., and that perhaps created a national brain drain. As we discussed earlier, both Noor Ali and Habiba Haji believed that literacy contributed to their migration to the cities for better opportunities, which changed their lives positively. Additionally, my interpretation is that the same literacy that brought them to the cities in Somalia also led them to North America; and there are many Somalis like them who currently live in the Western countries. On the positive side, these former literacy students contribute to and financially support their families in Somalia.

**The Negative and Positive Implications**

The organizational and mobilization lessons learned from the campaign in the urban and rural areas were useful in terms of raising the socio-political awareness of the population encouraging them to participate in the campaign, and mobilizing the human and financial resources required for it. These lessons were later used to mobilize the rural people to participate in the overthrow of the government. For instance, from 1984-1991 there was an armed anti-government militia fighting in the rural areas. The leaders of the uprising mobilized the rural elders to contribute their youth and livestock to the militia fighters. In January, 1991, the militias succeeded in reaching the seat of the government, Mogadishu, and overthrew it.

That same year, the anti-government uprising evolved into a full-fledged civil war and the same organizational skills and mobilization were perhaps utilized to sustain the
civil war. It was well-known in Somalia that warlords sent their emissaries into the rural areas to enlist youth fighters, and raise financial support from urban elders and business people to maintain the war. The successful funding of the civil war could be attributed to the organizational and mobilization skills learned from the literacy campaign. In the following section, Omar Suleiman provided a historical example of one of the positive lessons learned from the literacy program.

**The Arta Reconciliation Conference**

A plus from the campaign could be the ability to organize positive programs, including peace, security, and development. In the following narrative Omar Suleiman discussed what could be one of the positive lessons learned from the campaign:

In early 1999, the President of the Republic of Djibouti, Omar Gelleh, an ethnic Somali himself, announced at the UN that he was about to host a Somali reconciliation conference in his country. Before the Djibouti conference, there were many other Somali reconciliation conferences held in Addis Ababa, Cairo, Nairobi, among others. All these campaigns ended in failure. Before this conference, again, the participants were usually the Somali warlords who were at loggerheads in the civil war. However, President Gelleh invited a number of Somali civil society leaders and asked them to organize the campaign. He told them that his role would be limited to financing the program. In other words, the president empowered the civil society organizations and gave them the leadership of the program. Similarly, the civil society leaders brought together the Somali rural and urban elders and told them to lead the reconciliation process, while assuming the role of facilitators for themselves. The input of that reconciliation process was 100% traditional community, and the outcome was at least 99% success. I can say here that the technique used in this process was at least similar to the literacy campaign program; and that was what made it successful (personal communication, November 21, 2011).

Omar Suleiman’s interpretation was that the organizational lessons learned from the literacy campaign were perhaps applied in many positive and negative programs. According to Sriram and Nielsen (2004), the Arta peace process brought together 2,500
representatives of the Somali people and within four months established a national charter and a Transitional National Government. This was the first national government in the country since the 1991 civil war. In light of these statements from, Hassan Salat and Omar Suleiman, the organizational, mobilization, and empowerment techniques learned from the campaign were perhaps utilized in many positive or negative programs in Somalia. What created this possibility was that the campaign participants who witnessed its implementation process and its subsequent implications were still around to utilize its techniques according to their needs.

**Theme 3: Youth, the Main Beneficiaries of the Campaign**

This theme is devoted to youth, the main beneficiaries of the rural campaign, in relation to adults, and discusses the factors which contributed to their beneficial status.

We have covered most of this theme in discussion of the rural youth migration to the urban centers, in theme 1 of research question 2. We have seen how the youth migrants influenced the increase in school enrollment in both school age children and adult schools. We have also seen how they participated in such development programs, as agricultural cooperatives, livestock, and fishery. These programs were aimed at increasing food production for self-reliance programs, on the one hand, and the resettlement of migrants and drought victims, on the other. In this theme, I will discuss the practical factors that technically supported the youth group to disproportionately benefit from the literacy program. This discussion includes my personal interpretation and analyses.
The mandate of the campaign teachers was to teach literacy to youth and adults. According to Omar Suleiman, “The definition of youth was 15-35 years of age, while adults were defined as 35 and above. Children below the age of 15 were not included in the literacy program because they were assumed to be going to school” (Omar Suleiman, personal communications, March 19, 2011). However, the reality on the ground was somewhat different and the difference arose from practical conditions which existed in the remote nomad country where schools were nonexistent. For this reason, children between the ages of 6-14 were included in the program as a new (children) category. This was something decided in the field by the program managers and was not included in the mandate. Mr. Suleiman clarified this issue, and in his words:

The designers of the program overlooked addressing that issue directly and the reason was that: the original program design was borrowed from UNESCO and that original program did not include school age children because the campaign was designed for adult literacy. Moreover, many rural villages had primary schools and so these two reasons created a grey area. Nonetheless, our literacy program had a clause which stipulated that any unpredicted problem encountered in the field should be decided by the field managers in consultation with the campaign inspectors. This clause was elucidated in the training seminar (personal communication, March 19, 2011).

Another issue that emerged from the implementation process concerned elderly people. For example, the program indicated that the adult age to participate in the program was 35 years and above, but what about the elderly people who were not fit to learn due to advanced age of 75 or 80 years. Thus, in field practice it came out that no adult was fit for learning for a host of different reasons. For instance, participation in the literacy program among the different age groups discussed earlier was compulsory; and it was the job of the elders and campaign security to make sure that everybody participated.
In this view, it was understandable that the sick and very old people be exempted but there were other people who were not able to participate for other technical reasons.

According to Hussein Sheikh:

Most of the work in the rural country was performed by youth and parents and grandparents played the role of supervisors and decision makers. And when almost 100% of the youth are engaged in the program, who would perform their traditional tasks of farming and livestock herding? It became apparent to us that some parents and grandparents had to fill their positions, and these parents or grandparents were, thus, unable to participate fully in the literacy program. In such a situation, the program managers gave priority to the learning of the youth and allowed the older parents to work in lieu of the youth. In this situation, the older parents were given the flexibility of receiving literacy education in the easiest manner possible, including teaching on the weekends while the youth were free to resume their usual tasks. The objective was not to make it hard on the people so they would not interpret the campaign as an impediment to their livelihoods. By the same token, this was to encourage the youth who showed a particular eagerness to learn, to study well (Hussein Sheikh, personal communication, March 21, 2011).

As a result, the youth, both male and female, became the major group to overwhelmingly benefit from the literacy program.

**Analysis**

According to the themes that emerged from data of the respondents, the factors that led to the literacy achievement of the youth can be characterized in the following points: (a) the youth were people with sharp minds and, unlike the adults, were at the stage of their lives where they could make choices for their future. Comparatively, while it is difficult for adults to throw away what they have already accumulated to start life again, the young people were just starting out and could afford any risk, wherever their dreams took them.
For that reason, the first personal responsibility of the youth was to decide where and how they could build their future, and their flexibility, physical agility, and active minds were on their side. (b) They were curious. The personal status of youth could be characterized as people who were illiterate all their young adult lives, and suddenly found this literacy opportunity on their doorsteps. This piqued their curiosity and enthusiasm to learn. (c) They love challenge and competition. As Noor Ali pointed out earlier, the nature of rural people is based on challenging their opponents and even sometimes their own persona, to demonstrate their sturdiness, resilience, and endurance. That was part of the traditional rural mechanism of survival. (d) There was an element of urban quality in literacy acquisition which appealed to the nomads — ‘urbanites can read’. The common perception of the rural people was that urban people are readers or literate, and anyone who wanted to live and work side by side with these people needed to read like them.

Another common belief of the rural population, according to Hussein Sheikh, was that, ‘literacy is education’ (personal communication, March 21, 2011); and that was the difference between nomads and urbanites. As Farah Jees pointed out, ‘in the eyes of the rural people, the sign of the cultured urban man was a white shirt and black pants, with a pen in the top pocket and a newspaper in hand’ (personal communication, February 22, 2011). Such a person displayed that he reads and writes and was cultured or educated. Hence, these youths were qualified to dress like this and portray themselves as learned individuals. In addition, they were proud to have accomplished this milestone in a short period of time. (e) Most of the youth were contemplating migrating to the urban centers and literacy was their ticket. Therefore, learning was in partial preparedness for their
future urban life. Their teachers informed them that in the cities, there were opportunities of employment and learning, on one condition -- literacy. They were taught that literacy could raise their probability to be employed and/or trained. In this situation, those who were planning to change their lives through migration had the opportunity to seize literacy, and the data shows that they did seize it. (Personal analysis)

As discussed earlier, the age group below 24 constituted the majority (56%) of the Somali population. For that reason, the weight of the youth demography in the population is understandable. Secondly, youth being the most energetic and active group in society, the usually demonstrate the spirit and motivation to take advantage of opportunities when they present themselves. In other words, youth are opportunistic in nature, in a good way. Comparatively, the children were still growing up and dependent on their parents and older siblings. Most adults have responsibilities of providing for their family and/or older parents and that would not allow them to look for new opportunities outside their existing environment which was already limited. Furthermore, migration of adults to the cities had dire consequences, including abandonment of the family responsibilities, family properties, and disregard and contempt of elderly parents. With all these factors, the likelihood of the adult achievements in the cities could have been relatively low.

In conclusion, being relatively free of social burdens, in their favor, youth also had physical fitness, a relatively higher literacy level, willingness to take risks, and ambition and higher motivation, among other things. This provides youth the flexibility and the motivation to take risks in realizing their ambitious dreams.
Male and Female Participants

According to the data, women were generally less successful compared to their male counterparts due to cultural restrictions that do not favor female education. Their involvement in housework, including cooking, laundry, and child minding, among other things also inhibited them. In the rural country, there is division of labor where men usually do not perform housework and child minding. This frequent perpetual labor works against Somali women when it comes to personal development, especially education. According to Farah Jees:

When you compare females and males in youth groups, males outnumbered females in terms of the quantity who graduated from the program and those who migrated to the urban centers. One of the main reasons is that Somalis believe that migration is a risky adventure and women are not designed for this kind of adventure. In fact, they [Somalis] avoid any risk when it comes to women and the aim is to protect them from the likelihood of any danger” (personal communication, February 22, 2011).

Another factor that some of the respondents raised was the relationship between the student-teachers and the youth group, which has worked in favor of the youth. For instance, Omar Suleiman pointed out that, “The average age of the student-teachers was between 15 and 19; and the average age of youth was approximately 15 to 25. This age proximity created a relationship between the teachers and youth. For this reason, the student-teachers used to spend more time with the youth, including social and educational” (personal communication, March 19, 2011). It could be interpreted that even the socialization of the rural youth with their teachers was educational. In discussion with Hussein Sheikh about what type of socialization used to take place between the two
groups, he said that apart from the formal education most of the discussions were about city life, family life, or personal life. In his words:

When we were in their environment, we could see their rural life but what they did not know was our urban life, and that was their favorite topic. For instance, can you imagine their astonishment when you tell them that your father is a doctor who heals people; he works in a big hospital; we live in a big house and we own a car; and then you open your photo album and show them your family house and family car. They see your family photo and the street you live and you explain everything to them. In situations like these, you cannot imagine their excitement (Hussein Sheikh, personal communication, March 21, 2011).

This kind of information sharing with rural students was educational and motivational, and this educational information partially contributed to their learning and their subsequent migration to the urban centers. In turn, it contributed to their personal development in terms of securing employment and skills-training opportunities in the cities; and to the national development in terms of school enrollment increase and involvement in economic production.
Figure 22: This 1979 post-campaign Somali poster is about May 15th Youth Day and depicts the role of the youth in national development. It encourages the youth to participate in (Tacliin Tacab Iyo Difaaca Kacaanka. [education, toil & defense of the revolution]. On the ground-level, there are a pencil, ruler, and an open book with the Somali alphabet to emphasize the importance of literacy and education. Source: Courtesy, Indiana University

In all, the campaign contributed three significant areas: (1) development of human resource. On the one hand, migrant youths had a direct impact on education by raising the school enrollment, and created economic activities in agriculture and fishery, on the other. (2) The education of student-teachers. The campaign gave student-teachers and their students socio-cultural, political and personal experiences (see the outcomes of the campaign). (3) Together these two elements created change in the socioeconomic structure of the country in the 1970s. According to Samatar (1988):
Laitin employs five criteria for assessing the Somali experience: public control of the means of production; equity and promotion of egalitarianism; development of the productive forces; loosening of world capitalist linkages; and ‘ideological refinement’. …My reading of the regime’s early performance corroborates the positive views expressed by these writers. But inevitably the more conclusive view depends on the larger picture. (p. 147)

In view of that, the Somali campaign was one of the contributing factors to the means of production and ideology development in the 1970s. Lewis (1980) pointed out the ‘Somali literacy projects’ as one of the successes of the Somali revolution. Thus, the most significant of these outcomes were the change which the campaign initiated and which directly or indirectly contributed to the personal development of the participants, and their impact on education, ideology, and means of production, among others.

**Summary**

This concludes the themes and major issues that emerged from the data based on interviews with 13 participants and a number of photographs. As the result of the three research questions which were guiding the study, there were nine emergent themes and other related major issues which were explained in the chapters. These themes were supported by quotations from the participants and the relevant literature where available. The findings of the study showed considerable experience and knowledge of the participants about the objectives of the literacy campaign which were classified in terms of education, infrastructure, political consciousness, and economic development. Moreover, some of the most important elements which the study unveiled were the role of the rural population in the campaign and their contribution to its cost. Similarly, the study showed the role of the student-teachers in the campaign and their impact on the rural population. Additionally, the study addressed the unintended outcomes of the
campaign which contributed to the lives of the rural population, in terms of education, health, and political awareness, including organizational development. The rural campaign which was designed to improve the conditions of the rural communities came to impact the lives of the urban population through massive rural-to-urban migration, which influenced school enrollment and job creation programs. These findings equally benefitted the rural and urban populations. Finally, the study revealed that the youth benefitted from the campaign program in terms of literacy and social consciousness. Some of the factors that contributed to their significant gain included their natural curiosity and competitiveness; accepting life’s challenges; pursuit of urban life; and their interest in learning, among other things.
Chapter Seven: Summary, Implications, Recommendations, and Conclusion

This chapter presents a concise summary of the study, including an overview of the problem, restatement of the purpose of the study, and a brief review of the methodology. In addition, it presents a summation of the major findings drawn from the study by revealing the important disclosures of the participants as a conclusion for Chapter 4. Finally, the chapter proposes implications for action and policy, and puts forward recommendations for further research, ending with the concluding remarks.

Overview of the Problem

During the colonial period, the writing and use of Somali in education and administration was discouraged (Laitin, 1977), and after independence, the lack of written Somali necessitated use of English and Italian for all official purposes. However, the 1969 Somali revolution made it possible for the Somali language to be written and subsequently disseminated through the Somali population by organizing two mass literacy campaigns one in the urban area and the other in the rural area. The urban campaign was conducted in 1973-74 and the rural campaign was conducted in 1974-75.

This study mainly focuses on the later campaign, known as the Rural Development Campaign for its development objectives and the emphasis on the rural population which comprises about 70% of the population. In January, 1991, the Somali Revolutionary government was toppled by a civil uprising which developed into internecine civil war that destroyed the government archives and public records, including the history of the literacy campaign. Furthermore, the gains of the campaign reverted to the previous post-campaign level. This study attempts to uncover some of this
lost history by interviewing some of the participants of the campaign who currently live in the United States of America and Canada.

**Statement of Purpose**

The study focuses on the objectives and outcomes of the campaign in the following manner. The Somali government publicly declared the intended objectives of the campaign and explained them to the Somali people. At the end of the campaign, though the Somali government announced the outcome of the campaign to the public and the international community, no independent bodies verified the success stories which the government claimed. Furthermore, these success stories were lost in the civil war. For these reasons, this study investigates the objectives of the campaign, whether these outcomes were achieved and how they contributed to the intended national development agenda of the government. Finally, the research examines the unintended objectives of the campaign. To realize this goal, the study targets three different categories of participants.

The campaign involved 30,000 high school students and their teachers. Of all the participants, the most important category was the students who participated as student-teachers. The second category was the teachers who participated as students’ supervisors and as program managers. The third group was the government civil servants who knew what was going on beyond the implementation field of the campaign and were in a position to explain the government activities. All the participants in this are members of the Somali Diaspora in North America.
Research Questions

This study examines the objectives of the campaign, its outcomes, and how these outcomes contributed to the main objective of literacy for development. The following three research questions are presented to guide the study:

1. What were the main anticipated objectives of the Somali Literacy Campaign?
2. Did the campaign successfully realize its set objectives and contribute to the main objective of literacy for development?
3. What were the unexpected political, social, and economic outcomes of the campaign?

These questions are designed to rationally explore the historical experience of the participants, specifically student-teachers, their contribution to the campaign, and the outcomes of the program.

Review of the Methodology

The Somali Literacy Campaign of 1975 is a historical event and the most appropriate methods to study it are historiography and narratology. Accordingly, the questions were presented to the participants who were allowed to narrate and share their historical experiences without interruption. Each participant chose the location of his or her interview, a public venue or home of the interviewee, without the presence of a third party. The data collection method of the study was mainly interviews and documentation. In this process, I videotaped some of the interviews and audio taping others, while also taking notes. In addition, from the number of photographs I was showed I selected the most suitable ones for the study.
Findings Related to the Literature

Most of the findings of the study are supported by relevant literature; however, some of the previously available literature lacks clarity and depth. For instance, the Somali literacy campaign was partially financed by the rural population who fed and housed the 30,000 student-teachers and their supervisors who participated in the campaign; but discussion of the literature about this contribution is often discussed in one paragraph or less. This study provides an in-depth discussion of the role of the rural population and their contribution to the campaign. In addition, one of the main outcomes of the rural literacy campaign was how it triggered a rural youth migration to the urban centers and this fact was not mentioned in any of the previous studies.

The study further illustrates in detail how this rural migration contributed to the increase of school enrollment and created economic activities in the post-campaign years, something the available research lacked. Similarly, this study explains the post-campaign impact on the rural population and how it transformed their lives politically, socially, and economically. These elements were either missing from the previous studies or lacked the required detail and depth.

Moreover, the study has unraveled some contradictions in the literature; for instance, while Bhola (1984) indicated the cost of the campaign at $3 million, Lewis (1988) pointed out its cost at £10 million. There is a big difference in these two amounts and I could not find a solution for it for the following reasons: (a) the focus of the study was limited to the personal experiences of the mainly student-teachers and their supervisors who participated in the campaign and who had no part in the financial system.
of the campaign, nor could the civil servants I interviewed have known the campaign budget. (b) The second option to resolve this problem would have been to refer to the government documents, but they were destroyed in the civil war, and I could locate no individuals who were in charge of the financial accounts of the campaign. There is a need for further research in this area.

**Implications of the Study**

The Somali political situation in the 1960s reached a point of stagnation in terms of political and economic development. The country was run by a small group of political elite estimated between 5% to 10% of the population who spoke either English or Italian. The education and administration systems were conducted in these languages, which limited access to public services of the majority of the population who spoke only Somali. A better alternative would have been to use Somali language, spoken by 95% of the population, but its orthography was not created until 1972.

In 1969, a military government took over the country leadership and in its first Revolutionary Charter declared developing a system for writing the Somali language was fundamental to a realistic national development, allowing all Somalis to participate in nation building and to equally share the fruits of development. As a result, the Somali orthography was written in 1972 and in 1973-74 a mass literacy campaign was organized in the urban areas. This was followed by the Rural Development Campaign which was conducted in the rural areas in 1974-75. This campaign was partially motivated by the importance of the rural economy which produces livestock and agriculture. The rural literacy program was more challenging than the urban in terms of the nature and the
number of the population involved. That 70% of the population lived in the countryside and the nomadic nature of most of the rural population that moved continuously from one location to another contributed to the challenges of the campaign. Nonetheless, attempts were made to realize the intended objectives of the campaign. In the following section, I will discuss the implications of the study which is organized in the order of the research questions.

**Research Question One**

What were the main anticipated objectives of the Somali Literacy Campaign?

The data showed that the student-teacher information was limited to the campaign experiences. They had limited information about the pre and post-campaign situations. Most of them were young and not concerned about the politics and economics of the country. For this reason, they could not remember the objectives or the problems that gave rise to the campaign. However, they did remember their personal experiences related to the implementation of the campaign and their relationship with the rural population.

What is more, student-teachers recognized the practical value of the campaign in the 1980s, which coincided with when they graduated from college or university and joined the workforce. In this regard, 99% of them reported development programs during the campaign that they have not witnessed before; and that the period between 1973 and 1979 was the best time for them and the country. Thus, it was the teachers and the civil servants who were able to fill the information gaps that students could not recall.
Development Objectives

The data and the literature showed that the main objective of the literacy campaign was development, which was set to be realized through many components including literacy, sociopolitical consciousness, and national unity, at the end of the campaign, however, other unintended outcomes emerged.

The Somali revolutionary government envisioned that national development could be achieved through an adequate level of education among the population but this was not possible with the literacy rate at about 10%, and foreign languages as the medium of administration and instruction. For this reason, developing a system for writing Somali and the subsequent Somalization of the systems of education and administration were targeted. On the other hand, the rural population lagged behind its urban counterpart in education, health, and socioeconomic development. This created a development gap between the two peoples. Thus, after implementation of the urban literacy campaign in the settled areas, the rural campaign followed. The purpose of this campaign was to reach the rural population and link them to the rest of the nation. The motive was the belief that literacy leads to education, sociopolitical consciousness, and finally, economic development.

Language and Education Development

The Somali education was weakened by the high literacy among the population, and the fact that education was conducted in foreign languages incomprehensible to 90% of the population. Thus creation of a written form of Somali and preparation for the Somalization of education were an attempt to prepare Somalis for the task of language of
instruction and administration. The realization of the literacy program was a prerequisite for the implementation of this task. Post-campaign education programs such as Education for All and the policy of compulsory primary education could only be possible in the Somali language if they were to the benefit of the rural and urban populations in equal manner. This would provide the rural population with equitable access to national services and resources, leading to social equality and justice among the population.

**Socio-political Development**

Before the campaign, the Somali people were divided along the lines of language and education, contributing to sociopolitical disparity between the rural and urban communities. In terms of language, the rural population spoke Somali, a language which they could neither read nor write, and that probably limited access to whatever benefits existed. Similarly, due to their inability to read or write their own language, their sociopolitical consciousness was likely to have been limited. This relatively reduced their communication with government agencies to seek the many services to which they were entitled as citizens and tax payers. These disparities created cultural and socioeconomic barriers which threatened national unity. Among the objectives of the campaign, therefore, was to eliminate or reduce these sociopolitical disparities, realize unity among the population and concentrate on nation building and development.

**National Unity**

As discussed earlier, one of the components of the campaign was national unity, and one of the first elements that impeded it was language division. According to the rural population, the urban people were speakers of foreign languages that presumably
endowed them with disproportionate economic resources and services, such as education and health, among others. For these reasons, the revolution planned to eliminate or minimize illiteracy and elevate the Somali language to be the language of administration and instruction.

This would put all the people in the same plane where all Somalis could access equal opportunities. The hope was that this would at least reduce the existing gaps and create national unity where everyone could enjoy social equality and justice in national resource distribution and personal development.

**Economic Development**

Prior to the campaign, Somalia was one of the least developed countries of the world, and the recognition of this problem by the revolutionary leaders necessitated that the government come up with a viable strategy for development. Based on the hypothesis that literacy promotes social consciousness and education, the literacy campaign was intended to lead to economic development. A population with a high literacy level is likely to be easily trained for the required skills and further education; and these skills and education could positively contribute to economic productivity. Moreover, such a population would be socio-politically conscious enough to participate in the national dialogue for democracy, social justice, and national development.

**The Significance of the Rural Economy**

According to the data and relevant literature, the Somali economy was based on agriculture and livestock; and the idea of a literacy campaign was not based merely on the desire for rural development but was also motivated by recognition of its intrinsic
economic value. The rural contingent constitutes 70% of the Somali population (Federal Research Division, 2010). In addition, the two principal natural resources, agriculture and livestock, which produce the local food provisions are based in the rural country.

Agriculture and livestock products are some of the main export products that earn hard currency for the country. Based on these data, the rural development program was a deliberate agenda with an economic objective. According to Kratli (2000), most contemporary literacy campaigns, including that of Somalia, were economic oriented. However, the Somali leaders openly declared their intention of using rural development for economic development. One of the goals was to reach food production self-sufficiency within ten years. For this reason, the Rural Development Campaign was necessitated by the economic value of the rural areas and the quantification of rural economic production.

**The Rural Contribution to the Campaign**

With this economic significance, the rural people were not just end receivers of government programs, but were noteworthy contributors of campaign finances. More than 30,000 students and their teachers participated in the campaign, and the rural population provided their food and shelter for eight months. One of the teachers who participated in the campaign estimated that rural people paid at least half the cost of the campaign. On one hand, this illustrates their economic capacity and magnitude, and on the other, it proves the merit of the rural wealth and the generosity of its people to be invested for further development. This contribution made the rural people simultaneous stakeholders and partners, in the program. Then again, the contribution of the rural people
altered the urban public opinion of them and earned them a recognition and admiration in terms of their wealth and generosity.

**The Role of the Rural People in the Campaign**

The rural population who hosted the campaign was also a co-organizer. Prior to the commencement of the campaign, the government called on the rural elders and identified their role as the hosts, facilitators, and peacemakers of the program. Thus, the rural elders and youth groups were entrusted with the responsibility of organizing student-teacher sustenance and their accommodation. For instance, the elders had to plan and decide the number of teachers each settlement needed; in which houses they would stay; and who would be responsible for their provisions. In some instances, the villagers shared the cost of hosting the guests; and some times, the wealthiest villager in a particular area offered to individually host the teachers.

In addition, the elders were the intermediaries and facilitators of the campaign, operating between the campaign implementers and the villagers. Whenever there was a problem related to the village people, the campaign workers would talk to the village representatives and they would seek a solution, thus, becoming the problem solvers of the campaign.

The village elders were traditional peacemakers, and since they were mostly far from the government authority, they were the authority in their localities. The rural people trusted their elders more than the government; and, as a result, the government usually dealt with the elders for peacemaking and interpreting the government position of authority to the people. In the campaign, the elders maintained their traditional
responsibility of mediation, facilitation, and communication. This illustrates the role of the rural elders as hosts of the program, co-organizers, and co-managers of it.

The rural people have a tradition of generosity to guests, teachers, and religious scholars. In their culture, teaches that guests should be hosted with unconditional and utmost generosity. Rural communities, until now, receive teachers from cities and towns and integrate them to their communities, find them wives, gift them with livestock or land, depending on their status of farming or herding community; and all this is to create a sustainable community-owned education system.

As a result, the rural hosts did not claim any compensation for their campaign contributions from the government in cash or kind at any time during the campaign or after it. The reason was that they considered their contribution as a public duty. This gave them recognition from the government, urban population, and the nation at large.

In terms of the student-teachers, they experienced the generosity and consideration of the people who unconditionally shared their provisions with them; consequently, all respondents believe that the contribution and generosity of the rural hosts was significant.

**Research Question Two: Achievements of the Campaign**

Did the campaign successfully realize its set objectives and contribute to the main objective of literacy for development?

As discussed earlier, the first phase of the rural campaign was focused on literacy which was a key to the realization of many other objectives, including political, education, and socioeconomic development, among other things. At the end of the
campaign, the acquisition of literacy empowered rural students to understand their newly found ability to read and write. This ability brought new meaning to their lives, a new self. For instance, these were people who could not read or write their own language and perhaps never even contemplated doing so. But after they became literate, they were no longer satisfied with their rural life and desired a life worthy of their new literate status. They wanted either to learn more or work to enjoy a more gratifying urban life. This empowered them to be all they could be, but with opportunities limited in the rural areas, they migrated to the urban centers.

**The Realization of Development Objectives and Youth Migration**

The migration of the rural youth to the urban centers was one of the most significant of unintended outcomes of the campaign, and it had a direct and indirect impact on the education and the economy, among other sectors.

These migrants could be categorized into two main groups –those who were interested in learning and those who were employment seekers. The first group consisted of school-age children under the age of 14 whom their parents sent to relatives in the urban areas to be educated. These children were put into the new "Education for All" program which was introduced after the campaign to foster acceptance of all school-age children from the rural and urban areas. These schools mainly enrolled students from marginalized communities including rural children who were starting school for the first time.

The second group was enrolled in the adult education schools. The enrollment of these two groups increased the level of school enrollment by 427%, which overwhelmed
the education system in terms of classrooms and teachers. For this reason, the government was obligated to build schools and recruit teachers through new unconventional approaches. For school construction, the government used the self-help method by which the public contributed to the construction expenses by providing the land and labor. In teacher recruitment, the government first prearranged many educated and professional groups, such as engineers to teach in primary schools.

However, when this did not satisfy the teacher shortage, intermediate and secondary school graduates were recruited as teachers through the programs of Primary Program Teachers and National Serves Programs, respectively. Many Somali educators believe now that the government’s approach low-quality teacher recruitment ruined the education system; but others argue that the devastation of education was a combination of neglect and wrong approaches, among other things. In either case, the Somali education system continued to deteriorate until the toppling of the government in 1991.

**The Contribution of the Campaign in Human Resource Development**

One of the contributions of the campaign was the production of a large number of literate workers who could be trained as skilled workers. There were three categories of these literate youths who migrated to the cities: (a) one group joined the labor force directly without further education or skills training. A relevant example of this group is Noor Ali who immediately, after his literacy completion, joined a highway construction project. (b) The second group enrolled in adult schools which prepared them to go to vocational schools where students who did not have previous primary education were
taught language, social sciences, and basic math to enable them to pursue further training in technical, organizational, secretarial or clerical skills. An example of this group is Seylon who went through this program and later became successful in the Department of Ranges, as a District Director of Forestry. (c) This group enrolled in adult education schools and received basic education but, for diverse reasons decided not to proceed to either vocational or technical schools for further training. One reasons for not going to vocational schools could have been finding other opportunities along the way, including jobs, business, etc. A good example of this category was Habiba Haji who, met and married her businessman husband in the basic education program and later joined the business with him.

These are some of the examples of how the literacy program contributed to the economy by creating human resource development system for the economic sectors. This system created a new generation of enhanced, empowered, and skilled workers who joined the economic production immediately at the end of the campaign. This stimulus continued for the next year or two. The economic sectors which benefited from this system included, but are not limited to, agriculture, manufacturing, construction, fishery, and livestock.

**The Role of the Student-teachers and Their Impact on Their Students**

Two important elements contributed to the consciousness and empowerment of the rural students. Both these elements were attributed to the student-teachers who contributed to the transformation of the rural population. The first one was the literacy primer which student-teachers used as a literacy textbook. This book was designed for
rural people and every chapter had the objective of conveying to the students the importance of knowledge, health, work, community, government, development, and civic duties, among other things. Each chapter had pictures with visual illustrations of the concept in the lesson.

The student-teachers as well as the literacy students reported that the pictures in the book, magazines or newspapers and other personal pictures which the student-teachers brought with them contributed to the visual understanding of the literacy students of the new concepts of work, education, and development, among other things. For instance, literacy teachers would show pictures of a hospital and then of the doctors, nurses, and patients; or of a textile factory and workers engaged in the manufacturing process. This visualization of the concepts which were new to the rural people assisted them not only to understand, but also to contemplate being participating in these programs. Thus, the pictures in the newspapers and the books gave the literacy students a new meaning and understanding of development. By these means student-teachers executed a significant teaching program, which considerably influenced their students.

The second element was the student-teachers who engaged with their rural students to make them understand and realize the other side of life, that is, the urban side from which student-teachers originated. This was also where the theoretical picture of development was more practical and pronounced. In this case, student-teachers exposed urban life to their students through urban narratives related to the objectives of the campaign, such as development.
In addition, the student-teachers, as urban youth, exported some of their urban culture to the rural people. For instance, literacy teachers introduced sports, such as soccer and volleyball, during the campaign. These sports became accepted in the countryside and continued after the campaign, playing significant role in creating a close friendly relationship among the rural youth during games and tournaments. After the campaign, the government encouraged continuation of rural sports and assisted the cause.

**Student-teacher Experience**

Student-teachers went into the campaign to teach the rural people; however, there was also the intention of having those student-teachers exposed to the rural culture as an immersion program. Some of the participants called it a cultural exchange program. The pure Somali culture is preserved in the rural countryside while it became adulterated or Westernized in the urban areas. In those days, the rural Somali culture was considered uncivilized as opposed to the Europeanized urban culture, so one purpose of sending the students to the countryside was to introduce them to their original culture as maintained outside the cities.

Moreover, the harsh environment of the countryside, the wildlife, and the rough terrain of the desert and highland tested the mettle of the students and exposed to them the adversity of the rural life. This experience humbled them and taught them patience, endurance, courage, and responsibility. For many of them, it was their first experience of live lions, elephants, and tigers, among others. Many student-teachers were involved in camel herding and farming with their hosts which gave them the experience of hard work which transformed their personalities. When they returned to their homes, their parents
and relatives noticed and appreciated this transformation. The result was a dichotomy of learning in the campaign by which everyone involved was a student and a teacher at the same time.

**Research Question Three: The Outcomes of the Campaign**

What were the unexpected political, social, and economic outcomes of the campaign?

The data supported by literature indicated that at the end of the campaign there were noticeable outcomes; and while some of them were part of the objectives, others were unexpected. Moreover, while most of the outcomes had positive impacts on the people, some of them were negative.

**Positive Outcomes**

The primary positive outcome of the campaign, literacy acquisition, was also the first campaign objective. However, the impact of literacy on youth created the unexpected outcome of migration. This impact was noticeable because it created a vacuum of youth in the rural areas and an overflow in the urban locations. For instance, youth are the energetic force that powers the rural farm and livestock production, and their loss there could upset rural production. On the other hand, the influx of youth to the urban centers had positive and negative results. It negatively inundated the school system and created a shortage of teachers and classrooms; similarly youth migration disrupted the urban labor markets. However, the government interpreted the situation positively and with the construction of extra classrooms and the recruitment of extra teachers there was a significant increase in primary and adult school enrollment in 1976.
In addition, to absorb excess unemployed youth, the government started various development projects, in such sectors as agriculture, fishery, and manufacturing. As a result, the acquisition of literacy by the rural population and its related outcome of migration were considered one of the primary positive outcomes of the campaign due to the positive impacts on education and economic activities. Many of these migrants later became successful and contributed to development projects in the country.

Another important element which literacy contributed to the rural people was the concept of development itself. Rural people employ centuries-old traditional methods of livestock husbandry and land cultivation. Throughout those centuries, these traditional methods resisted change. Thus, explaining different, improved procedures of production such as modern tools and scientific methods like cross breeding and seed treatment was eye-opening.

The campaign had a livestock development component in which animals were inoculated and treated for diseases. Although the nomads were aware enough to seek treatment whenever there was an epidemic, the campaign taught the concept of continuous animal health clinic services as a permanent health service program. This new program included research programs to study the nature of the health problems prevalent in the region and/or in the country, and how to treat them progressively. Similarly, public health clinics were introduced during the campaign.

After the campaign, there was a rural transformation in terms of infrastructure development, sociopolitical consciousness, and the establishment of health and education services. In this process, the campaign laid down infrastructure systems including roads
and water supply. Moreover, the education, health, and administrative facilities which the campaign implementers used during the campaign were left behind for use in rural projects. In addition, a new sociopolitical consciousness in the rural country, emanated from the campaign organizational networks designed to facilitate the implementation process of the project.

These organizations developed into community-service groups that lobbied on behalf of their communities for continuation of the services initiated by the campaign, and the development of other essential projects. On one hand, these new developments helped to offset the loss of youth manpower through migration, and on the other hand, the rural post-campaign programs started a new era of rural development which was a primary objective of the campaign.

**Negative Impacts of the Campaign**

For the most part, the negative impacts of the campaign were unforeseen and the interpretation of what was negative was understood in different ways by the government and by the people. For instance, the government’s overwhelming command of machinery and manpower during the campaign intimidated the rural people. In the implementation process, the government put together a massive force of human resources and equipment, including the army, teachers, students, and employees from different miniseries, such as Health, Information, Agriculture, and Livestock Husbandry. This was the first time the rural people had experienced such a program, and it was interpreted by the people as a government show of force.
In addition, the government demonstrated on certain occasions that it would not tolerate any resistance to its programs or any unpleasant incidents that could jeopardize them. In contrast, the government employees believed that, the overly independent nature of the nomads justified, the government expression and impression of force.

*The Government Intervention in the Rural Economy*

Before the campaign, the rural people were not receiving any tangible services from the government, although they were paying taxes. However, they were independent of government interference in terms of selling their produce in the open market. But during the campaign, the government recognized the means and capacity of this informal economy and decided to regulate it.

For this reason, the government created the Agricultural Development Agency (ADC), designed to advance and regulate the agricultural sector. Thus, after completion of the campaign, the farmers were supposed to sell their produce only to the ADC which would re-sell it to the public. This gave the government an open hand to control the price of agricultural commodities and earn revenue in the process by buying cheap from the farmers and selling steep in the market. This kind of government intervention was considered as one of the negative impacts of the campaign. On the whole, the data shows that the positive outcome of the campaign overall outnumbered its negative impacts (see chapter 4, positive & negative outcomes of the campaign). For this reason, the available literature lacks the discussion of negative impacts of the campaign.
Theme Three: Youth, the Campaign Beneficiary

Most of the participants reported that youth were the demography which disproportionately benefitted from the literacy program. The factors that contributed to their advantage were: due to their youth they were, flexible, relatively free of family responsibilities, and were future-oriented. They had the desire to learn and experience real personal adventures.

Furthermore, they were curious about urban life and so developed a good relationship with their young teachers who empowered them, encouraged them, and virtually saturated them with urban life and its opportunities of education, employment, and entertainment. These factors, among other things, urged the youth to learn better and seek more opportunities. However, the realization of the limited resources and opportunities prevalent in the rural environment encouraged them to migrate to the urban centers, and this migration was important for them and their families. The youth who became successful in the cities supported their families financially and many of them brought their siblings to the cities to educate them.

Implications for Action

The current literacy level of Somalia is at pre-campaign level, but the present geopolitical situation does not permit a mass literacy campaign similar to that of 1975 program, because of the creation of many post-civil war semiautonomous states in the country. After the civil war, Somalia opted for a Federal system to reconcile the regional conflicts and disagreements that caused the civil war in the first place. However, this solution created a new political problem -- lack of a mutual relationship between the
federal government and the newly formed states. For this reason, it is difficult for the federal government to propose development programs to the states unless it can fund them.

The States prefer to manage their own affairs, including education, health, and economic development even though their financial resources are too limited to take care of themselves. Early in 2011, the Somali State of Puntland declared that it will not cooperate with the federal government until a federal election is held (Aljazeera, 2011). This election is planned for August, 2012. In contrast to this statement, one of the reasons why the 1975 national literacy campaign was successful was due to the combined national efforts and resources for the campaign implementation. This necessitated the introduction of a new strategy whereby the states could implement their literacy programs in a manner amenable to their modest educational and economic resources. For this reason the study recommends the following strategy:

Creation of a National Literacy Committee: It is important to devise a national committee to plan a credible and pragmatic system to combat literacy. One of the first steps is to create a technical committee of experts who could explore the technical, financial, and educational resources for implementation. It should set up a realistic program with achievable benchmarks. In this committee, priority should be given to individuals who participated in the former national literacy campaigns to utilize their experience and expertise.

Educational Literacy policies: The federal and state governments should enact literacy policies that systematically combat illiteracy. In this program, the government
would endorse programs that encourage and reward the public throughout the education and public service systems.

Annual or seasonal long-term campaigns: Instead of all-out combat against literacy in a short period, it is more practical to adopt an annual or seasonal long-term program that could be implemented one district and/or one village at a time. This could be started one by one in major cities and towns. After completion of the urban areas the experience could be applied to the rural areas, as was done in the former literacy campaign.

Public education prerequisite: Before commencement of the campaign, public education and public empowerment is required to prepare the public for this difficult task and explicate to them its importance. People need to understand the value of literacy and its relationship to education, health, personal development, and national advancement.

Soliciting of public contribution: Literacy campaigns are expensive for poor governments to undertake. As a result, the contribution of the public to the campaign in terms of moral, financial, and human resource is required.

These five points could contribute to the initial concept of implementing a literacy campaign program. In addition, governments should be cautious about launching a program which was not entirely determined to be viable. It is too challenging to regain the trust of a disappointed public and persuade them to accept the resurrection of an already-failed program.
Implications for Theory

I used two theories in this study, post-colonial theory and critical theory. Using theories in research strengthens the personal, social, and environmental references of the report (Martin, 1995). The objective of using these theories was to give the study reference, context, and background. In the following sections, I will briefly explain the theoretical implications of the study.

Post-colonial Theory

The purpose of using post-colonial theory was to set the context and post-colonial nature of the Somali phenomena, to understand the action, process, and outcome of the study. For that reason, the theory identified the role and the legacy of colonial languages in post-colonial Somalia, their use in administration and education, and the impact on a population with a 90% literacy rate.

The use of English and Italian in administration and education marginalized the Somali language, limited access to education and services, and created a language-based social stratification (Laitin, 1977; Warsame, 2003). This characterized the nature of Somali development in terms of political, education, and socioeconomic achievements. One of the objectives of the campaign was to eliminate these post-colonial barriers, particularly language and education, to pave the way for better social and economic improvement. In view of that, Adam (1980) argued that the objective of the campaign was to reduce the role of foreign languages to a secondary level. This can be termed decolonization of the Somali administration and education through Somalization.
In addition, the impact of foreign languages on the population contributed to the increasing socioeconomic gap between the 10% literate elite and the 90% marginalized illiterates. This gap meant education, health, employment, and political power became disproportionately concentrated in the hands of the elite.

This socioeconomic gap was also visible among the rural and urban communities. In the post-colonial setting, the unwritten Somali language, the use of foreign languages, and the concentration of vital economic resources and services in major cities characterized the post-colonial legacy of the Somali administration systems. This excluded the Somali rural population which constituted more than 70% of the population at the time. Adam (1980) observed that colonialism was responsible for the socioeconomic gap between the rural and urban societies. This was the context and background of the 1975 Somali Literacy Campaign and the factors which gave rise to its organization in the first place.

**Critical Theory**

One of the characteristics of critical theory is the empowerment and emancipation of marginalized and oppressed societies. According to Gibson (1986), critical theory provides answers and solutions which come with ‘emancipation’ in the form of freedom of choice and options in approaching problems. The Somali rural communities were marginalized in contrast to their urban counterparts in terms of literacy, political consciousness, infrastructure, and overall socioeconomic development. However, by the end of the campaign, the situation of the rural population began to improve. Data supported by literature showed that grassroots-level community organizations began to
organize themselves and lobby for services including education, health, and infrastructure.

In addition, many of the newly graduated youths became conscious of their needs and the limitations of their rural environment to provide those needs. Freire (2005) contended that literacy leads to the consciousness of the literates in their environments and their cognition of their friends and foes. In a highly illiterate and underdeveloped society like rural Somalia was, the mere ability to read and write constitutes a certain level of education. This level of literacy/education provides the ability to think, choose, and critique or evaluate their current options.

**Deconstructing Self vs. Other**

The acquisition of literacy in the rural population created a new rural self-consciousness. This generated a new way of seeing things. Before the campaign, the rural way of life was based on “self vs. other”, as in, the nomads vs. the urban others or the government, and they had been trapped in this condition for centuries.

The following popular Somali saying characterizes the individualistic, and “self vs. other” nature of the rural people: “Me and my clan against the world; me and my family against my clan; me and my brother against my family; me against my brother”. This, coupled with illiteracy, which isolated the rural people and them pitted against each other and their urban counterparts.

This psychosocial character of the Somali nomads was, perhaps, partially the outcome of the post-colonial socioeconomic barriers prevalent in the community. From a critical theory perspective, the rural people were perhaps able to deconstruct their “self
vs. other” character after the campaign, and reconstruct a more inclusive open-minded one.

The new post-campaign rural generation became disenchanted with the status quo, and felt empowered to seek more learning and employment. At this point, life had a new meaning and definition for the rural people, especially the young generation, because they wanted to be like their teachers. Freire contended that “Humans, however, because they are aware of themselves and thus of the world—because they are conscious beings—exist in a dialectical relationship between the determination of limits and their own freedoms” (p. 99). This new consciousness showed them the limited opportunities of their rural status and the promise of an urban life where opportunities were comparatively plenty. This perhaps opened up the idea of youth migration.

In all, the socioeconomic disparity between rural and urban populations likely represented a socio-cultural barrier between the two communities. However, this was replaced by a new self-empowered literate generation who believed that the difference between them and the urban population was their status of reading, which is a key to education and employment.

The newly created literates realized that their best option was not to wait until education and employment came to them from the urban centers, but rather to seek these opportunities where they were available. The outcome was for the youth to migrate and the rural communities to organize themselves and demand services through the empowerment and emancipation of reading/literacy. The expected outcomes of the campaign -- was literacy for economic purposes and political orientation -- did not
exactly materialize this way. The rural people did not continue their dependence on the system but broke away from it, instead. For instance, when the government decided to control the price of their produce, they went underground and sold it on the black market (Lewis, 1980).

Moreover, the Rural Literacy Campaign was a top-bottom program to bring literacy to the people and connect them to the local government system. It was also meant to maximize the rural production systems for economic reasons. However, the new literates organized themselves and created an unintended bottom-up grassroots-level system able to recognize their own needs. They demanded services from the very government which had been prepared for them to be subservient to it. In the end, they were able to negotiate with this government to improve their community, and not wait for services as in the pre-campaign days.

**Recommendations for Further Research**

This study is about the Somali mass literacy campaign of 1975, but it focuses only on the experiences of the campaign participants, specifically the student-teachers and teachers who currently live in Canada and the United States. These experiences are based on participant’s relationship with their students, their food and shelter, their daily tasks, and their overall daily life. The Somali literacy campaign consisted of many components, including literacy, education, health, and development. This study covers the literacy component and its related outcomes.

In addition, it covers the role of the student-teachers, and of the rural population and their contribution to the campaign, among other things. Most of the practical or
technical knowledge of the campaign lies with the government project records and the individuals who managed the program, such as the members of the Somali Language Commission; Academy of Science, Art, and Culture; National Literacy Campaign Commission; and their technical and administrative subordinates. My assumption is that most members of these national committees were in their 40s and 50s at the time and after 36 years, many of them may not be available for research participation.

As a result, research is needed to investigate the financial, planning, and technical implementation process of the program by searching for who is left of these participants and of government records. The best place to start could be Somalia where the possibility exists to locate some of the high-level government bureaucrats, technocrats, scholars, and linguists who were involved in the campaign.

**Concluding Remarks**

The literacy campaign of Somalia was an ambitious project intended to eradicate illiteracy, boost education, and bring development to the people. At the end of the campaign, the government announced the successful completion of the program, raising the national literacy level to 70%. This percentage includes the overall literacy of the country after the campaign. The evaluation method of the government was not publicized and it is not the intention of this study to investigate the validity of this process.

In this study, the data supported by literature confirmed that the campaign was successful enough to reduce the socioeconomic gap between the rural and urban peoples. One of the factors of this claim was the rural migration to the urban centers to seek better opportunities which was considered a positive campaign outcome. This migration was an
indication of the rupture of the socioeconomic barriers between rural and urban, and a symbol of national unity in the sense that there were negative misconceptions between the rural and urban communities before the campaign. These misconceptions were the product of socioeconomic and development disparity which existed prior to the campaign.

In the urban areas, the data shows that the campaign positively contributed to the increase of school enrollment and the creation of economic activities. There was relative economic growth in such sectors as agriculture, livestock, fishery, and industry, among others. It was not clear whether this growth was the result of the campaign or a coincidence, but there was significant indication that the campaign positively contributed to it.

In the rural areas, the data supported by literature shed light the rural population experienced a relative transformation in terms of transportation infrastructure, water supply, and provisions of health and education services, among other things. Similarly, there was a rural sociopolitical consciousness in the countryside where social and community organizations established to facilitate the campaign implementation process developed into grassroots community organizations that represented the interests of their rural communities.

In addition, the data supported by literature confirmed the general belief that the campaign was economically supported by the rural populace which provided food and accommodation for the literacy teachers. These aforementioned campaign contributions are considered achievements of the rural literacy campaign.
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Appendix A: Semi-structured Interview Question Guide

- According to your understanding at the time, what was the purpose of the literacy campaign?
- What were the major challenges that the country faced before the campaign?
- What were the main government defined objectives and how did you understood them?
- What was the impact of the campaign on your students, and on the society in general?
- What were the major challenges that the campaign faced?
- Did you believe at the time that the campaign objectives were realized?
- Do you believe now that these objectives were realized?
- Do you consider now that the campaign was successful?
- What were the strengths or advantages of the campaign?
- What will you consider to be the weakness or disadvantages of the campaign?
- Which group do you think the campaign served well than others, including women, minorities, and nomads, among others?
- In which ways did the government utilize the outcomes to improve national development?
• As far as you can remember, were people satisfied with the campaign and its outcomes?
• What were the political, social and economic outcomes of the campaign?
• What were some of the unpredicted or unexpected negative or positive campaign outcomes?
Appendix B: IRB Approval

A determination has been made that the following research study is exempt from IRB review because it involves:

Category 2. research involving the use of educational tests, survey procedures, interview procedures or observation of public behavior

Project Title: Literacy for Development: The Somali Literacy Campaign of 1975

Primary Investigator: M. Shariff Osman

Co-Investigator(s):

Advisor: Francis Godwyll

Department: Cultural Studies in Education

Rebecca Cale 12/03/10
Rebecca Cale, AAB, CIP Office of Research Compliance

The approval remains in effect provided the study is conducted exactly as described in your application for review. Any additions or modifications to the project must be approved as an amendment prior to implementation.
Appendix C: Investigator Assurance

I certify that the information provided in this outline form is complete and correct.

I understand that as Principal Investigator, I have ultimate responsibility for the protection of the rights and welfare of human subjects, conduct of the study and the ethical performance of the project.

I agree to comply with Ohio University policies on research and investigation involving human subjects (O.U. Policy # 19.052), as well as with all applicable federal, state and local laws regarding the protection of human subjects in research, including, but not limited to the following:

- The project will be performed by qualified personnel, according to the OU approved protocol.
- No changes will be made in the protocol or consent form until approved by the OU IRB.
- Legally effective informed consent will be obtained from human subjects if applicable, and documentation of informed consent will be retained, in a secure environment, for three years after termination of the project.
- Adverse/Unexpected events will be reported to the OU IRB promptly.
- All protocols are approved for a maximum period of one year. Research must stop at the end of that approval period unless the protocol is re-approved for another term.

I further certify that the proposed research is not currently underway and will not begin until approval has been obtained. A signed approval form, on Office of Research Compliance letterhead, communicates IRB approval.

Primary Investigator Signature _______________________ Date 11/29/2010

(Please print name) M. Shariff Osman____________________

Co-Investigator Signature ____________ N/A __________ Date __________

(Please print name) ____________________________________________