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The Influence of Free Newspaper Reading Culture on Adult Literacy in Nigeria

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Abstract:

Newspapers are sources of information and entertainment but they also function as social institutions. In some Nigerian cities, it is commonplace to see hordes of people gather around newspaper vendor stands, reading newspapers for free and discussing the main stories featured in the papers. This study argues that the practice enhances adult literacy, which is not only the ability to read and write, but also the ability to use language, numbers, images, computers and other basic means to understand, communicate, gain useful knowledge and use the dominant symbols of a culture.

The study also establishes that those who read newspapers for free at the vendors' stands are adults who learn useful lessons that enhance their literacy, albeit unintentionally. Those who read newspapers for free at the vendors' stands do so because they are unable to afford buying at least one newspaper a day, as most of them either earn low income or are job applicants. The study, which was carried out at the CMS area of Lagos State, is hinged on the assumption that institutionalizing and replicating this culture in other parts of Nigeria could serve to enhance adult literacy in the country, which is relatively low compared to the global average.

Keywords: Adult, literacy, newspaper, Nigeria

1. Introduction

Newspapers have become major sources of information, entertainment and education in Nigeria (Babalola, 2002). Since British missionary, Reverend Henry Townsend established the first newspaper named Iwo Irohin Fun Awon Ara Egba Ati Yoruba in the country in 1859 (Tosanwumi and Ekwuazi, 1994), many Nigerians have come to depend on the mass media, especially newspapers, for information, news and entertainment. With more than 100 newspaper and magazine titles, Nigerians numbering about 167 million people (World Bank, 2006), daily have the opportunity to select from a compellingly rich repertoire of publications, which cover various issues and subjects of interests from the mundane to the tragic. Political and national issues also enjoy generous coverage in the newspapers. Some of the leading national newspapers in the country include: The Guardian, The Punch, THISDAY, Vanguard, The Nation and Daily Trust; while some of the top regional newspapers include Tribune (South-West), Leadership (North), Authority (South-East) and The Tide (South-South). These papers are published and hit the newsstands daily. There is also a preponderance of sectorial, business-oriented, entertainment-based and sports only newspapers. BusinessDay newspaper, which is printed daily, is oriented towards reporting business issues only; City People is an entertainment cum celebrity tabloid published monthly, while Complete Sports is a daily sports newspaper.

The newspapers sell for various prices ranging from N200 to N300. This study observed that The Guardian sells for N250; The Punch, N200; THISDAY, N250; Vanguard N200; Daily Trust, N200 and Business Day, N300. The papers are sold through subscriptions and through newspaper vendors. However, it is common to see hordes of people gather at various newspaper vendors' stands to scan through the headlines and even read the content of these newspapers for free (Bahago, 2003) and (Busari, 2015). This study observes that the practice of reading newspapers for free at the vendors' stands has become so pervasive that it has been elevated to the level of culture. Culture, according to Liron (2003), is a complex whole made up of the "belief, knowledge, art, morals, law, customs and any other capabilities and habits acquired" by the members of a given society. While the free reading culture could have been borne out of the inability of some Nigerians to buy at least one newspaper a day (Busari, 2015), this study finds that it can enhance adult literacy, which can in turn help in equipping individuals with requisite knowledge, skills and attitudes needed for economic self-sufficiency, poverty reduction and sustainable development (National Bureau of Statistics, 2016).

The United Nations Development Programme (2015) states that about 70.8 percent of Nigerians live on less than one dollar per day, while 92.4 percent live on less than two dollars per day. At an official exchange rate of N305.5 to the United States dollar (Central Bank of Nigeria, 2017), it means 70.8 percent of Nigerians live on less than N305.50 per day while 92.4 percent live on less than N611 per day. With a newspaper selling for an average price of N200, these categories of Nigerians who are in the majority may not be able to buy at least one newspaper a day. This fact was corroborated by the reports of (Bahago, 2003) and (Busari, 2015). A World Bank (2013) report, which puts the poverty rate in Nigeria at 64.2 percent with urban poverty rate at 52.2 percent and rural poverty rate at 73.4 percent of the total population within the period 2013-2014, also supports this assertion. Nigeria's National Bureau of Statistics puts the number of poor

Nigerians (those who live on less than one U.S. dollar per day) at about 100 million people during 2013-2014 (World Bank, 2013).

Literacy, according to Chrisomalis (2009), is competence or knowledge in a specified area of human endeavour. UNESCO (2006), however, posits that literacy goes beyond merely knowing how to read and write. It extends the definition to include the ability to make use of language, numbers, images, computers and other basic means to understand, communicate, gain useful knowledge and use the dominant symbols of a culture (UNESCO, 2006). UNESCO Institute for Statistics (2015) puts world literacy rate for people who are 15 years and above at 85 percent, with the rate for males standing at 89 percent and females at 81 percent. The world illiterate population stands at 757 million people. Sub-Sahara Africa has the lowest literacy rate in the world at 64.0 percent for both male and female. In Nigeria, the adult literacy rate is 59.57 percent with 69.46 percent for male and 49.68 percent for female. This is much lower than the global and the sub-Saharan Africa rate. It is also lower than the youth literacy rate of 72.79 percent with 80.25 percent for male youth and 65.33 percent for female youth. In Lagos State, where free newspaper reading culture was observed to be common, adult literacy rate is put at 92 percent which is the highest in Nigeria. The lowest adult literacy rate in the country, according to the National Bureau of Statistics (2016) is recorded in states located in the North-East region of the country, with Borno at 14.5 percent; Taraba, 23.3 percent; Yobe, 26.6 percent; Bauchi, 34.1 percent; Gombe, 39.3 percent and Adamawa, 40.5 percent.

Adult literacy happens through adult education, which results from adults engaging in meaningful "self-educating activities to gain new forms of knowledge" (Spencer, 2006). It transcends the realm of conventional learning within the traditional school system. Newspapers have been identified as key resources which can be used by adults to educate themselves, gain competency in the use of English language, acquire new forms of knowledge, as well as understand and contribute to topical societal discourse (Purushotham and Ramprasad, 2016).

Functional adult literacy is important because vital literacy skills are essential to getting gainful employment as well as in supporting learning by children. For instance, literate adults will be more disposed to sending their children to school as well as guide and assist them in doing their homework (NOIPolls, 2017).

A UIS (2013) report indicates that the highest number of out-of-school children in the world is in the North-East region of Nigeria, and this is largely due to a high level of illiteracy among the parents. According to the report, only about 20 percent of the girl-child is enrolled in school in North-East Nigeria (consisting of Borno, Yobe, Gombe, Taraba, Adamawa and Bauchi States) compared to 25 percent in the North-West (which consists of Jigawa, Kaduna, Kano, Katsina, Kebbi and with an average adult literacy rate of 30.39 percent); 85 percent in the South-West (consisting of Ekiti, Lagos, Ogun, Oyo, Osun and Ondo with an average adult literacy rate of 73.11 percent); 85 percent in the South-East (made up of Abia, Anambra, Ebonyi, Enugu and Imo States, with an average adult literacy rate of 64.06 percent); and 75 percent in the South-South (made up of Akwa Ibom, Bayelsa, Cross River, Delta, Edo and Rivers State with average adult literacy rate of 63.2 percent). One danger of adult illiteracy is that more illiterate adults could be produced in the future. Early marriage especially of the girl-child as well as female genital mutilation in the northern part of the country could also be a result of poor adult literacy. For instance, adults who are able to learn from the newspapers about the dangers that early marriage pose to the psyche of their girl-child or about the dangers of female gender mutilation may not willfully submit their children to such practices.

Levin (1995) also links low adult literacy level to poverty. Child poverty, he posits, is related to parents' low-wage employment, prevalence of single-parent families, and parents' low educational levels. A poorly educated adult may engage in criminal activities, according to Krueger and Maleckova (2003), who established a nexus between poverty, lack of education and criminal activities. Akubor (2016) expands this argument when he posits that ignorance and poverty were responsible for not only criminal activities, but also for violent crimes and terrorism in North-East Nigeria. Illiteracy, he posits, subjects people (children and adults) to easy manipulation by terrorists and other criminal elements. Adult literacy is also important to the health and well-being of family members. Literate adults will be able to read nutritional information on food packs and seek proper medical attention for themselves and their families when necessary. In northern Nigeria where the literacy level is low, there have been reports of parents refusing to submit their children to immunization against polio (Jegade, 2007) as a result of suspicion borne out of poor understanding of its importance to their children's wellness.

Since many Nigerians may not be able to purchase at least one newspaper a day because they live below the poverty line as earlier established, and given that newspapers are educational materials that enhance adult literacy, newspaper houses are invariably playing the role of a social institution – in this case an educational institution – through the free reading of their publications by the citizenry at the vendors' stands. This paper is interested in evaluating the impact of the free newspaper reading culture on adult literacy in the country, using a commercial hub known as the Catholic Missionary Street (popularly known as CMS) in Lagos, Nigeria, as a case study.

2. Literature Review

Africa – Nigeria in particular – is known to suffer several challenges in its governance, economy, health and educational systems and even within the family unit (Lewis, 2007). The problems of HIV/AIDS, high poverty level, low purchasing power, ethnic strife and conflicts as well as lack of economic development are accentuated by a relatively low adult literacy rate (Akubor, 2016). Improved functional adult literacy will certainly impact positively, not just on individuals, but also on the larger society. For instance, a literate adult will become socially aware and contribute to nation building. Social awareness, according to Freize (2000), does not necessarily come from within the four walls of a

classroom as the conventional western-style teaching method has the potential of creating a teacher-student barrier-portrayal of the teacher as the one who knows it all and the students as empty.

Freize's adult literacy theory, which was developed while he was teaching Brazilian peasants how to read, posits that learning is a process that needs to be developed consistently over time by exposing the individual to different concepts. According to this theory, consistent reading breeds the skill needed to comprehend and analyse issues. Since most of the readers interviewed in the course of this study were unable to purchase newspapers due to their low purchasing power, the opportunity to read newspapers free of charge offers a daily opportunity to engage in reading, thereby enhancing learning and literacy. A prominent feature at the vendors' stands where newspapers are read for free is the critical and analytical discussions that ensue between the readers. Almost every reader has an opinion on the lead story, be it politics, sport, entertainment or gossip. The need to interchange the role of the teacher and the student in the learning process, as proposed by Freize, is readily observable at the newspaper stands. Learners are teachers and teachers are learners at the newsstands. Disagreements and conflict, which Freize identified as vital components of life and of learning, are regular features when the free newspaper readers converge at the vendors' stands as agreements, disagreements and occasional confrontations take centre stage. Freize's theory of adult education which places premium on dialogue and praxis as part of the overall process of adult literacy, finds expression in the free newspaper reading culture.

Jean Lave's situated learning theory also finds expression in the free newspaper reading culture. Lave (1988) posits that learning occurs through unintentional acts and is situated within activity, context and culture. In other words, learning is not deliberate – it is unintentional and unplanned. He further argues that learning takes place through relationships between the individual members of a society and in an informal context.

Contu and Willmott (2003) share that a significant assertion of the social learning theory is that learning is a practice, which is rooted in the cultural, social and organizational structures of a society. This is a major departure from the conventional understanding of learning, which focuses on the cognitive processtaking place in the mind of an individual. Lave (1988) argues that knowledge is constantly transformed – thereby making learning to occur – when people are involved in different social practices. He further argues that power relations within the context of a society mediate how individuals acquire, maintain and transform meaning, knowledge and learning. Learning, he posits, is situated within the context in which the learner participates in, as opposed to happening within the mind of the learner himself. In this wise, knowledge and learning are viewed as developing by participation in a "community of practice" rather than a focus on the individual alone. This argument, however logical it appears, neglects the importance of personal reflection of the individual in the learning process. Bloomer and Hodkinson (2000) also underscore the importance of social context in learning. While learning may occur within the social context, the reflections of an individual also have significant impact on the construction of meaning and understanding. Lave's theory does not take cognizance of the cognitive process. This notwithstanding, the theory does apply at the vendors' stands. As the various free readers read the newspapers and discuss freely amongst themselves, learning takes place. This much was acknowledged by the free readers interviewed in the course of this study.

The media system dependency theory is also implicated in this study. According to Sandra Ball-Rokeach and Melvin DeFleur who proposed the media system dependency theory (or simply media dependency theory) in 1977, the more an individual member of a society depends on the media to fulfill his or her needs, the more important the media will be to that person. The theory, which was developed by the duo based on the agenda setting theory as well as the uses and gratification theory, also argues that the degree of dependence of an individual on the mass media is a function of the centrality of information functions and stability of a society. The dependency of persons on the media is influenced by three main types of societal relationships:

- Existing media/society relationship
- Media/media audience relationship
- Society/media audience relationship

The theorists also identified three types of media needs that rate the importance of the media to an individual. The needs are:

- Surveillance – A compelling need to understand one's social environment
- Utility – The need of an individual to act meaningfully and effectively within the society
- Escape – The need to for a fantasy escape from the society during periods of uncertainty, discomfort and high tension.

Ball-Rokeach and DeFleur (1976) posit that consumers of mass media offerings do so for different purposes. In this regard, some of the utilitarian functions of newspapers include entertainment, information, education and development/nurturing of parasocial relationships. The media dependency theory argument can therefore be extrapolated to imply that the more newspapers are used by individuals to fulfill these needs, the more important they become to the users. This theory offers a viable basis to explain why the newspaper stands are frequently thronged by the free readers. The free reading culture has become an essentiality through which the free readers meet part of their social and educational needs. There are two basic conditions, which drive dependence on the media. The first is that audiences depend on the information provided by the mass media to meet their needs and actualize their goals in life. For instance, in a modern society like Britain, there is a preponderance of mass media organizations that strive to meet the people's social needs. In such society, the mass media practically acts as the fourth arm of government, keeping a tab on government itself and other social institutions such as the family, the economy, education and religion. They are also veritable platforms of entertainment and fantasy-escape for people. These utilitarian functions create a heightened need for the media in such

developed society. The second condition under which media dependence thrives is in developing societies where there are uncertainties such as social change, conflicts, famine and unstable government, or in the times of natural disasters such as hurricane, tsunami, landslides or volcanic eruption. Under these circumstances, citizens' dependence on the media is heightened as they rely on them for regular updates and guidance. To illustrate this, during the mass protests that greeted the hike in the price of premium motor spirit (petrol) in Nigeria in January 2012 by the administration of former President Goodluck Jonathan, many became dependent on the traditional and social media to keep tab on the unfolding events. The socio-political movement tagged #Occupy Nigeria, which began on January 2, 2012 – a day after Jonathan announced a subsidy removal that led to the fuel price hike – had its root in the social media. Protesters were rallied through Twitter and Facebook, and these platforms also became the means by which conversations, mobilization and sustenance of the protest were achieved. The people thus depended on Twitter and Facebook to connect with the protests and relay the events as they unfolded (Busari, 2012).

While some of the arguments of the media system dependency theorists are manifestly evident in the course of this study, it is vital to point out the difficulty associated with obtaining an empirical verification of the claims. For instance, how do you measure dependency? Dependency connotes subordination or control by another. Is this really the meaning that the proponents originally intended to convey? Are consumers of media services under the control of or subordinate to the media? The use of the word dependency in the theory is thus ambivalent and its empirical measurement hazy.

3. Methodology

The target population for this study are Nigerians who read newspapers for free at the newspaper vendor stands. It was observed that newspaper vendor stands are spread across various parts of Lagos State, which is largely regarded as the commercial capital of Nigeria. With a land area measuring 3, 577km², Lagos is the smallest among the 36 states in Nigeria but with a population of 17.5 million people, according to the state government; it is the most populous state in the country and one of the fastest growing in the world (Lagos State Government, 2015). Adult literacy rate in Lagos, put at 92 percent, is the highest in Nigeria (National Bureau of Statistics, 2016).

The sample population are free readers of newspapers at a vendor stand at the Catholic Missionary Street (CMS) area of Lagos Island Local Government in Lagos State. The vendor stand is located close to the CMS Bus Stop under the pedestrian bridge opposite the Cathedral Church of Christ, Marina. This location is within the area designated as the Central Business District by the Lagos State Government. The CMS area is a transit hub for many people moving from Lagos mainland to the Island or even transiting within the Lagos Island. This study was carried out at the CMS newspaper vendor stand using both participant observation and semi-structured interviews. CMS was chosen for the study because it is a high human traffic area. CMS is also heterogeneous as it accommodates diverse categories of people including workers in the formal and non-formal sectors of the economy. The participant observation was carried out from 7am to 10am on Tuesday 30th May 2017, while the semi-structured interview with four of the free readers was conducted within the same time the following day, Wednesday 31st May 2017. The four people interviewed were chosen through simple random sampling among those who read the newspapers for free and who actively engaged in the ensuing debates and discussions. The semi-structured interview was recorded using the recording device on a smartphone. This interview was later transcribed, without any loss of details. Those interviewed introduced and described themselves as follows:

- Interviewee 1: 35 years old, Office Clerk
- Interviewee 2: 29 years old, Job applicant
- Interviewee 3: 45 years old, Administrative Officer
- Interviewee 4: 32 years old, Businessman

4. Findings

Participant Observation carried out on 30th May 2017

By 7a.m., six people were seen standing around the displayed newspapers reading and chatting among themselves. Copies of the newspapers on display during the observation on 30th May included THISDAY, Vanguard, The Nation, The Guardian, The Punch, Daily Trust, Business Day, Tribune, Sun, Daily Independent and New Telegraph. Between 7a.m. when the observation started and 10a.m. when it ended, 43 people were seen stopping over either for a cursory glance at the newspaper headlines or a longer reading duration. Of the 43 people counted during the study, the least duration spent at the newsstand was one minute, while the longest was 38 minutes. Table 1 highlights the time spent at the newsstand by each of the free readers.

Time Spent at Newsstand	Number of Free Readers
Less than 1 minute	0
1 - 5 minutes	14
6 - 10 minutes	18
11 - 20 minutes	6
21 - 30 minutes	2
Over 30 minutes	3
Total	43

Table 1

All the free readers who visited the newsstand during the period of this observation were men. While women were seen passing near the newsstand, they paid little or no attention to the newspapers on display or to the heated arguments and discussions going on among the free readers. There were also other people who came to the newsstand to buy one or two newspapers from the vendor. While some of those glanced at various headlines before deciding on which to buy, others simply paid for the one they wanted, collected their purchase and left. This category of visitors to the newsstand was not counted as free readers, and was therefore excluded from this study.

The participant observation was carried out on a Tuesday, the first working day of that week, given that a public holiday was observed the previous day in commemoration of the 2017 Nigerian Democracy Day. Expectedly, the major newspaper reports were on the Democracy Day events celebrated across the various states and the commemorative address to the nation by Acting President Yemi Osinbajo. The lead stories of the newspapers are listed in Table 2. There were fierce debates among the free newspaper readers as they passionately discussed the performance – perceived achievements and failures – of President Muhammadu Buhari's two years old administration. The readers also discussed the speech of Acting President Yemi Osinbajo and how he was faring in Buhari's absence. Along this line of discussion, someone chipped in the propriety or otherwise of President Buhari remaining in office in the face of his ailment that has taken him out of the country for more than 70 days in five months. This redirected the debate as the talk shifted to the President's health.

The lead story of Vanguard newspaper was also of interest to some of the free readers. Some argued that since 30 out of 36 states – as reported by the newspaper – were not financially viable, Nigeria would do well to return to the regional system of government practiced at independence. A gory picture on Vanguard's cover page, which showed a dead man being conveyed from a building that collapsed at Idumota, Lagos, into a waiting van, as well as a cover page story on the killing of a leader of the National Union of Road Transport Workers (NURTW) at the Oshodi area of Lagos State, were also issues of major interest and debate among the free readers.

Some of the free newspaper readers took it upon themselves to act as mediators in the heated arguments that ensued.

Beyond reading the cover headlines, some of those who stayed at the newsstand for at least five minutes were observed to also collect copies of one newspaper or the other from the vendor to read inside stories. None of the 43 readers, irrespective of how much time they spent reading the newspapers, was seen making any form of payment to the vendor.

Lead Stories	Newspaper
Our scorecard by Osinbajo	The Nation
Akwa Ibom State 2017 Democracy Day	The Punch
Much of 2016 budget cleared inherited mess	The Guardian
Actualizing change through transparency and good governance	Daily Trust
Bad times are over, the future is bright, says Osinbajo	Thisday
30 states not financially viable – Report	vanguard

Table 2

Interviews carried out on 31st May 2017

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with four of the free newspaper readers on Wednesday 31st May 2017. Those interviewed were selected by simple random sampling between 7a.m. and 10a.m. Apart from the vendor, only three of the people observed to be present at the newsstand during the three-hour observation carried out the previous day came around to read newspapers and engage in the usual argument with other free readers. The sampled readers were asked the following questions:

- How often do you come to the newspaper stand?
- How often do you buy newspaper(s)?
- How often do you read newspaper(s) for free?
- Why don't you buy newspaper(s)?
- What benefit(s) do you derive from reading newspapers for free?
- What important thing did you learn recently from reading newspapers for free?
- Does free reading of newspapers enhance your literacy?

Table 3 summarizes the responses from the four free readers interviewed.

Questions	Responses			
	Interviewee 1	Interviewee 2	Interviewee 3	Interviewee 4
1. How Often Do You Visit The Newspaper Stand?	Almost everyday	Everyday except weekends	Everyday I pass through CMS	Almost everyday
2. How Often Do You Buy Newspaper(S)?	I don't remember the last time I bought one	It has been long	Once in a while	Once in a while
3. How Often Do You Read Newspaper(S) For Free?	Everyday	Everyday	Everyday	Everyday
4. Why Don't You Buy Newspaper(S)?	I don't need to buy everyday because I can read it for free	I am an applicant so I can't afford it	I cannot afford to buy everyday	I can only buy once in a while. I cannot buy everyday
5. What Benefit(S) Do You Derive From Reading Newspapers For Free?	I learn about happenings around	I stay informed and up to date	I learn all the important issues in our country	It helps me to stay informed
6. What Important Thing Did You Learn Recently From Reading Newspapers For Free?	I learnt about how to care for my telephone and stay safe	I learnt about politics	I learnt about my team Arsenal	I learnt about the danger of kidnapping
7. Does Free Reading Of Newspapers Enhance Your Literacy?	Yes	It certainly does	Yes I think so	yes

Table 3

In discussing the benefits of the free reading culture, one of the free readers interviewed in the course of this study said he was a sports enthusiast. He was interested not only in learning about how his favourite European team, Arsenal Football Club, was faring in the Premier League, but also in stories and gossips around various personalities – players, coaches, shareholders, fans and opponents – of the British football club. Since he holds a low paying job at one of the corporate organisations around the CMS area, he finds time to sneak out of the office to visit a vendor's stand to read the headlines from his favourite newspaper, Complete Sports. He gets to derive substantial information on his area of interest at the newsstand. The ensuing debate and arguments between him and other free readers are also an important part of his daily experience at the newsstand. Thus, he has become dependent to a very large extent on free newspaper reading to satisfy one of his essential needs. He narrated the experience of how he was unable to visit the stand one day because of work pressure. According to him, he felt a void and was sad on that particular day.

Another free reader interviewed at the CMS newspaper vendor stand said that in addition to his interest in general stories, especially politics, he always looked forward to reading tips on how to operate and maximize the use of mobile smartphones published daily in The Punch newspapers. He said he had read several tips on phone care, including a recent one titled 'Eight Ways to Reduce Radiation When Using a Smartphone', published on page 3 of the newspaper. He said the article did not just offer tips on the functional use of his smartphone, but also provided useful information to keep him out of harm's way while using his phone. For him, the daily useful tips are highly educational and worth the time spent at the newsstand. Thus, this free reader has also become dependent on The Punch newspaper to learn how to maximize the use and lifespan of his smartphone.

5. Recommendation and Conclusion

From the observation carried out on Tuesday 30th May 2017, it was established that an average of 14 people visit the newspaper vendor stand at CMS every hour to read newspapers for free in the early hours of the day (7 a.m. to 10 a.m.). It was also established that most of those who read the newspapers for free are not able to afford buying the newspapers daily due to economic constraints. Those who read the newspapers for free agree that they do so regularly and that it enhances their literacy. These findings support the assumption of this study that free newspaper reading culture has positive impact on adult literacy.

It is recommended that the local and governments especially in low adult literacy parts of the country, especially the North East and North West should consider creating avenues for free newspaper reading in their areas as this will enhance adult literacy. The benefits of adult literacy are numerous to the society. Since adult literacy for Nigerian women is lower than their men counterparts, it is also recommended that free reading centres that will be conducive for use by the female gender should be created across the country. While formal education through traditional classroom learning are essential, free newspaper reading culture is capable of enhancing adult literacy in the country and it should therefore be

treated as a social infrastructure by government. The newspaper houses have nothing to lose by donating copies of their publications to established free newspaper reading centres as it will enhance their social institution functions and also expose their publications to more readers. More readership can enhance their ability to generate more advertisement revenue. Further study could be carried out on how free newspaper reading culture can be created and institutionalized in the northern part of Nigeria to enhance adult literacy in the region.

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